

CHRONOLOGICAL COMPILATION / COMPENDIUM OF  
UNITED STATES' NEWSPAPER ARTICLES  
PRIMARILY FEATURING

**FAYEZ SAYEGH**

PRIMARILY SOURCED FROM  
THE FORMER BROOKLYN-BASED, *THE CARAVAN* NEWSPAPER  
1951 - 1959



Photo from the February 19, 1959, special feature on Fayez Sayegh,  
published in The Caravan newspaper

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# THE CARAVAN

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As a companion to Part 8, *Fayez Sayegh: Mover, Shaker and Resolution Maker*,  
from the report, *Zionism Hates the Truth* (published on March 5, 2025)

<https://www.bctwa.org/PlanetOnFire.html>



Preface

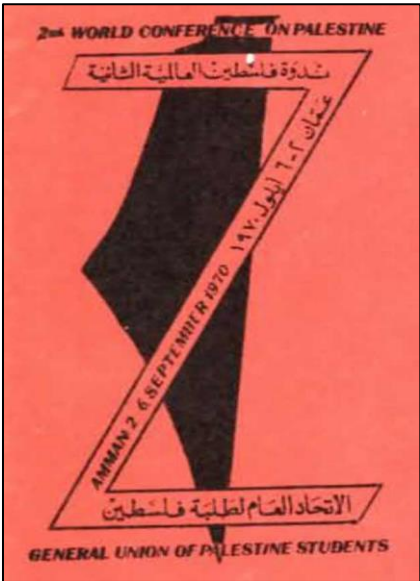
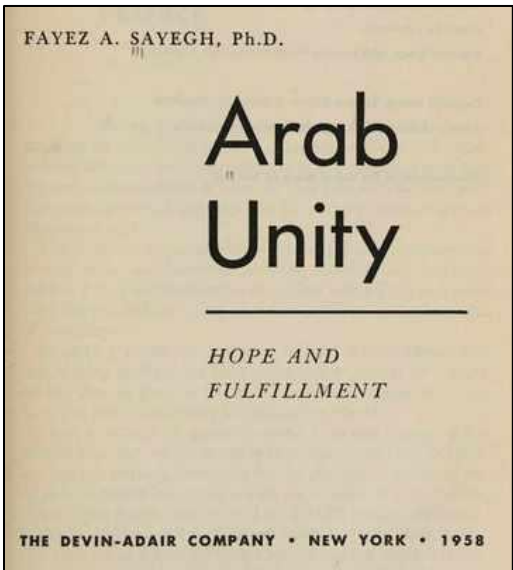
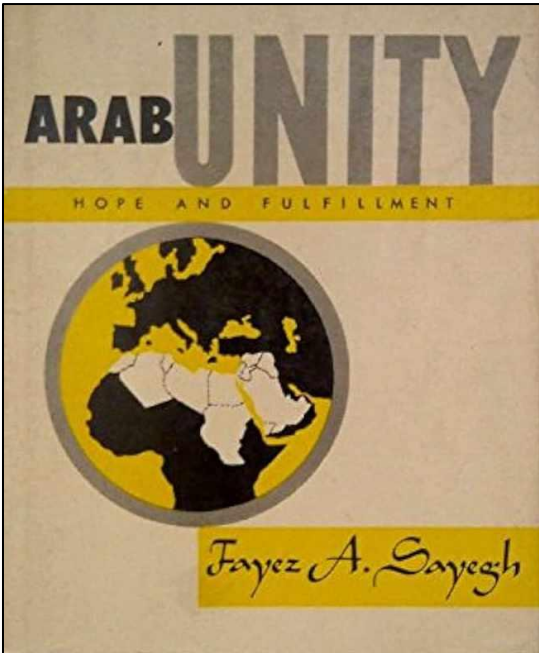
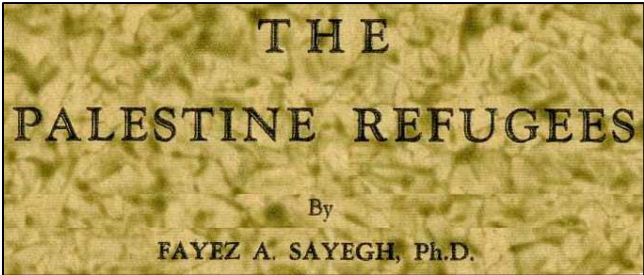
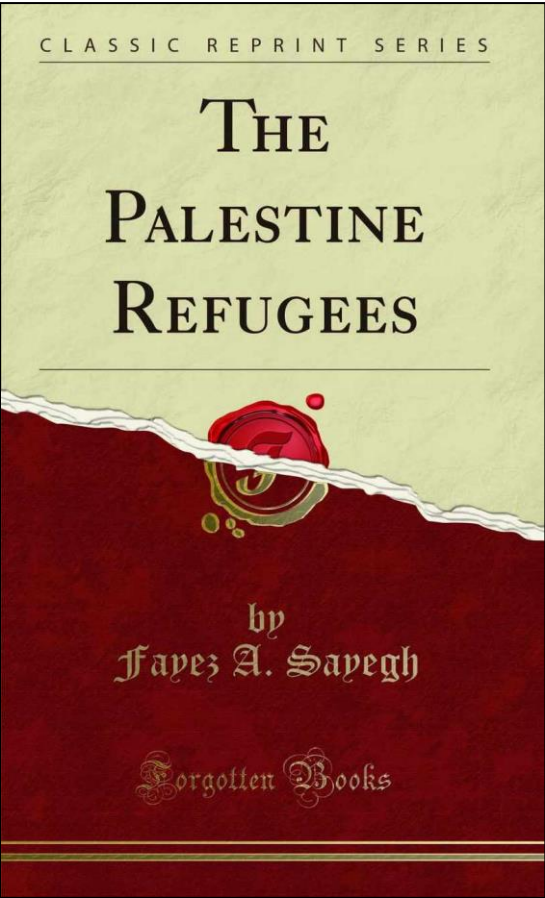
The following collection of newsprint articles on Fayeز Sayegh was compiled from research materials I conducted for Part 8 in my March 5, 2025, report, *Zionism Hates the Truth*.

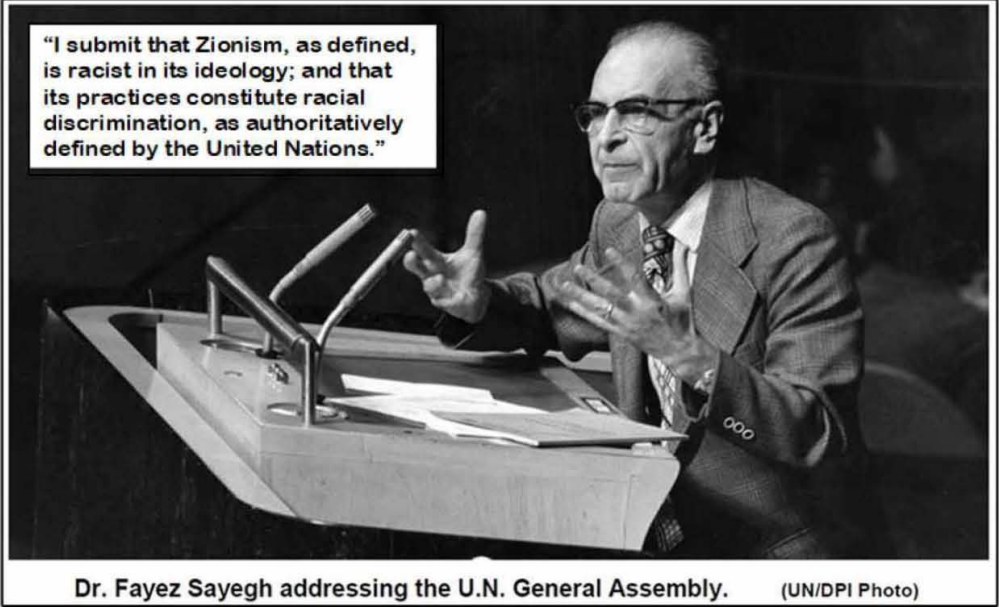
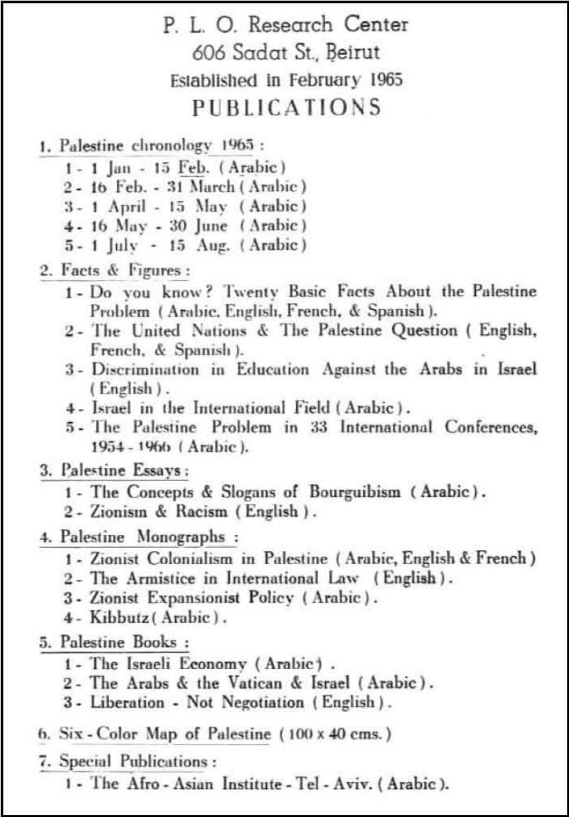
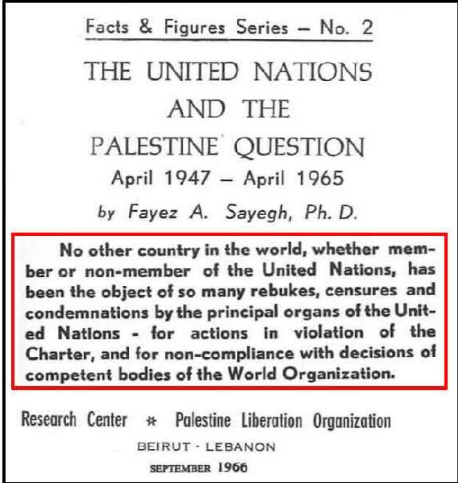
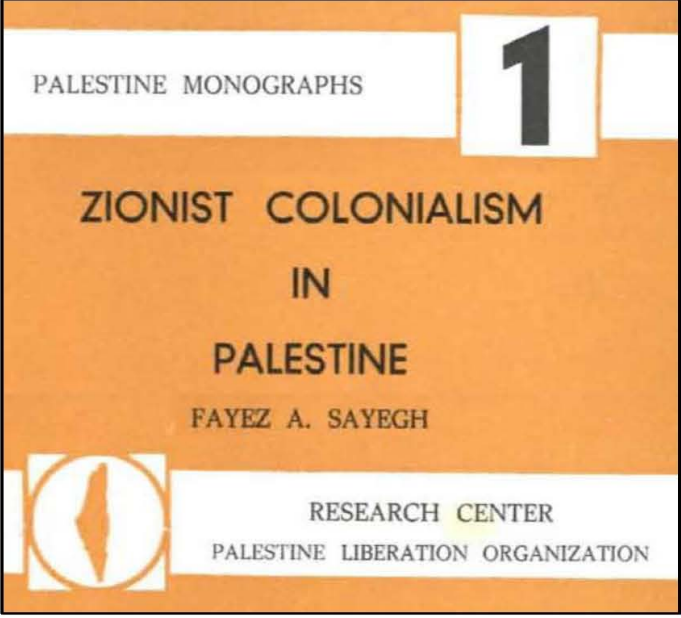
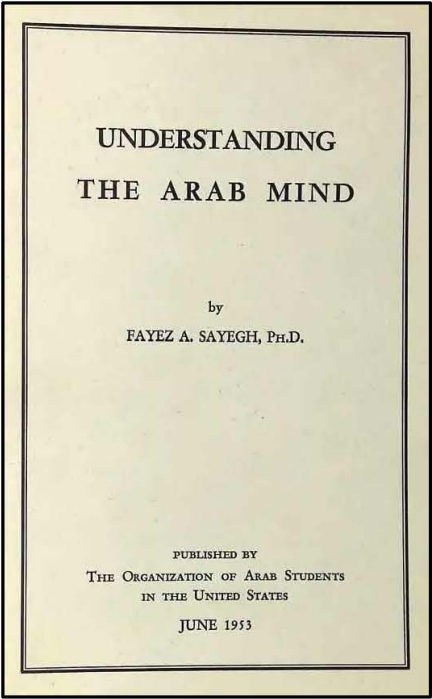
Because of their intrinsic value, I decided to spend an additional week’s work to edit and format them as a bonus by-product free for the public benefit. I am reasonably certain a collection like this has not previously been provided in such a form as this.

The reader / researcher can easily zoom in on the pdf document to clearly / legibly read the printed word in each article and is why this digital document is such a large file. Also, the collection has been OCR’d, made word searchable, for those so interested. Not every word may be searchable because sometimes the poor quality of the text may be lost to the OCR deciphering / rendering capability.

The legal page format, 8.5 by 14 inches, was chosen to accommodate the vertical length found in the original newsprint, providing extra room for viewing.

The majority of newsprint articles in this special collection are from the former “The Caravan,” the weekly Arab American newspaper, published in Brooklyn New York from 1953 to 1961. It was announced in the May 9, 1957, edition of *The Caravan* that Fayeز Sayegh would begin writing a “weekly column for Caravan readers beginning with the May 16 issue.” This is that, and preceding, Sayegh contributory collection. The collection ends with a special February 19, 1959, Caravan edition in commemoration to Sayegh.









» Comments

## Palestinians called Israel an apartheid state decades ago

By Asa Winstanley

Thursday 29-April-2021

In 1965 Syrian-Palestinian academic and diplomat Fayez Sayegh wrote a groundbreaking monograph called *Zionist Colonialism in Palestine*. The short booklet was published by the PLO Research Centre in Beirut.



It is a model of clarity and precision. The fact that most of what it explains still very much applies today is a sad commentary on how much Israel has been allowed to get away with over the years and how little has changed in the fundamental facts about its military occupation and the Palestinians' dispossession and expulsion.

Sayegh's booklet includes the basic history of the Zionist movement how it made an alliance with British imperialism and how it took over Palestine and stole the country from its indigenous people the Palestinians. Chapter three explains the nature of the settler-state and how racism is part of Zionism's fundamental character not some sort of flaw which mysteriously crept in later. One of its most striking sections reads:

*...in its practice of racial discrimination against the vestiges of Palestinian Arabs the Zionist settler-state has learned all the lessons which the various discriminatory regimes of white settler-states in Asia and Africa can teach it. And it has proved itself in this endeavor an ardent and apt pupil not incapable of surpassing its teachers. For whereas the Afrikaner apostles of apartheid in South Africa for example brazenly proclaim their sin the Zionist practitioners of apartheid in Palestine beguilingly protest their innocence!*

This is one of the earliest mentions of the Afrikaans word apartheid in connection with Israel. It is striking that this comparison was made by a Palestinian intellectual. Later Israeli dissidents like Uri Davis and Palestine solidarity activists in the West started to use the word.

Israel and its global lobby fought back organizing a campaign of smears and defamation against anyone who used the word describing them as "anti-Semitic". Labor Party activists who did so were – and still are – very much in danger of being suspended and expelled.

Although Palestinians have been saying that Israel is an apartheid state for decades now it was only this year that "mainstream" Western human rights groups began to finally catch up. In January the Israeli human rights group B'Tselem stated in a new position paper that Israel is an apartheid state: "There is one regime governing the entire area and the people living in it based on a single organizing principle" said B'Tselem. "The Israeli regime implements laws practices and state violence designed to cement the supremacy of one group — Jews — over another — Palestinians."

And now this week even Human Rights Watch has finally admitted the truth. In a new report the group said that Israel is guilty of the crime of apartheid which is defined by international law.

Israel said HRW has "pursued an intent to maintain the domination of Jewish Israelis over Palestinians throughout the territory it controls." The group called for the International Criminal Court to investigate Israel over its apartheid practices a call long made by Palestinian human rights groups such as Al-Haq.

Human Rights Watch is in many ways not a principled or exemplary organization. Its reports tend to be disproportionately focused on official enemies of US imperial power. Some of its leaders have even pushed for regime change wars and sanctions against such countries.

However if even Human Rights Watch is now finally admitting the truth of what Palestinians have been saying all along then it is a sign that it is going to become increasingly harder for Israel and its advocates to deny the obvious truth.

Palestinians told us that Israel was following the apartheid path decades ago. Perhaps more people should have believed them then rather than having to wait for the fact to be confirmed by Western human rights groups.

– Asa Winstanley is an investigative journalist living in London who writes about Palestine and the Middle East. He has been visiting Palestine since 2004 and is originally from south Wales. He writes for the award-winning Palestinian news site *The Electronic Intifada* where he is an associate editor and also a weekly column for the *Middle East Monitor*.

## **Arab Official Stresses Action for Palestine**

Washington.—The acting director of the Arab States Delegation Office in the U.S., Dr. Fayez Sayegh, urged the internationalization of Jerusalem in an address at Georgetown University.

Referring to the encyclical of Pius XII on the *Crisis in Palestine* when the Pope said Jerusalem must be placed under international protection and be given boundaries that are not too close to its various sanctuaries, Dr. Sayegh said that only in this way can a future war be prevented in places sanctified by the life and death of the Prince of Peace.

He called for "full implementation of all the standing UN resolutions on Palestine," which would include internationalization and the return of Arab refugees to their homelands.

## **IN THE MAIL**

Attached is a cheque to cover my 1958/59 subscription and a gift subscription to my friend, Attorney Thomas Jacob, Dunnville, Ontario, Canada who is the Chairman of the Industrial Commission on the Town council for the last few years and lately was elected President of the Lions Club.

May I humbly suggest an idea to the Arab Information Center through your wonderful paper which I am sure will help the majority of Americans and Canadians to know more about the Palestine refugees and all the trouble that was caused by World Zionism, especially by the Zionists of United States; and that is by publishing in leaflet forms Dr. Fayez Sayegh's letters (which appear weekly in the Caravan) so they could be distributed direct to the Americans and Canadians or through our own people. In my opinion, Dr. Sayegh has done more toward informing the Americans and Canadian people regarding the Palestine affairs than ALL THE ARAB EMBASSIES in the United States. God bless him.

With kindest personal regards, I remain,

Sincerely yours,  
Camille R. Kneider.  
Dunnville, Ontario.

People who think of Arabs as wearing fezzes and arriving by camel got a surprise on TV when they saw Dr. Fayez Sayegh, director of the U.N. Arab League, looking like any American businessman and taking on expert quizzers sharply and with an Oxford accent.



# Asylum Hill Church Group Plan Meeting

The Women's Association of the Asylum Hill Congregational Church will hold a luncheon meeting Wednesday at 12:30 p. m., at the church. Mrs. Francis Perkins will preside and Mrs. Robert Pinckney Stacy is program chairman.

The speaker will be Mr. Fayez Sayegh research assistant for the Legation of Lebanon in Washington, D. C. His subject is "The Situation of Christianity in the Near East." Members may bring friends. Reservations for luncheon may be made with Mrs. John Willard, telephone 3-5080 or Mrs. Clayton Spencer, 3-0258. Those who are unable to attend the luncheon may come to the meeting at 1 p. m.

Hartford Courant: January 10, 1952

# Christian Arabs Under Curfew, Says Dr. Sayegh

A strict curfew has been imposed on Christian Arabs in Israel and, as a result, the freedom which the present form of government was supposed to create is non-existent, Dr. Fayez Sayegh, research assistant to Dr. Charles Malik at the Lebanon Legation in Washington said Wednesday. Dr. Sayegh addressed the Women's Association of the Asylum Hill Congregational Church.

Today, Christian Arabs have been forced from their former security and must work wherever the government dictates, he said.

Palladium Item: May 13, 1952

# Few Institute Program Changes Made; Opens Wednesday Night

A few changes have been announced in the program of the twenty-first annual Earlham Institute of Foreign Affairs, which opens Wednesday evening at the college.

Dr. Fayez Sayegh, member of the Lebanese delegation to the united nations, will speak Saturday morning instead of Friday morning as announced earlier. Dr. Sayegh's subject will be "The Arab People and the World Crisis."

On Friday afternoon a speaker has been added, Dr. El Zayyat, cultural attache of the Egyptian embassy, who will speak on "The Egyptian Question."

The subject has been announced for the address of Mr. Eliashiv Ben-Horin, first secretary of the embassy of Israel to the united nations who will appear on Friday morning's program discussing "Israel After Four Years, A Balance Sheet."

## To Show Movie

A film supplied by the Near Eastern foundation will be shown at 1:30 p. m. Friday.

In general, afternoon sessions, to be held at 2:30 o'clock in Stout Memorial Meetinghouse, will be round table seminars. Formal programs are scheduled for Wednesday evening, Thursday morning, Thursday evening, Friday morning, Friday evening and Saturday morning.

"Safeguarding Peace and Freedom in the Middle East and South Asia" will be the general theme of this year's institute with the spotlight of attention being placed on "The World from Cairo to Ceylon."

Prof. J. Arthur Funston is director of the institute.

For the opening session Wednesday evening at 8:15 o'clock in Goddard auditorium, Arthur Gardiner, economic adviser, Bureau of Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs, United States Department of State, will discuss "Political and Economic Problems in the Middle East."

The public is cordially invited, Prof. Funston and other college officials stress, to any or all sessions.

Thursday, May 15, 1952

## Traditional Foes Meet at Earlham as Friends

Special to The News

RICHMOND, Ind. — Arabs, Jews, Indians and Pakistani—traditional enemies in their homelands—came to Earlham College on better terms today as the Middle West took a look at the Middle East to get a better understanding of foreign affairs.

Representatives of Jordan, Lebanon, Pakistan, Iran, Israel, India, Egypt, Great Britain, and the United States State Department will address the college's 600 students during this year's annual foreign affairs institute.

The program got under way last night with an address by Arthur Gardiner, of the United States State Department. It will end Saturday night.

Professor J. Arthur Funston, director of the institute, indicated that no attempts will be made to limit discussions to any specific issues.

Gardiner, in his address last night, said that the United States Government is sympathetic with the Middle Eastern nations in their attempt to be independent, but pointed out that American efforts will fail unless the peo-

ple of the nations accept more responsibility themselves.

Mohammed Ali, ambassador from Pakistan to the United States, will address students tonight on his country's role in the current situation.

Other speakers for the institute include Bahadur Singh, first secretary of the Indian Embassy in the United States; Dr. El Zayat, cultural attache of the Egyptian Embassy; Sir Olaf Caroe, former British foreign secretary in India; Eliashiv Ben-Horin, first secretary of the Israeli Embassy here, and Dr. Fayez Sayegh, member of the Lebanese delegation to the United Nations.

Canada has increased its hydroelectric output by starting kilowatt production at the Des Joachims, Cenaus, and La Cave developments in Ontario.

The Boston Globe: November 26, 1955

## U. S. Decision on Arming Israel to Tip Peace Scales, Arab Says

The question of future peace in the Middle East hinges on the decision Washington makes to Israel's request for aid, an Arab League spokesman said here yesterday.

"Nothing is surer to create the atmosphere for an explosion in the Middle East than Washington deciding in favor of Israel's request for arms," said Dr. Fayez Sayegh who heads the research and publication department of the Arab States delegation to the United Nations.

Dr. Sayegh said friction between the Arab nations and Israel could be settled peaceably if Israel would comply with four U.N. resolutions which he said were:

The return of Arabs expelled from their lands and homes in

Israel; that Israel give up the land she has seized unlawfully; internationalize Jerusalem, and lift restrictions that make Arabs living in Israel second class citizens.

"If Israel would comply with these resolutions, peace would follow immediately," he said.

Defending the right of Egypt to buy arms from Czecho-Slovakia, he said: "Israel purchased arms from that country first."

Dr. Sayegh said that the recent outbursts along the Gaza Strip were but a part of a probing action by Israel to find the weakest link in the Arab Nations.

He said Israel hopes to split



VISITS BOSTON — Dr. Fayez Sayegh, a member of the Arab Nations delegation to the U.N.

the Arab nations by military action and force the signing of a peace pact. Such actions are doomed to failure, Dr. Sayegh said.

The Arab league official has been fulfilling several speaking engagements in Greater Boston, prior to returning to the U.N.

Yesterday he was tendered a reception at the home of Stella Margold, 345 Commonwealth av., Back Bay.



## America Caught In Contradictory Weakness In Middle East, Newsman Tells Institute

In foreign policy as it applies to the middle east, America is caught in a contradictory weakness: we are trying to be moral and practical at the same time.

This was the analysis given the Saturday morning session of the Earlham college Institute of Foreign Affairs by William G. Hetherington, foreign correspondent.

Our policy is a victim of two circumstances, Mr. Hetherington said. The first is that America's own national security is menaced by Soviet Communist aggression. The second is that America is not strong enough to protect herself without allies.

Since the time of George Washington, the United States has tried to be moral in foreign affairs, the speaker reminded his audience. First, it was non-intervention. Then, after World War II, when we found we could not stay aloof, we based our principles on the Atlantic charter, on encouraging backward and exploited peoples toward self-government.

That was the moral policy, Mr. Hetherington explained, but as the Russian threat grew, we looked for allies, and found them among present and former colonial powers, Britain, France, Belgium, Holland.

"That was the practical policy. To be honest we should have declared ourselves, whether we stood with our major allies in their policies toward present and former subject peoples or whether we would stand against them.

"We did not declare ourselves. Instead we played both sides of the street. We put up a show of being sympathetic toward those who would throw off colonialism, but in the showdown we lined up with the greater powers, in Indonesia, in Indo-China, in Tunisia, Morocco and even in Egypt.

### Have Lost Respect

"The result is we have lost respect on both sides. The colonial powers resent us as starry-eyed meddlers, and the lesser nations and their people consider us to be hypocrites even worse than the colonial powers because we profess one thing and do another."

Mr. Hetherington said that only when we become strong enough to stand alone against the Russian threat without allies will we be able to purge the contradiction in our foreign policy.

He suggested, meanwhile, our taking a "let's face facts" attitude with our allies encouraging them to a more enlightened policy.

Dr. Nilkanth Chavre, native of India, who now lives in Ohio, but who spent 15 years with Gandhi, was the second speaker. He claimed that "the European nations having robbed the middle eastern world and now having stepped out, have left the United States to 'hold the bag'."

He denied the explanation given earlier in the institute by the ambassador to the United States from Pakistan, that the division of India and Pakistan was made because Hindus and Moslems could not live together. He said they did live together in India now, and that the division was political and not religious.

In speaking of India's position between the west and east, he reminded his audience that India had 1,900 miles of border with China "and no way to protect ourselves from the Communists."

He claimed that India had told the united nations that the forces of Red China would move into Korea "but you went ahead to the Yalu river and now have been driven back and are engaged in seemingly fruitless negotiation. If you had listened to us, 100,000 casualties could have been saved."

### Many World Crises

Taking the platform, Dr. Fayez Sayegh, a member of the Lebanon delegation to the united nations, told the audience that there is not one world crisis, but several world crises, depending on one's point of view.

For the United States, he said, the crises is the east-west conflict; but for the underdeveloped countries, it is a desire for self determination and an urge for progress.

Sayegh credited American missionary schools with establishing such ideals in the middle east. "One is proud to say that he is the product of an American school," he commented.

The Arabs judge the United States on the basis of the ideals

of democracy and fair play learned from these teachers, he went on, observing that lately his people were often disappointed in American policy.

"Israel was not judged on its intrinsic merits," he declared. Sayegh insisted that U. S. policy toward Israel was brought about through the work of "highly organized minority groups" in this country.

Pressure from France kept the United States from helping the colonial states of Tunisia and Morocco, he added. "And U. S. leadership in helping Arab refugees from Israel has been totally lacking," he noted.

Dr. Sayegh then pointed out that the crisis of underdevelopment and the east-west crisis are really related. The Communists promise self determination and progress; the U. S. taught the people these ideals in the first place but has done nothing about it, he said.

"Any appeal the Communists might have in the Arab world would be on the assumption that it could further these ends," he stated.

"A basic consideration," said the speaker, "is that the people will prefer an unknown quality that says it wants to help them instead of a known quality that has refused to help them."

## Autonomy For Sudan Seen In New Action

KHARTOUM, Sudan, May 17 (AP) —The Sudan Legislative Assembly was adjourned indefinitely today amid signs it would be replaced by a more representative Parliament with a greater measure of self-government promised by Britain.

Civil Secretary Sir James Robertson said unless a crisis arose the Assembly would not meet again. It has approved a draft Constitution presented by Robertson which calls for an all-Sudanese Cabinet and an all-Sudanese Parliament, with a wholly elected Chamber of Deputies and a Senate with 60 per cent of its members elected and the rest appointed by the governor general. Ten non-elected Britons sit in the present Assembly.

The Sudan has been jointly ruled by Britain and Egypt since 1899. Last October Egypt moved to place it under the Egyptian crown.

Britain is expected to approve the new Constitution and Egypt is expected either to disapprove or ignore it.

Egypt has invited Sayed Sir Abdel Rahman Elmahdi Pasha, leader of the Ansar sect and the power behind the independence front, to send a delegation to Cairo to confer on the future of the Sudan. Reliable sources said he would accept the invitation. Despite frequent denials, it is generally believed Sayed is ambitious to become King of the Sudan.

Ismail Elazhari Bey, leader of one of the pro-Egyptian parties has returned to Khartoum from Cairo with the word that Egypt will not oppose a plebiscite to determine whether the Sudanese want full independence or union with Egypt but that Egypt insists the British administration get out of the Sudan before voting takes place.

## Ex-FBI Agent To Aid Civil Rights Program

WASHINGTON, May 17 (AP) — A former spy hunter for the FBI today was chosen to direct a civil rights program launched by President Truman.

Robert R. Granville, an FBI agent for 11 years whose last assignment was field supervisor of espionage in New York, was named executive director of the President's Committee on Government Contract Compliance.

In setting up the 11-man committee by executive order last Dec. 3, Truman said the purpose is to see that contractors and subcontractors comply with the non-discrimination clause of contracts placed with them by government agencies.

In a seminar which closed the institute Saturday afternoon, representatives of six nations took part: Mr. Hetherington, Prof. Landrum Bolling, Eliashiv Ben Horin, Israel; Dr. W. S. Fatemi, Iran; Dr. Chavre, India; Dr. Fayez Sayegh, Lebanon, and Olaf Caroe, Great Britain.

### Arab-Israel Tension Is Topic

The Arab-Israel tension was discussed with representatives of both countries presenting their viewpoints. Olaf Caroe, in speaking of the charge of British colonialism, said "Colonialism is almost as dead as colonial architecture. Let us get free of this 'stigma' and get down to helpful progress." He recommended the continued co-operation of Great Britain and America in improving conditions in the world.

He said that Great Britain was concerned over the areas which she was leaving and said perhaps some international guarantees should be set up over those areas.

In summarizing the institute, Prof. Bolling told the audience, "We have learned more about the world. We have had a good, hard look at our own failures and we have learned that more unites us than divides us."

Prof. Bolling said that the United States had never asked to have the power and responsibility that had been thrust upon it and that the very having of power and wealth had made enemies for us.

In our concern over the crisis with Russia, we have tended to forget the revolutionary crisis of the underdeveloped areas, he admitted and "Even our efforts to be helpful have been sometimes misguided, fumbling and faulty."

In dealing with nationalism in these areas Prof. Bolling said we would have to recognize that colonial imperialism is dead and at the same time realize our responsibility to help others help themselves.

"We must build bridges of understanding with both our allies and the underdeveloped areas," he concluded, "and we must approach our problems with humility having a belief in the common humanity of all peoples and a sincere religious motivation for what we are doing."

Prof. J. Arthur Funston and Prof. Milton Kraft presided at the sessions.

## Plan To Combat Red Spies In West Germany Revealed

BONN, Germany, May 17 (AP) — A secret plan to combat Communist spies in West Germany has been drawn up by the Allies and the Bonn federal government, an informed Allied source said today.

Recent trials in Allied courts and a roundup of federal agents show West Germany is infested with Communist-paid agents from both East Germany and Soviet satellites such as Poland and Czechoslovakia.

During the seven years of occupation, the United States, British and French military intelligence services have borne the brunt of the counter-espionage work.

When the occupation is ended by a peace contract, expected to be signed next week, the Allies will be in a different position and their operations must be conducted in agreement with the Germans.

The internal security agreement which goes with the peace contract will not be published. Officially it

## Syrian Representative to UN Schedules Lecture in Geneva

Geneva—A Syrian delegate to the United Nations, who also lived in Lebanon and Palestine, until 1947, will speak in Geneva tomorrow evening before members of the University Club and guests in Hotel Seneca.

The lecturer, author and present social affairs officer of the Division of Human Rights at the UN, is Dr.



DR. FAYEZ  
SAYEGH

Fayez Sayegh. He plans to come to Geneva Sunday night and on Monday will have audience with residents of the city who are natives of his land.

Subject of Dr. Sayegh's lecture is "New Spirit in the Middle East," a theme on which he has lectured and written for many years. His visit here is sponsored jointly by the University Club, Hobart and William Smith Colleges. He is a friend of Dr. William Alfred Eddy, former president of Hobart College.

Dr. Sayegh won his B.A. and M.A. in philosophy and political science from the University of Beirut and taught philosophy in that university for two years before coming to this country. During those two years he also was editor of An-Nahda, an Arabic daily published in Beirut and of Ath-Thaqafa, a bi-monthly Arabic daily published in Beirut and of Ath-Thaqafa, a bi-monthly Arabic magazine.

Immediately prior to coming to this country Dr. Sayegh at the request of the Syrian-Lebanese community of the Gold Coast, British West Africa, made a two months' lecture tour. He also published six books in Arabic on subjects dealing with reform of Arab society.

While in this country, Dr. Sayegh earned his Ph.D. at Georgetown University, where he lectured on Arab problems to graduate classes. He has lectured also at these universities: Chicago, Georgetown, New York, George Washington, and Earlham College in Richmond, Ind. and Brookings Institute in Washington, D. C., in addition to speaking before several organizations in the East and Middle East.

In process of publication is a recently completed booklet entitled "Understanding the Arab Mind." This will be out after publication of several articles on the subject in The Moslem World, the Middle East Journal, Social Science and publication of a booklet entitled "The Palestine Refugees."

A few social events have been planned in the city for the visiting UN official, who plans to return by train to Washington late tomorrow night.

## Youth to Receive Heroism Award

Seneca Falls—For rescuing two 14-year-old boys from the waters of the Barge Canal System at Seneca Falls, Ronald Millis, 16, of Seneca Falls, will be awarded a silver medal at 8:30 a. m. May 27 by the American Humane Association.

The ceremony will take place at an assembly in Mynderse Academy, Seneca Falls.

Mel L. Morse, director of the association, said the award is going to Millis because he displayed great heroism in rescuing David Waters and Dino Palandro from a recess, 16 feet deep, of the Barge Canal locks at Seneca Falls. Another boy, David Cusimano, 15, drowned.

The award to Millis will be made by State Assemblyman Lawrence W. Van Cleef of Seneca Falls.

## Sodus Club Plans Dinner Meeting

Sodus — The Sodus Business and Professional Women's Club is arranging a dinner meeting Tuesday at which there will be the annual election of officers.

The dinner at the Johnson House in Sodus Point will begin at 6:45 p. m. Richard G. Chase will speak later on hospitalization insurance plans.

Ethel Holland, club president, will preside at the business meeting. Marian Pierce, head of the nominating committee, will present a slate of officers for the coming year.

Officers will be installed in June at a joint installation service with the BPW clubs of Williamson and Wolcott.

## Monastery Rites Scheduled May 30

York — Consecration of the marble altar of Our Lady of the Genesee and blessing of the Trappist Monastery in River Road at Piffard will take place Saturday, May 30, in ceremonies both morning and afternoon.

Bishop James E. Kearney of Rochester will celebrate the Pontifical Mass and bless the monastery, of which the Rev. Father M. Girard is superior. The Right Rev. M. James Fox, of Our Lady of Gethesmane in Kentucky, will conduct the ceremonies consecrating the main altar.

The Pontifical Mass will be celebrated at 10:30 a. m. with



## TELLS OF ARAB OPPOSITION TO RUSSIAN AIMS

### Spokesman Explains Views on West

Arab states can become allies of Russia only if "our legitimate national aspirations are frustrated" by the western anti-communist powers, Fayez Sayegh, assistant director of the Arab states delegation to the United Nations and the United States, said yesterday.

He spoke at the closing session of a two day institute on middle eastern affairs in the Sherman hotel. Sponsors were the Syrian-Lebanon Federated clubs of Chicago, the American Friends of the Middle East, the midwest branch of the International Muslim society, the Mosque Foundation of Chicago, and the Bethlehem hospital committee.

#### Locked to Reds

"In the middle east, the ideological door is locked to the communist world, because Marxist imperialism is incompatible with the spiritualism and individualism of Arab and Moslem traditions," Sayegh said.

"Arab energies are being directed to the two-field tasks of governmental reform and economic development, with the result that a healthier society is being produced. Communists can infiltrate a social system only if there is misery, inequality, and hopelessness.

"Only the door to a political alliance with communism is

## Mayor Cites Lyric Theater



Mayor Daley (right) presenting plaques yesterday to Carol Fox and Lawrence V. Kelly. (TRIBUNE Photo)

"The success of the Lyric theater proves that the people of Chicago will support artistic events just as enthusiastically as other cities in the world," before the audience in the Opera house," Mayor Daley said last night.

He spoke during intermission of the opera, "The Masked Ball," the final Lyric Theater performance of the season. Daley said the "restoration of grand opera to Chicago was made possible by the genuine contribution of artists from several nations as

well as our own," and he lauded the "hard working and self-sacrificing Chicagoans" who "made this dream a reality."

Earlier in the day, he presented meritorious service plaques to Miss Carol Fox and Lawrence V. Kelly, co-directors of the Lyric Theater.

At last night's final performance the Lyric Theater management announced gross box office receipts for the five week season at \$431,500. This sum represents 88½ per cent of a possible capacity intake of \$488,122 for 25 performances.

still open, and that can be locked by the anti-communist powers who are the cause of its being open. Attention must be given the political and national aspirations of Arab peoples for independence from

colonialism, largely in north Africa.

"There must be international cooperation to restore the rights of the Arabs of Palestine who have been uprooted and made homeless by Israel and to

Chicago Sunday Tribune  
December 4, 1955  
F Part 1—Page 25

solve other facets of the Palestine problem, under the terms of the United Nations resolution that created Israel."

Sayegh said Egypt traded cotton to Czechoslovakia only after what he called the United States refusal to sell it arms. He maintained international agencies have found that Israel, not the Arabs, was at fault for border incidents.

## ZIONISTS URGE U. S. TO SUPPLY ARMS TO ISRAEL

The United States was urged to supply sufficient arms to Israel to maintain a balance of strength in the middle east in a resolution adopted last night by the midwest regional Labor Zionist assembly in the Hilton hotel.

The resolution also urged the United States to offer a mutual security pact to Israel, guaranteeing the latter's borders.


Rep. Yates [D., Ill.] told the gathering "it is time the state department stopped fumbling with the problem of the middle east and called in an expert to try to find some basis for brining the Arab states and Israel together."

## Arab, Israel Men to Speak At Boise Meet

An Arab leader and an Israeli official will speak at the fourth annual World Affairs institute Feb. 10 and 11 at Boise Junior college.

Robert Wilcox, institute chairman for the Boise Valley World Affairs association, said Tuesday that Fayez Sayegh, director of the Arab information center in New York City, and Netanel Lorch, information officer with the Israeli consulate in Los Angeles, will speak on foreign aid as seen from their countries Saturday morning, Feb. 11.

The institute will consider the general question: "Will a third world war begin in the Middle East?"



**YEKETIEL ORGEL**

**DR. FAYEZ SAYEGH**

**TWO-WAY EXCHANGE:** The Foreign Policy Association has invited an Israeli spokesman and an Arab representative to come here Jan. 17 to discuss the tense problems of the Middle East.

The press attache of the Embassy of Israel at Washington, Yeketiel Hugh Orgel, will be one of the speakers. The other will be Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, deputy director of the Arab states delegation at the United Nations.

Scheduled Jan. 17 at 8 p.m. at the Whiting Lane School in West Hartford, the meeting is open to the public, with a small admission charge for non-members of the Foreign Policy Association.

Orgel was born and educated in London, England. After his release from the army in 1946, he joined the newspaper staff of the

Jerusalem Post. He became foreign news editor and later chief of the paper's Tel Aviv bureau and diplomatic correspondent. He was appointed recently to his press post in the embassy.

Dr. Sayegh is a native of Syria. holds degrees from the American University of Beirut and his doctorate from Georgetown University at Washington, D. C. He has taught at both universities and has been a visiting lecturer at the Yale graduate school. Dr. Sayegh has been research officer of the Embassy of Lebanon, radio program officer of the Middle East section of the United Nations radio; and social affairs officer from 1952-54 in the U.N. division of social rights.

William A. Greene, president of the Foreign Policy Association, will preside.

THE IDAHO SUNDAY STATESMAN

### Arab Problem To Be Aired At Boise Meet

The fourth annual World Affairs institute of the Boise Valley World Affairs association, scheduled Feb. 10 and 11 at Boise Junior college, will feature a speech on "The Arab Revolutions," by H. Paul Castleberry of Washington State college.

Castleberry, who has traveled extensively in the Middle East, spent three years in Egypt and was Fulbright lecturer at the University of Cairo in 1954-55. He is currently engaged in research on reactions to United States foreign policy in the Middle East.

Castleberry will also join with four other speakers in a panel discussion on the question "Does the ferment in the Middle East aid the struggle for peace and freedom?" The panel will be held at the night session on the second day of the institute. Other speakers will include Harry N. Howard, UN advisor for the Bureau of Near Eastern, South Asian and African affairs of the State department; Fayez Sayegh, director of the Arab Information center in New York City; Netanel Lorch, information officer of the Israeli consulate in Los Angeles; and Rom Landau, British writer on North Africa. Mrs. Eldon Darling, Caldwell, will serve as panel moderator.

The general question to be considered by the institute is "Will a third world war start in the Middle East?"



**HARRY N. HOWARD**  
... will be institute speaker

**H. PAUL CASTLEBERRY**  
... will discuss Middle East



## AFME FOURTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE ADVOCATES PRO-AMERICAN POLICY

The Fourth Annual Conference of the American Friends of the Middle East organization, held at the Hotel Delmonico in New York January 25 and 26, proved to be a memorable occasion in bringing about better mutual understanding between the United States and the Arab World.

This conference did not leave any room for doubt that the organization supports emphatically President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles' proclaimed Pro-American policy of non-partiality towards the Middle East situation.

It left no reason for doubt that this organization has finally come all the way out in defense of the just cause of the Arab countries and in promoting the real interests of this country by acquainting the American public with the real issues involved in the Palestine question.

AFME, under the direction and sponsorship of Miss Dorothy Thompson as president, and the leadership of its able Executive Vice President, Garland Evans Hopkins, has demonstrated that good, honest Americans are still ready and willing at any time to support the cause of justice and fair play, once they are familiar with the facts, and to place the interest of their own country above all other interests and considerations.

One of the most effective and eloquent speeches ever heard in this country in defense of the Arab point of view by an Arab official was delivered by Dr. Fayez Sayegh, Deputy Director of the Arab States Delegation. We regret that we have not been able to get a copy of this speech.

We also regret that the space in The Caravan does not allow the printing of Miss Dorothy Thompson's message in its entirety, or the speeches of Mr. Hopkins and other prominent speakers. Following, however, are a few quotations from the speeches by Miss Thompson and Mr. Hopkins. More quotations from other speakers will be printed in future issues.

### Highlights of Miss Thompson's Speech

"... Where an organized bloc exists in the public, heavily financed, controlling hundreds of highly paid publicity men and public relations counsels, and supported by a fanatically devoted following even if it is not large, or as large as it is claimed to be, and when this bloc sets out to influence American foreign policy to realize an ambition which is of no primary American interest, the danger to the Republic is enormous."

"... Some one has said that twenty thousand Americans, if they speak loudly and continually enough, are the Voice of the People. And, if, furthermore, they are in a financial position to bring pressure through advertising or

other means upon the media of mass communication — newspapers, radio, and television — they can effectively prevent any other voices from being heard.

"Now this is precisely what has been happening in respect to American policy in the Middle East."

"... Into this area was dropped, in 1947, the greatest bone of contention and strife that could be imagined. That was the partition of Palestine to create a Jewish State.

"If any deliberation whatever was brought to bear on this question, it is without my knowledge. What was brought to bear was the most extraordinary pressure in American history since the Civil War. Authority for this is contained in President Truman's Memoirs, in a chapter appearing in LIFE today.

"Mr. Truman says he had never known 'as much pressure and propaganda aimed at the White House' as he experienced on the Palestine issue. He reports that he was disturbed and annoyed by the persistence of a few extreme Zionist leaders actuated by political motives and engaging in political threats. And Mr. Truman further reports that the State Department's Near East specialists

(Continued on Page 4)



Miss Dorothy Thompson



Garland Evans Hopkins

## RICHMOND COUPLE EXPECTING QUADRUPLETS, MAYBE QUINTS

Mr. and Mrs. Richard Shaia of 4709 Stuart Avenue, Richmond, Va., are expecting the stork with four bundles and a possible fifth, some time in April of this year. Mrs. Shaia, 30, is six-months pregnant and is presently hospitalized in Richmond.

Mr. Shaia is a prosperous Lebanese-American businessman in Richmond. The couple already have three girls and two boys under eight years of age.

The Shaia physician, Dr. W. Hughes Evans, reported that Mrs. Shaia definitely has four on the way. An X-Ray technician thinks she may have five.

Odds on quintuplets are one in 57 million births, but twelve have been reported in the last 10 years. The only surviving sets are the Dionnes, in 1934, and the Dilligents, in 1943.

Mrs. Shaia entered St. Luke's Hospital three weeks ago, and will remain there until her delivery, expected about April 10.

Mr. Shaia is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Habeeb Shaia of Richmond, and the nephew of Mr. Joseph Shaia of 170 Pacific Street, Brooklyn. Mrs. Shaia is originally from North Carolina.

## L.A.W.A. COLLECTS \$3825 CONTRIBUTIONS

A press release from Abraham Corhan, Arabic Secretary of the Lebanese American Welfare Association, stated that the total amount of contributions received by the L.A.W.A. up until January 27 was \$3825.

Due to the fact that the names of the contributors were written in Arabic, and because most of our people's family names have different spellings in English for the same name in Arabic, we found it advisable to avoid confusion and not to mention names of contributors and amounts of contributions until we receive the names in English.

## BROOKLYN ALUMNI SODALITY HEARS DR. FAYEZ A. SAYEGH

**Eminent Speaker Brings Out Some Hitherto  
Unknown Facts**

By Dr. Basile G. D'Ouakil

One of the largest gatherings to fill the President's Rooms of the Knights of Columbus at 1 Prospect Park West, Brooklyn, met for their Annual Dinner on January 29.

### **Lowell-Lawrence Clubs Begin Lecture Series**

A group of Syrian and Lebanese American clubs in Lowell and Lawrence, Massachusetts, sponsored the first in a series of lectures on the Near East on Sunday evening, January 22, at Kitson Hall, Lowell Y.W.C.A. Over 250 people attended the meeting, including a Zionist group.

In accordance with the planning of the Massachusetts Steering Committee which has been working under the direction of Miss Helen Rihbany, Vice President from Massachusetts, this initial forum on the Middle East will be followed by two others at later dates.

The second will be sponsored by five Boston Clubs: Boston Syrian Women's Club, Nicholas G. Beram Veterans Association, Syrian-Lebanese Child Welfare Society, Inc., Syrian and Lebanese Relief Association and the Boston Chapter of the Eastern States Federation. The third will be sponsored by the Syrian-Lebanese American Association, of Worcester, Mass.

All Massachusetts Clubs are invited to attend this series with the Lowell, Lawrence, Worcester and Boston Clubs pledged to act as either hosts or guests on each one of these occasions. Members of the Syrian-Lebanese community in the area as well as leading American citizens of non-Arabic background will be invited to attend.

Extensive publicity under the joint direction of Lowell President, Albert Shamas, and Lawrence President, Sophie Saad, was given the initial meeting of January 22. Newspaper, radio, and public announcements in the various churches as well as public invitations by mail have gone out.

The January 22 meeting featured colored motion pictures of the Middle East, shown and nar-

As has been traditional for over 50 years with the Brooklyn Alumni Sodality, to have but one main speaker for the evening, the choice fell on Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, Deputy Director of the Arab States Delegation to the United Nations. It was a welcome and happy choice.

The large audience, college graduates all, and most of them eminent in law, medicine, education, journalism and other liberal professions, was kept attentive during the entire 50 minutes that Dr. Sayegh presented his thesis on Arab-Israeli differences. As if he were a surgeon, he dissected every problem and explained its difficulties. More often than not, he offered a solution.

He affirmed that Arabs had no conflict or hatred towards Jews as such. Arab objection is aimed primarily at Zionists, and as proof, he asserted that during the entire war between the Arabs and the Israelis, key officers of the Lebanese Army fighting at the front were of the Jewish faith. And the Lebanese had entire confidence in them!

Recalling history, he stressed the Arabs' tolerance towards Jews, where both lived as neighbors and friends for many centuries.

"In their present mental attitude, the Israelis," Dr. Sayegh said, "think that everyone who disagrees with them and their ambitions is their enemy.

"Since Americans have faith in the United Nations," Dr. Sayegh asserted, "let public opinion judge the Arab-Israeli differences on the basis of the United Nations' declarations and decisions since 1947."

Dr. Sayegh, a native of Damascus, Syria, but a life-long resident of Palestine until forced to leave his home, is a graduate of the American University of Beirut, having received both his Bachelor's and Master's degrees there. He also obtained a doctorate in Political Philosophy from Georgetown University in Washington, D. C.



PAGE TWENTY

## Arab, Israeli to Arrive On Friday for Institute

Fayez Sayegh, director of the Arab Information center in New York City and Netanel Lorch, information officer with the Israeli consulate at Los Angeles, will arrive in Boise Friday to participate in the fourth annual World Af-

fairs Institute at Boise Junior college.

The institute will be sponsored by the Boise Valley World Affairs association and will consider the general question: "Will a third world war start in the Middle East?"

The institute will open at 3:30 p. m. Friday in room 106 of the science building.

Sayegh and Lorch will speak at 10 a. m. Saturday in room 106 of the science building on Arab and Israeli views of foreign aid. In the afternoon they will serve as consultants in a general discussion of the question "Will American aid keep Russia out of the Middle East?" in room 112 of the administration building. P. A. Wesche of Northwest Nazarene college at Nampa will lead the discussion.

Saturday at 7:30 p. m. the two men will participate with three other visiting speakers in a panel on the question "Does the foment in the Middle East aid the struggle for peace and freedom?"

Robert Wilcox, institute chairman, pointed out Wednesday that both speakers, who are under 35 years old, have led very full lives.

In addition to being director of the Arab Information center, Sayegh is deputy director of the Arab States delegation to the U. S. He has taught at the American university at Beirut, Lebanon, and at Georgetown university, Washington, D. C., and was visiting lecturer at Yale in 1955. He also has been a radio program officer and social affairs officer with the United Nations.

Earlier in his career, he edited an Arabic daily newspaper in Beirut and has published seven books in Arabic and four in English, including "The Palestine Refugees" and "Understanding the Arab Mind." He has lectured at 50 universities and participated in 15 conferences and conventions on the Middle East.

Lorch was born in Germany, but went to Palestine in 1935. In 1944, he joined

the Jewish brigade group of the British Armed Forces in World war II. A company commander during Israel's war of independence, he later became chief of military history of Israel's defense forces, in which he is now a lieutenant colonel. He has attended the Hebrew university in Jerusalem, Oxford and Cambridge. During the past three years, he has been compiling a history of Israel's war of independence, now being prepared for publication.

The registration fee for the five sessions of the institute is \$2, or 50 cents for a single session.



FAYEZ SAYEGH

... Arab to address institute



NETANEL LORCH

... Will present Israeli views

## Israeli, Egypt Officials Trade Charges in Boise

A representative of the Israeli government said Friday in Boise that Egypt might be ready by summer to use its newly-acquired arms in a war against Israel unless the Jewish homeland is strong enough to make an Arab assault too costly.

The statement was made by Lt. Col. Netanel Lorch, information officer of the Israeli consulate in Los Angeles, who was here for the fourth annual world affairs institute sponsored by the Boise Valley

World Affairs association on the Boise Junior college campus.

The discussion topic before the institute is "Will a Third World War Start in the Middle East?"

A spokesman for the Arab league, and an Arab states delegate to the United Nations, Fayeze Sayegh, charged that Israel recently has been an aggressor in serious border incidents and peace might depend on whether the Arab states "lose their self-restraint" in possible future incidents of similar nature.

At afternoon and evening sessions Friday, other members of the institute panel touched on the middle eastern situation, with emphasis, too, on North Africa.

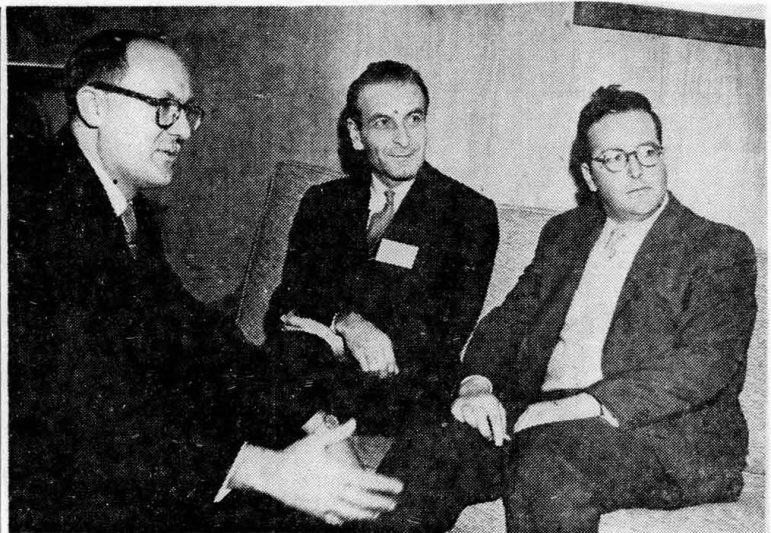
### Says Offers Too Late

Rom Landau, a British author and College of the Pacific instructor, declared that offers of independence in Tunisia and Morocco were "too little and too late." On both sides, he said, moderate counsels must prevail, "otherwise, God help us all for what will erupt will be quite different and much more terrible than the Indo-Chinese war."

Landau was answered by Michel de Ladoucette, the French consul from San Francisco, who said it is better for France to extend independence now, than not at all.

Harry N. Howard, U.S. State department official and a UN advisor on the near east, southern Asia, and Africa, told an audience Friday night that an arms race is not the answer to the Israel-Arab crisis. The ultimate solution, he said, is in development of a policy to give peace and security in the area. His statement came in answer to a question as to what policy the U.S. government held toward Israeli requests for arms from this nation.

The Arab league diplomat and Colonel Lorch, open the second day of the institute today at 10 a.m. in room 106 of the science building when they discuss the meaning of foreign aid to their respective sides.



CARL P. BURKE, (left) president of the Boise Valley World Affairs association, meets with Fayeze Sayegh (center), and Lt. Col. Netanel Lorch, delegates to the association's fourth annual institute in Boise. Sayegh is a representative of the Arab league, and Lorch is from the Israeli consulate in Los Angeles. In a combined interview Friday, each gave their opposing views on the middle Eastern crisis.

Friday afternoon, both Sayegh and Lorch were interviewed at the same time. They sat, side by side, on a sofa, and both were extremely courteous, offered each other cigarettes, but sprinkled their conversation with such asides as "he knows but neglected to say so" and "it is not possible that he has forgotten . . ."

Lorch said that Egypt would not "put up" with the state of Israel, even if the boundaries of the Jewish national home were shrunk to the confines of the city of Tel Aviv.

### Says Strength Deters War

The deterrent to attempted annihilation of Israel since the war of 1948, he said, has been the fact that Israel was strong enough to take care of herself. But now, he said, Egypt has acquired "tremendous" quantities of arms from Soviet Russia.

Lorch, a professional soldier turned diplomat, said it will take Egypt six to eight months from time of delivery of these weapons to learn their use. That puts at early or mid-summer, he said, the date for possible outbreak of war.

He emphasized that Israel dot not maintain that war is inevitable, but it might be if Israel is not given the means to defend herself through weapons purchases. "We cannot buy from Russia," he said, "for ours is a democratic people. Our logical market is the United States."

Sayegh told the reporter there is no room for speculation on Israeli intentions toward the Arab nations "as long as we have the record."

He said the record contained official censuring of Israel by the UN for "acts of aggression" against Arab frontiers. That, he said, is behind the "reluctance" of the United States to provide arms to Israel. He said border incidents were actually planned military operations by the Israeli government. No Arab state, he said, had been censured by the UN. Egypt, said Sayegh, had pleaded with the U.S. for arms, "got nowhere, and accepted Russia's offer."

### Claims Retaliation

Lorch referred to some notes he had made during Sayegh's remarks, and said the violations of the armistice agreement on Israel's part were retaliation against actual border warfare by the Arabs. "We take a poor view," he said, "of our people being killed and their homes burned, and we did something about it."

The fundamental issue, he said, is whether the Arab states will recognize the existence of the state of Israel and its right to remain as part of the middle east.

Sayegh said the Israeli boundaries are military, not political, and offers by Israel to negotiate in fact had been ultimatums since they refused repatriation of evicted Arabs, return to original boundaries, and the internationalization of Jerusalem.



PAGE FOURTEEN

## Speaker Urges Revision Of U.S. Palestine Policy

The United States should revise its pro-Israel policy and exert itself to achieve a settlement of the Palestine problem which the Arab countries will support, an American Far Eastern expert told the fourth annual Institute on World Affairs here Saturday.

Dr. H. Paul Castleberry, associate professor of political science at Washington State college and former Fulbright lecturer at the American university in Cairo, said that in the minds of Arab leaders, "all roads point to the Palestine problem. They regard the creation of Israel as sheer theft, which has been aided and abetted by us."

Castleberry was one of three principal speakers at the second and concluding day of the institute, conducted at Boise Junior college under the sponsorship of the Boise Valley World Affairs association, and using "Will a Third World War Start in the Middle East?" as its theme.

Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, New York, deputy director of the Delegation of Arab States, and Lt. Col. Netanel Lorch, Los Angeles, Israeli consulate information officer, addressed the Saturday morning session on foreign economic aid.

Sayegh said that the Arab world feels that "sometimes American economic aid is used as a substitute for a political solution." He added that although pro-western leaders of the Arab countries would rather receive economic aid from the United States than the Soviet Union, these leaders refused to accept any political "strings" attached to western offers of assistance.

### Expresses Gratitude

Lorch said that economic aid to Israel was not a cure-all for his new country's many problems, "but we are profoundly grateful for the American aid we have received. The best ambassadors you have are those practical people who help simple people do a technical job." He said Israel had been "suspicious at first of American aid, but finally realized the program had no ulterior motives. Anyone who has participated in this program can be proud."

The Israeli information officer painted a graphic picture of his country's isolation in the Arab world, and said that when American aid was forthcoming in 1951, "the plight of Israel was at an all-time low."

Lorch drew fire from his Arab counterpart near the conclusion of his address when he stressed the need for military aid to Israel with the statement that Egypt "would not risk a war with Israel if there is a possibility of defeat. We are almost convinced that Nasser will risk war if he thinks he can win it." Because of Russian military aid to the Arab countries, he said his people feel "that time may be running out."

Sayegh was given the floor by moderator George L. Crookham, Jr., to reply that Egypt had regularly sought arms aid from west, and cited the words of an American congressman that the "Israeli army has been much better armed than all the Arab armies together." He said Israeli troops had raided into Egypt Feb. 28, 1955, and that this and other raids proved Israel was better armed than the Egyptian forces. "Egypt needs arms for protection. Israel's aggression is a fact."

### Claims Egyptian Raid

In rebuttal Lorch declared that Egyptian troops were raiding into Israel on Feb. 27, the day before the raid cited by Sayegh, and that the Feb. 28th incursion was in retaliation. "Anyone in his sane mind," he declared, "would know that Israel is not going to take over the Arab world."

Castleberry's address in the afternoon outlined what he said was the Arab revolution against

"colonialism, and a more limited revolution against poverty, disease and wants." He said Egypt was the only country where major strides are being made in this second revolution, "possibly because the new government of Egypt comes from the fringe of the masses."

"The United States," he said, "needs to remember that the Arabs preside over 75 per cent of the free world's proven oil reserves, and that the U. S. itself now is importing oil. We also need to remember that the Arabs preside over a long and vital string of allied bases upon which we are dependent for security in the cold war. This is our stake among these 55 million Arabs."

Later in the afternoon, Sayegh said in a discussion group on "The Arab-Israeli Dispute" that in sharp contrast to the West's conditional offers of aid, that the Soviet bloc is now offering Middle Eastern countries economic assistance on a purely commercial basis, "apparently without any political conditions."

### Claims Disproportion

"Israel has received no less than \$1,750,000,000 from the United States in the last eight years," he said. "The Arab states together received less than \$70,000,000. At a per capita rate, Israel received more American aid than any other country in the world. Involved as they are in a life-or-death struggle with Israel, the Arab states cannot view such startling disproportion with equanimity. It seriously invalidates, in their eyes, American claims of 'impartiality' in the Arab-Israeli conflict."

Participating in three discussion groups were Paul Ennis, director of the Boise Valley World Affairs association; Rom Landau, professor of Islamic and North African studies, College of Pacific, San Francisco; Dr. John Phillips, chairman of the department of psychology at Boise Junior college; Dr. Castleberry; Dr. P. A. Wesche, chairman of the division of social sciences, Northwest Nazarene college, Nampa; Lorch and Sayegh. Earlier in the afternoon, recordings of Middle Eastern music were played by John Best. The evening session included movies of the Middle East, and a panel discussion with Mrs. Eldon Darling, Caldwell, a director of the Boise Valley World Affairs association, as moderator. Participating were Castleberry, Lorch, Sayegh, Landau and Dr. Harry N. Howard, Washington, D. C., United Nations advisor for the bureau of Near Eastern, South Asian and African affairs of the U. S. Department of State.

## Mid Eastern War Danger Emphasized

BOISE, Feb. 11 (P)—Lieut.-Col. Netanel Lorch, information officer of the Israeli consulate in Los Angeles, said last night there's real danger of war in the Middle East.

He told the fourth annual Boise Valley World Affairs institute that Egypt, armed by the communists, might be ready to launch a war against Israeli by summer unless Israel is strong enough to discourage her.

But a spokesman for the Arab league took issue with Lorch's view.

Fayez Sayegh, Arab states delegate to the United Nations, charged Israel has been the aggressor in recent border incidents. He said that future provocations might lead the Arab states to "lose their self-restraint."

Sayegh said the border incidents were planned military operations of the Israeli government.

Lorch replied that Egypt would not tolerate the existence of the Jewish state even if its boundaries were shrunk to the confines of the city of Tel Aviv.

## Scott Predicts Arms To Be Sent To Israel

PHILADELPHIA (P)—Rep. Scott (R-Pa) has predicted the United States will send arms to Israel if tension rises higher in the Middle East.

Scott advocated such action at a panel session of the Philadelphia Bulletin Forum yesterday. He said:

"Denying arms to Israel while its enemies are able to get all the arms they want from the Soviet satellites is hardly the way to uphold an evenhanded policy."

A directly opposing position was taken by the Rev. Garland E. Hopkins, a Methodist minister and executive vice president of the American Friends of the Middle East. Mr. Hopkins charged that Israel now has as many arms as all the Arab states. U. S. arms shipments to Israel would create an unbalance, he said.

Israeli and Arab UN officials, also appearing on the forum, exchanged charges but could not find one area of agreement about the situation in the Middle East.

Arthur C. A. Liveran, a member of Israel's permanent UN delegation, and Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, deputy director of the Arab States delegation, each blamed the other's nation for starting the conflict and preventing its settlement.

## ADVOCATES U. S. ARMS FOR ISRAEL

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 12. (P) —If tension rises higher in the Middle East, the United States will send arms to Israel, Rep. Hugh D. Scott (R-Pa) predicted today.

Advocating such action, Scott told a panel session of the Philadelphia Bulletin Forum:

"Denying arms to Israel while its enemies are able to get all the arms they want from Soviet satellites is hardly the way to uphold an evenhanded policy."

Scott's position was sharply attacked by the Rev. Garland E. Hopkins, executive vice president of the American Friends of the Middle East and also a Methodist minister.

In opposing shipments of arms to Israel, Mr. Hopkins charged that Israel now has as many arms as all the Arab States and that the U. S. would thereby be creating an imbalance.

He stressed the importance of Arab friendship towards the U. S. in the struggle against Communism, and said that Israel's great strength is in its moral, rather than military, force.

Also appearing on the forum were United Nations officials for Israel and the Arab States, who exchanged charges about the inflamed situation there without finding a single area of agreement.

Each of the diplomats, Arthur C. A. Liveran, a member of Israel's permanent UN delegation, and Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, deputy director of the Arab States delegation, blamed the nation of the other for starting the conflict and for preventing its settlement.

## Arab Leader To Make Talks In City Area

Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, deputy director of the Arab States Delegation to the United Nations, is scheduled to conduct a series of speaking engagements in the Lynchburg area beginning Saturday through Wednesday, March 14.

Dr. Sayegh's tentative speaking schedule is as follows: Sunday, March 11, 9:30 a.m., Men's Bible Class of Memorial Christian Church, 7:30 p.m., First Christian Church; Monday, March 12, 3:20 p.m., Sweet Briar College; Tuesday, March 13, late morning and early afternoon talks at Randolph-Macon Woman's College; and Wednesday, March 14, Lynchburg College.

Dr. Sayegh, whose visit to this area is being conducted through the auspices of the American Friends of the Middle East, Inc., is a native of Syria.

He received the BA and MA degrees in philosophy from the American University of Beirut, Lebanon, and also received his Ph.D degree in philosophy from Georgetown University, Washington, D. C., in 1949.

At the present time Dr. Sayegh is also chief of research and chief of public liaison, Arab States Delegation of New York. He has spoken at over 50 American universities and is the author of many books, written both in English and Arabic.





**ARAB LEADER IN UN**—Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, photographed shortly after his arrival in Lynchburg last night to fill a series of speaking engagements on the inflammatory Middle East problem. (Staff Photo).

## Middle East Policy Urged By Dr. Sayegh

By MICHAEL DENSON

A formulation rather than re-appraisal of United States policy toward the Mideast Arab states was urged here last night by the deputy director of the Arab states delegation to the United Nations.

Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, who is also chief of research and public liaison for the delegation, arrived to conduct a series of speaking engagements in the Lynchburg area.

His comments came on the heels of an Associated Press dispatch that the U. S. State Department has started a "reluctant reappraisal" of policy toward the states in view of increasing Middle East tensions.

The sources of tension in the Middel East were listed by Dr. Sayegh as: 1. the intensification of Arab-Israeli conflict; and 2. the growth of Soviet influence. He dismissed the second as being purely commercial intercourse.

Dr. Sayegh emphasized that there were "no strings attached" to the arms deal between Egypt and Red Czechoslovakia. The deal was made, he said, only after Egypt (largest and most Western of the Arab bloc) tried unsuccessfully for years to obtain arms from the West. The deputy pointed out that Egypt has just conducted a mass roundup of Communists and Communist-sympathizers.

### The Big Problem

The big problem in the Middle East is what is possibly the beginning of an Israeli "preventive war," he said.

In outlining what would be an "objective formulation" of United States policy toward the Middle East, he listed the following goals:

1. Recognition of the Arab-Israeli conflict as an international situation;

2. Not losing sight of grievances resulting from "injustices to Arab refugees from Israel (a million Arabs were expelled from Israel on its formation as a state and

have been denied the right to return to their homes, he said);

3. Recognition of the strategic, economic, and "cold war" value of the Middle East, principally in the line of oil (75 per cent of the world supply) and military bases;

4. Upholding the authority of the United Nations, particularly in resolutions which have been ignored by Israel. (Israel, he said, has defied the UN in not permitting the return of refugees, in illegally stretching its boundaries, and in other acts).

Dr. Sayegh mentioned that he believed the ouster of British Lt. Gen. John Bagot Glubb from Jordan was most likely a personal matter and "of no political significance."

His tentative speaking schedule is as follows: today, 9:30 a.m., Men's Bible Class of Memorial Christian Church; 7:30 p.m., First Christian Church; Monday, 3:20 p.m., Sweet Briar College; Tuesday, late morning and early afternoon talks at Randolph-Macon

# ARAB-ISRAELI DEBATE HELD AT FORDHAM

By Dr. Basile G. D'Ouakil

Under the auspices of NFCCS International Relations Commission, Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, Deputy Director of the Arab States Delegation, presented the Arab case in a debate before a large audience recently in Keating's Main Lecture Hall on the Fordham University Campus.

The Israeli side was defended by South-African-born and former British Army officer, Basil Herman, who had enlisted in the Israeli Army and served in various capacities, and is now serving Israel as its New York Vice-Consul, and also as Information Officer of the Israeli Delegation to the U.N.

The Arab case centered around repatriation of Arab refugees, internationalization of Jerusalem, and partition of Palestine according to U.N. resolutions. Mr. Herman gave his reasons for the rejection of the internationalization of Jerusalem, in that it would result in the loss of valuable industry and manpower.

"We refuse to recognize the boundaries set up by the U.N. because they were destroyed by the Arabs' attack in '48," he said. However, he confessed that "I am ashamed of some of the atrocities that have been committed by my people." Mr. Herman added that the Arabs have a good number of atrocities to their shame, too.

In addition to his present duties as Deputy Director of the Arab States Delegation, Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, a native of Damascus and former resident of Palestine, is Official Counsellor of the Yemen,



Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh

U.N. Delegation. Formerly, Dr. Sayegh was editor-in-chief of "An-Nahda," the Arabic daily of Beirut. He has to his credit several books in Arabic and four in English. Dr. Sayegh received his doctorate in Political Science from Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.



## PEACE POSSIBLE IN PALESTINE, ARAB ASSERTS

### French Ask Talk with U. S. and Britain on Middle East

Tells Views as Office Is Opened Here

BY JOHN H. THOMPSON

A leading Arab spokesman contended yesterday that peace would come to Palestine if western diplomacy and the United Nations could compel Israel to accept some Arab refugees and to recede until it is within the 1947 borders established by U. N. resolution.



Dr. Faysal A. Sayegh, deputy chief of the Arab league delegation to the U. N. outlined the Arab point of view at a reception in the Conrad Hilton hotel. It was arranged to announce the opening of the midwest office of the Arab Information center, an Arab league organ, at 37 S. Wabash av.

Dr. Sayegh, appearing in the absence of his chief, Ambassador M. Kamil A. Rahim, who was ill, said the Chicago office will be in charge of Dr. Saadat Hasan.

Suggests U. N. Course

Dr. Sayegh said the U. N. security council could concentrate on ameliorating present Arab-Israel tension, then seek a final solution by attacking the grass roots of the problem. Such an easing of border tension under U. N. auspices was proposed Wednesday by the American delegation.

The Arab league spokesman insisted no Arab leader has ever spoken in favor of destroying the state of Israel, as charged by the Israelis. Such "destruction talk," he said, is magnified, but is only "a natural echo of the injustices committed by Israel against the one million refugees."

Arab armies entered Palestine in 1947, Dr. Sayegh argued, only to protect Arabs living in areas which armed Jews had seized in violation of the boundaries created for Israel. He said Israel now occupies 35 per cent more of Palestine than the U. N. allotted, an area from which come most of the refugees.

Criticizes U. S. Policy

The Arab leader called Zionism, the political force that created Israel, an openly expansionist movement. By supporting imperialism and Zionism, Dr. Sayegh added, American politicians in a few years have undone the great

work of American educators, missionaries, and doctors who, by "love and patience," had oriented the Arab world to the west.

Dr. Sayegh asserted America is "against the tyrant" when the tyrant is the soviet union, but not when the tyrant is France, as in North Africa. As for the Arab relationship with communism, he added, the Arabs make a distinction between business dealings with the soviet bloc and stamping out communism at home.

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### EGYPT REPORTS 20 MINUTE FIGHT WITH ISRAELIS

GAZA, Egypt, March 22 (Reuters) — An Egyptian outpost at Khan Younes clashed with an Israeli patrol for 20 minutes today. The Israeli patrol had crossed the armistice line and penetrated into the Gaza strip for 400 yards, Egyptian sources said.

An Egyptian military spokesman said the Israeli patrol, supported by three trucks and an armored half-track opened fire on the Egyptian outpost. The Egyptians returned the fire and forced the Israelis to retreat behind the Armistice line, he said.

Plea By Arab King  
AMMAN, Jordan, March 22 (Reuters) — King Hussein, in an address to Jordan and the Arab world, called today for Arab unity in face of Zionism. He said Zionism was supported by unjust forces and threatened the Arabs in their own homes.

STEAL WATCHMAN'S UNIFORM  
A watchman's navy blue uniform with two pairs of trousers was stolen from a car belonging to George W. Schuter, Gary, at 4 E. Huron st., he told police yesterday.

Mollet extended thanks to President Eisenhower for American support of France's North African policy. That support was voiced in Paris Tuesday by United States Ambassador Dillon and in Washington yesterday by the President.

Block Algerian Exit

In Marseille, police blocked the departure of 300 North Africans by ship for Algeria on the ground they did not have visas. They were sent back to the French towns where they have been living.

The government established the visa requirement recently to stop a flow of thousands of Algerians homeward altho Algeria, under French law, is a part of France. French authorities believe the returning men are being trained as officers in the rebel forces.

Reports reaching Algiers, Algeria, today said six rebels were burned to death when French troops hurled incendiary grenades into huts where the rebels took refuge after attacking Kroubs.

### Yugoslav Leader Lauds Stalin's Deflation

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, March 22 (AP) — Moshe Pijade, one of President Tito's advisers, predicts closer cooperation between Russia and this country. Bijade, president of the Yugoslav parliament, described the recent Communist party congress in Moscow at which Stalin was denounced as the greatest thing that has happened in Russia since the bolshevik revolution.

## FRENCH BLAST TUNISIANS BY LAND AND SKY

TUNIS, Tunisia, March 22 (Reuters) — French ground and air forces struck at Moslem rebels in Tunisia today.

On the rock strewn desert of southern Tunisia, at least 70 of a band of 200 rebels were killed after a 10 day pursuit by French troops and planes. Fighters tonight kept machine gunning the remnants of the scattered band in the Medenine area. French losses were given as three killed and four wounded.

Nationalist Returns

The fighting, described as the bloodiest in three years, came as Habib Bourguiba, nationalist leader, returned in triumph from Paris where he signed a protocol for Tunisian independence on Tuesday.

In Tunis, police hurled tear gas bombs to disperse 2,000 demonstrators, many of them Algerians, who flew rebel flags. Firemen sprayed the demonstrators with colored water so police could identify them. Forty were arrested.

The demonstrators are supporters of Salah Ben Youssef, former secretary-general of Bourguiba's Neo-Destour nationalist party.

Ben Youssef was expelled from the party and fled to Libya after opposing a Tunisian self-government agreement with France last summer.

Tells Doubts of Pact

Ben Youssef, in a statement cabled to Tunisian newspapers from Tripoli today, expressed grave doubts about the inde-

ABE MARTIN



In spite o' all our crime an' waywardness I occasionally meet a clergyman that's out of a job.

pendence agreement with France. He pointed out that details of Tunisia's future relations with France must still be worked out and asserted negotiations were going too slowly.

The Tunisian settlement resembles that which the French government negotiated last fall with French Morocco—independence in a framework of interdependence with France. The terms of the interdependence are still to be defined.

## Arab Blames "Mixed-Up" U. S.

CHICAGO, March 23 (UP).—American politicians are at fault for damaging pro-western feeling in the Middle East, an Arab delegate to the United Nations said yesterday.

Dr. Faysal Sayegh, deputy director of the Arab states delegation to the UN, said "American politicians have undone in a few years all that has been done by other Americans to build up friendship with the Arab world."

Sayegh made his remarks at the opening of an Arab information center here.

He charged the United States has a "mixed attitude" toward freedom.

"When the tyrant is Russia you are for freedom," he said. "When the tyrant is France, as in Algeria, you are against freedom."

He blamed "Zionism" as the major barrier to peace along the Israel-Arab frontiers.

While Sayegh defended the Arab cause, Benjamin R. Epstein, national director of the Anti-Defamation League, accused the Arabs of trying to destroy Jewish prestige in America in the belief that "the greatest single factor in the creation of Israel is situated right here in the United States—the American Jew. Destroy him and you destroy Israel."

The Cincinnati Post: March 23, 1956

## Arab Feeling Laid To Yank Politics

CHICAGO (UP)—An Arab leader said Friday a large share of the blame for anti-Western feeling in the Middle East can be blamed on "American politicians."

Dr. Faysal Sayegh, deputy director of the Arab states delegation to the United Nations, said "American politicians have undone in a few years all that has been done by other Americans to build up friendship with the Arab world."

Deseret News and Salt Lake Telegram: March 23, 1956

## THE U.N. AND THE PALESTINE PROBLEM

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** On the night of 15/16 March 1956 Dr. Faysel A. Sayegh, Deputy Director of the Arab States Delegation to the United Nations, appeared on the Barry Gray radio program to debate the Arab-Israeli conflict with Miss Esther Herlitz, of the Israeli Consulate. The discussion, which lasted from midnight till 1:30 a.m., dealt with a number of interesting points concerning the Arab-Israeli controversy and the Palestine Problem which is at the root of that controversy. We are printing below some extracts from what Dr. Sayegh had to say to present the Arab point of view.

From the very outset it was obvious that the wording of the questions was so slanted as to put the Arab spokesman on the defensive. Thus, the first substantive question addressed to Dr. Sayegh by Barry Gray was as follows:

"The Arab States are members of the United Nations, and the United Nations created the State of Israel after Great Britain released its mandate. I wonder what you would say to the question: Whether it is a threat, or an insult to the United Nations, when any state violates the majority of opinion of the United Nations? The people of the United States wonder at the opposition by the Arab States to the United Nations declaration declaring Israel a 'free State.' Would you care to state the Arab position?"

To this Dr. Sayegh replied: "If Americans, as you say, wonder about one people or one group of peoples not agreeing with a declaration of the United Nations, what do they feel about another people violating, deliberately and repeatedly, resolutions by the United Nations, and being condemned repeatedly for such violations by the United Nations — and in particular violating specifically the very resolution of the United Nations which gave them birth? Certainly if any Americans feel disturbed by the fact that a sovereign State or a number of sovereign States exercise their right under the Charter of the United Nations to say 'Yes' or 'No' to a recommendation of the General Assembly, they ought to feel infinitely more disturbed about the fact that a creature of the United Nations repudiates the terms of the very resolution whereby the United Nations created it. I mean by that the State of Israel, which has trampled on every provision of the Partition Resolution and which has, in addition, received more condemnations for its aggressive attacks than any other nation on earth. Israel has been condemned within the last few years by the Security Council at least four times — which is a record that no other nation on earth has so far attained. Israel has also been censured by the Trusteeship Council for moving its government departments to Jerusalem. And Israel has constantly rejected repeated resolutions of the General Assembly concerning the repatriation of the refugees. This is a record of continuous and grotesque defiance of United Nations authority, which no civilized nation would covet."

"If, then, you ask about the defiance of the United Nations resolutions by Middle Eastern countries, you must take all the facts into consideration. And you will notice, if you view the matter objectively, that there are two outstanding facts: first, that the United Nations has registered and censured repeated defiance by Israel, while it never registered or censured defiance by the Arab States; and, secondly, that the Arab States, as sovereign members of the United Nations, were entitled by the Charter to approve or disapprove the recommendations of the General Assembly, whereas Israel, as the creature brought into being by a certain resolution, could not challenge the essential provisions of

that very resolution that created it.

"It is not the Arab record of alleged defiance to the United Nations, but Israel's proven record of repeated defiance, that should disturb you."

### WHO WAS THE AGGRESSOR?

The Israeli spokesman intervened at this stage to charge that the Arab States had waged war on Israel in order to prevent the implementation of the Partition Plan, and that therefore the Arab States were the aggressors in Palestine. The following is the text of Dr. Sayegh's reply to that charge:

"When the United Nations decided on 29 November 1947 to partition Palestine, and to create there a Jewish State, an Arab State, and an International Zone around Jerusalem to be under United Nations trusteeship, that was a grave injustice against the Arabs of Palestine. Palestinian Arabs had been losing one right after another for the preceding thirty years. Because, when the Palestine Problem came into being thirty years before, there were only 50,000 Jews in Palestine, and over 90% of the population was Arab. And the Arabs of Palestine owned more than 90% of the land. Palestine was theirs. It was as much an Arab country as any neighboring land. It was indistinguishable from the neighboring Arab countries. Now, therefore, they felt in 1947 that for them to be robbed of some more of what was theirs, whether by the United Nations or by any other authority, was a grave and unacceptable injustice."

"The British Government indicated that it would withdraw its troops from Palestine by 15 May 1948 and that, until that date, it would remain responsible for the maintenance of peace and order. The United Nations also reaffirmed the responsibility of Britain for security in Palestine."

"But disorders followed immediately after the adoption of the Partition scheme. Arab villages were attacked by terrorist Zionist organizations. People were massacred. Hundreds of thousands were driven from their homes. The United Nations started feeling that its decision to partition Palestine would not be implemented without bloodshed. Thus, prompted by the United States, it started having a new look upon the situation. A special session of the General Assembly was convened on 15 April, in order to reconsider the situation in Palestine, a month before the withdrawal of British forces."

"The Israeli leaders were alarmed by this turn of events. In fact, Mr. Ben-Gurion confirmed this alarm in a speech he made three years later, in which he threw ample light on what happened in those fateful weeks between 15 April and 15 May 1948. He said that, fearing lest the United Nations should change its mind about Partition and repeal its previous decision, Zionist leaders decided to take matters into their own hands, 'establish their



DR. FAYEZ A. SAYEGH

State, and face the world with an accomplished fact."

"The United Nations suspended its Partition resolution and appointed a mediator to re-examine the Palestinian situation and submit his recommendations on what should be done. Palestinian Zionists, at the same time, were taking matters into their own hands, in order to face the mediator with an established fact. The Haganah, of which Miss Herlitz was a commander, entered into action, together with the Palmach and the terrorist organizations which had already been operating. Before the 15th of May, these Zionist forces had already occupied most of the area earmarked for the Jewish State, as well as many villages, towns, and cities in the area earmarked for the Arab State."

"Therefore, before the British withdrawal, before there was one single soldier from the neighboring Arab States on Palestinian territory, the would-be State of Israel had already attacked and occupied, had already committed an act of aggression on, that part of Palestine assigned for the Arab State."

"And when the Arab States, responding to the appeals of the Arabs of Palestine — of whom hundreds of thousands had been already forcibly expelled from their homes — sent their armies into Palestine to protect their kinsmen in the remaining Arab cities and towns, they entered not in order to attack but in order to defend. They entered not as aggressors but as defenders. They entered not in order to prevent the establishment of the Jewish State, but in order to prevent the annihilation of the projected Arab State. They entered not in order to annul a decision of the United Nations, but in order to make the implementation of that decision, as far as the establishment of the Arab State was concerned, possible."

"It is therefore clear that the act of war, the act of aggression, the attack, was started by the Jewish State-to-be, and neither by the Arab State-to-be nor by the independent Arab States."

**THE PALESTINE REFUGEES**  
Barry Gray then introduced the question of the Palestine refugees in the following words:

"As an American, who hears the argument of each side, I feel that I represent the many millions

who are somewhat confused about one discrepancy. The Arab States claim that the Arabs were driven from Palestine — now Israel — and the Israelis claim they left voluntarily. What would you say to that?"

Dr. Sayegh replied:

"Let me first explode a myth commonly propagated by the Israelis. They say the refugee problem came into being as a result of the Arab-Israeli war. But the truth is that, before the war, before one single Arab soldier was on Palestinian territory, before the 15th of May 1948, hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arabs had already been forcibly expelled and made refugees."

"The question, then, is this: How were these Arabs made refugees? How did a million Palestinian Arabs come to be homeless and landless?"

"Miss Herlitz has offered one reply: Their leaders, she said, urged them to leave, and they left. She wants us to believe that it was just as simple as that. In fact, she claimed that she herself had taken the trouble to go to some Arab communities and urge the people not to leave, but that they did not listen!"

"Zionist terrorists were then raiding isolated, small, defenseless villages, massacring their inhabitants, looting, and committing various atrocities — and when these facts became known on a wide scale, villagers and townspeople started fleeing their homes upon the approach of terrorist forces."

"Take the raid of Dair Yaseen — a little village of 300 people near Jerusalem. When the Irgun attacked, 260 men, women and children were massacred in cold blood — and the remaining 40 were paraded in trucks, as captives, in the streets of Jerusalem. The leader of the Irgun, Menachem Begin, who is today the leader of the second-largest party in Israel, is not ashamed to admit it. He boasts about it, in fact, in his book, *The Revolt: The Story of the Irgun*.

"I know at first-hand the case of the city of Tiberias. It is my home-town. I know how and why my parents and brothers and sister fled. When the Zionists attacked, on 19 April 1948, the British Army arranged for a 24-hour truce. Then the British told the Arabs, if you want to leave now, we will guarantee you safe-conduct during the 24-hour truce; but if you stay, you'll stay at your own risk. Now, remembering what had happened in Dair Yaseen ten days before, and in Salah-ed-Din, a few miles away, only a couple of nights before, most Arabs knew what fate would have befallen them had they stayed. And so they left. And that's the reason why countless other Arabs left. An American missionary, Mrs. Vester, who lived in Jerusalem most of her life, wrote that she herself heard loud-speakers, mounted on jeeps, proclaim through the streets of Jerusalem, 'If you don't flee your homes, the fate of Dair Yaseen will be yours.'"

"Let us assume, then, that Miss Herlitz was telling the truth when she said that she herself was urging the Arabs not to leave. That wouldn't be too assuring, would it? Actions speak louder than words. The actions of the Irgun were more threatening than Miss Herlitz' words were soothing!"

"The least that the world owes to those unfortunate refugees is to enable them to return to their

homes, to their beloved land."

"Miss Herlitz said, 'You cannot roll the years back.' I wonder, Sir, how the Zionists felt justified in trying to roll history back two thousand years, and we are told we cannot roll it back eight years!"

### PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

A prolonged discussion of the problem of the Palestine refugees followed these remarks, after which Mr. Gray moved to another topic: Negotiations for Peace.

He asked the following question: "Will Premier Nasser sit down at the conference table with Prime Minister Ben-Gurion?"

Dr. Sayegh's reply was:

"When you negotiate, you do so with the hope that some agreement might come as a result of the negotiation. Now Israel says in advance: We will not repatriate one refugee; we will not give up one inch of the territories which we now hold in excess of what was given to us by the United Nations (and these are 35% more than the given territories); and we will not surrender Jerusalem — yet we invite you to come and negotiate with us."

"Now I ask you: What is the purpose, what is the meaning, what is the justification, of negotiating — when one of the parties determines unilaterally and in advance what the outcome of the negotiations should be?"

"And, to add insult to injury, or injury to insult, as the case may be — take the last three offers that Mr. Ben-Gurion has made for peace negotiations. I recall the dates of these offers, because they are very important. One was on the 27th of February 1955; one was on the 1st of November; and one was on the 10th of December. Within less than twenty-four hours of each of these offers, and upon the orders of Mr. Ben-Gurion himself, the Israeli army was attacking Arab territories across the borders; and we had the Gaza raid on 28 February, the Khan Yunis raid on 2 November, and the Tiberias raid on 11 December."

### PREDICTING THE FUTURE

From the past and the present Barry Gray moved to the future. He asked the following question:

"In the spirit of the day — with the \$84,000 program — I would like to ask the 'big' question: Do you believe there will be a war between the Israeli and the Arab forces?"

Dr. Sayegh prefaced his reply by associating himself with a remark that Ralph Bunche once made in reply to a similar question: "Although I have just come from the Holy Land, that doesn't make me a prophet," He added:

"In the recent past, every one of the Israeli attacks, about which I spoke earlier, could have led into full-scale hostilities, had the Arabs responded to the attacks. But the Arabs exercised self-restraint — and for such self-restraint the Security Council has constantly commended the Arabs."

"But now we have reached a stage where such self-restraint may no longer be exercised. Israel has exceeded the limits. And Arab leaders have therefore served notice that they will no longer stand tied-handed in the face of new Israeli attacks."

"The whole thing, therefore, revolves on whether or not Israel will initiate war."

"The Arab States, for their part, will not initiate war. They will not attack."

(To be continued in next issue)



### LOOK TO U. N. FOR PEACE.

**World Body Could Settle Middle East Dispute, Arab Believes.**

Boulder, Colo., April 10. (AP)—A member of the Arab delegation to the United Nations said today a settlement by the U. N. of the Palestine problem could achieve peace between the Arab states and Israel.

Fayez A. Sayegh, deputy director of the Arab states U. N. delegation, said:

"Arab-Israel peace is perfectly possible on the basis of a joint settlement of the Palestine problem as decreed by the United Nations."

Sayegh took part in a panel discussion of the Baghdad pact on the program of the University of Colorado world affairs conference.

## Political Frustration Is Communism's Chance

The Arab countries have bolted the two main doors to Communism—ideological and sociological. But it is through a window of political frustration that it has a chance of gaining access to the Arabs, stated the counselor from the Yemen delegation to the United Nations.

Climaxing the Arab student convention Thursday night in the Student Union ballroom, Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh stated that Communism was capitalizing on the political mistakes of the western peoples.

"By denying us your support is how communism is gaining its strength. The many years of work done by your missionaries and philanthropists has been undone in a few short years by politicians" he bluntly said.

The noted speaker explained that communism could not be accepted ideologically because the Arab people are basically religious. The Arab religions are not compatible with the materialism of communism.

Sayegh emphasized the Arab reform during the last few years. He stated that four Arab countries have promulgated new constitutions. The new constitutions are different from the old forms of the people being a weapon of the countries. The state now is designed now to serve the people.

"We had only the shells of democracy until recently. When we gained our independence, public opinion made itself heard. Six Arab countries go to the polls to elect directly. Women enjoy franchise in three countries."

Education facilities have been greatly improved, he remarked. Elementary education is compulsory and free in seven countries. He added that 400 new schools are being built annually.

The Herald News: April 13, 1956

## War Would Destroy Israel—Envoy

TEANECK (UP)—Yaakov Ritov, Israeli representative to the United Nations, says Israel is "precariously perched on the lunatic fringe of the Iron Curtain".

According to Ritov, if the young nation should become involved in a war, "even if Israel should emerge victorious, which is not impossible, we would emerge destroyed".

"The prospect of peace is not bright," the Israeli spokesman said last night in an address at Fairleigh Dickinson College. "We are asked either to commit suicide or be murdered."

In discussing Arab terms of peace, he attacked "the lunacy of asking the Jews to return to the original petition which the Arab states resisted and which led to the 1948 war, known as the war of liberation, which created Israel under the moral authority of the United Nations."

Dr. Fayez Sayegh, deputy director of the Arab delegation to the UN, is scheduled to address the college student body April 26.

Ritov said in his talk that his people "do not want war. We, the only free and democratic nation in the Middle East are facing the most powerful military force in the Mediterranean area."



# WAR WOULD BE ISRAEL'S RUIN

**But She Would Win,  
U. N. Aide Says**

Teaneck — "We stand to lose practically everything in a wholesale war", Yaakow Ritov, Israeli delegate to the United Nations, declared last night in a talk on the crucial Middle East situation at Fairleigh Dickinson College.

"We shall emerge victorious, but totally destroyed", the U. N. representative told the College's Business Forum. His talk was the first of a 2-part series to hear both sides of the Israeli-Arab dispute. Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, Syrian delegate to the U. N., will explain the position of the Arab States April 26.

"The most powerful, thickly populated neighbors threaten our destruction," continued Ritov. "The only two Arab states which so far have kept away from the Egyptian-led coalition are Lebanon, which is half Christian, and Iraq, a member of the Bagdad Pact".

"What are those honorable terms on which the Arabs are supposedly willing to make peace?" Ritov asked rhetorically. He said that Israel is in possession only of rumors, semi-official and official, which presume to state Arab peace terms.

The Arab States have made it  
(Continued on page 2, column 4)

# ISRAEL

(Continued from page 1)

clear by their latest activities on the Gaza strip that they are using Arab refugees to foment war with Israel, the U. N. delegate continued. These refugees are living on the U. N. dole and monies contributed by the United States government, he said.

Ritov said that the Arab claim Israel has plans to expand throughout the Middle East is a mere figment of the imagination. He told the students the Arab spokesman to address them will claim this is the case.

The idea of the partition resolution passed by the U. N. in 1947 was to solve an international problem involving two peoples, the Jews and the Arabs. The Jews claimed Palestine as their ancient homeland, but the Arabs were in the majority in 1947, Ritov explained.

Ritov said that the Egyptian military clique has promised a better life for the Egyptians. This promise is further than ever from fulfillment today, he declared.

The friction between Israel and the Arab nations is partly due to the fact that Israel is democratic and Egypt and Syria are dictatorial, Ritov continued.

He said that the naval blockade and economic boycott imposed by the Arab countries is costing Israel the equivalent of almost the entire amount it gets annually in foreign aid.

Unless a new understanding dawns on the rulers of the Arab nations, and a radical transformation takes place in their relations to Israel, prospects of peace in the Middle East are dim, Ritov concluded.

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## Arab-Israeli Controversy Talk Friday

Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, counselor to the Yemen delegation to the United Nations, will talk on the "Arab-Israel Conflict," at 7:30 p.m. Friday in the Norman First Presbyterian church, Lutfy Diab, Lebanon, president of the OU Arab club, said.

Dr. Sayegh's public lecture is being sponsored by the Arab, International and Japan clubs.

Dr. Sayegh is in Oklahoma for Arab Student convention which begins at Oklahoma A&M college Thursday. Friday, before coming to OU, he will be in Oklahoma City for a reception with Governor Gary in the Blue room of the capitol.

During the noon hour Friday he will be interviewed by Prissy Thomas on WKY-TV and will participate in the presentation of a cedar tree to Oklahoma City university at 2 p.m.

Dr. Sayegh received BA and MA degrees at the American University of Beirut, Lebanon, with a Phd in philosophy from Georgetown university.

He taught at both Georgetown and American University of Beirut from 1945-49.

He was editor of Al-Handa, Arabic daily in Beirut, and has published books and articles on the Middle East.

Dr. Sayegh has been research officer for the Lebanese Embassy in Washington and has participated in 15 conferences and conventions dealing with problems of the Middle East. He is also a past social affairs officer of the United Nations.

He has spoken to 50 universities in the United States.

The Oklahoma Daily:  
April 11, 1956

## THE U.N. AND THE PALESTINE PROBLEM

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** On the night of 15/16 March 1956 Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, Deputy Director of the Arab States Delegation to the United Nations, appeared on the Barry Gray radio program to debate the Arab-Israeli conflict with Miss Esther Herlitz, of the Israeli Consulate. The discussion, which lasted from midnight till 1:30 a.m., dealt with a number of interesting points concerning the Arab-Israeli controversy and the Palestine Problem which is at the root of that controversy. We are printing below some extracts from what Dr. Sayegh had to say to present the Arab point of view.

### "PLAYING FOOTsie" WITH THE COMMUNISTS

Mr. Gray introduced a new theme into the discussion at this stage by the following question:

GRAY: "Doctor, would you care to comment on something we've been led to believe in some of the press of New York and the nation, that the Egyptian forces have been playing 'footsie' with the Soviet with regard to arms deals and munition supplies?"

SAYEGH: "By playing 'footsie,' what exactly do you mean?"

GRAY: "Doing business with them."

SAYEGH: "Doing business — yes! Not with the Soviets, but with the Czechoslovaks. It was the Czechoslovak Government that supplied arms to Egypt in 1955, in September of 1955.

"However, I believe it's only fair to comment in this connection on the fact that the State of Israel was the first country in the Middle East to receive arms from the selfsame Czechoslovakia, and that was in late '48 and '49

— when not only guns, but also planes and tanks were received by Israel from communist Czechoslovakia.

"These arms that were supplied to Israel by Communist Czechoslovakia were paid for in dollars, and were received at the time when there was a United Nations embargo on the importation of arms into the Middle Eastern area.

"The arms which Egypt in 1955 received from Communist Czechoslovakia were paid for in cotton, which is Egypt's surplus commodity, on the exportation of which the Egyptian economy depends. They were received and accepted only after Egypt had tried vainly for three years to get her arms from the United States, and only after Israel had made several attacks on Egyptian-controlled territory, for which Israel was condemned by the Security Council.

"It was a purely commercial transaction, made necessary only because the United States refused

to give arms to Egypt — arms which Egypt needed very badly, owing to the Gaza attack by Israel on the Egyptian army on the 28th of February last year."

### FINALE

It was growing late — or rather early in the morning — when Barry Gray asked for a summarization, with this question:

"Doctor, in your opinion, what could bring about peace in the Middle East?"

Dr. Sayegh's brief answer was as follows:

"In my opinion, Sir, peace in the Middle East could be obtained only on the basis of justice. By that I mean justice to the people of Palestine: those of them who are living in tents and camps, as refugees, and those of them who are living in Israel as second-class citizens. Only that kind of justice will make peace possible. The United Nations has charted the road to peace, by its successive resolutions. Israel's acceptance of those resolutions is an absolute condition for peace."



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## EDITORIAL

### HAIL DOCTOR!

The man we are referring to here is Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, Deputy Director of the Arab States Delegation to the United Nations, and one of the most brilliant minds of the Arab World today.

Faris Bey El Khoury, Dr. Charles Malik, Dr. Farid Zeineddine, Dr. Ahmed Shukairi, Dr. Kareem Azkoul, and many other Arab delegates and representatives who came to this country, have rendered wonderful services in promulgating the Arab cause in the United Nations and in diplomatic circles. Many notable American friends of the Arabs, who were and are still aware of the real issues involved, have been directly or indirectly trying in the best interests of America to promote better understanding between this country and the Arab States.

However, with all due respect to all these able gentlemen, leaders and organizations, we have not yet encountered a more active, more alert, more forceful and convincing speaker and lecturer, who understands and is able to impress AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION as much as Dr. Sayegh is doing.

Fifty-four lectures, delivered in fifty-four different localities within a period of only two weeks, is a record hard to beat. The feather in Dr. Sayegh's cap goes, however, not for the quantity of these lectures and debates, as much as for their supreme quality and sensibility.

It is too bad that Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh was not dispatched to America many years ago!

George S. Debs

## ANCIENT HOLY WORK SHOWN IN MONTREAL

By Bernard Hanna

The Icon of Our Lady of Tikhvin, Russia, was displayed and honored at a short religious service Wednesday evening, April 18, at St. Nicholas Syrian Orthodox Church of Montreal. The holy piece, said to have been painted by St. Luke in Antioch at the time when the Virgin Mary was still alive, was accompanied by trustee Bishop John, assistant to Archbishop Leonty of Detroit, Michigan.

The Icon, after being taken to Jerusalem where it remained until the sixth century, was transferred to Constantinople, where it remained until the 14th century. Seventy years before the fall of Constantinople to the Moslems, it was found by fishermen on the island of Tikhvin, where a monastery was built and housed it until the end of World War II. It was brought to New

## SALUTES SYRIA ON EVACUATION DAY

Hon. Adam C. Powell, Jr., congressman from New York, saluted the Syrian republic on the occasion of its tenth anniversary of Evacuation Day April 17.

His salute appears in the Appendix of the April 18 issue of the Congressional Record.

York City, via Lithuania, by the late Bishop Ufreiga and Bishop John, both of the Russian Orthodox Church, and it now reposes in the Russian Orthodox Cathedral on East Street in New York when not on tour.

Among those present at the religious ceremony, which was attended by capacity crowds, were Bishop John, Rev. Oleg Boldireff of St. Peter and St. Paul Russian Orthodox Cathedral, Montreal; Rt. Rev. Archimandrite M. Shaheen, Rev. M. Zarbatany and Rev. T. Ziton, all of St. George Syrian Orthodox Church of Montreal.

## 12 More Refugees Arriving Today

With visas issued under the Refugee Relief Program, twelve Palestinian refugees from Amman, Jordan will arrive in New York on the SS Queen Frederica today, May 3. Their destinations in five States and the District of Columbia and their sponsors are as follows:

Khalil Ayoub K. Quassil will be sponsored by Joe Rizik of 39 Rhode Island Ave., Washington, D. C.

Ahmad Abder-Rahman Ghuleh will be sponsored by Mrs. Helen B. Fitzgerald of 1001 River Drive, Hammond, Indiana;

Hafez Amer Abdel Mansour will be sponsored by Samuel Abdallah of 836 Virginia Ave., Hagerstown, Maryland;

Ribhi Zarou will be sponsored by Jallil H. Zarou of 811 Baltimore Road, Rockville, Maryland;

Kahlil Zarif Harb will be sponsored by Sam Abraham Harb of 695 West Euclid Ave., Detroit, Michigan;

Jiries Zarif Harb will be sponsored by Sam Abraham Harb of 695 West Euclid Ave., Detroit, Michigan.

Bishara Mitri Ayoub will be sponsored by Ayoub Mitri Ayoub of 11405 North Martindale Ave., Detroit, Michigan;

Fouad B. Shabin will be sponsored by Khalil Hanna Jr. of 5064 Whitfield, Detroit, Michigan;

George M. Barakat will be sponsored by Awad Ayes Sirhan of 16712 Veronica St., East Detroit, Michigan;

George Said Farah will be sponsored by Jiries Joseph Farah of 1014 Maxime St., Flint, Mich.; Muheissen Mohammed Hassan will be sponsored by Mohammed Hassan of 465 South 4th Street, Steubenville, Ohio;

Costanti T. Sawabini will be sponsored by Wadie I. Sawabini of 74 Overlake Park, Burlington, Vermont.

## NO JEWISH VOTE SAYS CONGRESSMAN

Texas Congressman Omar Burleson last Saturday evening attacked the supposed existence of a concentrated Jewish vote in the United States.

Speaking before a banquet session of leaders of the American Council for Judaism, the member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee said the supposed vote was a creation of Zionist propagandists, which they used in bartering for support from American politicians.

He tagged the talk of a Jewish vote "a slander upon Americans of Jewish faith who want to be part and parcel of the American people."

## Anti-Defamation League Defaming Arabs - Sayegh

Challenges Authors to Denounce Ben-Gurion For "Vicious Insult to American Jews"

By Bill Debs

In a forceful counter-attack against the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith, and Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein, authors of "Cross Currents" in particular, Dr. FAYEZ A. SAYEGH, Deputy Director of the Arab States Delegation to the United Nations, charged the League with a policy of deliberately trying to smear and defame the Arabs in the eyes of the American public so as to prevent "the other side of the story" from being heard.

Dr. Sayegh's charges were brought last Friday evening, April 27, on the "Tex and Jinx" radio show, 11-15-12:30 over station WRCA. He had appeared to answer charges brought against the Arab Information Center, an agency of the Arab States Delegation, and in so doing turned the tables and brought charges of his own.

In bringing their charges, he said, the Anti-Defamation League is working to defame those trying to bring to public attention the Arab side of the Arab-Israeli controversy, in an effort to silence them.

The Anti-Defamation League and the authors of "Cross Currents" had charged that the Arab Information center was carrying on a propaganda drive against American Jews by issuing "anti-Semitic literature." The charges drew widespread coverage in the American press.



Dr. FAYEZ A. SAYEGH

In answering these charges, Sayegh challenged the League, the authors, or anyone to point to "any document, any paragraph, any sentence or any phrase issued by the Arab Information Center, which can even remotely or loosely be termed anti-Semitic." All material issued by the Arab Information Center is filed with the Department of Justice, he pointed out.

The authors of "Cross Currents," who appeared on the "Tex and Jinx" show themselves several weeks ago, also had charged Arab officials with claiming that American Jews were disloyal to the United States, claiming allegiance first to Israel.

Dr. Sayegh challenged them to point to any statement ever made by any Arab official which

could be even interpreted to mean such a thing. He asserted that the Arabs have always respected the American Jew and all Jews, that they have no dispute with Jews as such, and that their only controversy is with Zionists and Israel, which they recognize as entirely separate and distinct from Jews. The former are a foreign political group and a foreign government, he said, and the latter are members of a religion. The dispute, he concluded, is a political one, not a religious one.

### "WHY DON'T THEY DENOUNCE BEN-GURION?"

Dr. Sayegh pointed out that such a statement and claim was made, however, by David Ben-Gurion, Prime Minister of Israel, in the Israeli Government's official Year Book. He had Tex McCrary, the moderator of the program, read the specific statement by Ben-Gurion, which was translated by the Israeli government for foreign consumption, and which said, in effect:

"When Jews in South Africa or America are speaking with one another, and refer to 'our government,' they usually mean the state of Israel. And when the Israeli ambassadors visit their country of residence, they look upon them as their ambassadors."

After the statement was read, Sayegh challenged the Anti-Defamation League to denounce Ben-Gurion.

"I consider Ben-Gurion's statement a vicious insult to American Jews," Sayegh said. "Why doesn't the Anti-Defamation League refute that statement and denounce Ben-Gurion?"

Dr. Sayegh then went on to say that this was too important a matter to ignore, and that the League's mere silence would be answer enough as to their stand. The Arab officer has repeatedly offered to appear on debates simultaneously with Foster and Epstein, "anytime, anywhere," but they have continually refused.

Other highlights of Dr. Sayegh's rebuttal may be found on page four of this issue. His appearance on the program climaxed a total of fifty-four personal appearances giving lectures and debating on various radio and TV programs throughout the country in a two-week span.

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# DR. SAYEGH'S COUNTER-ATTACK AGAINST 'DEFAMATION' CHARGES

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** Below is printed the first installment of almost the entire transcript of a rebuttal made by Dr. Fayez Sayegh, Deputy Director of the Arab States Delegation to the United Nations, to charges of "anti-Semitism" made against Arab diplomats, the Arab states, and the Arab Information Center in New York. The rebuttal, as well as the charges, were made on the "Tex and Jinx" radio program, over station WRCA in New York. Dr. Sayegh appeared Friday evening, April 27, and the interview lasted from 11:15 p.m. until 12:30 a.m. (See story on page 1.)

## PROLOGUE

TEX: I think there will be lots of phone calls on the party line tonight . . . because we have a guest who is quite willing to take any questions as they come in, as he has done here before.

Tonight, our guest will take sides in one of the hottest controversies in the headlines these days. The guest is Dr. Fayez Sayegh, Deputy Director, at the age of 34, of the Arab States Delegation . . . The controversy: the whole broad area of the Arab-Israeli dispute. In a moment Dr. Sayegh will present his case for the Arab States.

Dr. Sayegh will also undertake to refute charges of Arab-instigated anti-Semitism — charges which were directed against Arab diplomats in this country on this program a month ago . . . On March 15, our guests here at Peacock Alley were Mr. Benjamin Epstein and Mr. Arnold Forster, of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. They talked with us about a book which they had co-authored, a book which I have with me tonight, called *Cross-Currents*, published by Doubleday. Emblazoned across the cover of *Cross-Currents* are these words: "The Book That Tells How ANTI-SEMITISM Is Used TODAY As A POLITICAL WEAPON." And inside the book, as they did on the air, Mr. Forster and Mr. Epstein accused the Arab States in general, and your Arab Information Office in particular, of deliberately and skillfully fomenting anti-Semitism in the United States and throughout the world. We are primarily concerned with the charges as they relate to the United States. Now here by transcription is Mr. Epstein's challenge to you, Dr. Sayegh.

EPSTEIN: Tex, in our book we point out that the Arab nations have joined together to establish an Arab Information Office in New York City, the purpose of which ostensibly is to promote the interests of the Arab nations and to present their case to the American people. This, of course, is a perfectly legitimate purpose and one which most all nations engage in. However, we have published in *Cross-Currents* conclusive evidence that the Arab League is going far beyond that stated purpose by engaging in a program of attacking American Jewish citizens. The purpose of this is quite obvious. They realize that the support which America and American Jews have given to Israel has been a very important factor in the security and growth of that nation. Arab diplomats have stood on platforms before American audiences and charged that American Jews are loyal to Israel first, and second, to this country . . .

TEX: Dr. Sayegh, that was a part of the extended charges made against you and your allies, your Office, the operation of your Office. And now the floor is yours for rebuttal, Dr. Sayegh.

SAYEGH: Well, thank you for giving me this chance, Tex. As it happens, the very evening when

those two gentlemen were appearing on your program, I was appearing on another program, the Barry Gray show, almost about the same time as this, making my charges against the Anti-Defamation League, and against Epstein and Forster in particular.

TEX: I know, we heard you as we were driving home that night.

SAYEGH: Oh, you did?

TEX: Ships that pass in the night. Too bad, we can't lock you in debate. This is the best we can do.

SAYEGH: Well, I offered, you know; and unfortunately Epstein and Forster, after waiting a whole month, chose to give their reply in the negative. I believe they said something about. Oh! they wouldn't like to meet me in debate, they would like to meet me in court.

TEX: I have a telegram that I will read, sent to this program on that subject, maybe we will discuss that later.

SAYEGH: Fine. Now one phrase impressed me in this thing I have just heard now. And that is the word "conclusive evidence." Now, if I know English at all, I know that the word "conclusive" means conclusive, and that the word "evidence" means evidence. And I have looked in that book from cover to cover — (and I must say here at this stage that I am interested in only that portion of the book dealing with the Arab States: the Arab States Delegation and the Arab Information Center) — I've looked that section over from the first word to the last word and I saw nothing that can even with a loose application of the term "evidence" be considered evidence, much less "conclusive evidence." I'll have much to say in the course of this program about the ridiculous nature of the so-called "evidence" which is all that Epstein and Forster base their remarks and their conclusions on, as far as the Arab States are concerned.

## JUDAISM Versus ZIONISM

SAYEGH: Now there is a much more important aspect of that statement which I have just listened to, though; and that is the claim that we, Arab diplomats in this country, are attacking American Jewish citizens. Now let me say, at the very outset: We have nothing whatsoever against Jews, whether in America or elsewhere. Whatever we have in the way of hostility or friction or enmity is with Zionism. And there are Zionists who are Jews and Zionists who are Christians, just as there are many, many, many Jews (and I know many of them personally, and I have the best personal friendships with them) who are non-Zionists, and many other Jews who are even anti-Zionists.

Now at the very outset, therefore, I would say that, unfortunately, Epstein and Forster refuse to see that there is any distinction between a Jew and a Zionist. To us, there is a very basic distinction between a Jew and a Zionist. Judaism is a reli-

## TO APPEAR ON TV

Our readers in the Metropolitan area will have the opportunity soon to see and hear Dr. Sayegh daily and "live" on television. He has informed us that he will appear for a five minute interview Monday, May 14, through Friday, May 18, between 11:00 and 11:15 p.m., over station WABD, Channel 5, on the Mike Wallace show.

Dr. Sayegh requested, and received, an equal amount of time to that given Israeli Ambassador Abba Eban on the same program recently.

**Zionism is a political nationalist movement.**

TEX: Now wait a moment. All Zionists are Jews.

SAYEGH: No, Sir. Mr. Churchill said that he is a Zionist, and he is a Christian. He said that here in New York City, in a press conference, two or three years ago.

TEX: But broadly, basically, Mr. Churchill is a politician as well as a statesman.

SAYEGH: Yes.

TEX: Broadly, basically, all Zionists are Jews, wouldn't you grant me that that is generally —

SAYEGH: No, I believe my study of the history of Zionism through Zionist authors is that at the initial stages, in particular, Zionism grew through the support of many non-Jewish Zionists — people who felt for one reason or another that the establishment of a State for what they called the "Jewish people" was a necessity or was something expedient or good. And these have been Zionists by every definition of the term, although they were not Jews.

TEX: Well, I don't want to quibble; but let's say, Forget history and talk about today. Isn't it generally true that today all Zionists are Jews, that it is essentially a Jewish movement.

SAYEGH: I would say that the overwhelming majority of Zionists today are Jews but not —

TEX: But your contention is that all Jews are not Zionists.

SAYEGH: Not all Jews are Zionists.

TEX: Right. Okay, All right.

SAYEGH: Now, we have nothing whatsoever to say against Americans of Jewish faith as Jewish Americans. If they happen to be Zionists and they happen to feel that their loyalty as Zionists is in a special way to the State of Israel, then we feel that, by supporting a State which is at war with our countries, they are supporting an enemy State and they are supporting an enemy cause. We are against them. But that does not mean in any respect, in any sense, we are against Jews.

## ARABS AND JEWS

SAYEGH: And in this connection I would like to quote a statement which the Secretary-General of the Arab League made in this very hotel — at the Waldorf Astoria — only four months ago. It was part of a major foreign policy address called "Conditions

for Peace in the Middle East."

TEX: You're making it sound as though more things happen in the Waldorf than at the United Nations.

SAYEGH: Well, sometimes more things happen at the U.N. in the cocktail lounge than in the chambers of the Council.

TEX: Right.

SAYEGH: Now, Ambassador Hassouna, the Secretary-General of the Arab League, said in that speech on the 12th of December:

"The dispute in Palestine is not between Arabs and Jews, much less between Muslims and Jews. The dispute is between the State of Israel, as a political entity and as the beach-head in the Middle East for the world-wide Zionist movement, on the one hand, and on the other hand, the Arab people of Palestine and the Arab States . . .

"The Arabs are parties to no conflict with the Jews as such — neither in Israel nor anywhere else in the world. We do not subscribe to the racist doctrine which proclaims that the Jew of any country is nationally apart from the rest of his fellow-nationals, that he remains in a state of unhappy exile wherever he may be until he moves to Israel, that he owes Israel a special loyalty or a peculiar allegiance . . ."

These are the words of the Secretary-General of the Arab League. I believe they represent the attitude, opinion and doctrine of every Arab leader, if not of every Arab.

TEX: But you do recognize, Dr. Sayegh, the difficulty—difficulty almost to the point of impossibility — of separating the feelings in this thing, I have here, for instance, a telegram that came to me tonight from Judge Sam Leibowitz. He says: "Eddie Cantor and George Jessel will renew their vaudeville partnership for a day at the 'America Salutes Israel' spectacular this Sunday afternoon at Yankee Stadium. As general chairman of the event, I would consider it a personal favor if you would mention their appearance; it means so much to us," and so forth. Now this is a couple of very fine comedians who raise money for many things from war-bonds to polio to UJA and so forth. They are getting together at Yankee Stadium for "America Salutes Israel." Now, is this a manifestation of Zionism?

SAYEGH: Definitely, Sir . . . As motivated by a Zionist motive, as being part of a whole Zionist movement, there is no doubt that this is a Zionist action, and not a "Jewish" action. A Jewish action, as I understand it, is an action in terms of the Jewish faith: in terms of that special way of worshipping God which is the Jewish way; and in terms of that special way of behaving toward fellow-men, in an ethical sense, which is the Jewish way. That is how I understand it. Judaism is a way of worshipping God and a way of behaving towards one's fellow-men. But Zionism is a political, nationalist movement.

TEX: This, to translate it a little more broadly, is a little bit like the Irish in Chicago who threatened to hang King George in order to elect Big Bill Thompson.

SAYEGH: Well, I'm afraid I am getting lost with the analogy rather than getting it clearer in my head.

TEX: I know, but the Irish, the Irish have a homeland even in

Chicago or Boston; they have pride.

SAYEGH: Irish is a "national" term, not a religious term. I say that Zionism is as if Buddhist were to create a Buddhist State or as if all Muslims were to create a Muslim State, all Catholics in the world were to create a Catholic State, all Protestants in the world were to create a Protestant State, all Bahai's were to create a Bahai State. Then the world would be a mosaic of six or seven or ten or twelve, states all based on distinctive religious associations, on religious kinship between the citizens of each state. It pushes modern times several centuries back, to the time when before the modern enlightenment and before the renaissance, statehood and religion were confused in European history.

TEX: In other words, it pushes us back to the time when we had wars about religion instead of wars about resources.

SAYEGH: Exactly, exactly.

TEX: I don't know which is better off anyhow.

SAYEGH: No war of any kind is good, I can assure you.

## CHARGES WITHOUT EVIDENCE

TEX: Right! Well, now let take up some of the points that you make in your indictment of this book, *Cross-Currents*. Do you challenge the documents cited in *Cross-Currents* as authentic?

SAYEGH: Sir, you said "documents?"

TEX: Documents.

SAYEGH: I didn't see any documents in *Cross-Currents*.

TEX: Well —

SAYEGH: All I saw was "Interoffice Memoranda" between or member of the Anti-Defamation League and another, or one agent of the Anti-Defamation League and another. It is something like an entry in a diary — an entry in the diary of the plaintiff. You wouldn't call that a "document," I mean, you would be laughed out of court if you wanted to prove something against me and you only evidence was what you had written in your own diary about me a few days or a few years before.

In fact, Epstein and Forster have introduced what I consider to be a novelty into the law of evidence, and that is the doctrine of indicting someone and convicting him solely on the basis of the plaintiff's diary.

If you extend that principle to every law court in the world then every man in the world would be able to convict every other man in the world simply on the basis of his diary — if he only lacks the truthfulness and the scrupulousness.

## ACCUSATION OF ANTI-SEMITISM

TEX: Well, what about the charge that the Arab Information Center . . . has bought up or distributed enormous quantities of literature of various kinds that have been either used or distributed to stir up anti-Semitism?

SAYEGH: Sir, I would say categorically that not one document which can fit into this very broad category has ever been purchased, sold, received, given away, distributed, or in any form handled by any member of our Office; and anybody who says the contrary would have to give us the name of the document which even one person has received through our Office. Otherwise, silence on these specific

(continued on page 5)



# SAYEGH'S COUNTER-ATTACK

(Continued from Page 4)

makes any generalization without specification meaningless in fact . . .

TEX: You recognize that there is anti-Semitism abroad in the land but your contention —

SAYEGH: Unfortunately there is!

TEX: — is that you have had nothing to do with it.

SAYEGH: My contention, which I base on personal experience, is that not only have we had nothing to do with it, but we have avoided having anything to do with it on principle — because we resent anti-Semitism as much as we resent any other form of religious or racial hatred.

TEX: Let's get to another charge: that Arab leaders have been guilty of anti-Semitic statements and activities, and that your Organization has openly published anti-Semitic literature.

SAYEGH: As you know, as an Information Center we are bound by law to file with the Department of Justice every single thing we publish. The Department of Justice has therefore a complete compilation of everything we have ever published. I urge anyone who is listening to me tonight to check with the Department of Justice the titles of everything we have published, and then to come to our Office and say, "I want to see this document and this document and this document which you have published," and go over it from cover to cover, reading it as carefully as he can. And I would like to find one person who would be able to find one document of ours which contains one paragraph or one sentence or one phrase which — remotely, loosely, and in accordance with any definition of the term anti-Semitic — could be interpreted as anti-Semitic in letter or in spirit. And when everybody has satisfied himself — and this is a very, very simple way of everybody being his own judge as to who is telling a lie in this case — when everybody has satisfied himself in this way, then people will realize that we have not published one single anti-Semitic word. And the reason we have not done so is because we . . . do not have any anti-Semitic feelings. We have no interest in promoting anti-Semitism. If we have any interest about anti-Semitism at all, it is in fighting it and not in promoting it.

TEX: Your contention being that you're anti-Israel but not anti-Jew.

SAYEGH: Definitely, Sir. I am anti-Israel. I am anti-Zionist also. But I am NOT anti-Jewish. I realize that, as a Christian, my religious tradition owes a lot to the Old Testament and to the Jewish religion. Those of my fellow-countrymen who are Muslims are equally indebted to Judaism as a religion. And in our history, Judaism has always been respected.

TEX: What about the contention that some of your leaders, political leaders, your leaders of the Arab States who are not subject to the Department of Justice — what about the contention that some of your leaders have been guilty of anti-Semitic statements?

SAYEGH: Well, the burden of proof in that case is on anyone who can prove that any of our leaders have said something or

done something that could be interpreted as anti-Semitic — according to the definition of anti-Semitism as hostility to the Jews. We are anti-Israel; we are anti-Zionist. But we are not anti-Semitic; we are not anti-Jewish.

TEX: Er . . . What about the charges that General Nasser is guilty of a familiar trick of anti-Semitism, charging that all Jews are Communists.

SAYEGH: Well, this brings me to something very interesting concerning Cross-Currents. May I have your copy of the book? I hope that those who are listening to me have their copies also, so that we can all turn to page 321, where we meet something that indicates the degree of honesty and accuracy of those memoranda-writers on the basis of whose memoranda Forster and Epstein made all this hullabaloo. On page 321 we have an entry dated August 22, 1954, and it says: "Egyptian Premier Gamal Abdel Nasser is trying to spread the Arab version of the 'Jews equal Communists' formula."

Now that is the charge.

"This week he said in a speech:"

and this is the quotation —

"I have previously told you that it has been definitely established that the Communists in this country are working with Zionism."

Note that Col. Nasser had said: "the Communists in this country are working with Zionism." Three lines above, the writer on whose authority Epstein and Forster made their charges said that Premier Nasser had said that "Jews equal Communists." He said, "Zionists equal Communists," and they mis-interpreted it, three lines above, as "Jews equal Communists." This is the distortion they are guilty of. This is the distortion they want to feed the American public on. It is on the same page, in the same paragraph. HE said, "ZIONISTS equal Communists," and THEY say that he said, "JEWS equal Communists" — and I am quoting what they say he says and then what they interpret his statement to be.

## DUAL ALLEGIANCE OF ZIONISTS

TEX: Okay. Now Mr. Epstein and Mr. Forster charge that Arab diplomats have said American Jews owe their first allegiance to Israel rather than the United States. Now have your diplomats said this?

SAYEGH: Sir, the only generalization that any Arab diplomat makes about American Jews is that they are Jews. There is no other generalization that we believe applies to all American Jews, because we believe that American Jews have only one thing in common, and that is their Jewish faith. We do not insinuate, we do not imply, we do not charge, that they have anything political in common.

Therefore I deny in advance any allegation that any Arab diplomat has made any charges of a political nature against American Jews as such.

However, as long as this subject has been opened, I wonder, Tex, if you would do me the favor of reading a statement from a book which I will ask you, after you read the statement, to identify and tell the audience who is the author of that statement and what is the name of the book, where it was published, and by whom it was published.

TEX: Looks like kind of fine print, let me see. The marked part here?

SAYEGH: Yes.

TEX: "The establishment of the state has awakened feelings of love and pride among all Jews, including those of Russia, and renewed and deepened their consciousness of being a single people. Even those Jews who have rejected the choice of ALIYA 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 Israel Ambassadors as their own representatives."

That's the end of your marked passage here.

SAYEGH: Will you please tell the audience who is the author of that statement, Sir?

TEX: Wait a minute — (Pause. Tex turns pages). — David Ben-Gurion.

SAYEGH: With his signature there, Sir, is that not right?

TEX: Right.

SAYEGH: And this statement is on what page of the book I gave you?

TEX: Sir, that statement is on page 35 and the signature is on page 50.

SAYEGH: And what is the name of the book, Sir?

TEX: It is the Government Yearbook, 1953 to 1954, published by the Government Printer, State of Israel.

SAYEGH: Now in other words, Mr. McCrary — . . . May I have that book again, Sir? — in other words, David Ben-Gurion, the Prime Minister of Israel, has written in the Introduction of the Government Yearbook of the State of Israel, which is the most authoritative State document, a statement saying in part:

"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 Israel Ambassadors as their own representatives."

Now I want a word of comment on that statement.

TEX: From me or you?

SAYEGH: From me.

TEX: I'll give you mine in a minute.

SAYEGH: As I have already indicated, these are the words of Mr. Ben-Gurion who, as everyone knows, is the Prime Minister of the State of Israel. They are not words written by me. If I had written them or said them — it is ten to twelve now — the Anti-Defamation League would have been asking for my head by midnight!

They are not words said by an Arab. They are not words said by an anti-Semite. They are words said by the leader of the State of Israel, its official spokesman, its very architect. And they are made by him not as a private individual, but in his capacity as Prime Minister of the State of Israel.

Now I say that these words are a vicious insult to Americans of

Jewish faith, I say that these words are an insult to the loyalty of a community the overwhelming majority of which is innocent of the charge made against it by Ben-Gurion, the Prime Minister of Israel.

Now why didn't Epstein and Forster protest this statement of Ben-Gurion? Why didn't the Anti-Defamation League repudiate this statement of Ben-Gurion? Why didn't B'nai B'rith disavow the allegation made by Ben-Gurion and reject the insinuations in this statement?

Let me repeat: I consider this statement wrong, unjustified, groundless, as well as a vicious insult. But the important thing is not what I think, but what the Anti-Defamation League thinks about it.

I therefore ask through this microphone the leaders and spokesmen of B'nai B'rith, of the Anti-Defamation League, and in particular, Epstein and Forster:

"Do you, or do you not, agree with the statement of Ben-Gurion which is published in the Israeli Government Yearbook of 1953 to 1954, on page 35, with the full authority of the State of Israel? Do you, or do you not, agree with this statement which I shall repeat again for your benefit — the statement which reads:"

"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 Israel Ambassadors as their own representatives."

"Does this statement describe what you, Messrs. Epstein and Forster, feel about the Government of the United States and about the Government of Israel?"

If they do not agree with this statement, why don't they speak up? Why don't they ask Ben-Gurion to retract his statement? Why don't they call Ben-Gurion an anti-Semite for it?

The issue, Tex, is more important than to be dealt with lightly. Epstein and Forster cannot afford to insist that they would answer the questions only in court, as they have said concerning all my previous questions to them and all my challenges to them. Epstein and Forster cannot afford not to give an answer to these questions — For their not giving an answer is itself an answer. Their silence is an answer.

TEX: While I don't like to get in the middle of this, because I tried when they were on, I shall try when you're on to be as objective as I can in the role of moderator —

SAYEGH: I realize that —

TEX: But, I did question them and I would like to question you a little bit about your point of view here. I recognize that in logic and in law you are probably right — why, you are definitely right — in your argument here. But don't you recognize, just as you said Churchill claimed that he was a Zionist, here in the Waldorf in a speech, Mr. Churchill is a politician?

SAYEGH: Yes, Sir.

TEX: So is Ben-Gurion.

SAYEGH: Yes, Sir.

TEX: So was DeValera when he called upon the Irish of New York and Boston and Chicago to help him in his fight against the British, and tried to make the Irish

## ENTERTAINERS FILL BUSY SCHEDULES



AMER KHADDAJ, of the celebrated husband-wife team of Sana and Amer, is presently completing a busy schedule with his wife encompassing a period of several weeks.

On May 20 the pair will entertain in Akron, Ohio at the affair of Our Lady of the Cedars Church, "A Night in Lebanon." They will be accompanied by Jallil Azzouz and his orchestra. Pastor of the church is Rev. Maroon Ead.

On May 27 they will appear at a haffi sponsored by a Palestinian organization in Detroit. The couple appeared April 22 at the dedication of St. Mary's Orthodox Church, pastor of which is Rev. Benjamin Hafiz. They also entertained at several weddings in the past month.

...



HANAAN is another busy artist. She was featured entertainer last Sunday, April 29, at the Annual Concert of the Middle East Melodies Hour in Detroit. On April 22 she appeared at a Pittsburgh convention sponsored by the Eastern League.

This Sunday she will be featured at the Arabic Concert sponsored by the Sons of Lebanon at the Arlington Hotel in Binghamton, New York, and the following Sunday will be in Boston to sing at the St. George's Day Banquet and Concert of St. George's Orthodox Church.

proud of their homeland, he tried to take the Irish back to the Gaelic. Things that are said for home consumption —

SAYEGH: This is NOT said for home consumption! This is the authorized English translation; and the people of Israel don't read their Yearbook in English, they read it in Hebrew. This is for outside consumption — in the Anglo-Saxon countries.

TEX: Was that printed here in the United States?

SAYEGH: No! It was printed by the Government Printer in Israel itself. But it was printed in English for the benefit of those people interested in Israel abroad, who read only English.

(continued next week.)



## DR. SAYEGH'S COUNTER-ATTACK AGAINST 'DEFAMATION' CHARGES

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** Below is printed the second installment of almost the entire transcript of a rebuttal made by Dr. Fays Sayegh, Deputy Director of the Arab States Delegation to the United Nations, to charges of "anti-Semitism" made against Arab diplomats, the Arab states, and the Arab Information Center in New York. The rebuttal, as well as the charges, were made on the "Tex and Jinx" radio program, over station WRCA in New York. Dr. Sayegh appeared Friday evening, April 27, and the interview lasted from 11:15 p.m. until 12:30 a.m.

### EPSTEIN AND FORSTER REFUSE TO DEBATE

**TEX:** Well, as I said, I am trying to stay out of this argument except to moderate it. But you talked about the challenge, the debate, and you have posed a very sharp question to our guests of a month ago. And I would like to read, if I may, a telegram that we have received from Benjamin Epstein and—no, just from him—of the Anti-Defamation League; director of the Anti-Defamation League. — (Pause.) — I am not editing it; I am just finding a beginning point. We told them that you were coming on tonight, as we told you that they would be on.

"This responds to the telephone call from your office yesterday advising that Dr. Fays Sayegh of the Arab Information Center will appear on your radio program tonight to denounce our new book."

**SAYEGH:** Did you say that I was here to "denounce" it?

**TEX:** I don't think we said "denounce." I said that you were going to be on.

**SAYEGH:** They usually distort statements anyway —

**TEX:** Well anyhow, —

"To denounce our new book, *Cross-Currents*, the authors and their sponsoring agency, the Anti-Defamation League. Dr. Sayegh has been uttering these denunciations since the issuance of *Cross-Currents* and has challenged us to meet him in public debate. We want you to know that we have carefully considered Dr. Sayegh's challenge and have concluded that it is an idle one. Our accusations against Arab representatives are in writing and are statements of fact. If the facts we allege are false, Dr. Sayegh has an adequate remedy. We accept — indeed welcome — Dr. Sayegh's challenge to prove the truth of our accusations, but in the proper legal form where all parties are under oath."

Signed, "Benjamin R. Epstein, National Director, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith."

**SAYEGH:** Yes, that is the same thing that was read by Barry Gray on his program on the 14th of April.

**TEX:** Yes. Well now, I don't know where we go from there. We'll continue because you still have a half-hour to go to equal the time we gave them.

**SAYEGH:** Yes, we can go somewhere very interesting from here, Tex.

**TEX:** Is there any way you can bring suit for libel or anything else, I don't know. You are an alien.

**SAYEGH:** Well, I have a diplomatic position in this country.

**TEX:** But can you sue an American in the courts of our land?

**SAYEGH:** I wouldn't like to give Epstein and Forster "aid and comfort" by telling them what I am thinking about this question right now. —

**TEX:** Oh, I see, but all right, I can't —

**SAYEGH:** But I would say this: They say that what they say in

### TO APPEAR ON TV

Our readers in the Metropolitan area will have the opportunity soon to see and hear Dr. Sayegh daily and "live" on television. He has informed us that he will appear for a five minute interview Monday, May 14, through Friday, May 18, between 11:00 and 11:15 p.m., over station WABD, Channel 5, on the Mike Wallace show.

Dr. Sayegh requested, and received, an equal amount of time to that given Israeli Ambassador Abba Eban on the same program recently.

that book is facts. Now, as we know very well, anybody who has read a book in his life knows of something called a footnote. And I hope that Epstein and Forster also have heard of footnotes in their lives. However they act as though they haven't. I hope that Epstein and Forster have heard of footnotes — because very conveniently they avoid footnotes like the plague in this book. Now, a footnote is supposed to be the place where the writer informs the reader where he can find the statement that the writer is copying — for the benefit of the reader. Understandably, Epstein and Forster have avoided the footnotes in this whole book because obviously when you tell a lie you don't want to give your audience ways and means of proving that you have told a lie. . . .

### WHO ATTACKED WHOM IN PALESTINE?

**TEX:** On page 302 of this book, Dr. Sayegh, there is this quote: "The Arab Governments decided to wipe out the new State of Israel, to drive the Jews into the Sea."

Now, Dr. Sayegh, is this a true paraphrase of the intentions of the Arab League States?

**SAYEGH:** Well, obviously not, Tex. Anybody who knows anything about the history of the Palestine Problem knows that this is not what happened, that this was not the intention behind anything that happened as far as the Arab World is concerned.

Let's just look at the record for a while. (I have to keep my eye on the clock because, before this program is over, I would like to say a few words about what I consider to be the motives behind this defamation of us by the Anti-Defamation League. But I'll answer this question as briefly as I can to give myself time to go to that most important question.)

The United Nations decided to divide Palestine into a "Jewish" State, an Arab State, and an international area around Jerusalem; and that was on 29 November 1947. The United Nations decided that the Arab State, the "Jewish" State, and the international zone would come into being by the 1st of October of 1948. When the United Nations made these decisions, the British Government was in occupation of Palestine under the League of Nations mandate. The British Government was responsible for peace

and security in Palestine. And yet, from the very next day — from the 30th of November 1947 — Zionist forces and terrorist organizations, which had been arming and training during the British Mandate, started attacking one Arab community after another, one Arab village after another. We all know that, during the Mandate, the British Government had not permitted any Arab to arm. Several of my friends were executed, simply because they had owned a pistol.

**TEX:** By the British?

**SAYEGH:** By the British, yes, Sir. In the meantime, these Zionist terrorist organizations had arsenals of their own; and when the British Army used to go to search for their arms, they usually were unable, they were not permitted by the settlers to search thoroughly, and the British Government declared on several occasions that the Zionist forces there were very well armed in Palestine.

Now the Arab villages which were unarmed were being attacked right and left. Several instances are of world fame, like the instance of Deir Yassin, Safouria, Ain-e-Zeitoun, and Salhaddin. This Salhaddin is a village just a few miles from my hometown of Tiberias. Every man, woman and child there was massacred. And these outrages, the most important of which is Deir Yassin, took place in December of 1947, in January of 1948, in February of 1948, in March of 1948, and in April of 1948.

At the time when the British Government was still occupying Palestine and was still responsible for protecting the armless, defenseless Arabs of Palestine, hundreds of thousands of Arabs were expelled from their homes by this method of terrorization. Then by mid-April, while the British were still in Palestine, the United Nations started having second thoughts about the Partition Resolution. Your government, the United States Government, asked the General Assembly to meet again to reconsider partition, and your Government submitted a trusteeship proposal for a number of years or for a period of time so that this whole Palestine Problem would be settled. At this time the Zionist forces in Palestine decided to face the world with a fait accompli. Ben-Gurion—whom I like to quote very often, because I spend my evenings usually reading him — said in 1951, that at that time, in mid-April of 1948, the Zionist authorities in Palestine faced a crucial historic problem. If they were to permit the United Nations to repeal partition, he said, there would probably never be a Zionist State created by the United Nations afterwards. So they decided to face the United Nations with an accomplished fact; and they took over from the terrorists and sent the Haganah, which was the regular army of the Zionist authorities of Palestine, to occupy cities and towns. Now in succession many cities fell. My hometown, Tiberias, was the first city to

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fall on the 19th of April. It was followed by Haifa on the 20th of April, Jaffa on the 26th of April. Safad, Acre, and a number of other major cities fell before the 14th of May, before the establishment of the State of Israel, before the withdrawal of the British forces, before the entry of one single Arab soldier into Palestine. And there is one point that should be made clear here. Several of these cities belonged to the area that the United Nations had decreed should become an Arab State, not a "Jewish" State. Acre and Jaffa were parts of the area that was supposed to become an Arab State. And yet they were attacked and occupied before the establishment of Israel and before there was an Arab-Israeli War.

Now when the Arab armies, as a result of all these things, were appealed to by the Arabs of Palestine to come and protect them (The Arabs of Palestine said, the British army is not protecting us and it is withdrawing tomorrow; we want protection), the Arab armies entered Palestine, largely the areas earmarked for the Arab States, to protect the remainder of the Arabs of Palestine from being wiped out, and not to wipe

out the Jews of Palestine. They entered to protect the would-be Arab State from being swallowed by the would-be "Jewish" State, which was declared the night before at midnight.

**TEX:** But they entered territory assigned to Israel.

**SAYEGH:** Largely they entered the territory —

**TEX:** As an invasion? —

**SAYEGH:** An act of invasion had already occurred. An act of invasion had occurred when Jaffa fell to the Zionist forces and that was the 26th of April. Because Jaffa belonged to the area that was supposed to become an Arab State. It fell into the hands of the Zionists on the 26th of April. An act of invasion therefore occurred at the hands of the Haganah on the 26th of April and the Arab armies entered on the 14th of May; and we can tell which is cause and which is effect by this historical sequence.

**TEX:** Well, uh, I don't even know enough about history to challenge your facts, but you make them very positively.

**SAYEGH:** Well anybody can go to the records of the United Nations.

(continued next week)

## **NEWS DELAYED**

Due to the overwhelming requests for the complete transcript of the recent interview of Dr. Fayez Sayegh on the "Tex and Jinx" radio show (see page 4), we have been very limited in space and have been forced to delay many news items which normally would have appeared in last week's or this week's issue.

These news items will appear in coming issues, and we ask our readers to bear with us for the time being. The many congratulatory comments on the coverage of the interview, and the many letters and phone calls expressing thanks and a desire for more have assured us that the policy we have followed is in accordance with our readers' wishes.

## DR. SAYEGH'S COUNTER-ATTACK AGAINST 'DEFAMATION' CHARGES

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** Below is printed the second installment of almost the entire transcript of a rebuttal made by Dr. Fayer Sayegh, Deputy Director of the Arab States Delegation to the United Nations, to charges of "anti-Semitism" made against Arab diplomats, the Arab states, and the Arab Information Center in New York. The rebuttal, as well as the charges, were made on the "Tex and Jinx" radio program, over station WRCA in New York. Dr. Sayegh appeared Friday evening, April 27, and the interview lasted from 11:15 p.m. until 12:30 a.m.

### THE ARAB REFUGEES

TEX: Ah, let's go on to one more question. (Gee, I would like to get some of the questions that are being 'phoned in.) But this is the business of the refugee problem. You say hundreds of thousands of Arabs were driven from their homes by the Israeli. Certainly the refugee problem is one of the biggest continuing bones of contention between Arab and Israeli. It already existed before the war began and certainly still exists. But in their book, *Cross Currents*, Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein charge, and I quote, "Today some seven hundred thousand Arab refugees live on the borders of Israel. Their camps deliberately maintained as propaganda and political weapons of the Arab States." End of quote. Could we get your comment?

SAYEGH: Yes, surely. If Forster and Epstein can distort a quotation within three lines, as we saw before, they can distort historical events which happened several thousands of miles away eight years ago with greater relish and with greater talent. The fact however is that there are not seven hundred thousand refugees; there are a million and more Arab refugees. The fact is that they are being given every help by the Arab States in order to subsist; because the United Nations in its relief program gives them relief at the rate of seven cents per day per person, which is supposed to take care of their food, their shelter and the salary of the highly-paid international employees in the area who are administering the relief. And you know that people cannot live on seven cents a day for several years, on 1500 calories a day for several years, and still be in a living condition. The Arab States are helping to supplement the rations which the United Nations Relief and Works Agency is providing for the refugees, and to the budget of which the Arab States are contributing.

Now, the charges made by Forster and Epstein faithfully echo—as they usually do—the Israeli charges that the Arab States are using these refugees for political purposes and preventing their resettlement. Now, the point is that the refugees themselves refuse to be resettled. The United Nations year in and year out has reported that the overwhelming majority of the refugees refused resettlement anywhere else, insisting upon returning to their old homes.

There is a mystical attachment to the land in the heart of an Arab that people here cannot easily understand. You have to have lived there, you have to have been in touch with them, to know that mystical attachment to their land. These refugees refuse to be given any other plot of land and to be told, *Live here or else rot!* They say, "We'd rather rot than accept permanent resettlement, which would be for us permanent exile; we want to go back to our homes. Now the Arab countries are not going to be in the position of imprisoning these refugees by forcing them to live other than where they want to live.

TEX: But, they obviously can't go back.

SAYEGH: Why?

TEX: Well, I don't know. They . . .

SAYEGH: Well, I do! Because the State of Israel does not want them to go back.

TEX: Yeah.

SAYEGH: But that does not mean that the whole world will have to repeal its eight successive resolutions which it has made year in and year out just to bow down to the will of Israel. Otherwise the rule of law will be banished from this planet and jungle law will prevail among the nations. If every country said, "I am not going to fulfill my obligations — my obligations to the very resolution that created me," if every country is going to say that . . .

TEX: In other words, your contention is that the resolution which created Israel directs Israel to take care of the refugees.

SAYEGH: Sir, the resolution which created Israel on November 1947 said that the Arabs living in the area that would become a "Jewish" State shall remain living there, enjoying full equality, full human rights, full fundamental liberties and freedoms. Then after Israel had expelled the refugees, the United Nations said, on 11 December 1948, "Every refugee willing to go back home must be permitted to return at the earliest practicable date." And every year since 1948 the United Nations has repeated that order. And yet Israel continues to say, "No, we will not take back these refugees!"

TEX: Well now, you say that there are a million. The contention here is that there is some seven hundred thousand.

SAYEGH: Well the United Nations says that there are some 972,000 who are registered. There are tens of thousands like my father and brother who are not registered. Because they don't need to take seven cents a day from the United Nations, thank God. I work here and I can support them. There are many others like them. They have too much pride to be on the relief rolls. They don't want to compete with other fellow-refugees who may be in greater need of food than they are. There are also a hundred and fifty thousand living in villages where the houses are still in Arab territory but the land is in Israeli territory. Technically speaking, according to the United Nations definition, these people are not considered refugees, — because they have not left their homes — and yet they have lost their means of livelihood. They are incapable of supporting themselves. They are what you may call a burden on the economy of the Jordan and Gaza Strip. And yet they are not considered technically refugees. Obviously the number is far more than a million, and the United Nations records certainly support that. This is another distortion here.

TEX: How many Arabs are still in Israel?

SAYEGH: There are today, Is-

rael says, about 175 to 180 thousand.

TEX: And how many do you say there are?

SAYEGH: I don't know, I am not permitted to go there and make a census.

### A CAMPAIGN OF DEFAMATION

JINX: Dr. Sayegh, you said you wanted a few minutes in which to say something more about *Cross Currents* and I think you have about three minutes now. Isn't this the time, Tex?

TEX: Yes, I guess so. We're running out of time. But it has been equal time, so will you fire away and say what you would like.

SAYEGH: I would say that *Cross Currents* is not the first word of the Anti-Defamation League defaming the Arab States Delegation and the Arab Information Center. The first word of the Anti-Defamation League defaming us was a paper ironically called *Facts* published by the so-called Anti-Defamation League, which appeared even before we appeared ourselves. And it accused us of having already started publishing anti-Semitic literature and having already started disseminating anti-Semitic ideas. In other words, we were still in a pre-natal condition and yet we were already being attacked as being brutes — attacked by the Anti-Defamation League in advance of our existence.

Now the main point is then that the attacks and the defamation by the Anti-Defamation League are not the result of findings which they have discovered; rather they are the result of a pre-disposition to attack us, a prejudice against us, and an interest in defaming and smearing us.

### A CONSPIRACY AGAINST AMERICA

SAYEGH: . . . And the reason for that, I believe, is this: They do not want the Arab point of view to be heard in America. They want to deny the American people the right to hear one side of a story which is of vital concern to America.

This is a conspiracy against the right of free speech, and a conspiracy against the rights of Americans to hear the two sides of a story, of a case, of a controversy, in whose equitable resolution America is vitally concerned.

TEX: You have challenged them to debate. They have said, "Take it to the courts." And you won't tell me whether or not you are going to.

SAYEGH: I will not give them aid and comfort, Sir.

TEX: I see, well all I can do is to read between the lines. I don't know if anybody listening knows whether or not these things can be taken . . .

### BEFORE THE COURT OF AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION

SAYEGH: The main court, I believe, is the court of American public opinion, which I believe is essentially fair-minded and ob-

(continued on page 5)



### **Sayegh's Counter-Attack**

(Continued from Page 4)

jective, and will be able to tell when they read a book like this—a book without a footnote, without a proof, without evidence, full of charges and smears and defamation — they will be able to know what this book is really all about.

I believe in the American people and I believe that the American people will not indefinitely be fooled by the Anti-Defamation League.

TEX: Well, we've matched ideas, matched charges. We've heard rebuttals. And this is round two of a continuing controversy. I don't know where we go from here. If you are willing to not debate — no you are willing to debate, they don't want to debate . . .

SAYEGH: Anytime, any place, any platform, any kind of a public debating forum!

TEX: O.K. Well, Dr. Sayegh, thank you very much for having come here and passionately — understandably — presented your side of this argument. I think these microphones believe in free speech and anyhow I think everybody does.

SAYEGH: I am sure many microphones in this country do.

## **DR. SAYEGH ON RADIO THIS SUNDAY EVENING**

Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, Deputy Director of the Arab States Delegation, and acting head of the Arab Information Center in New York, will discuss Middle Eastern Affairs 7:00 to 7:30 p.m. this Sunday, May 27 over radio station WINS in New York, 1010 on the dial.

Dr. Sayegh is appearing as a guest on the Georgetown Forum.

# Arab Students Coming to City

Stillwater has been selected as the site for the fifth national convention of the Arab students in the United States.

Riad N. Rayes, president of the Oklahoma A&M college Arab association, Tuesday received confirmation of the September 2-8 meeting from national association headquarters in New York. The Aggie Arab leader said preparations are underway for 250-350 delegates to the convention.

More than 3,300 Arab students of American colleges and universities will be represented at the September confab. Theme of the 1956 national convention will be "Development of Arab States," Rayes said. Last year's convention theme was "The Challenge to Arab Youth in A Changing Arab World."

The A&M association president explained one of the principal objectives of the Arab students organization in the United States was to promote better understanding of Arab countries — their history, culture and current problems to American people.

"This is one way to create better acquaintance with the Arab world, as a whole, and to bring closer relationship between Arab countries and between them and the United States," Rayes pointed out.

The organization was formed not to isolate Arab students from American students, the Aggie senior emphasized. "Rather, it has been designed to prepare a common denominator through which complete understanding of one another's methods of life and thinking can be realized."

"Furthermore, through the national organization, we hope to encourage cooperation of Arab students, while they are studying in the U.S., in discussions, preparation, and suggestions for various plans and projects in which fellow students and countrymen may participate during their stay in America."

Rayes said several outstanding  
(Turn to page 2, column 4)

## Arab Students Coming to City

(Continued from Page 1)

Arab leaders and statesmen will be speakers at the Stillwater convention. Last year, the list of distinguished convention guest speakers included Dr. Kenneth Cragg of Hartford Seminary and editor of Muslim World; Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, deputy of the League of Arab States; H. E. Kamil Abdel Rahim, ambassador of League of Arab States; Dr. Ali Othman, delegate of League of Arab States; William A. Rex, jr, director of education and training program in International Cooperation Administration; and Mr. J. Benjamin Schmoker, general-secretary, committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students.

The A&M Arab association was organized in September, 1955, and became recognized as one of the nation's most progressive clubs, according to Adel Al-Akel, Syria, Columbia University business administration student, and president of the national Arab Student Association.

## **FINAL PLANS MADE FOR FEDERATION MID ANNUAL CONFERENCE**

The Eastern States Federation's Convention Committee spent last Sunday, May 20, at Copake Country Club, making final arrangements for the Mid-Annual Conference to be held there this weekend, June 1-3. The committee was favorably impressed with the beauty and cleanliness, and other offerings of the island country club, whose facilities are said to be ideal for a leisurely convention weekend.

A personal appeal is being made to Federation officers, Executive Board members, committee members, and all organizations, Federation-affiliated or not, to pass on to friends and members the fine picture of Copake which has been partially presented in The Caravan.

The Country Club is an island on beautiful Lake Copake, connected to the mainland by a short roadway. Cheerful, clean cabins with hot and cold running water, each accommodating two people, surround the island, and are either at lakeside or overlooking the lake. Each cabin has a porch and sun chairs. At island's center is the main dining hall.

The spacious social hall where American dancing and the hour-long stage show will take place is at the lake front. Adjoining it is the cocktail lounge and snack bar and outdoor pavillion. A few paces away is the boat lagoon, sun pavillion with chaise lounges, swimming area, card and television rooms, shuffleboard and ping pong areas. All buildings and cabins are within minutes of each other, shaded by towering trees and shrubs, and the entire island is lighted at night.

The Copake management has designated other areas where the Arabic entertainment will be held, and will arrange to supervise the many social and sports events. On Sunday, the farewell banquet will be short, and will feature a keynote address by Dr. Fayez Sayegh, Deputy Director of the Arab States Delegation.

Those desiring to attend who did not meet the May 25 reservation deadline, are urged to arrive as early as possible.



## The Palestine Problem in a Nutshell

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** During the week of May 14 to 18, Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, Deputy Director of the Arab States Delegation, appeared for five consecutive evenings on the Mike Wallace television news program, for brief interviews, to reply to some of the remarks made by Abba Eban, Ambassador of Israel, during his appearances for five consecutive evenings on the same program in April.

The text of the concluding program of the interview provides a brief summary of the entire range of the Arab-Israeli controversy, and a description of the very essence of the Palestine Problem. We are printing below the text of these remarks, together with a few additional amplifications made by Dr. Sayegh in the four preceding interviews.

\* \* \*

### MIKE WALLACE:

The Middle East is often called today the "Muddled East" by countless confused observers . . . Tonight, as the conclusion of this "News in Depth, part two," we are going to hear what the Arabs feel is truly the root of the problem in the Middle East . . . Dr. Sayegh, there are many aspects to the Arab-Israeli problem; but from your point of view as an Arab, what would you define as the root of the problem?

### DR. SAYEGH:

Well, Mr. Wallace, I don't really believe that the situation is as muddled or as confused as you have just indicated — if we look at it in the right way. If we try to see the forest and not only the trees, we find that there is a clear-cut picture there which is anything but confusing.

Let's try to compare the situation in Palestine as it was when this whole problem arose less than 40 years ago, with the situation today. This will give us a clear perspective for comprehending the essence of the problem.

Forty years ago, Palestine was a thoroughly, completely, overwhelmingly Arab country. 95% of its population was Arab, owning 99% of the land. There were only 50,000 Jews in Palestine — most of whom were Arab-Jews, that

is to say, Arabs of Jewish faith, who had lived for centuries with the other Arabs of Palestine, Christians or Moslems, enjoying full equality. Thus Palestine was an Arab land indistinguishable from any of the neighboring Arab lands.

This was the situation 40 years ago.

Today, four-fifths of the land of Palestine constitutes a "Jewish" State, the State of Israel. Instead of the 50,000 Jews who were in Palestine 40 years ago, there are today 1,600,000 Jews. The Arabs who were in Palestine have been expelled from their homes; a million of them are today refugees, rotting in camps and tents and barracks, subsisting on international charity at the rate of seven cents a day per person. In addition, the State of Israel has been maintaining a policy of constant military aggression, attacking in force on one front after another, and inflicting sizable numbers of casualties on civilian population as well as military personnel. And the avowed purpose of the leaders of Israel is to expand Israeli territory, to occupy the whole of Palestine and Jordan — an area five times the size of the territory now in Israeli hands.

This is the crux of the Palestine Problem. Try to imagine yourself

hours listening to Arabic records and learning new beats. With his lilting tenor voice, he can also dish out a tantalizing serving of "Ataba."

Henry and Violet, who specialize on the oud, are the children of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Kaim, 947 Dan Street. Mr. Kaim, a local deputy sheriff of long standing, is an accomplished oud player who for years has been a favorite at hafjis, sahras, and mahrajans.

A modest man, Mr. Kaim's self-pride becomes obvious only when Henry and Violet — his favorite students — combine their talents in an enchanting duet. Their mastery of this complicated instrument is an assurance that the Kaim music tradition will be continued in Akron for many years.

Emaline, Paul, Henry, and Violet are among the many Akronites who will display their Arabic musical talents at the 1956 Midwest SOYO Convention, which will be held in the Rubber City June 28 through July 1. All have featured roles in "Back to Bladna," the local Arabic-American musical comedy that will be restaged at the convention.

Henry's wife Lee, though not of Syrian-Lebanese descent, is also quite adept in Near Eastern singing and dancing. So good is the fair-skinned Lee, in fact, that she has earned the title "The Blond Lebanese." And when she is dancing at any get-together, most invariably someone asks "Bint meen hul Shah'ra?"

In my place — an Arab who throughout his lifetime looked upon Palestine as his country, but who today finds that Palestine is occupied by someone else and claimed by someone else at his expense — how would you feel about it?

This change in the status of Palestine did not take place with  
(Continued on Page 4)

## Page Four

**PALESTINE PROBLEM  
IN A NUTSHELL**

(Continued from Page 1)

the consent of the population. It did not take place peacefully — by purchase of land and peaceful transfer of population. The Jews had only bought 5% of the land of Palestine during the whole period of the British mandate; only one out of every twenty acres was purchased by them, or legally belongs to them.

The change in the status of Palestine took place by force — and by a **partial** implementation of the United Nations Partition Resolution of 29 November, 1947.

That resolution had provided for the establishment of a "Jewish" State, an Arab State, and an International Area around Jerusalem. It defined the boundaries of each of these three political entities, assigning to the "Jewish" State about 56% of the area of Palestine. It also stipulated that the Arabs living in the territory that was to become a "Jewish" State were to continue living there, and that their human, civil, political, religious, cultural, and property rights were to be observed and safeguarded.

Israel today, by virtue of its **partial** implementation of this resolution, violates every one of the essential provisions of this resolution. It has occupied half of the territory that was meant to become an Arab State and thus prevented the establishment thereof. It illegally occupies about 40% more territory than was assigned to it. It has occupied Jerusalem, which was designated to be an international zone, and made it its capital. It has expelled the majority of the Arabs from their homes. It has reduced the remaining Arabs to the status of second-class citizens.

The State of Israel today, therefore, differs in every essential respect — in borders, in territory, in population, and in its capital — from the "Jewish" State envisaged by the United Nations in 1947.

The United Nations Partition Resolution was envisaged by the United Nations as a final settlement of the Palestine Problem, and as a total settlement, an organic whole, which stands or falls in one piece. By implementing one part of it and violating all of the other parts, Israel has prevented the settlement from taking place and thus prevented the advent of peace to the area.

To do some justice to the European Jewish victims of Hitler, the United Nations has thus created a situation in which those same victims inflicted greater suffering upon the Arabs of Palestine. To provide homes for a few hundred-thousand European displaced persons, a million Arabs were displaced. Arabs who had throughout history treated their fellow citizens of Jewish faith with brotherhood and equality are now persecuted and discriminated against in Israel.

This is the Palestine Problem in a nutshell. This is the root of the trouble in the Middle East.

Imagine yourself for a moment to be an Arab. How would you feel about the Palestine Problem?

**Israel Advised,  
'Recognize Arabs'**

SAN FRANCISCO (UP)— Dr. Fayez Sayegh, deputy director of the Arab states delegation office in New York, said today the "imperative condition" for peace in the Middle East is for Israel "to acknowledge that the Arab world is there to stay."

In an address prepared for delivery before the Commonwealth Club of California, the Arab spokesman charged that "Zionist Israeli leaders are so preoccupied with asserting that Israel is there to stay, that they forget that the Arab world too is there to stay."

Sayegh charged that Israel has repeatedly violated the general armistice agreements which were designed by the United Nations to settle the Palestine problem.

Thursday, June 14, 1956

Price 10¢

## Clergyman Blames Israel In Middle East Crisis

Rev. Dr. Charles S. MacKenzie of Avenel, Woodbridge, N. J., pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Avenel, places most of the blame for the trouble in the Middle East on the Israeli. According to statements quoted in the Sunday Home News, New Brunswick, N. J., Rev. MacKenzie, who just returned from a two-month Mediterranean cruise, visiting both Israel and the surrounding Arab countries, feels that the Israeli "don't have a moral leg to stand on right now."

Excerpts from the article which appeared in the New Brunswick article, forwarded to us by David Barrood of 56 So. Talmadge Street in that city, are as follows:

"The Arab world is hot as a hornet against the Israeli and against the United States for standing with them," reports Rev. Dr. Charles S. MacKenzie.

"The pastor . . . feels that the Arabs have a justifiable gripe. He believes the Israeli are mostly to blame for the trouble there.

"He accuses the Zionists of fomenting the trouble and charges that American Zionists have 'committed treason — sold Americans down the road' by backing Israel.

"Israel's existence itself 'from a moral point has no justification at all,' according to Dr. MacKenzie. 'The only justification is humanitarian, giving refugees a home,' he declared.

### Created Refugee Problem

"The Avenel clergyman charged, however, that 'the Zionists really have created more refugees than there ever were in Europe.'

"There are almost twice as many Arab refugees as there were Jewish refugees under Hitler," he said. 'In Europe there was something like 400,000 refugee Jews at the end of the war. There are almost a million Arab refugees.'

"Dr. MacKenzie said that on his visit to Israel, he was particularly conscious of 'the arrogance there.'

"What disturbed me," he declared, 'was the complete lack of moral responsibility in the sense that whatever we do is right, whatever we do the United States will defend us.'

"He asserted, 'The Israeli have complete assurance the Zionist forces in the United States will force the United States into protection of the Israeli, regardless of what they do.'

"I think the intelligent Jew in America should wake up to what the Zionists have done," said the pastor. He feels 'the intelligent Jew has got to wake up to repudiation of Zionism or he's going to be caught by a wave of anti-Semitism.'

"Dr. MacKenzie explained, 'I fear if the rest of the Americans ever wake up to what the Zionists have done, there will be a wave of anti-Semitism in the United States.' He is particularly fearful

of the consequences 'if we are forced into war there,' he said.

"He believes 'the only thing that may save the situation is if the Israeli humble themselves, admit they've done wrong' in driving out the Arabs.

"The Avenel clergyman further suggests that the Israeli make reparations to the Arabs and permit the establishment by the United Nations of the 'economic union originally decreed by the UN, establishment of an economic union with the Arab world.'

"He cautioned that 'two touchy issues, the water rights of the Jordan and the refugee situation' may cause a flare-up in the troubled area this month.

"Israel's announced plan to divert the waters of the Jordan river already has brought a warning from the Arabs that open warfare will result when the move is made, he said. He warned too that the planned march of Arab refugees into Israel 'could be a deadly issue if the Jews try to stop them — that might set off the whole Arab world into war.'

"Dr. MacKenzie, who also revisited the North African coast and Europe and made his first visit to Yugoslavia while abroad reported, 'I was just dumbfounded to see the tremendous resentment toward America which has sprung up in all those areas.' When he made a similar tour three years ago, he pointed out, 'Americans were thought of highly, but that is not so now.'

"Citing America's 'terrific loss' of popularity and prestige in Cairo, the Avenel clergyman opined, 'I think we've asked for it. I think one of the basic reasons we've lost face is that we're considered a materialistic nation that puts expediency above principle.'

"Dr. MacKenzie, who said that on the Mediterranean cruise 'I felt as if I was looking in on history,' has returned here 'with a tremendous sense of the destiny of America.'"

## TOLEDO RADIO PROGRAM

We have recently been informed of the existence of an "Arabie Hour," broadcasting music and news for the Syrian-Lebanese community of Toledo, Ohio, every Friday at 7 p.m. over station WTOD.

Director of the program is Joseph K. Younes of 1959 Park Dale, Toledo.

## Dr. Sayegh Feted At Caravan Party

Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, Deputy Director of the Arab States Delegation to the United Nations, and present Acting Head of the Arab Information Center in New York, was honored last Sunday, June 10 at a cocktail party given by The Caravan at its halls in Brooklyn.

The party, which was decided upon the last minute before Dr. Sayegh's departure the next morning for a ten-day stay in California, had a twofold purpose, according to George S. Debs, editor-in-chief.

First, to pay tribute to a man who, said Mr. Debs, "has done more to impress and influence American public opinion as far as the Arab point of view is concerned, than any other representative the Arab states have ever sent to this country."

Secondly, the gathering was held to introduce Dr. Sayegh to many of his fellow countrymen here in America, especially those of the younger generation, to give him a chance to acquaint them with the facts in the Middle East controversy, so that each of them "may become an Arab Information Center of his own."

The party was attended by representatives of every Arabic newspaper and radio in New York, as well as members of various Arab consulates and United Nations delegations, and featured talks by Mr. Debs, Dr. F. M. Al Akl, and of course the honored guest. Following Dr. Sayegh's talk, a lively question and answer period took place, during which many questions by various members of our younger generation, which are often put before them by their friends, were honestly and fully answered by Dr. Sayegh.

Representing the various Arabic newspapers at the gathering were the following:

Jules Kajian, editor of Al-Hoda and the Lebanese American Journal; Alphonse Chaurize, editor of Al-Islaah; Philip Kae (Kahwajie) of As-Sameer; A. A. Haddad, editor of As-Sayeh, and Mrs. Angelina Diab, publisher of Meraat-ul-Gharb. Also attending was Fozzi Braidy, founder and former publisher and editor of Al-Islaah, and Sabri Andrea and Joseph Beilouny of the Arabian Nights Radio Program of New York.

The party lasted from 7 p.m. until early morning.

## HOLD 40-DAY MASS

A 40-Day Mass was held last Sunday, June 10, at St. George Greek Orthodox Church in Asbury Park, N. J., for the late Thomas Peters, father of George Peters and Mrs. Louis (Mary) Hakim.



# Host of Experts Spot Colgate Policy Parley

HAMILTON.—With a host of foreign and domestic experts ready to investigate every aspect of the problem of "Waging Peace for Freedom," Colgate University's eighth annual Foreign Policy Conference gets under way here Monday night before an audience of some 150 full-time delegates and up to twice that number of special delegates.

Representatives of American government and of the opposition camp among the Democrats, nine foreign ambassadors and delegations from 20 other countries will form the bulwark of the speaking program. The conference runs through noon on Friday.

Among the problems these speakers will try to come to grips with are the Arab-Israeli dispute, the new Soviet line, conduct of foreign policy during the presidential election, new trends in Latin American, the future in the Far East, and what Americans can expect in the coming year.

## Wilson Centennial

Also on the agenda is a special centennial observance of the birth of Woodrow Wilson, to be held Friday morning.

Among the speakers listed by Director Charles R. Wilson to address the plenary sessions are Thomas K. Finletter, former secretary of the Air Force; Atty. Gen. Jacob K. Javits of New York; Mrs. India Edwards, vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee; Clifton Daniel, assistant to the foreign news editor of The New York Times.

Also, Fayez A. Sayegh of the Arab States Delegation; Arthur C. Liveran, counselor to the Israeli U. N. Delegation; Jose A. Mora, secretary-general of the Organization of American States; Sir Leslie Munro, ambassador from New Zealand; Hollington K. Tong, ambassador from Nationalist China; Pote Sarasin, ambassador from Thailand, and August Heckscher, director of the Twentieth Century Fund.

## Envoys to Attend

Other ambassadors, who will serve as chairmen of the plenary sessions or as guest experts for the round tables, will be on hand from Austria, Ceylon, Colombia, Greece, Iraq and Nicaragua. Countries to be represented by official delegations include Denmark, Egypt, France, Germany, Great Britain, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, Korea, Latvia, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Norway, Pakistan, Syria, Sweden, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Yemen and Yugoslavia.

The Conference program opens at 8 p. m. Monday with a presentation of the achievements of the Eisenhower administration in the field of foreign policy. On Tuesday, the Democratic party will offer a critique before the scene shifts to focus on the Arab-Israeli dispute.

On Wednesday, the Fourth of July, Latin American problems will be discussed, followed by a session on the effects the November presidential elections will have on American policy. Thursday will be devoted to examining the latest trends in Soviet policy and to the problems besetting the Far East. The Woodrow Wilson centennial will be held Friday morning, with the concluding session on what's ahead for America slated for the closing luncheon.

The round table discussions will be concerned with Western Europe, Eastern Europe, the Middle East, the Far East, Africa and Latin America. An additional round table will be concerned with International Organization while a community action program will be run daily under the auspices of the Foreign Policy Assn. and the New York State Education Department.

MONDAY, JULY 9, 1956

BIRMINGHAM

# Zionism Is Called Instability Cause

## Straining Arab-American Relations, Syrian Envoy Declares At Meeting Here

BY JIM STRICKLAND

Zionism is the main cause of instability in the Middle East, the Syrian ambassador to the United States said here last night. Dr. Farid Zeineddine, in town for an address to the annual convention of the National Association of Federations of Syrian-Lebanese-American Clubs, said "Zionism is straining our Arab-American relations and affecting them adversely."

In an afternoon session of the organization, Rogers H. Bite of now, he said, "on account of the fact that the Zionist movement has refused categorically to implement any of the United Nations resolutions."



URGES LOYALTY—  
Dr. Foyez A. Sayegh.

Birmingham was elected president, to succeed Michael Tamer, of Indianapolis. T. J. Stoma, New Orleans, was elected president of the Southern Federation of clubs at the session.

Other speakers at last night's banquet included Dr. Alif Gebara, consul general of Lebanon; Dr. Foyez A. Sayegh, deputy director of the Arab States Delegation; Mayor James W. Morgan and Rep. George Huddleston Jr.

Dr. Zeineddine said "the Israel problem" is a misnomer. "It is really the Zionist problem," he said. "Israel without the Zionist movement would hardly exist."

There is no solution in view

The UN took over the problem, he said, and gave it some solutions. "In so far as these solutions are not being implemented," he said, "the Palestine problem in its entirety is open again."

"We do not think the Jews need a country," he said, "because they are citizens of the countries in which they live. Judaism is a faith. Like other faiths that does not make it a nation."

"We are opposed to Zionism," he said, "but we have nothing against the Jews as such."

Dr. Zeineddine said the right of the Arab refugees from Israel to return to their homes "is inalienable." "The United Nations did not create that right," he said, "they only recognized it."

"Those refugees are entitled to exercise their right of self-determination like any other people," he said.

The two main problems "of peace and war" in the world today are the German problem and the Middle Eastern problem, he said. "These are the two," he said, "in which there is so much at stake that could cause really serious international complications."

Dr. Sayegh, whose office represents the eight Arab members of the UN, said the Syrian-Lebanese group could best help the situation by "being just as you've always been—above all else, loyal Americans."

He should urge their Congressmen, he said, "not to become pro-Arab, but to become pro-American in the sense of first, living up to American traditions of justice, equality and freedom, which have been neglected in some dealings in the Middle East, and secondly, to work for the national interest of America as a whole, and to



GREETS AMBASSADOR — Dr. Farid Zeineddine, ambassador to the United States from Syria (left), is shown being greeted yesterday by Mrs. Michael F. Tamer, wife of the president of the National Association of Federations of Syrian-Lebanese-American Clubs.

abandon the policy of working for small national groups."

Dr. Gebara, the Lebanese consul general, said it is "most unfortunate" that the good relations between the United States and the Arab world have declined "since six or seven years ago."

"Support of Zionists in Israel was a political issue, he said, with both parties eager to get votes with little thought of its 'posing a serious threat to the American position in the Middle East.'"

The refugee problem "is simple for me," he said. "You have a house. Someone comes up and tells you, 'Get out of that house, I'm going to replace you.'" Dr. Gebara said there were 140,000 refugees in Lebanon now out of a total population of 1,350,000.

"The Zionists don't want us to expose our point of view," he said.

United States policy is creating a "vacuum" in the Middle East and "inviting the Russians to come in and fill it," he said.

Elected with Bite to national office were Cosmo Ansara, Lawrence, Mass., executive vice president; Monsoud C. Zanaty, Birmingham, vice president from Southern federation; Marshall Arriah, Milwaukee, secretary, and Joseph Sado, New York City, treasurer.

Southern officers, besides Stoma



SPEAKS HERE—  
Dr. Alif Gebara.

ma are Richard J. Ashy Jr., Lafayette, La., vice president; Miss Gladys Chehardy, New Orleans, secretary treasurer; R. E. Antone, Houston, Tex., chairman of the board, and board members James Hayek, Miami; J. A. Kabelle, Mobile; Leo Todaro, Biloxi, Miss.; Joseph Campbell, Shreveport, La.; Judge Kaliste Saloom Jr., Lafayette, La.; Arthur Sharbel, Birmingham, and Bolby Manziel, Tyler, Tex. Miami Beach, Fla., was selected as the 1957 convention city.

## The Birmingham News: July 9, 1956

EIGHTEEN

THE BIRMINGHAM NEWS

Addressing banquet here—

# Syria ambassador says Palestine to be 'liberated'

BY SID THOMAS  
News staff writer

The complete liberation of the "Arab homeland, including Palestine," is one of the chief objectives of the Arab states, the ambassador to the United States from Syria said here last night.

Representatives of the Arab states, addressing a "Silver Jubilee" banquet of the Southern Federation of Syrian-

Lebanese American Clubs, said their nations are "awakening."

The speakers criticized America's participation in the Arab-Israeli crisis. America's role in the creation of the Israeli nation led to "disillusionment and resentment" against the U. S. by the Arabs, they added.

They called on American citizens of Syrian and Lebanese extraction to help "bridge the widening gap" in relations between the U. S. and Arab states.

THE GAP BEGAN to widen because the U. S. strongly supported establishment of the Israeli nation in Palestine, which the speakers said turned millions of Arabs into homeless wanderers.

Dr. Farid Zeineddine, Syrian ambassador, and Dr. Foyez A. Sayegh, deputy director of the Arab States delegation to the United Nations, said the American public has not been given the facts of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

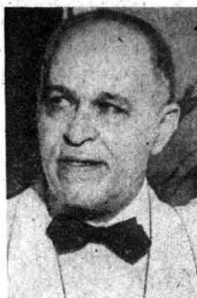
Dr. Sayegh said the immigration of 1,600,000 Jewish refu-



DR. FARID ZEINEDDINE  
... Syrian ambassador

gees to Palestine, backed by the U. S., was an "injustice" to the Arabs.

He said after the UN decided to divide Palestine equally be-



ROGERS BITE  
... National president

tween the Jews and Arabs, the Israeli nation, through violence, spread out until it now occupies 80 per cent of the land.

"In every stage of the crisis, the Israeli nation was backed by the U. S.," Dr. Sayegh declared.

"Now, the Jewish leaders say they are going to spread from the Nile to the Euphrates," the UN official added.

THE AMBASSADOR cited "great social, political and cultural" changes in the Arab states. He said people of all the states are in reality one nationality. The union of the Arabs is already taking place, he added.

The Arab states representatives appeared on the program with George Huddleston Jr., Alabama congressman, and Mayor James W. Morgan.

Rep. Huddleston said the Syrians and Lebanese make fine citizens. He enumerated the achievements they have made in America.

MAYOR MORGAN presented the Syrian-Lebanese officials with keys to Birmingham. He presented a citation to Rogers Bite, a Birmingham attorney who was elected president of the National Assn. of Federations of Syrian and Lebanese American Clubs.

Bite was named to the post during a convention of the national organization, which was held jointly with three-day Southern Federation "Silver Jubilee."

About 5000 members of Syrian-Lebanese clubs from all over the nation attended the event, which was climaxed by the Sunday night banquet.

Another Birmingham attorney, Monsoud C. Zanaty, served as master of ceremonies at the banquet. Zanaty is the Lebanese consul in the South.

## MAKES 18 APPEARANCES DURING 9 DAYS IN WEST

Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, Deputy Director of the Arab States Delegation and Acting Director of the Arab Information Center in New York, is back from a nine-day trip to the West Coast, during which he made 18 public appearances before groups and on radio and TV programs said to be among the most influential in that part of the country.

Dr. Sayegh's schedule included four major addresses before clubs and conferences, two debates, two TV interviews, two radio interviews, five newspaper interviews, one address to an Arab Students' organization, and two addresses before Arab-American groups.

In Los Angeles, June 11-12, Dr. Sayegh appeared on KTLA TV's "Teleforum," met with leaders of the Arab-American community of Los Angeles, was interviewed by Nazih Massad, publisher of HOLLYWOOD magazine, met informally with Arab students and friends, and addressed the full membership of the Town Hall on "The Arab-Israeli Conflict."

In Santa Barbara, Cal., June 13-14, he was interviewed by Chet Holcomb, editor of the Santa Barbara News-Press, and addressed the Channel City Club on "Communism in the Middle East."

In San Francisco June 15 he addressed the Commonwealth Club of California on "The Basis for Peace in the Middle East." The address was carried over 14 stations in California. He was also interviewed the same day over six local stations by the Executive Secretary of the above-named Club, and by William Winter over the ABC network.

He appeared June 16 and June 19 in Seattle, where he was interviewed by Julie Emery of the

Seattle Times, and appeared over KOMO AM and TV twice, both times moderated by Phillip Evans, Director of the World Affairs Council of Seattle. He also addressed the Council personally.

June 17-18 Dr. Sayegh was in Portland, Ore., where he took part in a debate before the Northwest Institute of International Relations, sponsored jointly by the World Affairs Council of Oregon and the top colleges in the state. While there, he also met the Arab-American community, addressed the Portland Syrian-Lebanon American Club, and was interviewed by Paul Rask, editor of the new WLAD ARAB magazine.

Since his return from the West Coast, Dr. Sayegh attended the 8th Annual Conference on American Foreign Policy, sponsored July 3-5 by Colgate University in Hamilton, N. Y. He made the major address of the Conference, together with Mr. Liveran of Israel, both addresses being broadcast by WNYC in New York 10 p.m. Tuesday, July 3.

### On Coast-to-Coast Radio Next Week

Next week, eight million radio listeners will hear Dr. Sayegh discuss the Arab-Israeli dispute over **Sounding Board**, a nationwide radio broadcast, to be produced at 10 p.m., Monday, July 23.

(Continued on Page 4)



DR. FAYEZ A. SAYEGH is shown above during a question and answer period following an address he made before a throng gathered in the halls of The Caravan in Brooklyn June 10. Dr. Sayegh was given a cocktail party by The Caravan at that time in his honor. Fuad M. Al Akl, founder of the American Middle East Relief, is seated at the right, and George S. Debs, editor of The Caravan, is shown at left. The sign above, in Arabic, reads, "Ahlan Balza'ireen" (Welcome to the honored guests.) (Photo by George Subt)



## Dr. Sayegh Back From California

(Continued from Page 1)

Dr. Sayegh will make a statement on the Arab point of view and will answer unrehearsed questions from the audience.

Emanating from the Wentworth by the Sea, well-known resort hotel at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, the half-hour program will be carried by 500 radio stations of the Mutual Network (WOR in New York) from coast to coast.

**Sounding Board**, produced by Christopher King, is a public service broadcast on which United States Senators and Congressmen, State Governors, and foreign dignitaries have appeared on various occasions during the past three years.

Next week's program will be taped for re-broadcast throughout the country. The time and date of the broadcast in your area can be ascertained by calling your local radio station.

### Now at Ohio State University

Ohio State University has invited Dr. Sayegh to appear as guest lecturer at its Second Annual Summer Program on the Middle East, at Columbus, Ohio. He will speak this evening, July 19 at 8 o'clock.

Dr. Sayegh's address will be one of the highlights in a series of public lectures by distinguished authorities of outstanding national and international reputation. His topic will be "The Current Situation in the Middle East," and he will also address the morning session of the Program tomorrow at 11 a.m.

Extending over a period of six weeks, from June 19 to July 27, Ohio State's Summer Program is attended by civic and professional leaders, radio commentators, newspaper men and women, high school and college teachers, and graduate and advanced undergraduate students.

### Blasts Rabbi's "Rebuttal"

The Santa Barbara News-Press on June 24 carried a long article by Rabbi Max Kert of Santa Barbara in which he attacked Dr. Sayegh's address before the Channel City Club. Dr. Sayegh promptly sent an answer to the article with a letter to the editor, in which he stated, "Since Rabbi Kert was present at the Channel City Club meeting at which I spoke, and, instead of availing himself of the opportunity to raise his questions during the meeting, has chosen to present his 'rebuttal' on the pages of your newspaper, and since you have found it possible and expedient to publish his lengthy article in your

Sunday edition, I am taking the liberty of transmitting herewith my comments on his article, trusting you will find it equally possible and expedient to give me a similar chance to present my point of view."

Dr. Sayegh's answer was as follows:

I have no intention of labelling Rabbi Kert's propaganda outburst, which appeared in the Santa Barbara News-Press Sunday issue of June 24, as "mendacious"; or to describe his memory as "elastic" — terms which he chose to use in his reply to my statements before the Channel City Club. I believe that the truth can be elucidated without personal abuse. I also believe that a rabbi should be among the first to concede that the truth can be sought and enunciated without resort to calumny.

1. Rabbi Kert attributes to me the statement that "25 per cent of the total Israeli population was Communist dominated." This is a distortion of my remarks. Your reporter has quoted me accurately on that point — in your issue of June 13 — as follows: "In Israel . . . there are 25 representatives out of the total 120 who are Communists according to official Israeli publications." I prefer to believe that Rabbi Kert's distortion of my remarks was not intentional.

The good Rabbi sermonizes that "when we garb our opinions with the cloak of fact and present them as gospel truths, it is imperative that they be documented." I wonder why he chose to ignore the fact that my statement on the number of Communist deputies in the Israeli Parliament was indeed documented, and that I read the facts and the figures to the audience from a book published by the Israeli Government, called "Facts and Figures: 1955." I am sure every one of the 225 distinguished citizens who listened to my address will recall that I publicly showed that book as my source, read from it, and had it available for anyone to peruse afterwards. Would that Rabbi Kert had been as genuinely interested in ascertaining the truth as he proved enthusiastic to label everything with which he did not agree as mendacious.

The facts are there, whether they are suitable to Rabbi Kert's purposes or not. They are confirmed by the Israeli Government. Everyone can read them for himself in the publication I mentioned, on pages 17-20. You will find it stated there that there are 3 Communist and left-wing Socialist parties in Israel: the Israeli Communist Party, Mapam, and the Ahdut Haavoda-Poalei Zion, which have 6, 9, and 10 seats respectively in the Israeli Parliament today. The Israeli Government does not find it necessary to conceal these facts. Is Rabbi Kert more concerned with the prestige of Israel than Israel itself, and is he prepared to go to the extent of denying incontestable facts in order to preserve that prestige and protect it against the revelation of the truth?

2. Perhaps Rabbi Kert is not aware of the fact that the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations, on 20 December 1949, censured Israel for moving its ministries to Jerusalem — a city the internationalization of which was decreed by the U.N. at the time when it decided to create Israel. The Jordanian Government is on record at the United Nations that

it will not oppose the internationalization of Jerusalem if the whole of the city is to be internationalized. All the other Arab Governments have consistently voted for internationalization. It is only Israel's defiance which prevents the will of its parent organization from being enforced.

3. Nowhere is the good Rabbi's knowledge of facts as defective as it is with regards to the treatment of the Arabs in Israel. The Rabbi fails to mention that the Arabs in Israel live in ghettos; that their travel is restricted; that, unlike the Jewish citizens of Israel, Arabs live under martial law; and that, according to the Israeli statistics, the degree of actual access of Arab children to educational facilities is one-fifth of that of Jewish children.

The Rabbi's selectivity in mentioning facts is amusing. He goes out of his way to indicate that 8 Arabs sit in Israel's Parliament today. But he forgets to mention that, being represented by 8 out of 120 members of Parliament, i.e., less than 7 per cent, while they constitute over 13 per cent of the population, the Arabs of Israel are, in fact, only half represented.

4. When he speaks about the question of the Arab refugees, the good Rabbi finds it necessary to speak of the plight of the Jews at the hands of the Nazis — a plight which every civilized human being laments. But when he says that thousands of Jews were "drowned on the shores of Palestine because the hands of the Jews were tied by Arab intransigence and British colonial policy," he slaps the truth in the face. The Arabs had nothing to do with the policies of the Mandate. They can no more be held responsible for British actions than for Nazi brutality.

Exactly one-half of the Rabbi's article consists of a quotation from a document which he identifies as "the General Assembly United Nations' Memorandum of December 1951." I cannot believe that the Rabbi does not know that this memorandum was **not** a United Nations document. It was **not** prepared by the United Nations or any of its bodies or any of its staff. It was **not** published by the United Nations. It was a memorandum submitted to the United Nations by private individuals. Every year the United Nations receives at least 25,000 communications. If those individuals go ahead and publish these communications, indicating that they had submitted them to the United Nations, obviously they cannot be considered United Nations pronouncements. It is as if I were to write a letter to the Rabbi, publish it, and then proceed to quote it as if it were a pronouncement of the good Rabbi himself. Is this the kind of documentation which Rabbi Kert prides himself on using? Is this the kind of documentation on the basis of which he wants to establish his case? Is this the type of honesty about facts which Rabbi Kert preaches?

There is one encouraging and consoling aspect of the Rabbi's article: namely, his conclusion. He mentions that Americans have forgiven Japan for the crime of Pearl Harbor, and Germany for the Nazi crimes against humanity, and blames the Arab League for not forgiving Israel. Even though it may have been a slip of the pen, the analogy, I believe, is apt; and the Rabbi's unconscious invocation thereof is very telling.

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## TO SPEAK ON SUEZ

Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, Deputy Director of the Arab States Delegation, will speak on the Suez controversy 7 p.m. this evening over the Dumont Television Network. He will be a guest on the Mike Wallace News Program, which is carried over WABD, Channel 4 in New York.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, August 2, 1956

## EDITORIAL

### JUST WHO IS DISCRIMINATING?

Prior to, and ever since, the establishment of Israel, Zionist organizations and leaders have made it a policy to cry "anti-Semite" against anyone who took a firm stand against their policies. "We are being discriminated against because we are Jewish" they scream, thereby frightening off and soiling many righteous-thinking and straight-shooting individuals who sought to see justice done in the Middle East.

Truth and light, however, cannot be forever suppressed. The difference between "Jewish" and "Zionist," and between "anti-Jewish" and "anti-Zionist" is becoming more and more clear to more and more people. The fact that Judaism is a religion and that Zionism is a political, nationalist movement is getting to be more widely understood, despite the frantic efforts of the Israelis and the Zionists to identify themselves with World Jewry as a whole, and to set themselves up as their spokesmen.

A lion's share of the credit for this increased enlightenment must go to the many anti-Zionist Jews who have strongly resented the actions and policies of the Zionists, and feel the last thing in the world they want is to be identified with them, much less have them as their spokesmen. They are fully aware of the danger of such a result, and recognize the Zionists' plan. In the July edition of the **Jewish Newsletter**, edited by William Zukerman, this awareness is clearly reflected:

**"The harsh bitter fact which American Jews have to face now is that . . . millions of people all over the world, including the U. S., confuse Jews with Zionists and hold all Jews responsible for Zionist words and action. Zionists are doing everything in their power to encourage this confusion by always speaking in the name of 'World Jewry.'"**

In other words, when the "Anti-Jewish" label is pinned on people and organizations who are in truth "Anti-Zionist" or "Anti-Israel," it is done so with a definite purpose in mind, and that is to discredit, damage, persecute and **discriminate against** these people and organizations. This is still not enough. They also pin the label on anyone who is interested merely in finding out the truth of the situation, asking to hear both sides. In other words, to suppress the other side of the story, the Zionists and Israeli representatives even try to pin the

(Continued on Page 10)

### JUST WHO IS DISCRIMINATING?

(Continued from Page 9)

"Anti-Semite" label on those who are simply not pro-Zionists.

Such actions cannot long withstand public opinion. Once the American people are fully aware of the situation, recognize the distinction between Zionists and Jews, and realize there is nothing anti-religious about criticizing Zionists and Zionist actions, justice will not be long in coming. There is nothing more fair-minded than American public opinion, once it is given all the facts. And again, once a few of the injustices of the Zionists are well-known, there is no doubt of an inevitable snowballing of anti-Zionist feeling.

The latest evidence of discrimination by the loudest criers of discrimination took place over the July 23 broadcast of **Sounding Board**, which was carried over 500 stations of the Mutual Broadcasting System. The program, directed by Christopher King, was devoted to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, Deputy Director of the Arab States Delegation, was invited to appear on the program together with an Israeli spokesman. The reluctance of the Zionists to place any of their representatives on the same platform with Dr. Sayegh is well-known to our readers.

In inviting the speakers for his program, Mr. King approached the Arab States Delegation and the Israel Embassy. The Arab States Delegation promptly accepted, and the Israel Embassy replied several weeks later through the World Affairs Council of Portsmouth. The reply stated that an Israeli spokesman would appear on the program if the Arab spokesman was to be someone other than Dr. Sayegh, and labeled him "a professional propagandist."

Mr. King firmly rejected the presumption of the Israel Embassy to dictate the Arab office's spokesman, and notified them that he would go ahead with the program whether or not they accepted his invitation. On hearing this, the Israel Embassy appointed their Counselor, Arthur Liveran, to represent them.

At noon the day of the program, the Israel Embassy telephoned Mr. King and notified him that unless the program were recorded somewhere else than at the Wentworth-By-the-Sea hotel, they would not send their representative. They claimed the hotel practices discrimination against Jewish guests. Mr. King consulted with lawyers, with the management of the hotel and others, and apparently satisfied with the falsity of the Israel Embassy's claim, informed them that the program would go on as scheduled, with or without the participation of their representative. The Israel Embassy then warned Mr. King that it would use all its influence to prevent the program from being heard on as many stations as possible. The program went on as scheduled, with Dr. Sayegh presenting the Arab point of view, and Dr. Kuusisto, a professor at the University of New Hampshire, presenting the arguments for Israel.

Our congratulations to Mr. King for his fine sense of fair play, and for his firm stand in seeing fair play practiced.

It is too bad that many people frighten so easily from the threat of a smear, although it may be a false and unjustified one. It is too bad that there are still so many public information media which show so little faith in the intelligence of American public opinion, and let these threats of false smears frighten them away from presenting the truth, and both sides of a story.

Bill Debs



## Clarification of the Suez Issue By The Arab States Delegation

The wide press coverage of the recent developments concerning the Suez Canal and the simulated crisis which emerged in the last few days calls for a few basic clarifications. I trust you will find it possible to bring the following observations to the attention of your readers, in the interest of fuller and fairer understanding of the real issues involved.

1. The measures adopted by the Egyptian Government with respect to the Suez Canal are often referred to as "seizure of the Canal." The fact, however, is that what the Egyptian Government did was to nationalize the company which manages, operates, and services traffic through the Canal.

2. The purpose of the nationalization of a public utility, such as a canal, is analogous to the purposes behind the operation by city, state or national authorities of such public utilities as ports or airports, turnpikes or subways — a practice which is common everywhere.

Nationalization of a public utility is incontestably within the domestic jurisdiction of the sovereign nation in whose territory it lies. United States official spokesmen as well as countless editorial writers, columnists and commentators have acknowledged the obvious fact that the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company is within the rights of Egypt as a sovereign State.

For the Suez Canal Company is an Egyptian Joint Stock Company, although a sizable proportion of its share-holders is non-Egyptian. It is subject to Egyptian laws, just as any other Egyptian company.

Moreover, the Nationalization Law of July 26, 1956 provides in its very first article that "share-holders and holders of founders' shares shall be compensated for whatever shares they own."

3. It is of paramount importance to distinguish clearly between nationalization of the Canal Company, on the one hand, and freedom of navigation through the Canal, on the other.

The Egyptian Government has solemnly declared — through its President, its competent Minister, and its Ambassadors to various capitals, as well as in diplomatic notes sent to all countries — that it has no intention of interfering with Canal traffic.

In fact, it is obvious that the Egyptian Government, which has resorted to the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company partly in order to obtain the necessary funds for its most vital development project, would naturally be anxious to facilitate and promote, rather than curtail, traffic through its great waterway.

4. Confusion between these two essentially distinct questions — nationalization and "freedom of navigation" — has been propagated by colonial powers whose

primary grievance is against the nationalization of the Canal Company, but who have injected the question of freedom of navigation in order to involve other maritime powers, particularly the United States, in their own colonial struggle.

No threat to freedom of navigation through the Canal exists. And yet, it is this alleged threat that is being presented to the world as the main issue at stake. The obvious motive is to arouse resentment, where no such resentment is likely otherwise to exist, against the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company. Realizing that the nationalization of the Company would not create in the American mind a feeling of "common cause" with their colonial interests, Britain and France have conjured up the non-existent threat to free navigation in the hope that it would create that desired illusion of a "common cause" with respect to this issue.

The ironical aspect of this situation is that those colonial powers who have been loudest in their condemnation of Egypt for nationalizing an Egyptian public utility have themselves taken the lead in the practice of nationalization; and Britain, who now so righteously invokes the principle of free navigation (when in fact no threat to such freedom exists), had, not displayed exemplary adherence to that same principle when it was in a position to control traffic through the Canal.

5. Efforts are now being made to solicit support for the concept of an "international regime" for the Canal, on the basis of the allegation that freedom of navigation can be guaranteed only through international control. How will Americans feel when the system of internationalization, now championed with reference to Suez, is extended in such a way as to apply to all waterways of international importance, including the Panama Canal.

6. The internationalization concept has another grave consequence. The present world situation being what it is, internationalization is inconceivable without the active participation of the Soviet Union — particularly since Russia was one of the signatories of the Constantinople Convention of 1888.

Is the prospect of Soviet participation in the strategic heart of the Middle East more palatable to the West than free navigation managed and serviced by an

## CANCEL APPEARANCE ON TV NEWSCAST

The scheduled appearance of Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, Deputy Director of the Arab States Delegation, last Thursday, August 2 at 7 p.m. on the Mike Wallace TV Newscast, carried on Station WABD in New York was cancelled by the Dumont Television network.

The announcement was made on the program that "... Dr. Sayegh is unable to be with us tonight to carry out our intention of trying to get at all angles of this (Suez) vital problem."

The producer of the show, Ted Yates, in telephone interview, said, the appearance was cancelled because of the last-minute cancellation by the State Department of the appearance of their spokesman. In view of the fact that the program had already presented two speakers for Egypt, another speaker presenting Egypt's viewpoint could not fairly be presented without a presentation of the opposing view by some other authority, Mr. Yates said.

Dr. Sayegh, not quibbling with the fact of his appearance or non-appearance, wrote a letter August 3 to Bernard Goodwin, president of WABD-TV, asking him to "rectify the misrepresentation and correct the record," since the statement made at the program was "entirely false."

The Arab spokesman said, "I was ready and prepared to appear as scheduled ... it was the station that cancelled my appearance. The announcement, in addition to being false, was embarrassing to me, personally and in my official capacity."

## CENSUS DEPT. HEAD HERE FROM LEBANON

Farid Habib, head of the Census Department of Lebanon, is in town for a few days visiting the Lebanese Consulate in New York. Mr. Habib, who has authority to visit Lebanese Consulates and Embassies throughout the world, has been away from Lebanon for two months, helping emigrants from Lebanon in various countries who are registered as Turks to gain status as Lebanese citizens.

The government official, who also checks the census of Lebanese emigrants in various countries, came to New York from previous visits in Mexico and Cuba, and after his stay here will leave for the Lebanese Embassy in Washington, D. C. Before returning to Lebanon, he will visit offices of the Lebanese government in Canada.

Egyptian Company without any foreign — including Soviet — participation?

Fayez A. Sayegh  
Acting Director

THE MORNING HERALD, HAGERSTOWN, MARYLAND

Editor's  
Letter Box

The Arab Side

Dear Sir:

The wide press coverage of the recent developments concerning the Suez Canal and the simulated crisis which emerged in the last few days calls for a few basic clarifications. I trust you will find it possible to bring the following observations to the attention of your readers, in the interest of fuller and fairer understanding of the real issues involved.

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that is being presented to the world as the main issue at stake. The obvious motive is to arouse resentment, where no such resentment is likely otherwise to exist, against the nationalization of the Company.

Realizing that the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company would not create in the American mind a feeling of "common cause" with their colonial interests, Britain and France have conjured up the non-existent threat to free navigation in the hope that it would create that desired illusion of a "common cause" with respect to this issue.

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of the signatories of the Constantinople Convention of 1888.

Is the prospect of Soviet participation in the strategic heart of the Middle East more palatable to the West than free navigation managed and serviced by an Egyptian Company without any foreign — including Soviet — participation?

Sincerely yours,  
Fayez A. Sayegh  
Acting Director

Chicago Tribune: August 27, 1956

**ARAB CHARGES  
U. S. BETRAYS  
ITS PRINCIPLES**

Washington, Aug. 26 (AP) — Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, acting director of the Arab league delegation to the United Nations, said today the United States has betrayed "every single principle for which it stands" by taking part in the 22 nation London Suez canal conference in which Egypt refused to take part.

Sayegh, in a television program, blamed Britain and France for the crisis because of what he called their "economic warfare" against Egypt and threats of military warfare. He said Britain and France were "aggressors" and couldn't be trusted because of their past record in international affairs.

He declined to predict whether Egypt would bring the Suez problem before the United Nations or the International Court of Justice.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, August 23, 1956

THE CARAVAN

Page Nine

DR. SAYEGH TO SPEAK  
IN AKRON THIS MONTH

By Sam Salem

AKRON, Ohio. — Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, 34-year-old Deputy Director of the Arab States Delegation to the United Nations and eminent authority and speaker on Middle Eastern affairs, will present two major addresses here August 30.

Dr. Sayegh, formerly a philosophy teacher at Yale and Georgetown Universities, is coming to Akron under the separate sponsorship of the Downtown Kiwanis Club and Al As-hab, a local Syrian-Lebanese organization. Both groups are stressing international affairs in their activities for this month.

“What is the Palestinian Problem?” will be the topic of Dr.

Sayegh's first talk, to be presented at the weekly Kiwanis luncheon, 11:45 a.m. to 1:30 p.m. at the Sheraton-Mayflower Hotel. A record-breaking attendance is expected, according to Paul Martin, 1360 Hametown Rd. N., who is chairman of the Kiwanis phase of the program.

The youthful UN delegate will

give his second address — “How to Solve the Palestinian Problem?” — at the West Junior High School auditorium, beginning at 8:30 p.m. The meeting will be open free of charge to the public.

In addition to his position as Deputy Director, Dr. Sayegh serves the Arab States UN Delegation as Chief of Research and

Public Liaison, Acting Head of the Information Center, and Counsellor of the Yemen Delegation.

Heading the Al As-hab phase of the program are K. T. Salem, 726 Ridgereest Dr.; local telecaster Eddie Elias, 354 Dorchester Rd.; and Norman Salem, 2311 Twelfth Street.

Since assuming his duties with the Arab delegation early this year, Dr. Sayegh has become the most sought-after speaker in America on the Arab position in the Near East. Especially effective in debate, he answers unrehearsed questions from the audience at the conclusion of each talk.

ARAB STUDENTS MEET  
IN OKLAHOMA

The Fifth Annual Convention of Arab students in the United States will be held from September 4-8, 1956, at the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

Some 350 students, representing over 4000 Arab students attending American institutions of higher education, will be at the convention to discuss the crucial problems facing the Arab peoples from Morocco to the Persian Gulf.

The Convention is sponsored by the Organization of the Arab students in the United States, with its headquarters at 2875 Broadway in New York. The Organization was established five years ago to encourage Arab students in the United States to study the fundamental problems facing the Arab world and the means for their solution, and to promote better understanding and stronger ties with the American people and various friendly student and other organizations.

The outstanding speakers include Arab and American personalities. The keynote speech will be delivered by Dr. F. Ze-neiddine, Ambassador of Syria to Washington, and the closing address will be given by Dr. Mousa Al-Shabandar, Iraqi Ambassador to Washington.

Among the other speakers will be the representative of the Governor of Oklahoma, Dr. R. T. Klemme, and Dr. Fayez Sayegh of the Arab Information Center, New York.



## West Denounced On A&M Campus

### Arabian Students Holding Convention

STILLWATER, Sept. 4 (AP) — An Arabian student leader declared today that action of the British and French in massing troops against Egypt is an "open violation" of Egypt's rights and principles of the United Nations.

Strongly denouncing the use of force was Adel Akel, 28-year-old Columbia University student who is president of the Organization of Arab Students. The group is holding its annual convention on the Oklahoma A&M College campus.

Akel spoke tonight, instead of later in the convention as scheduled, because Dr. Farid Zeineddine, ambassador to the United States from Syria, was delayed arriving.

"All we seek from America is justice for our causes," Akel said in a speech prepared for delivery at a banquet session. "It is the vicious Zionist groups in this country and colonial interests which are poisoning the minds of the American people."

#### Won't Buy Peace

Akel said that Arabs are peace-loving people but "we are not going to buy peace at the expense of our independence and we are determined to preserve it within the principles of the United Nations."

"The massing of British and French troops against Egypt is an open violation of the sovereign rights of Egypt and United Nations' principles. We Arab students denounce strongly the use of force and declare our full support to all Arab problems."

A message was delivered to the conference from President Gamel Abdel Nasser of Egypt, that his nation will not turn to either the East or West in its quest for freedom and dignity.

"The one and only hope that Egypt nurses is the freedom and dignity of every Arab country," the message, read by Tahseen Bashaer, press attache of the Egyptian delegation to the UN, said. "When every Arab country contains freedom and dignity the world peace will be strengthened. This is our policy and these are our objectives."

"For these principles we neither turn to the East nor to the West. These principles are neither Soviet nor American nor British. They flow out from nature, our traditions and our history."

"This spirit of Arab nationalism has at this stage manifested itself in Egypt's refusal to participate in the London Conference which has been convened to discuss a matter that falls entirely within the sovereignty and domestic jurisdiction of Egypt."

#### "Imperialists Sow Seeds"

Nasser's statement declared that "our belief in Arabism will never rest until our brother, the people of Palestine, have received due justice and until the Palestinian

(Turn to Page 3, Col. 5)

## West Denounced

(Continued from Page One)

question has been equitably and honorably settled.

"Imperialism is now busy sowing seeds of disunity among members of Arab nations. We are no longer deceived by practices of imperialism."

Another speaker scheduled for tonight was Fayez A. Sayegh, New York, acting director of the League of Arab States.

About 250 delegates, representing 4,000 Arabian students from 13 nations who are attending college in the United States, are attending the conference. It will last through Saturday.

Heated sessions on the Suez and Algerian questions are expected to panel discussions and committee meetings beginning tomorrow. The discussions include North Africa, recent developments in Arab policy and relations of OAS and affiliated clubs.

Dr. Sayegh Speaks In Akron

By Sam Salem

Akron, O., Aug. 30—By platform, radio, television, and newspaper, Dr. Fayed A. Sayegh—brilliant deputy director of the Arab states UN delegation—stated the Arab view on the Suez crisis and the Palestinian problem as it has never been presented before in this part of the country.

Demonstrating a complete mastery of his subject and a delivery beyond compare, the 34-year old Arab spokesman gave two main addresses—the first at a luncheon Kiwanis meeting, and the second at an evening public gathering sponsored by Al As-hab, local organization of American Syrian-Lebanese.

The airwaves were literally filled with Dr. Sayegh's eloquent voice, as the four local stations—WAKR, WCUE, WADC, and WHK—heralded his appearance with three 10-minute interviews, various tape-recorded playbacks of his speeches, and countless spot announcements.

In a special display of public service, WAKR-TV arranged for a 15-minute television interview at the most favorable viewing time, 6 to 6:15 p. m.

The nearby Cleveland Plain Dealer, though traditionally pro-Zionist, gave complete coverage both preceding and following Dr. Sayegh's addresses. Several articles also appeared in the Akron Beacon Journal, only local newspaper.

As a pleasant respite between his afternoon and evening talks, Dr. Sayegh toured the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co., where he witnessed for the first time the building of a tire. The Arab spokesman was amused to learn that in five days one Goodyear plant can build all the tires used in Syria during one year.

In regard to the Suez crisis, Dr. Sayegh pointed out that Egypt has always owned the canal, that she was perfectly justified in nationalizing the Suez Canal Company, and that there is no basis for the belief that nationalization constitutes a threat to free navigation.

He charged Britain and France with conjuring up the nonexistent threat to free navigation in order to implicate the United States in their outmoded colonial aspirations.

Many Kiwanians applauded when Dr. Sayegh added: "Britain and France, at best second rate powers, think they can declare war on the Arab world and leave it for you to foot the bill and pay with your sons' lives while they reap the profits."

"The attitude of the United States at the London Conference betrayed every principle between man and man and nation and nation on which it has ever stood," added Dr. Sayegh, thus repeating a charge made previously on "Face the Nation," coast-to-coast CBS radio and TV program.

Traditionally, he explained, the Arab peoples, as well as many other groups, have looked upon the United States as a country that champions such principles as a fair trail and the cause of self-determination. Yet at the London Conference, the United States with England and France who (1) defined the conference procedures, (2) laid down conditions

that no self respecting country could accept, and (3) sought to impose an international regime over Egyptian property in the absence of Egypt and without her approval.

Dr. Sayegh offered this as the crux of the Palestinian problem: "In order to make room for Europe's persecuted Jews, 1,000,000 natural inhabitants of Palestine—Arab Christians and Moslems—were expelled forcefully and now live as refugees under relief."

Cleveland Girl Receives Scholarship to Italy

By Emilie Easa



Elizabeth (Libby) Eunice is off for a one-year trip to Milano, Italy on a scholarship, where she will launch her musical career into the world of opera.

Libby graduated from the nationally-famous Cleveland Institute of Music this past June. Upon hearing her dramatic soprano voice at recitals and various other performances, the director of the Morris and Birta Treuhaft Memorial Scholarship offered Libby the fellowship which will enable her to live and study under various operatic masters in Milano.

Attractive and only twenty-three years old, she stands 5 ft. 5 inches, and has very capably appeared in such female leads as offered in the operas Martha, La Boheme and Der Rosen Cavalier.

She has taken first place in the Ohio State Championship of The Ohio Federation of Music Clubs, and is the winner of the Tri State Musical Award, which takes in contestants from Ohio, Michigan and Indiana.

Besides speaking English and Arabic, she has studied French, Spanish, German and Italian. The latter she hopes to master by boarding with an Italian family.

Although the majority of this year will be spent entirely in work, Libby hopes to see as much of the continent as her finances permit. To earn extra traveling expenses, she plans a job with the U. S. Embassy.

She will sail to Italy this fall on the Italian liner S.S. Cristoforo Colombo.

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Directed By  
JOSEPH K. YOUNES

On behalf of the Arab states, Dr. Sayegh called for peaceful settlement of the Palestinian problem on the basis of "Israel's birth certificate," the UN Resolutions of November 1947. By these, Israel would be obliged to (1) return the refugees to their homes, (2) give up territory being held beyond the original grant, and (3) nationalize the city of Jerusalem.

"If Israel continues to reject peace on these terms, the Arabs will not attack. We will merely sit and watch Israel lead an arti-

ficial life that depends on financial support chiefly from the United States and from American Jews. We will sit and watch while you pay the bill."

Dr. Sayegh summed up the Arab attitude toward the United States as "the mood of a frustrated lover. I pray that Arab hope in the United States will be restored."

A large measure of Dr. Sayegh's highly successful appearance in Akron must go to attorney and local telecaster Eddie Elias, 354

Dorchester Rd., who arranged for the unprecedented radio and television coverage and who moderated the evening meeting. Others seated on the platform were K. T. Salem, 726 Ridecrest Dr., who introduced Dr. Sayegh; John Elias, 3188 Medina Rd; Dahdough Joseph, 700 Sunnyside Dr; and Norman and Sam Salem, 2311-12 st.

In charge of arrangements for the Kiwanis organization was Paul Martin, 1360 Hametown Rd., who also arranged for Dr. Sayegh's tour of Goodyear.

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Room rates listed below are convention rates. A book of tickets must be purchased by each person requesting rooms at the hotel. No room will be reserved without the purchase of a book of tickets for each person in the room. Please mail all reservations and checks for books of tickets, directly to the Berkeley Carteret Hotel. PLEASE MAKE CHECKS PAYABLE TO EASTERN STATES FEDERATION.

Rates for Convention function ticket books, all of which include registration and banquet, are: Thurs. thru Sun. — \$17.00; Fri. thru Sun. — \$15.00; Sat. & Sun. — \$12.00.

<input type="checkbox"/> SINGLE	..... \$ 6.00*	7.50	9.00	10.00	12.00	14.00
<input type="checkbox"/> DOUBLE (double bed)	..... \$ 8.00*	9.50				
<input type="checkbox"/> (Twin bed)	..... \$10.50	13.00	15.00	17.00		
<input type="checkbox"/> PARLOR	..... \$13.00					

\* These rooms with running water.

Please make room reservation for the following as per rates above:

Name ..... Address .....

Name ..... Address .....

Date and time of arrival ..... Departure Date .....

Check enclosed for ..... book(s) of tickets.

## TO SPEAK IN N. Y. THIS TUESDAY

Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, Acting Director of the Arab States Delegations Office, will discuss "The Challenge to Christian Principles in the Middle East Crisis" at 8:30 p.m., Tuesday, September 25, at the auditorium of the Church of the Covenant, 310 East 42nd St.

Dr. Sayegh's lecture will be the second in a series on "Religion and World Affairs," presented by the Tudor City Community Council.

The series will be open to the public at no admission charge. Refreshments will be served by the Tudor City Community Council.

## TO TAKE PART IN RADIO DEBATE

Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, Deputy Director of the Arab States Delegation, will appear next Monday, September 17 on the Steve Allison Radio Show in Philadelphia, heard 11 p.m. over WPEN.

The Arab spokesman will take part in a debate on the Arab-Israeli Question. Readers may attend the program free of charge.

The Caravan: October 11, 1956

Janesville Daily Gazette: September 13, 1956

## History Club Books Two Talks on Middle East

A controversial and timely subject, "The Current Situation in the Middle East" will be the topic for two lectures booked for the Janesville History Club 1956-57 series.

On Jan. 16, Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, acting director of Arab States Delegations Office, New York, will present the Arab view of the problem and on Jan. 23, Isaac D. Unna, vice consul, Consulate of Chicago will give the Israeli point of view.

Dr. Sayegh also serves as chief of research, chief of public liaison and counselor of the Yemen delegation to United Nations. Born in Syria he received his B. A. and M. A. in philosophy at the American University of Beirut. He took his Ph. D., also in philosophy, at Georgetown University, Washington, D. C. in 1949. He taught at the American University and at the graduate school of Georgetown. In 1955 he was visiting lecturer at the graduate school of Yale University. He has lectured on the campuses of more than 80 universities in the United States and appears frequently on radio and TV.

Dr. Sayegh has participated in more than 25 conferences and conventions on the Middle East.

Isaac Unna, born in Germany, entered the service of the British Mandatory government in Palestine and was appointed secretary to the Haifa district officer in 1941. He served in the British Army throughout the western desert campaign and graduated from the Military Academy in England in 1946.

Subsequently he served with the British Army in Austria and Italy.

During the Israel War of Independence he served as an infantry officer and saw action in Galilee. From 1949 to 1952 he served as a regular army officer in the Israel Defense Army. Early in 1953 Mr. Unna was transferred to the ministry for foreign affairs of the government of Israel and in September, 1953 was appointed vice consul.



DR. FAYEZ A. SAYEGH



ISAAC D. UNNA

to the consulate general of Israel in New York. He was transferred to Chicago in 1955.

Arthur Treacher, stage, screen and TV actor, will open the lecture series Tuesday Oct. 23.

The club, now in its 81st year, is conducting its annual membership campaign this week and next. Mrs. T. O. Townsend is membership chairman.

### Verbal Pearls

Eddie was in. The sponsors flocked to his feet, and the previously despised "ah's" became cherished verbal pearls. Today, 6:45 to 7:00 p.m. in Akron is strictly Eddie Elias time. The latest Hooper survey gave him a phenomenal 8.1, leaving a mere 1.9 for the remaining programs.

In January, 1954, when WAKR got the green light for a television facility, the Eddie Elias TV show was born. Seated in a plush living-room setting, Eddie would interview a sports celebrity and assist his guest in a visual demonstration.

During the year that followed, Eddie exhausted every conceivable game, and his long list of guests included Florence Chadwick, Carmen Basilio, Tommy Henrich, Johnnie Saxton, and Tommy Bolt. Lately he has veered away from a purely sports show and devotes every other program to nonathletic stars and to prominent religious, political, and educational figures. A recent visitor was Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, Deputy Director of the Arab States UN Delegation.



Vol. 4 — No. 16

## CHICAGO PICKED AS SITE FOR TWO-DAY CONFERENCE

The Institute on Middle Eastern Affairs, a conference sponsored annually by the Midwest Office of American Friends of the Middle East, in cooperation with other groups, will be held at the Hotel Sherman in Chicago, October 26 and 27, it was announced by Dr. David Collier, AFME's Midwest director.

The two-day meeting will open in Chicago on Friday, October 26, at noon in the Louis IV Room of the Hotel Sherman. The speaker for that occasion will be H. E. Dr. Moussa al-Shabandar, the ambassador of Iraq to the United States, who will discuss the significance of the Baghdad Pact and the role of the Arab League.

Dr. Collier announced that Dr. Ahmed Ben-Salah, secretary-general of the General Confederation of Labor of Tunisia, is expected to arrive in the United States the third week in October and will come to Chicago to address the conference at 2:00 p.m. the first day in the Crystal Room. His subject will be "North Africa Joins The Arab World: The New Look Toward The West."

Keynote speakers for the second day are Dr. Fayez Sayegh, acting director, Arab States Delegation to the United Nations, and Edwin M. Kretsman, public affairs adviser for the Near East, South Asia and African Affairs office of the Department of State. Dr. Sayegh will address the conference at 1:00 p.m. on "Arab Nationalism Comes of Age," and at 3:00 p.m. Mr Kretsman will give "An Official American View of United States-Middle Eastern Affairs."

Prominent resource leaders from the Chicago area taking part in the panel discussions on Friday and Saturday afternoons are Dr. John A. Wilson, professor of Egyptology, The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago; Henry Regnery, president of the Henry Regnery Company, publishers; Dr. George A. Miller, deputy director, the American College of Surgeons; and Dr. David Collier.

Also participating will be Charles R. Hulac of New York City, recently returned from a

three-year tour of duty in Iran and national executive secretary of American Friends of the Middle East.

## A.U.B. BEGINS 91ST YEAR

On October 15, the American University of Beirut inaugurated its 91st year with an enrollment comprising fifty nationalities and twenty-four religious groups.

Among the distinguished scholars who will join the faculty during the academic year is Professor Arnold J. Toynbee.

Also joining the faculty are Sir Zafrullah Khan, former Chief Delegate of Pakistan to the United Nations, now a member of the International Court of Justice at The Hague; Dr. Ralph E. Turner, Durfee Professor of History at Yale University and editor of The Cultural and Scientific History of Mankind; and Dr. Alfred Hourani of Oxford University, international authority on Near Eastern affairs.

The American University of Beirut, pioneering in the fields of Arts and Sciences, Medicine, Pharmacy, Public Health, Nursing, and Agriculture in the Near East, draws students not only from Lebanon and the Arab States, but also from Ethiopia, Libya, and other countries on the African continent, as well as Afghanistan, Pakistan and the entire Near Eastern area.

The University, initiating a new program of studies supported by the Division of Humanities of the Rockefeller Foundation, has engaged the services of these international scholars in a program which is designed to provide graduate training in the Near East area aimed at interpretive studies on the modern Arab world.

The American University of Beirut now enjoys a unique position of trust and respect in the Middle East. Its faculty is comprised of approximately one-half American and one-half local and European scholars; it operates under an American Board of Trustees and is chartered under the Board of Regents of the State of New York.

Dr. C. K. Zurayk, Acting President, addressed the convocation which was held at the University Chapel, Beirut, on October 15.

## OVER 1,000 ATTEND ARABIC FILM HERE

Over 1,000 people filled the Brooklyn Academy of Music last Sunday, October 14 to witness the Arabic film, "Tell No One" (Ma Toulesh Lahed), starring Samia Gamal, Farid Al Atrash and Noor El Hoda. It was the first time these stars ever appeared together in one film.

There were two showings of the film, which had English titles, at 7:00 and 9:15 p.m., and both showings were very well attended.

The film was released here through the Rashid Sales Company, 191 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn.

## CALLS ARREST "A BRAZEN ACT OF AIR PIRACY"



**DR. FAYEZ A. SAYEGH**, Acting Director of the Arab States Delegations Office, Monday night charged that by the illegal arrest of five Algerian leaders France has committed a "brazen act of air piracy."

Dr. Sayegh revealed that the French action had been undertaken despite French Premier Mollet's "word of honor" to the Moroccan Sultan not to interfere with the freedom of movement of those "acknowledged" leaders of the Algerian people who were "proceeding on a mission of peace."

Dr. Sayegh warned that this French breach of "every elemental principle of decency and international relations no doubt will add further fuel to the explosive situation in the Middle East and will also worsen Arab, and perhaps, Afro-Asian relations with the West."

The Arab official also charged that "Every elemental principle of decency and of inter-personal and international relations has also been desecrated by French authorities."

### LEAVING AGAIN ON CROSS-COUNTRY TOUR

Dr. Sayegh is leaving again this weekend for the west coast to begin his second cross-country tour. The tour will take in radio, TV and lecture appearances from October 27 through November 9. The complete schedule follows:

**October 27:** Chicago, Ill. — A speech at 1 p.m. before the Institute on Middle Eastern Affairs, sponsored by the American Friends of the Middle East, on "Arab Nationalism Comes of Age."

**October 29:** Omaha, Nebraska — A speech at 8:15 p.m. before the University of Omaha Institute on World Affairs, "An Arab Appraisal of Middle East Problems."

**October 30:** Pullman, Washington — A lecture at 7:30 p.m. be-

## Syrian-Lebanese Committee Backs McCormack for Attorney General

An almost spontaneous reception of various leading Syrian and Lebanese persons in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts has been gathered to strongly back Edward J. McCormack, Jr., in his fight for Attorney General.

A group of more than 100 persons, including leaders of the various church, civic and social groups, have strongly endorsed the candidacy of McCormack because of his outstanding qualities.

At a recent meeting of this group, Attorney Joseph S. Ayoub, Assistant Corporation Counsel for the City of Boston, was unanimously elected Chairman to spearhead one of the drives for McCormack.

McCormack is an honor graduate of Annapolis Academy and served six years in the U. S. Navy with honor and distinction. He was graduated from Boston University Law School, Magna Cum Laude, and is presently president of the Boston City Council, and acting Mayor of the City of Boston.

McCormack's campaign is based primarily on youth, ability, and strong leadership. He recently overwhelmingly received one of the largest votes for Democratic nomination for Attorney General in recent history.

Among the leading members of the Syrian-Lebanese Committee for Edward J. McCormack, Jr., for Attorney General are the following people:

fore the State College of Washington, "Suez Canal."

**October 31:** Pullman, Washington — An afternoon debate before the State College's "Pop Corn Forum," on the Arab-Israeli Dispute.

**November 1:** Tacoma, Washington — A speech before the Tacoma World Affairs Council on "The Arab View of Suez and the Middle East."

**November 3:** Portland, Oregon — An evening speech, topic open, before the Syrian-Lebanese Club.

**November 4:** Portland, Oregon — An evening speech, topic open, at a reception before the Arabic speaking community.

**November 5:** Portland, Oregon — Unspecified TV appearances under the sponsorship of Paul Rask, editor of "Wlad Arab."

**November 6:** Portland, Oregon — A 12:00 noon speech before the Portland Rotary Club on the Arab-Israeli Dispute.

**November 8:** Santa Barbara, California — A 12:00 noon speech before the Lyons Club on the Arab-Israeli Dispute.

Mitchell Aborjaily, Hassan Abraham, William Ayoub, Christine & Johnny Ayoub, Mr. & Mrs. Nicholas Ayoub, Albert Baraket, Fred Bousard, Mr. & Mrs. Costa Chalas, Fred Bunai, Helen Dahan, Louis Daher, Mr. & Mrs. John Gally, Mr. & Mrs. George Haddad, Mr. & Mrs. James Hadge, Mrs. Freda Deban Hanna, Mr. & Mrs. Thomas Jabaily, Minna Kelley,



**Joseph S. Ayoub**

Elected Committee Chairman

Alfred S. Leon, Ida Lyons, Dr. & Mrs. Fred Maloof, James S. Maloof Selma Massoud, Esq., Fred Mather, James Matta, Miriam K. Moses, Mr. & Mrs. Vincent Murray, Mr. & Mrs. Edward Nedder, Mr. & Mrs. Thomas Raffoul, David Saliba, James Saliba, Mr. & Mrs. Charles Shagory, George Spear, Mr. & Mrs. Joseph Spear, John Stephen, Tommy Stephens, Mr. & Mrs. Marshall Thomas, Mr. & Mrs. Albert Zahka, William Raffoul, Mr. & Mrs. Fred A. Yazbak.

### HALLOWEEN DANCE

A Halloween "Trick or Treat" Dance will be held this Friday, October 26 by the Ridge Fraternity and the Amersyrs at the Raleigh Restaurant, 91st Street and Fourth Avenue, Brooklyn.

The dance will feature music by Eddie Kochak and his orchestra, and dancing will take place 9:30 to 1:30. Costumes are not necessary for admission to the dance, and free masks will be provided for all those attending.

Admission to the jointly-sponsored affair is \$1.50, and prizes will be awarded for the best costumes.

## Moslem to Speak Monday at Omaha U.

Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, editor, author and educator, will speak on "A Moslem Appraisal of the Middle East Situation" at 8:15 p. m., Monday, October 29 in the University of Omaha Auditorium.

Director of the Arab States Delegations Office, Sayegh was educated at the American University of Beirut and Georgetown University. He has lectured widely in the United States and participated in over 25 conferences and conventions on the Middle East. He appeared on Face the Nation in August, 1956.

This is fifth in a series of seven lectures in the World Affairs Institute.

Spokane Chronicle: October 31, 1956

### Suez Stand Told—

## Arabian Raps British and French

WASHINGTON STATE COLLEGE, PULLMAN, Oct. 31.—A prominent Arabian official told a Washington State college audience last night that the Israeli attack on Egypt earlier yesterday was either:

"British and French exploitation of Israeli feelings toward Arabs, or Israeli exploitation of British and French greed, or a joint connivance of the two."

Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, deputy director of the Arab states delegation office in New York city, spoke to a large audience on the "Arab States' Position on Suez."

The Arabian official said there is no doubt that the timing of the attack was determined in part by the fact that elections are to be held in the United States next week.

He dodged a question from the audience as to which side the United States political campaign would benefit from events in the Middle East.

He said the hope obviously was present that the United States was too preoccupied for effective action.

He said he believed the number one problem of statesmanship

facing the United States was in reconciling its alliance with its present allies and its traditional principle of self-determinism for all peoples.

He called England and France "neo-colonial powers that have seen their holdings and influence shrink throughout the world faster than they are prepared to accept."

### Hits Colonialism

"The basic issue at stake throughout the whole Suez canal crisis," he said, "has been, pure and simple, one of colonialism versus national sovereignty. When British troops had to leave Egypt, the English realized they had left by the door and could not return by the door. So they have been looking for a window."

The speaker traced the history of the Suez canal and said there were only three questions pertinent when President Gamal Nasser nationalized the canal.

These, he said, were, "Who owned the canal? Was Egypt with in its legal rights to nationalize it? and did the action violate any treaty?"

### Precedents Cited

He pointed out that the canal was located entirely within the boundaries of Egypt and said that the charter given in 1854 to the Suez Canal company recognized that the "company being Egyptian, it shall abide by the laws of Egypt." He said Egyptian owner-

ship had been recognized by every treaty since that time, and that the Suez company merely had a concession from the Egyptian government to operate the canal.

As for legal rights, Dr. Sayegh said there was precedent after precedent recognizing the legal right for any sovereign nation to nationalize "any public utility within its borders." He said such rights had been confirmed by the United Nations, by England, and by the international courts.

The Arabian official said England and France raised several "false issues for propaganda reasons," and he proceeded to attack these point by point.

He said the Egyptian government had promised to compensate foreign shareholders in the company at the time the canal was nationalized; that operating efficiency had continued as in the past despite "Britain and France calling out all non-Egyptian pilots"; that Egypt is more interested in guarding the interests of the users than any other nation as she stands to lose more if they are not safeguarded; and that the freedom of navigation principle had been advanced originally by Egypt and confirmed by Egypt ever since.

"Behind the British and French opposition to nationalization is the reluctance of England to surrender the control it had over Egypt through occupation," he said.



Thursday, November 15, 1956

Price 10¢

# Turmoil in the Middle East

By Dr Fayez A. Sayegh  
Acting Director, Arab States Delegation

The grave tensions in the Middle East at last erupted in turmoil and warfare when the Israeli Army late last month crossed the international frontier into Egyptian territory and the full might of the British and French empires descended upon Egypt.

Each of the three invading countries had a distinct purpose, and was motivated by a special objective.

## FRENCH COLONIALISM IN NORTH AFRICA

To France, Egypt had come to symbolize above everything else the staunch championing of the struggle of Algerians for independence and self-determination. With the rapid dwindling of the French empire in the past few years — the loss of Indo-China, of Morocco and of Tunisia — Algeria came to be a symbol and a rallying point for die-hard French colonialists.

The French campaign to repress the Algerian struggle for freedom was intensified in 1956, in an obvious effort to quell the rebellion before the 11th session of the General Assembly convened in November of 1956. Unto this end, France stationed about half a million troops on Algerian territory, withdrawing from the NATO command forces which it had committed for the defense of Western Europe.

The championing by Egypt of the cause of Algerian independence had for months been the cause of Franco-Egyptian tension. Nothing was more obvious than that the French Government was prepared to go to any extent to embarrass Egypt and destroy the Egyptian regime in order to make France's objective of preserving her colonial rule of Algeria easier to attain.

## BRITISH COLONIALISM IN THE SUEZ AREA

Britain, on the other hand, had been experiencing similar agonies in her helplessness in the face of the inevitable shrinking of her domination and influence in the Eastern Mediterranean. It attributed to the example and influence of Egypt whatever invigoration the National Liberation Movements in that area had undergone in the last few years.

The independence of Libya and Sudan, the replacement of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty by the Baghdad Pact, the dismissal of Glubb Pasha, and the evacuation of British forces from the Suez Canal area in June of 1956, together with the growing precariousness of the British position in Cyprus, are manifestations of the eclipse of the British empire in the Middle East. There were additional disputes with Saudi Arabia over Buraimi, with Yemen over Aden, and with Oman. Nor was the thinly veiled domination of Britain over the oil-rich Arab principalities of the Persian Gulf

immune to challenge from the rising nationalism of the area. Coming in the wake of Britain's debacle in Iran, these were revelations of the dawning of a new day in the Middle East and reminders of the passing away of the British empire, and as such were far from comfortable to the Conservative Party in power in England.

Thus when Egypt decided to exercise one of the essential prerogatives of its sovereignty, by nationalizing the Suez Canal Company — an Egyptian Company operating an Egyptian waterway — the growing restiveness of the British colonial die-hards erupted in violent anti-Egyptian sentiments. This coincided with the French anti-Egyptian feelings over Algeria and, as a result, a new colonial "Entente Cordiale" emerged from the fury of the two Empires.

The first reaction was a flood of threats and intimidations, coupled with an anti-Egyptian propaganda campaign, global in scope. Economic warfare against Egypt was instantaneously launched.

After two months of fruitless efforts, they finally resorted to the United Nations, in the hope that they would receive therefrom support for, and indorsement of, their effort to redominate the area under the guise of a new formula: "international operation" of the Suez Canal.

The principles enunciated by the Security Council on 13 October 1956, however, were virtually a slap in the face of colonialism and neo-colonialism — inasmuch as they asserted categorically that respect for Egypt's sovereignty was a fundamental requirement of any settlement of the issue. Hence the assertions by the leaders of Britain and France, immediately after the unanimous adoption by the Security Council of its resolution of 13 October, that the use of force in the attainment of their objectives was not precluded.

Military measures of mobilization and movement of troops and naval and air forces to the vicinity of Suez were intensified. Constant meetings between British and French leaders invariably resulted in re-affirmation of Anglo-French solidarity and in outpourings of belligerent warnings to Egypt. The injunction by the Security Council, that Britain, France and Egypt negotiate for a peaceful settlement on the basis of the six principles laid down by the Council, were scornfully disregarded despite Egypt's open

## MAKING HER DEBUT



ROMA PRYMA, beautiful exotic dancer, will make her first appearance at a Syrian-Lebanese "hafli" this Sunday evening, November 18, at the Hotel St. George Grand Ballroom in Brooklyn.

She will be one of many featured entertainers being presented by the St. Nicholas Young Men's Club, Inc. at their Annual Entertainment and Dance, which yearly presents the most outstanding indoor entertainment in the New York area.

Other outstanding stars being presented at the affair include the ever-popular Hanaan, Mohammed El-Bakkar, Anton Abdelahad, and Lorraine Shalhoub, with Naim Karacand, Philip Solomon, Joe Budway, Mike Hamway and George Hamway providing the musical accompaniment.

Eddie Kochak and his orchestra will provide American dance music in the popular new Stardust Room. Syrian "Maza" will be available for the convenience of the guests.

Heading the committee for the St. Nick's Annual Entertainment is Louis Hakim, chairman, and George H. Halaby, vice chairman. Assisting them are Tom Coury, Mitchell Zogby, George Marrash, George Ayd, Terry Baraka, Albert Naman and Edward Zraick.

Officers of the charity organization are as follows:

Anthony J. Awn, president; George H. Halaby, vice president; Albert Naman, recording secretary; Fred Ozone, corresponding secretary; Assad Antoun, treasurer; Thomas Ganem, sergeant-at-arms.

The various committee heads include Norman Shaleesh and Joseph Baccash, Welfare; George Gorra, Membership; Mitchell Zogby, Visiting; Albert Naman, Social.

indication of enthusiasm for the idea of a negotiated settlement.

## ISRAELI EXPANSIONISM IN PALESTINE

To Israel, the involvement of  
(Continued on Page 4)

# Turmoil in the Middle East

(continued from page 1.)

Egypt in protracted struggle with Britain and France was a most welcome prospect. For Egypt was the main obstacle to the attainment of Israel's traditional and oft-declared aims of spreading its rule over the remainder of Palestine and the whole of Jordan. The destruction of Egypt's military potential, or at least the temporary distraction of Egypt and the diversion of her forces to meet an attack from other sources, seemed to be the only hope for Israel to achieve its expansionist goals.

Thus it came to pass that, at one and the same time, the interests of Britain, France and Israel in the Middle East — often divergent and sometimes incompatible as they had been hitherto — came to coincide. All three, for different reasons, wanted Egypt destroyed as a military power.

All that France and Britain wanted was a pretext to invade Egypt and occupy the Canal; all that Israel wanted and needed was to see Britain and France do so — and Israel was therefore eager to provide Britain and France with the required pretext.

But the timing of the tri-partite aggression against Egypt was determined by more than the coincidence of interests of the three aggressors. Certain features of the international situation rendered the moment highly propitious for a combined attack.

## THE OPPORTUNE MOMENT

The United States was approaching a highly contested national election, in which, as usual, domestic pressures played some role, and in which, to an unusual degree, the issue of peace in the world was crucial, and the involvement or non-involvement of the United States in warfare of any kind was of great significance in determining the outcome of the election.

The Soviet Union, on the other hand, was facing the most serious trouble behind the Iron Curtain since the death of Stalin and perhaps since the withdrawal of Yugoslavia from the Soviet camp.

With these two simultaneous developments, the two Great Powers in the mid-20th century world were temporarily distracted from playing their post-World-War-II role as balancing forces among the less-great Powers. The less-great Powers, having thus had respite, if only for a brief period, from the uncomfortable position of being overshadowed by the two Colossi, found themselves freer to act in accordance with their colonial traditions. It was virtually as though, momentarily, the world had slipped back to the time when America was isolationist and Russia was backward and weak, when Europe was the center of power and force in the world, and when European great Powers were the world's Colossi.

The norms and patterns of the era of colonialism were conjured up from a past which the world had thought was dead. Strong-arm methods, plotting with smaller tools for instigation of smaller conflicts in order that the greater Powers might intervene on the pretext of seeking to protect interests or safeguard peace and security, came into operation as soon as it seemed that the threat of curbing action by either of the Great Powers of the day was

momentarily removed.

It was thus that the new "unholy alliance" of the 20th century was formed among three countries with different interests but momentarily with one objective.

## THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE JOINT AGGRESSION

It is difficult at this stage to predict with any measure of certainty the short-term consequences, military or political, of the tri-partite aggression—whether in the Middle East or the world at large.

The long-term, historic significance of this aggression, however, is already apparent.

When the turmoil is over and the world proceeds to pick up the threads left loose by the present aggression, it will inevitably become clear that the very purposes at which the aggressors aimed will have been negated by the processes which their aggression has already set in motion.

• • •

1. — Instead of destroying Egypt and obstructing its revival and attainment of dignity, the aggression has already rendered Egypt, in the eyes of the whole world, a symbol of heroic resistance by a small country to the joint forces of mighty empires.

2. — Instead of isolating Egypt from the Arab World, and from the larger rejuvenated world of Asia and Africa, the aggression has engendered a spectacular closing of ranks among all Asians and Africans, and indeed among all peoples dedicated to the preservation of world peace, the safeguarding of international justice, and the realization of the rights of nations to dignity and self-determination. Seldom has the Afro-Asian bloc in the United Nations acted with such sustained solidarity and impregnable unanimity as it displayed in the present crisis.

3. — If Britain and France sought to "protect" by force the freedom of shipping through the Suez Canal, even though it had not been endangered, their joint action has already contributed to the very opposite. That great waterway of peaceful navigation is today a battlefield, and the acts of war have blocked the Canal.

4. — If Britain and France sought to maintain by force the flow of Middle Eastern oil to Western Europe, their action has already all but halted the flow.

5.—Traditional bonds of friendship, and even normal diplomatic relations, between Britain and France, on the one hand, and some Arab States, on the other, have either been totally severed already or have been placed under the greatest strain in the long history of European-Arab relations.

6.—The very stature of Britain and France in the world has been adversely affected. It will be observed that, apart from her two accomplices and two of her Commonwealth satellites, Britain now stands alone in her aggression — deserted or at least not supported by her allies in NATO, in SEATO, in the Baghdad Pact, in the so-called Users Association, and in the Commonwealth.

7.—Perhaps a more grave consequence of the joint aggression is the impact it has had, and will continue to have, on the mind and heart of new Asia and Africa. All assurances that colonialism was dead and that Britain and France

## EXTENDING STAY



SABAH, famous Arabic songstress and actress, and her husband, Anwar Mansy, leading Middle East violinist, have made arrangements to extend their stay in the United States a few more months.

The arrangements were made in response to the many requests to see and hear the beautiful songstress by communities throughout the country.

had abandoned their former aims to redominate the underdeveloped world, albeit in a new form, have now been belied; and the Afro-Asian mind is today disturbed by a profound doubt in the intentions of the two West European empires.

8.—Finally, the very fate of the United Nations has been placed in jeopardy. If the United Nations fails to stem the aggression and undo the harm it has done, and to enforce effectively its reiterated injunctions for the withdrawal of invading forces from Egyptian territory, it will have embarked on the course sadly travelled before by the League of Nations.

Historians in the immediate future will record with sorrow that the second effort of mankind to organize for peace and justice had been undermined by two of the main pillars of the United Nations acting in concert with the first creature of the United Nations.

If that happens, then, having tried twice and failed twice, the peoples of the world will find it hard to cherish hopes or to entertain confidence in any third attempt, should such an attempt be forthcoming.



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## BOOKLET AVAILABLE ON ARAB-ISRAEL FACTS

"The Arab-Israeli Conflict," a pamphlet providing all relevant and generally unknown information on the Palestine Problem, and authored by Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, Acting Director of the Arab States Delegation, is now available.

The booklet, which can be of invaluable assistance to anyone interested in studying the problem or in lecturing and debating about it, contains a wealth of documented material, and can be obtained **WITHOUT COST** by writing to the Arab Information Center at 120 E. 56th Street, New York 22, N. Y., or by calling MUrray Hill 8-5580.

## Dr. Sayegh On TV Next Thursday



Dr. Fayeze A. Sayegh, Deputy Director of the Arab States Delegation and Acting Head of the Arab Information Center in New York, will appear on television for about a half hour next Thursday evening, January 10 between 11:00 o'clock and midnight.

He is scheduled as the second guest on Mike Wallace's "Night Beat," seen in New York on WABD, Channel 5. Dr. Sayegh is presently in Canada with His Excellency Abdel-Khalek Hassouna, Secretary-General of the Arab League.

Janesville Daily Gazette: January 12, 1957

## Arab Diplomat Will Address History Club

Janesville History Club is presenting two lectures on the Middle East problem, the Arab point of view to be explored by Dr. Fayeze A. Sayegh at 8 p.m. Wednesday in First Congregational Church and the Israeli point of view to be given by Isaac D. Unna on Wednesday, Jan. 23.

The current situation in the Middle East has created widespread interest in the controversy between the Arab countries and Israel. Single tickets for the lectures may be obtained at the church door.

Dr. Sayegh, acting director of the Arab States Delegations office in New York, also serves as chief of research and chief of liaison as well as counsellor of the Yemen delegation to the United Nations.

Born in Syria he received his B. A. and M. A. degrees at the American University of Beirut and took his Ph. D. at Georgetown University, Washington, D. C. From 1945 to 1947 he taught at the American University of Beirut; in 1949 taught at the graduate school of Georgetown University and in 1955 was visiting lecturer at the graduate school of Yale University. He has lectured on campuses of more than 80 universities in the United States including Harvard, Yale, Chicago and Columbia.

Dr. Sayegh has published seven books in Arabic as well as several studies in English including The Palestine Problem; Understanding the Arab Mind; and Arab Proper-



DR. FAYEZE A. SAYEGH

ty in Israeli-Occupied Territory. He appears frequently on radio-TV forums such as Chicago Round Table, Northwestern University Reviewing Stand and Columbus Town Meeting.

Dr. Sayegh has participated in more than 25 conferences on the Middle East.

Mrs. Val Weber is arranging a dinner for Dr. Sayegh at the Woman's Club at 6:30 p.m. Wednesday. History Club members who wish to attend are to make reservations with Mrs. Weber by Tuesday noon.



## West Lacks Understanding in Handling Middle East Issues, Says Arab Speaker

By PEG O'BRIEN

The Arab world could be redeemed for the West if the West in dealing with the Middle East lives up to what it professes with regard to freedom. Dr. Fayez Sayegh, acting director, Arab States Delegation, concluded in his lecture for the Janesville History Club Wednesday evening.

The Arab ideology is incompatible with communism, he said. It was the Western missionaries who inspired the Arabs to seek self-determination, the counselor of the Yemen Delegation to United Nations declared.

The three major problems as seen by the Arab statesmen, teacher and author are: The conflict between nationalism and fading colonialism; the Arab-Israeli conflict; and the search for orientation and direction—world conflict of the East and the West.

### West Lacked Understanding

Had the West been understanding of the Middle East awakening to a desire for a better standard of living and a degree of freedom no conflict would have resulted, Sayegh declared. In every Arab state the movement started with a demand for moderate degree of freedom and self government. Yet, the speaker stated, the powers rejected all demands and refused to negotiate.

"Had colonialism been willing to surrender piecemeal, nationalism would not have become so violent, but colonialism failed to heed the lesson of history," he said.

With regard to the Arab-Israeli conflict the speaker said that the crux and essence of the problem is the dispossession of an entire people, the change of status of a whole country.

Reviewing the history of Middle East the speaker said that 40 years ago Palestine was completely an Arab country. "There were only 50,000 Jews in Palestine," he said. "Today four-fifths of the land of Palestine constitutes a Jewish State." Instead of the 50,000 Jews there are 1,600,000 Jews who have come into the country from various parts of the world. The overwhelming majority of Arabs who were in Palestine have been expelled from their homes; a million of them are refugees, rotting in camps and tents and barracks living on international charity at the rate of 7 cents a day per person.

### Israel Inflicts Casualties

"In addition, the State of Israel has been maintaining a policy of constant military aggression and inflicting sizable numbers of casualties on civilian population as well as military personnel. And the avowed purpose of leaders of Israel is to expand Israeli territory to occupy the whole of Palestine and Jordan—an area five times the size of the territory now in Israeli hands."

Dr. Sayegh stated that the State of Israel today differs in every essential respect in its borders, in its territory, in its population and

in its capital from the Jewish State envisaged by the United Nations in 1947.

The Partition Resolution was envisaged by the United Nations as a final settlement of the Palestine problem. "By implementing one part of it and violating all the other parts Israel has prevented the settlement from taking place," the speaker stated.

"We will recognize the Israel of the United Nations but not the Israel in fact. If there is a will for peace the basis must be on the U. N. resolutions: return refugees, surrender excess territory and internationalize Jerusalem."

The U. N. has eight times condemned Israel for its actions, Dr. Sayegh said, but not once has an Arab state been condemned. It is a matter of United Nations record that in the past seven years four Arabs have been killed to every one Israeli, he said.

### Praise for Nasser

Dr. Sayegh spoke highly of General Nasser whom he said has an overpowering urge to aid the underprivileged. He pointed to the social, educational and land reforms in Egypt, stating that 400 schools have been built a year. A new constitution has been adopted which guarantees the rights of the individual.

Nasser, the speaker said, was within his rights in the Suez Canal dispute.

"The measures adopted by the Egyptian government with respect to the Suez Canal are being referred to as 'seizure of the canal.' The fact, however, is that what the government did was to nationalize the company which manages, operates and services traffic through the canal. Nationalization of the Suez Canal Company is within the rights of Egypt as a sovereign state, for the Suez Canal Company is an Egyptian joint stock company, although a sizable proportion of its shareholders is non-Egyptian. The Egyptian government has declared that it has no intention of interfering with canal traffic."

Asked about Egypt buying arms from Czechoslovakia, the speaker said that Egypt had repeatedly tried to buy arms from the United States and England but was unable to. There are no military or political alliances involved in the transaction with Czechoslovakia, he insisted.

Asked about the Eisenhower doctrine, the speaker said that he welcomed a genuine American policy for the Middle East even if the Middle East was not consulted before it was conceived. Dr. Sayegh said he would be more hopeful of the doctrine had it been extended to deter aggression from any source and not just the Soviet.

Mrs. William Henke, History Club president, introduced the speaker and announced that the Israeli point of view of the Middle East will be presented Wednesday, Jan. 23, by Isaac D. Unna, vice consul, consulate of Israel in Chicago.

SAYEGH TO SPEAK ON TWO RADIO PROGRAMS

Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, Acting Director of the Arab States Delegation's Office in New York, will be heard on two radio broadcasts this coming week on local stations. On Monday, January 21, Dr. Sayegh will be guest speaker on the John Wyngate Program, which is broadcast from 1:30 to 2 p.m.

Last Wednesday evening, January 9, Yours Truly attended a session which took place in Sayles Hall at Brown University in Providence, R. I., at which Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh gave a brilliant talk entitled "The Arab-Israeli Conflict."

Many Arabic-speaking people from various parts of New England attended this session, Dr. Sayegh's first appearance in Rhode Island. Earlier in the day, Dr. Sayegh was guest speaker at the Providence Lions Club Luncheon, which was held at Johnson's Hummocks Restaurant.

Page Six

THE CARAVAN

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, January 31, 1957

With every article or letter to the editor published in The Caravan, the name of the writer will appear unless withholding of name is requested. The Caravan has the right to print anything in whole or in part, as the editor sees fit. No letters or photographs will be returned, whether published or not.

# THE CARAVAN

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Editor-in-Chief: **George S. Debs**  
Managing Editor: **Bill Debs**

## CHEAP, SMALL-TIME POLITICS

(continued from page 1)

For a true, non-partisan analysis of the current attitude toward Jews in the Arab states, we recommend the article on page five by Alfred M. Lilienthal, an American Jew who has just returned from the Middle East to look into the situation. Mr. Lilienthal *certainly is at least as*

### SHE GOT HER CARAVAN

I want to thank you and the nice people that sent me the December 20 issue of The Caravan, which was lost in the mail. I have received six issues so far, more than I needed.

If there is someone else besides me that missed that issue, I would be glad to mail it to them. People have been so nice that I'd like to do my share.

Mrs. Arthur Maloley  
Commercial Street  
Manchester, N. H.

Editor's Note: We are happy that our readers responded so well to Mrs. Maloley's previous appeal. We also have had many of the December 20 issues returned, and anyone who failed to receive it may now receive one on request.

### A GENEROUS OFFER

Your headline editorial "Clean up House" of January 17, 1957, was very interesting. I would like to take this opportunity to

express my gratitude and appreciation for the enlightening articles and editorials published in the past.

It is my desire to see "The Caravan" continue its good work.

In reference to Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh's presentation of the Arab point of view on Mike Wallace's television interview on Thursday, January 10, 1957, I must advise you that I took a tape recording of the interview and will be happy to make it available to you or any organization interested in hearing the tape.

With continued success, I remain,

Sincerely yours,  
Philip W. Barrood  
New Brunswick, N. J.

Editor's Note: Thank you Mr. Barrood. We also took recordings of Dr. Sayegh's TV interviews and will gladly make them available to any organization interested in having them.

# RE: CLEAN UP HOUSE

Editor's Note: We received the following letter from Dr. Faye Z Sayegh, acting director of the Arab Information Center, in answer to an editorial entitled "Clean up House" which appeared in this same space January 17. Our answer to this letter can be found in today's editorial on page 6, "We're Not Convinced."

Dear Mr. Debs:

I returned to headquarters from my recent lecture-tour and had a chance to read the editorial in The Caravan issue of January 17th.

I was gratified to learn of the response of Caravan readers to my latest television appearance in this area, and I'm glad that many of them were interested in reading the transcript.

The reason why our office does not always transcribe the text of radio or television interviews after they are made, is not, as you suggested in your editorial, merely that we are "undermanned" nor that our "budget is limited" — although these facts do have a bearing on our policy with respect to publications. The more relevant reason, however, is that, in the case of interviews where very little is said beyond what is already contained in our existing publications, there is no justification, from an informational standpoint, for publishing a transcript which duplicates existing material. Those of your readers who are interested in the facts to which I referred in my interview can read about those facts — presented more fully and with more comprehensive documentation — in our publications, which are distributed free of charge to any requesting individuals.

Your editorial proceeded to make certain remarks about the Director of this office, Ambassador M. Kamil A. Rahim. In fairness to everyone concerned and, above all, in fairness to the truth, I wish to correct some of the assertions made in the article:

The figure you cited as representing the Ambassador's annual salary is not correct.

When Ambassador Rahim undertook his present mission, he accepted a post which offered him less than his previous post as Ambassador from Egypt at Washington. Subsequently, he personally decreased his own salary.

When his health failed and he took his regular leave abroad for recuperation, and then was advised by his doctors to extend his rest, he volunteered to have the extended absence without pay.

The appointment of Ambassador Rahim as head of our organization is by no means an instance of "catering to certain individuals." As you probably know, Ambassador Rahim was first selected to establish this office and set its operation in motion. In October 1955, feeling that his mission had been accomplished, he tendered his resignation. It was the unanimous feeling of the Foreign Ministers of the Arab States, meeting in the League Council, that his guidance and work were still needed; and it was only upon their urging that he consented to extend his tenure.

Criticism is usually healthy and fruitful. However, to be constructive, criticism must be based upon true facts.

Fayez A. Sayegh  
Acting Director  
Arab Information Center

# ISRAEL ARRESTS COPTIC LEADER

Archimandrite Joachim El Anany, leader of the Coptic Orthodox Church in Israel, was arrested last week by Israeli authorities on charges of espionage for Egypt.

The arrest was made as the

45-year-old Egyptian priest crossed into Israeli territory through the Mandelbaum Gate from the Arab-held Old City. Archimandrite El Anany has made several visits to Egypt since 1948, when he was made head of the Coptic monastery in Jaffa.

Israeli informants denied Arab reports that a trial has already been held, and said a trial would be held "shortly" and in secret.

# CONSULATE PACKED TO SEE DR. MALIK

The Lebanese Consulate in New York, located at 9 E. 76th Street, New York City, was jammed with almost 300 people, many of them leading religious, civil and social dignitaries, who came Saturday evening, February 2 to honor Dr. Charles Malik, visiting Foreign Minister of Lebanon.

Dr. Alif Gebara, Consul General of Lebanon in New York, and Mrs. Gebara, hosted the gathering. Dr. Malik was on hand during the entire reception, which lasted from 6 p.m. until about 8:00, to greet the guests, many of them old friends he hadn't seen since he was last in New York, when he held the post of Ambassador of Lebanon to Washington.

Another reception in honor of Dr. Malik is being held in Washington, D. C. next Thursday, February 7, by the Ambassador of Lebanon to Washington, Victor Khouri, and Miss Alexa Khouri. The reception will take place in the Continental Room of the Sheraton Park Hotel.

# N.Y. WT&S HITS WAGNER'S SNUB

The New York World-Telegram and The Sun, a Scripps-Howard Newspaper, blasted Mayor Wagner of New York for his recent snub of visiting King Saud of Saudi Arabia.

In an editorial in the leading New York evening newspaper's January 29 issue, entitled "New Low in Political Haymaking," the WT&S said, "... we are shocked and surprised by his (Wagner's) refusal to extend even the courtesy of a routine municipal welcome to the king or Saudi Arabia.

"We rate this snub as the new low in political haymaking."

The Telegram went on to point out that King Saud is here as an invited guest of the President, in what he believes to be in the interest of the United States.

"For the Mayor of even the greatest city in the United States to jeopardize a delicate national and international situation with free-swinging insults impresses us as a stupid bit of vote-seeking demagoguery," the editorial continued.

"At the moment," it went on, "the federal government is pitted against Russia at a critical stage a game in the jittery stage of a game in the jittery stakes are the greatest since the Chinese mainland was lost to Moscow.

"In this situation, Mr. Wagner has taken it upon himself to overrule the President of the United States!"

# QUOTES CARAVAN

The World-Telegram and Sun also quoted last week's Caravan editorial in the Brooklyn section of its January 31 issue, under the heading, "Boro Arab Papers

# LEBANON A WESTERN ALLY REGARDLESS, SAYS MALIK

Lebanon stands unequivocally on the side of the west, in all disputes, stressed Dr. Charles Malik, visiting Lebanese Minister of Foreign Affairs. He cited this as the first of Lebanon's two major aims in its foreign policy. The other is to always act in accordance with Lebanon's place as an integral part of the Arab world.

Dr. Malik's statements were made in his address as guest speaker last Sunday, February 3 at St. Mary's Orthodox Church, Brooklyn, at a banquet honoring His Eminence, Metropolitan Antony Bashir, spiritual head of the Syrian Antiochian Orthodox Archdiocese for New York and all North America.

The banquet is an annual affair in honor of the Archbishop's saint's name's day. It was jointly sponsored this year by the two Brooklyn Syrian Orthodox churches, St. Nicholas Cathedral and St. Mary's Church.

Other speakers at the banquet, which followed the celebration of Divine Liturgy at St. Mary's Church by Metropolitan Bashir, included the honored guest, His Eminence; Victor Samra, president of the Board of Trustees of St. Mary's; Emil Sahadi, president of the Board of Trustees of St. Nicholas; George Massabni of St. Mary's and Abdallah Shaker of St. Nicholas, co-chairmen of the affair; Mrs. James (Dorothy) Howie, president of the Ladies of St. Mary's; Mrs. Adeeb (Katie) Zarick, president of Hamalat El Teeb of St. Nicholas, who composed a special poem for the occasion; Archdeacon

Blast Mayor Wagner." The news item, which appeared on page 2, quoted several paragraphs from the editorial by Bill Debs, "Cheap, Small-Time Politics."

The Caravan had published an editorial in its August 27, 1956 issue commending the WT&S and Scripps-Howard for its impartial and fair editorial policy.



HIS EMINENCE

Metropolitan Antony Bashir Ilyas Kurban, and Rev. Wakeem Dalack, of St. Nicholas Cathedral. Father Paul Schneirla of St. Mary's was master of ceremonies.

Metropolitan Bashir was presented with a bouquet of roses and a check from the Ladies of St. Mary's as well as a check from the Hamalat El Teeb.

Included among the honored guests were Dr. Kareem Azkoul, member of the Lebanese delegation to the United Nations, and Dr. Alif Gebara, Consul General of Lebanon in New York.

# Outstanding Entertainment

The banquet featured a variety of outstanding entertainment, highlighted by a few very-well-received selections by Rosalind Elias, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. (continued on page 2)



AL-HODA Photo by Joe Sharbel

M. S. Massoud (right) gestures while driving home a point in a conversation with Dr. Charles Malik, visiting Lebanese Minister of Foreign Affairs. Mr. Massoud, who is the president of the Canadian Arab Friendship League in Montreal, was one of close to 300 guests who turned out at the office of the Consul General of Lebanon in New York to greet Dr. Malik.

Others shown in the photo are Dr. George Fawzi of Lebanon, N. H., and Joseph K. Younes, director of the Arabic Hour Radio Program in Toledo, Ohio.



### WE'RE NOT CONVINCED!

A letter from Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, acting head of the Arab Information Center in New York City, is printed on the first page of this issue of The Caravan. In this letter, Dr. Sayegh refers to our editorial of January 17 entitled, "Clean Up House," and attempts, in his able and clever manner, to "correct" certain remarks in that editorial regarding the Arab Information Center and its inactive, absent head, Ambassador Kamil Abdel Rahim.

In that editorial, we stated that the Arab Information Center is undermanned, that a bigger budget for its activities is needed, and that a better management of this budget is essential. We further stated that Ambassador Kamil Abdel Rahim, who has been in Switzerland ever since last April, is still an inactive, absent head of this organization, and should be replaced by someone who is on the spot, more active, more able and less taxing on the limited budget of the Arab Information Center.

We have no ax to grind with the Arab Information Center, nor do we have a bone to pick with Kamil Abdel Rahim or anyone else. In fact, we have often expressed our great admiration for the magnificent job which Dr. Sayegh, Mr. Hawari and many other members of the Arab Information Center staff have been doing in presenting the Arab point of view to the American public. The importance of this work, we have often stated, cannot be overstressed nor should it be underestimated. This is the only reason which prompted us to make the remarks in question.

We realize, however, that by eulogizing the good work of the Arab Information Center under the able management and supervision of Dr. Sayegh, and at the same time criticizing the inactive head of the organization, we must have put Dr. Sayegh in an embarrassing position, a position in which he felt duty-bound to cover up for his chief.

However, because we firmly believe that the interest of a whole nation should come before the interest of any one particular individual, we have a few additional remarks to make in view of Dr. Sayegh's letter.

From high Arab sources, we know for a fact that the annual budget of the Arab Information Center is 250 thousand dollars, and that about one-fifth of this amount, or about 50 thousand dollars, more or less, goes to Kamil Abdel Rahim. Considering the importance of the huge task that confronts the Arab Information Center, we believe that this is too much to pay any one man from such a limited budget. As a politician, Ambassador Abdel Rahim might have been worth even more than \$50,000 to King Farouk, but he assuredly is not worth that much to the Arab Information Center. This is why we said a better management of this budget is needed.

Whether Kamil Abdel Rahim decided to take a leave of absence with or without pay, there is no reason under the sun for his continuing to be an absent, inactive head of such an important organization. If his duties were important enough to justify such a high salary, then certainly someone else should be commissioned to take over his duties. On the other hand, if his duties are not important enough to require his presence, then they certainly are not important enough to justify such a high salary.

Dr. Sayegh says in his letter that "the figure we cited as Ambassador Rahim's salary is not correct," but he does not give us any figure (It could be less and it could be even more...) He says he accepted less than his salary as Egyptian Ambassador but does not state why.

## MIKE WALLACE'S "NIGHT BEAT" ZOOMING IN POPULARITY

Mike Wallace's "Night Beat" program, which is telecast every evening from 11:00 to 12:00 over Dumont Station WABD, Channel 5 in New York, has been zooming in popularity since it first began. A story several pages long appeared in the January 24 issue of LIFE magazine, and rumors are current that he will begin a half-hour version of the show in April for ABC, to be telecast nationally.

The program's immediate popularity is largely due to the personality of the star himself. He conducts his interviews of celebrities in the format of a reporter doggedly determined to make known to his public every last bit of the interviewed person's character and beliefs.

Putting the satisfaction of the listener's (or viewer's) curiosity above all else, Wallace almost always has his guest feel as though he's being "raked over the coals." Thus, LIFE aptly titled its article, "Celebrities' Hot Seat."

A good example of how Wallace tries his best to pick apart the views and feelings of his "guests," are two of his most recent programs. One of them, telecast January 10, had Dr. Fayez Sayegh, Acting Director of the Arab States Delegations Office, as a guest. The other, telecast February 5, had Rabbi Irving Miller, Chairman of the American Zionist Council, as guest.

In each of these interviews, Wallace never let up. He questioned Dr. Sayegh as though he were the most fanatical Zionist in the world. In interviewing Rabbi Miller, his questions seemed to be just as rabidly anti-Zionist.

It is this policy of impartiality which no doubt has had a great influence in the program's rapid rise in popularity.

Below are listed some of the highlights of his interviews with both Dr. Sayegh and Rabbi Miller. Space limitations prevent our publishing the interviews in full.

### Dr. Sayegh As Guest

WALLACE: Dr. Sayegh, first of all, let me ask you this: How do you justify Egypt's seizure or nationalization if you will of the Suez Canal in view of this statement by Nasser only two years ago . . . he said "the canal was," and I quote, "a waterway economically, commercially, and strategically of international importance" and he expressed quote "the determination to uphold the Convention guaranteeing the freedom of navigation of the Canal signed at Constantinople on the 29th of October 1888?"

DR. SAYEGH: I believe this was, that the quotation you have just made is from Article 8 of the 1954 Treaty between Britain and Egypt . . . The first part of which says that "The two parties recognize that the Canal is an integral part of Egypt." Now the important word in the quotation you have cited is the word "importance," namely, that the Canal is of international importance, but not international in ownership. The first part of the statement recognizes that it is Egyptian in ownership, and then that it is of importance to the entire world.

WALLACE: Dr. Sayegh, Egypt gave a concession to the Canal . . . on the Canal, to the Suez Canal Company, a concession to run until 1968, at which time Egypt was going to inherit the



MIKE WALLACE is shown above interviewing a guest on "the celebrities' hot seat."

Canal — would not have to seize it. Is that not correct?

DR. SAYEGH: Not exactly, Sir. The inheritance of the Canal is one thing, and the operation of the Canal is another thing. Egypt never gave the Canal to anyone in order to inherit it at a certain point.

WALLACE: A concession, they gave a concession on the Canal . . .

DR. SAYEGH: To operate the Canal.

WALLACE: To operate?

DR. SAYEGH: Yes. Because the 1888 Convention, the Treaties about the Canal, the Charter of the Canal Company, had nothing to do with the ownership of the Canal which has always been recognized to be Egyptian.

WALLACE: After they seized the . . . nationalized the ownership of the Canal, did they offer — did they offer, for instance, to the people who had the concession, the right to run the Canal, or did they say "We the Egyptians will run the Canal as well as nationalizing the Canal?"

DR. SAYEGH: No. They said "We will run the Canal." They offered compensation to shareholders in the first Article of the Nationalization Law. And, as a public utility of Egypt, the Canal which had been run by an Egyptian private company, namely, THE SUEZ CANAL COMPANY, was being transferred by the Egyptian Government into one being run by a public authority, which is always within the sovereign rights of a Government.

WALLACE: I still fail to understand, Sir, why Nasser chose the particular time that he did to, as you put it, nationalize rather than seize the Canal. The move did come hard on the heels of Nasser's anger over America's refusal to lend him money for the Aswan Dam project. Now what was the connection between the two?

DR. SAYEGH: Let's not call it 'refusal to lend him money.' In fact it was a withdrawal of an offer to lend him money, and . . .

WALLACE: However you interpret it, it was a refusal to lend money?

DR. SAYEGH: It was a withdrawal of an offer coupled with a statement that the United

States' government had no more confidence in the economy of Egypt, which wasn't exactly representative of the feelings of the United States Government or the International Bank, nor exactly complimentary to the Government of Egypt.

WALLACE: The fact of the matter was then that it was a reaction to, if you say so, the withdrawal of the offer of money. You feel that was . . .

DR. SAYEGH: I would say . . . as I've said several times before Sir, I would say that the timing of the action of the Egyptian Government may have been affected by the withdrawal of the Aswan Dam offer. But the principle was not affected by anything that any other Government did or failed to do.

WALLACE: Let's go back to Article 8 for a minute. You've been here before and I'm sure that you'll have a ready answer for it. Quote: "The determination to uphold the Convention guaranteeing the freedom of navigation of the Canal signed at Constantinople and so forth . . ." How do you reconcile that with the Egyptian Government's refusal to permit Israeli ships to go through the Suez Canal?

DR. SAYEGH: Well it's easy. Because in terms of the 1888 Convention, as I usually recall, many people seem to remember one Article of this Convention, Article I, and don't read any further, and if the Convention had to be all summed up in the first Article there would have been no need for the further Articles. There is an Article 10 of the Convention which speaks about a 'state of war' or a 'state of threat' to the security of the Canal, in which certain reservations are made for the Egyptian Government, authorizing the Egyptian Government to make certain reservations. And it is in terms of Article 10 that the Egyptian Government has justified and interpreted its curtailment and restriction of certain traffic destined for Israel. Not all traffic, only strategic material destined for Israel.

WALLACE: In January of 1953, the Associated Press reports King Saud of Saudi Arabia as saying the following: "The Arab nations should sacrifice up to ten million of their fifty million people, if necessary, to wipe out Israel. Israel to the Arab world is like a cancer to the human body, and the only remedy is to uproot it just like a cancer."

DR. SAYEGH: First, it was January '54 and not January '53. Because it was immediately after the raid on Qybia, in which 56 Arabs were killed by the Israeli forces which occurred on October 1953. And the statement was, if you quote it in full Sir — I don't know whether you had it in full or not — the statement was as follows: King Saud was asked by the newspapermen "If Israel continues to make such raids on Arab countries, what do you think should be the Arab answer to the Israelis?" And King Saud said: "If Israel cannot be restrained from continuously raiding Arab territories, then there can be no solution but the elimination of Israel, even if that costs us ten million people." Now, unfortunately, this statement has been quoted again and again and again, with the first half omitted. You can find the first half in the NEW YORK TIMES report of that statement in January of '54.

(Continued on Page 7)

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday February 14, 1957

THE CARAVAN

Page Seven

## MIKE WALLACE'S "NIGHT BEAT"

(Continued from Page 3)

WALLACE: I gather, from listening to what various of the Arab spokesmen have said, that they will not sit down to talk peace with Israel, and that is what the world is after. Peace, all over the world. If they will not sit down to talk peace with Israel, except under certain conditions, would you explain the intent of those conditions?

DR. SAYEGH: You know, is sitting down a means or is it an end? If the end is peace, the important thing then is to seek peace not to impose one method of seeking peace and attaining it, and to insist on that method, and to exclude any other method for attaining it. Now, the United Nations continuous . . . consistently has said: "Let the Arabs and the Israelis discuss either directly or with the Palestine Conciliation Commission." We are always ready to discuss, through the Palestine Conciliation Commission, the settlement and the peace between us and the State of Israel. We refuse to sit down directly for negotiations.

WALLACE: For what reason? DR. SAYEGH: For the simple reason that, Israel already tells us in advance what it will not negotiate upon. It already tells us: it will not have the borders as a subject for negotiation; it will not have repatriation of the refugees as a subject for negotiation; it will not have a status of Jerusalem as a topic for negotiation; namely, it excludes from the negotiation everything that we consider essential for a settlement, every element of the settlement, and presumes to decide unilaterally in advance what the negotiation shall not plead to. Let Israel say once: I accept the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations in principle, and then I can assure you the attainment of peace will have surpassed the greatest obstacle.

WALLACE: One final question Dr. Sayegh. You are a Christian. DR. SAYEGH: Yes.

WALLACE: Are you, as a person, as Faye Sayegh, are you anti-Jewish?

DR. SAYEGH: Sir, neither as a Christian, nor as an Arab, and I want to speak with all my candor now and entirely apart from any official position I might have or I might not have. As a Christian and as an Arab there is no hostility, no conflict, no tension, no problem between us and the Jews as Jews. Any problem is between us and the Zionists, as a political movement, and Israel as a State, not between us and the Jews, because Arabs whether they are Christians or Moslems, religiously speaking, inherit traditions from Judaism. Racially speaking, we are cousins; linguistically and culturally speaking we are tremendously related. The conflict is not Arab versus Jew, the conflict is Arab versus Zionist and Israeli.

### Rabbi Miller As Guest

WALLACE: How do you justify political activity by Americans on behalf of a foreign state?

MILLER: In the same way that I justify so-called political activities by Americans on behalf of the legitimate interests of any number of states, of any number of foreign states.

WALLACE: Like, for instance?

MILLER: There is a committee for a free Lithuania and there is a committee for a free Estonia and there is a committee on be-

half of Vietnam. And all these committees use what may be called political means. What is political means? Why this bogey about the word "political"? The word simply means seeing their Congressman, seeing a Senator, influencing public opinion, educating people, to the basic issues that are involved in any situation.

WALLACE: Well, then, here is what the Israeli Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion says of the position of the Jews outside of Israel, and I'm still going after dual loyalty . . . According to the Israel government Year Book of 1953-54, Ben Gurion said, "When a Jew in America 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 Ambassador as their own representative." Does the American Zionist Council repudiate this statement?

MILLER: It isn't a question, Mike of repudiating the statement. I personally . . .

WALLACE: Well, do you?

MILLER: Yes, I think that this statement is a far-fetched statement . . . I think that this statement can be easily taken out of context. When I speak of my country I mean only one country, Mike, and that is America. When I speak of Ambassador Eban, I speak of Israel's Ambassador to the United States. I do not refer to him as "my ambassador."

WALLACE: You say no. All right, let me quote from Rabbi Irving Miller.

MILLER: Go ahead.

WALLACE: The Jewish Agency's Digest of Present Events for September, 1955, quotes you as saying the following to the Zionist General Council meeting in August of 1955 in Jerusalem. You said, talking to this group, "What right have you Jews in Jerusalem to criticize the Jews of the United States?" You said them, "You speak of Ideology? To attack your government, to fly the Jewish flag at all meetings. To live in the United States as though you were a citizen of Israel is also an ideology." And then you went on, "I sometimes wonder which is easier — to live like this in America or to live in Israel." Did you say that?

MILLER: No. No, Mike.

WALLACE: This is not . . .

MILLER: That is . . .

WALLACE: That is not an accurate quotation?

MILLER: That is not, by no means. That is not an accurate quotation — quote of what of I said. I said something altogether different. I remember very well what I said and that is completely inaccurate.

WALLACE: Then you repudiate that statement?

MILLER: Yes, as it is — as you've just quoted it.

WALLACE: And you say that the Jewish Agency's Digest of Present Events for September, 1955, is inaccurate?

MILLER: That is, that statement is inaccurate. That statement is completely inaccurate.

WALLACE: As quoted, they quote you inaccurately?

MILLER: That's right. This was said — what I said was said in the context of a debate in which several Israelis engaged in which they chided certain American Jews for not sending over more American immigrants to Israel. I said to them, what is the greater

ideology? Living in Israel, or living in America? And this is what I said: Living in America, working for Israel, raising funds from city to city in behalf of the United Jewish Appeal, selling Israeli bonds, criticizing our country at times when we feel that such criticism is valid — I wonder sometimes, I then concluded, "what is easier."

WALLACE: I see what you mean. You mentioned raising funds from city to city for the United Jewish Appeal. One of the criticisms of the United Jewish Appeal is that it is a tax deductible contribution. Is that not correct?

MILLER: It is.

WALLACE: And this is money that goes to Israel. It is tax deductible in the United States and a good deal of it goes to Israel.

MILLER: Not a penny to the State of Israel, Mike, not a penny to the State of Israel.

WALLACE: Would you please explain the difference between the money — you've just gotten through saying yourself — your self — that money is raised for the United Jewish Appeal and finds its way into Israel.

MILLER: I'm talking about the United Jewish Appeal, not for Israel — right — because it is used to finance immigration into Israel but it is not used by the government of Israel and not a penny of it goes into the government of Israel for any single service of the government of Israel.

WALLACE: Why should it be tax deductible?

MILLER: Because it is for a humanitarian cause in saving people from the land of oppression, from lands where they cannot live and sending them to Israel.

WALLACE: Incidentally, before we go any further, they've just brought up from the office, and I think they should put this in here for the record, The Jewish Agency's Digest of Present Events, Volume 850, published by the Information Department of the Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Organization in Jerusalem and the quote that I gave you of what you had said at that meeting is in this Zionist . . .

MILLER: I still hold to what I say, Mike.

WALLACE: . . . booklet. And you did say according to them — in other words you do repudiate this statement here, that to live in the United States as though you were a citizen of Israel is also . . .

MILLER: I never said that.

WALLACE: Well, there's the book, sir.

MILLER: I know the book. I see it, but I never said this.

WALLACE: The Jewish Telegraphic Agency — by the way, I'm sure you understand this but it might be a good idea for me to make this perfectly clear right here and now, that I'm just doing a reporter's job with you in the very same fashion that I tried to do an adequate reporter's job with Rabbi Berger (anti-Zionist). The Agency quotes Ben-Gurion as referring to "The collective obligation of all Zionist organizations to aid the Jewish State under all circumstances and conditions, even if such an attitude clashes with their respective national authorities." What about it?

MILLER: Mr. Ben-Gurion would have to define this statement very much more accurately before I would accept it.

WALLACE: In other words you repudiate that statement?

MILLER: Mike, it isn't a ques-

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tion of repudiating.

WALLACE: Well, when I say . . .

MILLER: You seem to like to use the word "repudiate." I don't think it is a question of repudiation. In the first place Mr. Ben-Gurion has his opinion. I have mine.

WALLACE: I mean when I ask you I've mentioned — I asked you whether or not you repudiated two occasions, I believe, I'm asking — this then, does not reflect your point of view nor the point of view of the Zionist Organization of America?

MILLER: Not if it is taken in the exact sense in which that statement was made.

WALLACE: What other sense could you possibly take it?

MILLER: I can take it in the sense that American Zionists — for that matter, American Jews — would do everything in their power, consistent with their citizenship and within the framework of their laws of this country, to plead the cause of Israel and to create a climate of public opinion in this country favorable to Israel's legitimate needs.

WALLACE: But the first loyalty you said — you said earlier the whole loyalty is to the United States?

MILLER: Undoubtedly.

WALLACE: Rabbi Miller, the most bitter of anti-Zionists, are the Arabs. Faye Sayegh, acting director of the Arab States U.N. delegation, said here on Night Beat, "that there is no hostility between us, the Arabs and the Jews, as Jews. Any problem is between us and the Zionists as a political movement." What is your reaction to that statement?

MILLER: My reaction to that statement is just so much eye-wash. It reminds me of what Hitler said when he first came into power. He said he had to protect Germany against Communism. And that it was his mission and destiny to root out Communism in Germany. Jews, he said, were Communists and therefore he had to destroy Jews. In the Soviet Union the Jews are reactionaries, counter revolutionaries. And therefore they had to root out the Jews. And now the Arabs are saying that the Jews are Zionists and since they are at war with the Zionists or with Zionism they must root out the Jews.

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THE CARAVAN

## DR. SAYEGH'S DAY IN CLEVELAND

### "DESTROYS" RIVAL AT WORLD AFFAIRS SESSION

By Sam Salem

CLEVELAND, O., Feb. 22 — Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, dynamic and brilliant deputy director of the Arab States Delegation Office, had HIS day in this midwestern metropolitan area of more than one million people.

\* He was the *hit* speaker at the annual institute of the Cleveland Council of World Affairs, attended by more than 500 persons at the Hotel Statler.

\* He made two television appearances and was interviewed by newsmen from all the local radio stations and newspapers.

\* He presented a major address at the Shriner luncheon meeting in the Hotel Manager.

And with each appearance, he drove home the Arab message by employing the unique technique that has become his trademark and made him the most outstanding Arab spokesman in this country — a complete mastery of the complex Near East problem and the ability to verify every point he makes by referring, from sheer memory, to specifically documented facts.

It was this technique, combined as it always is with a keen understanding of the American mind, that led a local university president to remark:

"Sayegh completely destroyed his opponent, but he did it in such a high-level, intellectual, and somewhat benevolent manner that he seemed to be performing a humanitarian deed."

#### CONFUSING BACKGROUND

Dr. Sayegh's opponent at the Statler meeting was Yehuda Harry Levin, counselor of the Israeli embassy. The two representatives made their views known on the same platform, but at different times, in the background of a somewhat serio-comic set of confusing circumstances.

The local Cleveland Plain Dealer had reported in the morning issue that the two spokesmen were unwilling to ride in the same car from the airport and to share the same platform. Dr. Sayegh, when quizzed by pressmen and radio and TV interviewers, promptly denied the news report "at least as far as I am concerned."

To verify his point, he produced his exchange of correspondence with Benjamin Brown, council director. The letters proved that Dr. Sayegh had originally offered to debate with Mr. Levin, but that the Israeli had refused even to stage a "joint discussion."

Mr. Levin, referring to the entire episode as "absurd," insisted that he was quite willing to sit next to Dr. Sayegh, "although I would hesitate to engage him in debate." Dr. Sayegh announced, to newsmen and over TV and radio, that he would be delighted to discuss the Near East problem with Mr. Levin anytime, anywhere. The Israeli, however, failed to respond to the invitation.

Dr. Sayegh, in a telegram to Wright Bryan, Plain Dealer editor, explained the errors in the news account and asked for a retraction. However, the telegram was not published and the reporter on hand was content to explain: "Just why the spokesmen did not share the same platform was never made clear."

#### TRUMP CARD

Dr. Sayegh's trump card throughout the entire day was an official three-page publication of the United Nations Security Council, which tabulates the casualties resulting from the Israeli-Arab border clashes during the two years preceding Israel's invasion of Egypt last October. His dramatic use of this document was best exemplified during the council sessions at the Statler.

Mr. Levin, had rested the

greater part of his case around the border-hostilities question. In attempting to justify Israeli's seizure of the Gaza strip and her refusal to leave the area in defiance of the UN, Mr. Levin complained that during 1956 more than 1000 Israelis had been slaughtered by Arab fedayeen. "We were in danger of being exterminated," he declared.

Dr. Sayegh, at the opportune moment, flashed out UN document. The statistics showed that for every Israeli killed in a border incident four or five Arabs have died. On the Israeli-Egyptian border during 1956, nine Israelis have been killed, as opposed to 74 Arab casualties.

"The border hostilities have never been a one-sided affair," declared Dr. Sayegh. "If anyone has a right to fear a return to the situation that existed before the Israeli attack, it is the Arabs who have that right."

In analyzing the Palestinian problem, Dr. Sayegh distinguished between the long-range problems existing before October, 1956, and the immediate ones that have arisen since that date. He pointed out the inconsistency of Israel's efforts to straighten out the Aqaba, Suez, and Gaza issues while ignoring the more basic problems of the Palestinian Arab refugees, the boundary disagreements, and the status of Jerusalem.

#### "LATTER-DAY MORALISTS"

"Since its beginning," declared Dr. Sayegh, "Israel has lived in violation of its birth certificate — the UN resolution of November, 1947, that created it." The UN gave Israel 54 per cent of Palestine, but she has seized more than 80 percent of the area. The UN tried to internationalize Jerusalem, but Israel has Israelized it. The UN sought to protect the rights of Arabs in Israel, but Israel has expelled and dispossessed 1,000,000 of them and made second-class citizens out of those that remained.

Dr. Sayegh showed that Israel has openly defied more than 70 UN measures and has been condemned by the UN more than all the other nations of the world put together.

The Arab spokesman called attention to the rise of a new class of humanitarians — "latter-day moralists" — who oppose UN sanctions against Israel because no such pressures have been evoked against larger nations.

"Does this mean," asked Dr. Sayegh, "that we throw out the law because someone is strong enough to live beyond the law? Do we excuse the actions of one



DR. FAYEZ A. SAYEGH

outlaw by referring to the actions of another outlaw? Such latter-day moralists are engaging in a caprice. With this analogy, they fail to dignify themselves, nor do they dignify the country they wish to defend."

Dr. Sayegh's radio and TV schedule included interviews by Gloria Brown and Tom Fields of KYW and Dorothy Fuldheim of WEWS. Responding to a question by Miss Fuldheim, Dr. Sayegh reminded her that in 1948 Israel purchased enough arms from Communist Czechoslovakia to turn the tide of the war and that this was done in direct defiance of a UN truce arrangement.

"The basic difference with the present situation," Dr. Sayegh remarked, "is that Syria and Egypt have paid for the arms with their own money, while Israel has used tax-deductible American dollars."

Dr. Sayegh's schedule was planned by Mrs. F. H. Irwin, council trustee, who arranged for his appearance at the institute. Assisting her in the reception duties were this reporter and Eddie Elias, who spent the entire day with Dr. Sayegh.

Elias, Akron TV personality and producer, cancelled all his commitments to act as Dr. Sayegh's TV consultant. This writer acted as press liaison.

Jamal Sah'd, also of the Arab Delegation Office, was on hand for the day's activities. He came to Cleveland from Columbus, where he gave a major address on the Palestinian problem at Ohio State University.



LAWRENCE

MASS.

By

Vivian A.

Ramey

On January 26 at 5 p.m. in St. Anthony's Church, Lawrence, Mary E. Farris, daughter of Mrs. Tufic D. Farris and the late Mr. Farris of 102 Pleasant Street, Methuen, became the bride of Kenneth E. Kissinger, son of Arthur Kissinger of Lawrence. Rt. Rev. Msgr. Joseph David, pastor, officiated.

The bride, who was escorted to the altar by her brother, Elias T. Farris, was preceded by Mrs. Barbara Lattini as matron of honor. George D. Farris, brother of the bride, was best man.

## **Ridge Celebrating Silver Anniversary**

The Ridge Fraternity of Brooklyn is celebrating its 25th Anniversary this year with a heavily-planned schedule of activities.

The organization took a lead role in last week's appearance of Dr. Fayez Sayegh at St. Mary's Orthodox Church, where the Deputy Director of the Arab States Delegation addressed a bulging house on the Arab-American community's part in the Arab-Israel conflict.

President Charles M. Lutfy was personally responsible for Dr. Sayegh's appearance, as well as securing the hall of St. Mary's Church for the occasion.

The Ridge got the year's schedule off to a flying start with a gala party several weeks ago at the home of Mary Kattan of 258 81st Street, attended by over 50 guests. Other activities planned this year are a 25th Anniversary Dinner in late fall, and another gathering with a prominent Arab guest speaker on the Arab-Israeli question, to take place in the near future.

The committee in charge of last week's gathering was headed by co-chairmen Bill Boutross and Ed Samara.

Present officers of the club include Charles Lutfy, president; Selwa Farhood, vice-president; Ed Samara, treasurer; Mary Kattan, secretary, and George Saba, trustee, all of whom were re-elected recently.

## **"IN CAPABLE HANDS"**

It is most reassuring to have such men as Dr. Farid Zeineddine, Dr. Charles Malik, Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh and others as spokesmen for the Arab countries' interest in the Near and Middle East.

Their defense of the rights and sovereignty of the Arab countries, against the pressure and influence the Zionists can exert with the cooperation of England, France and certain supporters in the U. S. should make these countries feel that their protection is in capable hands.

Your editorials and praise of these men are very commendable and deserving.

Thomas R. Hanna  
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Chicago Daily Tribune  
Wednesday, March 20, 1957  
Part 1—Page 18 F\*

## ISRAEL SAYS IT WILL FIGHT FOR GULF OF AQABA

### Premier Hurls a New Threat of War

JERUSALEM, March 19 (AP)—The open threat of a new war emerged today from Israel's dismay at Gaza strip and Aqaba gulf developments since she turned over those territories, which she took in battle, to the United Nations.

Prime Minister Ben-Gurion said Israel's army would march against Egypt again if President Nasser of Egypt "tries to block our historic and legal passage into the Gulf of Aqaba."

The Gulf of Aqaba leads to Israel's port of Eilat [Elath] at the head of the Red sea.

Ben-Gurion voiced these views to a Newsweek magazine correspondent, Curtis G. Pepper, at Tel Aviv.

#### "But if Forced—"

"It would be a black day on the moral conscience of the world if we had to move our army to defend our rights," said the Israeli leader. "We will do it only as a last resort, but if forced, we will do it and do it effectively."

Ben-Gurion implied that he hoped for backing from President Eisenhower on the basis of a letter Mr. Eisenhower sent to him during Israel's early March crisis over the final pullout orders. Israelis have generally regarded that letter as a pledge.

If there is no forthright action by the United Nations, Ben-Gurion said, the Eisenhower doctrine "could certainly be used to halt such a little man as Nasser."

#### "More Valid than Treaty"

"In his letter, the President stated we would have no regrets if we withdrew," Ben-Gurion said. "For me, this was more valid than any treaty between nations. That was the word not only of the the President of the United States, but of an honorable man, a friend and a general of armies."

Foreign Minister Mahmoud Fawzi of Egypt was reported today to have said that Egypt has no intention to send Egyptian troops into the Gaza strip immediately.

A U. N. spokesman in Cairo denied a report that UNEF troops had agreed to evacuate towns of the Gaza strip within 48 hours and deploy exclusively along the 1949 armistice line. The U. N. spokesman said no time limit was fixed for this shift.

## Arab Warns on U. N. in Aqaba

### Has No Right in Area, He Says

BY JOHN THOMPSON

A leading spokesman for the Arab nations at the United Nations declared yesterday they would oppose any U. N. effort to "protect" the Gulf of Aqaba, controversial water route to Israel.

Fayez Sayegh, deputy director of the Arab States delegation at the U. N., told a press conference that the U. N. has no more right to patrol this strip of water than it has to patrol the off shore limits of the United States.

Eilat [Elath], Israel's port, lies at the head of the gulf. U. N. troops recently moved

into position at the mouth of the gulf, whose waters are claimed by Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

Speaking in the offices of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, Sayegh, here for a speech in Winnetka, declared he thought the U. N. "peace" force would remain "for some time" patrolling both sides of the Israel-Egyptian frontier. He said he could see no justification for it to remain in the controversial Gaza strip.

There was no doubt in his mind, Sayegh said, that Israel would again invade Sinai if it thought such a move "opportune" and that it could "get away with it." If this happened, he predicted, the other Arab states would aid Egypt in repelling an invasion.

Sayegh repeated the oft-

stated Arab position that Arabs would never sit down to negotiate peace with Israel until Israel "obeyed" U. N. resolutions, and "fulfilled its U. N. birth certificate."

The primary actions Israel must carry out in this regard, Sayegh said, include: Allowing displaced Palestinian Arabs to return to their homeland, internationalizing Jerusalem, and readjusting present Israeli boundaries. The latter, he said, would mean that Israel would have to give up 40 per cent of its territory.

Sayegh asserted that only 300 Egyptian Jews had been expelled from Egypt as a result of the Israeli invasion. He said they had been "convicted" of liaison with the enemy, but did not define the term.

### ISRAEL MAPS AQABA TEST WITH A SHIP

JERUSALEM, March 19 (AP)—Israel plans to send a ship under its own flag into the Aqaba gulf to test a threatened Arab blockade, a foreign office spokesman, Moshe Le-shem, said today.

It will be a real test, he said, if a ship under Israel's flag goes thru Tiran strait, the gulf entrance once blocked by Egyptian guns on the Sinai shore and on Saudi Arabian isles. And the test will be made as soon as a vessel with sufficient cargo is available to sail for Eilat, the Israeli port at the head of the gulf.

There is only one channel at the mouth of the gulf of Aqaba and it is about 1,000 yards from the Egyptian shore.

## Arab Official Stresses Action for Palestine

Washington.—The acting director of the Arab States Delegation Office in the U.S., Dr. Fayez Sayegh, urged the internationalization of Jerusalem in an address at Georgetown University.

Referring to the encyclical of Pius XII on the *Crisis in Palestine* when the Pope said Jerusalem must be placed under international protection and be given boundaries that are not too close to its various sanctuaries, Dr. Sayegh said that only in this way can a future war be prevented in places sanctified by the life and death of the Prince of Peace.

He called for "full implementation of all the standing UN resolutions on Palestine," which would include internationalization and the return of Arab refugees to their homelands.



Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, March 21, 1957

## CALLS FOR "BUFFER ZONE" TO EASE MIDDLE EAST TENSION

A proposal that would lessen Middle East tensions and permit consideration of the basic issues in the Israeli-Arab struggle was put forth in New York last Thursday by Elmo H. Hutchison, overseas director of the American Friends of the Middle East.

Speaking at a press conference, Mr. Hutchison called for the establishment of a buffer zone, to be manned by UN Emergency Forces along and on both sides of the demarcation line separating Israel from its four Arab neighbors.

Hutchison, a former member of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, and one time chairman of the Israel-Jordan Mixed Armistice Commission, arrived in New York March 13 from his post in Cairo. He spoke at Middle East House, the national headquarters of the AFME organization, at 47 East 67th Street.

A buffer zone, "half in Israel and half in the Arab States," he declared, "could ease Israel's fear of marauder raids, as it could the Arab fear of Israeli expansion."

Such a zone, he added, could be a "deterrent" to dangerous expressions of the hatred nurtured on "both sides of the line" during the past eight years and could reduce tensions which might permit the UN time to "reach a just settlement of Middle East differences."

Discussing the causes of the present crisis, Hutchison warned against the assumption that the border raids between Egypt and Israel are a one-way thoroughfare. "While fedayeen raids from Egypt have been a source of fear for Israeli border settlements, there were also raids from Israel," he said.

While some were in "retaliation" for Arab action, others were "purely raids of intimidation," he charged. UN records, he added, would show that "far more Arabs were being killed than Israelis by across-the-border action."

The former truce observer believes that Israel's decision to attack Egypt last October 29 was influenced as much by external factors as by existing border tensions. He recalled that on-the-spot observers have pointed out that during the eight years of the armistice there have been periods during which tension mounted higher than it existed at the time of the Israeli invasion.

"It is quite clear," Hutchison declared, "that the U. S. elections, Franco-British anger over President Nasser's nationalizing the Suez Canal Company, plus the detraction created by Soviet savagery in Hungary were, along with border clashes, contributing factors in Israel's decision to attack Egypt."

In spite of the hostilities and the events that have followed, the two major points of contention between Israel and the Arabs remain unsettled, Hutchison said.

They are, he added, the more than one million Arab refugees who "still live in misery," and Israel's boundaries which "still remain temporary and challenged."

Admitting that the burden placed on the UN at this time was great, he felt that with speed, determination and the backing already manifested by a majority of the member nations, the UN



Elmo H. Hutchison

could emerge as an effective force for world peace.

He called for a "more conciliatory attitude" on the part of both Israel and the Arabs and urged that both "soften their demands."

A spirit of compromise from both sides, he said, would result in Israel being accepted as a Middle East state, the rights of the refugees recognized and the boundaries rectified.

"However," he added, "if justice is to be the keynote of bringing peace to the Middle East one question should be considered: who, but the Arabs, have made concessions since the Palestine problem was generated over thirty-five years ago?"

Mr. Hutchison has returned to the United States to attend the Annual Conference of the American Friends of the Middle East which will be held at the Hotel Delmonico March 25-26.

American Friends of the Middle East is a non-profit, non-sectarian organization of private Americans interested in the advancement of knowledge and the improvement of relations between Americans and all the peoples of the Middle East.

## NEW PASTOR FOR DETROIT CHURCH

His Eminence Metropolitan Antony Bashir left for Detroit last week to install Rt. Rev. Archimandrite Athanasius Saliba as the new pastor of St. George's Syrian Orthodox Church of Detroit, Mich. Rt. Rev. Saliba is formerly of Indianapolis, Indiana, and was installed last Sunday, March 17.

The new pastor is succeeding Rt. Rev. Archimandrite Anthony Woolf, who will leave the end of this month for Sidney, Australia, where he will assume the post of vicar general of Australia and New Zealand, and pastor of St. George's Church of Sidney.

Following the installation of the new pastor, a banquet was held in honor of both the departing pastor and his successor.

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Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, Deputy

Director of the Arab States Delegation and Acting Head of the Arab Information Center in New York, will give a lecture this Sunday, March 24 in Manhattan. He will be featured speaker at the Communion Breakfast of Salve Regina Council Number 216, Knights of Columbus, on the occasion of the Council's 60th Anniversary.

In the afternoon of the following day, between 2:30 and 5:30, Dr. Sayegh will make a major address at the Hotel Delmonico on the occasion of the Fifth Annual Conference of the American Friends of the Middle East. He will be one of four distinguished guest speakers who are Middle East experts.

This evening (March 21), at 8:15, Dr. Sayegh is participating in a panel discussion at Gaston Hall on the campus of Georgetown University in Washington, D. C., his Alma Mater. The discussion is devoted to the topic, "The Middle East Looks at the Eisenhower Doctrine," and is part of the annual international Relations Enquiry of the Department of Government at Georgetown.

Dr. Sayegh has just completed several appearances in Illinois. On Tuesday morning March 19 he held a Press Conference with the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations in Chicago, and in the afternoon made a Luncheon Address to the Winnetka Women's Club in Winnetka, Ill., one of the most exclusive clubs of its kind in the country. On Wednesday evening, he gave a one-hour lecture on "Arab Aspirations" at Kenyon College in Gambier, Ohio, one in a special series on the Middle East sponsored by the Social Science Division of Kenyon College.

## Late Flash . . .

On Wednesday, March 27, the Arab official will present the Arab point of view in a debate on the Middle East situation at Levittown, N. Y., in the Division Avenue School Auditorium, sponsored by the Adult Education Division of the Levittown Public Schools. The debate is open to the public.

The CARAVAN learned just before press time that for several weeks before they consented to debate with Dr. Sayegh at the Levittown L. I. Division Avenue School Auditorium, the Israelis attempted, in assorted ways, to prevent the debate from materializing. This failing, they insisted that an Arab spokesman OTHER than Dr. Sayegh present the Arab point of view.

Much credit must go to the Adult Education Division of the Levittown Public Schools, the organizers of this meeting, for having firmly and courageously resisted the individual and collective pressures exerted upon them. They refused to submit

### **BRINGS FACTS TO CANADA LAWMAKER**

Camille R. Kneider of Dunneville, Ontario, irked by a column appearing in the **Dunneville Chronicle** by John A. Charlton, member of the Parliament, forwarded a lengthy reply to the newspaper, which was published in full one week later.

The letter brought forth fact after fact which destroyed the validity of the views expressed by Mr. Charlton.

The letter was also forwarded to Mr. Charlton at the House of Commons, in Canada, with a copy of the Arab Information Center's booklet, "The Arab-Israeli Conflict" by Dr. Fayez Sayegh.

In an official reply, Mr. Charlton wrote Mr. Kneider, "I have not had the opportunity to read the booklet in detail, but have a better understanding of your point after having read part of it. I thank you for bringing this matter to my attention."

### **ARAB OFFICIAL URGES ENFORCEMENT OF UN PALESTINE RESOLUTION**

WASHINGTON — "Full implementation of all the standing United Nations resolutions on Palestine" was called for by Dr. Fayez Sayegh, acting director of the Arab States Delegation office in the U. S., in an address at Georgetown University here.

### **The Caravan: April 4, 1957**

Tuesday evening March 5, Dr. Fayez Sayegh lectured at Georgetown University on the Middle East Crisis. This lecture was sponsored by the Middle East Club of that school. Another lecture, sponsored by this club was held Friday evening, March 22, and had as its topic, "The Political Situation in Algeria." The speaker was Dr. Roger Tourneau, Professor at Algiers University.

## Arab Spokesman Tells Class Decision Rests With Israel

A spokesman for the Arab nations told a group of history students at Lane High School this morning there will be peace in the Middle East when Israel accepts the original intentions of the United Nations.

Dr. Fayez Sayegh, public liaison and research chief of the Arab State Delegation in New York City, said when the United Nations created Israel it was to occupy one half of what was Palestine, the city of Jerusalem was to be internationalized, and no one was to have been forced to leave Israel.

Today, he said, Israel occupies more than 80 per cent of Palestine, Jerusalem is the Israeli capital, and a million Arab refugees have been expelled from the country.

### Addressed Two Classes

"When Israel accepts the decisions of the United Nations" there will be peace in the Middle East, Sayegh said.

Sayegh, a native of Syria, spoke

to two classes in ancient and American history.

He claimed that the Middle East conflict is not an Arab-Jew conflict but one between the Arab states and the state of Israel. He said the 11 Arab countries are held together, not by race or religion, but by "culture, language and common historical experience."

### Burden Of History

The most important single factor, Sayegh said, is that the Arab countries "carry on their shoulders the burden of several thousand years of history, yet they have been independent states only within the past few years."

He said there is no Arab race such and that many Arabs are Jews and Christians, while there are Moslems in many non-Arab countries.

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The Kentucky Derby, tops of American horse races, ran first in 1875.

The Times: April 11, 1957

## Arab Leader Raps 'Unfair' Papers

BATON ROUGE, April 10 (AP)—Dr. Fayez Sayegh, acting director of the Arab states delegation office in New York, said in a State-Times interview today some Metropolitan newspapers in the East fail to give both sides in the Arab Israeli conflict.

"And the New York Times," he added, "despite its fancy slogan of 'All the News That's Fit to Print,' can be put at the top of the list."

The 35-year-old son of a Presbyterian minister spoke last night to a Louisiana State University group on Mideast strife.

In his interview, the native Syrian said "There is basic unfairness of many large city newspapers on the eastern seaboard with regard to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

"This indicates that even where there is a free press you can have a tyrannical press," he said.



## U. S. Policy in Middle East Hit at Washington Parley

By JOHN B. CRANE

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 20—Many criticisms were leveled at the policies followed by the American government towards the middle east at the three-day annual conference here of the Middle East institute which ended this week.

British and Israeli speakers centered their attacks on Nasser and Nasserism and were supported in their general attitude by certain American and British journalists who spoke at luncheon and dinner meetings. These speakers were unanimous in agreeing that "Nasser must go," and thought American policy had been too easy on the Egyptian president.

Arab speakers, supported by American educators who had lived and taught in Egypt and other parts of the middle east, took strong issue with the "Nasser must go" point of view.

### FOUNDATION HEAD SPEAKS

Mr. John Badeau, president of the Near East Foundation, who was warmly applauded after his address at the final session, characterized the per-

sonal attack on Nasser and the belief that the middle east crisis would be resolved by his elimination, as superficial and an example of the discredited "devil" theory of war.

He described Nasser not as a cause of the present crisis but as a result and a symptom of deep seated tensions. The causes of these tensions must be removed before peace can come to the middle east.

Criticizing the widespread American belief that gifts and dollar handouts can buy the friendship of the Arab people, he stressed, as did other American speakers, that what the Arabs prize above all is freedom and independence and being treated with human dignity.

The most trenchant criticism of American foreign policy in the middle east was made by Dr. Fayez Sayegh, a Syrian who is director of the Arab states delegations office in New York. Dr. Sayegh is author of several books on the middle east, has taught at Yale, Georgetown and the American university in Beirut and has lectured on the campuses of over 80 American colleges and universities.

### ATTACKS U. S. POLICY

Agreeing that America had no imperialistic ambitions in the middle east and that it wanted to see the entire area prosper under conditions of freedom, independence and peace, he quickly launched into an attack on America's alleged policy of impartiality towards nations within the middle east.

He criticized America's so-called policy of neutrality between Israel and its Arab neighbors and its resultant equal friendliness to both. Where one nation has committed a grave injustice against its neighbors, he argued, impartiality does not consist in treating both sides alike but in intervening to see that justice is accomplished and wrongs righted. "A teacher who gives all his pupils A's is not being impartial," he charged.

He felt America was right in supporting the United Nations as the instrument for implementing decisions reached by that body. But America should use its power and influence to see that the United Nations' resolutions and decisions already made relative to the Israeli-Arab conflict are promptly implemented.

In questions from the floor after each morning and afternoon session, which the speakers volunteered to answer, it became evident that what the Arabs fear most is the further territorial expansion of Israel at the expense of its Arab neighbors.

Altoona Tribune:  
April 27, 1957

### Dr. Fayez Sayegh, To 'Face The Nation' April 28

CBS Television's "Face the Nation" interview program focuses the spotlight on the Middle East, Sunday, April 28 when the guest will be Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, acting director of the Arab States delegation office and chief spokesman in this country of the Arab League (CBS Television, 4-4:30 P. M., EDT).

The program, which is rebroadcast on CBS Radio, Sundays, 9:30-10 P. M., EDT, is produced by Ted Ayers of the CBS Washington Public Affairs staff.

NEW YORK AREA

- April 7** — ST. MARY'S SENIOR CHOIR, Brooklyn, musical presentation, "The Crucifixion," 4:30 at the church hall, Ridge Blvd. and 81st Street.
- April 26** — KISRWAN LADIES SOCIETY, Brooklyn, Card Party at Our Lady of Lebanon R.C. Church Hall, 113 Remsen Street. Refreshments and prizes.
- April 27** — ST. MARY'S ADELPHI CLUB, Brooklyn, Saturday Night Dance, 8:30 p.m. at the church hall.
- April 27** — ST. GEORGE & HIS KNIGHTS, Brooklyn, Spring Festival Dance at Virgin Mary Church Hall.
- May 3** — VIRGIN MARY LADIES SOCIETY, Brooklyn, card party at church hall featuring sweepstakes and door prizes.
- May 3** — HOMSIAN FRATERNITY and Ladies Auxiliary, Testimonial Banquet in honor of Dr. Fayez Sayegh, 7:30 p.m. at Grace Chateau, Brooklyn.
- May 4** — BLESSED VIRGIN SODALITY, Our Lady of Lebanon Church, Brooklyn, dance at church hall.
- May 5** — ST. MARY'S SUNDAY SCHOOL, Brooklyn, Father and Son Communion Dinner at Church Hall.

The Caravan: May 2, 1957

## NO REAL COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN ARAB STATES — DR. SAYEGH

"There is absolutely no tangible, no appreciable, no effective Communist influence in any Arab State," said Dr. Fayez Sayegh, Acting Director of the Arab States Delegation Office in New York last Sunday, April 28 on the nationwide CBS "Face The Nation" Radio and TV show. Dr. Sayegh's statement was made in response to a query as to the extent of Communist influence in the Arab League.

In a later query asking him how the Arabs are able to be more vigilant than the Czechs were in keeping Russian technicians from forming into action committees and later becoming a ruling power, Dr. Sayegh further stated:

"There was in Czechoslovakia a Communist Party through . . . which Russian influence was exerted . . . There are no such Communist Parties, or groups of any appreciable influence, in any of the Arab countries."

The transcript of Dr. Sayegh's interview on "Face The Nation" appears in full on pages 4 and 5 of this issue.

In a special interview with The Caravan, Dr. Sayegh was asked to comment further on the question which had drawn sharp comments from him over the program. He revealed that he considered the recent trend in the American press, of associating Russia with Egypt and Syria, to be a "deliberate effort to smear those two Arab countries and to create the impression that they are indissolubly in the Soviet orbit." He added: "As a statement of fact, this allegation is grossly erroneous; as a tactic designed to create false impressions, it is deplorable and vicious."

He termed this method of smearing the Arab States an "extension of the doctrine of guilt by association, and a projection thereof onto the international scene." He said that "it is even more vicious than that repudiated doctrine, for it constitutes virtually a new doctrine of guilt by juxtaposition." He explained the difference between the two in the following words:



Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh

"If X associates with Y, and Y is undesirable, and you insinuate that, only because of that association, X is equally undesirable, you are affirming the doctrine of guilt by association. But if X does not associate with Y to any appreciable degree beyond what A or B does, but you nevertheless allege that he does, always mentioning the undesirable Y when speaking of X, then you are accusing X of guilt by juxtaposition."

Dr. Sayegh said that anti-Arabs and their agents in this country have been resorting more and more to these methods to discredit the Arab World in the eyes of Americans.

"It is particularly deplorable," he added, "that some of those writers and newspapers who had

taken the lead a few years ago in exposing the viciousness of the doctrine of guilt by association on the domestic scene should be among the first today to reactivate that very doctrine internationally and to employ eagerly and zestfully the more pernicious doctrine of guilt by juxtaposition."

Dr. Sayegh promised to contribute to The Caravan, for an early issue, a lengthy article examining the allegation that Communism is penetrating some Arab countries.

### NEW LILIENTHAL BOOK COMING OUT MAY 15

THERE GOES THE MIDDLE EAST, by Alfred M. Lilienthal, will be published by Devin-Adair on the 9th anniversary of the establishment of the State of Israel (May 15). In his book, Mr. Lilienthal describes the Palestinian refugees as the "forgotten ones." He maintains that these refugees constitute the core of present Middle East tension, and insists that the longer the plight of almost one million Arab refugees remains unalleviated, the more remote becomes any Middle East settlement between Israel and the Arab nations.

The author of numerous articles on the Middle East and several books, including WHAT PRICE ISRAEL?, Alfred Lilienthal is a New York attorney who has lectured throughout the country. He returned in February from the Middle East — his third trip in four years — to testify before the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees on

## DR. SAYEGH "FACES THE NATION"

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** "Face the Nation" is a television and radio program produced by CBS and carried over a network of more than 225 television and radio stations all over the United States. On Sunday, April 28, Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, Acting Director of the Arab States Delegations Office, was invited for the second time to be that program's guest. His first appearance was on August 26, 1956, a month after the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company.

The program is produced by Ted Ayers. Beryl Denzer is Associate Producer and Clark Pangle is the Director. The Moderator is Stuart Novins. The panel consisted of three newsmen: John Madigan of Newsweek, Bill Downs of CBS News and James R. Shepley of Time-Life.

We reproduce here below the full text of the transcript of the program: "Face the Nation" is entirely unrehearsed, and the guest has no idea when he appears on the program what questions might be hurled at him.

MR. NOVINS: It seems almost unnecessary to point out the seriousness of the present situation in the Middle East, particularly as it concerns the crisis surrounding Jordan, and the question of the Suez Canal.

Dr. Sayegh, as the principal spokesman in America for the Arab States, if you will, we'd like to go right into the questioning, because all of these areas are things we want to talk to you about.

DR. SAYEGH: Please do; that's what I'm here for, sir.

MR. NOVINS: Mr. Madigan, please.

MR. MADIGAN: Doctor, in view of the recent developments in Jordan, and particularly the accusations of King Hussein against Egypt and Syria, accusing them of fomenting some of the trouble in Jordan, are we seeing the Arab League and the Arab solid front now breaking up?

DR. SAYEGH: Well, people have been seeing the Arab League breaking up ever since the day it was established; and yet the Arab League somehow has not broken up. I doubt that the Arab League is today breaking up, sir.

MR. DOWNS: Well, Doctor, could you explain then exactly what is happening? Is this a revolt of the Arab peoples against monarchies, then, or what?

DR. SAYEGH: There are perhaps several elements that are being interwoven together in what is happening today in Jordan.

I think the most outstanding, the most operative element, remains to be the dissatisfaction and the restiveness of the Palestinians who, today, compose more than half of the population of Jordan, and who find that so many years after their tragedy, they still remain homeless, and that the solution of their problem by restoring justice to them remains as far away today as it was at the very beginning.

MR. SHEPLEY: How could the problem be solved, then, Doctor, by Egypt and Syria appearing now to attempt to take over power in Jordan?

DR. SAYEGH: I do not see any attempt by Egypt, by Syria, or by any other Arab country, to take power in Jordan.

MR. DOWNS: But, Dr. Sayegh, we see today that Radio Cairo, Radio Damascus, and Radio Moscow, are all putting on the same line, charging that the King is, in fact, himself, subverting the freedom and independence of his own people.

This doesn't sound to me like non-interference with Jordan affairs.

DR. SAYEGH: First, I would like to comment on your lumping together Radio Damascus, Radio Cairo, and Radio Moscow. There were times when the Voice of America and Radio Moscow were also taking the same line, last October and November; and I doubt whether at that time you would have lumped them together with the same insinuation which now apparently underlies your statement.

I will speak about Radio Cairo and Radio Damascus or the radio of any other Arab country. I have

no information about Radio Moscow, and certainly no inside knowledge of what motivates it to say what it says.

Moreover, it is always possible for the overwhelming majority of people in one Arab country to believe that the people of another Arab country should be supported in something they do, even if the government of that Arab country does not go along with them; and in that case, they do support them.

MR. MADIGAN: Is it your contention, then, Doctor, that Syria and Egypt are acting independently and that Russia is playing no part in calling the signals?

DR. SAYEGH: Yes, sir, it is my contention that Syria, Egypt, and other Arab countries, are acting independently of any foreign country including Russia.

MR. MADIGAN: Well, then, we are a foreign country, too, under that definition?

DR. SAYEGH: Yes, sir.

MR. MADIGAN: What, then, would be the reaction of most of the Arab countries to the United States, the so-called sending of the Fleet, the movement, in spirit at least, toward the Eisenhower Doctrine, and in King Hussein's public announcement that international communism had something to do with the uprising?

DR. SAYEGH: As for your sending the fleet, the reaction to that would depend largely on the interpretation by a given people of your motives in sending the fleet. It goes without saying that the reaction of a people to a military move by another power is always determined by its interpretation of what that foreign power had in mind when it made that military move.

MR. MADIGAN: What is your interpretation?

DR. SAYEGH: So far, I prefer to take the words of the State Department and the military authorities of the United States at their face value, and to believe that this was a routine move, as the military authorities here said, and that it was merely to indicate the "presence" of the United States militarily in the area, should there be an attack upon some Middle East country and should that country request American aid to defend itself under the terms of the Eisenhower Doctrine.

MR. MADIGAN: Against what country do you think that we are becoming prepared and advancing to a more opportune position?

DR. SAYEGH: That is a question you could answer better than I could, sir.

MR. SHEPLEY: Dr. Sayegh, we went over rather quickly the point of the similarity between Radio Moscow and Radio Cairo, and you answered the question by suggesting that because Washington and Moscow followed a similar line in the case of the aggression in the Suez Canal, that these coincidences should be disregarded.

I would rather, I would like to return to it for just a moment.

Isn't it true that in Egypt and in Syria there are now large numbers of Russian Communist technical advisers?

DR. SAYEGH: I do not know the figures, but I can assure you that if there are any Communist technical advisers, then every single one of them is definitely needed for a specific purpose with the specific agreement of the Egyptian or Syrian Governments, which are vigilant to see to it that that technician is there to fulfill a certain specified purpose, and that purpose only.

MR. SHEPLEY: Have you heard that there are Russian MIGS in Syria?

DR. SAYEGH: There are no aircraft in Syria except what belong to Syria.

MR. SHEPLEY: The Russian MIGS first belonged to Russia before they belonged to Syria, isn't that so —

DR. SAYEGH: If they were purchased by Syria, they are no more Russian MIGS.

MR. DOWNS: Well, Doctor, do you say then that there is absolutely no Communist influence in the Arab League in the Middle East?

DR. SAYEGH: Sir, I would say that there is absolutely no tangible, no appreciable, no effective Communist influence in any Arab State.

MR. DOWNS: You mean, then, that this arms deal, the fifty million-odd-dollar arms deal with Syria, the \$250 million arms deal with Egypt is only an arms deal and that it has no — connection with any alliance between those countries and Soviet Russia?

DR. SAYEGH: I most definitely say so, for two reasons: One is that when the deals were made, they were not accompanied by any political alliances or any treaties or any political conditions of any kind. Secondly, I believe you have arms deals with many countries. You would not assume that you have an influence on every country to which you furnish arms, infringing upon its sovereignty.

MR. SHEPLEY: Doctor Sayegh, is there not a difference between the Soviet Union and its technical representatives and the United States and its technical representatives in actual practice?

DR. SAYEGH: The difference which flows from the difference in character between America and the Soviet Union is one thing; and the difference which flows from the equal vigilance of the recipient countries is another thing. I believe that as far as the Arab countries are concerned, they are equally vigilant against any influence by any source of supply of any commodity, military or otherwise, as far as their sovereignty is concerned.

MR. SHEPLEY: Sir, your memory will go back to Czechoslovakia which once had a large number of Russian technicians within its borders. And those technicians finally became action committees and not long after that they became the power ruling in Czechoslovakia.

Why are the Arabs able to be more vigilant, let us say, than the Czechs against this threat?

DR. SAYEGH: My memory goes back to many things: My memory goes back to the time when the same Communist technicians and



Dr. FAYEZ SAYEGH and "Face the Nation" moderator Stuart Novins are shown above discussing a few technicalities prior to Dr. Sayegh's appearance on the coast-to-coast radio and TV show.

arms were coming to Israel, and nobody at that time was making so much of an issue about Israel's purchase of Communist arms — with American dollars, donated ostensibly for charitable and philanthropic purposes. That is one thing that my memory goes back to.

My memory also goes back to another thing. There was in Czechoslovakia a Communist Party through the instrumentality of which Russian influence was exerted to topple over the democratic authorities of Czechoslovakia.

There are no such Communist Parties, or groups of any appreciable influence, in any of the Arab countries.

MR. SHEPLEY: And you say that of Syria, as well as Egypt — that there are no Communist infiltrators in Syria that are powerful enough to take over power in the country?

DR. SAYEGH: I certainly say that of Syria as well as Egypt, sir. There are no Communist factions, groups or parties, that are effective enough or strong enough or numerous enough even to try or to aspire to seek to control the governments of those countries.

MR. NOVINS: Dr. Sayegh, within the last two days the President of Syria met with President Nasser, of Egypt, then he went to Saudi Arabia and he had a meeting with King Saud there, and then he returned again for another meeting in Cairo with Mr. Nasser.

DR. SAYEGH: Yes.

MR. NOVINS: Can you tell us what is the subject of those meetings or what is the purpose of those meetings?

DR. SAYEGH: It is only a matter of Jordan and fellow-members of the Arab League, to consult together about what is happening in Jordan.

MR. NOVINS: Why was Iraq not consulted also?

DR. SAYEGH: Well, there are a number of Arab countries which have more direct and immediate concern in one another's affairs than others. Jordan happens to have just recently, last October, made an alliance with Syria, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia, which it did not make with Iraq. So naturally Syria, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia should have a greater concern over what happens in a member of that specific alliance than Iraq should, which is not a member of that specific alliance.

MR. MADIGAN: Looking ahead, Doctor, what do you think is going to happen in Jordan?

DR. SAYEGH: I wish I could prophesy, myself. All I can say is that — to speak in long-range

terms and not in terms of tomorrow or the day after, in other words, to speak in terms that you can't tomorrow call me mistaken about, but perhaps in five years time you might find that I was right about — the situation in Jordan would continue to have, embodied and implied within it, seeds of restiveness as long as the Arab-Israeli conflict is still unresolved; as long as half a million Arab refugees from Palestine remain homeless in Jordan; and as long as Jordanians continue to feel that their basic rights, pertaining to their very existence, are still not recognized by a country which came into being on the basis of a pledge to recognize those rights.

MR. MADIGAN: Are you saying, then, Doctor, that in this instance, just as in all in the past, that we are to blame Israel for everything that happens?

DR. SAYEGH: I would say that as long as the Arab refugees remain denied return to their rightful homes by the State of Israel, then these Arab refugees will continue to oppose, and to look warily at, certain schemes of cooperation with the West, such as the Bagdad Pact, or such as the Eisenhower Doctrine.

MR. MADIGAN: Bearing that in mind, some reports from Jordan state that the real purpose behind the United States movements in the Fleet are based on protection for Jordan against Israel, rather than actions against Syria or Egypt.

Do you know this to be a fact?

DR. SAYEGH: Whether that is behind the mind of the State Department, I will never presume to guess. But whether that is a fact that should be a factor in the calculations of the State Department, I would say yes, sir. I would much sooner presume that Israel would jump at the first opportunity to occupy at least the western banks of the Jordan River, which many Israelis in public office have openly proclaimed their desire to occupy, than to think that any other Arab country would seek to infringe on the sovereignty of Jordan.

MR. DOWNS: Dr. Sayegh, we skipped over a very important development in the Middle East, that I think is going on now. It happened in Egypt three or four years ago, when a group of young army officers deposed the King. You have this same group of army officers who are now assuming leadership of the Moslem world, or trying to.

Now, do you believe that in, say, the Kingdom of Jordan, in the struggle for its survival, also are the elements of a revolution, of the disappearance of monarchy in that part of the world, of the



breakdown of the shiekdom system? Do you believe this also is happening in this area?

DR. SAYEGH: Sir, I believe that all over the Arab World there are a number of revolutions taking place at the same time: A revolution against underdevelopment, economic and social; a revolution against illiteracy; and a revolution against certain political institutions, which we feel were not of our own choice.

Now, I don't think I am telling a secret when I say that many Arabs would rather have republicanism as a form of their government than monarchy, even in those countries where there is monarchy.

MR. DOWNS: Well, could not the Arab League then break down on this question?

DR. SAYEGH: So far it has weathered every storm, and I believe that the feeling of union among the Arab peoples, the feeling that they have one common destiny, is stronger than any forces and elements that might pull their governments apart.

MR. SHEPLEY: But are you saying that—

MR. DOWNS: I'd like to ask one more question, Jim.

MR. SHEPLEY: Yes.

MR. DOWNS: You said earlier that you blame all of your troubles on Israel —

DR. SAYEGH: I didn't say all—

MR. DOWNS: A major part of the troubles on Israel.

DR. SAYEGH: Yes, sir.

MR. DOWNS: The Arab League and the Arab countries themselves have done nothing to relieve the plight of these people that are sitting festering around in these camps around Israel. Why don't the Arabs themselves do something about it?

DR. SAYEGH: Well, that is a question which is based on an assertion which I challenge very much — and not only I, but also the United Nations people who are administering the relief program.

MR. DOWNS: I have been to these camps, Doctor, I know what the United Nations is doing but I know also that the governments of Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and Egypt are doing absolutely nothing to help these people or to resettle them and, as a matter of fact, are opposing it because they want to keep this refugee problem because if it disappears your whole argument against the Israeli State also disappears, is that not true?

DR. SAYEGH: I am not afraid of running out of arguments against Israel. Therefore, I think that the last part of the statement can be dismissed, sir.

But I would go, one by one, over the various assertions you have just made.

First, you equated not doing anything about the resettlement of the refugees, with not doing anything about the refugees as such, which is a false equation. There is much that is being done by the Arab governments and the Arab peoples to relieve the misery and the poverty and the hunger of the Arab refugees who are made homeless by Israel.

However, these refugees themselves want to go back to their own homes, and feel that it is their right to go back to their homes.

The United Nations has, on nine different occasions, in nine successive years, reinforced that feeling of theirs by calling upon Israel to permit at the earliest practicable date the return of these refugees to their homes. Under these circumstances the refugees themselves are the main

obstacle to resettlement elsewhere. They insist on repatriation, except resettlement as an alternative to repatriation and to forfeit their rights to their homes.

MR. SHEPLEY: Dr. Sayegh, to return to an earlier question that both Mr. Downs and I have asked you, are you saying that those Arab States which are now headed by monarchs are not in good standing or are second class citizens in the Arab League?

DR. SAYEGH: No, I said nothing of the sort.

MR. SHEPLEY: They are, in your opinion, just as Arab as those states which are headed by other types of Chief of State?

DR. SAYEGH: As far as Arabism goes, yes, sir.

MR. SHEPLEY: And the King of Jordan's present effort to preserve order in his own country must be then recognized as an Arab movement and not as an American or a British or some other kind of movement?

DR. SAYEGH: I did not insinuate that it was any other kind of movement.

MR. SHEPLEY: And then if the King of Jordan's movement is an Arab movement, why is it he himself seems to think and is opposing other Arabs such as the Egyptians and the Syrians?

DR. SAYEGH: I still did not get how the question bears on the —

MR. SHEPLEY: Well, how is it that the King of Jordan has found it necessary to ask the Syrians to withdraw their forces from his country —

DR. SAYEGH: He has not, sir; and there has been a repudiation of that report.

MR. SHEPLEY: How is it in any event, then, that King Saud seems to find it necessary to come to the support of the King of Jordan and the King of Iraq seems to find himself allied with the King of Jordan against a movement within the country of Jordan which is not Western in — but maybe Communist and maybe Arab.

DR. SAYEGH: No, it's a movement within Jordan which is reflecting the clash between opposition parties and the Monarch. It is entirely a domestic clash within Jordan, and some monarchs of some Arab countries are finding it necessary to congratulate the Monarch of Jordan for his victory so far over the opposition forces.

MR. MADIGAN: Doctor, do you see any similarity at all in the United States movement in recent weeks and what immediately preceded the actions taken by Britain and France with Israel in regard to the Suez area last — the fall of last year?

DR. SAYEGH: No, I see no similarity.

MR. MADIGAN: You have no objection to the United States reaction of last week, then?

DR. SAYEGH: Well, the United States reaction has taken several forms. Some are in the form of statements, others are in the form of military movements, and others, still, are in the form of secret diplomatic overtures. Of the latter kind, I have no direct information and therefore I cannot make any valid appraisal one way or the other.

As for statements, I certainly commend the American statement that the integrity and the independence of Jordan is considered vital for the security of the United States.

MR. MADIGAN: If we could turn — if we could turn to the Suez Canal, Doctor, with which you are well known and interested, do you believe that Israeli ships will now be permitted to use the Suez Canal under the de-

claration that the Egyptian Government sent to the United Nations last week?

DR. SAYEGH: Under the declaration that the Egyptian Government sent to the United Nations last week, the same interpretation of the 1888 Convention which had prevailed before the invasion, continues to be the Government of Egypt's interpretation of that Convention. If that interpretation is challenged, the Egyptian Government has said it will have it taken to the International Court of Justice for compulsory jurisdiction.

MR. MADIGAN: Are you saying, then, that unless there is a challenge, Israeli ships will not be permitted to go through the Canal?

DR. SAYEGH: Well, I believe that even if there is a challenge the International Court will uphold Egypt in its interpretation of the 1888 Convention.

MR. DOWNS: Well, Doctor, I would like to go back to the 26th of August, 1956, when we sat across on this same show and were talking about the possibility of an attack on Egypt, and this is unfair, I know, but you said at this time, "In case of an attack on Egypt the Arab world will arise unitedly and with solidarity to resist such an attack and help in the defense of Egypt."

DR. SAYEGH: Yes, sir.

MR. DOWNS: We know what happened, it didn't happen.

DR. SAYEGH: No, I disagree with you, sir.

MR. DOWNS: Do you have any idea why?

DR. SAYEGH: I certainly disagree with your retroactive interpretation of what happened since November. For one thing, I mentioned there also a little bit further on that we will not restrict our resistance to the conventional methods that the enemy will use; and we do know what Syria did in the non-conventional, as you might call it, participation in the defense of Egypt.

MR. DOWNS: What did she do? I don't recall she did anything, Doctor.

DR. SAYEGH: Well, the stoppage of the oil which flows through Syria from Iraq was definitely not an accidental thing; it was definitely tied with the defense of Egypt.

Moreover, and this is even perhaps more important, we must recall the announcement of President Nasser, as well as of the respective Presidents and Kings of the other Arab countries, that the Governments of Syria, Jordan and Saudi Arabia placed their armies at the disposal of the combined Commander in Chief, who is the Egyptian Commander in Chief, and that they were awaiting his orders to start action, and that it was the Egyptian Government's decision that at that stage it was premature for them to participate in the defense of Egypt.

That, in itself, is a vindication rather than a refutation of what I said.

MR. DOWNS: Well, as you know, the other side tells a different story that the Egyptian high command did ask for some sort of a gesture, particularly from Syria, even a gun fired across the Israel border and that the — this counter-action was not forthcoming.

DR. SAYEGH: Well, when the Egyptian Government makes a statement to the effect that it was asked by Syria, and Syria confirms it, I am more likely to believe these two Governments than any other contradictory statement by people who were not on the scene and are not in a

coming here to Face the Nation. position to know what happened in that instance.

MR. NOVINS: Dr. Sayegh, you have been in this country for some time now as a spokesman for the Arab States. You understand, I think, the psychology of the American people and I think you understand the potentiality of the American Government.

What do you think in the current situation the United States could best do to help achieve a period of peace in the Middle East?

DR. SAYEGH: Well, I feel that there are a few things that the United States could do.

One, you know that the Eisenhower Doctrine, when it was submitted to Congress by President Eisenhower, referred to a number of Middle Eastern problems which still overshadow all other problems and which were not within the scope of the Eisenhower Doctrine.

I believe that the sooner those other problems find corresponding policies in the United States for dealing with them, to supplement the Eisenhower Doctrine—

MR. NOVINS: Specifically what, Dr. Sayegh?

DR. SAYEGH: Well, the President specified the Arab-Israeli conflict as the major one of these problems, and I believe it is. And I believe, therefore, that the sooner the United States Government stands behind the United Nations efforts to stabilize the situation in Palestine and to implement all the existing resolutions of the United Nations without exception, the sooner that becomes the proclaimed policy of the United States, as a supplement to the Eisenhower Doctrine, the greater acceptability that doctrine will have and the greater chances for success to pacify the Arab —

MR. NOVINS: Should the United States also stand behind the United Nations Resolutions regarding the freedom of passage through the Suez Canal?

DR. SAYEGH: Yes, sir; yes, sir.

MR. NOVINS: Including the passage of Israel?

DR. SAYEGH: Yes, sir. As soon as all the resolutions of the United Nations are implemented, and this is something that President Nasser has already said, the Israeli shipping through the Suez Canal will proceed without any restrictions, and also through Aqaba.

MR. NOVINS: Well, these resolutions on the passage of Israeli ships date back four or five years, Dr. Sayegh, don't they?

DR. SAYEGH: Pardon? The resolutions on the other aspects of Palestine date back ten years, sir, and have been reinforced and reiterated ever since.

In other words, there are 74 resolutions on the Palestine problem.

MR. MADIGAN: You are saying, then, —

DR. SAYEGH: One of them — may I continue? —

MR. MADIGAN: Surely.

DR. SAYEGH: One of them is on the Israeli shipping through Suez, and the other 73 call upon

Israel in one form or another to return the refugees, to readjust the boundaries, to internationalize Jerusalem, and so on. The moment these other resolutions are implemented, the resolution on shipping in the Suez Canal will also be implemented.

MR. MADIGAN: Are you saying Doctor, that Egypt then will block the Suez Canal to Israeli ships until their demands are met?

DR. SAYEGH: Not their demands. The United Nations demands.

MR. MADIGAN: The demands that they brought to the United Nations.

DR. SAYEGH: No, they are not demands we brought to the United Nations. They were demands made by the United Nations.

MR. MADIGAN: They are conditions you call to their attention, though, which —

DR. SAYEGH: Sir, the United Nations conditions about the existence of Israel and its boundaries and its population and its capital were made at the time the State of Israel was conjured up into being, and they have been reaffirmed ever since; so they are not conditions we have asked for; they are not requests we have made. They are conditions that the United Nations itself made, which are integral parts of the very "birth certificate" of the State of Israel.

MR. MADIGAN: What will you do if Israel tries to force movement through the Canal?

DR. SAYEGH: Well, when any party tries to force something on another country's territory, I believe that the other country that is being forced will repel the force by any legitimate method of self-defense that it has at its disposal.

MR. NOVINS: Dr. Sayegh, would you say if an Israeli ship you say that if an Israeli ship tests its passage through the Canal, that there will be war again between Egypt and Israel?

DR. SAYEGH: I would not say that flatly. I would say that it will not go through the Suez Canal.

MR. SHEPLEY: Dr. Sayegh, you said at the beginning of the program that you prefer to accept the statement of the State Department on the mission of the Sixth Fleet in the Eastern Mediterranean.

What possible purpose do you think it might have, other than the one that the State Department has presented?

DR. SAYEGH: Well, there are always several possible purposes behind every situation, and depending on how ill-intentioned or good-intentioned you might be, you could choose the explanations that assume least good intention or best intention.

I prefer to interpret the move in the way in which the State Department itself has interpreted it so far.

MR. NOVINS: Dr. Sayegh, we are very grateful for your having come here to give us your interpretation of the position of the Arab States.

Thanks very much, indeed, for

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Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, acting head of the Arab Information Center in New York, was given a banquet in his honor by the Syrian American Club of Jacksonville during his recent visit in this city. While here, Dr. Sayegh appeared on the TV show, "Jacksonville Forum of the Air." Local newspapers and the public received him very well. The banquet in his honor was full to capacity, and Jacksonvillians are eagerly awaiting his next trip here.

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## ARCHBISHOP CUSHING DEDICATES NEW BROCKTON MARONITE CHURCH

By Rosemarie Saba

Archbishop Richard J. Cushing, head of the Boston archdiocese, laid the cornerstone and presided over the official dedication of the new St. Theresa's Maronite Church on North Main Street in Brockton, Mass., Sunday, April 28. He also authorized the purchase of property adjacent to the church for parking purposes, an announcement which was greeted with prolonged cheers and applause.

The announcement was made official during the dinner following the pontifical mass and dedicatory exercises, which also marked the silver jubilee of the church's founding.

More than 500 parishioners and guests attended the dinner, and heard the Archbishop's explanation of how the authorization for the parking lot purchase came about.

"I am glad of this visit to Brockton because it provided me with the opportunity to study the parish property. I observed there was not much room and inquired of Msgr. Khalil (Msgr. Louis Khalil, pastor of St. Theresa's) if adjoining property could be purchased.

"He answered that it was for sale and I told him to buy property alongside the church.

"Before I tell him to buy City Hall," the prelate concluded, I'd better be on my way. God bless you all."

Peter G. Asiaf was general chairman of the dedication, and George Asack of West Bridgewater, one of the most active workers of the church, was the first to open the doors for the official dedicatory exercises.

Chairman Asiaf traced the start and growth of the church, and paid tribute to the first pastor, the late Msgr. Paul Merab. He also lauded Msgr. Khalil's untiring work in his seven years as head of the church.

Archbishop Cushing also announced the current drive for the

## HOMSIAN FRATERNITY HONORS DR. SAYEGH



The Homsian Fraternity of Brooklyn and its Ladies Auxiliary held a Testimonial Banquet last Friday evening, May 3 at the Grace Chateau in Brooklyn, for Dr. F. A. Sayegh, Acting Head of the Arab States Delegation to the United Nations.

Highlight of the evening was a talk by Dr. Sayegh tracing the attempts by Russia for the past 40 years to gain a foothold in the Middle East, and the limited chances of Communism seeping into the Arab World.

The program opened with the singing of the national anthem by Gladys Arida, followed by the saying of grace by Rev. Wakeem Dalack of St. Nicholas Cathedral. Miss Arida sang a duet with Alex Orfaly, who later obliged during the dinner with several solos as well. Mrs. Alice Gorab accompanied on the piano.

Abdallah Ghosn, president of the Homsian Fraternity, welcomed the crowd, and introduced

## Dr. Sayegh to Write Column Weekly for Caravan Readers

Dr. F. A. Sayegh, Acting Director of the Arab States Delegation to the United Nations and the Arab Information Center in New York, will write a weekly column for Caravan readers beginning with the May 16 issue.

Dr. Sayegh is well known to Caravan readers through his many radio and TV appearances throughout the nation defending the Arab cause, as well as through his participation in numerous debates at schools, organizational gatherings, etc. from coast to coast.

He has established an undisputed reputation as the leading spokesman for the Arab countries in America, and the mere mention of his name has become enough to put the most vehement Zionists on their guard.

In his column, written especially for The Caravan, Dr. Sayegh will deal with the problems uppermost in the minds of people today interested in the Middle East. He will welcome questions from our readers, and will answer them as they are received in his column.

Readers may begin submitting their questions from now. Address them to "For The Record," c/o THE CARAVAN, 172-174 Hoyt Street, Brooklyn 17, N. Y.

Dr. Sayegh's first four columns in The Caravan will deal with Communism and the Middle East.

## General Wheeler Commends Egypt

Lt. General Raymond A. Wheeler (U.S. Army, Retired), who directed United Nations salvage operations in the Suez Canal, expressed confidence in Cairo last Friday, May 3 that Egypt could operate the waterway efficiently.

The 72-year-old former army general, before leaving to New York last Saturday said, "I am certain Egypt is anxious to maintain full normal navigation of the Suez Canal. The Egyptians are technically competent to handle everything pertaining to the canal to the satisfaction of everybody."

In direct reference to the cooperation he received while in Egypt, Gen. Wheeler said, "I am leaving my Egyptian friends of the Suez Canal Authority, especially Col. Mahmoud Yunis (the Canal Authority's Liaison Officer with the U.N. Salvage Crew). When you work on a job as complicated as this one, you deeply appreciate such earnest, friendly cooperation as the Egyptians of the Suez

## TO SING IN UTICA

By George Massoud



72

## AKRON COUSINS LECTURING ON ARAB-ISRAEL PROBLEMS

By Riad Kattanha

Cousins Eddie Elias and Sam Salem of Akron, Ohio have been lecturing before groups throughout the Midwest on Arab-Israel problems. Eddie is the popular Akron radio and TV personality, and Sam, the author of the Arabic-American musical comedy, "Back to Bladna," has authored many articles and poems in the Caravan and other publications. Both are attorneys and of Lebanese extraction.

Ed and Sam are both donating their time and effort because of their conviction that the Arab point of view needs greater emphasis. They have spoken before the Air Force, on radio and TV and before various clubs.

Admittedly students of the "master," Dr. Fayez Sayegh, their most recent appearance was April 18 before a group of about 300 people at Wayne University in Detroit, Mich. The affair was sponsored by the Arab Students Association at Wayne.



**SAM SALEM**

The Arab Students, headed by Deacon Phillip Saliba of St George Orthodox Church, arranged for the afternoon lecture before the



**EDDIE ELIAS**

student body. Together, Ed and Sam covered the entire Middle East problem, going back to World War I and bringing it up to date, using maps to demonstrate the partition scheme, Israel's present boundaries, etc.

The pair were introduced by Dr. Kelly, chairman of the History Department at Wayne University, and an outstanding professor of History and Political Science. Sam's lecture dealt with the Palestine problem, and Ed spoke on the Suez Canal and the Anglo-

"The fact remains that never in the history of the human race have so few been so callously and brutally condemned by the majority of East and West nations for no crime whatsoever, excepting to place their trust and confidence in the honor and integrity of world diplomacy."

### U.N. COUNCIL TO HEAR SYRIAN COMPLAINT

Ambassador Rafik Asha of Syria conferred last Friday, May 10 with U. S. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, the Security Council's president for May, and informed the American diplomat that he intended to make a complaint about construction of a bridge by Israel in the demilitarized Huleh area.

A formal request for a meeting was submitted on Monday, and the Security Council is expected to convene later this week to act on Syria's complaint, which some sources said would be presented to the Council by Iraq, its only Middle East member for this session.

A Foreign Ministry communique issued in Damascus described the Israeli occupation of the de-

French-Israeli attack.

The lecture was followed by a question and answer period. Many pro-Zionists were present, and tried to disrupt the program, but it was here that the characters of the cousins were utilized to the fullest. Sam's seriousness and deliberateness helped to answer completely the advancement of facts, in turn overwhelming the questioner with more applicable and documented facts. If a questioner got funny or sarcastic Ed's caustic tongue went into action and brought the auditorium into an uproar laughing at the questioners.



Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, May 16, 1957

THE CARAVAN

Page Seven

# For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayed  
A. Sayegh



## COMMUNISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Let us look at the Facts

EDITOR'S NOTE: This is the first of four articles on "Communism in the Middle East." The remaining three articles will appear in the following issues of The Caravan. They will deal with "Communism in Israel," "Communism in the Arab World" and "The Middle East in the Strategy of East and West."

Americans seem to have discovered the Middle East in recent months. That area which, until a few years ago, was either unknown, or looked upon as too remote to be relevant to the life of every American, has suddenly thrust itself into the active concern of Americans of all walks of life.

Unfortunately, however, this is only one aspect of the changing climate of American public opinion, as far as the Middle East is concerned. The other aspect is that the Middle East which preoccupies Americans today is not only beclouded in its fundamental realities, and wrapped up in layers of mythology and misrepresentations, but also viewed primarily in the light of the East-West conflict instead of being viewed in its own light.

It is not the peoples of the Middle East in their striving for freedom and dignity and justice and abundance; it is not the individual human beings in their efforts to rejuvenate and renew their life in that ancient area of the world, and to open a new chapter in the long annals of that history-laden area; it is not the regional development of the lands and economies of that rich-yet-neglected sector of the world—it is none of these facets of the Middle East that is engaging American attention today. Nor is it the grave political disputes and conflicts raging within the Middle East, that are inspiring Americans to explore the explosive situation with a view to resolving its conflicts and restoring peace and stability to the area.

On the contrary, the Middle East which preoccupies Americans today is the Middle East which is reported to be "ripe for Communism." It is the area which is said to be "penetrated" and "infiltrated" by Soviet influence. It is the area which is looked upon as the "new front" in the East-West cold war. It is this facet of the Middle Eastern situation—real or alleged—that occupies the mind of America today.

This obsession with Communism is not confined to the American public. It has crept into the thinking of policy-makers, and to a large extent affects the emerging policy of the United States Government towards the Middle East. Thus it is significant to note that the only two "doctrines" which pertain to the Middle East in the whole body of pronouncements of American foreign policy, were formulated within the context of the United States Government's efforts to contain Communist expansion. These are the Truman Doctrine of 1947 and the Eisenhower Doctrine of 1957. The latter is obviously more relevant to our immediate discussion. Its substance, as well as the message to

Congress which accompanied it and the debates in both Houses of Congress, indicate clearly that the chief concern of the United States Government in formulating its Middle Eastern policy is the combating of Communist-Soviet influence in the Middle East.

This emphasis on Communism in the Middle East is unfortunate—regardless of whether the allegation that Communism is succeeding in spreading its influence into the Middle East is true or false. This is so because, if the allegation is untrue, Americans are experiencing concern over an unreal situation; and, if the allegation were true, the anxiety over the alleged Communist penetration into the Middle East only serves to divert the attention of Americans from the real grievances and causes of restiveness in the area—which are the underlying causes of any shift in sympathies or affinities which the Arab peoples may be undergoing today.

Thus the United States, on the occasion of its first real confrontation with the Middle East, is being made—by virtue of this diversionary tactic employed by the enemies of the Middle East—to confront that area tangentially.

This is a crucial period in the history of both the Middle East and the United States. As far as the United States is concerned, it is now at long last coming to its own as a leading world power, with a significant role to perform in world history. As far as the Middle East is concerned, it too is now coming to its own as a region with numerous states exercising sovereignty for the first time in their modern history after centuries of foreign domination. The confrontation between the United States and the Middle East which is taking place today, then, could have been pregnant with destiny and with mutual advantage—if the confrontation had been direct and not tangential. All the promise of the moment, however, is threatened with extinction as a result of the anxiety which underlies the confrontation and shifts it away from its proper focus.

It is of great importance under these circumstances to ascertain the measure of truth in the allegation that Communism is penetrating into the Middle East today.

Unto this end, three broad questions must be raised:

- 1 Is it true that Communism is making headway in the Arab World? Is the communization of the Arab World a probable possibility? Is Arab society predisposed to Communism, and is it likely to submit to the Communist System?
- 2 What is the situation of Communism in Israel? Is Communism capable of penetrating into Israeli life? Are Americans told the truth about the situation of Communism in Israel?
- 3 If there are Soviet inroads into the Arab World today, what are their causes? Is the growth of Soviet influence in the Arab World a result of Arab desire and inclination, or is it a result of other factors? How can America cope with the growing Soviet influence in the Middle East?

The answers to all of these questions are of more than academic interest. They help not only to reveal the truth, but have a practical significance as well—a vital significance for America's

role on the international scene.

According to present indications, the policy-making circles in the United States are still at the stage where they prefer to deal with symptoms and to administer palliatives. Until they probe beyond the symptoms and start to diagnose the causes, until they go beyond the palliatives and begin to exercise curative medicine—until then, their efforts to cope with the situation will remain futile, their successes momentary and perhaps only apparent.

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In an effort to shed some light on all facets of the situation, two separate inquiries will be made in the two subsequent articles: the first, examining the situation of Communism in Israel; and the second, analyzing the situation of Communism and Soviet influence in the Arab World. For the moment, however, we shall present a brief balance sheet of the findings of the two inquiries, highlighting comparatively and side by side the essential landmarks of the two situations:

## BALANCE SHEET Communism in the Arab States & Israel

### ARAB STATES

- 1 Communist parties are outlawed in every Arab State.
- 2 No deputy in any Arab parliament ran for office on the basis of a Communist platform or was elected on the strength of his Communist affiliations.
- 3 There are no Communist or quasi-Communist institutions in the social, economic or political structure of any Arab country.
- 4 No Arab State is party to a Mutual Defense treaty with the Soviet Union or with any Communist country. Three Arab League States (Iraq, Libya and Saudi Arabia) have such treaties with one or more of the Western countries.
- 5 The United States maintains military bases in Morocco, Libya and Saudi Arabia, which the U. S. deems vital for the defense of its interests.
- 6 Some Arab countries (e.g., Iraq, Jordan, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia) have no exchange of diplomatic representation with the Soviet Union.
- 7 Some Arab States recognized Communist China in 1956.
- 8 Egypt and Syria, having tried in vain to purchase arms from the United States, eventually purchased some arms from Communist countries.
- 9 Some Arab countries, in concert with many of the countries in Asia, maintain a posture of positive neutrality or non-alignment in the East-West conflict.

### ISRAEL

- 1 Communist parties operate freely in Israel. In addition to the Israel Communist Party, there are two left-wing fellow-traveling parties, Mapam and Achdut ha-Avoda.
- 2 The total number of Communists and fellow-travelers in the Israeli Parliament is 25: 6 belonging to the Israel Communist Party, 9 to Mapam, and 10 to Achdut ha-Avoda. (The total number of seats in that parliament is 120).
- 3 The Kibbutz, which is a form of collective settlement in which no private property, private labor or private profit are permissible, and which is organized on the basis of communal collective ownership, is the form of organization in 223 rural settlements in Israel. Less Communistic in structure but nevertheless collectivist are Moshevi Ovdim settlements, of which there are 259. Thus 472 of the 814 rural settlements of Israel are organized on a Communist or quasi-Communist basis.
- 4 Israel made a pledge to the Soviet Union on 6 July 1953 that it would not be a party to any anti-Soviet alliance.
- 5 There are no Western military bases in Israel.
- 6 The first formally-accredited diplomatic representative of Israel was appointed to Prague; the second, to Moscow.
- 7 Israel was the first country in the Middle East to recognize Communist China. It did so in 1950.
- 8 The first country in the Middle East to purchase arms from the Communist bloc countries was Israel.
- 9 The first country in the Middle East which formally announced its adoption of a posture of outright neutrality in the East-West conflict was Israel.

Most of these facts, true and relevant as they are, are little-known in the United States. The barrage of anti-Arab propaganda in the United States—serving jointly the interests of Israel as well as British and French colonialism—makes it difficult for the ordinary American, who draws all his information from the press, radio and television, to formulate an independent and responsible opinion about the situation.

A few remarks about this anti-Arab propaganda may be profitably made at this stage. Every trick known to professional propagandists is being used and exploited in such a way as to entrench the conviction in the mind of Americans that the Arab World is already lost to Communism. Groundless assertions, insinuations, slanted news stories, half-truths, and the constant association of the names of some Arab States with the Soviet Union, are only some of the multiple propagandistic tactics which are employed to the fullest possible extent nowadays for the sole purpose of making Americans believe that the Arab World is willingly falling under Soviet-Communist influence.

It is interesting to note the radical change which has overtaken the tone and emphasis of Zionist and Colonialist propaganda in the last couple of years.

A few years ago—when far-sighted Americans, reading the handwriting on the wall, used to warn their Government of the possible consequences of the alienation by America of the Arab World — Zionists consistently echoed the refrain: "Don't listen to them. The Arab World will never turn Communist no matter what you do to it!" Today, on the other hand, when Zionists find it more fruitful and more advantageous to their purposes to claim that the Arab World has already become dominated by Communism, the pontifications of yesterday are conveniently forgotten, and categorical statements are made right and left, asserting that the Arab World has been already irrevocably and irredeemably lost to Communism.

Perhaps readers of today's newspapers are likely to have forgotten the assurances which Zionists used to make, until a few years ago, to the effect that there was no need to worry about the possibility of the Arabs accepting aid and assistance from the Communists, and that, therefore, there was no need to heed the pleas of the Arabs for fair treatment by the Western Powers. For this purpose, it may be helpful to recall some of these assertions.

One illustration is outstanding. It may be found in the writings of Carl Herman Voss, an ultra-Zionist, who wrote a Question and Answer book called *The Palestine Problem Today* (published by the Beacon Press, Boston, in 1953) expressing in a very simple way the Zionist line of propaganda.

On page 42, he dealt with the question, "Has the United States lost the friendship of the Arab World?" His answer was: "The possibility of the Arab States joining the Soviet bloc — a frequently voiced fear — appears most unlikely. Could Arab leaders seriously contemplate political suicide — an alliance which would inevitably lead to the overthrow of the feudal regimes?"

On another question, "Is Communism making headway in the Mediterranean area?" He said (page 55): "One of the most important deterrents to the spread of Communism in the Middle

(continued on page 8.)

## For The Record

(Continued from Page 7)

East is the influence of Islam, now on the ascendant again in the wake of Arab nationalism. Islam opposes Communism because of Marxist materialism and because freedom of religion is denied to Moslems under Soviet rule. These two factors have helped to immunize the followers of Mohammed against the Communist virus. . . Communist ideology has had little success in any Arabic speaking countries except perhaps Lebanon, where it has influenced a thin stratum of young intellectuals. But they have not provided leadership either for the urban proletariat or the **fellahin** because, for the most part, they are of upper-class origin, remote socially and intellectually from the Arab masses."

That was in 1953 — when it was expedient for Zionists to assure Americans that there was no need for them to come to terms with the Arab legitimate national aspirations or to improve American policies towards the Middle East. Today, however, when the interests of Zionism demand the opposite approach, the self-same people who dismissed so lightly the prospects of Communist penetration into the Arab World, are the first to proclaim that the Arab World is irretrievably lost to Communism—while, of course, ignoring the reality of Communism in Israel.

When we recall Zionist prognoses and predictions of the recent past, it is perhaps not out of place for us to recall an Arab prediction made at about the same time. On February 15 of 1952, the present writer submitted a paper to a Conference on World Understanding held at New York University. That paper was subsequently published under the title **Understanding the Arab Mind**. A section on "The Arabs and Communism" opened with the following paragraph (page 15):

"Should communism succeed in capturing the Arab mind, such dreaded eventuality will be the result neither of an Arab predisposition to accept communist ideology, nor of a superior communist propaganda-genuis, but mainly the result of the failure of the Western Powers to come to terms with Arab national aspirations.

"Obversely, should the West maintain its present attitude towards the Arab World, and continue to frustrate Arab national aspirations, to isolate the Arab peoples, and to add fuel to the resentments and fears which inhabit the Arab soul, it will be quite likely that some Arabs, thus finding themselves without friendship or understanding in the West, would consider turning to the Soviet Union for support."

# For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayez  
A. Sayegh



## COMMUNISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST Communist and Soviet Influences In Israel

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** This is the second in a series of four articles on COMMUNISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST, written especially for THE CARAVAN. The first article appeared in the last issue, and the subsequent two installments will appear in our next two issues. They will deal, respectively, with "Communism in the Arab World" and "The Middle East in the Strategy of East and West."

A comprehensive inquiry into the scope of Communist and Soviet influences in Israel must examine the domestic as well as the international scene. It must explore the degree of Communist influence, first, in the political parties and the Government of Israel, and in its socio-economic institutions and structure, and secondly, in its diplomatic, economic, and military relations with the Soviet bloc.

### A. COMMUNISM IN THE DOMESTIC LIFE OF ISRAEL

#### 1. Communist & Leftist Political Parties:

Israel is the only country in the Middle East in which Communism operates freely, and in which Communist organizations and parties are permitted to engage openly in the full range of the state's political life.

The orthodox Communist grouping is known as the "Israel Communist Party," and it is supplemented by two leftist, fellow-traveling parties, known as "Mapam" and "Ahdut Haavoda-Poalei Zion."

In regard to the Israel Communist Party, little need be said except that it follows the usual lines and clamours for the usual catchwords which have become universally familiar through the operations of national Communist Parties all over the world. The Party has officially defined its own program, in the platform on the basis of which it entered the latest parliamentary elections of 26 July 1955 (as reproduced in STATE OF ISRAEL: FACTS & FIGURES, published by the Israel Office of Information, New York, 1955, page 19), as follows: "Its aim—Socialism. Basing itself on the Marxist theory of class struggle and guided by the theory of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, the party fights for peace, the real independence of Israel, genuine democracy, civil and national equality of rights, and for the interests of the toiling masses."

The relationship of the other two parties to Communist doctrine and practice, however, is more subtle.

In January of 1948, a few months before the establishment of Israel, the Mapam Party was formed by the merger of three independent groups—Ahdut Haavoda, Hashomer Hatzair and Poalei Zion. After the establishment of the State, this new political compound became the second strongest party in Israel.

According to Joseph Dunner, the staunchly pro-Zionist author of *The Republic of Israel* (pages 129-130), "The distinguishing feature of Mapam since the merger has been its strong pro-Soviet orientation. It holds that . . . Israel . . . must rely on the Soviet Union and the 'people's

democracies' of eastern Europe for support. Mapam takes credit for the flow of arms and ammunition to Israel from Czechoslovakia."

But after its successes in the first two parliamentary elections (where it gained 19 and 15 seats in 1949 and 1951 respectively), the Mapam Party splintered. In January 1954, one faction seceded and organized itself as the Left Socialist Party; and in October 1954, it merged with the Israel Communist Party. Further dismemberment occurred in August 1954, when the Ahdut Haavoda reverted to its original name, and the Hashomer Hatzair retained the name Mapam.

In the latest parliamentary election, on July 26, 1955, the new Mapam Party described itself in its official platform as a left-wing Zionist Socialist party, and called for friendship between Israel and the Soviet Union." (Facts & Figures, op. cit., p. 18) The Ahdut Haavoda at the same time proclaimed that it had "no interest other than that of all the workers" and that its mission was to "struggle for the historical general interests of the Hebrew working class." (Facts & Figures, op. cit., p. 20), and called for support of "world peace policy of the U.S.S.R." and of "Popular China."

#### 2. Communists and Leftists in Parliament:

Jointly, these three parties occupy more than one-fifth of the seats in Israel's parliament today: 25 out of 120. In the 1951 elections they had won only 20 of the 120 seats. (See Facts and Figures, New York edition, p. 17).

To assess accurately the strength of these Communist and leftist parties in the parliament and among the people of Israel, one must remember that, in Israel, the system of election is that of "proportional representation." This means that the electorate votes for parties, not for individuals; and, when the results are computed, each party is assigned a number of seats proportionate to the votes it receives, and it in turn assigns the individuals to occupy those seats. The fact that the Communist and left-wing parties occupy 25 seats out of 120, therefore, means that over 20 per cent of the electorate voted for the Communist and leftist programs and supported the Marxist Socialist ideology.

#### 3. Leftists in the Cabinet:

Since the beginning of its political history, Israel has had coalition governments. At no time has it had in parliament a party sufficiently strong to form a cabinet without the support of other parties.

The present cabinet represents the coalition which has been in power since the elections of 1955.

It is a coalition of five parties—of which two are leftist, Mapam and Ahdut Haavoda. Each of these two leftist parties has two ministers in the sixteen-member cabinet. (See American Jewish Yearbook for 1957, vol. 58, p. 376).

Thus, one quarter of the ministers composing the Israeli cabinet are avowedly leftist and pro-Soviet.

#### 4. Collectivist and Communal Settlements:

According to the latest Israeli statistics, more than a quarter of the population of Israel live in rural settlements—483,000 out of 1,718,000. (See Facts & Figures, published in Israel, pages 37 and 38).

"There are six specific types of settlements," according to the Israeli Government, "and the pattern of some of these types reflects various social philosophies." (Facts & Figures, published in New York, p. 51).

Of these six specific types, three have a collectivist and communal pattern of socio-economic organization. These are: the "Kibbutzim," the "Moshavei Ovdim," and the "Moshavim Shitufim."

Of the first, there are 223 settlements, with a population of 76,000; of the second, 259 settlements inhabited by 89,500; and, of the third, 25 settlements inhabited by 4,500. Thus, together, these settlements number 507; and their total population is 170,000.

This constitutes a sizable proportion of the total number of rural settlements and rural population in Israel. For, apart from the Arab villages and rural population, and apart from the temporary settlements of new immigrants which have not yet chosen any pattern of socio-economic organization, the total number of permanent rural settlements inhabited by Israel's Jewish rural population is 662, and their population is 319,000. In other words, of the 662 Israeli rural settlements, 507 are collectivist and communal; and their population is 170,000 of the total Israeli Jewish rural population of 319,000.

Many a student of socio-economic institutions has compared these collectivist rural settlements of Israel with the Kolchozes of the Soviet Union. A special Study Mission of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the U. S. House of Representatives has recently described the kibbutz as "a form of elementary communism" and expressed the opinion that it "cannot be classified among democratic institutions." (See House Report No. 2147, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1956, pp. 30 and 32).

### B. ISRAEL'S TIES WITH THE SOVIET BLOC

#### 1. Political Support for the Establishment of Israel:

The Soviet Union, and the entire Soviet Bloc, voted in favor of the establishment of Israel in 1947. The Partition Resolution, which had failed to obtain the support of two-thirds of the voting members of the United Nations in the first two votes, would certainly have suffered defeat had the Soviet bloc voted against it or even merely abstained from voting. Thus the support of the Soviet bloc made it possible for the establishment of Israel to be endorsed by the United Nations in the first instance.

#### 2. Military Support for Israel:

Nor was the vital Soviet bloc support confined to the political field at the United Nations. It overflowed into the crucial military field on the battlefronts of Palestine as well.

The story of the flow of arms from Communist Czechoslovakia to Israel in 1948 was never fully told in the United States, even

when it was taking place; and it has been suppressed since then. The fact that Israel was the first country in the Middle East to receive arms from the Soviet bloc is thus either unknown or forgotten. So, too, are the facts that this purchase of arms by Israel took place during the cease-fire ordered by the U.N. Security Council on May 29, 1948; that it was in violation of the essential terms of the Council's order, which had called upon the parties "to refrain from importing or exporting war material . . . during the cease-fire"; and that it was in further violation of the embargo on arms' deliveries to the area, ordered by the Security Council in its resolution of July 15, 1958.

Equally forgotten or unknown is the fact that Israel paid for the arms it purchased from Communist Czechoslovakia in American-donated, tax-free dollars—given to Israel ostensibly for charitable purposes, but diverted by Israel to arms-procurement.

The well-informed Zionist journalist, Jon Kimche, wrote in his *Seven Fallen Pillars* (pp. 249-250):

"Israeli emissaries scoured the whole of Europe and America for possible supplies. American Jews were contributing generous supplies of dollars and the arms merchants were prepared to deal for dollars. The Czechs were most helpful. A regular airlift began to operate from Prague to Aqir in southern Palestine. Rifles, ammunition and guns were now arriving. So were the first bombers—Flying Fortresses smuggled from the United States, and the Beaufort fighter-bombers tricked out of England . . .

"When the truce ended, a coherent Jewish army with a tiny but effective air force and a small and daring navy was ready to give battle.

"This change was still hidden from the eyes of the Arabs and the United Nations Assembly. But the British Government knew. The Foreign Office was receiving reports from Czechoslovakia, and from the R.A.F.'s reconnaissance Mosquitos which still roamed over the battle areas, taking photographs of the arrival of supplies in Israel."

#### 3. Cordial Diplomatic Relations:

Israel's appreciation of the political and military support of the Soviet bloc has been openly expressed, at the highest official level. In the Introduction to the *Government Yearbook* for 1952, Prime Minister Ben-Gurion wrote: "Israel does not forget the stand taken by the Soviet Union in the Assembly of the United Nations on the historic 29th day of November, 1947, nor does it forget the like stand of the United States of America. It remembers as vividly the aid received from Czechoslovakia during the War of Independence . . . which without doubt bespoke sincere sympathy with Israel's enterprise."

But Israel's appreciation was expressed not merely in words. The first formally accredited diplomatic representative of Israel was appointed to Prague; the second, to Moscow. (See *Zionist Review*, October 15, 1948, p. 6).

#### 4. Policy of Neutrality:

Israel was the first country in the Middle East to proclaim its neutrality with respect to the East-West conflict. This was partly in response to the support, political and military, it received from the Soviet bloc, and partly a result of the pressures of the strong Communist and leftist parties within Israel's parliament and cabinet and in the Israeli populace at large.

A staunch pro-Zionist American diplomat who was the first

U. S. Ambassador to Israel, James McDonald, wrote in his book, *My Mission to Israel* (pp. 283-284): "The assistance of Russia and more particularly Czechoslovakia during the Arab-Israel war was warmly appreciated . . . Israel sought to maintain an officially neutral policy in the cold war between East and West. This neutrality was expressed in numerous votes at the U. N., in the quiet way in which Russian and satellite 'elections' were reported on the official radio, even in the care shown by the pro-Government papers not to wound Iron Curtain susceptibilities."

Even as late as December 1956, Ben-Gurion made it abundantly clear that Israel continues to adhere to its established policy of neutrality. He declared: "We will not conduct our relations with the nations of the world—the larger ones as well as the smaller ones—with any regard for the external policies of those nations. We aspire to establish cordial relations with all nations on the basis of equality and mutuality." (*Israel Digest*, Vol. VII, No. 49, of December 14, 1956).

Ben-Gurion's political party, the Mapai, proclaimed in the official platform on the basis of which it ran for elections in 1955 that "its foreign policy stands for non-identification with any bloc." (Facts & Figures, published in New York, p. 18).

In fact, it is significant that, while the three leftist parties champion a policy of friendship with the Soviet bloc, and the largest party—Mapai—calls for a policy of non-identification, not one of the remaining ten parties represented in the Parliament of Israel today includes in its official platform an appeal for friendship with the West.

True to the neutralist mood which pervades the majority of its population, Israel has rejected every proposal, however tentatively and informally made, to establish Western military bases on its soil. The reaction of the Israeli press to such suggestions has always been overwhelmingly negative.

#### 5. Pledge of Non-Hostility:

Early in 1953, a sudden crisis erupted which clouded Soviet-Israeli relations. It came as a result of the well-known case of the nine Soviet doctors, of whom six were Jewish, who were charged, in an official communique published in *Pravda* on January 13, 1953, with having "made it their aim to cut short the lives of active public figures of the Soviet Union through the sabotage of medical treatment."

The publication of this communique heralded a bitter anti-Jewish campaign in the Soviet press. According to the *American Jewish Year Book* for 1954, this campaign "provoked a wave of indignation and protest throughout the world," and "had its most violent repercussions in Israel," where "extremists belonging to a secret and illegal organization exploded a bomb on the premises of the Soviet legation in Israel on February 9, 1953." (Pages 273 and 176). "This act was condemned in no uncertain terms by the government of Israel, the Knesset (Parliament), and the press." (Page 353). But "the Soviet Government refused to accept the apology and, without further negotiations, broke diplomatic relations with Israel" on February 11, 1953. (Page 277). However, "on July 20 an agreement on the restoration of diplomatic ties was officially announced in Moscow and Jerusalem" (Page 354).

(continued on page 8.)



## Caravan Correspondents

**NOTE:** If you have news of any sort that you would like published in *The Caravan*—births, weddings, engagements, club activities, outstanding individual achievements, deaths, etc.—please contact one of the correspondents listed below in your area.

If your city does not have a correspondent of its own, and you feel it is large enough to warrant one, have your community select some competent person, and send us his or her name. We'll write to that person, giving him or her full details and help in making the job as easy as possible.

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## For The Record

(Continued from Page 7)

The significance of this temporary break in diplomatic relations lies in the terms on which the Soviet Union consented to re-store normal relations with Israel.

On July 6, 1953, the Israeli Government, officially requesting the resumption of diplomatic relations, pledged that Israel "would not be a party to any alliance or pact aiming at aggression against the Soviet Union." On July 15, 1953, the Soviet government "accepted these statements and agreed to reestablish diplomatic relations." (*American Jewish Yearbook* for 1955, p. 409). "Reviewing Soviet foreign relations to the Supreme Soviet on August 8, 1953, Premier Georgi M. Malenkov stressed that Israel had promised not to join any aggressive alliance against the Soviet Union." (Same source). In June 1954, both countries agreed to elevate the level of their diplomatic representatives and to transform their legations to embassies. (Same source).

### 6 Soviet-Israeli Trade:

One of the outstanding characteristics of the post-Stalin era of Soviet foreign policy has been the initiation or expansion of trade relations between the Soviet Union and the countries of Asia and Africa. It has been during this period and in accordance with its characteristic pattern that the Soviet Union established commercial relations with some Arab States, particularly since 1955. But the initiation of economic intercourse with some Arab States has not, in the least, entailed the curtailment of Soviet-Israeli trade. On the contrary, the period has been marked by the expansion of Soviet commercial relations with Israel no less than by the establishment of such relations with some Arab countries.

In fact, the former preceded the latter by about two years. For one of the first consequences of the resumption of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel in July, 1953, was the conclusion of far-reaching trade agreements, involving chiefly the exchange of Soviet crude oil, badly needed by Israel, for Israel fruits. According to the *American Jewish Year Book* for 1955, (page 409): "After the resumption of Soviet relations with Israel, several trade agreements were concluded. The export of Israel oranges and other fruit to the Soviet Union was renewed, while the Soviet Union began to deliver considerable quantities of crude oil."

Nor have these trade relations diminished since 1953. Reviewing Soviet-Israeli relations for 1954 and 1955, the *American Jewish Year Book* for 1956 says (pages 431-432):

"Commercial relations were

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## TRIBUTE FROM HIS ENEMIES

How do the Israelis appraise the work of the Arab information Center in the United States? This question can perhaps now be answered in the light of recent articles which appeared in the leading English-language newspaper in Israel, *THE JERUSALEM POST*, whose publisher is today the Mayor of Jerusalem.

On March 25, *THE JERUSALEM POST* published an article by Yaakov Morris, under the heading "Arab Flights of Fancy." It reviewed largely two publications recently issued by the Arab Information Center over the signature of acting Director Dr. Fayeze Sayegh—*The Arab-Israeli Conflict* and *Turmoil in the Middle East*.

The author described Dr. Sayegh's pamphlets as "a strange juxtaposition of selected distortion and wishful thinking absorbing parts of reality into concepts built on the author's a priori premises," and built his whole article on what he termed a primary "characteristic of the Arab mind," which, according to him, is "the blind refusal to recognize facts" and the tendency, "before digesting the facts, . . . to lose themselves in distorted flights of interpretation."

This article provoked a serious rebuttal from an Israeli in New York, which appeared under the title "Arab Propaganda" in the April 29 issue of *THE JERUSALEM POST* and aimed at cor-

recting the impression which Israeli readers of the newspaper may derive from the first article about the quality and degree of effectiveness of the work of the Arab Information Center.

In this rebuttal, the author opens his article with the following words:

"I am afraid that 'Arab Flights of Fancy' by Yaakov Morris (your issue of March 25) is itself a flight of wishful thinking. To suggest that the publications by Dr. Fayeze A. Sayegh reviewed by Mr. Morris 'are classical instances' of distortions that 'must not be viewed as conscious propaganda' is a most dangerous underestimation of both the viciousness and effectiveness of an adversary."

The author of the rebuttal then proceeds to describe what he terms "Dr. Sayegh's type of propaganda" as follows:

"It is carried out with ability and skill, sustained by comprehensive knowledge and profound understanding of the issues involved."

"From this side of the Atlantic, may I bear witness to an established fact here that the acceptance of Sayegh's 'weary story substantiated by facts and quotations' does not hinge upon the reader's total ignorance" as Mr. Morris would like his readers to believe. A vast educated public, that includes college students and teachers, writers and newspapermen, clergy and professionals tends to give credence to those distortions.

"Of course these are not specialists in Arab-Israeli relations. However, this is an intelligent public that does not file away its critical faculties at a discussion on Arab-Israeli problems, and in one way or another they are somewhat attracted and influenced by seasoned propaganda dishes prepared by Dr. Sayegh and served in pseudo-scholarly manner."

The author of the rebuttal concludes his article with the following paragraph:

"Israel's information services in the U.S. are up against a serious opponent. Smugness and underestimating his strength will not promote our cause in combating him."

Although it was briefly interrupted after the Israeli invasion of Egypt on October 30, 1956, delivery of Soviet oil was resumed shortly thereafter.

This, then, is the scope and extent of Communist and Soviet influence in Israel.

In marshalling these facts, we have sought merely to balance the one-sided reporting in the majority of American newspapers and other communications media. The facts as such have been documented from official Israeli sources, Zionist sources, and other American news sources—such as the *New York Times*—which cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, be considered anti-Israeli or anti-Zionist, or be suspected of reporting in a manner prejudicial to Israel and Zionism.

governed by a trade agreement signed in Moscow in December 1953. The Soviet government agreed to deliver 100,000 tons of crude oil to Israel, with an option for another 100,000 tons, and to buy citrus fruits and bananas to a total of \$2,900,000.

"In February 1954 Israel took up the option for the second 100,000 tons of oil, and in subsequent agreements agreed to buy another 250,000 in exchange for fruit exports.

"Similar agreements were concluded between Israel and several satellite states.

"The statistics for 1954 showed a triple increase of Israel imports from the Soviet bloc. This trade continued in 1955 . . .

"In July 1955 the two governments concluded a shipping agreement granting each other preferential treatment in such matters as port and dock facilities and charges."

The *American Jewish Year Book* for the following year (1957) adds this to the preceding information (page 316):

"During 1955-1956 commercial transactions with Israel continued, and in July 1956 the Soviet Union agreed to increase its oil shipments to that country. The agreement provided for oil deliveries amounting to from \$18,000,000 to \$20,000,000."

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NEW  
HAVEN.  
CONN.

By  
Sadie Joseph  
Hassan



Dr. Faye A. Sayegh, Acting Director of the Arab States Delegation to the United Nations, addressed the Yale University Law School Conservative Society April 23 at the Law School Auditorium.

\* \* \*

DR. SAYEGH APPEALS ON BEHALF  
OF NEEDY CAMP HAMMOND FUND

This is the first occasion on which I appeal to people in the United States for financial contributions. I am proud to say that the cause for which I am now calling upon Americans, and particularly Americans of Arab origin, to contribute is one of the worthiest and noblest of causes that I know.

It is for the benefit of Camp Hammond, sponsored by the Syrian-Lebanese Child Welfare Society of Boston, Massachusetts, that I appeal to you, in the hope that you will open your hearts to, and share your bounty with, the beneficiaries of this project.

According to the reports available to me, Camp Hammond comprises 71 acres of fragrant pine forests, a private pond, and well-kept athletic facilities. It also has airy cabins, a modern kitchen and dining hall, and a well-equipped dispensary.

In addition to these healthful surroundings and facilities, Camp Hammond provides boys and girls of Arab extraction with instruction in arts and crafts, nature study, and other edifying pursuits.

The Camp's supervisory staff includes, in addition to the Director and Assistant Director, a dietitian, a fulltime nurse, and a physician on call 24 hours a day.

But the management of Camp Hammond does not confine its concern for the welfare of the children under its custody to the physical, the mental, or the social; for it is cognizant also of the significance of the spiritual in human life. It provides worship services at the Camp's lovely outdoor Chapel-in-the-Pines; and churches in Plymouth are easily accessible.

I have read some of the letters written by children who spent previous summers in the Camp and on the basis of their spontaneous testimony I have come to the conclusion that Camp

Hammond provides all the essential attributes of a happy home that a camp can provide.

The important thing is that no child has ever been refused admission to the Camp in its 32-year history because his or her parents could not afford to pay. Within the financial limitations of its funds, Camp Hammond has opened its doors to every child of Arab ancestry. Camp Hammond needs you this year. It needs your interest and belief in its cause. It needs your support and encouragement. It needs your contributions.

When I say that Camp Hammond needs you I mean that the children who have benefitted from Camp Hammond and who would like to benefit again, the children who long for a healthful and edifying summer-home but who cannot afford the price, it is they who need you and it is on their behalf that I appeal to your generosity for contributions.

Camp Hammond is the only project of its kind in the United States which is owned, sponsored and operated by Americans of Arab descent. Its success or failure will undoubtedly reflect upon the entire community of Americans of Arab descent. Its success will betoken the keen social consciousness of the com-

munity, from this standpoint as well as from the standpoint of the happiness of your children, its success is your business and it should be a matter of your primary concern.

Won't you please respond with generosity to the appeal of the children of your community and the management of Camp Hammond, and help towards meeting the camp's goal of raising \$10,000—which is the minimum amount necessary to open the Camp this summer? Won't you please help to make it possible for this project, which began 32 years ago, to continue to exist and operate and to make further progress this year?

Please remember that any contribution you make will be a step towards attaining this objective. The value of your contribution is not measured by its size but by the spirit from which it emanates and by the timeliness and promptness of your response. When you send your check today to the Syrian Lebanese Child Welfare Society, may you have the blissful satisfaction of knowing that you have contributed to the planting of a smile on the face of a child.

God Bless You.

Dr. Faye A. Sayegh

\* \* \*

CONTRIBUTIONS TO CAMP HAMMOND MAY BE MAILED DIRECTLY TO THE SYRIAN LEBANESE CHILD WELFARE SOCIETY, INC., 111 SUMMER STREET, RM. 44, BOSTON 10, MASS.

A CHILD'S PRAYER



"Dear God, please don't close Camp Hammond this summer. Thank you!"



Yvonne Alwon

On The Line

A surprise shower in honor of Violet Mannessa was held Saturday, May 18 by her bridal attendants. Violet will become Mrs. Donald Ganim June 9.

\* \* \*

A party will be held this Saturday, May 25 to celebrate the engagement of Emily Saleeby, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Badri Saleeby, to Al Hanna, son of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Hanna. Al is part owner of the Penthouse in Bay Ridge.

\* \* \*

Newly-engaged Laura Meena and Victor Makhoul were given a reception recently by the prospective groom's family.

Pa. . . Mr. and Mrs. Shikri Far-kouh are leaving for Texas to visit their son, Lt. Nicholas Far-kouh, who is stationed there. . . Mrs. Gabriel Stobely will visit her son, Gabriel, Jr. in Las Vegas, Nevada. . . Mrs. Al Amoury returned from Texas in time to attend the engagement of her son, Dr. Ray Amoury. . . Mrs. Albert Rahaim and her daughter, Charlotte, of Gardner, Mass. were in town and gave a bon voyage party aboard ship for another daughter, Jackie, who left on a tour of Europe. When Jackie arrives in France, she will find a car waiting for her in which to motor throughout Europe.



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78



# For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayed  
A. Sayegh



## COMMUNISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST

### Communist and Soviet Influences in the Arab States

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** This is the third in a series of four articles on Communism in the Middle East written especially for The Caravan by Dr. Sayegh. The preceding article dealt with Communism in Israel; the final article, which will appear in the next issue, will deal with the Middle East in the strategy of East and West.

In the preceding article, we surveyed the manifestations of Communist and Soviet influences in Israel. We established that Communism as a *political ideology* and as a *socio-economic system* has some deep roots in Israeli society; and that, from the very beginning of its existence as a state until today, Israel has had *friendly commercial and diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union*. These two distinct types of influence continue to affect the Israeli situation today, as they did from the beginning of Israel's history.

When we turn to the Arab States, however, we see a different picture.

The situation of **domestic Communism** has remained unchanged until today: Communism as an ideology has little appeal to the Arab mind; doctrinaire Communists are few and far between, and Communist political parties are outlawed in every single Arab State. **Communism is neither an ideological nor a political — nor indeed a socio-economic — force to reckon with in any of the Arab States.**

On the other hand, certain categories of Soviet-Arab relations have been initiated and promoted in some Arab States within the last two years.

Thus, the outstanding features of the situation of Communist and Soviet influence in the Arab World are the following:

1. The Arab Communist movement has been and continues to be ineffective and limited in scope. It continues to be prevented by law in every Arab State from organizing itself — through political parties or other organizations — into a domestic political force.

2. Relations with the Soviet Bloc — commercial, diplomatic, or cultural — have been established in only a few Arab States: notably, in Syria and Egypt. Five Arab States do not even have an exchange of diplomatic representation with the Soviet Union. None of the eleven sovereign Arab States is party to mutual defense treaties or alliances with the Soviet Union or any Soviet Bloc country.

The existing relations between the Soviet Bloc and the Arab States are thus limited in two senses. They are limited in their scope, and they are also limited from the standpoint of the Arab States which are parties to them.

3. These limited relations which exist today between some Arab States and some Soviet Bloc countries are of very recent origin. The expansion of Soviet-Arab trade, the supply of arms to some Arab States from Soviet Bloc countries, and the diplomatic support in the councils of the nations which some Arab States have received from the Soviet Union, — all these are new phenomena in the Arab scene.

This brief summation of the change which has overtaken So-

viet-Arab relations reveals an anomalous situation, which might, at first sight, seem somewhat puzzling. The recent initiation of friendly diplomatic and economic ties between the Soviet Bloc and some Arab States, and the accompanying rise of positive neutralism in these Arab States, have not been paralleled by greater Arab receptivity to Communism as an ideology, nor by greater acceptability of the Communist socio-economic message in Arab society.

Unlike the case of Israel, there is a startling disparity in the case of the Arab World between the new readiness of some Arab Governments to trade and deal with the Soviet Union, and to develop and maintain a posture of positive neutrality vis-a-vis the East-West duel, on the one hand, and the continued Arab rejection of Communism as a doctrine, on the other hand.

The traditional and continuing rejection of Communism as a way of life throughout the Arab World, on the one hand, and the emerging readiness on the part of some Arab Governments to establish new relations with the Soviet Bloc, on the other hand, are equally essential features of the seemingly contradictory Arab situation. Neither side of this picture can be validly overshadowed by the other, if the total picture is to be comprehensively and adequately viewed.

This apparent contradiction in the Arab situation raises a number of questions:

If Arabs as a rule reject Communism as an ideology, how can some Arabs "do business" with the Soviet Bloc?

Conversely, if some Arabs find it necessary to "do business" with the Soviet Bloc, how can they continue to reject Communism as a way of life?

Why is it that some Arab Governments feel that it is expedient or necessary to establish new relations with the Soviet Bloc despite their opposition to Communist ideology, while other Arab Governments maintain their outright rejection of both Communism and relations with the Soviet Union?

Will the situation stop at the present stage? Will those Arab States which have initiated new relations with the Soviet Bloc maintain such relations at the

present level and within the present limits, or will they eventually exceed these limits — only to find sooner or later that their lives have become intertwined with the Soviet system? Will the promotion of relations between them and the Soviet Union in due course soften their resistance to Communism as a doctrine? Are other Arab States likely to follow in their footsteps?

These and similar questions, while not permitting of categorical and brief answers, can best be explored through a patient examination of some of the basic postulates of the Arab mind and some of the more fundamental features of the Arab situation.

The first fundamental is that the Arab rejection of Communism as a way of life is genuine, basic and categorical; that it is universal and common to all Arab countries, and that it is the direct result of certain essential elements of Arab traditions and the Arab outlook on life.

The spiritualism of the Arabs, germane to their religiousness, is an effective element of immunity from Communist materialism. The belief in the primacy of the spiritual principle of being is incompatible with the atheism of Communism. The Communist message therefore cannot appeal to the hearts and souls of Arabs as human beings — dominated by the yearning for a spiritual meaning to their lives and by the search for a spiritual foundation for their faith.

The individualism of the Arabs — a distinctive feature of Arab culture, history and social life — dispels whatever appeal Communism may otherwise have; for it reveals the threat to the individuality of an Arab latent in the regimentarianism of totalitarian Communism.

Arab nationalism — perhaps the most significant single element in the Arab scene today — poses another obstacle to the spread of Communism in the Arab World. For educated Arabs realize that the basic tenets of Communism — such as the doctrine of worldwide "dictatorship of the proletariat," and the doctrine of class-struggle eventually leading to a world-wide "classless society" — are essentially incompatible with nationalism. And, moreover, Arabs of all walks of life realize that, in practice, Communism has meant the subjugation of smaller countries and the subordination of local interests to the dictates of the Kremlin.

Culturally and historically, the Arabs are part of the Western stream of thought. What is known as Western civilization today originated in the area of the Near East, of which the Arab World is now one of the major components. And, at various stages in their respective histories, Arab and Western civilizations have significantly contributed to, or partaken of, one another.

In its more modern history, the Arab World has been indebted to the Western World for many of its traditions. The Arab national movement itself received its initial spur and inspiration and many of its tenets from the West: Arab technology has been a Western import; the forms of government in several Arab States have been patterned after Western models; education in the Arab countries has been largely facilitated by Western missions and institutions, and almost all Arab leaders have been products of Western culture, directly or indirectly.

These varied elements of affinity to the Western way of life

and incompatibility with the Communist creed jointly argue for the relative immunity of the Arab mind from Communism, demonstrate the fact that Communism is alien to the Arab heart, and militate against the chances of widespread acceptance of Communism by the Arabs.

The second fundamental is that nationalism is the source of the most compelling force and the overpowering urge in the Arab World today.

The determination of the Arabs to be free — to preserve and reinforce their freedom in those countries in which they have achieved independence, and to attain their freedom in those countries in which they still live under foreign domination, fills the Arab heart with a consuming passion for liberty which can be understood only by those who have known from personal experience what it means to be ruled by others. And this urge for independence, coupled with their passionate desire for greater unity, for the development of their under-developed natural and human resources, and for the creative transformation of some of their backward socio-economic-political institutions and cultural traits and the modernization of the old-fashioned forms of their national life — all these, which are the primary components of Arab nationalism, constitute the standard in terms of which the Arabs appraise the alternative courses in foreign policy, and the yardstick by which they measure the friendliness or hostility of others.

From these two fundamentals, several corollaries follow.

Arabs contest the thesis that there is but one central global conflict, around which every controversy on the international scene revolves and to which every other conflict must be subordinated. To them, the conflict between national sovereignty and colonial domination is no less significant, no less global in its ramifications, and no less historic in its import, than is the East-West conflict.

Arabs, therefore, can neither understand, nor subscribe to, the proclamation that their struggle for freedom is a provincial and peripheral struggle, as compared with the struggle of what is termed the "Free World" against actual and potential Soviet tyranny.

The cause of freedom, they maintain, is one and indivisible — and the struggle of Algerians for self-determination is not less worthy of support by the "Free World," simply because the tyrant involved in it is a member of NATO, than is the struggle of Poles or Hungarians to attain their freedom from Soviet overlordship, or the zeal of other countries to protect their sovereignty from threatened Soviet encroachment.

The cause of justice, they also proclaim, is one and indivisible — and the fundamental rights of the Arabs of Palestine are not less worthy of observance and safeguarding than are the universal "human rights" of which Western theorists so eloquently speak and which Western Democracy in essence seeks to protect and promote.

The cause of scrupulous respect for the dignity of all peoples, large and small, is also one and indivisible, the Arabs believe — and they therefore cannot tolerate the practice by some Western Powers of a dual form of international morality, whereby these Powers righteously condemn the Soviet Union for mak-

ing a mockery of the national sovereignty of countries under its hegemony, while at the same time they endeavor to subvert by a variety of means — including bribery and blackmail, gunboat diplomacy, as well as military invasion — the newly-won sovereignty of some Arab States.

In view of the record of some Western Powers in the Arab World, many Arabs have come to distinguish between what the West stands for, in terms of its ideals and values and patterns of government, on the one hand, and what the West stands for, as a bloc of powers, in its ruthless frustration of legitimate Arab national aspirations, on the other hand. Similarly, some Arabs have begun to make a parallel distinction between Communism and the recent attitude of the Soviet Bloc towards Arab national aspirations.

In the light of these two parallel distinctions, some Arabs no longer see the East-West conflict as merely an ideological controversy between Communism and Democracy. They envision it rather as a complex contest between two groups of Powers — a duel involving national interests and ambitions, national greed, as well as ideology.

It is within this context that the predisposition to adopt an attitude of neutrality vis-a-vis this complex rivalry of Eastern and Western States has found its way into the thinking of some Arabs.

And it is in the light of these postulates of the Arab mind, and the historical framework within which they came to be formulated, that one must interpret the readiness of some Arab Governments to establish such relations with the Soviet Bloc as had been denied them by the Western Bloc.

Moreover, it is only within the context of the fundamental incompatibility between Communism and those values which Arabs hold sacred that one can understand how and why the resistance to Communism has not diminished even in those Arab countries which have found it necessary as a last resort to initiate relations with the Soviet Bloc.

What we witness in the Arab World today is nothing less than a solemn "Great Debate" raging in the Arab mind and affecting the very destiny of the Arab peoples. It is a search for orientation, for bearings, for direction; a search for associations in the world in which they find themselves nowadays at the outset of the era of Arab sovereignty and responsibility. As in every search emanating from the potency for choice and the responsibility for decision, this search is characterized by anxiety as well as by divergence in points of view, and by seeming or real disunity.

While all Arabs find themselves united in their unanimous determination to preserve their freedom and safeguard their independence, some Arab Governments are of the opinion that Arab national aspirations can best be realized by continued confidence in the West despite its record in the Arab World, and by continued maintenance of alliances with the Western Powers to the exclusion of any form of significant relationship with the Eastern Powers, while others have become convinced that genuine independence can be preserved and reinforced only by exercising the right to establish beneficial relations with any country which stands ready to help them, without infringing upon their sovereignty, in their manifold struggle.

(continued on page 8.)



## For The Record

(Continued from Page 7)

gle against backwardness, poverty, military weakness and foreign domination.

\* \* \*

So far we have confined our analysis to the impact of the relevant postulates of Arab thinking upon the recent change in Arab relations with East and West. This analysis must now be supplemented by an investigation of the concrete historical setting in which these postulates evolved and in which the new Arab attitudes unfolded themselves. For it is in the respective strategies and policies of East and West with respect to the Arab World, that the causes for the reactions of the Arab States to either Bloc must be sought.

To this supplementary analysis we shall turn in our concluding article on "The Middle East in the Strategy of East and West."

## Leaving Again On Lecture Tour

During the past year, Dr. Fayez Sayegh, Acting Director of the Arab States Delegations Office, has made a number of cross-country speaking tours. Several interested organizations in the Pacific Northwest have subsequently requested that he return to the area for a series of special engagements. He will embark on his fourth trip to the Northwest during the first week of June and will make the following appearances:

On Monday evening, June 3, Dr. Sayegh will be guest of honor and guest speaker at the Annual Banquet of the Arab Students Organization of the University of Washington, in Seattle. The subject of his address will be "Recent Trends in the Arab World."

Dr. Sayegh will appear, for the second time, before the World Affairs Council of Seattle at 4 p.m., Tuesday, June 4. He will speak on "The Arab-Israeli Conflict."

At 7:30 p.m., Tuesday, June 4 he will deliver the final address before the Institute of International Affairs, Seattle, Washington. This lecture, to be held at Johnson Hall on the campus of the University of Washington, is the last in a series of ten Institute lectures. Dr. Sayegh's topic will be "The Arab World and the West."

5, Dr. Sayegh will address the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco Thursday, June 6 at a luncheon meeting in the St. Francis Hotel. This is the third appearance for Dr. Sayegh before this influential study group. His topic will be "Conditions for Arab-Israeli Peace."

The Caravan: June 6, 1957

**June 15— CEDARS HOTEL**, Asbury Park, N. J., Gala Haftl featuring HANAAN, Emil Kassis, Naim Karacand and Mike Hamway.

**June 30 — ALEPPIAN CHARITY SOCIETY**, Paterson, N. J., outing at R & R Grove, Caldwell, N. J.

**June 30— GREEN GROVE MANOR**, Asbury Park, N. J., "Arabian Nights" featuring Eddie Kochak.

**July 28— HOMSIAN CHARITY SOCIETY** of Paterson, N. J., Annual Picnic at Old Duck Farm, Totowa Boro, N. J., Dr. Fayez Sayegh, guest of honor.

**October 12 — DAMASCUS FRATERNITY**, Union City, N. J., hafli at Zuccaro's Hall, Union City, featuring Elia Baida.

**October 24-27 — ST. MARY'S ORTHODOX CHURCH**, Brooklyn, Annual Bazaar at the church.

**November 2 — ST. NICHOLAS YOUNG MEN'S CLUB**, Annual Entertainment and Dance at Knights of Columbus Hall, B'klyn.

**November 30 — SYRIAN YOUNG MEN'S ASSOCIATION**, 20th Annual Dance at Hotel St. George Grand Ballroom, featuring Eddie Kochak.

# For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayez  
A. Sayegh



## COMMUNISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST

### The Middle East in the Strategy of East & West

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** This is the fourth and final installment in a series of articles on Communism in the Middle East written especially for The Caravan by Dr. Sayegh. Beginning next week, The Caravan will carry a shorter column on a different subject every issue by Dr. Sayegh, most of them dealing with questions raised by our readers and current in the minds of the public today.

**READERS ARE URGED TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS OPPORTUNITY AND SEND IN THEIR QUESTIONS TO "FOR THE RECORD," c/o THE CARAVAN, 172-174 HOYT STREET, BROOKLYN 17, N. Y., or call them in at MAin 5-5096-7. Questions dealing with statements or current beliefs which tend to place the Arab countries or Arab-Americans in a bad light are particularly recommended.**

In the preceding articles, we surveyed the situation of Communist and Soviet influences in the Middle East — in Israel and in the Arab States—as it exists today. But it goes without saying that such situations cannot be viewed in isolation from their respective historical contexts; nor can they be understood without reference to their genesis and development, and to the factors which caused them. It is therefore our purpose in the present article to survey the history of these trends, from the perspective of which the present situation can best be understood.

The present situation must be viewed essentially as the result of the intersection of three historical courses, which converged on one point at one historical moment in 1954 and 1955. These distinct and essentially independent courses are the national awakening of the Arab peoples; Western policy with respect to the Middle East, and Soviet policy with respect to the Middle East.

#### 1. The Arab National Awakening:

The Arab National Awakening had its beginning early in the nineteenth century, when the Arab mind was stirred as a result of its new contacts with Europe and America, after Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798 and the advent of Western missionaries and educators into the Arab World from 1820 onwards. For a whole century, this awakening was primarily literary and cultural, and was confined to the realm of hopes and aspirations; it did not translate itself into concrete action except in Egypt, where Mohammed Ali had opened the road to Egyptian autonomy from Ottoman rule, and British occupation in 1882 set in motion the Egyptian liberation movement. In the remainder of the Arab World, the national awakening did not take tangible, active form until World War I, when the Arab Revolt was waged in June, 1916 — the Arabs revolting against the Ottomans and their German allies, having come to an understanding with Great Britain that, after the war, an independent and united Arab State would be set up.

But, when the war was over, Arab nationalism was in for a grave disappointment. For, instead of getting their independence, the Arabs found themselves placed under the domination of Britain and France. And, to add to their national frustration, their land was dismembered and divided—against their will—into several political entities. Thus, they had neither in-

dependence nor unity. And, on top of everything else, Palestine was promised by Britain to the Zionists, who were given the green light to establish in it a national home of their own.

Since the end of World War I, therefore, Arab nationalism has been contending with Britain and France, the new Masters who had replaced the Ottomans, and with the Zionist Internationale, the new Western-sponsored menace to the area. This continued to be the pre-occupation of the Arab national movement until the end of World War II, when independence was attained by seven Arab States: Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen.

One of the first acts of these independent states was the establishment of the Arab League, as an instrument for the coordination of their policies and a stepping-stone towards further unity. Since the end of World War II, the independent Arab States, acting individually as well as jointly through the League, concentrated their energies largely on the attainment of four objectives: (1) the emancipation of the non-autonomous Arab countries, and the preservation and re-enforcement of the independence of those which had won their sovereignty; (2) the promotion of inter-Arab cooperation in all fields, and the furtherance of Arab solidarity; (3) the rejuvenation of Arab society, the reform of its social-economic-political institutions, and the development of its natural resources; and (4) the containment of the Zionist threat, and the restoration of legitimate Arab rights in Palestine.

As far as the first objective is concerned, they have succeeded in adding to their ranks four new independent Arab countries since the end of World War II — Libya, the Sudan, Morocco and Tunisia.

With respect to the second objective, Arab nationalism has scored several victories in the fields of economics, education,

social organization and health. Treaties and pacts, furthering intra-Arab cooperation in these fields, were signed under the auspices of the League and put into operation.

The Arab peoples and governments also made great strides in the direction of their third objective. The promulgation of new constitutions and basic legislation, the expansion of educational facilities, and the initiation of economic development projects have transformed much of Arab society from a feudal-medieval to a modern stage. The determination to proceed with this rapid modernization of Arab life has gained momentum and has become one of the most effective forces in the Arab national will.

It was in its efforts to attain its fourth objective that Arab nationalism has made least progress in the post-war period. For, during this period, Zionism entrenched itself further in Palestine, transformed itself into a state, widened its boundaries, expelled the Arabs of Palestine from their homes, and successfully maintained a posture of aggressive belligerency.

By 1954 and 1955, Arab nationalism found itself in company with similar movements all over the under-developed world of Asia and Africa. This emerging partnership between Arab nationalism and the national movements of Asia and Africa found expression for itself, at the United Nations — in the Asian-African Bloc (whose membership has expanded considerably, until it has become the largest single bloc at the U. N.) — and at Bandung, where twenty-nine Asian-African nations met for the first time in history in an atmosphere of freedom in April of 1955, and formulated a common policy with respect to the rest of the world.

While the Arab national movement was developing along these lines, Western policies towards the Middle East were also developing and leading to a head-on collision with the Arab World.

#### 2. Western Policy in the Middle East:

Prior to the Second World War, the various Western Powers had had different interests and concerns in the Middle East.

Britain and France were, each in its own way and for its own interests, putting up a strong resistance to the growth of the Arab liberation movement, and struggling to maintain a foothold in the Arab World. Although there were subterranean rivalries and frictions between them, they both shared a common hostility to Arab nationalism, in which they saw a threat to their respective colonial interests.

The United States, on the other hand, was showing little if any concern with the Arab World. It had its private missionary and educational institutions in the area, as well as its emerging business interests, particularly since the discovery of oil. But it had little direct political interest or influence. The edifying labors of its missionaries, and the contrast between the practices of its business firms and those of Britain and France, had won for America a special position of esteem, confidence and love in Arab hearts.

After the end of World War II however, the position of the United States changed, while the role of Britain and France, and the Arab reaction to their policies, remained more or less the same.

America's interest and involvement in world affairs increased sharply in the post-war period;

isolationism had been dealt a fatal blow by the war. Moreover, the rivalry with the Soviet Union, which dominated American policy shortly after the end of the war, necessitated closer collaboration between the United States, Britain and France in order to combat their common rival, the Soviet Union. Consequently the two Western colonial powers succeeded in dragging the United States into their own quarrels with the rising nationalist movements of Asia and Africa, and in securing the support (or at least the inaction) of the United States with respect to their colonial efforts to suppress the rise of nationalism in the under-developed world. Thus America, traditionally known for its championing of the right of peoples large and small to self-determination, became after the war associated in the Arab mind, and indeed in the minds of most Asians and Africans, with the colonialism of its Allies.

The decline of America's prestige in the Arab World was further precipitated by America's stand on Zionism.

It was America which pushed the Partition Plan through the throat of the General Assembly of the United Nations, and made possible the adoption of this unfair and unconstitutional measure by that world body. And yet, America watched passively and inactively as Israel, while coming into existence by virtue of the Partition Plan, nullified and prevented the implementation of the other provisions of that same Plan — such as the provision for the establishment of a Palestinian Arab State and for the internationalization of Jerusalem. America was thus considered responsible by the Arabs both for the establishment of Israel and for the non-establishment of an Arab and an international state in Palestine, as was planned by the United Nations in the same indivisible resolution which it adopted to "settle" the Palestine problem.

Moreover, America evidenced no visible concern as Israel defied, time and again, subsequent resolutions of the United Nations — such as the resolutions calling upon Israel to permit the return of the refugees to their homes, to compensate them for their property, and to adjust its boundaries in accordance with the Partition Plan.

Not only was America strangely indifferent to this open defiance by Israel, but it also continued to support and to subsidize Israel, through public gifts as well as tax-free private donations, thus making it possible for Israel to feel secure despite its defiance of the whole world. While not lifting a finger to urge Israel to compensate the Arab refugees for their property, America exerted strong pressure on West Germany to compensate Israel for Nazi crimes committed before the establishment of that state.

All the while, Israel, though openly proclaiming its intention to expand further into Arab territory, and constantly attacking the territories of the neighboring Arab States, was finding it possible to procure arms from the United States or from NATO powers with American concurrence, while the Arab States were relatively further enfeebled by being denied American or Allied arms.

At the outset of the Eisenhower regime, hope-inspiring statements about American "impartiality" in the Arab-Israeli conflict were publicly made, and at first tended to restore Arab confidence in the United States. But Arab hopes soon faded into the

belief that America's concept of "impartiality" was essentially partial to Israel, due to the fact that this concept did not imply the exertion of any effort by America to rectify its past mistakes, or to restore any of the Arab rights which Israel had been enabled by the assistance of former American administrations to trample.

Arab nationalists thus developed the feeling that no essential change had overtaken American policy towards the Middle East with respect to the Arab-Israeli conflict or with respect to the suppression of Arab liberation movements by Britain and France.

In the meantime, the Soviet Union — never ceasing in its search for loopholes in the position of the Western coalition, and never oblivious of its long-term designs for world domination — realized the opportunity which Western, and particularly American actions and inactions in the Middle East were creating for it to penetrate that vital area.

The natural seizure of this Western-created opportunity by the Soviet Union was in fact but one of several previous attempts it had made to gain access to the Middle East.

#### 3. Soviet Policy in the Middle East:

Russian ambitions to gain access to the Middle East are of long standing, and in fact preceded the Revolution of 1917 and the rise of the Soviet Regime.

Throughout the nineteenth century, Czarist Russia was seeking to achieve its objectives, either through the Ottoman Sultans or through its championing of one Middle Eastern domination or another. It was the European Powers which thwarted its progress and barred it from access to the warm waters of the Mediterranean.

During World War I, when the Ottoman Empire was no longer the protected "Sick Man of Europe," but the ally of Germany and the enemy of Britain and France, Czarist Russia sought access to the Middle East through these West European Powers. It succeeded in concluding a wartime treaty, splitting the remains of the Ottoman Empire among itself, Britain and France. This agreement was signed at the time when the Arabs were fighting with the British against the Ottomans. Before the end of the War however, the Bolshevik Revolution took place, and the new Soviet regime was too preoccupied with its domestic tasks to embark on adventures outside Russia. The Soviets therefore denounced the Czarist agreement with Britain and France, and professed to harbor no designs on the Middle East.

In the inter-war period, the Soviets contented themselves with inspiring and supporting domestic Communist parties in the Middle East by remote control, as it were. The success of these parties in the Arab countries was negligible — but in the expanding Zionist community of Palestine they had greater success.

During World War II, the Soviet Union was ripe for expansion. It therefore made an agreement with Nazi Germany, during the early period of Soviet-Nazi alliance, to have a recognized "zone of influence" in the Middle East after the war.

But the collapse of the Nazi-Soviet alliance and the defeat of Germany made it necessary for the Soviet Union to seek a new avenue for entry into the Middle East. A convenient avenue

(continued on page 8.)

## For The Record

(Continued from Page 7)

suggested itself when Britain presented the Palestine Problem to the United Nations. The Soviet Union cast its lot with Zionism, and the entire Soviet Bloc supported the Partition Plan at the General Assembly, vied with the United States in giving speedy recognition to Israel, opened its arsenals to Israeli arms-procurers during and after the truce, and supported Israel diplomatically at the United Nations.

But the Soviet Union soon realized that a toe-hold in Israel could not give it access to the whole Middle East, particularly in view of the rising tide of nationalism all over the area, and indeed all over the Asian-African arc of the undeveloped world.

The death of Stalin and the re-examination of Soviet foreign policy by his successors coincided with the rise of new revolutionary regimes in some Arab States, the blooming of the Asian-African awakening, the intensification of the national-colonial struggle, and the disillusionment of Arabs as far as the United States was concerned.

It was at this stage that the Soviet Union, without abandoning the gains it had made in Israel, took to championing the cause of nationalism all over the Asian-African World, including the Arab World. With nothing to lose and much to gain by the success of these liberation movements, it started to exploit the resentments in the Asian, African and Arab mind against the West, to extend diplomatic support to the national causes of these peoples at the United Nations, to initiate and expand mutually-beneficial trade relations with them, and to offer token programs of assistance—thus gaining the reputation of being the champion of national liberation and the supporter of national progress in the newly-independent and the colonial worlds, and appealing to the peoples as their real benefactor.

### The Three Courses Intersect:

Towards the end of 1954 and the beginning of 1955, these three courses intersected.

The Arab national movement, having come to its own after a century and a half, was determined to be recognized for what it was, to establish relations with the rest of the world on the basis of enlightened interest and mutual respect, and to realize its objective of elevating the standard of living of Arab masses and utilizing the natural resources of the Arab World. The European Western Powers were unwilling to recognize that the days of imperialism were over, and that the Middle Eastern peoples would

no longer submit to colonial domination or exploitation. The United States, still handcuffed by its commitments to its colonial Allies and by domestic Zionist pressures, was far from manifesting in its dealings with the Arab peoples that devotion to freedom and justice which were otherwise characteristic of American conduct. The Arab peoples were therefore ripe for emancipating themselves from their former one-sided dependence upon the Western Powers in their growth into economic and social maturity. And it was precisely at this time that the Soviet Union had decided to pose as the champion of the national movements in Asia and Africa.

The stage—at this pregnant moment when the three courses intersected — was set for the events of mid-1955 and their aftermath: Egypt's purchase of arms from Czechoslovakia (which was made necessary by Israel's constant attacks and the West's refusal to furnish Egypt with arms), followed by Syria's deal of a similar nature; the expansion of Arab trade relations with the Soviet Bloc; the recognition by Egypt and Syria of the Peiping regime, and the welcoming by all Arab States of the support which the Soviet Union was giving to the cause of Algeria at the United Nations, in the face of French intransigence and United States indifference.

### CONCLUSIONS:

No objective student of Middle East affairs, examining the situation of Communism in the area, can fail to reach the following basic conclusions:

1. The only country in the Middle East in which Communism as an ideology and as a socio-economic system has any appreciable hold on the people is Israel. The Arab peoples find Communism as an ideology incompatible with their basic persuasions and values.

2. Soviet-Middle Eastern relations are expanding. The first country in the Middle East to benefit by such relations was Israel. In the Arab States, some countries still maintain total aloofness toward the Soviet Union, while others, notably Syria and Egypt, have accepted to initiate such relations in the past two years.

3. Those Arab countries which

have established economic and other relations with the Soviet Union have done so as a last resort, having failed to obtain certain vital commodities from the West or to secure full respect for their sovereignty and dignity in the West. But even these countries continue to outlaw Communism, and remain vigilant against the possibility of Communist penetration.

4. As far as the Arab States are concerned, then, cooperation with the Soviet Union was not, in the first instance, the product of an intrinsic desire on their part, but rather a course which they were compelled to follow as a result of discrimination against them by the United States or hostility to their national aspirations by West-European Colonial Powers. The Soviet presence in these countries, to the degree to which it is a reality at all, must not and cannot be misconstrued as an indication of the softening of their opposition to Communism nor as a token of readiness on their part to submit to foreign domination from any quarter.

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## There Goes the Middle East & WHAT PRICE ISRAEL

The famous books that shook Zionism in America written by an unbiased American Jew who holds





With every article or letter to the editor published in The Caravan, the name of the writer will appear unless withholding of name is requested. The Caravan has the right to print anything in whole or in part, as the editor sees fit. No letters or photographs will be returned, whether published or not.

### ANOTHER ANSWER

In answer to your editorial, "Do You Know Why?," the reasons are really quite simple.

Our older generation that emigrated to the United States and elsewhere did not as a group receive the benefits of higher or even moderate education. Their background stemmed from a civilization that steadily declined, and their culture was riddled with jealousy, hypocrisy, materialism and egoism. Teamwork and cooperative action were an unknown quantity and in the absence of ideals the individual who gathered more of the material goods became the self-appointed first person of the community. He was not interested in the intellectual values of his fellow-men, since he himself was unaware of how little he knew, and proceeded to give public demonstrations of his mental limitations.

The most tragic fallacy has been the illusion that if you go to America, you become automatically a solon, just as though education and wisdom are mechanically acquired by the mere change of address. Unfortunately, therefore, most of these people who came here sealed off their minds from American influences.

Because of their industry, they acquired wealth — but no education — and now de-

### VERY INTERESTING SERIES

The series written by Dr. Fayez Sayegh in The Caravan has been very interesting. It would be a wonderful thing if such articles could get into the daily papers and find a way to the general public.

Mrs. Maharib Hassan

President, Syrian Lebanon Society  
New Haven, Conn.

mand that they be looked upon as very important people. Their opinions must be sought and their ego catered to. If you do not play the game their way, rules subject to change at any time and without notice, they will not play with you.

In contrast, we look at their children, who are the first generation in the United States. These young men and women are no different from other American people of corresponding age. They have their own clubs and select their own officers and no one is mad at anybody else.

James J. Kanfoush  
Brooklyn, N. Y.

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** We think that Mr. Kanfoush is a little harsh in his criticism of the "older generation" and a little too optimistic in his compliments to the "younger generation." Although we do not share his views completely, we appreciate his effort in trying to answer our question.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, June 13, 1957

THE CARAVAN

# For The Record

By  
Dr. Faye  
A. Sayegh



## WHO STANDS FOR PEACE?

A statement made by the Secretary-General of the Arab League in Baghdad on May 20, indicating the readiness of the Arab States to promote a durable and just settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, was immediately misconstrued in some sections of the American press as a manifestation of radical change in the Arab position.

The United Press, in a dispatch from Baghdad, asserted that this was "the first time that any responsible Arab leader had suggested that the Arab states might be willing to talk terms with Israel in their nine-year-old quarrel" and "the first time that an Arab leader had admitted that the Arab states would be officially willing to recognize Israel."

This statement is doubly erroneous. In the first place, it misinterprets the substance of the of the Secretary-General's remarks. In the second place, it mistakenly alleges that these remarks made new concessions and went beyond the official Arab policy formulated and announced by official Arab spokesmen over the last eight years.

The New York Herald Tribune carried the United Press dispatch at length; and Joseph P. Lash of the New York Post pontificated that a "shift" was beginning in the Arab attitude toward Israel, in a typical article which was given a page-wide banner headline reading, "Arabs Soften Attacks — Setting Stage for Peace with Israel?"

The truth of the matter, however, is that what the Secretary-General said in Baghdad is in perfect harmony with what he had said in a major foreign policy address at the Waldorf Astoria on December 12, 1955, as well as with a long list of statements made by responsible Arab leaders over the years.

President Nasser had articulated the same policy in several statements he made to interviewing American journalists — such as the correspondents of the New York Times and the U. S. News & World Report. He was seen and heard by millions of Americans saying the same thing on the Edward R. Murrow "See it Now" program in March, 1956. He said the same thing also to Commander Elmo Hutchison, Middle East Director of the American Friends of the Middle East, as reported in the New York Times a few weeks ago.

Similarly, Premier Nuri al-Said, in a public statement made to the London Times in October 1956, made the same offer.

One could go on to mention the statements made at various meetings of United Nations bodies by Dr. Mahmoud Fawzi, Foreign Minister of Egypt; Dr. Charles Malik, Foreign Minister of Lebanon; Ambassador Ahmad Shukairy of Syria, and many others.

The present writer has a compilation of no less than fifty such statements made in the past years at the United Nations by official spokesmen of the Arab States — all proclaiming that the Arab Governments are prepared to promote an enduring settlement of the Palestine Problem on the basis of the existing

resolutions of the United Nations.

Particular mention must be made of the fact that, on the only two occasions on which the United Nations discussed formally the question of finding a settlement for the Palestine Problem since the admission of Israel to membership in the world organization, Arab spokesmen restated this position clearly and unambiguously. This was at the seventh regular session of the General Assembly in the fall of 1952, and at the meetings of the Security Council in May and June, 1956.

This consistent upholding of the compelling authoritativeness of the standing resolutions of the United Nations, and the proclamation of their acceptability as a basis for settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, stems from the fact that this has been the official Arab position since the signing of the Armistice Agreements in 1949.

The General Assembly had established on December 11, 1948, a special body — the Palestine Conciliation Commission — to discuss with the two parties the terms of a settlement. And, after preliminary consultations with the leaders of the Governments concerned, the Commission called for a conference, which was held in April and May of 1949 in the Swiss city of Lausanne. At that conference, the Commission found common ground in the positions of both parties; and this common ground was formally expressed in an agreement, signed by the Arab States, by Israel, and by the Commission, on the morning of May 12, 1949.

In this formal agreement, known as the Protocol of Lausanne, all parties declared their acceptance to consider the boundaries drawn by the General Assembly in the Partition Plan, and the decision of the General Assembly that the Arab refugees must be permitted by Israel to return to their homes "at the earliest practicable date," as the basis for their discussions for a final settlement of their differences.

Although Israel within a few days repudiated this agreement, which it had so solemnly signed just a short while before, the Arab States have consistently adhered to their position.

Equally significant is the unanimous endorsement, by high-ranking leaders of nine Arab States, of the communique issued on April 24, 1955, at the end of the Bandung Conference, which was attended by representatives of twenty-nine Asian-African countries. In this communique all participants, Arab and non-Arab, called for the settlement of the Palestine Problem on the basis of the resolutions of the United Nations.

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Whoever claims that a reiteration by an Arab leader of the Arabs' acceptance of the United Nations resolutions as the foundation for a settlement of the Palestine Problem represents a change in the Arab position, is either ignorant or is deliberately propagating a falsehood, and serving—wittingly or unwittingly—the propagandistic purposes of Zionism. For Zionism has, on the one hand, constantly repudiated the United Nations resolutions and thereby prevented the attainment of a settlement, and, on the other hand, sought to entrench in peoples' minds the belief that it is the Arabs who do not want to come to a settlement of the problem — trying, as usual, to have the cake and eat it, too.

## PATERSON, N. J.

By Pearl Esahak

St. George's Syrian Orthodox Church held a St. George's Day celebration May 19 in the church hall immediately following the Divine Liturgy. Entertainers for the day-long affair included Anton Abdelahad, Mike Hamway and George Hamway. A huge crowd attended the affair, which was sponsored by the Ladies Aid Society.

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The Fidelians of St. George's entertained the R Club of St. John's Russian Orthodox Church May 20 at a social in the church hall. Each group presented entertainment of national origin, and took part in party games throughout the evening. A late supper was served. This same group also attended the lectures on Orthodoxy given at St. George's which have continued

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## **MIDWEST MAHRAJAN LABOR DAY WEEKEND**

**By Sam J. Namee**

Wichita, Kansas, "Air Capitol of the World," is the site of the 22nd Annual Midwest Mahrajan which is being held over the Labor Day weekend, August 31 to September 2, sponsored this year by St. Mary's Orthodox Church of Wichita.

Co-chairmen of the affair, which will be attended by His Eminence, Metropolitan Samuel David, Archbishop of Toledo, Ohio and dependencies, are Charles Laham and Kenneth Kallail. The weekend of festivities will be highlighted with an address by Dr. Fa'yez Sayegh, Acting Director of the Arab States Delegation, at the Grand Banquet.

Jimmy Husson, nationally-famous comic and comedian, will be master of ceremonies for the entire affair, and highlighting the Arabic entertainment will be HANAAN and Anton Abdelahad, with Freddie Elias and Tony Tawa providing the accompaniment.

Another feature of the affair will be the presentation of the Arabic-American musical comedy, "Back to Bladna," courtesy of Sam Salem. A tour of the famous Boeing plant, home of the B-52, America's largest bomber, is also scheduled.

## **DR. SAYEGH ON RADIO NEXT MONDAY NIGHT**

Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, Acting Director of the Arab States Delegation's Office, will be the principal guest on John Wingate's radio program, "CONTROVERSY," next Monday evening, June 24.

The time of the program is 8:35 to 9:00 p.m. The station is WOR, on 710 kilocycles in New York.

The program will be heard in thirteen states in addition to New York. Readers outside the New York City area are advised to consult their local newspapers for time and station.



For  
The  
Record

By  
Dr. Fayez  
A. Sayegh



ON DOCTORS AND ASPIRINS

This is not an article on doctors and aspirins. My medical knowledge does not qualify me to write on this subject.

It is an article on foreign policy. Its subject was suggested by the questions addressed to me during my recent lecture tour of the North-Western States. It seemed to me that the question uppermost on people's minds in that area was, "What do Arabs think of the emerging United States policy with respect of the Middle East?"

In thinking of this subject, I could not but recall a picturesque old man in my home-town, who used to be commonly known as "the Doctor." He had never been to a medical school, nor had he ever been licensed to practice medicine — but he was always consulted on medical problems, and his advice was usually taken by his clients. He differed, however, from other doctors — real doctors — in that his "prescription" was invariably the same: Aspirins. He would "prescribe" aspirins for any ailment, regardless of its nature.

When our "doctor" prescribed the same "cure" for all maladies, he was only revealing his ignorance of the differences between various maladies as well as his ignorance of what caused them and how they could be dealt with. His brand of medical knowledge lacked the three essential criteria of knowledge: knowledge of the nature of things, knowledge of their causal origin, and knowledge of how to influence the development of things through insight into and application of the laws of nature.

What is the relation of all this to foreign policy?

Statesmanship is also a science, essentially characterized by the same attributes which pertain to other sciences. But sometimes it is practiced as though it were not a science at all. And, when it is so practiced — by "recipe," as it were, rather than by diagnosis and prescription — it either fails entirely to achieve its purposes, or if it succeeds, its success is temporary and merely apparent, being palliative rather than curative.

The main global objective of American foreign policy since the end of World War II and the advent of the cold war has been, the "containment" of Soviet Communism. America has sought to attain this objective piece-meal, on a region-by-region basis. Its first efforts were in Europe; then in the Far East. Recently American attention has been turned to the Middle East.

But the identity of the objectives has apparently led America to follow in the Middle East the same approach it had followed, with varying degrees of success, in the Far East and Europe.

The trouble with this procedure is that the nature of the malady in each of these areas was not identical with the situation in the Middle East. Following the same approach to different situations is like prescribing the same medicine for different maladies. A deeper knowledge of causes, or a more pro-

found analysis of the character of the situations, would have led, in all probability, to the pursuit of different courses and the adoption of different approaches. Aspirin does not cure all diseases if indeed it cures any at all.

Aspirin has different chemical components. So does a foreign policy. What are the chief components of which America's "Aspirin-for-Containing-Communism" consists?

It seems to me that there are two cardinal components: collective security pacts and dollar-gifts.

Each of these two ingredients has its uses. The former is useful to deter aggression, when the danger of aggression is real and present; the latter is useful to solve economic problems when it is administered wisely and when the main problems contributing to the situation are purely or mainly economic.

But, in the case of the Middle East, neither condition applies. The threat of Soviet penetration which seems to be most real and most present is not by way of overt aggression; and the danger of overt aggression of which countries in the area are afraid and which they consider likely does not originate in the Soviet Union. And, therefore, to carry over the first ingredient of the American Aspirin from the Far East or Western Europe to the Middle East, without awareness of the difference between the threats which it is designed to cure, is like recommending the same medicine indiscriminately for all diseases. An American Columnist, surveying the range of American-inspired pacts, from NATO to SEATO to METO, suggested that perhaps America suffers from "pacto-phobia."

And, on the other hand, to dip into the American taxpayers' pockets, to take out a few million dollars, to dangle them luringly before the eyes of the peoples of the Middle East, and to expect them to come forward imploringly and gratefully, and to believe that, once that happens, all the political problems of the Middle East will be solved, all the grievances of the Arab peoples will be satisfied and silenced, and Soviet influence will be tightly contained, is to forget that "It is not by bread alone that man liveth!"

It is strange indeed that the Bloc which seeks to win the war for the minds and hearts of men by championing spiritual values should seek to "contain" its rival Bloc, which bases its doctrines on materialism, by using economic and financial means. America

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virtually confirms, by its methods, the metaphysical convictions and doctrines of materialism, if it pins its hopes of wooing the under-developed world on dollars. When your son, crossing the borders of adolescence, asks for your respect for his maturity and his growing sense of responsibility, you do not win his confidence simply by giving him extra pocket-money.

The moral of this analogy is simply this: If the famous "doctor" of my home-town comes to me and volunteers his medical advice, he should not be too surprised if I tell him, "Thank you very much; but, when I feel weak or indisposed, I'll seek a doctor with real medical knowledge."

DINNER-DANCE

The Dodd Scholarship Foundation held its Dinner-Dance and Concert Sunday, June 9 at St. Elias Hall in Toledo, Ohio. A four-year college scholarship was awarded at the dinner to another "Dodd Scholar."

Arabic entertainment featured Amer Khaddaj with Joe Budway on the oud, Phillip Sahadi on the accordion and Francis Kirdahy on the derbekee. Music for American dancing was also provided.

The dinner began at 6 p.m., with the dancing and concert getting underway at 8:00. Mrs. Annie Zureb was committee chairman, and other members included Mary Damas, Abe Haddad, Tom Sallah, Elizabeth Jamra, James Shamas, Phillip Sahadi, Lester Haddad, Adeline Talip, James Deen and George Abrass.

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# "A NEEDED ORGAN"



Dr. Faye A. Sayegh

The occasion does not often arise when it is possible to compliment someone on his proper accomplishment of his chosen mission, but the fifth anniversary of the *Caravan* is one of those uncommon yet happy occasions.

For a long time the need had been felt for an organ which would voice the opinions and represent the aspirations of Americans of Arab origin on a level transcending their multiform differences — whether differences of faith and religious affiliation, or differences of country of origin. Such an organ exists today in the form of the *Caravan*.

The *Caravan* also performs another task. It seeks to set the record straight as far as the Arab World and American-Arab relations are concerned. In a country where the overwhelming majority of newspapers and other media of news-dissemination willfully distort, misrepresent, suppress or fabricate news about the Arab World, the need is vital for a medium which seeks to convey the truth about Arab affairs. Such need is being met by the *Caravan*.

For these reasons, as well as for your making it possible, through the *Caravan*, for Americans of Arab origin to learn of one another's views and to be kept posted on developments affecting one another, the *Caravan* deserves every encouragement.

While expressing to you my hearty congratulations on your fourth anniversary, may I also wish you continued success in the future..

Dr. Faye A. Sayegh  
Acting Director  
Arab States Delegation

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, July 11, 1957

## For The Record

By  
Dr. Faye  
A. Sayegh



### WHAT IS ZIONISM?

"What is Zionism and what are its objectives?"—a reader from Fall River, Massachusetts, inquires. He adds: "I should appreciate very much a practical definition and perhaps an explanation of the Zionism Party in its present position in world affairs."

Zionism as a political movement came into existence in 1897, under the leadership of Theodor Herzl, who derived his inspiration from two sources: the sentiments of preceding generations of Jews who longed to spend the last years of their lives in Palestine, and the agonies of his Jewish contemporaries who were suffering from anti-Semitism in Europe.

Zionism was, to him, the answer to the "Jewish Problem": namely, the establishment of a "Jewish" state, in which all Jews would be gathered together, and within whose borders they could find refuge from persecution and discrimination.

The urge for the establishment of a "Jewish" state, in which Jews from all over the world would be gathered and segregated, is obviously based on the assumption that Judaism is not only a religion, but also a nationality, a peoplehood, a political-social bond among all adherents to that faith. According to the Zionist interpretation of Judaism, the alleged social-racial elements of this religion overshadow its religious-spiritual-ethical character. Hence, Zionism looks upon Judaism as being fulfilled primarily in the participation of the faithful in the life of the State, rather than in worship and in compliance with the moral precepts of the Jewish faith. In fact, many, if not most, of the leaders of Zionism, particularly in Israel, are non-religious; they are "Jews" in name only; their relation to Judaism is political and nationalistic, not spiritual.

This is the first element in the definition of Zionism. The second element pertains to the geographical and territorial scope of the State.

The word "Zion," from which the term "Zionism" is derived, relates the movement to the Biblical Holy Land.

After a great deal of initial wavering—as a result of which a major split was caused in Zionist ranks early in this century—Zionists came to identify "Zion" with what they call "Eretz-Israel," i.e., the "Land of Israel."

This "Land of Israel" extends, in the opinion of some Zionists, from the Nile to the Euphrates, comprising Egypt, Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and Iraq. In the opinion of others, it comprises Palestine and Jordan only—and covers an area five times as large as the area occupied by the State of Israel today.

These being the two essential objectives of Zionism—a "Jewish" state extending its authority over all of so-called "Eretz-Israel"—it follows that the present State of Israel is only one stage in the process of self-realization of the Zionist movement.

Not until all Jews have been gathered in all of so-called "Er-

etz-Israel," will Zionism be fulfilled.

In the meantime, Zionism remains a militant world-wide movement, working relentlessly towards the promotion of large-scale migration of Jews from all countries into Israel, and marking time for the territorial expansion of the State when the opportune moment comes.

### LAWRENCE MASS.

By  
Vivian A.  
Ramey



At a four o'clock ceremony June 30 in St. Anne's Episcopal Church, Lowell, Shirley May Aziz, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph A. Aziz of 10 Gloucester Street, Methuen, became the bride of Richard E. Laman, son of Mr. and Mrs. Charles E. Laman of 111 Webster Street, Arlington.

The bride, who was escorted to the altar by her father, was preceded by her sister, Mrs. Dolores Manning as matron of honor. Mrs. Stalle Carton, Norma Mazzocca and Joanne Lippo served as bridesmaids. Charles E. Laman, Jr. was best man for his brother, and the ushers were Richard Moulthrop, John Carton and Herbert Maynard.

A reception followed at the Andover Country Club, Andover, Mass., after which the couple left on a trip to Fort Lauderdale, Florida. Upon their return they will take up residence in Northampton, Mass.

Both are graduates as music majors from Lowell State Teachers College. The bride is an assistant music supervisor in Northampton and was a soloist for over a year in the church where she was married. The groom is an assistant music supervisor in Easthampton.

### BIRTHS

A son was born Sunday, June 30 at the Bon Secours Hospital to Mr. and Mrs. George Khoury, Jr. (nee Rita Hanney) of 179 Water Street, Lawrence.

A daughter was born Tuesday, July 2 at the Bon Secours Hospital to Mr. and Mrs. James Salem (nee Stella Golas) of 30 Forest Street, Lawrence.

A daughter was born Monday, June 17 at the Bon Secours Hospital to Mr. and Mrs. Leo Hyatt of 5 Jefferson Street, Lawrence.

Jane Bistany, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Fadliah Bistany of 525 Lowell Street, Methuen, has accepted an appointment as teacher in the school system of New Britain, Conn. for the Fall term. She received her Bachelor of Science degree from Lowell State Teachers College in June. In

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** The information in the article, "How Israel Treats Her Arabs," is taken almost in its entirety from a pamphlet by Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh entitled, "The Arab Plight in the Holy Land." The pamphlet and any other publications of the Arab Information Center may be obtained, at no charge, by writing to the Arab Information Center at 120 E. 56th Street, New York City.

William Zukerman is the editor of **Jewish Newsletter**, published in New York, and his statements quoted in the article were taken from his publication and an article he wrote in **The Law of the Return**, which was published by the American Council for Judaism. The statements quoted in the article made by Don Peretz were taken from an article by him, "The Arab Minority of Israel," which appeared in the Spring, 1954 issue of **Middle East Journal**. The quotes attributed to John Cogley were taken from his article, "Majority and the Minorities," which appeared in the January 22 issue of **Commonweal**, and Judge Gerald Sparrow's statements were quoted from his recently-published book, "The Sphinx Awakes."

Further information on these authors may be obtained by writing the Arab Information Center, the New York Public Library at 42nd Street and 5th Avenue in Manhattan, or American Mercury at 250 W. 57th Street, N. Y. C.

#### LIKED ARTICLE

I read **The Caravan** regularly and must congratulate you on your editorials concerning the Israel-Arab situation. It's indeed unfortunate that a wider circulation to key people all over the country is not possible.

I read with interest the article, *How Israel Treats Her Arabs* in your issue of July 4, 1957. Is it possible for you to identify for me the names of the persons mentioned? I would like bibliographic reference to materials they have written, and whether they are American: William Zuckerman, Don Peretz, John Cogley and Gerald Sparrow.  
Joseph G. Sakey  
Nashua, N. H.

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Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, July 18, 1957

## ARAB REFUGEE TALKS WITH ISRAEL DENIED

An item of news originating in Israel has appeared in certain newspapers to the effect that a series of secret talks with representatives of the Palestine Arab refugees were being held in Paris and Rome for the resettlement of the refugees in the Arab States. According to these reports, the refugees are said to have abandoned hope of reclaiming their former homes and property in Palestine.

Dr. Izzat Tannous, Director of the Palestine Arab Refugee Office in New York, and Secretary-General of the Arab Palestine Office for Refugees in Beirut, Lebanon, emphatically denied that any member of his Office in either New York or Lebanon, or indeed any person who can legitimately claim that he can speak on behalf of the refugees, has had any contact with the Israeli representatives. If any talks were held at all, he said, then the persons who attended were no more than "Zionist stooges" serving their own personal ends.

As the officially-recognized speaker on behalf of the Palestine Arab refugees before the First Political Committee of the United Nations, Dr. Tannous declared, with every emphasis at his disposal, that the Palestine Arabs are not prepared to sell their homeland for "thirty pieces of silver." They are determined to resist any idea of resettlement outside the borders of Palestine and will fight to the bitter end until their rights and property in their homeland are restored to them, he continued.

Dr. Tannous drew attention to the statement of Henry Labrousse, Director of UNRWA for Palestine, in his Report for 1955 and again in 1956 when he said:

"The outstanding factor which continues to condition refugee attitudes and to influence the policies of Near East Governments in this matter is the strong desire of the refugees to return to their homeland. This feeling has not diminished during the year, and its strength should not



Dr. Izzat Tannous

be under-estimated. The demand for repatriation springs mainly from the natural longing of the people for their old homes, strengthened and encouraged by the resolution of the General Assembly."

This remains the attitude and policy of the refugees until the wrong done to the Palestine Arabs has been righted in accordance with democratic principles of justice, morality and United Nations resolutions, Dr. Tannous concluded.

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## 12TH ARCHDIOCESE CONVENTION TO BE A DOUBLE CELEBRATION

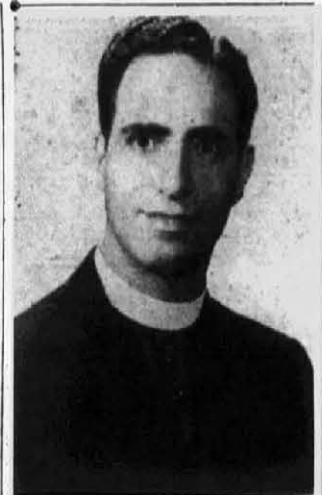
By Emile Easa

The 12th Annual Convention of the Syrian Antiochian Orthodox Archdiocese of North America, to be held August 7-11 in Cleveland, Ohio, will mark a double celebration. In addition to the convention's 12th Anniversary, it marks 20 years of Orthodoxy in Cleveland, two decades having elapsed since the Archdiocese first met in Cleveland to discuss the affairs of the church on a national level.

"It is appropriate that this city should have been selected by unanimous acclaim as the convention city and site of the 12th Annual Archdiocese convention—the 20 year milestone in our American phase of the Orthodox church," said Father Paul Moses, new co-pastor of St. George Syrian Orthodox Church of Cleveland, host parish.

"The Orthodox Christians of Cleveland join together with one voice and in one unified body to extend a warm and sincere welcome to their brethren in Christ everywhere," Rev. Moses continued. "They welcome you to the city of Cleveland for one of the most uplifting and inspirational meetings in your lifetime."

In addition to co-pastors Rev. George Simon and Rev. Paul Moses, the convention committee



Rev. Paul Moses  
"Appropriate Selection"

consists of Rudy George, co-owner of the George Construction Company, as General Chairman, and the following officers and committee chairmen:

Ramona B. George, executive secretary; James N. Sahley, coordinator; Phil Aboid, director of finance; Henry Adamany, treasurer; Pete Farage, asst. treasurer; George K. Ameen, program book chairman; Vilma Issa, registration chairman; Edward Haddad, publicity; Leo Shiekh, reservations; Mrs. Assad Abdallah, communion breakfast; Mrs. Karim Ameen, smorgasbord; Mrs. Gabriel Courey, fashion show-luncheon; Gabriel Courey, transportation; Michael Deacon, refreshments; Ray Farris, mixer dance; Fred George, clergy host committee; Mrs. Henry George, grand ball; Labbie George, Arabic entertainment; Charles Haddad, banquet; Fadil Isaac, welcoming party; Mrs. Joseph Molnar, wives of clergy hostesses committee; John Simon, Jr., choir program.

The five-day schedule will include religious and business meetings, high mass and evening vespers, breakfasts, luncheons, mixers, a special musical, grand ball and a "special surprise event." The grand banquet on Sunday afternoon will climax the entire program, and will include many Ohio and local public officials. Main speaker will be Dr. Fayed A. Sayegh, renowned lecturer and author and Acting Head of the Arab States Delegation in New York City.

Sana and Amer Khaddaj will be featured for the two nights of Arabic entertainment, plus the nationally popular Derbeckie Trio (Eddie Shaheen, Daher Rumya and Labbie George).

### PATROLMAN CITED

Patrolman James Daas, son of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph S. Daas, who is assigned to Motorcycle Precinct No. 2, was recently awarded the Shomrim Society Medal For Merit.

Patrolman Daas was cited for his bravery on August 1, 1956, when he was assigned to Precinct 24. On that day, he fatally wounded a suspect in a building at 9 W. 102nd Street. The man had been pursued into the premises by Sgt. Hoarty and two detectives. He fired four shots at his pursuants, and later on while on the third floor of the building fired at Patrolman Daas, who returned the fire and fatally wounded his assailant.

### DIES IN CLEVELAND

John M. Farris of Springfield, Mo., died suddenly Friday afternoon, July 12 at the home of his daughter, Mrs. Mary Chikhani of Cleveland, Ohio. He was 62 years old.

Mr. Farris came to the U. S. from Lebanon in 1912, and established Farris Bros. Dry Goods Co. with his brothers in Springfield. In 1950, he formed the wholesale dry goods company John M. Farris & Sons with his two sons, Victor and William. He was president of the firm.

Survivors include his sons, Victor and William; four daughters, Mrs. Chikhani and Mrs. Jean Nicholas of Cleveland, Mrs. Betty Kritikos of Springfield and Mrs. Sybil Hughes of Independence; two brothers, N. M. and Massie,

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, July 18, 1957

## For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayer  
A. Sayegh



### THE INSUBORDINATE CHILD

An American lady, whose interest in Middle Eastern affairs was sparked by the tripartite invasion of Egypt last fall, and who has been engaged since then in studying all available publications on the Arab-Israeli question, wrote to me recently expressing her amazement at the fact that Israel has been permitted by the United Nations for so long to go on defying the will of that organization with impunity, and inquiring why the United Nations has done nothing about Israel's continuous insubordination.

This question raises the basic problem of the authority of the United Nations and the enforcement of its decisions in general, whether in the case of Israel or in cases affecting other member-States.

As is well-known, the United Nations does not have a standing enforcement agency, empowered or able to ensure the implementation of its decisions.

As a result of this deficiency in its structure, the World Organization is left with only two types of power and authority on which it depends for the implementation of its ordinary resolutions: moral and politico-economic.

Inasmuch as its decisions reflect the considered opinion of mankind and echo the conscience of the world, the United Nations wields a great moral power. Any State which has a "decent respect for the opinions of mankind" therefore usually finds it difficult, unwise or inexpedient to flout world public opinion and to disregard the verdicts of the United Nations. When a State consistently defies reiterated injunctions of the United Nations, and refuses to comply voluntarily with the resolutions of the United Nations, it does so either because it lacks respect for the opinions of mankind, or because it feels — by virtue of its manipulation of the various media of communication and information — capable of concealing from the world the fact and content of the United Nations resolutions and misinterpreting their intent.

In anticipation of such non-compliance, the Charter of the United Nations provided for certain measures of enforcement, to be considered in each particular instance. These measures include "complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of . . . means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations," under Article 41 of the Charter. When these measures prove inadequate, the Security Council may also call upon U. N. members to take military action by their air, sea or land forces (Article 42). In other words, the United Nations may impose economic or political sanctions, and may even resort, under certain circumstances, to military action through the armed forces of its members, in order to prevail upon a State to obey the injunctions of the Security Council — but it may do so only where there is a "threat to the peace," an actual "breach of the peace," or an "act of aggression." (Article 39 of the Charter).

Where a State refuses to comply with the injunctions of the United Nations, and where economic, political or military sanctions cannot be imposed (owing

to the absence of a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression), the United Nations is virtually helpless against insubordination by its members. And this is precisely what has happened to the United Nations with respect to Israel's intransigent refusal to comply with most of the 73 resolutions which are on the books of the World Organization and which call upon Israel, in various ways, to perform its initial obligations towards the Arabs of Palestine or to desist from various acts of lawlessness.

The only instance where the United Nations considered sanctions against Israel was last February, when Israel refused to obey the six orders for immediate and unconditional withdrawal. But, at that time, before the debate on sanctions was seriously under way, Israel averted the consequences of its defiance, changed its policy, and announced its readiness to withdraw its forces immediately from the invaded areas of Palestine and Egypt.

This, then, is an exception to the Israeli pattern of persistent disobedience, which carries a significant lesson for the World Organization: Namely, that as long as Israel can get away with its non-compliance, it will continue to flout the principles of international law and to defy the will of the United Nations; but, once the threat of sanctions becomes real, Israel will — reluctantly but surely — abandon its intransigence and obey the law.

Another interesting experience which the United Nations has had with Israel took place in October 1953. It was in connection with Israel's exercise of sovereignty in the Demilitarized Zone near Syria, contrary to the terms of the Armistice Agreement. The orders of the U. N. Chief of Staff of the Truce Supervision Organization, as well as the injunctions of the Security Council, proved ineffective; and Israel defiantly continued to do what it pleased in the area. But when the United States Government withheld a 26-million-dollar subsidy until Israel obeyed those orders, Israel immediately reversed its position and announced its obedience.

These two incidents are the only instances of Israeli compliance with United Nations orders in the nine years of Israel's life as a state. And they both indicate that Israel heeds the threat of economic sanctions far more than it fears the moral indignation of world public opinion. The second instance teaches an additional lesson: namely, that, even where the United Nations fails to act, if only one Great Power — particularly the United States, upon whose continued aid Israel



**SPEAKERS:** Amongst the prominent speakers at the forthcoming annual institute in Saskatoon of the Saskatchewan Council of Public Affairs will be Natural Resources Minister J. H. Brockelbank, Regina, top; Fayer Sayegh, director of the Arab States delegation to the UN, middle, New York; and Dr. Eugene Forsey, director of research, Canadian Federation of Labor, Ottawa, bottom. Mr. Brockelbank will review his government's approach to regulation of the oil industry and general policy affecting it. Mr. Sayegh, who is widely known as author and lecturer, will discuss Arab and Israeli nationalism with emphasis on their relationship to Middle Eastern oil and the search for a solution of the problems raised by it. Dr. Forsey will discuss federal policies and parliamentary practices relating to domestic oil matters. Associated with him in this discussion will be Hugh Thorburn, political scientist, Queen's University, Kingston.

THE CARAVAN
Page Five



SANA



AMER




THE DERBECKIE TRIO

**CLEVELAND WELCOMES YOU to the**  
**20th JUBILEE CELEBRATION**  
**and the**  
**12th ANNUAL CONVENTION**  
**of the**  
**Syrian Antiochian**  
**Orthodox Archdiocese**  
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**at the**  
**HOTEL CLEVELAND**  
Cleveland, Ohio  
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A full program of activities has been scheduled, including religious and business meetings, high mass and evening vespers, breakfasts, luncheons, a special musical and grand ball. Highlighted by two nights of Arabic entertainment featuring SANA & AMER KHADDAJ with the DERBECKIE TRIO, a "Ninety Minute Spectacular In Color," and the grand banquet featuring DR. FAYEZ SAYEGH as guest speaker.

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## GUEST OF HONOR



**Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, Acting Head of the Arab States Delegation, will be guest of honor this Sunday, July 28 at the Annual Picnic of the Homsian Charity Society of Paterson, N. J.**

The picnic will take place at Old Duck Farm, Totowa Boro, N. J. Three buses will leave for the picnic 8:30 Sunday morning from 83rd St. and 6th Ave.

## To Speak Here



**DR. FAYEZ A. SAYEGH** of New York, Arab journalist, lecturer and author who will visit Saskatoon to address the fourth annual Summer Institute on Public Affairs on the University campus July 31 to August 2. Born in Syria, son of a Presbyterian minister, Dr. Sayegh was educated in Lebanon at the American University in Beirut, where he pursued both undergraduate and graduate studies in philosophy.

Prior to his arrival in the United States ten years ago he served as editor-in-chief of an Arabic daily newspaper in Beirut and at the same time lectured at the American University in Beirut. Today, at the age of 35, he is director of the Office of the Arab States Delegation to the United Nations in New York. Since obtaining his doctorate from Georgetown University, he has taught in its graduate school and at the Yale graduate school. On August 1, Dr. Sayegh will be one of two speakers at the Summer Institute on Public Affairs. He and Dr. M. Errel, charge d'affaires of the Israeli Embassy in Canada, will discuss "Arab and Israeli Nationalism," relating this subject to the middle eastern oil question.



## BILLY GRAHAM

Sensational evangelist whose widely read, inspirational column will appear daily in the Star-Phoenix beginning in the afternoon edition of Monday, July 29 and the morning edition of Tuesday, July 30.



Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, July 25, 1957

THE CARAVAN

## For The Record

By  
Dr. FAYEZ  
A. SAYEGH



### THREE DATES IN JULY: 4, 14, & 26

Three peoples celebrate during the month of July three dates which represent significant landmarks in their respective histories.

The American and the French peoples commemorate, on the 4th and the 14th of July respectively, the beginning of independent American nationhood, and the creation of the French republic — both of which were eighteenth-century events.

The third occasion—the Egyptian National Day—differs from the other two, not only in that it is a mid-twentieth-century event which occurred only five years ago, but also because it embodies in its symbolism and meaning the combined significance of the other two together.

For, in the Egyptian Revolution of 23-26 July, 1952, certain processes were set in motion which culminated in two climactic results: first, the evacuation of the British Occupation Forces from the Suez Zone (as well as from the Sudan), and the final withdrawal of foreign domination from Egyptian and Sudanese soil; and secondly, the transformation of the political-social-economic institutions of Egypt; the abolition of monarchy, feudalism and corruption in government; and the initiation of spectacular progress — in education, in the utilization of human and natural resources, in industrialization, in the administration of social and health services, etc.

When Americans celebrate the 4th of July, they commemorate the engagement of their forefathers, some 180 years ago, in a heroic War of Independence — which, by being launched and won, prepared the stage for the progress of America later on and made possible the subsequent federation of the States, the introduction of law and order into the Continent, the establishment of a democratic system of government, and the creation of an advanced technological civilization. The struggle for American independence was, therefore, isolated from, and preceded, the subsequent struggle of Americans for federation, democracy and progress.

Obversely, when Frenchmen celebrate their Revolution, they commemorate the rise of a people against tyranny and corruption in a determined effort to set up a system of government based on the consent of the governed, rather than on alleged "Divine Rights" transmitted by heredity. But the people which thus rose against its tyrannical and corrupt institutions was a sovereign people in a sovereign state, and it did not have to contend—while it was rising against the tyrannical regime of its government—with the oppressive domination of foreign powers over its destiny and its soil.

But when Egyptians staged their revolution five years ago, they had two enemies to overcome, two obstacles to surmount, two difficulties to contend with, two tasks to accomplish—at the same time. They had, in fact, to stage two revolutions simultaneously: a revolution against external domination, and a rev-

olution against domestic tyranny, corruption and backwardness.

It is this SIMULTANEOUS pursuit of TWO objectives—external and internal liberation—which characterizes the Egyptian Revolution of July 1952. And it is this which also defines the primary motifs, and determines the essential character, of the Arab National Movement as a whole—of which the Egyptian Revolution is but one phase and one manifestation.

For Arabs, whether in Egypt or elsewhere, are denied that leisure and that luxury—which Destiny had generously bestowed upon other nations in the formative years of their historical development—of pursuing one national objective at the same time. Arabs have had — and in some instances still have — to wage their two revolutions at one and the same time; and this simultaneous duality of aspirations and tasks diverts instead of permitting the focussing of Arab national attention; it forces the division, instead of permitting the concentration, of national energy; it compels the Arab National Movement to face multiple and inter-acting problems which, by reflecting on one another in the course of their being met and resolved, compound the difficulty engendered by each of them individually.

This is the drama of the Arab National Movement today: the drama of peoples confronting their combined problems collectively, in an atmosphere of compounded urgency and aggravated difficulty; and seeking—within rapidly-changing patterns of international relations, and an unprecedented global situation—to liberate themselves simultaneously from tenacious foreign domination (direct or indirect) as well as from the legacy of centuries of stagnation and backwardness.



JACKSONVILLE, FLA.

By  
Emily  
Kowkabany

**BOUNDS - REBOUNDS:** Mrs. Freda Solomon left Monday, July 22 for a two-year stay in Djéz-zine, Lebanon . . . Jacqueline Taggart, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. S. Taggart of Brooklyn, is here visiting her grandmother, Mrs. Labibi Kowkabany. . . Mrs. Philip Rahaim and son, Michael, left for Westminster, Mass. to visit her sister and brother-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Gene Neemy (nee Sylvia Joseph) . . . Mr. and

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Send in your questions on the Middle East to Dr. Sayegh, and help him to bring you the weekly column you want to read.

Questions dealing with statements or current beliefs which tend to place the Arab countries or Arab-Americans in a bad light are particularly recommended.

Send your questions to "For The Record," c/o The Caravan, 172-174 Hoyt Street, Brooklyn 17, N. Y., or phone them in at MAin 5-5096.

Mrs. Ed Cattar and George Cattar left for Watkins, N. Y. to visit their sisters, Mrs. Dan Lewis and Idele Cattar . . . Mr. and Mrs. George of Cleveland, Ohio, and Mr. and Mrs. Skip Flynn of Gainesville, Fla., were here visiting their parents, Mr. and Mrs. Naim B. Azar.

Mr. and Mrs. Edmond Helow and son, Ed John, of Gardner, Mass., moved to Jacksonville last week. Mrs. Helow is the former Gladys Kowkabany, daughter of Mrs. Labibi Kowkabany and the late Said Kowkabany.

Elizabeth Frances Barnett, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Robert G. Barnett, became the bride of Russell Hazouri at the home of his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Rufus Hazouri. Margaret R. Barnett was maid of honor, and John Danese, Jr. was best man.

Following a lawn reception at the Hazouri river-front home, the newlyweds left for a honeymoon, after which they will reside at Jacksonville Beach.

Slyman Atter of 2414 Ironwood Rd., Southside, died recently in the hospital after a long illness. Born in Djéz-zine, Lebanon, he was a Jacksonville resident for 29 years. He was a member of the Catholic Church and the Lebanese American Club.

Besides his wife, Mrs. Josephine Atter, he is survived by four daughters, Virginia Atter, Lorraine Atter and Mrs. R. E. Elder of this city, and Mrs. G. M. Disch of Oregon; three sons, Mitchell of Arcadia, and George and Philip of this city.

### FOOD FOR THOUGHT

The only good reason for knocking is when you can open a door to better things.

Be careful of your thoughts. They may break into words at any time.

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SUN LIFE OF CANADA

## Institute speakers announced

A full-scale review of "oil and turmoil" will be made during the three-day institute of the Saskatchewan Council of Public Affairs next week at the University of Saskatchewan.

The meetings will be held Wednesday, Thursday and Friday under sponsorship of the council which has a variety of public and voluntary organizations as members running from the Saskatchewan Co-op Women's Guild to the Canadian citizenship branch of the federal department of citizenship and immigration.

The program includes nine speakers from Canada, the United States and the Middle East and group discussions.

Following registration and official opening ceremonies Wednesday, W. J. Speerstra, Shell Oil Company public relations representative from Calgary, will speak on "The Production and Distribution of Oil" at 2.30 p.m. He will be followed by Dr. Eric J. Hanson, Edmonton, professor of economics at the University of Alberta, who will discuss "Oil in Western Canada."

At 8 p.m. "Provincial Governments Look At Their Oil Resources" will be the topic with Mineral Resources Minister J. H. Brockelbank and Dr. Hanson the speakers.

Thursday, at 10 a.m., all participants of the institute will review and discuss the oil question. At 2 p.m. "Oil in the Middle East" will be the topic developed by William Spencer, Washington, D. C., assistant editor of the Middle East Journal.

Thursday evening, statements on "Arab and Israeli Nationalism" will be made by representatives of both sides of the problem. These will come from Dr. FAYEZ SAYEGH, Washington, D. C., of the Arab States Delegation, and M. Errell, charge d'affaires at the Israeli embassy in Ottawa.

Friday morning, after an hour of group studies, the Saskatchewan Council of Public Affairs will hold its annual meeting at 10.45.

At 2 p.m. Friday Dr. Eugene Forsey, Ottawa, research director of the Canadian Labor Congress, and Hugh G. Thorburn, Kingston, Ont., assistant professor of economics at Queen's University, will speak on "Oil and Canadian Politics."

The final speech of the institute will be made at 8 p.m. by Brig. C. D. Quilliam, Kingston, Ont., a Canadian Broadcasting Corporation commentator. His topic will be "Oil on Troubled Waters."

## Arab Author to Be Speaker At Syrian-Lebanese Event

An Arab author, lecturer and educator will deliver the principal address at the Grand Banquet during the 22nd Annual Midwest Mahrajan to be held in the Broadview Hotel, Aug. 31-Sept. 2.

Dr. Fayez Sayegh will speak Sunday night before approximately 1,000 midwesterners of Syrian-Lebanese extraction celebrating their annual "Mardi Gras" for the first time in Wichita.

Dr. Sayegh, son of a Presbyterian minister and graduate of the American University of Beirut, is known in this country through his column in the "Caravan," an English language newspaper devoted to Arab affairs, and his extensive lecture tours.

Dr. Sayegh is presently acting director of the Arab States Delegations office in New York, and also chief of research and public liaison of the Yemen delegation to the United Nations.

Other distinguished guests at the three-day celebration include His Eminence, Metropolitan Samuel David, Archbishop of Toledo, Ohio.

Professional entertainers include Jimmy Husson, Anton Abdelahad, Fred Elias, and Tony Tawa.

The Mahrajan will be sponsored by St. Mary's Orthodox Church.



DR. FAYEZ SAYEGH

## 'PEACE IF ISRAEL ACTS'

U. N. DELEGATE SAYS RUL-  
ING MUST BE ACCEPTED.

Arab Tells K. C. U. Workshop  
That New Nation Is a  
"Necessary Evil."

There would be peace within 24 hours between the Arab states and Israel if Israel would accept in principle the United Nations Palestine partition resolution, Dr. Fayez Sayegh, acting director of the Arab states delegations office at the U. N. told a University of Kansas City audience yesterday.

Speaking to about 30 teachers enrolled in the K. C. U. school of education workshop in international understanding, Dr. Sayegh said the Arab states consider the original establishment of Israel "unjust and unfair" but are willing to accept the finality of Israel as a "necessary evil."

In 1947, Dr. Sayegh said, the U. N. General Assembly adopted the Palestine "partition resolution" which split that territory in two equal parts for one Jewish and one Arab state, internationalized the city of Jerusalem, and guaranteed the rights of Arabs living in Israel.

Dr. Sayegh said that although the resolution was to settle the Palestine issue, the present state of Israel differs in every fundamental respect from the Jewish state envisaged in the 1947 resolution.

"Instead of half the area of Palestine, Israel contains about 80 per cent," he said. "There is no Arab state. Israel occupied most of the Arab half leaving only small pockets of Arab territory. Israel has occupied Jerusalem despite U. N. orders and made it into the capital of Israel."

"Arabs have been forced from their homes and expelled from Israel without compensation."

He added that the U. N. has called upon Israel to conform to the terms of the 1947 resolution on 73 occasions. And since the 1948 armistice, Israel has been condemned by the U. N. 22 times for armed aggression against their Arab neighbors, while no Arab nation has been condemned for aggression against Israel.

# For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayed  
A. Sayegh



## REFLECTIONS ON THE FOURTH OF JULY

I was participating in the Eleventh Annual Conference on Foreign Policy held at Colgate University in Hamilton, New York, early in July. On the evening of the 4th, all participants were invited to observe the Fourth of July celebrations on the Campus. It was the first time I had observed such celebrations.

In observing the fireworks, I could not help reflecting on the meaning of the Fourth of July to Americans — and on the extension of its symbolic meaning to other peoples as well. The "Day of Independence" has a thrilling symbolic significance not only for the people whose independence is involved, but for all human beings.

The fate of the Arab peoples came to my mind as I was watching the jubilation of Americans over their independence. The Arab peoples fall broadly into two classes: those who have attained independence already, and those who have not.

The former, the independent Arab peoples, number today eleven states. They are: Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria and Yemen, all of which are members of the Arab League, as well as Tunisia and Morocco. They differ in their forms of government: Syria and Lebanon being republics from the beginning of their modern nationhood; Sudan, Egypt and Tunisia being new republics; and the rest being monarchies. They also differ in the degree to which their technical sovereignty has been transformed into actual independence of all forms of indirect foreign influence. Thus those countries in the Arab World which can celebrate their respective Days of Independence and can look back with relief at the time when their sacrifices and struggles for self-determination ended in victory for the cause of national liberation, comprise today the bulk of the Arab World.

On the other hand, there are the non-independent Arab peoples: those who are actively struggling to emancipate themselves from the domination of foreign powers, and those who will sooner or later travel the same path of struggle for liberation and self-mastery.

For those who have attained their freedom, as well as for those who have not, the Day of Independence embodies thrill and challenge. Those who have attained it are faced with the challenge of preserving, reinforcing, and bolstering it; as well as the challenge of transforming it into more tangible and more meaningful social conditions. Those, on the other hand, whose independence is yet to come, are also faced with the thrilling challenge of snatching their destiny from the hands of others.

But there is yet a third class of the Arab peoples, which fits into neither of the preceding two categories.

I refer to the Arabs of Palestine.

Their has been the agonizing fate of displacement and dispersion outside their homes. They cluster around, but away from, their ancestral land.

Their plight is not only that they are not free. Their plight is primarily the fact that, until they are reassembled in their own homeland, they cannot even entertain the hope to be free. They cannot cherish the aspiration to attain their independence. Their plight is precisely in the fact that, by having been dispersed and exiled, they have been actually denied the very conditions which are necessary to make it possible for them to dream of becoming free.

When the peoples of the world rejoice over an independence they have already attained, or prepare themselves for the day when they will attain their liberation, the people of Palestine will stand alone among all the peoples of the world, denied even the privileges of hoping and aspiring for freedom.

It is this unprecedented fate, this destiny which has befallen no other people, that sets aside the Arab people of Palestine, and singles them out as having been destined for a unique misfortune.

As I was reflecting on the fullness of the meaning of the Fourth of July — its direct meaning for Americans, and its symbolic meaning for all mankind — one question constantly came to my mind: How is it possible for one people to be so oblivious of the travails and the misfortunes of others? How is it possible for one people to celebrate freedom without experiencing the nagging and disquieting misgiving concerning the serfdom and enslavement of others? Above all, how is it possible for a people to have been instrumental in the total banishment of another people from their home, and to have lent a hand, wittingly or unwittingly, to the uprooting of another people from their soil and thus making them incapable even of aspiring to become one day free — how is it possible for these people to celebrate their freedom without being burdened by the weight of responsibility for the fate of their direct or indirect victim?

## New Records Aim For "New Sound"

By Bill Debs

A series of new records are being released on the AMPAR (ABC Paramount) label which aim for a "new sound in popular music.

The records, both instrumental and vocal, will incorporate authentic Oriental tones—Arabic, Greek, Armenian, etc.—and will mark the first time such records will be available commercially.

Although the music is authentically Middle-Eastern in flavor, the recordings will be Western in presentation, using Western in-

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Send in your questions on the Middle East to Dr. Sayegh, and help him to bring you the weekly column you want to read.

Questions dealing with statements or current beliefs which tend to place the Arab countries or Arab-Americans in a bad light are particularly recommended.

Send your questions to "For The Record," c/o The Caravan, 172-174 Hoyt Street, Brooklyn 17, N. Y., or phone them in at MAin 5-5096.

## SCHEDULED SPEACHES OF DR. F. SAYEGH

No. 1 — Wednesday, July 31

Mo. on the program known as the "Work Shop on The Middle vention of The Federation of Is-East" Time 12:30 to 3:30 P.M.

Dr. Sayegh will deliver the "Arab View Point" on the Arab-Israeli dispute.

No. 2 — Thursday, August 1,

At the University of Saskatchewan at Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada, at 8 P.M. on the program called: "Saskatchewan Council Public Affairs", during the 4th Annual Summer Institute of the University.

Part of this program will be broadcasted nationally in Canada by the Canadian Broadcasting Corp.

Subject: Arab and Israel Nationalism.

Two weeks are scheduled to speak. Dr. Sayegh for the Arabs, and Dr. Moshe Erell of the Israel Embassy in Canada, will speak for Israel.

No. 3 — Sunday August 4th at the Main Ball Room of the Hotel Statler, Detroit, Mich. at the banquet of the annual convention of The Federation of Islamic Association of the United States and Canada.

Subject: Middle East Problems.

No. 4 — Tuesday, August 6, 8 P.M. during the Annual Conference of the Canadian Institute of Public Affairs, Place Geneva Park Lake Couchiching, Ont., Canada.

Subject: Nationalism and The New Nations.

Other speakers beside Dr. Sayegh include: Sir Granth Adams, Prime Minister of Barbados. Dr. Hugh L. Keenlyside, Director General of Technical Administration of the United Nations, and Mr. Benjamin Cohen, Under Secretary to the Trusteeship of the United Nations. Also Dr. Joseph F. Korbel, former Czechoslovakian Ambassador to Yugoslavia.

Dr. Sayegh speech will be broadcasted on the National network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corp. 8 P.M. to 9 P.M.

struments to bring across the "new sound."

The writers for the soon-to-be-released records are Al and Freddie Elias, cousins. Freddie, who hails from Manchester, N. H., does most of the original writing, and Al, a native of Charleston, W. Va., commercializes the pieces. Both boys are of Lebanese origin.

The first of the new recordings will be released August 1. "Desert Fantasy" and "The Camel's Jump" are both instrumentals played by Tommy Stephens and his orchestra. Tommy, who hails from Roslindale, Mass., is also of Lebanese origin.

Al Elias, who also sings, is the room-mate on the road of 15-year-old Paul Anka, son of Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Anka of Ottawa, whose hit recording of "Diana" is presently sweeping the country.



# Arab, Israeli Nationalism

## Thursday Institute Topic

Arab and Israeli Nationalism was the topic Thursday night when spokesmen for the parties addressed the Institute of Public Affairs held at the University.

Over 100 persons attended the session. M. Ereli, charge d'affaires at the Israel embassy to Canada, and Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, director of the Arab states delegation to the United Nations, presented their arguments. Both speakers expressed the idea that they were sincere in their hope that the problems between the two nationalisms could be solved.

### M. Ereli

The conflict in the Middle East was raging between elements of progress on the one hand, and on the other hand a tribe of "misled adventure rulers," M. Ereli, charge d'affaires at the Israel embassy to Canada, said Thursday night.

Mr. Ereli said that Israel had no quarrel with Arab nationalism as such and true Arab nationalism had no quarrel with Israel. He said that an Arab-Israeli peace would come sooner or later because the better side of human nature was bound to prevail. "The day must come when the Arab masses will find the road to progress."

Peace would come sooner if the international community would press for it, but the ultimate salvation of the Middle East laid in bringing the backward populations of that area to a level more closely resembling that obtained in the advanced communities of the West, he said.

Assistance and guidance would have to come from outside, and the Western democracies should concentrate their efforts in that direction, he said. "The Middle East stands in need of spiritual as well as material rehabilitation. Spiritual rehabilitation can never be achieved by catering to the weaknesses of the present rulers in the area. The Middle East will take its place in the civilized community when Middle East society is capable of sustaining democratic institutions, when it learns to appreciate the moral and material values of a democratic way of life. That situation can only come about when something is done for the people."

Mr. Ereli quoted Prince Faisal of Arabia who said, in 1919, that the Arabs looked with the deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement. The prince spoke of working together with the Jews for a reformed and revived Near East.

"If Arab nationalism is to be considered a positive force, if Arab nationalism is to be regarded as a movement inspired by positive values, then surely we must all

ERELI

Continued on Page 10, Column 3

### Two Youths Reserve Plea

Two Calgary youths appeared in police court here today charged with breaking into People's Service Station, Avenue B and Nineteenth Street.

Clifford Manahan, 19, and Reno Stocco, 17, were remanded to later today. Neither entered a plea.

The break-in occurred early this morning, police said. A patrolling constable discovered two youths inside the premises about 2 o'clock and arrested them.

Entry to the service station was gained through a side window.

### Dr. Sayegh

The Arab approach to solving the present Arab-Israeli conflict was to accept a situation endorsed by the UN as a compromise, Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, director of the Arab states delegation to the UN, said Thursday night.

The Arab states did not insist on a peace that would restore all their rights, he said, rather they would agree to a compromise whereby all the UN resolutions be implemented. "Israel cannot pick and choose what resolutions she wants implemented," he said. If Israel announced that she would agree, in principle, that she would respect all the UN resolutions

SAYEGH

Continued on Page 10, Column 1

Park. We have always tried to co-operate with our provincial government to the utmost and assume our just responsibilities."

#### CONTINUED FROM PAGE THREE SAYEGH

there would be negotiations for peace within 24 hours, he said.

The Arab states were ready to recognize the state of Israel that the UN brought about, but not the one that Israel brought about, he said.

"We have no quarrel with the Jews or Zionist ideology, only when Zionism establishes herself in our midst and keeps threatening to expand further at the expense of our people," he said. The only peace settlement that would last, Dr. Sayegh said, was one based on justice within the framework of the law. This would only come about when Israel accepted peace on the UN terms.

The motivations of Arab nationalism could be reduced to three basic motivations, Dr. Sayegh said. These motives were an impulse to be free, an urge and desire of the Arab states to be reunited, and a desire for a more abundant and better life for its peoples.

At present, some 11 Arab states had attained independence. The establishment of the Inter-Arab organization in 1945 was a step toward reuniting the states. The organization, he said, tried to co-ordinate the policies of the various Arab states.

With regard to the third motive, Dr. Sayegh said there was a wide distance ahead before the various Arab states could achieve what they wanted to attain in the way of economic and educational progress. "I am not reluctant or ashamed of the distance we have yet to traverse," he said, "for we have already started travelling some of that distance."

The Arab and Israeli problem came into being at the same time as the nationalism started in the Arab states. "I would agree that there is no need for any problem between the two, he said, "for the faith of the Arab population is founded on Judaism, racially we are cousins and culturally we are intertwined."

The problem was essentially between the Arab national movement and the Zionist national movement. Palestine, until 40 years ago, was an indistinguishable part of the Arab world, he said. Now aliens from 70 different countries had been brought in.

The state of Israel existed today sharply in contrast to that envisaged by the UN in 1947, he said. Instead of occupying 50 per cent of Palestine Israel now occupied 80 per cent of the country and had taken the additional land from what was to be established as an Arab state. Instead of the Arabs being permitted to live in Israel they were terrorized out of the country and 1,000,000 refugees were now living on international aid he said.

There had been 22 organized acts of aggression by Israel against the Arab states since the Armistice was signed, Dr. Sayegh said.

Dr. Sayegh said that the conflict must be resolved so that the sufferings on both sides would end, the area would not remain a threat to world peace and that the energies of the different states would be diverted from war toward the lifting of the population's life.

of traffic accidents. That position had been reversed as a result of efficient law enforcement by the police. This year traffic accident numbers were down at least 20 to 25 per cent in spite of the fact that there were more registered car owners.

Ald. Buckwold said he resented Ald. Heggie's implication that as a result of devoting so much time to traffic offences, police allowed the general criminal element to roam at large.

"I maintain that police efficiency is reflected in every operation and not only in the traffic department."

Said Ald. Lilly Bowman: "I resent Ald. Heggie's suggestion that traffic law breakers are being treated unjustly and that police are neglecting major criminals. Our police are doing a wonderful job. They are not spending their time on petty affairs. Their record of apprehending criminals speaks for itself."

Ald. Bowman said she had not supported the proposal to set up a second court in City Hall which was not, in her opinion, a suitable place. If she had not opposed the move it was because the court would be located in civic headquarters only temporarily.

"Speaking as a citizen and not as a member of the police commission," asserted Ald. John Cairns, "I resent very strongly the implication the police are not attending to the real criminals."

"News reports every day indicate the efficiency with which Saskatoon police cope with all types of crime."

"I don't like the suggestion that the impaired driver is not a serious menace. Eighty per cent of traffic cases are connected with impaired driving. I consider the person who is deliberately a drinking driver is a real criminal."

Ald. Cairns referred to a reference by Ald. Buckwold that Regina, with 20 per cent greater population, was able to get along with one court and had fewer traffic cases than Saskatoon.

"I have no interest in whether Regina has one court or four," he declared, "or what the court requirements are in Timbuctoo. Our responsibility is for Saskatoon and Saskatoon alone, and I am thankful we are discharging it."

When the debate ended council approved expenditure of \$14,260 for the various items of construction involved in setting up the new courtroom. These included sub-contracts totalling \$10,838 let to the following bidders: Flooring, T. Eaton Company Ltd., \$659; steel partitions, Westeel Products Ltd., \$4,177; painting, H. Wells Paint and Wallpaper, \$785; hardware, Marshall-Wells Ltd., \$288; millwork, H. Sumner and Son, \$1,290; drapery, Hugson's Bay Company, \$315; electrical wiring, Saskatoon General Electric, \$1,800; glazing, Pittsburgh Paint, \$289; acoustic tile for ceiling, Dominion Sound Company, Ltd., \$1,234.

#### LOG BARN STRUCK

ARBORFIELD. — During an electrical storm which struck this district recently, a log barn on the farm of Maurice Mullie, south of here, was struck by lightning. Neighbors prevented the fire from spreading to two bins containing about 350 bushels of barley.

#### CONTINUED FROM PAGE THREE ERELL

agree a reformed and revived Near East, such as Faisal spoke of, is the true goal of that nationalism. What have the rulers of the Arab countries achieved in this context? The same old slavery and the same old family governments in Saudi Arabia and the Yemen."

Arab nationalism was off course, Mr. Errell said. It had become a tool in the hands of incapable and often irresponsible leaders who had shrunk before the immense task of slowly and painfully guiding their poor, illiterate and disease-ridden brethren toward a better life. Like so many others in history, he said, their leaders had sought to turn the eyes of their subjects away from the shortcomings of their own government and to divert the frustrations of the populace toward some convenient outside enemy.

Oil played an important role in the development, he said. Countries whose pockets were being filled with oil revenue began to look upon themselves as omnipotent and others, like Nasser, began to search for ways to put their hands on the oil of their neighbors. "Here the East-West struggle is thrust into the picture to propel the Middle East even further from its true goal."

Israeli nationalism had not had a greed for territory, Mr. Errell said. The political aim of Zionism was to create a "publicly secured, legally assured home for the Jewish people in Palestine." The rebirth of Israel was conceived, from the beginning, as an endeavour produced from the will of the society of nations to do justice to a member whose home had been taken away from him by force, he said. Israeli nationalism could be described as the revival and rejuvenation of an ancient Asian civilization.

One complication resulted from Israel's success, he said. Increasing numbers of Arabs from neighboring territories came to share in the new prosperity. "As the Arab community in Palestine grew and became more articulate, it developed political aspirations."

The problem was resolved by the UN in 1947 when the General Assembly decided to partition the mandated territory and set up two independent states. The Arab leadership chose not to accept the UN judgment, he said, and violence broke out. "I do not believe the Arab governments launched the war out of real enmity toward the new state of Israel," he said. The reckless Arab rulers had committed themselves to the destruction of Israel and they suffered a defeat. "This created a complex with the Arab leader who was not man enough to admit to himself and to tell his people that it was all a mistake and it should be forgotten." Other rulers, he said, soon discovered the value of Israel as a lever in their eternal poker game of politics at home and on the international scene, he said.

It was the proclaimed policy of the Arab states to bring about the destruction of Israel as soon as it might be possible, Mr. Errell said. In order to think of a possible settlement, he said, the Arab states would first have to agree that Israel had the right to exist. "What elements of an international dispute might remain in the Palestine context once Israel was conceded the right to exist?" he said.

## 1,000 Expected at Conference

# Arab Delegation Director To Attend Maharajan Meet

Nearly 1,000 Midwesterners are expected to participate in the varied activities and hear an address by Dr. Fayez Sayegh when the 22nd annual Midwest Maharajan meets in Wichita over Labor Day weekend. Dr. Sayegh is acting director of the Arab States Delegations Office, chief of research and public liaison, and counselor for the Yemen Delegation to the United Nations.

Seven Midwestern states will be represented when the organization convenes its "Mardi Gras" for the first time in Wichita. The Broadview Hotel will be headquarters for the three-day affair beginning Aug. 31.

"Dr. Sayegh brings to Wichita a rich background of experience as educator, author and as a lecturer here in the United States," according to Sam Namee, board of directors chairman at St. Mary's Orthodox Church, sponsors of the event.

The son of a Presbyterian minister, Dr. Sayegh received his B.A.

and M.A. degrees in philosophy at the American University of Beirut in 1941 and 1945, respectively. He received his doctorate in philosophy at the Graduate School of Georgetown University in 1949, and in 1955, at the Graduate School of Yale University.

He has authored seven books and numerous articles on Middle East affairs and has lectured on the campuses of some 120 American universities, including Harvard, Yale, Chicago, Columbia, New York, Princeton and Northwestern. In addition to participation in more than 30 conferences and conventions on the Middle East, Dr. Sayegh has appeared on nation-wide radio and television programs such as Face the Nation, Mike Wallace's Night Beat and Chicago Round Table.

Other guests at the Midwest Maharajan conclave will be His Eminence, Metropolitan Samuel David, Archbishop of Toledo, Ohio, who will conduct services at St. Mary's Church.

Edmonton Journal: August 8, 1957

# Arab States Said Working Toward Unity

GENEVA PARK, Ont. (CP)—An Arab states spokesman said Tuesday the Arab League countries must abolish or drastically reform their obsolete social systems before they can become prosperous, democratic states.

Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, acting director of the Arab States delegations office in New York City said quasi-feudal systems of land holding, curtailment of women's rights and indifferent or oppressive uses of government power are obstacles to Arab progress.

He spoke at the Couchiching conference on international affairs on Lake Couchiching near Orillia.

Dr. Marshal McLuhan of the University of Toronto, said true Canadianism consists of an "untaught and spontaneous habit of appraisal of other cultures and other scenes than our own."

## SEARCH FOR FREEDOM

Dr. Sayegh said his peoples' strongest urge is to "attain or to re-enforce our freedom, and to better our lives."

Resources development and creation of progressive and democratic societies in the Middle East depended on "the total modification of obsolete institutions, systems and outlooks."

There is an overpowering desire for unity among Arabs, cut-

ting across artificial political boundaries which split the Middle East after the First Great War, he said. If the formerly dominating powers reconciled themselves to a new nationalism in the Arab states and accepted them as equals, then the Arabs would certainly outgrow their bitterness and suspicion.

## WON'T REPEAT MISTAKES

For, he said, the nations of Europe had evolved during centuries of struggle whereas the new nations of the Middle East and Africa are entering a world in which international organization is a reality.

"Nothing, then, makes it inevitable for them to repeat the costly mistakes committed by European nationalism."

Dr. McLuhan said Canadianism will "never be found in the search for an elusive national psyche." The country's national and literary identity will develop as she becomes more aware of the influences which "have so long postponed the development of this dubious egotism."

A rise in critical standards of literary work might be due to exposure to several media, he suggested.

There has been as "great enlargement of reading interests which has resulted from movies and television."



## Fund Campaign Initiated For New Archdiocese Bldg.

By John Ameer and Sam Salem

Cleveland, Ohio — Metropolitan-Archbishop Antony Bashir pledged a personal donation of \$50,000 to kick off a drive for the construction of a new Archdiocesan Headquarters building for the Syrian Antiochian Orthodox Archdiocese of New York and North America.

Monsour Laham, lay chairman of the Archdiocesan Board of Trustees, announced that the Board members have accepted the responsibility of raising the remaining necessary funds. A special committee is currently studying the New York area to find a suitable location.

These announcements were included among several special surprises which were made known at an afternoon social affair of the Twelfth Annual Convention of the Archdiocese in Cleveland, Ohio, August 7-11th. More than 4,000 persons assembled in the Hotel Cleveland to mark the 20th anniversary of the present Archdiocesan Conventions.

Another surprise was the announcement by Vice-Chancellor John Khouri of Boston that the Board is studying a plan which would lead to the appointment and consecration of bishops to assist Metropolitan-Archbishop Antony in the growing administrative duties of the Archdiocesan program.

Still another surprise was a beautiful jeweled Archbishop's crown which was presented to Metropolitan Antony by the entire convention.

These developments climaxed a brilliant five-day convention during which Metropolitan Antony painted a bright picture of the future of the Orthodox Church in America.

Speaking from pulpit and platform, over radio and television, and through the press, the spiritual head of the Syrian Orthodox Church in America declared: "In 15 or 20 years the Eastern Orthodox peoples in this country will be united in one English-speaking American Orthodox Church with a membership of 6,000,000."

"Young people are taking increasing responsibility in our Orthodox Churches, now divided along racial or linguistic lines but alike in faith, doctrine, and dogma," declared Metropolitan Antony, who is the spiritual head of the Syrian Church in North America and Australia.

In the business sessions, the delegates voted Los Angeles as the site for the 1958 convention. The delegates from the Los Angeles St. Nicholas Church — led by their pastor, Rev. James Meena, and Trustee Dr. A. S. Abdun-Nur — won this prize after a spirited but friendly competition with the St. George group of Washington, D. C.

Hosts for the year's convention were the parishioners of the Cleveland St. George Church who entertained the Archdiocese when it was organized in 1937. Under the dynamic leadership of Rev. George Simon and Rev. Paul Moses, pastors; Rudy George, gen-

### PLEDGES \$50,000



Archbishop Antony Bashir

eral chairman, and James Sahley, coordinator, the Clevelanders put together one of the most successful conventions in the history of the Archdiocese.

Metropolitan Antony praised the Clevelanders for their success in having the convention publicized locally. The newspapers gave the meeting generous daily coverage, and the radio and television stations aired special interviews with Metropolitan Antony, Mr. Laham, and other notables.

"Only through good public relations," said Metropolitan Antony, "will our church be recognized where it counts the most in the minds of our fellow Americans."

The social highlight of the convention was a "Ninety-Minute Spectacular", written and directed by Miss Emilie Easa and produced by the Cleveland St. George choir. In song, skit, dance, and pantomime, the Clevelanders thrilled the audience with a demonstration of talent that approached professional quality. Chairman of the affair was John Simon, Jr., president of the St. George choir.

The convention delegates, representing more than 80 churches from all the continent, passed a measure making it mandatory for each parish to contribute ten percent of its annual operating expenses to the Archdiocese treasury. "The fact that the delegates approved this motion unanimously," said Metropolitan Antony, "is indicative of the increasing unity and zeal that has characterized our Archdiocese's history

during the past 20 years."

The Sunday morning Divine Liturgy, held in the Hotel Cleveland, was the largest Orthodox service ever held in this city. The mass was celebrated by Metropolitan Antony, who was assisted by some 35 priests, deacons, and sub-deacons. The responses were sung by the combined choirs of Cleveland and Worcester, Mass.

Abe Abraham, of Grand Rapids, Michigan was elected to fill one of this year's three vacancies in the Archdiocese Board of Trustees, and Monsour Laham of Boston and Jerry Farah of Flint were re-elected to continue in their present offices. Other trustees are Moussa Souaid, of Montreal, Canada; John Ameer, of Brooklyn; Albert Maykel, of Worcester; John Khouri, of Boston; Dr. A. S. Abdun-Nur, of Los Angeles; John Abraham, of Toronto, Canada; Albert Corey, of Maumee (Ohio); William Farha, of Wichita; and Richard G. Joseph, of Toledo, newly elected president of the North American Council of SOYO.

Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, Deputy Director of the Arab States Delegation, was the main speaker at the final banquet. Dr. Sayegh, who earned his doctorate in the philosophy of religion at Georgetown University, delivered a masterful talk on the Arab World's desire for a rebirth of human dignity.

In his annual report, Metropolitan Antony announced the completion of five new churches, the passage of laws in 30 states recognizing Orthodoxy as the fourth major faith, and the final establishment of a pension and life insurance plan for the priests of the Archdiocese.

The N.A.C. SOYO group also held its deliberations during the convention. The meeting was conducted by retiring president George David, of Canton. Other newly elected officers, in addition to Mr. Joseph, are Andrew Anka, of Ottawa, Canada, vice-president; Isaac Abraham, of Wilkes-Barre, treasurer, and Jeanne Sabbag, of Boston, recording secretary.

### IN DETROIT

By Gloria Zarick Subt

Many people from Detroit attended the 12th Annual Convention of the Syrian Antiochian Orthodox Church in Cleveland. Among those who attended were: Archmandrite Athanasios Saliba, pastor of St. George Church; Mr. Naseem Zahloute, Mr. and Mrs. B. J. Sabb, Probate Judge Sillian Cody, John Nasser, Shaker Sleyman and Mrs. Nick Kappaz and her lovely young daughter, Irene.

Mrs. Sadie Hoffez, wife of the Very Rev. Benjamin T. Hoffez of St. Mary's Church, is in St. Hyacinth, Canada visiting her daughter, Mrs. Jeanette Souiad.

Mrs. Katherine Joseph, Miss Victoria Joseph, Mrs. Amelia Murad of Brooklyn and Mrs. Jalileh Shahadi of Texas came to Detroit from the Cleveland Convention to visit many friends here.

## Orthodox Church Archbishop Will Conduct Sunday Rites

His Eminence Samuel David, archbishop of the Orthodox Church, from Toledo, Ohio, will conduct Sunday services at St. Mary's Orthodox Church, 1318 Maple, during the three-day Midwest Maharajan's Labor Day Cel-

bration which opens here Saturday.

Principal speaker for the grand banquet Sunday night will be Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, acting director of the Arab States Delegations office in the United States. He will address delegates, expected to be in the hundreds, from Kansas, Oklahoma, Nebraska, Iowa, Illinois, Missouri, North and South Dakota and Canada.

Dr. Sayegh is considered one of the principal spokesmen in this country for the Arab States. He has participated in some 30 conferences and lectured on more than 100 radio and television broadcasts and at American universities.

A feature of the three-day Maharajan (Mardi Gras) will be a program of Arabic music presented by Jimmie Husson, who will serve as convention emcee, J. Hanaan, Anton Abdelahad, Fred Elias and Tony Tawa, all of the New York City area.

Delegates will headquarter at the Broadview Hotel and reservations may be made with Donald Kallail, 2409 Manhattan, MUrray 8-8564.

A complete schedule of events, to be held at the Broadview unless otherwise designated, is:

**Saturday**—Social party, 1 p.m.; tour of Boeing Airplane Co., 2:30 p.m.; dinner and meeting, 7 p.m.; informal dance, 9 p.m.

**Sunday**—Presentation of the comedy, "Back to Bladna," 2:30 p.m.; grand banquet, 6 p.m.; ball, 9 p.m.

**Monday**—General meeting, 9 a.m.; brunch, 11:30 a.m. at the Trig Ballroom; and a grand jamboree at 1:30 p.m. also at the Trig.



**TO SPEAK HERE**—Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, acting director of the Arab States Delegation office in New York, left, discusses the talk he will deliver Sunday during the 22nd annual Maharajan in the Broadview Hotel. At right is the Rev. Michael J. Husson of St. Mary's Orthodox Church. Center is Metropolitan Samuel David, Archbishop of Antiochian Orthodox Archdiocese of Toledo, Ohio.—(Eagle Staff Photo.)

### 'True Facts Kept Out'

## 'Iron Curtain' Around U.S., Arab Spokesman Claims

Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, official spokesman in the United States for the Arab States, said here Saturday that the reason Americans see a Communist behind every bush in Syria is because of an "iron curtain" around the United States which keeps out true facts.

Dr. Sayegh is here to speak at the 22nd annual Maharajan at the Broadview Hotel, sponsored by St. Mary's Orthodox Church.

The recent military aid loan of \$100 million to Syria from the Soviet Union was the first item Dr.

Sayegh was questioned about at a press conference.

Though he denied that the loan could in any way be construed as the first move in a Red attempt to make Syria a satellite, Dr. Sayegh did admit reluctantly that it could have the effect of "twisting the arm" of the United States.

#### Former Offers Rejected

He said that for 35 years Syria had struggled for independence and had consistently rejected Russian offers of aid, but now that Syria finally had accepted the aid, it was seen by some as a threatening gesture toward the United States.

He flatly labeled as untrue the contention of U.S. news sources that Gen. Afif Birzi, newly appointed Syrian army chief of staff, was a Russian sympathizer.

He had no comment, however, on another news agency's statement that Birzi was a "playmate of the Nazis during World War II."

In his defense of Syria's recent moves in connection with the Russian loan, he made these points:

There is no active Communist influence at work in Syria, though he admitted that one member of Parliament was a card-carrying Red.

#### Terms Confusing

He said such terms as "pro-Red" and "pro-West" needed clarification. The first, he said, was merely the outgrowth of Syrian opposition to Western policies, the second a term applied by U.S. news sources to those favoring Western policies.

He said news sources which labeled General Birzi a Red sympathizer took their cue from the fact that Birzi was determined to preserve the independence of his

(Continued on Page 16A)

### 'True Facts Kept Out'

## 'Iron Curtain' Around U.S., Arab Spokesman Claims

(Continued from Page 5A)

country in opposition to Western elements.

He said that Israel was "subsidized in America."

He said there was no possibility of Syria becoming a Soviet satellite, despite the economic aid it had accepted and through which other lands have become satellites.

He cited "pampering of Israel."

#### 'Dual' Standard

He accused the West of developing a dual standard toward countries battling for their independence.

On this point, he said the West waited in disapproval at the manner in which Russia chopped down Hungarian freedom fighters, then gave indifferent approval to French slaughter of Algerian rebels, even supplying certain facilities to aid the process.

He cited the French statement that Algerians were not qualified to rule themselves, and commented that the long term of French rule over Algeria made that statement a reflection on France.

The young Arab States' spokesman was asked for a comment on Israel and the continued strife in the Middle East over the new nation.

#### Question of Rights

His answer was given after a prelude in which he said that the world should know that Syrian objection was not Arab-versus-Jew, but a question of legal and human rights.

He said Israel was allowed half of Palestine by action of the United Nations after World War II, but now occupied 80 per cent in clear violation of 72 U.N. reaffirmations of the Israel question.

The land and the homes and the personal property of Arabs were confiscated and one million residents were "kicked out" to allow 1,800,000 Jews to "move in," said Sayegh.

He claimed that though the United Nations had forbidden occupation of Jerusalem, the "interlopers" had done so.

"Make Israel comply with the United Nations ruling and there will be peace," he said, and continued:

"Australia offered the homeless Jews land and homes, South American countries offered them all the land they wanted, but they insisted on coming to Israel (a foreign land to most of them), making one wonder if the United Nations ruling might not be political rather than humanitarian."

He said efforts by Jews to buy land in Palestine prior to the U.N. ruling had resulted in purchase of only three per cent, but that after the ruling, 80 per cent of the country was "taken."

"Of the million Arabs ousted from Palestine, nearly 900,000 are on the relief roles of the Arab States," Dr. Sayegh said.

#### Arab Author to Speak At Maharajan Banquet

Some 400 delegates from organized chapters in Kansas, Iowa, Illinois, Nebraska and the Dakotas are expected to be in attendance when Dr. Fayez Sayegh, Arab author, lecturer and educator, delivers his address at the Grand Banquet Sunday night during the 22nd Annual Midwest Maharajan being held at the Broadview Hotel, said C. T. Laham and Ken Kallail, chairmen for the event.

Dr. Sayegh will speak before approximately 1,000 midwesterners of Syrian-Lebanese extraction celebrating their annual "Mardi Gras" for the first time in Wichita. The address will be given in the hotel ballroom after the 6 p.m. dinner.

The principal speaker is the

son of a Presbyterian minister and graduate of the American University of Beirut. He is known in this country through his column in the "Caravan," an English language newspaper devoted to Arab affairs, and his extensive lecture tours.

Dr. Sayegh is presently acting director of the Arab States Delegations office in New York, and also chief of research and public liaison of the Yemen delegation to the United Nations.

Other distinguished guests at the three-day celebration which will conclude Sept. 2 include His Eminence, Metropolitan Samuel David, Archbishop of Toledo, Ohio.

The Maharajan is being sponsored by St. Mary's Orthodox Church.

Professional entertainers include Jimmy Husson, Anton Abdelahad, Fred Elias, and Tony Tawa.



## The Greatest Convention Ever For Eastern States Federation

By Joseph Ayoub

The greatest convention ever will be held in Boston on September 26, 27, 28, and 29, 1957 under the sponsorship of the Eastern States Federation.

Commencing with Thursday morning, September 26 until the last conventioner leaves on Sunday the 29 there will be something to do all the time. Welcoming parties, tours, Latin-American dancing and the greatest Arabian Musical Extravaganza ever presented on the American stage will be presented.

In addition to the regular planned activities, several night owl parties until the wee hours of the morning are being planned by local restaurant owners.

The convention will be one of the smoothest and most carefully run in the history of the Federation.

Honors are being bestowed upon the Federation by recognition from the State Department, the personal appearance by Governor Furcolo of Massachusetts and the personal appearance and a breakfast by the Mayor of the City of Boston, John B. Hynes.

Reservations are limited and will be issued on a first come-first served basis.

The State Department of the United States will send its official representative, Edwin M. J. Kretzmann, Public Affairs Advisor of the Bureau of the Near East of the State Department, to speak at a forum during the coming convention at Sheraton Plaza Hotel in Boston. At the forum will be the following speakers:

Dr. Fayez Sayegh, Acting Director of the Arab Information Center.

Dr. Harold Minor.

The issues to be discussed will be current issues pertaining to the Near East situation. This promises

to be one of the highlights of the convention.

In addition to the forum, Governor Furcolo will have a special dinner for delegates. This will be one of the first times that a governor of any state has openly welcomed and received on a personal basis, the Federation Conventioners. At a recent interview in his office, the governor welcomed his old friend "Spike" Ansara with arms around his shoulders and referred to him as "my good and personal friend "Spike".

The Mayor of the City of Boston, John B. Hynes, will honor the Federation by having a special breakfast during the convention. This was arranged by the Vice-Chairman of the Board of Overseers of the Board of Public Welfare of the City of Boston, James S. Maloof. The significance of having the mayor of the city and the governor of the state honoring the Federation is one of the greatest and most forward steps that has been taken during any of our conventions.

In addition to the forum on the current situation and receptions by the Mayor, John B. Hynes and the Governor, Foster Furcolo, the greatest convention ever will be held at the Sheraton Plaza Hotel during 4 fantastic and fabulous days & nights in the City of Boston assuring all conventioners the finest 4 days of their lives. Commencing with the welcoming receptions on Thursday, September 26 and carrying through the entire convention, with Latin-American dancing, Arabic Musical Extravaganza with 40 dancing girls and featuring America's outstanding talent; and terminating with a banquet at the University Club, the temporary residence of Governor Furcolo of the Commonwealth.



**PLANNING CONVENTION** — Seated, left to right: Gloria Sakey, Chairman Public Relations; Katherine M. Barakat, Co-chairman of Convention; Frederick T. Hyder, General Chairman of Convention; Victoria Ayoub Colby, Secretary of Convention. Standing left to right are: Attorney George S. Shagoury, President, Eastern States Federation; Attorney Joseph S. Ayoub, Co-Chairman, Public Relations, and Assistant Corporation Council, City of Boston.

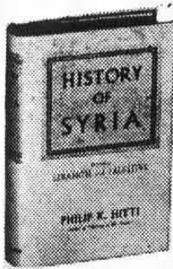
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Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, September 19, 1957

THE CARAVAN

For  
The  
Record

By  
Dr. Fayer  
A. Sayegh



A NEW VARIATION — AN OLD THEME

The reader will recall that, in our preceding article, we examined the strange Israeli doctrine that the Partition Plan was legal and binding when Israel wanted to benefit from it, but suddenly became illegal and void of validity after Israel had exhausted all benefits that could be derived from it and in fact obtained far more than the Plan had given it.

At the end of that article we indicated that, when confronted by the fact that scores of resolutions have been adopted by the U.N. since the Arab-Israeli War, reaffirming the original Plan or some of its provisions and calling upon Israel to conform to its birth-charter, the Israelis come out with a new doctrine, which we described in the heading of today's article as "a new variation on an old theme."

The new argument states that, since the General Assembly is empowered by the Charter to make mere "recommendations," and since recommendations are not binding upon members, it follows that Israel is at liberty to accept or to reject such recommendations, and therefore the resolutions of the Assembly are not binding upon Israel if it chooses not to be bound by them.

The interesting fact is that the premises on which this syllogism are based are indeed true and accurate; but they are not the whole truth, and the conclusion which Israel derives from them is, therefore, not sound. Here are the reasons:

1. The very resolution by virtue of which Israel came into being was also a mere "recommendation" of the General Assembly. So, too, was the resolution by which Israel was admitted to membership in the United Nations. In its efforts to reject the validity of some resolutions which it does not cherish, therefore, Israel is in fact rejecting - to an equal degree—the validity of that resolution which gave it birth as well as the one which gave it U.N. recognition as a member-State. Israel cannot have the cake and eat it too; it cannot proclaim for it self *de jure* existence and request others to respect its status as a U.N. member, while it is, in the same breath, pulling the carpet from under its own feet by denying that Assembly resolutions carry binding authority.

2. Before Israel came into being, it was conceived and planned in one of those Assembly resolutions which Israel today dismisses as "mere recommendations." Aware of the possibility that, after coming into being, Israel might seek to alter some of the elements of the Partition Plan, the United Nations took pains to single out certain elements of the plan and to declare them **unalterable**. Among such elements was the important question of Israel's treatment of its Arab population. This matter was proclaimed, in advance, to be outside the domestic jurisdiction of the projected state; the Assembly itself defined the rights of the Arabs, and declared that "no law, regulation or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations," or "pre-

vail over them," adding that these provisions "shall be under the guarantee of the United Nations, and no modifications shall be made in them without the assent of the General Assembly." No words could be clearer.

3. Israel not only dismisses, as non-binding upon itself, the resolutions of the General Assembly, because they are "mere recommendations," but also proceeds to declare "null and void" all the resolutions adopted by all bodies of the United Nations, although many of them are not "mere recommendations" but decisions of the Security Council.

The eleven resolutions of the Security Council concerning the illegality of annexing additional territory during the cease-fire have all been disregarded by Israel. One of the resolutions concerning Jerusalem (that of August 19, 1948) was adopted by the Security Council—but Israel fails to heed it. The resolution of the Security Council dated May 18, 1951, concerning the Demilitarized Zone, continues to be flouted by Israel. Other Council resolutions—dated March 29, 1955 and January 19, 1956—concerning border-incidents, continued to be flouted before as well as during the Sinai Campaign.

All these resolutions invalidate the Israeli argument.

So, too, do the provisions concerning non-aggression embodied in the Charter of the U.N. which Israel vowed to uphold.

• • •

When it suits its purposes Israel maintains that every word inscribed in a United Nations document is true and vested with binding authority. But, when it finds it convenient, it sets itself up as **judge**, pronouncing the death sentence collectively over scores of U.N. resolutions, or as **coroner**, establishing that those resolutions are-as Ben Gurion put it - "dead" and "cannot be brought back to life."



**YAKHNE**  
(Lamb Stew)  
Ingredients: 1 lb. of cubed lamb, 4-6 large potatoes, 4 large cups of water, 1 large onion, 1/2 can tomato paste, dash of oregano and salt and pepper.  
Fry lamb and onions. Add tomato paste and cubed potatoes. Fry together for 1 minute, then add water and seasoning. Boil until potatoes are cooked. Add peas and carrots if desired.

????

Send in your questions on the Middle East to Dr. Sayegh, and help him to bring you the weekly column you want to read.

Questions dealing with statements or current beliefs which tend to place the Arab countries or Arab-Americans in a bad light are particularly recommended.

Send your questions to "For The Record," c/o The Caravan, 172-174 Hoyt Street, Brooklyn 17, N. Y., or phone them in at **Main 5-5096**.

"Galloping Socialism"

The danger to the nation now isn't "creeping socialism" — it is "galloping socialism". Thus writes David Lawrence, one of the country's most respected commentators on public affairs.

Mr. Lawrence's view was prompted by the ever-continuing drive to socialize the electric power resources of this nation. His concern was over the principle at stake. To quote him directly "... if it is desirable that the Federal government knock private enterprise out of the electric light and power business in America, it is just as logical for the Federal government to take over and operate the steel, copper, coal, oil, aluminum and other natural resource industries as well as automobiles, food and retail stores, railroads, bus lines, airlines and all the other businesses now handled by private enterprise and private investors."

Socialized, tax-exempt electric power takes more tax dollars per capita and saves the consumer fewer pennies per meter than probably any business the government could go into, so its main effect is not to save money but to destroy the American enterprise system of industry.

That is the issue, and all the diversionary arguments in the world can't get away from it. If government should provide one commercial service, it should provide any and all commercial services. Then we would have authoritarian government to the Nth degree. It might be called something else. The name makes no difference. The result is always the same— destruction of liberty, and the enslavement of the individual.

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APPRECIATED DR. SAYEGH

Dear Mr. Debs:

I am enclosing some articles taken from our newspapers as a result of a press conference held in Dr. Faye A. Sayegh's hotel suite Aug. 31, 1957. I felt you would be interested in knowing about Dr. Sayegh's reception here in conjunction with the 22nd annual Midwest Mahrajan sponsored by St. Mary's Orthodox Church, of Wichita, Kansas.

The affair was a great success, with over 500 delegates and guests attending. Dr. Sayegh's banquet address was "stupendous" and I am taking the liberty of sending a tape recording for you to hear this address in person.

Dr. Sayegh was also interviewed on one of our regional TV stations, KTVH of Wichita, and this resulted in a deluge of favorable telephone calls immediately after the interview.

Dr. Sayegh left from here to San Francisco to help in opening of the new Arab information office on the West Coast.

Metropolitan Archbishop Samuel David was also present for the weekend and celebrated Pontifical Mass, Sunday, Sept. 1, at St. Mary's Orthodox Church, with Rev. Michael Husson, pastor.

Very sincerely yours,  
Sam J. Namee  
Wichita, Kansas

The Caravan: October 3, 1957

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, October 3, 1957

THE CARAVAN

Page Three

'IRON CURTAIN' AROUND U. S., SAYS DR. SAYEGH

Under the above title, The Wichita Eagle published on its editorial page an interview with Dr. Faye A. Sayegh who was visiting Wichita, Kansas, Labor Day week-end as a guest speaker at the Mahrajan sponsored by St. Mary's Orthodox Church. Following is a reproduction of the editorial:

Dr. Faye A. Sayegh, official spokesman in the United States for the Arab States, said here Saturday that the reason Americans see a Communist behind every bush in Syria is because of an "iron curtain" around the United States which keeps out true facts.

Dr. Sayegh is here to speak at the 22nd annual Mahrajan at the Broadview Hotel, sponsored by St. Mary's Orthodox Church.

The recent military aid loan of \$100 million to Syria from the Soviet Union was the first item Dr. Sayegh was questioned about at a press conference.

Though he denied that the loan could in any way be construed as the first move in a Red attempt to make Syria a satellite, Dr. Sayegh did admit reluctantly that it could have the effect of "twisting the arm" of the United States.

Former Offers Rejected

He said that for 35 years Syria had struggled for independence and had constantly rejected Russian offers of aid, but now that Syria finally had accepted the aid, it was seen by some as a threatening gesture toward the United States.

He flatly labeled as untrue the contention of U. S. news sources that Gen. Afif Bizri, newly appointed Syrian Army chief of staff, was a Russian sympathizer. He had no comment, however, on another news agency's statement that Bizri was a "playmate of the Nazis during World War



Dr. Faye A. Sayegh

II."

In his defense of Syria's recent moves in connection with the Russian loan, he made these points:

There is no active Communist influence at work in Syria, though he admitted that one member of Parliament was a card-carrying Red.

Terms Confusing

He said such terms as "pro-Red" and "pro-West" needed clarification. The first, he said, was merely the outgrowth of Syrian opposition to Western policies, the second a term applied by U.S. news sources to those favoring Western policies.

He said news sources which labeled General Bizri a Red sympathizer took their cue from the fact that Bizri was determined to preserve the independence of his country in opposition to Western elements.

He said that Israel was "sub-

sidized in America."

He said there was no possibility of Syria becoming a Soviet satellite, despite the economic aid it had accepted and through which other lands have become satellites.

He cited "pampering of Israel."

Dual Standard

He accused the West of developing a dual standard toward countries battling for their independence.

On this point, he said the West wailed in disapproval at the manner in which Russia chopped down Hungarian freedom fighters, then gave indifferent approval to French slaughter of Algerian rebels, even supplying certain facilities to aid the process.

He cited the French statement that Algerians were not qualified to rule themselves, and commented that the long term of French rule over Algeria made that statement a reflection on France.

The young Arab States' spokesman was asked for a comment on Israel and the continued strife in the Middle East over the new nation.

Question of Rights

His answer was given after a prelude in which he said that the world should know that Syrian objection was not Arab-versus-Jew, but a question of legal and human rights.

He said Israel was allowed half of Palestine by action of the United Nations after World War II, but now, occupied 80 per cent in clear violation of 72 U.N. reaffirmations of the Israel question.

The land and the homes and the personal property of Arabs were confiscated and one million residents were "kicked out" to allow 1,800,000 Jews to "move in," said Sayegh.

He claimed that though the United Nations had forbidden occupation of Jerusalem, the "inter-

lopers" had done so.

"Make Israel comply with the United Nations ruling and there will be peace," he said, and continued:

"Australia offered the homeless Jews lands and homes, South American countries offered them all the land they wanted, but they insisted on coming to Israel (a foreign land to most of them), making one wonder if the United Nations ruling might not be political rather than humanitarian."

He said efforts by Jews to buy land in Palestine prior to the U. N. ruling had resulted in purchase of only three percent, but that after the ruling, 80 per cent of the country was "taken."

"Of the million Arabs ousted from Palestine, nearly 9000,000 are on the relief roles of the Arab States," Dr. Sayegh said.

Arab Author to Speak At Mahrajan Banquet

Some 400 delegates from organized chapters in Kansas, Iowa, Illinois, Nebraska and the Dakotas are expected to be in attendance when Dr. Faye A. Sayegh, Arab author, lecturer and educator, delivers his address at the Grand Banquet Sunday night during the 22nd Annual Midwest Mahrajan being held at the Broadview Hotel, said C. T. Laham and Ken Kallail, chairmen for the event.

Dr. Sayegh will speak before approximately 1,000 midwesterners of Syrian-Lebanese extraction celebrating their annual "Mardi Gras" for the first time in Wichita. The address will be given in the hotel ballroom after the 6 p.m. dinner.

The principal speaker is the son of a Presbyterian minister and graduate of the American University of Beirut. He is known in this country through his column in "The Caravan," an English language newspaper devoted to

Arab affairs, and his extensive lecture tours.

Dr. Sayegh is presently acting director of the Arab States Delegations office in New York, and also chief of research and public liaison of the Yemen delegation to the United Nations.

Other distinguished guests at the three-day celebration which will conclude Sept. 2 include His Eminence, Metropolitan Samuel David, Archbishop of Toledo, Ohio.

The Mahrajan is being sponsored by St. Mary's Orthodox Church.

WELL RECEIVED



MR. TOUFIC BARHAM, famous oudist of Los Angeles, Calif., who is presently visiting New York, has been well-received by his many friends and admirers who were very glad to see him. He recently was the guest of Mr. Eugene Slyman, of Greensburg, Pa., whose sister Miss Salema Slyman, was declared Miss SOYO at the SOYO CONVENTION in Allentown, Pa. Mr. Barham played at the convention and drew rars of applause.

## For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayez  
A. Sayegh



### HOW NOT TO READ A STORY

When you buy a novel, a play or a detective story you may be tempted to go haphazardly over its pages, before you embark upon reading it consistently and seriously. But I am sure you would not be likely to open the book at random, say on page 57, and start reading systematically from there on. Certainly you would not do that if you had any intention of acquiring an adequate idea of the sequence of events in the story and of understanding the plot.

Suppose you did casually open the book on page 57, and suppose you read on that page that, while they were facing one another belligerently, X shot Y. Would you close the book there and then and condemn X for a premeditated act of murder, and for hatred of Y?

This may seem like a far-fetched situation. The fact, however, is that many people do it every day. The sadder fact is that very few of them realize that they are doing precisely that.

Take the average American's conception of what is happening to the relations of the Arab World and the United States. They suddenly become aware, in 1957, of a country like Syria; they see the name Syria in the headlines, and read that the Syrian Government has asked for the recall of three members of the American Embassy in Damascus, or has sent a trade mission to Moscow. And they immediately jump to the conclusions that Syria is anti-American; that Syria is communist; that Syria is initiating hostile actions against the West; that Syria is a threat to the peace and security of the Free World; etc.

This illustration could be multiplied into the hundreds. Anyone who reads the American press or talks to American audiences could not be unaware of how Americans today are forming their opinions of events in the Arab World. The history, background, genesis and development of relations and events is entirely ignored; seldom does one bother even to inquire about them. It is the day's events that count, and the implicit assumption is that the day's events can be fully understood without reference to what preceded them, and without any relation to the concrete historical context within which they evolved.

To read the story from the beginning, and to learn the meaning of today's events in the light of their antecedents and background, one must have some idea of the course of Arab-American relations in the past 130-140 years.

I look upon the story of these relations as a drama. And not always a tragic drama. In fact, the beginnings of the story had all the attributes of a happy legend. If the turn of events today is tragic, the course in its entirety must not be assumed to have been unhappy; nor must the future chapters of the story be assumed to be unhappy either.

Like a classic drama, the story of American-Arab relations has a prelude, or an overture, and; a number of acts with a number of subsidiary scenes.

#### OVERTURE:

The overture, or the prelude, consists of that idyllic period of

happy relations between the American people and the Arab peoples which extended from 1820, when the first American missionary - educator - philanthropist appeared on Arab shores, until the end of World War I. For a whole century, this people-to-people contact yielded the best of results. Arab faith and confidence in the United States was at its highest and best. In fact, 99 years after the arrival of the first American missionary in Syria, a conference of freely-elected representatives of the Syrian people, from Lebanon, Palestine and Jordan as well as from Syria, convened in Damascus, and gave expression to one of the most profound acts of faith that one people can perform towards another. While expressing their determination to attain their freedom after the end of the War and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, they also indicated that, should a period of tutelage and training in self-government be required, they would like such assistance to come from the United States. An American mission—the King-Crane Commission—sent by President Wilson to the Arab World to ascertain the desires and wishes of the Arab peoples, also reported that the overwhelming majority of petitions it received expressed the unbounded faith of the greater number of Syrians in the United States.

#### ACT ONE:

The post-War settlement, however, puts an end to the overture and opens Act One of the story. At that stage, the characters in the story were Britain, France and the Arab peoples. The United States was still backstage.

Britain and France had conspired during the War to divide the Arab World among themselves. They had also decided to substitute themselves for the Ottoman rulers of the Arab World, and to impose their domination on the newly-freed Arab countries under the guise of the Mandate System, and Britain had also started the great tragedy of Palestine through the Balfour Declaration of 1917.

The Arab reaction to these three facets of the post-War settlement marked the character of Western-Arab relations for the next quarter of a century. The Arabs were disillusioned with the West. Only great expectations can be greatly frustrated; and, as every lover knows, the border-line between disenchantment and bitterness is very thin. The quarter of a century between the end of World War I and the end of World War II was therefore the scene of struggles between the Arab peoples bent on insuring their independence, on the one hand, and the British and French occupying authorities, on the other hand.

## ????

Send in your questions on the Middle East to Dr. Sayegh, and help him to bring you the weekly column you want to read.

Questions dealing with statements or current beliefs which tend to place the Arab countries or Arab-Americans in a bad light are particularly recommended.

Send your questions to "For The Record," c/o The Caravan, 172-174 Hoyt Street, Brooklyn 17, N. Y., or phone them in at MAin 5-5096.

#### ACT TWO:

Act Two immediately followed the end of World War II. A new character appeared on the stage: the United States of America. As a result of post-World War II realities, America was now a leading world power—no longer isolated from, but rather deeply involved in, world affairs.

Entering the scene in the company of Britain and France was hardly the best debut for the United States in the Arab World; and the association between the United States and her two colonial associates raised some doubts in the Arab mind about the former faith which the Arabs had had in the United States opposition to colonial domination and support of self-determination.

Soon, however, the United States stimulated an Arab hostility which was directed at it not because of its association with Britain and France but rather because of its own actions in the Arab World. This heralded the second scene of Act Two, which opened with the early efforts of the United States to involve itself in the Palestine Problem. President Truman's reaction to the recommendation of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry was the first disillusioning act of America concerning Palestine.

Scene III of Act Two opened with the United Nations debates on the Palestine Problem. The story of America's pressures on the smaller delegations to insure the adoption of the Partition Resolution is well known. America helped create the State of Israel. America, passively, helped make the State of Israel trespass over the Arab rights which were recognized by the United Nations. By her inaction with respect to the consistent violations of the Partition Plan by Israel, America enabled Israel to go beyond the Partition Plan, territorially and otherwise. Furthermore, by her unconditional public and private aid to the Israeli economy, the United States has virtually subsidized Israel, and gave enduring reality to what otherwise would have been a costly adventure and an ephemeral accomplishment. And America failed even to ask the beneficiary of its benevolence to be law-abiding; its subsidization of Israel was so unconditional that America even failed to request the creature of its misguided benevolence to obey the law.

#### ACT THREE:

Act Three of the drama starts, in my opinion, in 1955. It was in that year that the East-West cold war was extended to the Middle East. Until that year, America's active concern had been confined to Europe and the Far East: it was only in 1955 that the Middle East as such came to occupy a position of its own in America's global strategy. But it was also in that year that the Middle East came to be a sub-

ject of special interest to the post-Stalin Soviet strategy. And, in that year, British and French colonialism underwent a stiffening process, and neo-colonialism entered the Arab scene. And, finally, it was in that same year that Ben-Gurionism was restored, when Ben-Gurion returned to power on 17 February 1955 after a year of voluntary eclipse, and, eleven days later, started the "activist" policy of military attacks on the Arab States, with the Gaza raid of February 28.

The first scene of Act Three occurred in September of 1955. It was then that Egypt, finding itself constantly threatened by Israel, and its request for defensive arms from the Western Powers still rejected, accepted a well-timed offer from the Soviet Bloc for arms. It must be observed that this was the first Arab gesture in 35 years of Arab-Western conflict in which the Arabs accepted an offer from the Soviet Union.

The second scene of Act Three was the clamorous American reaction to Egypt's acceptance of the Soviet Bloc offer of arms. The United States retorted uproariously. Its reply to the Egyptian action was belligerent and vengeful. The angry American reaction was not calculated to correct the causes of American-Egyptian alienation, nor to avert further deterioration of their relations, but rather to intimidate Egypt and bully it into unconditional capitulation. But this attitude, the most outstanding illustration of which was the withdrawal of the Aswan Dam offer, produced the opposite result. Instead of being intimidated into capitulation, Egypt became more determined to assert its full independence of judgement, will, and action, and to exercise all the prerogatives of its sovereignty. Moreover, other Arab countries were emboldened by the example of Egypt and inspired by the reaction of the United States to follow the same independence policy which Egypt had launched. Thus followed the widening of the appeal of neutralism in the Arab mind, and the Suez Canal crisis.

The Third scene of Act Three was the British-French-Israeli aggression on Egypt, which was launched exactly a year ago. The first reactions of the United States were most noble and most principled. And it is significant that the Arab response to the noble stand of President Eisenhower were hearteningly hopeful, and full of promise that American-Arab relations would improve. Arab confidence in America proved to be still capable of reasserting itself.

Unfortunately, the American stand inspired by the invasion was soon softened and weakened. Behind-the-scenes negotiations with Israel to facilitate her nominally-unconditional but virtually conditional withdrawal from the invaded territories sowed the seeds of suspicion in the soil of the newly-resurrected Arab confidence in America.

#### ACT FOUR:

Act four began early in 1957. It came in the company of the Eisenhower Doctrine.

In the Eisenhower Doctrine America entered the scene of Middle Eastern affairs no longer as a secondary character in the shadow of its colonial Allies, nor as a primary character established in the home of its Israeli protegee, but as a primary character in its own right. It was a Great Power, pursuing old-fashioned power politics, that America entered the Middle East through the Eisenhower Doctrine.

The scenes then have been rapid.

Within a few weeks from the adoption of the Eisenhower Doctrine by the United States Congress on 9 March 1957, the United States appeared prepared to use that Doctrine (during the Jordanian crisis of April 1957) in a manner which could hardly be considered compatible with its original stated purpose or announced text.

And then came the Syrian crisis, as the second scene in the same Act.

...

Where will the plot lead? What will the coming Scenes and Acts be? What of the finale and the epilogue?

I suggest that the entire course of American-Arab relations so far demonstrates that, when America acted humanely and selflessly, it received the gratitude and confidence of the Arabs; and that, when the Arab confidence in America was shaken, it was a reaction to America's blunders and mistakes. Arab attitudes to America have been largely determined by American attitudes to the Arab World.

If America wants to give the story a pleasant ending, all that America has to do is to read the story of the first 99 years of the overture. There America will learn how it could, if only it wanted, inspire confidence, and earn love and friendship.

Dissociation from the greed of colonial Allies, disengagement from the aggressiveness of racist Zionism, abandonment of the practices of cynical power-politics, and a return to the pure tradition of Americanism as a stronghold of liberty and justice and fair-play, can not only arrest the present drift towards alienation, but also initiate a new process of healthy friendship and constructive partnership.

## INFORMATION

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Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday October 31, 1957

THE CARAVAN

## For The Record

By  
Dr. Fays  
A. Sayegh



### "SEGREGATION" AND "SELF-SEGREGATION"

The eyes of the world have been focused recently on Little Rock, Arkansas. For Little Rock has become a symbol of intransigent opposition to integration by the champions of segregation.

But, for sixty years, the world has had a more explosive and a larger controversy between segregation and integration, disguised by another mask and parading under a different alias.

The basis for this other brand of segregation was a combination of racial, cultural and linguistic elements, confused as components of nationalist identity.

The stage for this controversy was the world at large, not one single nation.

The main difference, however, between this particular controversy and the one which Little Rock symbolizes is that, in the former, **it was the minority group itself which insisted on its own segregation.** Thus it was a case of **self-segregation** as a chosen destiny.

The phenomenon I am speaking about is Zionism.

• • •

In 1897, there appeared on the European scene a Viennese Jew by the name of Theodor Herzl. He was disturbed by the anti-Semitic practices of some European peoples and governments. The problem that seized his mind and occupied his thoughts was "the Jewish problem". The solution he devised for it was embodied in a little pamphlet to which he gave the revealing title, "The Jewish State".

Summarized in one sentence, the thesis of this booklet is this: **as long as Jews live among other peoples, they will continue to be persecuted; therefore, they must be set apart from other peoples, gathered in one locality, and permitted to set up a state of their own.**

Using today's terminology, this thesis could be paraphrased in the words: **integration perpetuates the "Jewish problem"; segregation is the only solution.**

• • •

In the early years of Zionism, it was not the "Gentiles" who voiced the loudest opposition to the new ideology of self-segregation; it was the Jews themselves who opposed it.

And the ideology in terms of which they opposed the Zionist ideology of self-segregation was "assimilation", (which is the equivalent of "integration" in today's terminology).

The most bitter polemics which accompanied the rise of Zionism were the polemics against "Jewish assimilationists". It was neither the Gentiles nor the Arabs that Zionists considered to be the greatest obstacle to their victory, but the Jewish assimilationists.

• • •

Even today, Zionists direct their vitriolic accusations at groups of Jews who believe in Jewish integration more than they do at Arabs or other anti-Zionists. The Zionist attacks on the American Council for Judaism, for example, derive from the Zionist fear of the spread of the ideology of integration among American Jews.

• • •

In the World of ideas and con-

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cepts one encounters many a contradictory situation. But nothing is more contradictory than the simultaneous pursuit by a minority group of the full freedom and rights which follow from, and presuppose, its complete integration within its national community, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, its support of that movement which is predicated on the desirability and necessity of self-segregation. For, while they want full equality in America as Americans, many American Jews nevertheless support the Zionist movement, whose purpose is to gather the Jews of the world in Israel and to segregate them from all other ethnic groups. And few among them profess to see any contradiction between these two facets of their attitude toward "the Jewish problem".



# Eastern Convention Stars Inimitable Danny Thomas

By Joseph S. Ayoub

Thousands thronged to the Syrian-Lebanese Eastern States Convention at the Sheraton-Plaza Hotel from September 26, through September 29, 1957. It was one of the finest and smoothest running conventions ever held by the Federation.

On Saturday evening, Danny Thomas flew to Boston especially for the convention to spark the musical extravaganza. Danny, during a special message to an overflow crowd, spoke of unity and charity, stating that the St. Jude Hospital will be opened to all people regardless of race, religion or creed, and will be dedicated to the Syrian-Lebanese people in America.

\* \* \*

The principal speaker at the banquet was Dr. Victor A. Khouri, Lebanese Ambassador to the United States. His message related to the advancement of Lebanon historically and economically. Also at the head table during the banquet were all past presidents of the Federation; Gov. Foster Furcolo; George Tomeh, Consul-General of Syria; Dr. Fayeze Sayegh, Acting Director of the Arab States Delegation Office. Toastmaster at the banquet was Cosmo Ansara, past president of the Federation.

Starting with the convention on Thursday morning, one of the most cordial and hospitable receptions accorded to conventioners was tendered.

\* \* \*

On Friday morning, a breakfast was tendered to the Federation by the Honorable John B. Hynes, Mayor of the City of Boston. Master of Ceremonies at the breakfast was William J. Foley, President of the Boston City Council. This was the first time that the Mayor of a city held a breakfast for conventioners. During the breakfast a presentation of a replica of the Paul Revere

bowl was presented to George Shagory by the President of the City Council, William J. Foley.

Friday evening, a President's reception with an honor guard from Beram Federation Association highlighted the opening festivities. All past presidents of the Federation were honored. In appropriate ceremonies following the reception, a receiving line was formed; Arabic sweets and beverages were served, and then a grand ball was headed by all the presidents and officers of the Federation.

\* \* \*

Saturday afternoon, Honorable Foster Furcolo, Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, tendered a luncheon to the Federation delegates and guests. It was the first time that a Governor of a state ever honored the Federation by sponsoring a luncheon for its delegates.

Saturday evening saw great crowds seeking admission to the affair. To spark the musical extravaganza, Danny Thomas appeared at 11 p.m. and delivered a message of utmost importance in his own inimitable fashion. He presented a plan basically as follows:

Organization of American Lebanese-Syrian Associated Charities to be known as ALSAC. He called strongly upon our people for a new spirit of organization.

## EQUAL TV TIME IS REQUESTED FOR ARAB WORLD

David P. Barrood, of New Brunswick, N. J., is a believer in perseverance. His active cor-

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, November 7, 1957

THE CARAVAN

# For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayes  
A. Sayegh



## A ROUND-UP OF THE ALGERIAN PROBLEM

The current strife in Algeria—which is today entering its fourth year, and which will soon be discussed by the United Nations for the fourth time—is essentially a manifestation of a struggle which has now become familiar in many regions of the world: a struggle between greedy colonialism, on the one hand, and the resurgent forces of nationalism, national liberation, and national self-assertion, on the other hand.

Those who have complacently believed that colonialism is now a vanishing phenomenon must have second thoughts when they ponder the toll of human lives in Algeria.

### DUAL CHARACTER OF THE PROBLEM:

To the people of Algeria, the Arab peoples at large, and indeed all peoples of Asia and Africa, French "presence" in Algeria, against the will of its population, constitutes an outrageous violation of all principles on which mankind has sought in recent generations to base the structure of civilized international relations—viz., the Wilsonian principles of World War I, the Atlantic Charter principles of World War II, and the principles of the U. N. Charter.

Hand in hand with colonialism and its denial of the right of peoples of self-determination, goes the trampling of the individual "rights of man" in Algeria by the French authorities. The treatment of the Arab-Algerians, as compared with the French colons, in Algeria, the bridling of Algerian energy and enterprise in the economic field, the repression of the Algerian urge for education and spiritual edification, the denial of the right of the Arab-Algerian to equal representation (and, indeed, to representation of any kind) even in local self-government, as well as the massacres perpetrated by the French forces and by the terrorists among the French colons—all these are natural consequences of domination by one people over another, and of the determination of the dominating people to suppress the efforts of the ruled people to emancipate itself.

### SOME FRENCH THESES:

(1) No colonial regime has ever candidly admitted its character as a colonial regime, and confessed its greedy determination to perpetuate its hold over the ruled territory, without seeking to introduce into the thinking of the world about the situation certain confusing considerations designed to make more palatable to the world at large its adherence to its dominating position. French colonialism in Algeria is no exception—except in the sense that it has gone further than other colonial regimes in introducing the legal fiction of verbally elevating the ruled territory to the alleged status of being a part of the metropolitan territory of the ruling country. Thus France unilaterally proclaims that Algeria is a part of metropolitan France, and asks the world to keep its hands off the problem because it is a "domestic French problem". This mythical misrepresentation of the status of Algeria has now fortunately been repudiated by the World Organ-

ization, and even by large sectors of French public opinion.

While re-christening Algeria as a part of France without the consent of Algeria itself, France has never endeavored to treat Algeria in fact as an actual part of France.

(2) Failing to convince the world that the Algerian-French conflict was essentially a domestic affair, France has resorted to the familiar theme of colonialism: that Algeria is not ready for self-government, and that France's presence in Algeria is designed for the welfare of Algeria itself.

If—as the French assert—after 127 years of French rule, Algeria remains today unfit for self-government, then that alleged situation is an indictment not of Algerian potentialities and realities, but rather an indictment of France's claimed competence to tutor the peoples of its dominated territories, or of France's goodwill and desire to train those peoples for self-government.

France and Britain have expressed in past years and decades the same doubt about the readiness of other Arab peoples for self-government. Yet the performance of eleven Arab countries, and their record since their recent attainment of independence, reveal conclusively that they have accomplished more progress in the few years of their independence than was accomplished for them during centuries of Ottoman rule and decades of European domination. The real vindication of the Arabs' claim to fitness for self-determination is the record of the Arabs during their short period of independence. There is no reason to doubt that the same can be said of Algeria in the future.

What can be said of all human situations, collective as well as individual, may also be said of Algeria: that freedom is not a quality that can be perfected only through the process of being exercised. No French parent treats his child the way the French Government professes to treat Algeria—shielding the child against all experience of freedom and responsibility until the moment arrives when the child is suddenly declared to be capable of exercising responsibility and fit for the enjoyment of freedom.

Even if one accepts the French thesis that fitness for self-rule must precede the exercise of self-rule, one must nevertheless be reluctant to assign the task of determining whether or not a people is fit for self-government to the country which now dominates it and which stands to benefit by the continuance of such domination.

One may be permitted to express genuine doubt as to whether, in view of its chronic government-

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al instability, economic crises, and military performance in World War II and in Indo-China, France itself is qualified for independence—let alone for the status of a "Great Power"—if the same criteria by which France judges Algeria were to be applied to France itself.

(3) Another French argument against the right of Algerians to self-determination is the assertion that the interests of the French colons in Algeria demand that the country be constantly under French hegemony.

Recognizing that the human rights and the legitimate interests of the French colons must be self-guarded, one cannot but observe that the rights and interests of 10% of the population of Algeria can be adequately safe-guarded and observed without denying the remaining 90% their elemental right for self-determination. In fact, the rights and interests of the French colons could be better observed and protected through healthy progress towards Algerian independence and the creation of a positive atmosphere of co-operativeness, than through the creation of animosities and the entrenchment of hatred between the majority and the minority.

(4) The French Government professes to deplore the fact that Algerians have resorted to violence and bloodshed to attain their independence. The fact is that Algerians did not resort to insurrection and revolt before having tried in vain to attain by negotiations and other peaceful means their demands for progress towards self-government.

The same pattern, which has unfolded itself in countless liberation movements, is unfolding itself in Algeria today: When the initial demands for gradual progress towards self-government through peaceful means are rejected, the liberation movement finds itself with no alternative but either capitulation and surrender of its God-given right to freedom, or revolt. If colonialism could only learn the lessons clearly taught by the history of all colonial regimes, it would save itself and the peoples of the colonial areas unnecessary bloodshed during the struggle for emancipation, as well as embitterment for long periods after independence.

### THE STAKES IN THE CONFLICT:

The rejection by France of the elementary right of Algerians to self-determination, and the resort by France to suppression and terrorism in order to choke the Algerian Liberation Movement, have already stirred the hearts of countless enlightened and liberal Frenchmen, steeped in the true traditions of France and proud of the contributions of their mother-land to the twin doctrines of national and individual human rights. Many a noble Frenchman of the highest cultural and spiritual calibre has stood up in recent

years to indict his Government for inhuman practices in Algeria.

Until the counsel of these true Frenchmen prevails in France at large, the ramifications of the Franco-Algerian War will plague not only France but the rest of the world as well:

a) The chronic instability of the French Governmental institutions has been compounded by the Algerian crisis. Witness how many French Governments have fallen over the French policy in North Africa.

b) The economic strains and crises in France itself, which recently gained front-page headlines, have been attributed by many an economic analyst to the Algerian War.

c) France's deployment in Algeria of most of its standing forces has left France militarily naked, destroying the basic purposes of NATO as far as France is concerned, as well as those very purposes which American statesmen have invoked as the reason for America's failure to assert its traditional principles in its dealing with the Algerian situation.

d) The continuance of the Franco-Algerian War has poisoned French relations with the two other North African countries of Tunisia and Morocco, despite the hopeful signs of Franco-North African cooperation which were evident soon after the attainment of independence by these two Arab countries. Witness the crises that have overtaken French relations with Morocco and Tunisia since October 23, 1956—the day when the arms of French military authorities reached into the skies and, in a grave act of unprecedented air-piracy, hunted Algerian leaders who were flying from Morocco to Tunisia on a mission of peace.

e) Franco-Arab relations in general have also deteriorated largely as a result of Algeria. France's zestful role in engineering the British-French-Israeli conspiracy against Egypt a year ago may be attributed to France's engagement by Egypt's support of the right of Algeria to self-determination.

f) To the degree to which Asia and Africa look upon France as a part of the West, to that same degree, the prestige of the West in the rising world of Asia and Africa has declined. For the Algerian problem has been adopted by the Asian-African world as its own—from the days of Bandung until today. Even a casual review of the treatment of the Algerian problem in the U.N. reveals that it has not been looked upon as purely an Algerian problem, nor even as purely an Arab problem, but essentially as an Asian-African problem.

g) Finally, the authority of the U.N. and its efforts to build a new world on the foundations of law and order are at stake. When France walked out of the General Assembly at its Tenth Session it virtually served notice to the world that, as long as Great Powers of so-called Great Powers can frustrate the purposes of the World Organization when their narrow views of their self-interest overshadow the transcendent values of justice, order, and world peace, the effectiveness of the U. N. in producing a more harmonious world remains severely curtailed.

If you have not yet received The Caravan, mail us your name and address immediately!

## UNION CITY, N. J.

By Doris Doumit

Mr. and Mrs. Anton Gousen, of 103 Shippen Street, Weehawken, were honored in September, on their 25th wedding anniversary. A surprise party was given by their children, Mrs. Lorraine Colletta, of East Paterson; Mrs. Gladys Paparella, of Jersey City; Vivian, and Sam. The Gousen's are the grand-parents of Benjamin and Fred Paparella.

Miss Odette Amara, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Michael Amara, of 156 Roosevelt Ave., Hasbrouck Heights, was engaged Oct. 6 to John Kattak, son of Mrs. Souad and the late Najeeb Kattak, of 190 Broad Street, Clifton. A party was given in their honor at the Amara residence, with members of the immediate families attending. Many congratulatory messages were received. A date has not been set for the wedding.

The Damascus Fraternity and Ladies Auxiliary, of Union City, held a haffi Oct. 12 for the benefit of orphans in Syria. Mr. Esad Hamod was M.C. Although the affair was not a financial success, the few people who attended had an enjoyable evening.

Entertainment was provided by Elia Baida and Mike Hamway. Dancing highlighted the evening with the very lovely Selma Kalil topping the list, followed by a debkoe.

Mrs. Nazirah Gousen, of 226 Highpoint Ave., Weehawken, died Oct. 15, following a short illness. Mrs. Gousen (nee Kallas) was born in Damascus, Syria, and had been a resident of Union City and Weehawken for many years.

Her husband, Samuel, predeceased her. Survivors are two sons, Anthony and George; four daughters, Mrs. Mary Barakat, Mrs. Nora Nahas, Mrs. Sally Nafash and Mrs. Margaret Nafash; and three sisters, Mrs. Mary Karneeb, Mrs. Zakey Kassab and Mrs. Sophia Tooma. Also 24 grandchildren and 14 great grandchildren.

Services were held Oct. 18 at the Assyrian Apostolic Church of the Virgin Mary, West New York, N. J.



Slow down, Storkey.... not till after the 10th! She's at that DAMASCUS LODGE SHOW-DANCE and SUPPER at ST. MARY'S



# For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayed  
A. Sayegh



## "A YEAR OF TURMOIL"

NOVEMBER 1956 — NOVEMBER 1957

On October 29-30 1956, one of the most explosive Middle Eastern volcanoes of recent years erupted. The tripartite invasion of Egypt, which followed, threatened for a moment to engulf the entire world in a global conflagration.

Although that volcanic eruption was immediately contained and prevented from spreading, a year later the Middle East found itself in a situation as critical as that of October-November 1956.

I

In fact, despite some incidental dissimilarities, the two crises of the fall of 1956 and 1957 displayed a remarkable similarity in essence and parallelism in pattern.

In each instance, a non-Arab Middle Eastern country was prepared to exploit the strained relations between one of its Arab neighbors and outside powers, and to strike at the opportune moment in order to fulfill some of its long-range expansionist designs.

In the 1956 crisis, Israel exploited the friction between Egypt, on the one hand, and Britain and France, on the other hand, to attain by force some of the perennial Israeli expansionist designs, confident that Britain and France would join it in its anti-Egyptian adventure as soon as it pulled the trigger.

In the 1957 crisis, Turkey saw a similar opportunity in the strained relations between Syria and the United States. Having annexed the Syrian provinces of Cilicia and Alexandretta in 1920 and 1939 respectively with the complicity of France, Turkey now sought to grab further portions of Syrian territory, particularly Aleppo, apparently hoping that it could do so with the acquiescence, if not the active concurrence, of the United States.

Moreover, in both crises, the non-Arab Middle East party wished and anticipated that its action would contribute to the overthrow of a dynamic regime established in the neighboring Arab country which was the target of its hostility.

Thus in each of these two instances, the intention was to involve a non-Middle Eastern power or group of powers in a regional Middle Eastern conflict between a non-Arab country and an Arab country.

Furthermore, in each of these two instances, the attack or the threat of attack caused the Arab governments to close their ranks and restore their solidarity beyond the expectations of the non-Arab party.

So much for the essential similarity between the two crises. As for the dissimilarities, first and foremost is the fact that, whereas the 1956 crisis actually erupted in warfare, the 1957 crisis has so far been contained and has not led to warfare.

Other dissimilarities may also be mentioned. In 1956, the United States stood resolutely against aggression, although it was committed by America's two oldest allies and its Middle Eastern protégé, and although it was committed at a most inopportune time (just before the national elections), thus making it infinitely more difficult for the U. S. Gov-

ernment to take the laudable stand that it took. By contrast, in 1957 the United States sided with Turkey in advance, apparently paying more attention to the international implications and consequences of the crisis than to the moral principles involved.

Another difference pertains to the role of the United Nations. In the 1956 crisis, the entire problem was placed in the hands of the World Organization. In the 1957 crisis, some powers including the United States sought to circumvent — so far, with success — the timely intervention by the United Nations.

It is not enough to compare and contrast these two Middle Eastern episodes which came at the beginning and the end of the fateful and eventful 12-month period in the life of the Middle East. It is incumbent upon us to analyze the meaning and significance of the fact that, after having successfully limited and contained a Middle Eastern explosion in November 1956, the world found itself faced by an equally grave, potential explosion twelve months later.

That fact in itself is worthy of the most profound consideration. For it spells out, clearly and for everyone to read, the disturbing truth that the basic problems of the Middle East, which lay at the root of the 1956 crisis, were permitted to remain unsolved as soon as that crisis was contained. Having been allowed to lie in peace, the germs of disorder and turmoil were virtually allowed to remain a potential threat to the health of the Middle East, ever ready to erupt again under conducive circumstances, if not actually to multiply and to grow in malignancy.

III

Two causes immediately suggest themselves as the reasons why, although the tumor of 1956 was successfully removed by peripheral surgery, a similar tumor appeared exactly a year later.

In the first place, the world was so shocked and so frightened by the 1956 turmoil that, although it rushed into precautionary and curative measures with unprecedented speed and commendable effectiveness, it nevertheless proceeded too precipitately to breathe a sigh of relief as soon as order was restored, and reverted to its pre-October 1956 complacency as soon as the fighting was halted and the invading armies were withdrawn and the status quo ante was restored. In the relief which followed the nightmare, the tasks of grappling correctively with the causes that had created the turmoil in the first instance were forgotten. World statesmanship defaulted on its serious task of removing the causes of turmoil, precisely because it was so jubilant over the fact that it had succeeded in preventing that turmoil from leading to the worst

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consequences that it was feared it would lead to, and in restoring conditions to what they had been before the eruption.

In the second place, the hope which the world had attached to the United Nations as an instrument of international peace and order, and which the United Nations had fulfilled in 1956 for the first time in its eleven-year-long history, seems also to have been forgotten as soon as fighting subsided and the status quo ante was restored. It will be recalled that one of the most crucial causes of Middle Eastern instability was the fact that the United Nations' authority has been consistently defied with impunity by precisely that country which owed its very existence to the United Nations. If there was no peace in the Holy Land, if the wounds inflicted on the Middle Eastern body in 1948 had remained until 1956 open and sore, and if infection had set in, it was because all the decisions and disorders of the U. N. continued to be disobeyed and ignored by a country which was the product of one of those decisions. But in the aftermath of the tripartite invasion, the world was witness to the remarkable fact that Israel at last was made to obey (under the threat of American-endorsed sanctions) the six orders of the General Assembly for withdrawal from the territory it had occupied in November of 1956. This was the ideal occasion, the perfect starting point, for reversing the trend of disobedience to the U. N. and intransigent adherence to the *fait accompli*, and to initiate a new process of compliance by Israel with the antecedent resolutions of the U. N. Unfortunately, however, this promise was dissipated; no effort was made to insure its fulfillment.

IV

Because it neglected the obvious fact that containing and liquidating the tripartite invasion was not enough to bring permanent tranquillity to the Middle East, but that it was necessary to go beyond that and to resolve the underlying causes of discord and trouble; and, furthermore, because it neglected the only existing instrument through which such fundamental grappling with the basic causes of tension could be achieved, namely, the U. N. — because of these two reasons, the world was recently reminded of the fact that, twelve months after the latest crisis, the Middle East remained a scene of explosive conflicts which threaten the peace and tranquillity of all mankind.

As a result, all the causes of tension which were in existence before 29 October 1956 have continued, and still continue, to operate freely as threats to the stability of the Middle East and the world. Moreover, many of these problems have since then been compounded and aggravated. And finally, new problems have en-

## An Open Letter To The National Association Of Federations Of Syrian And Lebanese American Clubs

We received the following "open letter" from Alfred M. Lilienthal, author of the two famous books, "What Price Israel" and "There Goes The Middle East". He is commenting on certain articles which appeared in the October issue of "The National Herald," official monthly organ of The National Association of Federations of Syrian and Lebanese American Clubs, under the title of "A Re-Assertion of Principles". We have no doubt that Mr. Lilienthal is harsh and somewhat inaccurate in his analysis of the motives behind this "re-assertion". This "reassertion", however, could have been the right thing said at the wrong time.

October 25, 1957

To Mr. Rogers H. Bite, President:

The resolution adopted by the Southern Federation on August 31, at Tyler, Texas regarding the Syrian crisis has just been brought to my attention by the current issue of the National Herald. As an author, on more than one occasion I have spoken harsh words to Zionists, and I do not hesitate to do likewise to the Syrian-Lebanese Clubs whose activities I have closely followed.

In an obviously cowardly rush to remove possible Communist stigma from your name, you have unequivocally condemned "Syria's apparent swing toward the Iron Curtain and her unfriendly relations with the United States of America?" In any fair analysis of what has transpired in the Middle East did it not behoove you of all Americans, whose heritage is Syrian and Lebanese, to relate cause with effect and to try and shed light on why the Soviet Union has become enabled to assume the guise of the *friend of Arab nationalism*. Your resolution does not become anymore defensible by your attempt to wrap yourself in the cloak of the Department of State by publishing in full in your magazine the remarks of Mr. E. M. J. Kretzman, Advisor to the Department. This speech was far more significant by what was omitted concerning Israel and Zionism than anything that was said regarding Communism in the Arab World. The Eisenhower Doctrine from the outset was doomed to fail because it aimed to protect Arab countries only against Communist aggression, but not against Zionist aggression.

Had the members of your federations — and this refers to all federations — contributed half as much to the plight of Arab refugees as they have contributed to the United Jewish Appeal; had your organizations done all in their power to bring the facts about the Palestine question to the attention of the American public; had the leadership of the Syrian-Lebanese federations matched their passion for midnight poker playing with a zeal to advance the common good; had these things been done perhaps the Arab World would not now be fomenting with the conviction that America is partial to the State of Israel and consequently there would be no dangerous encroachment of Communism in the area.

Elsewhere in your magazine an official of the Western Federation notes the failure of your people to follow your leadership. Naturally self-centered leadership, wallowing in selfishness and ignorance and rooted in a worship of conformity will never inspire a following amongst the young. You can never compete for their attention in this way. Show them courage, sacrifice, initiative, and above all a reverence for truth-attributes which made this country of ours great — and you can command them.

Yours is the unique opportunity of being able to serve both the interests of the United States and that of the countries of your origin. But this will require a great change of heart and mind. If your leadership is unwilling to face controversy and not to run with the mob, it is better that you fold your tents and disband.

Yours always a real friend,  
Alfred M. Lilienthal

tered the scene. It is this threefold deterioration of the Middle Eastern situation between the fall of 1956 and the fall of 1957 that must occupy the serious-thinking minds of all those concerned for the fate of the Middle East and the world.

We shall attempt to survey this deterioration, in its three forms, in the next article.

It has been said that there is no indispensable man — but there is; the right man with the right man with the right idea at the right time in the pathway of history will ever be an indispensable man.

—New York Medical Journal.  
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Life is a glass given to us to fill; a busy life is filling it with as much as it can hold; a hurried life has had more poured into it than it can contain.  
• • •

Some people never forget a favor—others won't let you.

## FACT & OPINION

Auto industry economists believe the day of great seasonal upturns in automobile sales may be a thing of the past. They look for stable, year-round sales.



Saint George Syrian Orthodox Church observed its second anniversary with a banquet-hafli Sunday, Nov. 10 at the church hall. Dr. Fayeze Sayegh was the principle speaker, and Atty Joseph U. Esper M.c'd the affair. Rev. Paul Romley, Mayor Lawrence, Zack Hallow and Mrs. Albert Hazeme, Sr. were also on the list of speakers.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, November 21, 1957

THE CARAVAN

Page Seven

## For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayeze  
A. Sayegh



### FROM BAD TO WORSE...

We maintained, in our previous article in this series, that if the Middle East crisis of October-November 1956 was about to be repeated under analogous circumstances a year later, it was because the root-problems, which had led to the explosion of the fall of 1956, have remained unresolved, and because the United Nations, which had shown its potentialities for containing and terminating hostilities, has been allowed to lie in disuse since the guns were silenced in Sinai and Suez. We also maintained that the Middle Eastern situation has deteriorated noticeably in the past year, and that this deterioration has taken three forms: old problems continued; the same problems were aggravated; and new problems arose. In the present article, we shall survey this three-fold deterioration of the situation.

#### I. OLD PROBLEMS REMAIN UNRESOLVED:

The problems which lay at the root of the tripartite invasion of Egypt in October-November 1956 were three: the Arab-Israeli conflict, French colonialism in North Africa, and British colonialism and neo-colonialism in the Arab East. Every component and manifestation of each of these three causes of tension in the Middle East has remained unresolved since the invasion.

1. As far as the Arab-Israeli conflict is concerned, the refugees continued to rot in hunger and idleness and bitterness in their places of dispersion and displacement; the Arabs living in Israel continued to be subjected to discrimination and persecution; Israel continued to extend its authority to the excess territories of Palestine which it has held since the Armistice Agreements were signed in 1949, and to occupy and re-militarize the Demilitarized Zones; and the larger part of Jerusalem continued to be administered and controlled by Israel. No effort was made by the world community to enforce any of the existing 73 resolutions, in which the United Nations had called upon Israel to undo these deeds — to repatriate and/or pay compensation to the refugees, to abandon excess territories and withdraw from the Demilitarized Zones, to observe the human rights and fundamental liberties of its Arab inhabitants, and to permit the internationalization of Jerusalem.

Furthermore, Israel has shown no signs of having renounced its expansionist goals. Nor has it evinced any willingness to look upon itself as a normal Middle Eastern state; it has continued to look upon itself as a unique State, lying in the Middle East geographically but forming in essence a "part of world Jewry". Its encouragement of "unlimited immigration" of Jews from all parts of the world into the territory of Israel, without regard for its limited absorptive capacity, has continued to be a major element of its policy.

While all these manifestations of the Palestine Problem continued to create bitterness around the Holy Land, Israel maintained the position which it has held since mid-1949, and which has doomed all efforts to achieve a political settlement; namely, the position which, while claiming to want peace, insists that all United Nations resolutions are "null and void" and demands "unconditional surrender" by the Arabs and

acceptance by them of the fait accompli.

2. As for French colonialism, it has proceeded to re-inforce its positions in Algeria, heedless of the injunction of the United Nations, the condemnation of world public opinion, and the restiveness in France itself among liberal and humanitarian Frenchmen. The Algerian War of Independence thus passed through its third year, between 1 November 1956 and 1 November 1957, without any evidence of French readiness to recognize, even in principle, the right of Algerians to self-determination.

3. And British colonialism in the Arab East has held its ground. The British-Saudi dispute in Bureime continued to be deadlocked, while the Anglo-Yemenite dispute has erupted occasionally in small and local explosions throughout the year.

In short, no progress has been accomplished in the direction of resolving any of the conflicts, or ameliorating any of the tensions, which lay beneath the surface last year and contributed to the turmoil of the fall of 1956. But, what is more serious is that many of these problems have been aggravated during the past twelve months.

#### II. OLD PROBLEMS ARE AGGRAVATED:

The aggravation of the existing problems is only partly due to the mere fact that they have remained unresolved; to a large degree, this aggravation of old problems must be attributed to the fact that the parties responsible for them, detecting indifference on the part of the world community, have been emboldened to go ahead and render bad situations even worse.

Let us therefore examine each of the three main sources of tension, with a view to ascertaining the degree to which some of their manifestations have been aggravated in the past year.

1. Israel's policies became more menacing in a number of respects.

Its treatment of its Arab inhabitants bordered occasionally on genocide during the past year: the massacre of 49 civilian Arab villagers in Kfar Kassem at the hands of police officers, the expulsion of 700 Arabs from the northern Demilitarized Zone into Syria, and the massacre of 388 Arab refugees by the Israeli Army while it was occupying the Gaza Strip — all these pogroms indicated a new trend in Israel's attitude towards its Arab minority at the outset of the period under

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review. While the brutality of such acts has been restrained since last November, the attitude of discrimination has not. In fact, Israel has moved in other directions to liquidate or otherwise suppress its Arab minority during the year. It adopted a new law calculated to enable it to confiscate more Arab property, including property owned by its Arab residents. Even the American Jewish Committee, which leans over backwards to suppress public criticism of Israel, was so embarrassed by Israel's treatment of the Arabs that it dispatched its top leaders last summer to appeal to Ben Gurion to ameliorate the lot of the Arabs. The "concessions" which he is reported to have made were nominal, and it remains to be seen whether or not they will be put into practice.

Moreover, immigration into Israel was stepped up. For the first time since 1953, sizeable immigration from Europe — mainly from Communist Poland — flowed into Israel. In August, Ben Gurion solemnly announced his intention of bringing two million more Jews into Israel, and continued to reprimand American Zionists for their failure to induce American Jews to migrate to Israel. With the stepped-up program of immigration goes the stepped-up fund-raising program, as well as the sharpened apprehension of the Arabs and their realization of the expansionist implications of unlimited immigration.

2. Similarly, in Algeria, French terrorism continued to send more Algerians into refuge in near-by Tunisia, and to swell the numbers of Arab casualties, bringing their total — according to French figures — to 44,000 killed and 25,000 captured during the three years of the War of Independence.

The deteriorating military and political situation has had its repercussions in France, where the intrinsic political instability of the French governmental system has come to reveal its weakness, and where economic and fiscal crises have made France a fertile soil for discontent and communism, just as the deployment of French military forces in North Africa had already made France a military liability for NATO and the Free World.

Moreover, France's relations with the two Arab countries adjoining Algeria have deteriorated as a result of France's intransigence in Algeria. Tunisia and Morocco have been disabused of their earlier belief that their relations with France, in the era of their newly-won independence, could be based on mutual confidence and friendship. So strained were Franco-Tunisian relations recently that President Bourguiba, one of the staunchest supporters of the West in the Arab World, gave expression to his disillusionment in neutralist terms on more than one occasion in recent months.

3. And British colonialism was



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By

PHILIP K. HITTI

Professor Emeritus of Semitic Literature

Princeton University

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emboldened to commit a new act of aggression in the Arabian Peninsula, by invading the sovereign territory of Oman and choking, for the time being, the national liberation movement in that country.

#### III. NEW PROBLEMS EMERGE:

In addition to the continuation of all, and the aggravation of some, of the problems which existed in the Middle East prior to last year's turmoil, the past twelve months has witnessed the birth of new problems, engendering new tensions and strains.

Chief among these is the changed character of United States "presence" in the area.

Having convinced itself that the liquidation of former British and French holdings, and the fatal blow suffered by their authority and prestige as a result of the tripartite invasion, had created a "vacuum of power" in the Arab East, and having also realized that it was time for the United States to formulate a total policy for the area, the United States has apparently chosen as the basis for its new policy the concept of "replacement". By virtue of its accompanying explanations and justifications, its implicit assertions, and its subsequent application, the Eisenhower Doctrine — officially born on January 5 and confirmed by Congressional approval on March 9, 1957 — appears virtually to serve as the vehicle for America's replacement of Britain and France in the Arab East. And, prompted and characterized, as it has been, by America's pre-occupation with the struggle against the Soviet Union, the Doctrine has focused America's attention, as far as the Middle East is concerned, on the relation of the Middle East to the East-West conflict, instead of leading America to play a creative, statesmanlike, bold role in helping to resolve the existing disputes on the basis of justice and international law.

As a result, many Arabs have come to fear the Eisenhower Doctrine as an expression of a new Great-Power penetration into their recently-freed countries, an encroachment on their sovereignty, a threat to their independence. The distrust and resentment which had inhabited the Arab heart since World War II, as a result of America's active or passive support of colonialism and Zion-

ism in the Arab World, were intensified: the good will created by President Eisenhower's stand during the tripartite invasion was neutralized; the appeal of the philosophy of neutrality to the Arab heart was enhanced; and the strains in the relations between those Arab governments who still hoped that Arab-Western relations would be improved, and those who chose neutralism as the best orientation for their foreign policy, became more painful.

America's informal and secret "compromise" over the principle of unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from Gaza and Sharm el-Sheikh, despite the six resolutions of the General Assembly and the firm-principled assertions of President Eisenhower to the contrary; America's unilateral summary support of Israel's claimed rights in Aqaba and Suez, without due adjudication; and America's persistence in applying a discriminatory policy towards Egypt (the victim of the tripartite aggression) despite its restoration of economic aid to the authors of the aggression — all these developments heightened Arab suspicion of the United States and consequently increased the numbers of those Arabs who, while remaining opposed to Communism as a doctrine, were nevertheless ready to accept the timely offers of the Soviet Union for trade, loans, and arms transactions. And this, in turn, has entrenched the self-righteous belief in America that these neutralist Arabs were, wittingly or unwittingly, facilitating the penetration of Soviet influence into the Middle East; and has made America persist in applying a "punitive" policy of pressures and sanctions to the neutralist Arab States.

The lesson of the events of the past twelve months in the history of the Middle East, which is borne out by the cumulation of crisis in that area, is this: Only if the basic, fundamental problems of the area are effectively resolved, on the basis of justice and right and within the framework of the United Nations, will the Middle East know tranquility; otherwise, the region will be beset not only by regional insecurity and turmoil, but also by repercussions of the global cold war, and Middle East tensions will perhaps also aggravate that cold war.

For  
The  
Record

By  
Dr. Fayed  
A. Sayegh



TEN YEARS AFTER PARTITION

The Twenty-Ninth of November . . . .  
This is a sad date in the history of the Holy Land, and a dark spot on the record of the United Nations.

On November 29, 1947 — ten years ago — the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution for dividing Palestine into a "Jewish" State, an Arab State and an International State around Jerusalem, thus sanctioning the dream which Zionists had nursed for fifty years since 1897.

In many articles in this series I have examined the manner in which the resolution was adopted, the pressure brought to bear upon delegations to support it, and the injustice embodied in it. It is not my purpose, therefore, to discuss these questions today.

Nor is it my purpose in the present article to compare the State of Israel, as it emerged in 1948 and 1949 and as it has been since then, with the "Jewish" State contemplated in the resolution of 1947. The interested reader may find a full analysis of the contrast between the "blueprint" and the resultant "reality" in Chapter I of my booklet, "The Record of Israel at the United Nations" (pages 7-11), and on pages 9-14 of my leaflet, "Strife in the Holy Land". He will find there that is a thorough, point-to-point antithesis between the concept of Israel as it was formulated by the United Nations, and the "accomplished fact", in every essential aspect relating to the boundaries, the population, the capital, and the minority-policy of Israel.

My purpose in the present article is to go a step further than that.

It is to go into the minds and hearts of those delegates who supported the establishment of Israel not because they had fallen under cynical political pressure, nor because they harbored anti-Arab feelings, but because they honestly believe that only through that State could the problem of Jewish displaced persons in Europe be solved. And, having recalled the motives and considerations which influenced the decisions of such honest-but-misguided statesmen, my purpose is to show that what actually happened was remote from what they had in mind and what they intended.

Obviously, it never was the intention of such humanitarian statesmen that mercy towards displaced Jews should be at the expense of the Arabs of Palestine. Injustice cannot be redressed by injustice. The problem of a homeless Jew cannot be solved, in the eyes of the world, if its solution is sought through creating a larger problem of homeless Arabs; nor can the outrageous and shameful problem of the Nazi persecution of Jews be atoned for, after the collapse of Nazism, by creating a situation in which Jews inflict the same outrageous and shameful persecution upon Arabs.

There is another way, however, in which the intentions of misguided humanitarian supporters of the idea of a "Jewish" State were subsequently subverted.

Of all the Jews who flocked into Israel since its establishment in 1948 — about 900,000 — only a small proportion have come

from the European countries where Germany was in power during World War II; the majority have been induced to come from the Far East, the Middle East, Africa and the Soviet Bloc. Thus, those who were meant to benefit by the establishment of Israel did not take advantage of it; others were encouraged to come, instead. According to the Israeli official statistics, as they appear in the Israeli official publications, the following numbers have come, year by year, from Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Italy and Yugoslavia combined:

1948	73,069
1949	111,903
1950	79,056
1951	47,714
1952	5,347
1953	1,371
1954	786
1955	2,562
1956	2,000

(It must be observed that, for the years 1955 and 1956, Israeli statistics do not contain a country-by-country break-down; the figures cited in the table are those coming from all of Europe).

Thus, the total number of Jews who immigrated into Israeli from all countries which were during the War under German occupation is 323,808 — about one-third of all Jewish immigrants into Israel. The "haven of refuge", which Israel was designed to be, turned out to be desired by only a few of those who had been deemed needy of a haven! The majority—two thirds—of those who came, came from areas where Nazism had never been in control, and where there were no displaced Jews needy of salvation.

What happened to the other Jews who lived in those areas of Europe that had been under Nazi occupation?

Many remained where they were — realizing that the collapse of Nazism had removed the source of discrimination against them.

About 300,000 others sought refuge in places other than Israel.

Thus, we conclude that only a minority of the Jews for whose redemption Israel was supposed to have been established came to that state; and only a minority of those Jews who came to Israel were former victims of Nazism.

These are the facts which it will be well to keep in mind — particularly by those who, ten years ago, were supporting the idea of a "Jewish" State as a place of refuge for displaced or persecuted Jews.

Equally important to bear in mind is that 82,000 Jews have left Israel since its establishment. They are those Jews who were

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disillusioned and disenchanted with the "Jewish" State. And, according to the statements of many keen observers, many times that number of Jews would have emigrated from Israel had the government of that country facilitated their departure, or had it not put forbidding obstacles in the way of their emigration.

The Pilgrim  
Thanksgiving

The custom of an autumn thanksgiving celebration is probably as old as man's first harvest. In America the custom was started more than three centuries ago by a little band of 102 Pilgrims who fled from England in order to be free to worship God as they chose.

After three months of tossing about in Atlantic storms, their little ship, the Mayflower, landed on the snowy coast of New England in the winter of 1620. The Pilgrims followed their leader ashore and, kneeling on the beach, sang a hymn of gratitude for their safe journey.

The first winter the Pilgrims faced in the New World was a cruel one. By spring, half of their number lay buried in the clearing. To hide their graves, the survivors covered them with seeds brought from England, fearing that hostile tribes of Indians might attack if they know how few settlers were left. At night, sometimes, the Pilgrims could hear the distant drums echoing through the forest.

One spring day as the Pilgrims were cultivating their skimpy rows of peas and barley, an Indian came toward them out of the forest and — to their surprise — addressed them in English, which he said he had learned from the early traders. He brought the settlers some seeds of corn and pumpkin — which they had never seen before — and showed them how to plant the corn, with fish for fertilizer.

When the harvest was gathered — in November, 1621 — the Pilgrims decided to hold a Thanksgiving Day of prayer and feasting, and invited Chief Massasoit, the leader of the tribe who had befriended them. But imagine the consternation of those 50 settlers when the Indian chief arrived with 90 guests!

But the problem of food proved to be no problem at all. Chief Massasoit sent his best hunters into the forest to bring five deer for the feast. Then he showed the Pilgrim hunters where to find the wild turkeys and tart red cranberries. And so the traditional foods for an American Thanksgiving feast came from the Indians — turkey, cranberries, corn and pumpkins.

Of all American holidays, Thanksgiving is probably the one most distinctly American. And just as the Pilgrims did more than 300 years ago, we Americans sit down to a traditional feast. It is

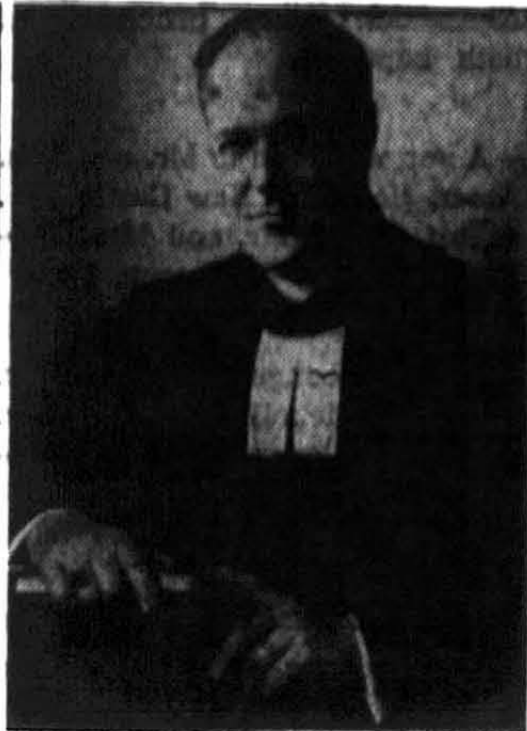
Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, November 28, 1957

## MUSLIM CHRISTIAN COOPERATION

Washington, D. C., November 21 — Two prominent Americans will receive citations this evening for their distinguished contributions in promoting cooperation between Islam and Christianity. The awards will be made at a dinner sponsored by the Continuing Committee on Muslim-Christian Cooperation at Foundry Methodist Parish House.

Mr. A. Josepr Howar, Muslim layman and business man of Washington, D. C., will be cited for his contribution in promoting the founding of an Islamic Center in Washington whose programs are open alike to Christians and Muslims. He was also a leader in the movement which resulted in the building of the Washington Mosque. Mr. Howar's philanthropies have included both Muslim and Christian charities. He has built a school on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem to which both Muslim and Christian children are admitted.

Dr. Edward L. R. Elson, pastor of Washington's National Presbyterian Church where President Eisenhower worships, will also receive a citation. Dr. Elson has travelled widely in the Muslim world, personally demonstrating Christian goodwill towards Muslims and encouraging Muslim-Christian cooperation. He is a member of the Executive Board of the Continuing Committee on Muslim-Christian Cooperation. He is chairman of the National Council of the American Friends of the Middle East, Inc. He has received numerous foreign decorations and awards, including



**Dr. Edward Elson**

several Muslim countries.

The citation to Mr. Howar will be presented by the Rev. Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the United States Senate. The Hon. Ahmed Benabud, Minister-Counselor of the Embassy of Morocco, will award the citation to Dr. Elson.

The dinner is being held in connection with the Institute on Muslim - Christian Cooperation sponsored by the Continuing Committee, Thursday and Friday, November 21 and 22. Thursday sessions are at Foundry Methodist Parish Hall and Friday sessions at the Islamic Center.

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**If you have not yet received The Caravan, mail us your name and address immediately!**

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## ELIA ABU MADEY DIES IN BROOKLYN



### DEAN OF ARABIC POETS SUCCUMBS TO HEART ATTACK

ELIA D. MADEY, better known to scholars all over the Arab World as ELIA ABU MADEY died of a heart attack here in Brooklyn, early Saturday morning, November 25.

He was the foremost Arabic poet of our time and one of the most outstanding Arabic writers and journalists (see editorial on page 6).

Death came at about 4:30 A.M. at his home, 259 85th Street, after he had recovered from a long ailment that forced him to stop publishing his Arabic newspaper, As-Sameer for the past few months. He was in his middle sixties.

Abu Madey was a self-educated, self-made man, with a style all his own in poetry and prose, which invigorated to a great extent modern Arabic literature.

#### A staunch Arab

His staunch support of Arab emancipation movements, from the Turkish regime era until his death, never wavered.

His poems and his editorials on Arab National issues fired the enthusiasm of liberty lovers for many decades all over the Arab World. The first person in America, whom most people of consequence wanted to meet when they arrived here, was Elia Abu Madey. They had studied and memorized his poetry in schools.

Abu Madey was born in MUHAIDITHA, LEBANON, migrated to Egypt when he was a teenager, and from there to the United States, in 1913.

In 1920, he married DOROTHY DIAB, daughter of Najeeb Diab, publisher of the Arabic newspaper Meraat-ul-Gharb, (Mirror of the West), which he edited from 1917-1928.

In 1929, he started As-Sameer, first, as a monthly magazine, and from 1936 until June 1957, as a daily newspaper.

#### EFFORTS APPRECIATED

Abu Madey carried numerous honors and medals including National Order of The Cedars from Lebanon, Honorary Medal of Merit from Syria and Orthodox Order of The Holy Sepulchre. Dr. Charles Malik, Lebanon's Foreign Minister, once remarked that Abu Madey's poetical spirit can be summed up in four words: "Freedom, Dignity, Life and Sadness." "Throughout his life," Dr. Malik added, "Abu Madey was loyal to the highest American Ideal."

He published many books of poetry, which publishers abroad reprinted without even getting his permission, and sold all over the Arab World. The last two, Al-Jadawill, (The Streams) which was first published in 1930. and Al-Khamaa-el (The Meadows),

published in 1940, are the most famous.

Before his death, he was contemplating publishing another book of poetry written since 1940, but death came before he was able to go through with his plan.

Abu Madey is survived by his wife Dorothy; his three sons, Richard, Edward and Robert; and a brother, Murad, who is also a noted Arabic writer and author, Living now in Miami, Fla.

#### TRIBUTE TO THE POET

As a tribute to his achievements, a huge crowd attended a meeting at St. Nicholas Cathedral Hall, on State Street, sponsored by the Lebanese, Syrian and Arab Community in general and a majority of the Arabic press. Personalities of distinction eulogized the great poet. High officials of the local and Federal Governments and officials representing all the Arab Nations were present. Fozi Braidy, retired publisher and editor of Al-Islah, was master of ceremonies.

Mr. Braidy opened the meeting with a very impressive speech then introduced George S. Debs, editor of The Caravan, to read a few of the hundreds of cables and telegrams received from America and the Arab World. Most significant amongst these messages were a message from King Hussein of Jordan denoting the death of Abu Madey as a "great loss to the Arab World and Arabic literature". Two messages from the King and Prime Minister of Iraq, a message from President Kowatli of Syria and many other messages from Ambassadors, delegates to the U.N. Consul Generals and men of prominence in Arabic literature and politics. A message from President Chamoun to the Consul General of New York, granted Abu Madey (Post Mortem) the highest Lebanese Decoration of Merit.

Mr. Braidy then introduced the speakers in the following order:

Dr. Karim Azkoul, representing Lebanon; Dr. George Toumeh, Consul General of Syria; Mr. Emile Mattar, Consul General of Lebanon; Muhiddeen Nsouli; George S. Debs, editor-in-chief of The Caravan; Mrs. Olga (Azkoul) Jabara; Dr. F. Al Akl, who spoke for the family of the deceased; Msgr. Monsour Stephen; Mr. Emile Sahadi; Mr. Toufic Fackre; Mr. Michael Darwish; Mrs. Adeeb (Katie) Zarick; Mr. Fred Khoury, former assistant editor of As-Sameer and present editor of Meraat -Ul-Gharb; Mohammed Yaghi, Chief Sudanese delegate to the U.N. - Metropolitan Antony Bashir closed the meeting with a prayer.

#### THE FUNERAL

On Tuesday afternoon, November 26, funeral services were held at St. Nicholas Cathedral, where the body of the deceased reposed. Metropolitan Antony Bashir presided and delivered a very touching eulogy of the great poet.

(Continued on page 2)

## Protestant Church

### Arab-Jewish Dispute Discussed At Workshop Methodist Conference



DR. YAACOV MORRIS  
Israel Vice-Consul



DR. FAYEZ A. SAYEGH  
U.N. Delegate From Yemen

Delegations from 285 churches in the Newark Methodist Conference will attend the annual workshop of the World Peace Commission tomorrow from 3 to 8:30 p.m. in the First Methodist Church, Montclair, N. J.

Three topics will be discussed: "The Arab-Jewish Controversy in the Near East", "Christian Ways of Meeting Conflicts" and "A Christian Report on Russia".

Speakers on the Arab-Jewish question will be Dr. Yaacov Morris, vice-consul of Israel in New York and director of research for the Israel Office of Information, and Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, deputy director of the Arab States Delegation Office and counselor of the Yemen Delegation to the United Nations.

Dr. Morris was born and educated in Belfast, Ireland. From 1937 on he was active in the Pioneer Zionist Youth Movement in England, and in 1946 joined the Political Department of the Jewish Agency for Palestine in London.

In 1947 he settled in Israel and was an active member of the Haganah, Jewish underground forces during British Mandatory days. He served with the Israel Defense Army during the Israel War of Independence. He also was correspondent for British, American and Israeli newspapers and journals.

Dr. Morris joined the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1955, serving with the Information Department until his appointment in October, 1957, as director of the Research Department of the Israel Office of Information. He is the author of "Pioneers from the West: A History of Anglo-Saxon Settlers in Israel" and "A Reporter in Israel."

Dr. Sayegh has participated in some 30 conferences and appeared on more than 100 radio and television programs in which he has steadfastly maintained that Arab countries "are vigilant against any influence infringing upon their sovereignty." He is the author of six books in Arabic and several booklets and articles in Arabic and in English.

He was born in Kharaba, Syria and attended Scots College in Palestine. He received the B. A. degree in 1941 from the American University of Beirut in Lebanon and the M. A. degree in 1945.

His book "National Rebirth" was published in Beirut in 1945. In the same year, he made a nationwide lecture exposing Communism in Syria and Lebanon and on May 11, 1945, he escaped assassination at the hands of the Communist party of Lebanon.

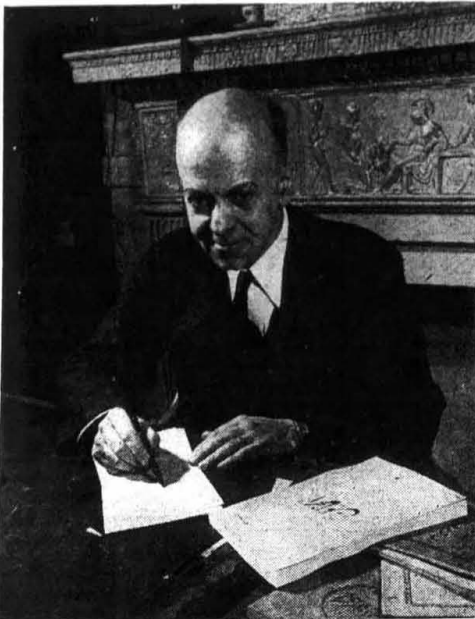
The report on Russia will be given by the Rev. Charles F. Boss, executive secretary for the United Nations and Intergovernmental Affairs, Methodist Board of World Peace. Dr. Boss recently returned from a 10,000-mile tour of Russia.

The Rev. Curtis B. Geyer of Newark, chairman of the Conference Board of World Peace, and the Rev. G. F. Jackson, Jr., host pastor, will conduct devotions at the afternoon and evening sessions respectively. The Rev. Lloyd B. Schear of Rockaway is chairman of the workshop committee.

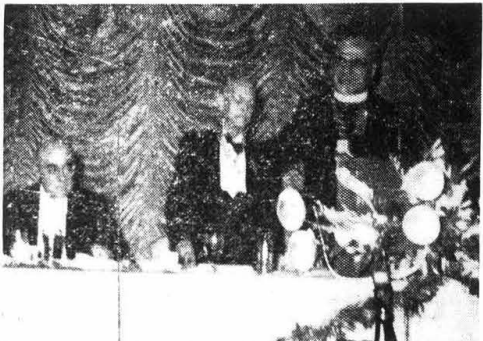
# THE CARAVAN

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Editor-in-Chief: George S. Debs



Left to right: Archbishop Bashir, Editor of The Caravan, George Debs and Dr. Farid Zaineddine (speaking)



In the above picture, Metropolitan Antony Bashir is bestowing the medal of The Holy Sepulchre from His Beatitude Patriarch Alexandros on the late Elia Abu Madey. To the left is the editor of The Caravan who was M. C. at the affair.

## BEG PARDON

In listing the names of the speakers who eulogized the late Elia Abu Madey the linotyper omitted the name of Mr. Jule Kajian, editor of the daily Arabic newspaper Al-Hoda. We regret very much this incident as we think very highly of Mr. Kajian and were in fact very much impressed by his speech.

With every article or letter to the editor published in The Caravan, the name of the writer will appear unless withholding of name is requested. The Caravan has the right to print anything in whole or in part, as the editor sees fit. No letters or photographs will be returned, whether published or not.

## IN MEMORY OF ELIA ABU MADEY FROM DEPT. OF STATE

GEORGE S. DEBS 168 HOYT ST.

WE WERE SADDENED TO LEARN OF THE RECENT DEATH OF THE ARAB POET, ELIA ABU MADEY. HE SPOKE WITH GRACE AND ELOQUENCE FOR THE ARAB WORLD OF LETTERS AND CONTRIBUTED MUCH TO THE UNDERSTANDING IN AMERICA OF THE ARAB PEOPLE. HIS PASSING WILL BE MOURNED BY ALL WHO RESPECT ARAB CULTURE.

PLEASE EXTEND TO HIS WIDOW AND THREE SONS MY DEEP SYMPATHIES IN THEIR BEREAVEMENT.

WILLIAM M. ROUNTREE  
Ass't. Secretary of State

### ELIA THE UNBELIEVER

كتب القائل انّا خالدون  
كلنا بعد الردى متي اين مي  
لو عرفنا ما الذي قبل الوجود  
لعرنا ما الذي بعد الفناء  
انما الدعوى بانّا للخلود  
فكرة او جدما حد الفناء  
نعتق القيا لانّا زائلون  
والاماني حية في كل حي

He lies who says that we will live  
for ever.  
All of us, after death, will be naught  
but dross  
If we knew what there was before  
our existence,  
We would know what there is after  
we are gone.  
The claim that we will have an  
everlasting life  
Is an idea born of our love  
to exist.  
We love existence because we are  
perishable  
While "hopes" are very much alive  
in every living creature.

### ELIA THE AGNOSTIC

جنت لا اعلم من اين  
ولكني اتيت  
ولقد ابصر قدامي  
طريقا فمشيت  
وسابقي سائرا ان شئت  
هذا ام ابيت  
كيف جنت كيف ابصر طريقتي  
لست ادري

I came, I know not whence  
But here I am!  
I saw a road stretched out before me  
So I walked.  
I will keep on walking  
Whether I wish or not.  
How did I come?

How did I find my way?  
I do not know!

احدّد ام قديم  
هل انا حرّ طليق  
هل انا قائد نفسي  
ام اسي ادرى  
انا في هذا الوجود  
ام اسير في فيود  
في حابي ام مموود  
ولكن لست ادري

Am I something new or old  
In this world?  
Am I a free soul or am I  
A prisoner in chains?  
Am I leading my own life  
Or am I being led?  
I wish I knew but...  
I do not know!

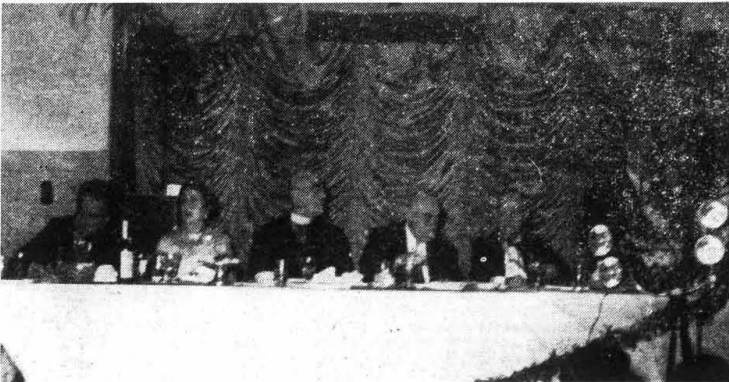
وطريقني ما طريقني  
هل انا اصعد ام  
انا السائر في الدرب  
ام السائر في الدرب  
اطول ام قصير  
اهبط فيه واعود  
ام السائر في الدرب  
لست ادري

And this road of mine,  
What is it?  
Is it long or is it short?  
Am I going up or am I going down?  
Am I the one moving along,  
Or, is the road moving?  
Or, are we both standing still,  
While time moves on?  
I do not know!

### FINDS GOD

قال قوم ان الحبة ام  
وج بعض النفوس ما اغياها  
ان نفسا لم يشرق الحب فيها  
هي نفس لم تدر ما معناها  
خوفوني جهنما واطاعها  
اي شيء جهنم واطاعها  
ليس عند الله نار لتي حار  
ونار الانسان لا اخشاه  
انا بالحب قد وصلت الى نفسي  
وبالحب قد عرفت الله

(Translation by Metropolitan Bashir)  
Some people said that love is a sin  
How ignorant some people are!  
A soul void of the sunshine of love,  
Is a soul that does not know its meaning.  
They scare me with the fire of Hell!  
What is the fire of Hell?  
God Almighty has no fire for those  
who have love  
And the fire of man I do not fear!  
Through love, I have reached the depth  
of my soul,  
And through love, I have found God!



At the banquet celebrating the Silver Jubilee of As-Sameer, are shown left to right: Dr. Charles Malik, Mrs. Madey, Archbishop Bashir, George S. Debs, editor of The Caravan and M. C. at the affair, Ella D. Abu Madey and Dr. Philip Hitti (speaking)



since there is no reporting service to compile this data.

All Government figures on both the frozen account are therefore "rough approximations."

The Treasury official said the accounts of the government of Egypt, as well as the assets of the old Suez Canal company, would remain frozen in the U.S. until President Nasser's regime agrees on compensation of the company for the July, 1956, nationalization of the waterway.

Speculation that the Treasury was easing its hold on Egyptian assets was sparked by reports from Cairo, officially confirmed in part here, that the U.S. was resuming foreign aid to Egypt.

The State Department said that the U.S., in line with a pre-Suez U.S.-Egyptian agreement, would make a payment of \$600,000 to Egypt's rural development program.

### PEACE PLAN OFFERED

A Middle East peace based on ending the Arab "boycott" of Israel, and Israel concessions to Arabs, was urged by Dr. Philip K. Hitti, professor emeritus of Semitic literature in Princeton University.

Professor Hitti urged the United States to abandon its "most favored nation" policy toward Israel.

At a luncheon sponsored by the American Friends of the Middle East in the Hotel Sulgrave, he recommended that Israel (1) agree to the internationalization of Jerusalem; (2) recognize the right of refugees "languishing in the desert for 10 years"; and (3) de-Zionize herself and no longer be the spearhead of an internationally financed movement.

He said the Arabs should agree to free passage through Acaba to Israel and free use of the Suez Canal for the Israelis.

Referring of the favoritism of the U. S. to Israel, he said "The

Gentiles have been more guilty than the Jews—from Balfour to Truman."

The National Committee for Security and Justice in the Middle East, of which Dr. Hitti is a member, is also advocating a "peace with justice" plan between Israel and the Arab states. This "peace with justice" calls for five Israel concessions; the "de Zionization" of the state, the surrender of Western Galilee and other territory taken in 1948, the internationalization of Jerusalem, the return of 100,000 Arab refugees to their old homes in Israel, and the granting by Israel of free access to an overland corridor across the Negev linking the Arabs of Africa with the Arabs of Western Asia.

The Arab states are asked, under the plan, to recognize the existence of the State of Israel, to lift their boycott, to grant Israel use of the Suez Canal and free access for Israel to the Bay of Aqaba, and to agree to the internationalization of Jerusalem.

The members of the committee include Alfred M. Lilienthal; Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick; Profs. William Hocking (Harvard); Philip Hitti (Princeton); Millar Burrows, John Brubacher and Marvin Pope (Yale); Christina P. Harris (Stanford), the Rev. Ralph Gorman of Sign Magazine, and the Rev. Vincent Kearney of "America." Mr. Lilienthal, committee counsel, announced this plan in Dallas, Texas. He is on a national lecture tour.

### SYRIA OIL REFINERY

The Czech News Agency recently reported that Syria's first oil refinery to be built at Homs will have an annual capacity of one million tons of crude oil.

# For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayez  
A. Sayegh



## A TIMELY WARNING . . . AND A HOPE!

"Whither the Middle East?" is a question which engages the attention of many Americans today—responsible officials and private citizens alike. For more than ever before Americans of all walks of life have come to realize that the fate of the Middle East and the orientation which the various peoples of the Middle East will choose for themselves, are decisive for the welfare—if not the security—of America itself, and of the "Free World" at large.

And this concern for the course of policy which the Middle East is charting for itself has been the topic of many new books and articles. The titles of two recent books are in themselves revealing and significant: "There Goes the Middle East" by Alfred Lilienthal and "Will the Middle East Go West?" by Freda Utley.

The second of these two books, and the more recent of the two, reveals in its very title the positive hopefulness with which the authors—an outstanding lecturer, writer, world-traveller, journalist and expert on Communist methods and tactics of infiltration and subversion—approaches her subject-matter. But it is not the rosy hopefulness of a naive optimist that she presents. Hers is not the assurance of an observer who is insensitive to danger or imperceptive of the hazards latent in a situation. Nor does she complacently—or deceptively—pat the West on the back with the soothing assurance that "All's well in the Middle East—so don't worry and don't try to do anything about the situation, for the situation isn't as bad as you think." Hers, rather, is the assurance of someone courageous enough to look reality in the face, and to recognize and acknowledge the mistakes of the past; honest enough to embark on constructive self-criticism; perceptive enough to discern the root of trouble, and to distinguish between cause and effect; knowledgeable enough to suggest cures for the disease, and to recommend solutions for the basic problems; and, finally, bold enough to conclude with the double-edged warning, if the West does not correct its past mistakes and positively meet the legitimate national aspirations of the Arabs, the West may lose the Middle East; and that, if that happens, it will be disastrous for both the Middle East and the West.

To paraphrase Miss Utley's own thoughts, as I understand them, I would say that her contribution in her recent book is not only embodied in the fact that she raised the right question in the right spirit—namely, will the Middle East go West?—but also contained in the more important fact that she provided the right answer: namely, "YES—IF. . ."

It is in the emphatic YES that the hopefulness of her positive approach rests.

But, equally, it is in the crucial IF that the cautiousness and realism of her analysis, diagnosis and prescription lie.

And the entire book may be said to revolve around the elaboration of this crucial and decisive "IF".

Miss Utley is pre-eminently qualified to grapple with this problem. A Britisher by birth and

an American by choice, she is withal truly cosmopolitan in experience and outlook. As a woman, she manifests in her writings a perfect blend of intuition, emotion and reason; as a traveller and newspaper correspondent, she reaches her conclusions not from the vantage point of an academic ivory tower of a priori reasoning, but from the intimate familiarity with phenomena and concrete situations, born out of a long period of direct observation.

Her book abounds with references to interviews she had with the responsible and the great, as well as with casual chats she has had with the lowly, with men of all walks of life. She brings into focus the emotions of the man-in-the-street, the reasoning of the intellectual elite, the honest perplexities of men of action immersed in social welfare activities, and the candid and not-so-candid revelation of government officials and chiefs of states—all of whom she has met, and from all of whom she has learned what she has to teach. She can, therefore, understand what goes on in the minds and hearts of people in the Middle East—which is the only way to understand what goes on in the Middle East, and why governments and peoples react as they do to various deeds and misdeeds.

But that is only one contributing factor to the richness and adequacy of her extremely-readable book. Having gathered her data from the only source from which she should have tried to gather them—the laboratory of real life—she proceeds to apply to them her own reasoning, which is a blend of ingrained idealism, on the one hand, and on the other hand, a realism derived from her long encounter with Communist opportunism and cynicism and exploitative tactics in an area of the world in which these tactics were extremely successful—namely, China and the Far East in general.

She is no newcomer to the field of analyzing the interplay between the genuine aspirations of an underdeveloped people desperately seeking freedom and dignity and progress, the woeful and stupid mistakes of some Western policy-makers, and the shrewd capitalization on such mistakes by Kremlin strategists. For she has already earned—deservedly—the reputation of being an expert on how and why China was lost to Communism. In fact, she has published nine books on the subject. She speaks with knowledge and first-hand experience; she reflects on the drama unfolding itself in the Middle East against a rich background of familiarity with what has already happened in the Far East. If she allows herself today to anticipate possible turns in the

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Middle Eastern course of events, and to warn against them, it is because she has already done so on many occasions in the past, as far as the Far East is concerned, with deadly accuracy. One cannot escape the conclusion that her past accuracy in foreseeing trends and events in the Far East has saddened, not elated, her—and that the passion with which she now warns against the emergence of similar patterns in the Middle East is partly, at least, caused by the accuracy of her past predictions about the Far East. A prophet of unsavory events is at times the last person to delight in the correctness of his prophecy; and Miss Utley is in that class. She does not indulge in the all-too-common habit (which is at best boring and at worst morbidly cynical) of punctuating her remarks with "I-told-you-so's"; on the contrary, she writes like someone who prays to be proved wrong, and who longs for the day when she can write of the Middle East what she could not write of China: "I thought that this would happen; but, thank God, I was wrong—for the situation was redeemed before it was too late!"

Above all, she writes with a sense of mission—and a resultant tone of urgency. She is not an academic historian nor professional prophet. She utilizes her knowledge of the past and her observation of the present, and her intimate familiarity with the patterns of Western mistakes and Communist shrewdness, in order to awaken a public which is on the whole either denied access to the facts or too prejudiced or too hysterical or too myopic to face them realistically, truthfully, and creatively. But, dominant over the whole scene, is her faith that, if more people came to know what she is attempting to explain in her book, then the mistakes of the past would be corrected, and the dreaded possible events of the future would be averted.

Surveying the plot of drama, she does not resign fatalistically to the course which, she surmises, the plot is following. On the contrary, it is precisely in order to avert the pitfalls, which she senses are about to follow, that she writes. Accordingly, it is not with the spectators that she holds her discourse, but rather with the characters themselves—one might say, with the author of the drama. Or, by talking passionately, illuminatingly, edifyingly, with the spectators, she hopes to transform them into participants, to involve them in the unfolding plot as characters and not as mere spectators, and to make them realize that, in the larger drama of history, they indeed are co-authors if they only knew. . . . And this is the root of her sense of mission.

To those readers of this column who, I am sure, have been bewildered by what is happening in the Middle East—to those readers

who have asked themselves, I am certain, What is happening in Egypt? Is Syria turning Communist? Are the Arabs anti-Western?—to those readers who turn in vain to the press to find answers to these burning questions, I say: You can do nothing better than read Freda Utley's *Will the Middle East Go West?* For it is an enlightening, an inspiring, and withal an extremely readable, book.

And with the holidays ahead, however busy you might be, you will certainly have the time—a few hours at most—to read it.

And, finally, if you are still wondering what to send to your friends for Christmas, perhaps when you read it, you will agree with me that the book makes an excellent Christmas gift—one that lasts and leaves a lasting impact. NOTE: The book is published by the Henry Regnery Company, Chicago, Illinois. If your bookstore dealer does not have it, why not urge him to order some copies? In the meantime, you may order it directly from the Publisher. Its price is \$3.00; and it is less than 200 pages long.



Editor of The Caravan (left) discussing the printing of a new book of poetry for Elia Abu Mady.

## THE POET

By Philip Kae

Long before I had ever seen him, I knew him. His written words rang music in my ears, and his rhythmic verses chimed melodies in my heart. To me, he was the genii in the urn, and like the giant genii, he would spring out as I opened his book. I was in school in Lebanon those days, and this wonderful genii was always by my side, imprisoned between the covers of the book. How I loved to release my genii, and on the wing of his genius, soar with him into the higher heights of many wonder worlds. As my eyes danced joyously over the printed rhymes of his poetry, I would be his captive, and not he, mine.

Many years later, I came to New York where my great genii lived. The very first moments, of my first physical meeting with him, almost despaired me, for the giant genii of my vision was just a little man, small in stature, quiet and unimpressive. Fortunately, however, this unflattering impression was not to stay with me for long. As I looked deep and long into his face, I could see my hero genii lying behind the sparkling eyes awaiting to be released, and released he was many a time during the many years to come, and I was destined to soar again on the wings of his genius up into worlds of beauty and dreams.

They say Elia Mady died! They are wrong! The mortal shell which was called Elia Mady has truly broken, and into dust, whence it came, it shall return. But that genius which was my hero genii shall ever remain alive in hearts and visions of all those who love the melodies of rhyme and who possess the wonderful capacity to lose themselves in the unreal, magic world of poetry.

The earthy urn is unlocked, and the genius of Elia Mady, like the

genii of the myth, shall roam the world's for evermore.

To believe this, you have but to open his *Jadawil* or his *Khama'il* (Brooks and Meadows) and read his melodious rhymes, dipped in profound wisdom and distant sight.

What will happen to the memory of the man is not important except for the moment, but what will happen to the memory of the poet is indeed important to all those of Arabic tongue everywhere in this world; for this will reflect our character as people of a glorious past and proud aspirations for a glorious future.

It is possible that the name of Elia Mady would adorn many national shrines and streets in many Arab lands, and rightfully it would be so.

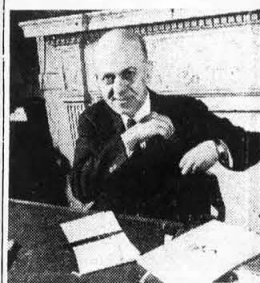
But, added to all these, may we humbly suggest to the Government of Lebanon, whence this genius came, to undertake the publishing in a fitting form the many masterpieces of poetry which Elia Mady had created in his latter years and only some of which were printed in his newspaper and some other faction of the Arabic press, while many others are still locked on paper tucked away in the closets.

What monument could Lebanon erect to this brilliant son would be more fitting than to release to all the Arab world, and possibly translated to tongues of other worlds, this yet unpublished volume of Elia Mady's poems!!

## RETURN TO MONTREAL

Mr. and Mrs. George Zgeb came to New York to attend the funeral of the late Elia Abu Mady and returned to Montreal last Tuesday.

During their stay in New York they were the guests of Mr. and Mrs. Albert Shehab of 8000 4th Avenue, Brooklyn. Mrs. Shehab is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Zgeb.



Getting ready to write. . .



At his desk. . .



Editor of The Caravan (left) and Elia Abu Mady speaking.



Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, December 12, 1957

THE CARAVAN

# For The Record

By  
Dr. FAYE  
A. SAYEGH



## LABOUISSSE SETS THE RECORD STRAIGHT

Israeli propagandists, their American-Zionist agents, and the many witting or unwitting stooges they have among the ranks of the columnists and editors in this country have sought persistently to confuse the issue about the Arab refugees by alleging that the Arab States are "doing nothing" to alleviate the plight of the refugees and that they are instead using them as a "political football".

The propagandists and their agents to whom I refer are not, of course, concerned with the truth or untruth of what they propagate. But those who unwittingly circulate falsehood by echoing the allegations of Israel may be interested in learning the facts.

I know of no more authoritative source, competent and qualified to establish and proclaim the facts on this subject, than the United Nations Agency entrusted with administering relief to the refugees, and its illustrious American Director, Ambassador Henry Labouisse.

Last month, Ambassador Labouisse presented his annual report to the United Nations. It has been the basis of the discussion at the general Assembly, and has appeared as an official document of the General Assembly, bearing number A/3686.

In Chapter IV of this report, which bears the title "Relationship with Host Governments", Ambassador Labouisse says (paragraph 70):

"... The Director wishes to record once again the fact that the host Governments provide a substantial amount of assistance to the refugees and to the Agency.

"Some of this is channelled through the Agency's accounts and is reflected in UNRWA's records of contributions; some is given directly to the refugees and is not reflected in the Agency's accounts, such as the acceptance of refugees in government schools for which the Agency's subsidy covers only part of the total cost, assistance in providing shelter and medical care, and welfare services.

"It is of course, not the purpose of this report to give a full description of this assistance, but the fact that it is given and the strain it imposes on some of the host Governments must be borne in mind when considering the Agency's work generally and, in particular, the question of UNRWA's relationship with host Governments."

As is natural in human relations, when an international agency seeks to perform certain functions within the territories of sovereign states, and when those functions bear upon explosive feelings and inflammatory situations, relations between the Agency and the host countries occasionally undergo strains and stresses; and the relationship between UNRWA and the Governments of the Arab States has been no exception. Ambassador Labouisse makes reference to these differences in the following words (paragraph 70):

"The Director's two previous annual reports have called attention to certain difficulties arising from Government-

Agency relationships which were hampering the efficient carrying out of the Agency's work. These difficulties have arisen partly because the humanitarian problem with which the Agency is dealing represents for the Arab Governments a burning political issue both of internal and of foreign policy, and partly because the nature and size of the Agency's operations give them an exceptional importance in the life of the host countries. . . ."

The fact that Ambassador Labouisse refers to these difficulties, in itself, emphasizes the significance of the declaration he makes (in the first extract quoted above) about the "substantial amount of assistance to the refugees and to the Agency" which the host Governments have provided. Moreover, the Director of UNRWA proceeds to sum up appraisal of the present status of these difficulties in the following words (paragraph 73 to 76):

"Nevertheless, the Director believes that, at the end of the period under review, relationships between the Agency and the host Governments were either satisfactory or considerably improved. . .

"Specifically, the Director can record that the serious situations which had developed with the Egyptian and Syrian authorities concerning Agency personnel, . . . have been or are being ameliorated. . .

"In the other two areas, Jordan and Lebanon, there were no serious problems of Government-Agency relationship. . .

"In the light of the discussions at the eleventh session of the General Assembly, of the wishes of the host Governments expressed in the resolution and of the amelioration of the situation in recent months, the Director hopes that it will be possible to avoid many of the points of friction and misunderstanding which have arisen in the past and which have so gravely hampered the Agency's work in certain areas. . ."

So much for the allegations that the Arab States are not giving any assistance to the Arab refugees and that they are hampering the work of the United Nations among the refugees. The main question, however, continues to be that of cooperation toward final and just settlement of the refugee problem.

Israelis and their agents state that the Arab Governments are not helping towards the "resettlement" of the refugees permanently outside Israel.

This, no doubt, is a fact. The Arab Governments are not urging the refugees to accept per-

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manent re-settlement outside Israel. But it is the refugees themselves who are primarily opposed to such re-settlement. To quote Ambassador Labouisse's report once more (paragraph 6):

The great mass of the refugees continues to believe that a grave injustice has been done to them and to express a desire to return to their homeland. In particular, they request the implementation of paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948 concerning repatriation and compensation."

The United Nations itself still maintains and insists that those refugees who want to return to their homes must be permitted by Israel to do so immediately and that compensation must be paid for damages to their property as well as for the property of those who choose not to return. The following is a list of the resolutions in which the United Nations has made its position clear:

1. 194/III	11 December 1948	Paragraph 11
2. 302/IV	8 December 1949	Paragraph 5
3. 393/V	2 December 1950	Paragraph 4
4. 394/V	14 December 1950	Preamble, Paragraph 1 and Paragraph 2.
5. 513/VI	26 January 1952	Paragraph 2
6. 614/VII	6 November 1952	Preamble, Paragraphs 1 and 4
7. 720/VIII	27 November 1953	Preamble, paragraph 4 and paragraph 1
8. 818/IX	4 December 1954	Preamble and paragraphs 1 and 2
9. 916/X	3 December 1955	Preamble and paragraph 2
10. 1018/XI	29 February 1957	Preamble, paragraph 5 and paragraphs 3, 4 and 5
11. Security Council Resolution	18 May 1951	Preamble 17, A and B

With this cumulation of United Nations resolutions it appears obvious that the Arab States, in refusing to force upon the refugees a program of permanent re-settlement outside Israel, are not only acting in harmony with the inalienable rights and the articulated wishes of the refugees themselves, but are acting also in loyal conformity with the spirit and letter of the wishes of the United Nations, as expressed in eleven resolutions. To further a program of permanent re-settlement outside Israel against the wishes of the refugees would be tantamount to forcing upon those refugees a program which is contrary to the principles of the United Nations.

To sum up:

1) The Arab Governments have been coping with the humanitarian side of the problem of the Arab refugees to the limit of their capacity, as Ambassador Labouisse—who is in a position to know, more than anyone else—testifies.

2) They have been cooperating with UNRWA in the discharge of its difficult tasks, and ameliorat-

NEW  
LONDON,  
CONN.

By  
Victoria  
Sitty



gifts exchanging and final plans for a Christmas Party for members of the Lebanon Syrian American Ladies Society, was completed and all members were called upon for final arrangements by the Committee Chairman, Miss Jennie Kalil. Report on the success of the Benefit Card Party held at the Mohican Hotel was given by the Chairman, Mrs. Dimitri Sitty.

Proceeds of \$650 was realized for the St. Jude's Hospital for underprivileged children, organized and supported by Danny Thomas. The Oriental Pastry sale realized a sum of \$150 which went into the fund.

About 160 persons attended. Table prizes, door prizes and raffle prizes were given and refreshments were served by mesdames Boordsen, Maude Hamrah, Joseph Gorra, Jesse Laboue and Daniel Hagar, Miss Thelma Gorra. Oriental Pastry Sale committee: Mesdames Nicholas Gorra, Ernest Fakoury, N. J. Gorra, and Percy MacDonald.

Ticket Committee, Miss Jennie Kalil, Mrs. Anthony Facas, and Mrs. George Nahas. Homemade pastry was donated by Mesdames Peter Haddad, Hind Gorra, Marie Kalil, Dimitri Sitty, Nicholas Gorra, Michael Gorra, James Brax, Emma Fakourey, Daniel Hagar, Kalil Telage. Committee for prizes, were Mesdames Sami Kalil, Gloria MacCutcheon, Harley Martin.

ing the strains which have occasionally arisen—as Ambassador Labouisse also testifies.

3) But, in refusing to acquiesce to Israeli intransigence and refusing to promote, against the wishes of the refugees, and against the repeated resolutions of the United Nations, a program of permanent re-settlement outside Israel, they have been acting as loyal members of the United Nations as well as displaying understanding sensitivity to the desires and aspirations of fellow-Arabs.

4) Finally, Israel's shadow boxing about the alleged failure of the Arab Governments to assist the refugees is merely an effort to conceal Israel's own insubordination. For, despite the eleven resolutions of the United Nations, Israel has so far failed to comply with the repeated injunctions to repatriate as well as to compensate the refugees. To call Ambassador Labouisse to the witness stand for the last time (paragraph 6):

"... The Government of Israel has taken no affirmative action in the matter of repatriation and compensation. . ."



Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, December 19, 1957

THE CARAVAN

# The American Stake in the Middle East

## PART IV

A primary cause of unrest in the Arab world is the fact that the present Israeli borders were never drawn. They stand as they were found at the end of the war in 1948. An Arab's house is frequently separated from his field or from his well. He is not permitted to cross over the demarcation line. The Arabs have never accepted this and there has been resultant infiltration across the borders. This has created a group of economic refugees as contrasted with refugees in camps on U. N. relief. These economic refugees still have their homes or their fields but many of them are absolutely destitute because they have no way of making a living. Some slip across these borders illegally and are killed by Israelis. Their own governments try to prevent this but it is hard to prevent human beings from protecting their own interests. Arabs retaliate by killing Israelis, then the Israelis carry out massive retaliation of a brutal nature. Israel has excelled in the field of massive retaliation. In fact, the damages caused by the Fedayeen, who blow up a house or kill a few people are very small as compared with the destructions of whole towns by the Israelis.

Now, let's consider various Resolutions of the United Nations touching Israel and the Arabs. Egypt is in default of one Resolution of the United Nations providing for free Israeli use of the Suez Canal. Israel, on the other hand, is in default of the three original resolutions of the United Nations, first, providing for the borders of the country, second, for the internationalization of Jerusalem, and third, for the return of the refugees or adequate compensation. The Arabs I believe are willing to talk peace on the basis of these three resolutions; Israel is not, but desires peace on her own terms.

Now what is the solution for the problem? I wish I could point to an easy and immediate solution but I can not. The problem was created by the West, not by the Israelis and the Arabs. It will have to be settled by the West. Time itself may solve a good deal of the problem and patience will be needed. But the fundamental problem of the refugees, must be solved if we are to avoid continued outbursts of violence and threats of war. This is, I think, the key to the whole question.

I would like to quote what someone else thinks would be a possible solution to the problem. Fred Sparks, a Scripps-Howard staff writer, tackled the unenviable task of suggesting compromise solutions. Over six months ago he made the following proposal:

**What Israel must do:** 1. Curb her expansionists. She is already roughly 40 per cent beyond the UN-set borders.

"2. Consider carefully the value of political association with colonial Britain and France. It is one thing to trade in Europe, but she must live with Arabs.

"3 Repatriate any Arab refugees anxious to return; compensate others. Stop trying to speak for all Jews. All Jews are not Zionists. All Arabs are not anti-Jewish.

"4. Stop ignoring the United Nations, when decisions seem unfavorable. The U.N. created Israel, yet today Israel boycotts the Mixed Armistice Commissions on Jordan's borders." (I might add to that, that Hammarskjold wants Israel to withdraw from the demilitarized zones on the borders, but so far without success. Ham-



By Harold B. Minor  
Former Ambassador of  
the U. S. to Lebanon

marskjold also wants and is going to propose, backed by the United States, that Israel allow U. N. forces on both sides of the demarcation line — not just on the Egyptian side.)

"5 Offer to share her technical superiority with her neighbors. "Now, what Israel's neighbors must do:

"1. Accept the fact that the million-odd Israelis will in time live in peace, even if border adjustments are essential. Unlike British or French residents in Arab lands, they have no place to go back to.

"2. Halt guerrilla raids, organized because of Arab inability to match the modern Israeli army.

"3. Halt the perpetual broadcasts labeling Israel Moslem's Enemy Number One.

"4. Indicate willingness, if Israel comes half-way, to trade, for trade is the prologue to peace. Many Israelis swept from Europe by the Hitler madness, can assist still backward Arab lands, streamline their economics, crush disease, coax richer harvests from the earth.

"5. Stop courting the Soviets as an anti-Israel ally. Any pact with Russia is eventually stamped with the hangman's noose.

**CONCLUSION:** If neither side bends, if insults and bullets continue to fly, all the Arab world might slip snugly into the Red basket. And in the last terrible analysis, American boys might be fighting and dying on the far-off sands."

There is much worthy thought out in Mr. Sparks' comment analysis.

In conclusion, I think we ought to bear in mind constantly, in approaching the Near Eastern problems, the American stake and interest. We can differ as to what the American national interest is but at least we can stop looking at the problem solely through the eyes of others. It is perhaps our destiny in the coming years to play a lonesome role and receive such criticism from within our country and from our friends. Bermuda revealed fundamental differences in the British and American attitudes toward nationalism. We would much rather roll with the punches of Near Eastern nationalism, while the British seem more inclined to take a stronger position in opposition to this rising tide. Let us bear in mind the fundamental fact that peace cannot be forced. It is unfortunate but true that there is no basis for peace in the Near East at present. We should constantly endeavor in viewing the Near Eastern scene, to sort out the true from the false, the propaganda from the real.

We must above all re-assert American leadership in the Near East. We had it once—a valuable, and precious asset. We must understand that Asia and Africa are

going to play an increasing role in the world. While we cannot jeopardize our Western European alliances, neither can we ignore the growing importance of the countries of Asia and Africa. This may prove to be a difficult task of compromise and reconciliation.

I suggest that at the present time the policy of our Government is worthy of support. I know that Mr. Dulles and President Eisenhower are doing the very best they can to carry out their declared policy of "sympathetic impartiality." They are trying to swing away from the position of having a favored nation or a favored group of nations, and treating all nations equally with justice and understanding.

The erosion of American influence in the Near East has gone far. The hour is late. The U. S. stake is great. The consequences of failure are grave. But if we will only approach the problem in the light of the American national interest, I suggest the erosion can be halted and a new foundation for American influence in the Near East can be built.

## QUESTIONS & ANSWERS ON NATURALIZATION

**Question:** I am applying for American citizenship. One of the questions on the citizenship application is whether the applicant has ever been arrested or convicted of a crime. I was once arrested for a minor offense more than fifteen years ago, but the charge against me was dismissed without any penalty. Do I have to include this arrest on my application?

**Answer:** Yes. Great care should be taken to answer every question in the citizenship application accurately and honestly. Under the naturalization law, citizenship may be revoked at any time for concealment of a material fact or for willful misrepresentation in connection with any part of the naturalization proceedings. Such a revocation could make a person "stateless", that is, a man without a country, and cause great hardship to him and his family.

While it is not possible to define fully what constitutes a concealment or misrepresentation which may result in revocation of naturalization, many omissions can bring such a result — for example, failure to tell about an absence from the United States, or a criminal record or an arrest; or misrepresentation about the applicants marital status or his political beliefs. You should answer all questions on the application, fully and to the best of your ability.

**Question:** My naturalization hearing will come up soon. I had some trouble with the police when I first came to this country and am apprehensive about going to my hearing alone. May I take a representative along?

**Answer:** Yes, you may. While representation in naturalization proceedings has always been permitted after the petition had been filed, a new regulation permits the presence of a representative on the occasion of the alien's preliminary questioning prior to the filing of his petition. During the preliminary hearing the representative is not permitted to ask questions or argue with the examiner. He may take notes so that he knows the problems in the case.

## 6 MONTH MASS

A 6 Month Mass was held for the late Mrs. Mathilda Jallad, mother of Mary Jallad and sister of Kamil Zrake at St. Nicholas Cathedral Sunday, December 15.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, December 19, 1957

THE CARAVAN

Page Seven

# For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayez  
A. Sayegh



## ONE MORE RESOLUTION

In the preceding article we analyzed some aspects of the problem of the Palestine refugees, with special reference to the allegation made by Israelis and their American-Zionist agents that the Arab States are "doing nothing" to alleviate the plight of the refugees, that they are instead using them as a "political football", and that the refugees should be permanently resettled outside Israel.

We showed that the report of the Director of the UN Agency entrusted with administering relief to the refugees belied the first two contentions. We also showed that the UN has passed 11 resolutions in which it urged Israel to facilitate the immediate return of the refugees to their homes with due compensation.

In the past week, the Political Committee and later on the General Assembly concluded another round of debates on the question of the refugees, and adopted another resolution. This is the tenth round of debate in which the world community has engaged itself in a discussion of the plight of the Arab refugees, and the twelfth occasion on which it has decided that they should be repatriated.

The new resolution — formally adopted by the General Assembly on Dec. 12, 1957, by 52 votes in favor none against and 19 abstentions — contains the following interesting clauses reaffirming the existing 11 resolutions:

1. In the first paragraph of the Preamble the General Assembly "recalls" its resolution 194/III of Dec. 11, 1948 and all subsequent resolutions connected with it. When an organization "recalls" a preceding resolution it had adopted in the past at the outset of a new resolution, it virtually reaffirms the provisions of the earlier decision.

2. Paragraph 5 of the Preamble states specifically the following: "Noting that repatriation or compensation of the refugees, as provided for in paragraph 11 of resolution 194/III, has not been affected . . . and that, therefore, the situation of the refugees continues to be a matter of serious concern". This clause is an explicit and specific reaffirmation of the earlier decision concerning the repatriation of the refugees.

3. In another instance — paragraph 5 of the operative portion of the resolution — the Assembly, for the third time, refers to its previous resolutions on repatriation, by asserting that, when it requests the governments of the area "to plan and carry out projects capable of supporting substantial numbers of refugees", it intends such request to be without prejudice to paragraph 11 of the General Assembly resolution 194/III of 11 December 1948". This is obviously done in order to preclude any propagandistic distortion of the intent of the General Assembly by the Israelis or any other party who may otherwise claim that the General Assembly has abandoned the idea of repatriating the refugees.

4. An interesting feature of this resolution is to be found in paragraph 6 of the operative portion, which reads: "Requests the Agency to continue its consultations with the U. N. Conciliation Commission for Palestine in the

best interests of their respective tasks, with particular reference to paragraph 11 of resolution 194/III." This is not only a reaffirmation, for the fourth time in the present resolution, of the earlier decision about repatriation and compensation, but also an emphatic assertion that the relief program must not be envisioned in isolation from the political solution, and that the Agency entrusted with relief works must not look upon its role as divorced from the political fate of the refugees. This may be an indirect retort to the assertion of Ambassador Labrousse, in paragraph 5 of his Report to the Assembly, that "UNRWA has no political mission; it is not the Agency's role to bring about a political settlement of the problem of the Palestine refugees". Now the Assembly requests UNRWA to undertake consultations with the Palestine Conciliation Commission which was established in 1948 precisely in order to facilitate the attainment of final political settlement of the Palestine Problem, including the repatriation of the refugees. It is to be hoped that Ambassador Labrousse's concept of the tasks and functions of UNRWA will become commensurate with the definition of his tasks, as it is now clarified by the General Assembly.

5. Another interesting sidelight on this present resolution is connected with paragraph 6 of the Preamble, in which the General Assembly notes that "the host governments" (i.e., the governments of the Arab State in whose territories the refugees are now living) "have expressed their wish to cooperate fully with the Agency and to extend to it every appropriate assistance in carrying out its functions". This may be another indirect slap, although worded in the non-picturesque verbiage of the UN, directed at those Israeli-Zionist propagandists who have alleged that the Arab States were not cooperating with UNRWA and not working towards the welfare of the refugees.

The new resolution, therefore, has once more echoed the determination of the UN that the refugees be allowed to return to their homes; drew the attention of UNRWA to its political, in addition to its humanitarian task; and acknowledged, for the record, the cooperativeness of the Arab States.

The question that remains is whether or not the UN will now allow its twelfth decree for repatriation to go unheeded in the manner in which the preceding eleven resolutions have gone unheeded by Israel.

This is a question on which more than the fate of the refugees depends. For on this question may also depend the peace of the Middle East, and perhaps the

## ????

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peace of the world. And, also, on this question will depend the fate of the UN itself, and whether it will become a mere debating society with little or no impact on world events, or whether it will become an effective organization for world order.

## BY-LAWS

(continued from page 6)

### ARTICLE III ELECTIONS

#### Section 1.

All officers and members of the Board of Trustees shall be elected by a majority of the delegate vote cast at the annual meeting and shall serve for a period of one year or until such time as their successors have been elected. In event of a vacancy by death, resignation, removal, or inability to serve, such vacancy may be filled by a majority of the remaining members of the Executive Board.

#### Section 2.

The National Director and Executive Secretary shall be appointed by a majority vote of the Executive Board.

#### Section 3.

The Board of Trustees shall consist of at least twenty-five (25) members, to be elected at the annual meeting, and shall serve as members of the Executive Board.

### ARTICLE IV MEETINGS

#### Section 1.

The annual meeting of this organization for the election of officers, members of the Board of Trustees, for the presentation of the annual report and for the transaction of such other business as may be brought before it shall be held on the last Saturday and Sunday in the month of May of each year or such other time or place as may be designated by the Executive Board.

#### Section 2.

Regular meetings of the organization shall be held at such times and at such places as the Executive Board shall determine and designate. At these regular meetings there may be transacted such business as may be properly brought up for action.

#### Section 3.

The President or a majority of the Executive Board shall have power to call a special meeting of the organization at any time.

#### Section 4.

Upon written request of ten members of the Executive Board or Directors, the President shall call a special meeting of the Executive Board of Directors.

#### Section 5.

At such meetings of the Executive Board, no business shall be transacted except that for which the call was issued.

#### Section 6.

For an Executive Board meeting a quorum shall consist of a minimum of ten (10) members and two officers.

#### Section 6a

For the annual meeting, a quorum shall consist of a minimum of twenty (20) members of the Executive Board and/or delegates.

#### Section 7.

In case of deviation from the regular time and place of meeting, and in case of specially called meetings, notice shall be mailed to the members at least ten days in advance of the meeting, stating the date, time, place and purpose of the meeting.

#### Section 8.

The Secretary shall give notices of all meetings of the organization. Such notices shall be in writing and shall be mailed to all members in good standing and to all chapter organizations. Notices of the annual meetings and regular meetings shall be mailed at least thirty days prior to said meetings.

### ARTICLE V FUNDS

#### Section 1.

All funds of the organization from any and every source shall be exclusively for its benefit, and shall be used solely in the promotion of its "PURPOSES" and the furtherance of its objects.

#### Section 2.

All funds of the organization shall be deposited in such banks or trust companies as may be selected by vote of the Executive Board and, in general, all bills contracted shall be paid by check signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the President.

#### Section 3.

No funds of the organization shall be paid or otherwise disbursed to any of its members except as reasonable compensation for services actually rendered to the organization and approved by the Executive Board.

#### Section 4.

No person shall have authority to contract any obligation in the name of the organization unless the project has been approved by, and said authority has been vested in said person by the Executive Board.

#### Section 5.

The purchase or sale of any real estate must be approved by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular or legal meeting of the Executive Board, provided the proposed purchase or sale has been submitted in writing at least 30 days before the vote is taken, which proposed sale shall be stated in the call or notice of such meeting.

### ARTICLE VI

#### Miscellaneous Provisions

#### Section 1.

Every member shall furnish the Secretary with his address for mailing purposes and any change as it may occur.

#### Section 2.

All proceedings of this organization and its Executive Board shall be conducted under and pursuant to Roberts Rules of Order-Revised, except as herein otherwise provided.

#### Section 3.

This organization shall be absolutely non-political and shall not be used for the dissemination of partisan principles nor for the promotion of the candidacy of any person seeking public office or preferment.

### ARTICLE VII Amendments

#### Section 1.

These By-Laws may be amended by a majority of the members voting at any regular or legal meeting of the Executive Board, provided the proposed amendment or amendments have been submitted in writing at least 30 days before the vote is taken, which proposal shall be

stated in the call or notice of said meeting.

### ARTICLE VIII Member Chapters

#### Section 1.

All member chapters shall be subject to the rules and regulations herein promulgated.

### ARTICLE IX Final

#### Section 1

The Executive Board shall have authority to pass on any business of this organization not herein specifically provided for.

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Dr. Thomas F. Leatherwood,  
Vice-President

Dr. Robert Raskind, Secretary  
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Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, December 26, 1957

THE CARAVAN

# For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayez  
A. Sayegh



## A NEW TYPE OF BORDER CRISIS

The Demarcation Lines separating Israel from the neighboring Arab lands are once more the focus of international attention, as they have been ever since the Armistice Agreements were signed in 1949.

But now the concern is diplomatic, not military.

It all began when James Reston, of the *New York Times*, reported on December 5 that Adlai E. Stevenson had suggested to the Administration to take up the Arab Israeli conflict and other Middle Eastern tensions with the heads of NATO Governments in the Paris meeting of mid-December. Stevenson further proposed that NATO guarantee the present "Demarcation Lines" as final and permanent boundaries. The State Department was reported to have rejected the proposal, because of the well-known fact that the "Demarcation Lines" are NOT "boundaries". The position of the United States Government is that only after the Arabs and Israel have agreed on boundaries, will it be valid to guarantee such boundaries.

This, in fact, has been the official position of the U. S. Government all along. In his famous speech of August 26, 1955, Mr. Dulles clearly set forth this American position; and nothing has happened since then to alter that policy.

It appears that Mr. Stevenson's suggestion was in full harmony with the current diplomatic tactics of the Israeli Government. According to press reports emanating from many capitals, Israel has been seeking to persuade NATO to recognize the present Demarcation Lines as final boundaries, and to guarantee them as such. **This may be the beginning of a concentrated diplomatic offensive, on a wide international scale, by which Israel aims to consolidate its present de-facto territorial extent and to win for it de jure recognition by outside powers.**

The crucial question revolves around the legal status of the present "Demarcation Lines". Are they "boundaries" or "frontiers" in the common and traditional acceptance of these terms?

Any objective observer would answer with an emphatic "NO". The reasons are:

1. In its basic legislation, Israel has acknowledged the provisional character of its occupation of Palestinian territories beyond the frontiers defined in the Partition Resolution of November 29, 1947, by virtue of which Israel admittedly came into being.

This crucial distinction is embodied in one of the fundamental laws of Israel, namely, the "Area of Jurisdiction and Powers Ordinance" of 1948, Section I of which distinguishes clearly between "the area of the State of Israel," on the one hand, and "any part of Palestine which the Minister of Defence has defined by proclamation as being held by the Defence Army of Israel," on the other hand.

Israeli law-makers have deemed it necessary to embody the same distinction in the interpretative sections of several subsequent

laws, such as the Emergency Regulations (Security Zones) (Extension of Validity) (no. 2) Law of 1949 and the State Property Law of 1951.

2. The United Nations has acknowledged the temporary and provisional character of the de facto occupation by Israel of the excess territories of Palestine which it now holds in the ten resolutions of 22 May, 29 May, 7 July, 15 July, 19 August, 19 October, 4 November, 16 November, and 29 December, 1948, and 11 August 1949 — all of which reaffirmed the cease-fire provisions of the first resolution, including the proclamation that the cessation of hostilities shall be "without prejudice to the rights, claims or position of the parties concerned".

In five of these resolutions — from August 19 to December 29, 1948 — the Security Council added the crucial principles that "No party is entitled to gain military or political advantage through violation of the truce," and that "No party is permitted to violate the truce on the ground that it is undertaking reprisals or retaliations against the other party," thus clearly invalidating in advance any subsequent claim of legal right to any excess territories.

By its acceptance of those cease-fire orders of the Security Council, Israel also accepted the principles on which they were based and which were enunciated clearly in the resolutions in which they were made, and endorsed the Council's invalidation of subsequent expansion by any of the parties.

3. In the Armistice Agreements which it concluded with each of the four neighboring Arab States, and in which the present lines were established and defined, Israel has unambiguously acknowledged that the Armistice Demarcation Lines were **not permanent political boundaries** but were **temporary and provisional**, purely **military** in nature and **non-political** in character.

Each of the four Armistice Agreements contains the following assertion: "It is also recognized that no provision of this Agreement shall in any way prejudice the rights, claims and positions of either Party hereto in the ultimate settlement of the Palestine question, the provisions of this Agreement being dictated exclusively by military, and not by political, considerations."

Each of the four Armistice Agreements also asserts: "The principle that no military or political advantage should be gained under the truce ordered by the Security Council is recognized."

And each of the four Agreements, declaring that "the basic purpose of the Armistice Demarcation Lines is to delineate the lines beyond which the armed forces of the respective Parties shall not move," proceeds to pro-

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claim — wherever the Armistice Lines do not coincide with the frontiers defined in the Partition Resolution — that the Armistice Lines are drawn without prejudice to rights and claims pertaining to political boundaries. Thus, the Agreement with Jordan stipulates, in Article VI (9): "The Armistice Demarcation Lines defined in articles V and VI of this Agreement are agreed upon by the Parties without prejudice to future territorial settlements or boundary lines or to claims of either Party relating thereto." Similarly, the Agreement with Egypt stipulates, in Article V (2): "The Armistice Demarcation Line is not to be construed in any sense as a political or territorial boundary, and is delineated without prejudice to rights, claims and positions of either Party to the Armistice as regards ultimate settlement of the Palestine question."

4. Finally, even after it signed the Armistice Agreements and after it was admitted to membership in the United Nations, Israel formally acknowledged that its territorial extent was still provisional and subject to discussion with a view to final settlement, by signing the famous Protocol of Lausanne of May 12, 1949, in which it accepted the Partition Map as "a basis for discussions with the Commission", and agreed that such discussions "will bear upon the territorial adjustments" necessary to settlement of the Palestine question.

• • •

The immediate future will undoubtedly witness an intensified diplomatic effort on the part of Israel to waive aside these pertinent and all-important legal facts, and to base its argumentation, as usual, on the **fait accompli**.

It is safe also to assert that Israel, as usual, will accompany its diplomatic offensive with a clever and wide propaganda campaign, direct and indirect, designed to **Ignore, conceal**, or at least to minimize the importance of the afore-mentioned facts, or, if need be, to **distort** or even to **deny** them.

It is therefore worthwhile to keep these facts in mind and, wherever possible, to bring them to the attention of the American public.

## LAUGH A LITTLE

An enterprising lad went to the local grocer's shop seeking employment on Saturday mornings.

"Well," boomed the shopkeeper, looking down at the lad, "I need a smart boy to work partly in the shop and partly out in the yard. Interested?"

"Yes sir — but what do I do if someone wants the door shut?"

• • •

Love: a condition of mind at a time when the mind is out of condition.

—Houghton Line



## WILL LECTURE TO AMERICAN FRIENDS



**Dr. FAYEZ SAYEGH**, (above), famous orator, lecturer, author and writer, will address the American Friends of the Middle East at the Middle East House this evening, 5:30 p.m. His subject will be "NEUTRALISM".

Dr. Sayegh, who asked to be relieved of his duties as Deputy Director of The Arab Information Center to devote his time to lecturing and writing is very well known and esteemed by the readers of The Caravan who look forward to his column. "For The Record" every week. He promised to continue this column for The Caravan inspite of his limited time.

## PRIDE OF HARVARD



**RICHARD A. DEBS**, above, son of Mr. and Mrs. Abraham and Najla Debs of Englewood, N. J. who will receive his Ph. D. degree from Harvard University this coming year, has had a brilliant scholastic record ever since he was a little boy in Kinder-garten. Recently, he was selected to represent the student body in Harvard at a dinner given in honor of Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter, whose scholarship he holds. The speech he made was so impressive that the Dean of Harvard University sent him a beautiful letter, from which we quote the following:

\* \* \*

Dear Mr. Debs,

... This is just a note to thank you for the fine speech which you made at the dinner in Washington last Friday evening.

... You were an excellent representative of our present student body. I took real pride in your performance, and thought I would like to tell you so.

With best wishes

Very truly yours

Erwin N. Griswold  
Dean

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, January 2, 1958

THE CARAVAN

## For The Record

By  
Dr. Fays  
A. Sayegh



### A NEW YEAR'S RESOLUTION!

Few things are as short-lived as a "new year's resolution"—which is ordinarily made solemnly and in good faith at the turn of a new year, but forgotten as soon as the novelty of the new year wears thin a few days later.

Yet few things are more tempting than a new year's resolution—when the turn of a new year suggests the opening of a new chapter, of the inauguration of a new era, in one's life.

In succumbing to the human temptation of suggesting to my readers that they now make a "new year's resolution", therefore, I am under no illusions about the effectiveness of my plea; for I know very well that great determinations are not made and implemented, once and for all, overnight. Nevertheless, I think that this is as opportune a moment as any to bring to their attention a task which needs to be—and must be—performed; which can be best performed by them; and which can be fruitfully performed only if it is undertaken right away.

I refer to the task of counteracting the forceful pressures which are being exerted to poison the American mind with untruths about the Arab World.

There was a time when most Americans were utterly uninterested in and unconcerned about, the Arab World; when few Americans knew, and fewer cared to know, anything about it. That was also the time when the Arab World and its events meant next to nothing to the destiny, the security, or the welfare of America.

Both factors have now changed. The subjective interest in there, now; so is the objective importance. And this double change—in the significance of the Arab World to America, and in the interest of Americans in what happens in the Arab World—has created an entirely new situation.

Those forces which are committed to the suppression of Arabs and the triumph of their foes have recognized clearly the character of the new, changed circumstances, and have adjusted their activities accordingly. As a result, the American mind is being daily bombarded, from a number of sources at the same time, by distortion, misrepresentation, misinterpretation—calculated to discredit the Arabs and to prevail upon Americans to adopt positions detrimental to the legitimate national aspirations of the Arab peoples and their inalienable rights.

With their unlimited funds, their undeniable talent in "public relations" and propaganda, and their undue influence on the media of mass information in the United States, these anti-Arab forces are succeeding daily in alienating the Arab and the American peoples, in worsening the recently deteriorated American-Arab relations, and in paving the way for irreversible decisions to be made on either side, and irreversible situations to be created, which would clearly and irrevocably commit America to the anti-Arab cause.

It is because of this that those

who believe in the necessity of improving American-Arab relations must act decisively to offset these processes of American-Arab alienation. By "those who believe in the necessity of improving American-Arab relations" I mean all loyal and far-sighted Arabs and all loyal and far-sighted Americans; but particularly and with special emphasis I mean Americans of Arab origin.

I cannot, in this brief article, attempt to explain how this task can be discharged—except to emphasize that the problem is basically and essentially a problem of information and education, and that the challenge is fundamentally one of finding and disseminating the truth. The task therefore is, in essence, one of seeking information about the Arab World and, having found and absorbed it, making it available to others.

The only remedy I suggest, therefore, is the age-old remedy of knowledge—and the only basis of faith I suggest is the Divine proclamation, "You shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free".

But this is the kind of task which it is only too easy for one to pass on to others—shifting the weight of responsibility onto other shoulders. "Others are more capable than I am"; "others have

more time, more leisure, more freedom, than I do"; others are more qualified", etc. But, just as no one is exempt from the consequences of the process of alienation, should it proceed uninterrupted and uncorrected, so too no one is exempt from the task of arresting and reversing this vicious process. It is a task which everyone is called upon to perform, and from discharging which no one has a valid excuse.

Whether you have in the past Won't you, then, at the opening of a new year, ask yourself whether you have in the past contributed to the widening of the area of knowledge and light, and helped in the dissemination of the truth?

And won't you, in this season of "new year's resolutions", undertake to contribute, in the coming months, to the combatting of distortion, the correcting of falsehoods, and the proclamation of the truth?

Won't you decide to devote some of your time to study and learn about the progress taking place in the Arab World, the vast strides which the Arabs are making towards a more modern society, the justice of the Arab cause in Palestine, in Algeria, in Aden and Oman, and the positive aspirations of the Arab National Movement of freedom, unity and a more abundant life—and having learned more about it, to tell others, through any means that may be open to you with or without some effort on your part, of what you have learned?

With the forces of distortion mobilized spread falsehood, won't you enlist in the struggle for the truth... for justice... and for human dignity?

SEASON GREETING TO ALL  
FROM  
DR. WALTER SWIATEK  
2209 CERMACK ROAD  
VI 7-6592.

If you have not yet received The Caravan, mail us your name and address immediately!

## A HEARTY THANK YOU FROM ABU MADEY'S FAMILY

(كلمة شكر)

تقدم بالشكر والامتنان من اصحاب الجلالة ملوك العرب، واصحاب الفخامة رؤساء الجمهوريات، ومعالي سفراء وقناصل الدول العربية، واصحاب القبة بطاركة الشرق، والصحافة العربية في الاميركتين والوطن، ورؤساء الوفود الى منظمة الامم المتحدة، والخطباء الافاضل في الحفلة التأسيسية، ونواب الجمعيات السياسية والادبية والطائفة، ونيافة حبر الابريشة وكاهن الكندراية والكوميون ورؤساء الطوائف الشقيقة الاجلاء في بروكلن، والوفود التي جاءت من مدن مختلفة وفي مقدمتها وفد مونتريال كندا ينوب عن جوالها

وجمهور الاصدقاء في عموم الولايات المتحدة والمكسيك الذين اظهروا اسفهم وعبروا عن شعورهم ببرقياتهم واكاديل الازهار ورسائلهم، وغموم المواطنين الذين تكرموا بحضورهم شخصيا،

وتوجه بالشكر القلبي الى الاصدقاء رئيس واعضاء لجنة المآتم الغيورين لبذلهم الجهود في تنظيم حفلات المآتم وترتيبها مدفوعين بعاطفة الوفاء لصديقهم الراحل فقيدها العالي،

سائلين الله الحي الدائم ان يشمل جميعهم بعنايته ويحفظهم وذويهم ومن يحبون رافلين باثواب العافية وان يقيم غدرات الزمان، دوروثي ايليا ابو ماضي واوايده رشرد وادورد وروبرت ومراد وسليمه ابو ماضي

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, January 9, 1958

THE CARAVAN

# For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayez  
A. Sayegh



## CABINET CRISIS IN ISRAEL

Several readers of this column have written or telephoned to inquire about the meaning and significance of the recent cabinet crisis in Israel, which has received wide publicity in the American press.

The root of the trouble lies in the fact that the Israeli Parliament is a collection of minority-parties, none of which has enough power to form a cabinet by itself. Hence, every cabinet in Israel has been a coalition cabinet, enjoying the confidence of parliament as a result of the pooling of support from the ranks of all its participating parties. A situation of this sort always breeds precariousness, for the life of a coalition cabinet is dependent upon continued harmony among the allied parties.

The recent coalition has had the longest life in the history of Israel. It reflects the agreement among five parties since the latest parliamentary elections — which took place on July 26, 1955.

These five parties are on three levels of importance, reflected in the number of ministries which each of them holds. The most powerful is Mapai, which has nine ministries out of sixteen, including the Premiership and the Ministries of Defense, Foreign Affairs, Finance and others. The smallest party is the Progressive, which holds one portfolio — the Ministry of Justice. The other three parties have two ministries each, and they are: National Religious Party, Mapam Party, and the Achdut Haavoda Party.

The two last-mentioned parties are openly leftist in ideology and orientation. They proclaim a Marxist program domestically, and a neutralist (and occasionally pro-Soviet) policy in international relations.

Mapai itself, Ben Gurion's party, is also socialist in economic and political philosophy, and neutralist in foreign policy.

While allied for political reasons since the last parliamentary elections, the five ruling Israeli parties have not always maintained smooth and harmonious relations with one another. But at no time since mid-1955 have their discords been serious enough to threaten the life of the coalition itself, until recently.

Under Israel's procedures of government, the Prime Minister, in case of a conflict with any of his ministers, cannot expel the insubordinate minister; nor can he order his resignation. The only course open to the Premier in such circumstances is to resign; and his resignation automatically dissolves the coalition and creates a vacuum of power which has to be filled by the appointment of a new Prime Minister (or the re-appointment of the outgoing one) and the creation of a new coalition.

This is what happened last week, Ben Gurion resigned on 31 December, 1957, and Israel entered the new year without a government.

As these lines are being written, it is still unknown what shape the new coalition will take. Perhaps the rift among the participants in the outgoing coalition may be mended, and the same parties will ally themselves with one another once more, or other

parties may be found to substitute for the Mapam and the Achdut Haavoda. But, whatever happens, the following things are certain:

1. Ben Gurion will remain Premier.
2. The new cabinet, like all past cabinets, will be a coalition cabinet.
3. No Arab will be in the cabinet.
4. Two parties will not, under present circumstances, be asked to join the cabinet — the Herut Party, and the Communist Party. The first because it has never been able to cooperate with Ben Gurion; the second, because Ben Gurion finds it inexpedient under present international circumstances to depart from his neutralist, middle-of-the-road foreign policy and associate himself with an all-out partisan of one Power Bloc or the other.

It is interesting to recall the reasons for the recent discord which torpedoed the Israeli ruling coalition. Ben Gurion seems to have made a basic foreign policy decision, involving an approach to West Germany to provide his government with arms, including submarines. It is also widely reported that Ben Gurion's plan was to request West Germany to act as a go-between and to prevail on NATO Powers to finalize and guarantee the present Demarcation Lines in Palestine as "final political boundaries". The two leftist parties—Mapam and Achdut Haavoda — resisted this decision. Failing to dissuade Ben Gurion from going ahead with his plans, they leaked news of the proposed demarche to the press. Public criticism, which followed the publicity, forced Ben Gurion to abandon his plan, at least for the time being.

What is interesting about this dispute is that neither party fought it out in terms of its substance. Each party resorted to side issues in order to defend its position and attack the other.

Thus, on the one hand, Ben Gurion invoked the questions of "cabinet solidarity", "discipline", and "breach of security" — questions which do not pertain to the substance of the controversy.

On the other hand, the leftist parties raised the question of "rapprochement with West Germany" — a question which is highly inflammatory and emotional in Israel, owing to the legacy of hatred for Germany which still persists in hearts of Israelis.

Each party felt that it would obtain great support, in parliament and among the people, on account of the pretext which it has invoked, than on account of the foreign-policy problem which is at the heart of the matter.

What is at the heart of the dispute is a controversy over the foreign policy and international orientation of Israel.

Both sides speak officially of neutrality in foreign policy. But

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each side interprets neutrality in somewhat different terms from the other.

The neutrality of the Mapam and the Achdut Haavoda is a left-of-center neutrality, an ideological neutrality which would prefer to see Israel tied to the Soviet Bloc but which, under the circumstances which prevail, knows that it is unlikely for Israel to do so and therefore chooses neutralism as the lesser evil, in preference to association with the West.

The neutrality of Mapai, as interpreted by Ben Gurion, on the other hand, is a pragmatic neutrality which is characterized by overtones of opportunism. It is ready to veer to the left or to the right as the occasion demands. It is prepared to associate itself more actively with the Soviet Bloc at one time, and with the West at other times, depending on the circumstances. Thus, in 1953, Ben Gurion's Government made a pledge to the Soviet Union never to join any anti-Soviet alliance. In 1957, on the other hand, Ben Gurion endorsed the Eisenhower Doctrine. On both occasions, however, Ben Gurion was careful to disavow any "alignment" in his shifts of policy. Each measure was a change of emphasis within the selfsame policy, rather than an abandonment of the policy of non-alignment.

Since his endorsement of the Eisenhower Doctrine, however, Ben Gurion has been criticized as having moved too far — to the outer edge of neutralism — and has been counselled to adopt counter-measures in the direction of restoring Israeli-Soviet amity. One of his chief critics — it is important to note — has been Dr. Nahum Goldman the American president of the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency. This American Zionist leader was urging Israel's Premier to become more friendly to the Soviets. The debate which took place in the Israeli Parliament in October and November, 1957, revolved mainly around this question; whether Israel should maintain and strengthen its neutralism, or whether it should seek ways and means to improve the present state of its relations with the Soviets. The debate was still going on in the Israeli mind, when the December crisis within the cabinet broke out into the open. The two leftist parties torpedoed Ben Gurion's plan to seek arms and political guarantees through West Germany, because they felt that such a measure was virtually an act of alignment with the West which furthered the new trend reflected in the endorsement of the Eisenhower Doctrine.

Whether or not the new shift proposed by Ben Gurion will become a reality in the immediate future will depend to a large extent upon the shape of the new coalition. If the leftists are returned to power, it will be safe to assume that Ben Gurion's new

wave of opportunistic Westernism will be curbed. If the leftists are dropped from the new coalition, Ben Gurion will have a freer hand in shaping his country's policy for some time to come.

I observed earlier in this article that neither side has raised this issue in the present crisis openly. Both sides skirted and bypassed this crucial issue, preferring to fight it out among themselves in terms of other pretexts. This reveals a very important fact about the state of Israel's mind today. Israelis are apparently not ready to "re-examine" and "re-consider" the fundamental postulates of neutralism. The leaders of either side seem to have felt that the Israeli populace at large is not prepared to endorse a fundamental departure from neutralism, whether in the direction of the Soviets or in the direction of the West.

Another interesting facet of this controversy pertains to the manner in which it has been presented to the world at large. News dispatches from Israel have recently tended to describe the anti-Ben Gurion parties as "leftist" — a phenomenon which seldom occurred in the past. For it has seldom been admitted, in messages emanating from Israel, that there are "leftist" parties in the Israeli cabinet. Seldom have Americans been told in dispatches coming from Israel, that a quarter of the ministers in Israel's cabinet are "leftists". But, now that these ministers are at odds with Ben Gurion, the "leftist" label is freely applied to the two dissident parties.



## OPERATION BLACKMAIL

By Dr. George J. Tomeh  
Consul General of Syria

As another year weaves into the remote web of eternity, it is still the lot of man to stand by pondering on the mystery of life and the hidden meaning of his experience. Among us, the Arab people, there are those who feel, in bidding farewell to the departing year, that it is an occasion to contemplate for a while the inner and outer meaning of our existence

The past year, rich in significance, witnessed the climax of a campaign accusing the Arabs—Syria and Egypt in particular—of falling under Soviet domination. Arab nationalism, which at one time was labelled imperialist and expansionist, is now identified with Communism. Biassed Western writers have spared no effort in the attempt to substantiate their claims. I would describe this campaign as simply "OPERATION BLACKMAIL".

To those intimately acquainted with the details of Arab-Western relations, at least during the last quarter century, it must be crystal clear that an integral factor in these relations in the policy of having the Arabs judged and condemned in one way or the other. At various stages, we have been accused of being Nazis, intransigent, feudal, and of willingly and passively accepting a legacy of backwardness, 'while every endeavor was made to curtail the tremendous strides of progress in the Arab homeland and through all its walks of life—cultural, industrial, agricultural, and other fields. So a preliminary observation about "Operation Blackmail" is that it is by no means new. The only new thing about it is that it has clothed itself with a new and pious priestly garb, after seeing its former shabby robes fall one after the other, revealing an ugly skeleton ashamed before truth.

Why is it that quite recently Syria, in the wake of Egypt, has been accused of harboring Communism, of becoming an arsenal for Russian arms, of indulging in anti-Western propaganda, and of threatening her neighbors? Various explanations could be found to interpret the hidden motives behind this vicious campaign. One, however, is the heart and core of the whole matter. For the first time in their modern history, two Arab States, **Egypt** and **Syria**, have proceeded fully to exercise their sovereignty and all of their prerogatives. The West, with a long legacy of imperialistic rule behind it, had so far allowed to the Arab States only formal and partial sovereignty, and now proceeded vehemently to obstruct our march towards full sovereignty. This is why—and for no other reason—the tri-partite aggression on Egypt took place last year. The Arabs wanted to deal with the West on an equal footing, but the West wanted to keep the Arabs in the status of vassals. The poets and singers of freedom and independence in the West proved to be themselves the destroyers of freedom and aggressors against nations in the process of building themselves. For, should the Arab world become liberated like Syria and Egypt, the Middle East would cease to be a Western property and domain and would be able to stand on its own feet in dignity and self-respect. By intimidation and exposure, by keeping a so-called balance between sixty million Arabs and two million Zionists (putting it otherwise, by debasing the Arab to one-sixtieth of



Dr. George J. Tomeh

his value and urging him to accept such humiliation), the West proceeded to outlaw Syria and Egypt, to thrust them beyond the pale of what they regard as the "Free World", to try to extort a servile obedience to its policies and interests.

When the West—the United States, Great Britain and their allies—allied themselves after 1941 with Soviet Russia to win a war against a common enemy, no one accused the Great Western Powers of having become Communists. But when the Arabs, faced with the tragic alternative of either accepting the fate of the Arab refugees from Palestine in view of the Israeli threat, or exercising their legitimate right of self-defense, chose the latter, they were *ipso facto* labelled Communists. When India, Burma, Indonesia, Ceylon, even Iran contract loans from Russia, no voice is raised. But when Egypt and Syria contract such loans, after long, hectic, vain negotiations with the West, they have become "Soviet dominated". While, for twenty years at least, the Western press poisons the mind of its public against the Arabs, and when almost every American statesman goes on record to support Israel, no one in the West objects. But when the Arab press objects, it has become "Communist". The tragedies of Palestine, of the Arab refugees, and of Algeria fail to move the Western conscience. For the tragic events of Hungary the West mobilizes all its forces of mass communication.

Nevertheless, the last month of the departed year witnessed a deep stir in Western conscience and some manifestations of sharp self-criticism on the part of great Western thinkers, attacking, in the cherished tradition of Western free thought, the policies of their Government in the Arab world. As Americans, they can say much more than we can. For those who can not in good faith agree with Arab pronouncements, I recommend the following:

Prof. William Ernest Hocking's article "The time-Bomb of the Palestine Fait Accompli" in January issue of American Mercury.

William R. Polk's article "Our Isolation from the Arab World" in the December Atlantic Monthly.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, January 16, 1958

THE CARAVAN

# For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayer  
A. Sayegh



## "COME AND SEE FOR YOURSELF"

"Come and see for yourself" is the retort of supreme confidence. Nothing can be more assuring; nor can a refutation be more final, as an answer to the charges made by professional rumor-mongers and gossip-peddlers. When wild allegations about a far-away country are made by biased persons, no refutation can be as convincing as the bold invitation to the credulous victim to come and see for himself that those allegations are unfounded and groundless. When tendentious reports are circulated by self-styled "eye-witnesses" about a certain situation, nothing can be as effective, in exposing those false reports for what they are, as the summons, "Come and see, and judge for yourself."

Such allegations, rumors and false reports have been freely circulated about the Arab States, particularly Egypt and Syria, for some time. And they have covered everything imaginable—from the alleged state of imminent economic collapse, to claimed persecution of religious minorities.

The reader will recall the wave of Zionist propaganda mounted a year or so ago against Egypt, alleging mass expulsion by Egypt of its Jewish community. When the reports were sifted, and facts were separated from allegations, it became known that only a handful of Egyptian Jews had been deported, under due process of the law, while many British and French subjects, Christian as well as Jewish, had been expelled from the country under the impact of the British-French invasion of Egyptian territory. As soon as the truth came to be known, however, the propaganda campaign came to a virtual stop—and today only the Israelis and their witting or unwitting agents try to keep the rumors alive.

A new form of smear-campaign, inspired by the same sources and aided and abetted by other anti-Egyptian elements, has been initiated recently. It has not assumed—one is not likely to assume—large proportions; but it has caused anxiety among some Americans, all the same. It alleges that the Egyptian Government has been exercising discrimination against the Egyptian Christian community.

A distinguished American of Arab descent, who refused to become an unwitting victim of rumor-mongers and smear-makers, decided to follow the honorable course of checking the reports and ascertaining the facts for himself. He wrote to the President of Egypt and inquired whether the reports he had heard had any foundation in fact.

He is Mr. Michael Akkari—a retired businessman, who is a frequent visitor to Egypt and other Middle Eastern countries.

To his gratification, the President of Egypt found time to send him a personal reply, in which he not only denied the reports categorically but also assured him that he was welcome to Egypt and to see for himself that the said reports were completely groundless.

It is my hope that, when Mr. Akkari makes his next trip to Egypt and makes his own examination of the facts on the spot, his findings and observations would be made known to his fellow-Americans and particularly to Americans of Arab descent.

This column will welcome and publish his reports, whatever their contents might be.

It is my further hope that more Americans would follow his example—in going to the source for information, rather than accepting at their face value prejudiced and biased reports circulated by people who have an axe to grind.

One point, however, has to be made clear.

It may very well be that some Christians may have suffered, at one time or another, in Egypt or in some other Arab countries. Some Jews, too, may have gone through some unhappy experiences. No one seeks to deny the possibility or actuality.

The decisive question, however, is whether such suffering of individuals was a manifestation of a deliberate policy to discriminate against them, or whether it was the result of other factors which had no bearing on their religious faith. In other words, did they suffer because they were Christians or Jews? Or was their suffering part of the total tribulation to which the Egyptian people was a victim at the time of the invasion, and under the impact of the invasion and its direct aftermath?

This is an important distinction which fairness as well as truthfulness demand that we make. For, if the inconveniences through which people pass during an emergency are merely results of military or economic or other manifestations of that emergency, and have no relation to the religious affiliation of the individuals concerned, and if the hardships have been shared by all members of society without distinction based on creed or race or social position, then in all fairness one cannot speak of discrimination, discriminatory measures, or discriminatory policies.

In this connection, too, it will be wise to recall that many Moslems were subjected to punitive measures in Egypt. Take, for example, the case of the Moslem Brotherhood, whose members were involved in the attempt to assassinate President Nasser in 1954. The individuals who were subjected to those punitive measures were Moslem in religion. Is it possible to say that, because of that fact, the Egyptian Government was pursuing a policy of discrimination against Moslems? The individuals concerned—were investigated and brought to trial, and some of whom were convicted and sentenced, and some of whom were executed—were not treated in this manner because they were Moslems, but because they were

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members of an Organization that had stepped beyond the bounds of the law.

By the same token, when certain economic measures are adopted—as a part of the total economic policies of the regime—and when some Christian or Jewish businessmen are hit hard by such measures, along with Moslem businessmen, one must be careful not to jump to the unwarranted conclusion that the Christian or Jewish individuals concerned suffered hardships because they were Christians or Jews.

## Contributor to Caravan



LEVON KESHISHIAN, above, is U. S. correspondent of the foremost Egyptian newspaper, Al-Ahram, and of Mecca Radio, Al-Alam of Rabat, Al-Amel of Tunis, An-Nasr of Damascus, and Al-Bilad of Baghdad. He is well known to the readers of The Caravan through his articles printed now and then in this publication and has promised to send weekly news items of interest from now on under the title of DIPLOMATIC GOSSIP. His first weekly contribution appears in today's issue.

## ON THE MOVE



HANAAN, star of Arabic Film and stage, has been on the move lately in spite of the fact that she was moving her residence from Prospect Park West to 310 Windsor Place, Brooklyn. She will appear in Paterson, N. J. on January 25 and February 8; in New Bedford, Mass. on February 9; and in Miami, Florida, on March 2 and 23.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, January 23, 1958

THE CARAVAN

# For The Record

By  
Dr. Fays  
A. Sayegh



## "ROUND AND ROUND WE GO. . ."

—"When will you stop beating your wife?"  
—"Who, me? I didn't beat anybody's wife!"  
—"But of course you beat your wife! Everybody knows that! You must stop beating her, really!"  
—"I told you I have never beaten anybody's wife. Why, I don't even have a wife."  
—"But of course you do. Everybody knows, and everybody says that you beat your wife, and if you beat your wife, then you must have a wife. For you can't beat someone who doesn't even exist. And since it is an established and well-known fact that you beat her, then she must exist!"

This dialogue may sound silly; and indeed it is. But it illustrates the type of circular, round-about reasoning employed by Israelis and their Zionist agents concerning the Arab World. I have inserted this silly, fictitious dialogue at the outset of the present column in order to illustrate, and make readily discernible, the type of fallacious replying to Arab policy proclamations. Here is a case in point.

"Peace" is always asserted by the Israelis and their Zionist agents to be the epitome of their alleged desires and aspirations. They tell the world—rightly—that their country needs peace with the Arabs. And they add that they desire peace, but that it is the Arabs who are intransigent and uncooperative and belligerent; that it is the Arabs who do not want peace; and therefore that it is the Arabs who prevent progress towards peace. When somebody retorts by saying that, on several occasions, responsible and authoritative Arab leaders have proclaimed their desire to bring about a durable, just and final settlement of the Palestine Problem on the basis of the resolutions of the United Nations, the Israelis dismiss the assertion as groundless. When documentary evidence is presented to prove the assertion, the Israelis retort: "Ah, this is eye-wash and must not be taken seriously; indeed, this is inconceivable; for it contradicts the 'well-known fact, that the Arabs do not want a settlement. . . .'" So speak the Israelis.

A recent illustration can be found in an official Israeli pronouncement. It is made not by a secondary official, nor by an ordinary propagandist, but by the Director - General of Israel's Foreign Ministry, Dr. Walter Eytan; and it is published in an official bulletin put out by the Israeli Government, **Israel Digest** (in the issue of January 6, 1958, page 2).

In this pronouncement, the high Israeli official dwelt primarily upon a proposal attributed to Mr. Nuri Said, veteran Premier and elder statesman of Iraq. Mr. Said is said to have made his proposal in his recent visit to Washington. He is said to have suggested that the Partition Resolution be accepted as the basis for settlement of the Palestine Problem, and to have assured American leaders

that this would bring about not only peace in the Middle East but also a "rallying" of Arabs to the "support of the United States" and an improvement of the deteriorating American-Arab relations.

In the same breath in which he reports this proposal, with its promise of Middle Eastern peace and healthy American-Arab cooperation, Dr. Eytan proceeds to describe it as a "danger" and to label its author as "a past-master at the craft of politics." But here is the clincher: According to Dr. Eytan, "the main danger in Nuri Said's campaign" lies in the fact that "there may, in the United States or elsewhere, be persons naive enough to believe him." The reason why statesmen may "listen to" Mr. Said's proposals, according to Dr. Eytan, is that "after all, Nuri Said's plan implies recognition of Israel". Why is it dangerous for world statesmen to listen to such a proposal, which is admitted to imply what Israel has always clamoured for and coveted? Because, according to Dr. Eytan, this promised Arab recognition of Israel "would involve such a reversal of basic Arab policies that no one can believe that it is seriously meant."

There we go again. The Israeli circular logic is back in full force: "Israel wants peace and recognition; the Arabs no not; if the Arabs says that they do, they should not be believed; for their assertion that they do is incompatible with what 'everyone knows' to be the opposite truth!"

To make his circular reasoning sound plausible, Dr. Eytan completely ignores the fact that what Mr. Said is reported to have proposed recently has been proclaimed by responsible Arab leaders—including Mr. Said himself, as well as countless others, such as President Nasser—so official Arab policy ever since the Lausanne Protocol of May 12, 1949. But every time such a proclamation is made by an Arab Government or an Arab leader, the Israelis say, "Don't believe it, because it contradicts what 'everybody knows' to be Arab policy"; and their Zionist agents echo: "This is the first time that the Arabs make such a proclamation; therefore, it is unreliable and does not represent truly the real Arab position."

Fortunately for the truth, however, Arab proclamations are on official record—in statements at the United Nations, in documents signed with the United Nations, at Bandung, and in scores of public statements reported in the world press.

And fortunately for the truth, Dr. Eytan makes one serious mistake—a slip which other Israelis are usually careful not to make. He shows that his diatribe against the Arabs and his acrobatics in logic are only designed to conceal a most important fact: namely, that it is Israel which does not want a just and lasting peace, Israel wants a paper peace, a peace in which the Arabs surrender unconditionally to the Israelis and

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accept the illegitimate fait accompli, a peace in which the Arabs give up everything and Israel keeps everything! But Israel refuse even to consider a settlement based on United Nations jurisprudence. Thus, in the same breath in which he indicts the Arab proposal as not "seriously meant", he proceeds to state: Israel, for her part, would never buy Arab recognition at such a price." And he concludes his amazing statement with the following words:

"It is . . . tragic, and might be fatal to world peace, that anyone at all should be listening to him (i.e., to Mr. Said). . . ."

"It is important that people should . . . realize the every man, woman and child in Israel will resist it to the end."

## A NOTE OF THANKS

Dear Mr. Debs

It is with mixed emotions that I am writing this letter. There is great sadness in our hearts, and also a feeling of pride in the knowledge that Elia had so many wonderful friends as you who completely took over, relieving us of many details at a time it was deeply appreciated.

I want to thank you personally for everything you did for us, and want thank the entire Press, both Arabic and English, which went out of its way to help keep Elia's memory alive.

Elia's passing has left us dazed. We still do not believe it, and it is hard to express our feelings adequately. I am sure he will live forever in the hearts of those who knew and loved him.

First of all, I want to thank the eminent and distinguished Clergy, who graciously volunteered in a body from many miles around, and who were a great source of comfort in our darkest hour.

I also want to thank all our friends both far and near, for their endless number of telegrams, letters, cards, floral tributes and contributions to the many Churches, Charitable Organizations and Hospitals in all parts of the country and the world.

We find solace in the knowledge that he left such a rare and wonderful legacy of friends who are fitting monuments to his memory.

Thank you sincerely one and all for sharing our sorrow.

Dorothy, Richard, Edward and Robert Madey,  
Murad and Salimeh Madey

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## **Middle East Crisis**

### ***Cites Refugee Problem***

**M**ADISON—At a recent meeting, the general board of the National Council of Churches warned that there can be no solution to the war-breeding crises in the Middle East until the fate of 1,000,000 refugees from Palestine is settled. The board urged a "wider interpretation of the human problems underlying the refugee problem."

Since practically every American religious group has a great stake, both spiritual and financial, in the Middle East, and since all of us will suffer from any explosion that may be started up there, your readers may be interested in further study of authoritative sources on the subject. Every public library should be able to provide certain volumes.

One of the most fascinating is the picture book, "They Are Human, Too," subtitled "a photo-essay on the Palestine Refugees," by Per-Olow Anderson, the photographic and humanitarian aspects of which have both brought equal acclaim. Chapter IV in Freda Uteley's "Will the Middle East Go West?" and Chapter 14 in Harry B. Ellis's "Heritage of the Desert" give warmly personal background.

Free materials may be secured by writing to Miss Molly Flynn, UNRWA, United Nations, New York; to Dr. Izzat Tannous (brother-in-law of the refugee Arab Episcopal bishop of the Holy Land) at 801 Second Ave., N. Y., to Dr. Fayez Sayegh (son of a Presbyterian refugee pastor) at 120 East 56th St., New York, and Monsignor Peter Paul Tuohy (president of the Pontifical Mission to Palestine Refugees), 480 Lexington Ave., New York.—Frederick S. Walz.

The Hobart Democrat Chief: January 30, 1958

## **Arab Leader Roasts U.S.**

**OKLAHOMA CITY (UP)**—Delegates to Oklahoma's first freedom forum heard a stinging criticism of American foreign policy by a high-ranking Arab spokesman Wednesday.

Dr. Fayez Sayegh, acting director of the Arab states delegations office, told conferees the Arab world has had to choose between Communist offers — "the wrong system championing our interests" — and the American system — "the right system frustrating our interests."

Sayegh painted a pessimistic picture of America's stake in the Mid-East, as he criticized a foreign policy which he said supported freedom in Europe and "trampled it underfoot in the Middle East."

He pointed to advances in education, politics, and other phases of Arab life in the past few years, and said, "America can ill afford

not to notice it has a stake in the consummation of these efforts by the Arab world."

Sayegh placed some of the blame for misunderstanding on the "one-sidedness of the American press," in particular, the New York Times, which he said "suppresses, distorts, and misrepresents news of the Arab world."

In conclusion, Sayegh said it would be "only for a reassertion of Americanism and justice" that America as a world power will find "its interests are not in jeopardy."

Sayegh said the union of Syria and Egypt in a united Arab state, which was reported near official completion, is "the answer to the hopes of many Arabs." He said other Arab nations should soon decide to join the federation, as "the pressure of public opinion will be strong for it."

With every article or letter to the editor published in The Caravan, the name of the writer will appear unless withholding of name is requested. The Caravan has the right to print anything in whole or in part, as the editor sees fit. No letters or photographs will be returned, whether published or not.

## CHRISTIANS IN ISRAEL

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** Under the title "Antisemitism in Reverse," the Jewish Newsletter, edited by William Zukerman, published the following article which we reprint in its entirety. The article was signed "Diarist."

It is to the credit of the Jewish Daily Forward, a strongly pro-Israel and nationalistic Yiddish daily that it has now published a series of articles by its Israeli correspondent, Leib Rochman, on the vexing problem of the Christian wives and children of mixed marriages who recently came to Israel from Poland. (Reported in the Jewish Newsletter of September 9, 23, October 21, December 2, 16, 30). This is a unique event in the pro-Zionist press of this country, whose policy hitherto had been that Israel can do no wrong.

The Forward correspondent as well as the Israeli newspaper, Letzte Nyess, state that in 1957, 35,000 Polish Jews arrived in Israel, among them approximately 500 couples of mixed marriage, altogether 1400 to 1500 persons, most of whom were Christian women. Among the new arrivals, were also 2,000 Polish Christians, parents and close relatives of the women, who did not want to be separated from their families.

### Heroic Women

Significantly, most of the women who immigrated with their husbands to Israel belong to that heroic and humanitarian group of Christians in Poland who risked their lives and liberty during the Nazi occupation to save individual Jews by hiding them in their homes and taking care of them, sometimes for years. These acts of heroism and of Christianity at its best helped break down the old barriers of suspicion and hatred between Jews and non-Jews in Europe, and in many cases culminated in marriages, between the Jewish men who were saved from certain death and the women who risked their lives to save them.

All reports also agree that it was primarily the concern for the fate of their children that prompted most of these families to emigrate to Israel. During the crucial years of 1956 and 1957, a wave of antisemitism, deliberately engendered by Krushchev to undermine the Gomulka regime, struck Poland. The most pathetic victims of this antisemitic wave were the little children of the mixed marriages. They were teased and tormented by their playmates in the schools who called them "zhidki" (little Jews), despite the fact that their mothers were Christian, and their lives were made unbearable through constant daily insults and persecution. It was the desire to save their children from this mental anguish and often physical attacks, that moved most of these families to uproot themselves from their native soil and move to Israel — a country they believed free from discrimination, prejudice and hatred, an ideal place in which to bring up their children.

They were bitterly disillusioned. They found that the atmosphere in Israel was that of a tightly closed tribal community, suspicious and mistrustful of all strangers and particularly of "goyim." Added to the many disappointments with the economic conditions, unemployment and housing, the new immigrants encountered a horror they never expected and which choked them more than anything else. Their children, for whose sake they left Poland, en-

countered the same, and in many respects, worse, discrimination in Israel than in Poland. According to an Orthodox religious law, children of non-Jewish mothers are considered non-Jews, unless they are circumcized and converted to Judaism. Those who do not conform, are baited, insulted, discriminated against and excluded from society with a rigidity no longer found in any country in Europe. Not only the children, but also the Christian mothers are insulted, ostracized and isolated because, according to the rabbis they "break up the unity of the Jewish people and endanger the purity of the Jewish families."

### Horrors of "anti-Goyism"

The Forward correspondent tells the story of a sensational trial of six defendants of mixed marriages, recently held in Israel, which was "a symbol of the many tragedies that are now occurring in Israel in connection with the immigration of the mixed families." (Forward, Jan 4, 9.)

Two days prior to the trial, the six defendants, two Jewish husbands, their Christian wives and their parents, broke into the office of the Israeli Ministry of the Interior and demanded documents certifying that they are not Israeli citizens so that they could return to Poland. They were told that the Christian members of the families would receive such documents immediately, but not the Jewish members because, according to Israeli law, every Jew who immigrates to Israel automatically becomes an Israeli citizen. The Christians refused to be separated from the Jewish members of their families and deliberately staged a public disturbance so as to bring the case to trial.

One of the defendants, Stanisława Yarka-Savitzky, aged 46, the Christian wife of Marian Savitzky, a Jewish immigrant, testified that the primary reason for her family's emigration to Israel was to avoid the torture which their little children went through in antisemitic schools in Poland. But in Israel, she added, their youngest boy suffers worse indignities. Young sabras (native Israelis) removed his pants to see if he was circumcized. The family had suffered through similar ordeals for eight months and they had enough. They demanded that the Ministry of the Interior permit the husband (who incidentally was converted to Christianity) to return to Poland with his family. The husband testified that his wife is always called "Shikse" (a derisive name for a Christian woman) by her neighbors; that her Christian parents, who saved his life during the Nazi occupation of Poland, are called "goyim," and their children "Shkot-zim." "I wanted to come back to Judaism, but I was not permitted to do so," he declared pathetically.

Other, similar stories were told at the trial and are being published daily in the liberal Israeli press, together with appeals to the people to remember that until recently they were themselves victims of religious prejudices and that is incumbent upon them to respect other people's faiths. Some of these newspapers are also gravely concerned over the possible harmful effect this out-

burst of intolerance may have on Jews living among Christians. The nationalistic press is worried because of the repercussions this example may have on the anticipated immigration of Jews from Soviet Russia, where the percentage of mixed marriages is greater than anywhere in the world. Practically all newspapers urge the Government to cut the red tape and permit people of mixed marriages to return home, if they so desire. Three hundred and fifty couples have already registered for return.

### Revival of Racism

To complete the picture, it should be added that the enlightened section of the Israeli population, and even some of the higher echelons in the Government, do not share this fanaticism. Not only the liberal press, but the average European Jew feels outraged and ashamed at such acts of intolerance and goes out of his way to show sympathy and to help the mixed couples in their plight. The trouble is that the population of Israel now consists largely of Oriental Jews, whose cultural development is two hundred years behind the level of the European. And worse still, the prejudices of these backward people have the approval of and are aided by a fanatical state-empowered rabbinate that has complete jurisdiction over matters of family and openly equates the Jewish religious community with the Jewish State and insists on enforcing the Medieval ghetto concept of Torah law on all citizens of Israel, Orthodox or non-Orthodox Jews and even non-Jews.

Behind this painful problem there is a profounder tragedy, the tragedy of a people which for centuries has cried out against antisemitism—a specific form of religious and nationalistic discrimination — and which is now practicing antisemitism in reverse — anti "Goyism" — with the same fanaticism and cruelty that the antisemites did. A people who, less than a generation ago was the most pitiful victim of racism, is now the only nation in the civilized world officially practicing racism. Is not this enough to make one despair of humanity?

Diarist

## FACT & OPINION

Writing in The Reporter, Carroll Kilpatrick says: "The movement away from the farms has not meant the development of corporate farms in this country but rather the strengthening of the family farm. The proportion of family farms to the total number has held steady in recent years. The trend is toward larger mechanized farms operated by a single family with little or no outside labor."

\* \* \*

Dorothy Thompson looks at education: "Most American parents do not want their children to be educated. They want them to be trained for specific function. They despise 'useless' knowledge. So our high schools are forced to teach everything under the sun, typing, home economics, mechanics, parenthood, and many other things that young people once learned at home, in specialized schools, or as apprentices. But a real educational institution is not a job factory..."

\* \* \*

Alaskans do more talking on the telephone than any other people. In a recent year they averaged 630 calls each, as against 426 for the continental United States and 51 for the world as a whole.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, January 30, 1958

THE CARAVAN

# For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayed  
A. Sayegh



## WINDOW DRESSING FOR THE SHOPPING SEASON

"Israel Acts to Rehabilitate Its Needy Arab Refugees": this was the bold headline which occupied a prominent place in the January 14th issue of the New York *Herald Tribune*. The New York *Times*, in its issue of the same date, gave the news a more modest headline, and printed it less conspicuously: "Arabs in Israel to Get More Aid". Both dispatches were based on a "special announcement" made by the Prime Minister's Office on January 13th.

The news brought to the foreground a fact of which most people were not even aware — namely, that there are some 20,000 Palestinian Arab refugees inside Israel.

The existence of Palestinian "Arab refugees inside Israel" is indeed an odd phenomenon. For the Arab refugees about whom the world knows are refugees from Palestine — people who left their homes and property and sought refuge outside the area occupied by Israel. But what are Palestinian Arab refugees inside Israel?

They are Palestinian Arabs who used to live in one city, in what is today Israel, but now live in another city, also in what is today Israel. They are Palestinian Arabs who did not leave their country, but merely moved from one town to another inside it. For example, when the Arabs of Tiberias fled their town on 19 April 1948 after it had been encircled by the Haganah, most of them moved to Nazareth, which was at that time safe from Zionist attack. When, several months later, Zionist forces occupied Nazareth, the Palestinian Arabs who had come from Tiberias and sought shelter in Nazareth became "Palestinian Arab refugees inside Israel." They were not permitted to return to their homes in Tiberias; they were forced to remain in Nazareth as refugees, while their homes in Tiberias were turned over to Israelis of Jewish faith or to new Jewish immigrants.

There is another group of Palestinian Arabs which also constitutes "Palestinian Arab refugees inside Israel." This group embraces the Arab inhabitants of certain Arab villages which the Israeli authorities decided to confiscate, long after the war was over. The Israeli Army is authorized, under the Military Law which still governs the Arab-populated areas of Israel, to confiscate any land which it considers it necessary "for security reasons" to acquire. When a village is thus confiscated, its inhabitants are moved, against their will, to another area — and they too come to be labelled "Palestinian Arab refugees inside Israel."

The very existence of such refugees has been hush-hushed for several years now. The world has been unaware that they even existed.

A survey of the Annual Reports submitted to the General Assembly by the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) shows that, as far back as June 1952, the U.N. Agency had surrendered the care for the Arab refugees inside Israel to the Israeli Government, and was no longer responsible for them or permitted to care for them. (U.N. Document A/2171,

paragraph 12). Since then, the Agency has made no mention of them in its Annual Reports. The world has assumed that they have been completely re-integrated, that they are no longer "refugees".

But now comes this startling announcement, from the office of Israel's Prime Minister: namely, that Israel will establish a fund of \$5,500,000 for use during the next three or four years, and will make this fund available to 20,000 Arab refugees in Israel whose property has been confiscated by the Government.

What is amazing is not only the fact that Israel is now discussing the establishment of a fund to resettle people whom the world thought Israel resettled six years ago, but also the fact that there are 20,000 of them. For, according to the last report of UNRWA in which these refugees were numbered, there were at least count — six years ago — 19,616 such refugees, of whom only 17,176 received rations (U.N. Document A/2717, Annex A, Table 1). These figures therefore would seem to indicate that nothing has been done for the integration of these "refugees" inside their own country for the last six years, despite the fact that Israel had insisted that the international community suspend its work among them and entrust them to the Israeli Government.

Why this sudden interest on the part of the Israeli Government in the fate of these "refugees"? Why this dramatic announcement now about the new fund which "will be established" to compensate them for their confiscated property and to help "resettle" them inside their own country?

This question is important, because the news in question comes in the wake of another dramatic announcement which was given wide publicity in the U.S. press — namely, the "conciliation feast" in which the survivors of the massacre of Ffar Kassem were "reconciled" with their Israeli butchers and were paid token "compensation" for the lives of their fathers, mothers, or children who were slaughtered on October 30, 1956, by Army and Police Officers.

There has also been another recent announcement, to the effect that the travel restrictions on Arabs have been relaxed on travel to three Arab cities in Galilee, and that the curfew which has been in effect in the central Arab-populated area of Israel (the so-called "Triangle area") has also been eased, so that it now applies from 11 p.m. to 3 a.m. instead of applying, as heretofore from 9 p.m. to 4 a.m.

Do these changes indicate an Israeli "change of heart", a radic-

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al change in Israeli policy towards the Arab minority? Or is there a reason — why discriminatory measures are now being quantitatively relaxed, while remaining substantively in force?

A study of the factors which bears some impact on Israeli policies shows that pressure has been exerted on the Israeli Government from several sources recently, and that the new Israeli measures may to some degree indicate the effectiveness of such pressure.

Some of this pressure has come from the ranks of American Jewry — particularly from American Jewish organizations which, while not Zionist, have nevertheless consistently supported Israel. The American Jewish Committee, which is the largest grouping of non-Zionist (but not anti-Israel) Jews in the United States, felt that the cause of Israel was so injured abroad as a result of the treatment of the Arabs within Israel that it dispatched a high-level delegation last summer, to intercede with Ben-Gurion to tone down the anti-Arab discriminatory policies of his Government.

Non-Jewish sectors of world public opinion have also shown disapproval of Israeli discrimination. The echoes of Kfar Kassem were louder than the Israeli Government apparently had anticipated.

Above all else, however, is the fact that Israel — which is always propaganda-conscious — wants to "put its house in order" and "dress up its show-windows" in preparation for the "year of pilgrimage", 1958, when many visitors are expected to visit Israel on the occasion of the celebration of the "Tenth Anniversary" of Israel's creation. The Government has announced a year-long program of festivities and celebrations, which may help ease the hard currency problem of the State if many tourists are induced to come. (According to a release published in the *Israel Digest* of January 20, the Israeli Government expects 100,000 visitors to come to Israel in 1958, for the Anniversary Celebrations, as compared with 44,559 who visited the country in 1957). But, in order that those tourists may not go back saddened by the plight of the Arabs in Israel and anger to spread the fact around, Israel is preparing itself with a number of new measures and plans to

which it can proudly point and say, "We are improving the situation of our Arab minority"—this making a virtue out of its discriminatory policy.

The monthly magazine, *Commentary*, which is published by the American Jewish Committee, carries in its current issue (January 1958) an article on "Israel's Arab Minority" in which the author, after stating that "there have been a number of signs in recent months that the authorities are making fresh efforts to improve relations with this hopeless minority", proceeds to explain the reasons for this phenomenon in the following words:

"The Israel Government's new attitude may also have something to do with Israel's tenth anniversary celebration to be held next spring. The occasion will invite a good deal of appraisal and stock-taking all over the world. One not irrelevant subject for study will be the question: How have the Jews, who might be expected to be the world's leading experts on minorities, treated Israel's own minority of non-Jewish citizens?"

## LAUGH A LITTLE

First student: "You look all broken up. What's the matter?"

Second student: "I wrote home for money for a study lamp."

F. S.: "So what?"

S. S.: They sent the lamp."

• • •

The telephoning poll-taker asked, "Do you have your television on?" and the male voice replied yes.

"Are others of the family with you?"

"Yes, my wife is here."

"To whom are you listening?"

"My wife."



## ARABIAN NIGHTS RADIO PROGRAM

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## Sees Egypt-Syria Unity as First Step Towards One Arab State or Federation

By Bill Debs

The merger of Egypt and Syria to form the United Arab State is a first step towards a single nation representing all present Arab countries, or a Federation of Arab States. This is the opinion voiced by Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, counselor of the Arab States Delegation in New York, over WRCA's "Tex and Jinx" radio show last Monday evening.

The door has been kept open for all Arab nations to join in the United Arab State, according to Dr. Sayegh. The flexibility of this "open door" allows interested nations to merge with the new state or federate with it, he said.

In reply to a listener query, Dr. Sayegh pointed out that the Egypt-Syria union was brought about through the demands of the people. A complete cycle will take place when the people vote in a plebiscite following ratification of the merger by the two parliaments. The demands for a merger emanated from the people, and resulted in the government officials being instructed by their parliaments to bring about the merger.

Tex McCrary attempted to inject Israel into the picture during the interview. When Dr. Sayegh informed him that this was one development in the Middle East with which Israel is not involved, Mr. McCrary said:

"But in lieu of the fact that the Arab States are still technic-



Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh

ally at war with Israel, the armistice agreement notwithstanding, how will the Arabs explain to Israel that this unification doesn't constitute a threat to her security?"

Dr. Sayegh replied:

"We don't have to explain anything to Israel. This is a matter between ourselves and doesn't concern her."

Insistent on getting some statement regarding Israel, however,

Mr. McCrary inquired:

"But don't you feel now that the merger will strengthen the Arabs, the resultant trend towards a balance of power will be more effective in getting the parties to sit down together and iron out their differences?"

**Will Stall Expansion**

Dr. Sayegh answered:

"The only deterrent to a peaceful solution of differences has been Israel's constant refusal to abide by the resolutions of the United Nations. Israel itself has been the only obstacle. However, I do feel that a stronger Arab World is more likely to put an end to the Israeli expansionist program."

Dr. Sayegh just returned from a lecture tour of Oklahoma and a brief stopover in Washington. A detailed report on the Egypt-Syria merger appears today in Dr. Sayegh's weekly Caravan column, "For The Record."

### MIDDLE EAST FORUM

The Arab Countries have long suffered from the lack of an unbiased intelligent publication that would introduce them to the rest of the world. Even now the Arab in the minds of many a westerner, is a Beduin riding his camel in the desert. Zionist propaganda has exploited this impression. While bringing into the lime-light reports on progressive development in Israel it has tried to suppress any sign of progress in the Arab Countries.

About four years ago the Alumni Association of the American University of Beirut decided to develop their Alumni Bulletin into a magazine that would present the truth about the Arab Countries. The effort was met with great enthusiasm on the part of both alumni and non-alumni readers. Now the magazine (appearing in two companion publications - Middle East Forum, dealing with general articles on the Middle East and Al Kuliyah giving alumni and university news) has become a sought-after publication on the Middle East, read all the way from Hong Kong to Helsinki, with an especially wide circulation in the United States. University libraries, Middle East Institutes and men want to be up to date on world issues have found in it invaluable material on a part of the world that is becoming a more and more vital area in international politics and economics.

Attractive in its presentation, Middle East Forum deals with a vast scope of topics on the area: current politics, economics, philo-

sophy and religion, history, art, literature, architecture, travel and public opinion. The men who write for Forum are the men who know the area best; men like Dr. Fayez Sayegh, Charles Sayigh. Forum has also carried face-to-face interviews with the men who make the news in the Arab World - men like Charles Malik, Camille Chamoun, Henry Labrousse, Akram Hourani and Salah Bitar.

Middle East Forum remains the most effective voice of the Arab World. It is a publication that every American who wants to see better understanding of the Middle East among his fellow Americans should have in his home and introduce to his friends.

Overseas subscription rates \$5.00

Send your order to our New York representative:

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Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, February 6, 1958

THE CARAVAN

# For The Record

By  
Dr. Fay  
A. Sayegh



## THE FIRST OF MANY CHILDREN

I was in the state of Oklahoma, on a lecture tour, during the last week of January when news reports from the Arab World were indicating the imminent emergence of a United Arab State in what used to be Egypt and Syria.

Interviewers — on television, radio, and in the press — were very excited over the news. It had come to overshadow all other news concerning the Middle East.

One of the interviewers wanted to know how I felt about the impending union. I could only reply by analogy. I told him that I felt like an expectant father awaiting his first-born child, and added: "But I feel like a father who wants a large family and hopes that this would be but the first-born in a family of at least 11."

\* \* \*

The mystery of birth and creation has always excited the imagination of man. Man-made production, under certain circumstances, is also awe-inspiring.

The birth of a new-Arab State as a result of the merger of two independent and separate states has all the attributes which natural birth of man-made production enjoy. It is at once the fulfillment of an idealistic dream and the accomplishment of a reality with untold practical advantages.

But my elation at this accomplishment, because of these joint idealistic and practical reasons, is equalled by my admiration for the manner in which the Syrian-Egyptian union has been brought about and the methods pursued by the two countries. I propose now to single out some of the most prominent features of the process of birth of the United Arab Republic.

\* \* \*

### 1. A Free Association

The most impressive feature of the merger is the spontaneous and free character of the process which brought it about. Not even the most biased of reporters has suggested that there was a trace of coercion in the union. On the contrary, even reporters addicted to the misrepresentation of Arab events have testified to the enthusiasm and excitement among the two peoples. **The union is a free merger of free peoples acting spontaneously and voluntarily.**

This phenomenon gives the lie to those who had indulged in uninhibited speculation about the alleged ambition of President Nasser for expansion and domination and who had slapped logic in the face by speaking constantly of his desire for Arab unity as a form of so-called "Egyptian imperialism." Such biased commentators have recently had to "eat their words" when they admitted that, of the two, Syria was even more enthusiastic than Egypt for union.

### 2. Orderly and Constitutional Union

Ordinarily, popular measures are likely to be disorderly. Enthusiasm sometimes is tempted to suspend gradualism and constitutional processes. Not so in this case.

The orderly character of the process of unification is reflected in the fact that, on the basis of the broad base of popular support

and encouragement, the initiative was taken by the Parliaments of the two countries last fall. The two parliaments unanimously translated the overwhelming popular desire for union by calling upon their respective Governments to convene a joint meeting for drawing the blueprint for unity. **The process thus moved from peoples, through Parliaments, to Governments. But it did not end there. From the summit of government action, the blueprint once more went to the two Parliaments for formal ratification, and will end in the hands of the peoples in the plebiscite expected to take place later this month. The circuit thus becomes completed.** The constitutional character of the process reinforces its attribute as a spontaneous, free and popular accomplishment.

### 3. Gradual and Preceded By Careful Preparation

The union was not born overnight; it has been preceded by an accumulation of steps and measures, each building upon its predecessors and paving the way for the next.

The beginning took place 15 years ago, in the conference of the Arab Chiefs-of-State which took place in 1943. Out of those discussions was born the Arab League in 1945, as an inter-governmental agency for coordinating the measures and policies of the member-States.

Under the auspices of the League, a number of treaties were signed and pacts were concluded among the member states. These include:

1. Cultural Treaty of 1945
2. Treaty of Joint Defence and Economic Cooperation of 1950
3. Agreement Relating to Writs and Letters of Request of 1952
4. Reciprocal Enforcement of Judgements Agreement of 1952
5. Extradition Agreement of 1952
6. Convention Affecting the Nationality of Arabs Resident in Countries to Which They Are Not Related by Origin of 1952
7. Convention of the Arab Union for Wireless Communications and Telecommunications of 1953
8. Convention of the Privileges and Immunities of the League of Arab States of 1953
9. Convention for Facilitating Trade Exchange and the Regulation of Transit Trade of 1953
10. Convention for the Settlement of Payments of Current Transactions and the movements of Capital of 1953
11. Nationality Agreement of 1954
12. Arab Postal Union Convention of 1955

These 12 multi-lateral agree-

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ments and treaties went a long way towards realizing the major purpose of the League, as an organization designed to strengthen the relations between its member-States and to coordinate their policies. But they did not go far enough in the direction of unification, which was and is today the objective of most Arabs. Therefore they were supplemented by bi-lateral and other multi-lateral agreements among those states who were interested in proceeding further towards closer cooperation and eventual union. These bi-lateral agreements, mainly between Syria and Egypt, have paved the way for political unity by constituting virtually acts of "functional unity" between the two States. They unified the military command, the educational system, and many of the economic practices of the two countries.

Then, and after this long preparatory process (within the League as well as supplementary to the League) came the parliamentary action of last fall and the more recent governmental proclamation of February 1st.

### 4. Inclusive, not Exclusive

Emanating from the spontaneous desire of the peoples of two sectors of the Arab nation, the recent union remains loyal to its initial motive and final objective. Far from excluding the possibility of accession to the union by other Arab states, or of their joining it under a federal system, the proclamation of February 1st solemnly asserted that the door was kept open for other sister-Arab States to join the union or to federate with it **if they so chose. The principle of Arab universality and inclusiveness is at the root of the new merger.**

### 5. Flexibility

Inclusiveness defeats its purpose if it is pursued within a rigid framework. Hence the **flexibility** announced in the proclamation, as far as the accession or federation of other Arab States. The founders of the United Arab Republic did not commit the mistake of defining on behalf of others, and in advance of the announcement by others of their choice, the form in which the widening of the area of unity was to be accomplished. On the contrary, they left it flexible enough in order that it may be capable of adaptation and adjustment to any exigencies that may arise.

### 6. Courageous Act

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The leaders of the two components of the new States are not unaware of the peculiar circumstances under which the birth of the new Republic occurs or the special difficulties which are likely to be encountered by it.

Surely there will be some unhappiness outside the area, owing to the present international climate surrounding the Middle East, which may place unnecessary obstacles in the way of the fledgling United Republic. Surely, there will also be a few selfish and short-sighted Arabs who may be unhappy over the success of Arab nationalism in meeting the crucial test of statesmanship. And surely the geographical facts of life will add some stresses and strains to the early functioning of this union, since the two component territories lack contiguity. **But none of these handicaps is insurmountable, and the future will vindicate the faith of the architects of this union as well as testify to their courage.**

### 7. Self-Sacrifice

No great human act can come to fruition without a measure of sacrifice. No voluntary renouncement of separate statehood and transcendence of independent sovereignty can come about without some personal loss for some leaders and a degree of marginal inconvenience for either or both of the components.

It is supremely to the credit of the leaders of Egypt and Syria, the pioneers of today's Arab World in its pursuit of reunification, that they did not permit vested interests, whether private or collective, to stand in the way of the greater good of the greater number.

By thus subordinating particular interests to the general good, the peoples and leaders of these two Arab countries have now shown the whole world that greatness of soul and vision is

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, February 6, 1958

## "Get Tough With Israel" Policy Has Support—Says Lilienthal

Alfred Lilienthal made public the findings of a survey on American attitudes toward the Middle East and the Arab-Israeli problem.

The lecturer and author of **THERE GOES THE MIDDLE EAST** who returned late December from a 30 day-10 state lecture tour in which he discussed a "peace with justice" settlement before women's clubs, college groups and business organizations, declared "that outside of New York City the rest of the country is willing to support a 'get tough with Israel' policy if this will bring the Arab World to the side of the West. Doing justice for the Arab refugees, not talking justice, must become the keystone of a new U. S. approach both in and outside of the United Nations."

Some of the Lilienthal findings based on his most recent cross country tour follow:

(a) There is a markedly increasing interest in the Middle East. Many Americans are asking questions and are no longer satisfied with the stock Zionist answer. The American stake in the area is becoming apparent.

This is the most salutary effect of the Suez War.

(b) Zionists are finding it more difficult to suppress discussion of the Arab-Israel problem more criticism of Zionism both appearing in print and arising in private conversation. (A latent anti-Jewishness is evidencing itself). The Zionists are becoming more desperate, as free discussion grows and the press finds it more difficult not to report the facts to their readers.

(c) Strong support for a "peace with justice" proposal calling on Israel to first make five concessions, including return to the 1947 boundaries, internationalization of Jerusalem, the de-Zionization of Israel and repatriation or compensation of the Palestinian Arab refugees; then the Arabs would be asked to recognize Israel and grant full access to Suez and Akaba. This plan was endorsed editorially in Dallas, Tucson, Bloomington (Ill.) and West Coast newspapers, and won favorable news coverage.



Alfred M. Lilienthal

### ON THE HORIZON

A new movie camera which will convert to a projector in about half a minute will go on the market next month. It is the product of a large watch company.

\* \* \*

Use bamboo instead of pine for making paper, is the suggestion or researchers who say that bamboo is cheaper, grows faster, may be reduced to pulp easier, and with less chemicals.

\* \* \*

Metal roofs to utilize the sun's rays in heating houses may be on the market next year. Metal sheets are blackened and treated to absorb the sun's rays, and heat the water in a circulating system. At night, and on cloudy days, some other forms of heating plant will have to be provided.

\* \* \*

Sales of special health and diet foods this year are expected to total \$250 million compared with \$150 million last year, and \$25 million in 1953, according to the National Dietary Foods Association.



Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, February 13, 1958

## ARAB REFUGEES ANGERED AT INDIFFERENCE — TANNOUS

"I find the Palestine Arab refugees are angered at the apparent indifference with which their very existence has been handled by the United Nations during the last session of the General Assembly", declared Dr. Izzat Tannous, director of the Palestine Arab Refugee Office in New York.

"They are tired of leading a life of misery, idleness, and frustration as they await justice at the hands of the world organization which they hold responsible for their plight; and they seem to have dispaired of the justice of man," he added.

Dr. Tannous, who is now on a visit to the Middle East, has found the situation extremely disturbing as a result of the change he has observed in the tempers of the refugees since his last visit in 1956.

Dr. Tannous states that he does not foresee an explosion in the immediate future; but with such feelings of discontent allowed to brew, the situation is gradually deteriorating, so much so that it is difficult to tell what may happen and when a catastrophe is likely to occur, he continued. Of one thing Dr. Tannous is certain - the prestige of the West among the refugees is at its lowest ebb.

According to Dr. Tannous, the refugees fear reduction in their already meagre rations, curtailment of other essential services and closure of educational and vocational schools. On the other hand, political leaders in the host countries are apprehensive that if any of these eventualities should occur, idleness among the school children and lack of the necessities of life among an al-



Dr. Izzat Tannous

ready suffering humanity will create social and political problems in their countries. This would probably hasten the day of regret that the Middle East has been allowed to go along the road China went some ten years ago, he said.

Dr. Tannous pointed out that the Arab refugees are more determined than ever in their demand to go home. "We want no charity, we ask for no favors," they declare. "We only want our rights to our homes and homeland."

Dr. Tannous stated: "They demand the right to live, the right to hold and enjoy their own property like all other free peoples and to be allowed to lead their lives in peace, dignity and self-respect. Denial of this simple request is an offense against the elemental principles of democracy, equity and justice."

## THE CARAVAN

## TO LEAVE SOON ON SPEECH TOUR

Dr. Fayez Sayegh, who is well-known to CARAVAN readers as the most articulate and energetic Arab spokesman in this country, will soon embark on a speaking tour of North Carolina and Tennessee. Duke University in Durham, North Carolina, extended an invitation, a few months ago, for Dr. Sayegh to appear as a featured lecturer on the Duke campus on February 20th. The news of Dr. Sayegh's acceptance soon spread throughout the area, and a full blown tour has resulted.

Dr. Sayegh's first stop, from February 16th through 19th, will be Charlotte, North Carolina, where a heavy program of lectures, radio and television appearances, and press conferences has been arranged for him by Professor E. M. Shamsedin of Queens College.

From Charlotte, Dr. Sayegh will proceed to Durham for his address at Duke University, and will then travel to Winston-Salem for press appearances and an address at Wake Forest College on February 21st and 22nd.

On February 24th, Dr. Sayegh will appear as guest lecturer at Mars Hill College in Mars Hill, North Carolina, leaving immediately thereafter for Greenville, Tennessee.

Tusculum College in Greenville is planning to roll out a red carpet of welcome to Dr. Sayegh on February 25th. A major lecture at the College is scheduled, together with a Rotary Club speech, press interviews, radio and television appearances, and a Banquet sponsored by the First Presbyterian Church of Greenville.

The last stop on Dr. Sayegh's itinerary is Johnson City, Tennessee, where he will deliver two addresses to students and faculty members.

This tour represents Dr. Sayegh's first visit to the Tar Heel State and the Volunteer State, where he looks forward to meeting more readers of the CARAVAN.

# For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayed  
A. Sayegh



## QUESTIONS ON THE UNION OF EGYPT AND SYRIA

(EDITOR'S NOTE: — On February 3, 1958, Dr. Sayegh was interviewed on the famous New York radio program, *TEX & JINX*, on which he had been a guest several times before. The subject of the interview was the union of Egypt and Syria. Since some of the questions asked on the program are on the minds of many of our readers, we are printing in this space extracts from the transcript of the interview.)

### INTRODUCTION:

TEX.— I'd like now to set the scene for a story that is coming up — a historic headline story. On February 1, 1958, in a historic session held at Koubba Palace in Cairo. His Excellency President Kuwatly of Syria and President Nasser of Egypt met, together with representatives of the Republics of Syria and Egypt. The participants declared their total agreement, complete faith and deeply-rooted confidence in the necessity of uniting Egypt and Syria into one state, to be named the United Arab Republic. The new republic shall have one flag, one army, one people, who remain joined in unity, where all will share equal rights and duties, where all will share in the protection of their country with heart and soul, and complete consolidation of its integrity and insurance of its invulnerability. This is the end of the quotation I read from the proclamation.

To comment on that historic marriage of two countries separated by one hundred and thirty miles of sand, our guest tonight is an old friend, Dr. Fayed Sayegh, who is the spokesman of the Arab States Delegation here in New York City.

### WHY UNITY?

TEX.— How would you explain to America, Dr. Sayegh, the motivating forces of this merger? Were they fear, ambition, common purpose, or what?

SAYEGH.— I should think that Americans would easily and without much explanation understand why peoples who have the same history, share the same culture, speak the same language, and partake of the same religious traditions (although not the same religion), and constitute parts of the same nation, — should feel that being-in-unity is the natural form of their existence, while being-in-disunity is the artificial form of their existence. There is always a yearning on the part of men to return to the natural, and to shun the artificial. Particularly when the artificial condition — in this case, Arab disunity — has been brought about not by the Arabs themselves, but by outsiders; for disunity was imposed upon the Arabs by Britain and France, who acted without consulting the Arabs, without their consent, and certainly against their interests, less than forty years ago.

### THE "INEVITABLE TOPIC": ISRAEL:

TEX.— Now, how do you explain to Israel the fact that two Arab States, both technically still at war with Israel, have gotten together; and that this merging of two bordering states is not a threat to the survival of Israel?

SAYEGH.— We don't have to explain anything to Israel. What we are doing pertains to our own existence, our own destiny, and not anybody else's.

I said before that the urge for Arab union has been the Arab reaction to the artificial dismemberment (by outside Powers) of the Arab World, and it goes back to the end of the First World War — long, long before the very

rise of Israel.

I think that this is one Middle Eastern situation in which we really don't have to "inject" Israel into the picture.

TEX.— Can there be any Middle Eastern situation in which Israel is not "injected into the picture"?

SAYEGH.— In an indirect way, no. But, in a direct and decisive way, yes. I think that it is a disproportionate over-play of the significance of Israel in the area to try to see something pertaining to Israel in every move that anybody makes in the area.

TEX.— On the theory that a balance of power produces peace and maintains peace, do you think that, as more and more Arab States come into this union, a balance of power may be produced which will permit the Arab States and Israel to sit down together and calmly work out their differences?

SAYEGH.— The question of "sitting down together with Israel" to settle the differences between Israel and the Arab States is again extraneous to the desire of the Arabs to reunify themselves. Our pursuit of reunion, as I said before, is an endeavor to return to our normal, natural condition of existence.

TEX.— But, logically and realistically, isn't it easier to make peace with an Arab State than with a dozen Arab States?

SAYEGH.— The only significance I can see, for the formula of what you called the "Israeli-Arab balance of power", as far as Arab unity is concerned, is that a united Arab State — of the present union and beyond it — will find it easier to check and contain Israeli expansionism; and, therefore, Arab fears of Israeli expansion will be less sharp when the whole Arab World is reunited.

TEX.— Within that framework, peace is more nearly possible.

SAYEGH.— The real obstacle to peace in Palestine is Israel's persistent and intransigent refusal to comply with the repeated decisions and injunctions of the United Nations, which created Israel. This obstacle will remain formidable as long as Israel main-

## ????

Send in your questions on the Middle East to Dr. Sayegh, and help him to bring you the weekly column you want to read.

Questions dealing with statements or current beliefs which tend to place the Arab countries or Arab-Americans in a bad light are particularly recommended.

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tains its present policy of intransigence.

TEX.— The obstacle to our continuation of this discussion is the midnight news. But we'll be right back after that. . . (Then followed a five-minute news bulletin.)

### DR. JAMALI'S OBJECTIONS TO THE UNION:

TEX.— Picking up where we left off before the midnight news. The story: the marriage between two sovereign states, Syria and Egypt. And our guest, to explain the meaning of that momentous marriage: Dr. Fayed A. Sayegh. . .

Now, Dr. Sayegh, I want your reactions to this statement. Dr. Al-Jamali, of Iraq, had this to say: "Union among the Arab countries is a very good thing; but this one is a very abnormal and unnatural thing." What did Dr. Jamali mean by that?

SAYEGH.— Dr. Jamali — who, incidentally, is a very good friend of mine — re-asserts in this statement his belief in the desirability of Arab unity as such, he being one of the most outspoken believers in Arab unity. What he is criticizing now, however, is probably the fact that unity was accomplished by the specific Arab countries which have just merged into one republic, or the manner in which that fusion was accomplished. This subjective opinion of Dr. Jamali concerning the details of the union does not affect, I believe, his attitude on the principle of union as such. The difference boils down, therefore, to a minor, rather than a major, thing — to details, rather than principle.

However, even as far as details are concerned, I think it is highly relevant to recall now that Dr. Jamali himself, when he was Prime Minister of Iraq, submitted in that capacity a memorandum to the Arab League on January 11, 1954, embodying a scheme for Arab unity. It was a studied, thoughtful, and very well-considered paper. It was a state-document, not an informal paper. It embodied considered policy, not hasty opinion. And it was accompanied by an equally well-drafted statement, and followed by a thoroughly-considered press release.

What is important about these documents, written carefully by Dr. Jamali, is that they asserted that the insistence that all Arab States most unanimously and simultaneously approve union, and proceed towards its implementation at the same pace, is unrealistic, and therefore actually delays Arab unity.

Therefore, Dr. Jamali argued in those documents, the way to reunify the Arab World is for those states, whether two or three or more, who feel that they have "present possibilities" for union, to go ahead and implement their union, rather than to await the others — while leaving the door open for others to follow. This is precisely what Egypt and Syria are doing now. They are virtual-

ly doing what Dr. Jamali formally proposed four years ago.

TEX.— In other words, your theory about this is, that the way to get started is to start.

SAYEGH.— Precisely. Only it was Dr. Jamali who expressed this theory.

TEX.— And you started.

SAYEGH.— And we started. But permit me to resume. Dr. Jamali said something else in his well-considered documents, four years ago, which is very interesting in view of his present statement, and extremely relevant to the present situation. He took issue with the argument which some Arabs used to put forward, namely, that union among two on three Arab States may be injurious or detrimental to the interests of other Arab States. He refuted this argument by stating that this concept of a balance of power among the Arabs is alien to the Arab situation, for we Arabs are one family. He added that any two States among the Arab States which unite, while leaving the door open for others to join, actually serve the common good of all Arabs.

### THE DOOR IS WIDE OPEN:

TEX.— Well, now you have made a beginning. So far, Syria and Egypt. If the philosophy of Dr. Jamali is to be followed, if others are to follow the lead of Syria and Egypt, who is going to be Number three?

SAYEGH.— President Nasser and Kuwatly, in the proclamation of union, invited all other Arab States, who choose so to do, either to join the union or to federate with the new United Republic. I believe that this flexibility is remarkable and worthy of admiration as a practical, realistic, statesmanlike formula for widening the area of Arab unity.

Which of the Arab governments will be the first to respond affirmatively to this invitation I do not presume to know. But I personally believe that, as far as the readiness and eagerness of the peoples are concerned — and it cannot be over-emphasized that this Egyptian-Syrian union is the result of the spontaneous, free desire of the two peoples — the peoples of Jordan and Iraq, in my opinion, are extremely eager for Arab unity, no less so than are the peoples of Syria and Egypt.

TEX.— But Iraq is a member of the Baghdad Pact; what happens there? Would you insist that they withdraw from the Baghdad Pact?

SAYEGH.— That is a governmental relationship: I was speaking about existing popular desire for unity, not about the probability of governmental action in the immediate future. And I think that, in long-range terms, governmental relationships are perhaps less decisive, and of less enduring and abiding significance, than spontaneous, deep-rooted, genuine and wide-spread popular desires.

### WHAT ABOUT THE SOVIET UNION?

TEX.— Again, to make a prophet out of you, Dr. Sayegh: Do you feel that this union of Syria and Egypt will enable the two countries jointly to wean themselves of any sort of leaning on Soviet Russia? Or will this tend to bring them closer to dependence on Soviet Russia?

SAYEGH.— The real objective of the neutralism of Syria and Egypt is non-dependence, and the cultivation of their capabilities for standing on their own feet vis-a-vis both East and West. I believe that, by being united, they become more capable of standing on their own feet and avoiding dependence on any Bloc.

TEX.— By "neutrality" you mean neutral on either side?



### RIZ BI SHAIRIEH (Rice)

1 cup rice  
¼ cup butter (or margarine)  
¼ cup macaroni rice (shairieh) or fine egg noodles.

Wash rice thoroughly and let stand in water about ten minutes. Melt butter and fry macaroni or noodles until golden brown. Add drained rice and keep stirring until grains of rice seem to stick together. Add water and salt to taste. Let boil, then cover and leave on slow fire for about 25 minutes.

Serve as side dish with any kind of Yakhni (stew) or with laban (yogurt) for a cool summer dish.

SAYEGH.— Emphatically. I mean by "neutrality" the refusal of a given state to commit itself in advance to the total global policies of any outside Power or Bloc, and its refusal to maneuver itself into a state of dependence on any outside party.

### WERE THE PEOPLE CONSULTED?

TEX.— A question has just been phoned in, from a Miss Sarah Slauminsky. She asks: "Dr. Sayegh, you said that the Governments of Egypt and Syria were united voluntarily. Were the people consulted in any way?"

SAYEGH.— I am glad that the question has been asked. For this is the most impressive feature of the union. The desire for unity started among the peoples in the first instance. It is the peoples of these and other Arab countries who have been, and are enthusiastic about Arab unity. The peoples have urged, and exerted pressure upon, their respective parliaments. The parliaments, in turn, have urged and ordered their governments to act. Last November — November 18, 1957, I believe — both parliaments, in Egypt and Syria, unanimously called upon their respective governments to convene and prepare a blueprint for unity. Now this has happened: the governments have performed the task entrusted to them by their peoples and parliaments. And, the day after tomorrow — on Wednesday, February 5 — the president of each country will take the blueprint announced last Saturday to parliament, for ratification. Finally, later this month — not beyond the end of the month, says the official proclamation — the blueprint goes to the people for a plebiscite. So it's a complete circuit: from people, through parliament, to government; and, on the way back, from government, to parliament, and finally to the people. A complete circuit.

### CONCLUSION:

TEX.— Dr. Sayegh, as always, I want to thank you for coming by and calmly stating a point of view as a matter of recorded history, speaking as you do for the Arab States.

And, I think it is worthy of note that tonight — whereas quite frequently in the past whatever you've had to say about the Middle East has produced a deluge of comments or questions — tonight only one question has been phoned in. And I think you've answered it quite well.

And thank you for coming out, as scheduled, in spite of a fever of 102. I hope it recedes.

SAYEGH.— Thank you, Tex, very much.

## \$1,120,000,000 GOES TO ISRAEL "DEFENSE"

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** The following article appeared in the Feb. 10, 1958 issue of the **Jewish Newsletter**.

For the first time since the establishment of Israel, a public accounting was made of the funds the Government received from foreign sources for the last nine years. The figures were made public by Finance Minister, Eshkol, in answer to a charge by Eliezer Livneh, former Mapai member of Knesset, that Israel has squandered her foreign currency income. These are the figures:

1. Appeals, such as UJA, JNF, etc. . . . . \$656 million
2. Independence and Development Bonds and Loans 365 "
3. U. S. Grants and Food Surpluses . . . 298 "
4. German Reparations . . . . . 304 "
5. Blocked Sterling Accounts . . . . . 150 "

Total . . . . . \$1,773 million

Of this money approximately \$1,120,000,000 was spent for defense.

## Arab Official Urges Israel Peace Plan

**RUTHERFORD**—An Arab official has asked for a return to the 1947 partition decision of the United Nations, as a guarantee of peace between Israel and its neighbors.

Speaking at Fairleigh Dickinson University, at noon, yesterday, Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, acting director of the Arab States Delegations Office in New York, called Israel an artificially-created state, which, he said, "violates in every way the birth certificate as outlined in the United Nations".

Under the terms of the partition, he said, Israel was to have one-half of Palestine, Jerusalem was to be a "free city", and Arabs in Israel were to be allowed to remain.

The partition decision, rejected at the time by the Arab states, was followed by a war in which Israel emerged with most of Palestine, half of Jerusalem, and saw the flight of the bulk of the Arab population from Israeli-controlled areas.

Answering questions from some 900 students, Dr. Sayegh said that the number of Jews forced to leave Egypt after the Suez invasion was 2,000.

He said that 5,000 people, mostly French and British citizens, were deported.





DR. SAYEGH

## Arab UN Chief To Speak Here

Dr. Faye A. Sayegh, acting director of the Arab States delegation to the United Nations, will speak to the Joint Council on International Affairs Wednesday at 12:30 p.m. at the YWCA.

His speech, "Communism in the Middle East," will be one of several he is scheduled to deliver while in the Charlotte area.

He will appear before the Central Lions Club at noon, Monday, and at Charlotte College Monday evening. On Tuesday he will speak at Queens College at noon and at Davidson College at 8 p.m.

A scholar, editor and diplomat, he was born in Syria, the son of a Presbyterian minister. He has lectured widely in the Middle East and in the United States.

Dr. Sayegh will arrive in Charlotte tomorrow afternoon. He is scheduled to speak to natives of the Arab states living in this area and to invited guests Sunday evening at the Stork restaurant on Independence Blvd.

The Durham:  
February 21, 1958

The Charlotte Observer: February 18, 1958

## Arab Delegate Says Israel Doesn't 'Fit' In Middle East

By FORRES STEWART  
Observer Staff Writer

Israel was put firmly on the spot Monday by a member of the Arab Delegation to the United Nations.

Dr. Faye A. Sayegh arrived here for a series of lectures to clubs and colleges in North Carolina.

He viewed the recent mergers of Egypt and Syria, Iraq and Jordan as a step toward Arab unity and normalcy in the Middle East.

"Israel," Dr. Sayegh said firmly, "does not fit into this picture. He saw Israeli territory as scene of 'collective displacement and collective replacement.'"

Israel, said Sayegh, was to get half of Palestine; today it occupies 80 per cent.

"The Arabs were to be treated on a basis of equality; but actually they are treated as the Jews were treated in Germany."

Sayegh said it was "imperative" that the United States have access to the facts about Arabs through the Arabs.

"Arabs are doing a great deal to develop their own land. The Israelis are quicker because they



SAYEGH

have had \$2 billion from America in the last 10 years."

He scoffed at reports of a possible leaning toward communism in the Arab world.

"We have trade dealings as America has trade dealings with Communist countries. But membership of a Communist Party in either Egypt or Syria is punishable by jail."

By contrast Sayegh pointed to Israel and its "three Communist parties with 25 members out of a total Parliament of 120."

"When Israel meets conditions laid down at the time Palestine was partitioned in 1948, we will make peace," said Sayegh. "On this basis we are ready to talk it now."

When this is put before the Israelis in the United Nations,

said Sayegh, they say "you can't turn the clock back . . ."

On the other hand, he added, "they are turning it back 2,000 years."

He said the objective of Zionism is to establish a Jewish state from the Nile to the Euphrates.

"But we feel that if they were to live with us for five or 10 years, they would realize a greater security in harmony."

Dr. Sayegh was born in Syria. He has lectured extensively in the Middle East and United States.

He addressed Charlotte College Monday. Today he will speak at Queens College at noon, and at Davidson College at 8 p.m. Later in the week he will speak at Duke University and Wake Forest.



UN SPOKESMAN FOR ARAB STATES VISITS DUKE—Dr. Faye A. Sayegh, principal spokesman for the Arab States in the United Nations, is pictured here, far left, being welcomed to the campus of Duke University yesterday where he made several appearances. He delivered an address in Page Auditorium last night, after having attended a press conference and student seminar in the afternoon. Left to right, above, are: Dr. Sayegh; B. W. Ruffner of Arlington, Va., chairman of the arrangements committee for Dr. Sayegh's appearance at Duke; Diab Rabie of Charlotte and Palestine, who accompanied Dr. Sayegh to Duke; and Jim Bertch of Rochester, N. Y., chairman of the Duke Student Union's Educational Affairs Committee, which sponsored Dr. Sayegh's appearance here.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday February 20, 1958

THE CARAVAN

# For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayez  
A. Sayegh



## A SECOND CHILD IS BORN

The irresistible trend towards Arab unity is gaining momentum.

The United Arab Republic, born of the merger of Syria and Egypt into a unitary state, has just been followed by the federation of the Kingdoms of Iraq and Jordan and the formation of a federated state.

Further more, reports indicate that Yemen may very soon federate with the United Arab Republic.

Thus in a few weeks the situation of multiplicity in Arab political statehood has suddenly crumbled after having been preserved within the Arab League for almost 13 years. What was since World War I but a dream is now actively translating itself into a reality; the fond hope for Arab unity is no longer merely a hope, but a practical accomplishment, growing at a faster pace than even the optimists had dared to hope for.

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I write this column within hours from the proclamation of the formation of the new federation between the Kingdoms of Iraq and Jordan. The first news has barely been received; ticker tapes continue to feed the world press with initial reports and statements.

Nevertheless, even at this early date, it is safe to assert that a new Arab unit has come into being through the amalgamation of hitherto sovereign and sepe- rate states.

There are many points of comparison and contrast between the United Arab Republic, on the one hand, and the new federation of Iraq and Jordan, on the other hand.

In the first place, there is the obvious constitutional difference between the two types of union achieved by the two new units. The Egyptian-Syrian union dissolves formally and completely the separate existence of its components. Under the new union neither Egypt as such nor Syria as such continue to exist as distinct entities. One Chief of State, one Cabinet, one Parliament, and one army mark the initial phase of the union and make it complete. The Iraqi-Jordanian union, on the other hand, is federal rather than unitary in structure. The Kingdoms of Jordan and Iraq will continue to exist as such within the framework of the federation. In the words of Article II of the Agreement: "Each state will preserve its international status, independence and sovereignty of the area of its present territory, and its present ruling system." Although, under Article IX the King of Iraq is declared "the head of the federal government", each King retains "his constitutional authority in his respective Kingdom"; and, in the event of any other state joining the federation, "the position of the head shall be revised in accordance with prevailing circumstances". Under the federal system, the following functions are unified: foreign policy, foreign diplomatic representation, armed forces, customs, educational curriculum and currency.

In the second place, the Egyptian-Syrian merger has selected

the republican form of government while the Iraqi-Jordanian federation is monarchist in governmental system.

In the third place, the foreign policies of Syria and Egypt, as well as of the new union of the two, are identical. The guiding principle is neutralism, i. e., the avoidance of any basic commitment to any Power Bloc. In the case of the Iraqi-Jordanian federation, on the other hand, the respective foreign policies of the two federated Kingdoms are not identical. Iraq is a member of the Baghdad Pact, while Jordan is not. Article III states that "international treaties, pacts, and agreements with which each country has been bound prior to this federation shall continue to be in force with regard of the country that concluded it, but will not be binding on the other state in the federation". This is a mark of flexibility, and a practical way out of what could have been a grave difficulty and a serious obstacle for the federation. Under the terms of this Article, the status of Armistice Agreements with Israel remains unaffected. It will be recalled that Jordan has an Armistice Agreement with Israel but Iraq has signed no such agreement.

These being the main differences between the two amalgamations, it remains to be stressed that the two new structures have nevertheless a few qualities in common.

In the first place, both have been created in response to the driving compulsion for union which dominates the hearts of most Arabs. Both reflect the essential urge for unity which is fundamental in the Arab National Movement. Both, therefore, to that extent and in that respect, translate the free desires of free peoples into reality.

In the second place, each of the two mergers has left the door open for other Arab States to join. We have commented in a previous article on the "open door policy" of the Egyptian-Syrian union. Article I of the Iraqi-Jordanian Federation also asserts: "This federation is open to any other Arab States wishing to join".

• • •

It may therefore be safely asserted that, whatever the immediate motives which accelerated the newer merger may have been, the two unions are supplementary rather than necessarily competitive. To the extent to which the policies pursued by their respective governments will reflect the true wishes of their component peoples, and the essential aspirations of the National Movement of which both of them are manifestations, to that extent the two unions will prove in the long run to be complementary steps in one direction of greater Arab

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Questions dealing with statements or current beliefs which tend to place the Arab countries or Arab-Americans in a bad light are particularly recommended.

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unity.

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Another question may be raised. What is the relation of these new unions with the Arab community of states, on the one hand, and with the individual Arab states, on the other hand?

As for the relation of the new unions to the larger Arab community, it must be recalled that the Charter of the Arab League contemplates and provides for greater unity among its members. Article IX, Paragraph I of the League Charter declares: "States of the League which desire to establish closer cooperation and stronger bonds than are provided by this pact may conclude agreements to that end". The Arab League will continue to be the coordinating agency among independent Arab States who have joined its membership, for as long as there is multiplicity of Arab States. The status of membership of the new unions within the League—and such questions as the number of seats they will respectively have—is a detail; and it will in all probability be solved in accordance with international precedents and in a manner analogous to the manner in which the status of the new units in the United Nations will be regulated. But the essential fact is that these new units will continue to be members of the Arab family and the Arab League.

As for other Arab States, they now have two invitations before them. Some may, for the time being or for a long time to come, decline both invitations. Others may, sooner or later, accept one invitation or the other. But the essential thing is that the invitations have been freely and generously tendered, and the response will rest entirely in the free decisions of the peoples and governments of the invitees.

## TIME TO FOLLOW SUIT

It is said that the need for increased military spending has eliminated any chance for general tax reduction at this time. But that should not close the door against the correction of inequalities and injustices in our tax system—or against the repeal of special taxes which are damaging to the economic strength of the country and unprofitable to the government.

The federal excise taxes on for-hire transportation are very much in point. These were passed as a World War II emergency measure, and were designed to discourage unnecessary travel and shipping at that time as well as to produce war revenue. Yet they are still on the books. The National Conference for Repeal of Taxes on Transportation—which speaks on behalf of more than 100 organizations representing shippers, travelers, all forms of transport, agriculture and labor—recently told a House Committee this: "These transportation taxes should have early consideration because they are a severe

## ISRAEL MIGRATION TO DROP IN 1958

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following article appeared in the Feb. 10, 1958 issue of the Jewish Newsletter.

A sharp decline in the immigration to Israel is expected during 1958, according to official information. One of the reasons is that countries behind the Iron Curtain, under the influence of Soviet Russia, are beginning to reduce and even suspend Jewish immigration to Israel. At the beginning of last year, Poland promised to be the main reservoir of immigrations to Israel, with an anticipated emigration of 100,000 Jews. But during the year Poland stopped all emigration of repatriated Russian Jews and practically suspended the emigration of Jews born in Poland. The result was that only 33,000 Jews from Poland emigrated to Israel in 1957 and a considerable number of these returned home disillusioned with the economic conditions and the role religion plays in the country, particularly the mistreatment of families of mixed marriages.

Hungary, never a source of heavy emigration, is now following Poland's example and has stopped all emigration to Israel. With mass emigration from Morocco suspended a year ago, the sources of immigration to Israel have been practically exhausted. It is expected therefore that not more than 45,000 or even less immigrants will settle in Israel in 1958.

drag on for-hire transportation and on those who must rely on such transport; because they are the most discriminatory of excise taxes; because they affect the cost of living, and because repeal would be offset in considerable measure by more revenue from income taxes."

That last point is of great practical importance. A large part of these taxes are paid by business concerns and so are deductible expense against income tax. If the excise taxes were repealed, therefore, income tax collections would rise.

In any event, World War II ended long ago. It's certainly high time that these World War II emergency taxes followed suit.

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Staff Photo by Ken Hood, Jr.

**ROTARY HEARS ARAB LEADER**—The above photo was taken during the program of the Greenville Rotary Club Tuesday. It shows Dr. Fayez Sayegh, Acting Director of the Arab States Delegations office in the United States and counselor of the Yemen delegation to the United Nations. Shown to the left is Edward M. Carter, dean of Tusculum College, who introduced the speaker.

## Arab Nations Will Never Accept Communism, Rotary Club Told

Dr. Fayez Sayegh, told Greenville Rotarians Tuesday that if the United States would once again stand for the freedom and justice, for which it has long been known, in its relations with the Arabs then the Arabs would regain confidence in the United States and would be solidly with the Western Powers.

Dr. Sayegh, Acting Director counselor of the Yemen delegation to the United Nations, spoke

Tuesday morning at a special program at Tusculum College. Tuesday evening he was guest speaker at a dinner in his honor

at the First Presbyterian Church.

He discussed the geo-physical location of the Middle East, describing it as a land center of communications for that area of the world.

He spoke on the geographic make-up of the Middle East, saying that to consider the question of Communism in that section, one must first take the three parts of the Middle East in their proper perspective.

Dr. Sayegh described the Middle East as a large circle with two inner circles, saying that the outside of the circle was composed of Turkey, Pakistan, and Iran. The second section of the circle is composed of the Arab countries, eleven independent, and nine non-independent, and the center of the circle is composed of the comparatively new country of Israel.

He said that in Turkey, Iran and Pakistan, the Communist party is outlawed and all three countries are solidly behind the Western Powers.

Dr. Sayegh noted that the Arab people cannot accept Communism as an ideology as it is contrary to everything the Arabs believe—their religion precludes the adoption of what Communism stand for; their individualism makes it impossible to accept the theory of collectivism because of their love for family and nationalism, and their feeling that private property is sacred. Finally they cannot accept Communism, because to do so would undo the work toward a unity of the Arab nations and freedom as a nation. He pointed out that Communism is also outlawed in the Arab countries, and said that fewer Communists per capita exist among the Arabs than are here in the United States.

For these reasons, he feels that Communism can have no foothold in the Arab World.

Political relations are another of the Arab States Delegations office in the United States, and matter, according to Dr. Sayegh, who noted that even the United States became allies of the Soviet Union during World War

Continued on Page 2

## Arab Nations Will Never Accept Communism, Rotary Club Told

Continued From Page 1

II without becoming Communist.

He went on to weigh verbally the attitudes of the United States and the USSR in their relations with the Arabs.

He discussed the formation from Arab land of Israel calling the uprooting of the one million Arabs from their homes a wrong inflicted on the Arabs similar to that inflicted on the Jews by Hitler, and pointed out the 'United States' part in this.

Dr. Sayegh compared the way the United States told Britain, France and Israel that it was wrong for them to invade Egypt, and did nothing else, with the way the USSR threatened retaliation if they didn't stop.

He noted that many of the Arab's problems had been inflicted on them by the Western powers, but that Russia had produced no such problems for them.

He also said that when the Arabs received a "slap in the face" from the Western Powers, Russia would step in and give them help.

With these facts confronting them, the Arabs have a baffling choice to make, according to Dr. Sayegh, who said that even so, six Arab countries want to join with the West regardless of what the Western Powers had done. Other Arab countries can't make up their mind and remain neutral, willing to deal politically and economically with both the West and the East.

However, the debate is not pro-West or pro-East, but rather pro-West or neutral among the Arab countries, he added.

Israel, the center of that "circle" of the Middle East as described by Dr. Sayegh, has three Communist parties with one fourth of its Cabinet being Marxists, and twenty five members of its Parliament being

members of one of the three parties.

He said that much of Israel is made up of rural communities, and added that eighty-eight per cent of these communities, called Kibbutz, are owned collectively. Continuing, he said that the children in these communities stay in kindergarten, leaving once a day to see their parents, the people eat in community dining rooms, and the buildings are owned by the community.

He also brought out the fact that Israel first selected representatives to Prague, and then Moscow before selecting one to Washington when it was created by the United Nations and said that during the past ten years ten billion dollars have been given two million Israelites by the United States.

The Arab leader noted that Israel was the first country in the Middle East to buy arms from the USSR, doing so seven years before Egypt did.

He also noted that Israel too has a neutral foreign policy, which is surprising because of the support received from the United States, support which should have caused Israel to be wholeheartedly with the Western Powers.

In answering questions at the conclusion of his talk, Dr. Sayegh said that the recent election in which Egypt and Syria voted to merge into the United Arab Republic under Gamel Abdel Nasser truly reflects the respect and confidence the people have in Nasser.

Dr. Sayegh was introduced by Edward M. Carter, dean of Tusculum College.



*Dr. Sayegh Says...*

## Freedom, Unity, Better Life Objectives Of Arabs

By PAUL MAYES

Freedom, unity, and a better way of life.

Sounds much like the things sought by the United States in



DR. FAYEZ SAYEGH

Arab States Delegate

most of the wars this nation has fought — including the American Revolution.

But this time freedom, unity, and a better way of life are the chief objectives of the Arab state. That was the statement yesterday of Dr. Fayez Sayegh, acting director of the Arab States Delegations Office in New York.

Dr. Sayegh, interviewed while on a lecture tour of this area, added that the socio-economic status of the Arab state is on the increase, and the area is fast developing its vast array of material wealth.

The keen-witted lecturer and author vowed Communism would never have success in the Near East. The devout religious nature of the people would never fall for the doctrines of atheism conveyed by the Communists. Too, he added, the realistic nature of the people, along with their ageless belief in private enterprise and their strong family ties could never accept the ideologies of

(Continued On Page 2-A, Col. 5)

## Arab State

(Continued From Page One)

Communism which, he said, is outlawed in every Arab state, punishable by a jail sentence.

President Gamal Abdel Nasser, newly-chosen president of the Syrian-Egyptian unified state, is a hero to the Arabs, Dr. Sayegh said. The Arab peoples regard Nasser in much the same way that Americans view George Washington.

Dr. Sayegh added that Nasser's actions during the Egyptian crisis were considered by the Arab peoples to be in the interests for freedom.

Dr. Sayegh emphasized that there was no hostility between the Arabs and the Jews as Jews, but only with the Zionists political movement.

The son of a Presbyterian minister, Dr. Sayegh is a graduate of the American University of Beirut in Lebanon and of Georgetown University. He is the author of several books, booklets and articles and has participated in some thirty conferences, lectured at numerous colleges and universities in 12 states and has appeared on more than 100 radio and television programs, among them "Face the Nation" and the Mike Wallace program.

# For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayed  
A. Sayegh



## DR. FADHIL JAMALI AND ARAB UNITY

In the article which appeared in this space on 13 February, reproducing the transcript of my interview over the Tex and Jinx radio program, I had referred to the statements made by Dr. Jamali in January of 1954 and the memorandum which he submitted at that time to the Arab League, in his capacity as Prim Minister of Iraq, concerning the form which Arab unity could take. Some readers of this column have inquired about those statements and asked for greater details concerning the Jamali proposals.

For their benefit, as well as in the interest of other readers, I devote this column to the subject.

On January 11, 1954 the Prime Minister of Iraq, Dr. Fadhil Jamali, submitted a formal memorandum to the Council of the League of Arab States, calling for Arab unity on the basis of certain clearly-defined principles. He presented the memorandum with an explanatory statement, delivered on the same day. On 18 January 1954 he made a public statement in Baghdad, further clarifying his proposals. The texts of the relevant passages of these four documents follow:

### I STATEMENT OF 11 JANUARY 1954

The Arab nation struggles for two objectives: liberation and unification. The Arab peoples have been plagued by political situations for which they are not responsible but which have come into being as a result of generations of underdevelopment and colonialism. If we looked at the barriers and walls separating the Arab lands, and inquired who erected them and for whose interest were they erected, we would find that it was not Arabs who erected them and it was not for the interest of the Arabs that they were created. It follows, therefore, that Arabs have ahead of them a long period of struggle in order to free themselves and destroy those barriers.

"We all feel this way, and we all concede these facts. But we find ourselves nevertheless confronted by existing conditions and political situations which hinder our progress towards the destruction of these barriers and walls.

"When the Arab League was established, much was expected of it towards this end. But the League is a beginning and not an end . . . and ever since the establishment of the League we have failed to take effective measures in the direction of the removal of inter-Arab barriers. In fact, we have often heard it said that the call for Arab union aims at dissolving the Arab League—although, in fact, Article IX of the Pact of the League calls for closer relations among member states.

" . . . There are some enthusiasts for Arab unity who want the Arab States to be united all at once. This is a high aspiration and we wish it were possible to attain it. But, if it is not possible for all the Arab States to unite in one move, it surely is possible for two states to take the lead in the hope that others will follow in their footsteps, until at last all Arab States would unite. . .

"The proposal put forward by the Iraqi delegation is predicted on the recognition of the need for a gradual approach towards unity,

and in acknowledgement of the impossibility of union at one time."

### II MEMORANDUM OF THE IRAQI PRIME MINISTER TO THE ARAB LEAGUE

"1) The unity of the Arab peoples is no longer a mere pious wish. It is already a matter necessary for the Arab nation as a whole, on which its very existence depends as well as its capacity to protect itself against the dangers which surround it, and to solve the problems which confront it.

"2) It is incumbent upon the Arab States therefore to take practical steps towards union. It should be recognized that it is unlikely for all the Arab States to proceed together and at the same pace towards union . . .

"3) The assertion that progress towards union must be unanimous among all the Arab States and must be at the same pace has already delayed Arab union.

"4) It is therefore imperative that such Arab States as have present possibilities for union among themselves proceed immediately to implement such union, and that the other Arab States assist in this progress until they can join it.

"5) Any union between one Arab State and others should emanate from the volition of the peoples and governments of those states. Union should not take place on other than democratic bases.

### III STATEMENT OF 18 JANUARY 1954

"It was said that union among two or three Arab States may be directed against the interests of a fourth state, and that the balance of power among Arab countries should be preserved. Such talk assumes that the Arab countries are strangers to one another, or even mutual belligerents. Our position is that this is wrong. Union among any two Arab States, and the strengthening of any Arab State, serve the general welfare of all Arabs.

"There are some who call for the unity of all Arab States at once. This is undoubtedly a desir-

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Questions dealing with statements or current beliefs which tend to place the Arab countries or Arab-Americans in a bad light are particularly recommended.

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able end, to which we all aspire. But, from the standpoint of practicality, this end is difficult today to attain. If, then, total Arab unity is difficult to attain, must we stand hand-cuffed, doing nothing? Or must we rather agree on an evolutionary, gradual and piecemeal process, according to which two or more Arab States take the initiative and the others follow in due course? . . . I hope that the majority of Arabs would adopt the gradual process towards Arab unity."

## ON THE GO . . .

One of the most important addresses of his career as a prominent lecturer in the United States will be delivered by Dr. Fayed Sayegh at the National War College at Fort McNair, near Washington, D. C. at 9:00 a.m. on Friday, March 7th. Upon the invitation of the Commandant, Dr. Sayegh will speak on Middle Eastern problems to the Officers of the National War College and high-level Officials from various U. S. Government Departments. His major address will be followed by formal and informal discussion periods until noon, when he will be the honored guest at a luncheon given by the Commandant.

Dr. Sayegh's visit to the National War College will climax a week of speaking engagements and public appearances in Washington, D. C. Having just returned from a snow tour of North Carolina and Tennessee, where the wintry weather was no match for the warm welcome he received, Dr. Sayegh will arrive in Washington on Monday afternoon, March 3rd. He will speak on "Neutrality" at Georgetown University, his Alma Mater, at 8:30 p.m. on Tuesday, March 4th, and on "Arab Nationalism" at Maryland University at 8:00 p.m. on Wednesday, March 5th.

Members of the Eastern States Federation of Syrian-Lebanese American Clubs are planning a banquet at the Hotel Statler, at which Dr. Sayegh will be the guest speaker, for one of the other evenings during the week. His daytime activities will include radio and television appearances and press interviews and conferences.

Although he is known to be soft-spoken and quietly dignified, Dr. Sayegh is considered the most dynamic and articulate Arab spokesman in the United States. Highly esteemed in academic circles, he is also regarded a leading authority on Arab affairs by governmental and military strategists. In October, 1957, he addressed the Officers of the Army War College at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, at the invitation of the Commandant, and he has spoken on many occasions to Naval and Marine Corps Officers Units.



Diplomatic  
Gossip  
By  
LEVON  
KESHISHIAN

Egyptian Ambassador to Washington Dr. Ahmed Hussein will return to his post this week-end. He has been in Egypt for the last few months. It was not clear whether he will represent the new United Arab Republic in Washington. \*\*\*\* Dr. Jawdat Mufti left for Damascus, February 16, his place has been taken by Rafik Juejadi of the UN Secretariat who had to resign from his post on February 17. \*\*\*\* Omar Loutfi, the Egyptian chief delegate will leave to Geneva to head his country's delegation to the UN Conference of the High Seas. \*\*\*\* Washington Post published the picture of the Lebanese Ambassador Nadeem Dimishkie, helping his wife with her fur wrap as the couple were preparing to go to the dinner reception given by President Eisenhower. \*\*\*\* When he presented his letter of credence in February, Mr. Dimishkie was told by Eisenhower "the ties of friendship and respect which bind us are based on firm adherence to the principles of freedom and justice and unshakable determination to defend and preserve our cherished spiritual heritage". The Lebanese Ambassador told the President there exist between Lebanon and the United States "bonds of genuine friendship". \*\*\*\* Suez talks for compensation started in Rome February 19. \*\*\*\* Sunday Feb. 16. Dr. Fayed A Sayegh appeared on "United Nations in Action" and spoke on the different mergers in the Arab World. He was interviewed on CBS by Larry La Seur, which is coast to coast. Sayegh was magnificent. \*\*\* Prof. Hussein Kamel Selim has started a tour of lectures under the auspices of the Arab League. \*\*\* Bahaadin Toukan has been appointed the new Ambassador of Jordan to UN. His brother Taysir Toukan is with the Embassy and Consul General. \*\*\*\* Najib Bouziri, chief of the cabinet of the Tunisian Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs arrived with Mr. Slim Ben Ghazi to assist Mongi Slim in the Tunisian case before the Security Council. \*\*\*\* The Tunisian Consul Moncef Kedadi appeared on a TV and Radio program defending the case of Tunisia.

\* \* \*

Commander Elmo H. Hutchison, USNR, Middle East Director for American Friends of the Middle East, returned from Cairo on February 18 for a visit to New York. He is the author of the famous little book "Violent Truce". \*\*\*\* Arab states at the UN will soon lose two votes with the mergers of Egypt-Syria and Iraq-Jordan. \*\*\*\* Rep. Robert W. Hemphill, South Carolina, Democrat, announced that he has asked to have his name omitted when the entire 85th Congress is to honor next month the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. \*\*\*\* A study by Zionist shows that the attitudes of Christian churches appear to be accepting the "Arab line" that the refugee problem is the most important issue in the Middle East. \*\*\*\* Hasim Hilly, Iraqi Consul General here had a meeting with the publishers of The New York Herald Tribune. \*\*\*\* Iraqi Ambassador to Washington is rumored to move to Tunisia for his next job.

## Middle East In Torturous Dilemma, Dr. Sayegh Says

The Middle East today is in the throes of a torturous dilemma of global significance which can be relieved only by understanding action on the part of the United States.

This was the burden of an address delivered at East Tennessee State College yesterday by Dr. Fayez Sayegh, who is perhaps the chief authority on contemporary Arab affairs in the United States today.

Dr. Sayegh, who currently is director of the United States office of the Arab States Delegation and counselor to the Yemen delegation to the United Nations, spoke in a weekly college assembly program to a large audience of students, faculty members, and members of the local and area public.

His visit to the campus was sponsored by the college's International Club, whose president, Lebanese student Ibrahim Aboul-Hosn, introduced him to his audience.

Dr. Sayegh, a native of Lebanon who has attained wide renown as a spokesman for Arab unity and a foe of Communism in Arab countries, declared that Middle East merits unlimited interest and understanding today because geographically and strategically it constitutes one of the world's pivotal points.

This is so, he added, because it is a major natural gateway between Eastern and Western cultures and also because the economy of many of the Western world's most prominent nations rests upon its rich oil deposits.

He continued that its natural importance today is intensified by the internal convulsions of the Arab world and their peculiar relation to the international struggle between Western democracy and Communism.

The tragedy is, he added, that the rest of the world, especially America, does not sufficiently understand the problems of the Middle East and their relation to global issues because the popular press which is the source of most people's information has failed to provide the necessary key to insight into Middle Eastern complexities. The press, he declared, records the sensational rather than the significant side of events, which results in an ignorance which is a barrier to understanding and effective action.

Dr. Sayegh declared that the key which makes possible understanding of the Middle East is the Arab national awakening which has as its goal the recovery of the Arab unity which was shattered by British and French colonialism after World War I, the recovery of Arab freedom which was suppressed for centuries by

the Ottoman empire, and the replacement in the Arab world of a feudal cultural and social system by an enlightened modern system responsive to the best ideals of social justice and progress.

"In other words," declared Dr. Sayegh, "what is motivating events in the Arab world today is the same force which motivated America's revolutionary war patriots in their struggle with England not 200 years ago."

The speaker added that the Arab world in terms of political and social progress in the areas of universal suffrage and education have already gone much further along the road to a creative realization of their ideal than the sensationalism of the press permits people to realize.

But, he indicated, due to their position in history the Arab peoples are having to telescope in a brief period of time three movements toward modern democracy which the United States on the other hand had to experience and solve only at luxurious fifty year intervals. These necessary movements are wars of independence, struggles for unity, and achievement of an industrial revolution.

Complicating this tremendous necessity, declared Dr. Sayegh, are two exterior movements which are exerting heavy pressure upon the Arab world in its most trial-ridden hour. These are a lingering Western colonialism maintained by certain European nations and the tormenting problem of the State of Israel.

Regarding Israel, Dr. Sayegh stressed that this aspect of Middle Eastern conflict does not pit Arab against Jew, that it does not involve a racial or religious issue, but that it has as its feature the encroachment of the state of Israel and the Zionist political movement upon the welfare of the Arab people, millions of whom have been driven from their homes by Israel to the destruction of their happiness and livelihood and the economic weakening of the free Arab states which have had to grant them sanctuary.



# Letters: Civil Rights, Troubles in Israel

## Freedom and Rights

To the Editor of the Journal:

In your February 26th issue, you carried a front page article in which Senator Ervin stated that use of federal troops at Little Rock was just as much an occupation as when the Russians occupied Hungary.

Someone should enlighten the Senator and tell him that the Russians came to Hungary to suppress freedom and civil rights while the troops at Little Rock upheld freedom and civil rights. If Senator Ervin will snap out of his against-the-South complex, I think he will admit this is so.

While I'm on the subject, I would like to say that I agree with the Journal's recent editorial that attempts to push civil rights in this session of Congress could cause harm. It could cause harm in this and other states like Tennessee where there has been a sincere effort at moderation. Civil rights legislation now will only supply new propaganda to fascist-front groups and hurt the cause of moderation in this vexing problem.

While a course of moderation is the South's best hope, we should also realize there's a difference between moderation and procrastination.

Then, too, we still hear the feeble argument that the Negro is not yet ready for full civil rights. This makes about as much sense as saying he wasn't ready for freedom in 1860. If some people had been allowed to have their way, he would have never been ready either.

—JOE HINNANT

Hamlet, N. C.

## Israel's Arab Problem

To the Editor of the Journal:

I wish to comment on some of the statements that were made in a speech by Dr. Fayed A. Sayegh, acting director of the Arab States Delegation Office in New York. This was reported in the February 22 issue of the Winston-Salem Journal.

I have recently returned from a trip to Israel. During my sojourn there, I visited Israeli Arabs in their homes, their schools, their mosques, and at their work. I made trips to Arab villages and to cities and towns such as Jerusalem, Haifa, Acre, Ramle, and Safad where in Arabs and Jews reside. The Hebrew University in Jerusalem and the Technion in Haifa were also included in my itinerary. I talked with government officials and consulted reports of the Research Department of the Israeli Embassy in Washington, D. C., all of which were included in my search for truth concerning the Arabs in the Middle East.

With all these experiences, I therefore read with dismay and indignation Dr. Sayegh's vitriolic, malicious, and insidious statements which are an obvious intent to widen the breach between Israel and the surrounding Arab countries.

"The conflict is only with the Zionists, who created a problem as a political movement"—this one of the contentions of Dr. Sayegh. In an article entitled "The Basic Philosophy of Zionism" by Maurice Samuel, well known author and lecturer, Mr. Samuel declares: "that the Zionist movement began as an over-all Jewish revival in which was necessarily imbedded the concept of a reborn Jewish State." The historical, religious, and national associations of the Jews in the land of Israel go back to time immemorial and have never been interrupted during the whole course of recorded history. The recognition of these associations and the right of the Jews to a national home in Israel has found expression in the Balfour Declaration, in the Mandate of the League of Nations, and the Partition Resolution of the United Nations of November, 1947.

During the whole period of recorded history,

Palestine was never ruled by the Arabs of Palestine. They never comprised a separate political or social entity and have never been a self contained or autonomous unit. The rule of various Arab Caliphates, which was a foreign Moslem Rule, extended for a period of 432 years. Jewish rule of Palestine extended over a period of 2,000 years.

To quote Dr. Sayegh once more; "Israel has expelled most of the Arabs within its border against United Nations' instruction." The Arab refugee problem was created not as a result of the establishment of the State of Israel, but because the establishment of the State was forcibly resisted by the Arab States. The Arabs launched a war of destruction against Israel in defiance of the United Nations Partition Resolution on November 29, 1947. The number of Arab refugees who left Israel during 1947-1948 was approximately 587,300. For example, Jerusalem lost 30,000 Arabs; in Haifa, 45,000 deserted Israel, and very few of the 100,000 Arabs of Joffa remained. Only 160,000 Arabs were loyal in varying degrees to the State of Israel.

The actual exodus from Israel began on the expressed orders of the Arab commanders and political leaders who assured the people that their evacuation to the neighboring Arab countries would be of short duration and they would soon return in the wake of victorious armies. There were many pleas on the part of Jewish leaders to the Arabs to remain as peaceful inhabitants.

Israel has already repatriated 33,000 Arab refugees, who enjoy the same rights as the citizens of Israel. Since 1952, Israel has integrated into its economy 50,000 additional Arab refugees and has taken them off the United Nations relief roll. In addition, the Israel government has released almost all the funds held by Israel banks by the refugees and has paid out a total of \$7,000,000 in foreign exchange.

In 1952, the U. N. allotted \$200,000,000 for purposes of refugee resettlement thru integration and construction of large scale development projects in the host countries. The United States voted \$110,000,000 for the fiscal years 1953-1954 as a U. N. contribution to a resettlement fund. These sums are lying idle because of the refusal of the Arab governments to permit any solution which will make the refugee problem productive, self supporting members of their host countries'. Yet Iraq has scarcely opened its frontiers to the Arab refugees. Israel cannot settle the entire refugee problem for demographic, security, economic and social reasons.

Mr. Galloway, former United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) representative in

Jordan, declared to an American Progressional group in Amman in 1952. . . "It has been increasingly recognized that such plans (for rehabilitation, etc.) for a solution are constantly hampered and frustrated by political objection by the Arab countries which are not interested in any realistic solution to the problem but in keeping it as an open sore, as an affront to the U. N. and as a weapon against Israel."

In a recent interview, Golda Meir, Foreign Minister of Israel is quoted as saying "the adviser of refugees to the World Council of Churches in his report in May 1957 declared that the Arab refugee problem is by far the easiest post-war refugee problem to solve by integration. By faith, by language, by race and by social organization they are indistinguishable from their host countries. There is room for them, there is land for them,—more unusually still there is money to make this integration possible."

Again Dr. Sayegh declares: "Israel has reduced the Arabs remaining in Israel to a second class minority." At the present time there are now 200,000 Arabs living in Israel. According to the national law enacted in 1952, any person who on May 14, 1948 when Israel became a state officially, was a Palestinian citizen automatically acquired Israel nationality by residence. Thus the Arabs residing in Israel acquired full nationality and citizenship. As citizens of the State of Israel the Arabs enjoy the same rights and are under the same obligations as are all other citizens of the land with one exception—the Arabs of Israel are exempt from compulsory military duty.

Because of the refusal of the Arab government to conclude peace with Israel and because of their policy of infiltration and sabotage along the borders of Israel, some military restrictions are put on areas adjacent to the borders. These security regulations cause, of necessity, some inconveniences to citizens whether Arab or Jew, who live along the borders. Upon the conclusion of a peace settlement between Israel and her neighbors, these regulations will be abolished.

In conclusion, I state emphatically, that Israel wants peace with her neighbors. Israel wants to continue developing her land—physically, politically, economically, scientifically. She wants to continue her high standards of health. She desires to rehabilitate and integrate her people. She has made great, great strides in all these directions. God grant that she will be given an enduring peace, which she so richly deserves, in order to continue the great, noble tasks that be ahead.

—MRS. SAM ROBIN

Winston-Salem.

## Scrabblers and Plurals

By William Morris

Just as the traditional busman on a holiday hops aboard another bus, a group of secretaries in Milwaukee spend their lunch-hours playing "Scrabble" and worrying about such things as plurals and past tenses. One of them writes: "In our Scrabble game held during our lunch hour we constantly use the words 'aqua' and 'qua' and some of us are sure that these cannot be plural nouns. What guide is there to plurals and past tenses?"

First questions first. The word "aqua" as a noun means water, liquid or solution. Used chiefly as a pharmaceutical term, it is taken from the Latin without change in spelling and so its plural, following the Latin pattern, is "aquae," though "aquas" is also permitted. It certainly isn't a very common word, though!

As for "qua" as a noun, its origin goes to the other extreme. Coming from the slang of British thieves, it means simply "jail" and many thieves, I am sure, could testify that it can be used in the plural, "quas."

What guide is there for plurals and past tenses?

The simplest and quickest place to check is a good unabridged dictionary. If there is any irregularity as to the formation of the plural of a noun or the past tense of a verb, that variation will be entered in the parenthesis after the word itself. Otherwise, you follow the simplest rules, adding "ed" for past tense, and "s" or "es" for plural. Some dictionaries even list the plurals which require "es," thus doing all the work for you.

If you want to know the rules by which irregular plurals are formed, simply look up the word "plurals" in the main body of the dictionary. An explanation of how your particular dictionary handles its entries will be found in the introductory pages of the book.

I am reminded that some months ago when I wrote extolling the value—and fun—of having an unabridged dictionary at arm's reach within the home, a fellow enthusiast wrote and urged that I tell readers that one doesn't cost as much as you might think. Why not price one today? You'll be surprised!

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday March 6, 1958

THE CARAVAN

Page Three

# For The Record

By  
Dr. FAYEZ  
A. SAYEGH



## FACTS THE HERALD TRIBUNE DID NOT PUBLISH

It has been common knowledge among those who try to set the record straight by writing to American newspapers and commenting on wild allegations made in some of them, that very few letters pass through the Zionist-inspired censors and appear on the pages of the biased newspapers.

Having published a long news report, an editorial, and a three-column feature article by an admitted Zionist, on the question of the refugees, the New York Herald Tribune nevertheless has so far failed even to acknowledge the receipt of the following letter which I had sent to it on January 24th commenting on those tendentious reports and articles. I am therefore publishing the following text of my letter to the Tribune in this space:

To the Editor  
NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE  
230 West 41 Street  
New York 26, New York  
Dear Sir:

In its brief editorial of January 20 on "Resettling Arab Refugees", the New York Herald Tribune has concretely, although perhaps unwittingly, demonstrated how pious intentions and humane sentiments can be confounded by prejudice and discomfited by misrepresentation of facts or reiteration of stale half truths. The article is indeed a virtual fact in the dubious art of concentrated distortion: for in but three paragraphs, it assembles together no less than a dozen mis-statements of fact, besides prejudicially omitting a number of crucial facts without relevance to which the situation cannot even begin to be understood.

On at least four occasions, the editorial alleges that it is the "policy" of the Arab States to maintain the plight of the Arab refugees; and it attributes this alleged policy to the so-called "political and propaganda advantages" which are said to accrue to the Arab States as a result of deliberately "doing nothing at all for the refugees." This tendentious claim ignores three facts:

First, it is the refugees themselves who are adamantly opposed to any measure, whether temporary or permanent, which entails or eventually amounts to their forfeiture of their right to repatriation.

Secondly, the United Nations has categorically and firmly acknowledged the inalienable right of the refugees, if they so desire, to return to their homes, proclaiming and re-affirming that right in eleven solemn resolutions in the past nine years.

And, thirdly, the Arab States have contributed liberally to the relief of these refugees, co-operated with the international agencies working among them, and in diverse ways helped ameliorate their plight.

All these facts are matter of public record, and may be found to be abundantly substantiated and authoritatively documented in the relevant reports of competent U. N. agencies and resolutions of U. N. bodies.

What the Arab States have refused to do is to coerce the refugees into submission to the policy unilaterally decreed and defiantly pursued by Israel — the policy of barring the return of the refugees to their homes, in any numbers, now or at any time in the future. Had the Arab States lent their support to this policy,

by forcing a program of resettlement outside their homeland on the Palestinian refugees, they would have rendered themselves accomplices in the Israeli policy of finalizing the fait accompli, and abettors in the Israeli practice of defying the repeated injunctions of the United Nations, besides actively trampling upon the inalienable right of the refugees, as human being, to go back to their ancestral homes.

The article does pay lip-service to the truth by casually admitting that Israel "refuses to take back these refugees"; but, far from suggesting that this Israeli intransigence is the root of the trouble, it immediately proceeds to introduce an unfounded qualification by adding, "as long as there is no peace settlement." The implication is that Israel will consent to taking the refugees back once a peace settlement is attained. This is flatly contradicted by every official declaration made by any authorized Israeli spokesman or policy-maker on the question of the refugees. Thus, besides proving himself utterly unfamiliar with the position of the Arab States, whom he delights in scorning, and with the record of the United Nations, which he significantly dismisses from the picture, the writer of the article under review proves himself equally ignorant of the position of Israel, of whose persistent defiance of the United Nations and callousness to the homelessness of the Arabs it expelled he sets himself up as an eager advocate. The truth of the matter, whether or not the New York Herald Tribune wishes to admit it, is that Israel refuses to acknowledge in principle the right of the refugees to repatriation, and refuses to permit even partial repatriation. This double rejection of repatriation is not a temporary position of Israel which applies — as the writer groundlessly claims — "as long as there is no peace settlement"; it is rather the final position of Israel. It is precisely this unqualified Israeli rejection of repatriation — in any form, to any extent, at any time — that is the main obstacle to peaceful settlement of the Problem of the Holy Land.

The writer's thinly-veiled prejudice not only dims his vision of fundamentals, but also affects his every assertion throughout the article. For example, in referring to the camps in which the refugees live, he singles out the camps "in such nations as Egypt and Syria." Little does he know,

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Questions dealing with statements or current beliefs which tend to place the Arab countries or Arab-Americans in a bad light are particularly recommended.

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apparently, that less than 10% of the refugees registered with UNRWA live in these two countries; the remainder live mainly in Jordan, Lebanon, and the Gaza sector of Palestine. But, evidently, it is not facts and figures that determine the writer's assertions or omissions; and Syria and Egypt, being special targets of his wrath for other reasons not related to the problem of the refugees, are admirably suited for his purposes of selective condemnation in one passage of an article devoted to wholesale condemnation!

Nor does his distorted reference to "Moslem-Jewish" feelings do credit to his total understanding of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Elementary semantics, no less than facts and figures, are complacently sacrificed at the altar of prejudice.

Nowhere is the bias of the writer of the article in question as evident as it is in his effort to make a virtue out of recent Israeli decision to halt and perhaps reverse a ruthless policy persistently pursued for the past ten years. He applauds the recent announcement made by the office of Israel's Prime Minister revealing that a recommendation has been made for the establishment of a fund of less than six million dollars to be spent in the next three or four years for compensating and resettling some 20,000 Arabs who are refugees inside Israel.

But in his enthusiastic praise, he either misrepresents some aspects or conceals and neglects highly pertinent elements, as follows:

First: He gives only a partial and misleading account of the cause of displacement of these Arabs when he says that "they fled or were deported from their native villages during the 1948 fighting because they lived in frontier zones." The correspondent of the Herald Tribune, in the dispatch on which the editorial is based, had stated correctly (in the issue of January 14) that, besides those who "fled their ancestral villages during the Jewish-Arab war of 1948", some of these 20,000 Arabs left their homes "when ordered to do so on security grounds after the war", and adds that "nearly all the villages were destroyed in the fighting or subsequent to it". Some of these "refugees", then, are people who were not displaced during the war, but were forcibly evacuated from their villages by the Israeli Government after the hostilities had ended.

Secondly: While saying that "Israel now proposes to resettle them" and admitting (indirectly and casually) that so far they have been "making a wretched living as best they can", he fails to mention that for years, while Israel was doing nothing to permit these Arabs to return to the normal life they had led before they were uprooted, close to a million Jewish immigrants were being resettled in Israel, on land abandoned by Arab refugees, including

these same refugees who only now are being remembered by Israel.

Thirdly: These Arab refugees inside Israel, we are told by the correspondent of the Tribune, "are without tolerable lodgings and make their living as best they can, where they can." Yet they have been for years wards of the state — the same state which in the meantime has given their land, and the land of other Arabs, to Jewish immigrants, despite the fact that it had quarantined that it would treat its Arabs as equal citizens and care for their welfare! For, after caring for these refugees for three years, UNRWA finally submitted to Israeli pressure in June, 1952, and relinquished responsibility for them to the Israeli authorities.

On October 6, 1950, the Director of UNRWA reported to the United Nations in the following words:

"Recent discussion with the Israeli Government indicate that the idea of relief distribution is repugnant to it, and the Agency was informed that already many of the 24,000 remaining refugees were employed and that all able-bodied refugees desiring employment could be absorbed on works projects if they would register at the government registry offices for that purpose. It was stated that they all have status as citizens of Israel and are entitled to treatment as such. It was claimed that after cessation of relief, aged and infirm refugees would be cared for under the normal social welfare machinery of Israel. The Agency was requested to share financially in a program of re-establishment of displaced Arabs not within the boundaries of Israel." (U.N. Document No. A/1451/Rev. 1 paragraph 31).

In his subsequent report on the period from July 1, 1951 to June 30, 1952, the Director of UNRWA informed the United Nations that the discussions mentioned above had led to the conclusion on an agreement under which UNRWA handed over its responsibility for these refugees to the Israeli authorities. He wrote:

"Let in June, an agreement was concluded with Israel whereby that Government assumed responsibility for the care of the remaining 19,000 refugees in that country as of 1 July, 1952." (U. N. Document No. A/2171, paragraph 12).

For close to six years, then, these refugees have been the responsibility of the Israeli Government. They became such at its insistence, and upon its request—and on the basis of its pledge that they would be gainfully employed, that the aged and infirm among them would be cared for under the normal social welfare machinery of the State, and that they all would be treated as citizens of the State. The world has been led to assume, throughout these six years, that these pledges have been fulfilled, and that these refugees have been cared for or permitted to care for themselves as equal citizens with equal opportunities. But the new announcement of Israel of its intention to begin now to rehabilitate these refugees, in the next three or four years, carries with it not only the revelation that so far they have not been rehabilitated but also the shocking revelation that so far they have been "making a wretched living as best they can," to quote the words of the editorial writer. But not one word of censure, or even of regret, is uttered in the editorial concerning the manner in which they have been kept wretched by Israel: for the writer spares his condemnation for the

Arab States, while busily heaping praise upon Israel for its declared intention to embark now on rehabilitating these refugees.

Fourthly: The writer is silent about the question why these refugees, in whose welfare Israel now shows sudden interest, should be resettled in an area which the Herald Tribune correspondent describes as "a barren Wadi", instead of permitting them to re-establish themselves in their lands, on which they and their forefathers had made a decent living for millennia. Their villages, which were destroyed during and after the hostilities, have been turned over to Jewish immigrants. The newcomer has been given the confiscated, fertile land, while the native son of the land must fight his way to make a "barren Wadi" prosperous: this is the Israeli scheme which receives the wholehearted endorsement of the editorial.

Fifthly: The fund to be established for the purpose of rehabilitating these Arab refugees inside Israel in the next three or four years has been reported by the correspondent of the New York Times (issue of January 14) to be \$5,500,000—but the correspondent of the New York Herald Tribune, reporting on the same day, miraculously transforms it into double that amount.

Sixthly: the editorial again fails to mention that this money is in lieu of compensation to these Arabs for their land which has been confiscated and turned over to Jewish immigrants, that this compensation has not yet been made to them, and that it is long overdue. Contrary to the impression left the editorial, the new measure contemplated by Israel now reflects no charity on the part of Israel toward 20,000 of the 1,000,000 Arabs whom it made homeless; it betokens no readiness on the part of Israel to make up for years of wretched living it inflicted on the Palestinian Arabs whom it displaced; for it is indeed no more than a belated readiness — so far only an announcement that a recommendation has been made to the effect—to pay a part of the debt it owes to a small group of the Arabs of Palestine. Sincerely yours, Fayez A. Sayegh Counsellor



## YAKHNE

(Lamb stew)

Ingredients: 1 lb. of cubed lamb, 4-6 large potatoes, 4 large cups of water, 1 large onion, 1/2 can tomato paste, dash or oregano and salt and pepper.

Fry lamb and onions. Add tomato paste and cubed potatoes. Fry together for 1 minute, then add water and seasoning. Boil until potatoes are cooked. Add peas and carrots if desired.

## LABAN UMMU

2 lbs. of lean lamb, 4 large onions, 1 qt. of laban (yogurt), salt and pepper.

Fry meat in butter, add onions and salt. Beat one quart laban (yogurt) before cooking. Stir laban until thickened. Add half qt. of water and boil for ten minutes. Add the meat and onion to the laban and cook for half hour.

Rice may be served as side dish with laban ummu.



## Dr. Sayegh's "Whistle Stop Tour"

By Linda Abdallah

For two weeks, one city after another in North Carolina and Eastern Tennessee was being exposed to a forceful presentation of the Arab point of view—in many instances for the first time.



The Arab speaker was Dr. Fayez Sayegh, above, Special Counsellor to the Arab States Delegations and very well known to CARAVAN readers through his weekly column "For The Record" and his frequent lectures, radio and television appearances, and articles.

On Sunday, February 16, Dr. Sayegh left his sick-bed to appear on the CBS-network television program, "United Nations in Action", which is telecast over more than a hundred stations in the United States. After meeting the barrage of questions hurled at him by veteran U. N. correspondents, Dr. Sayegh flew, in the midst of the snow-storm which had gripped the eastern sea-board, to Charlotte, North Carolina, on the first leg of the tour which took him to nine Southern cities in twelve days. He visited Charlotte, Davidson, Durham, Greensboro, Winston-Salem and Mars Hill in North Carolina, as well as Greenville, Johnson City and Kingsport in Tennessee. He flew back at the end of last week, for a week-end of rest, and resumed his activities in Washington, D. C., this week, where he lectured on the campuses of Georgetown University, Maryland University, the Middle East Institute, and the National War College—the latter being the highest-ranking war college in the United States, attended by high officers of all service branches.

In North Carolina and Tennessee Dr. Sayegh delivered public lectures on the campuses of nine colleges and universities, including Duke University and Eastern Tennessee State College as well as full student-body convocations, and a number of church-groups and civic organizations. He made forty public appearances, in addition to some fifteen informal discussions with smaller groups. One of his speeches was attended by 2500 persons, including the students and faculty of the college at Johnson City. In almost every place, he had been preceded by Israeli spokesmen.

The press of the area reacted very favorably. At least thirty articles and news stories appeared

in the local papers, analyzing Dr. Sayegh's statements and commenting on his message. News bulletins on radio and television reported the high-lights of his talks. He appeared on several television shows and radio interviews.

Commenting on the results of his trip, in an interview with the CARAVAN, Dr. Sayegh expressed extreme gratification at the response of the residents of the two southern states to the Arab point of view. "There is a growing awareness among all sections that there are two sides to the Middle Eastern problems, and that Americans have so far heard only one side of the story. There is also a growing desire to hear the other side—the Arab point of view. Many people said freely that they were tired of hearing only one side, and that it was high time that the Arab point of view be presented. Even newspaper editorials, Dr. Sayegh added, publicly welcomed the occasion to hear the hitherto-unheard side of the Arabs; and at least one editorial in a Charlotte newspaper called upon Americans, particularly in the State Department to realize that Arab nationalism was now a reality to be reckoned with and accepted, not a fiction to be dismissed. The editorial in question appeared in the Charlotte NEWS, on February 22, 1958, and it ended with these words:

"The West must adjust rapidly to these developing realities. Historic decisions await to be made. They must not be made hastily or clumsily. Nor can the challenge of Arab nationalism be pooh-poohed any longer in the high and windy places of the U. S. State Department. It is here—really here—at last."

Dr. Sayegh concluded his interview to the CARAVAN with the remarks: "The results of this trip have once more confirmed my firm belief that time is ripe for a vigorous program of informing Americans about the real situation in the Middle East, the legitimate aspirations of the Arabs, and the rightness of the Arab cause."

It will be recalled that Dr. Sayegh had recently requested that he be relieved of his administrative duties as Deputy Director, Chief of Research and Chief of Public Liaison in the Arab States Delegations Office in New York, in order to be able to concentrate on speaking engagements all over the United States, and on written presentations of the Arab point of view. His request having been granted at the beginning of the year, he has since then spoken extensively in New York, New

## INVITED BY KING SAUD



SALOM RIZK, above, famous lecturer and author of the "SYRIAN YANKEE" was extended a special invitation by King Saud of Saudi Arabia to visit his country. He will leave the United States by plane March 22.

After visiting Saudi Arabia, Mr. Rizk intends to visit Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq and other Arab countries. His trip will extend to about five or six weeks.

## PROGRESS IN LEBANON

Installations of new fluorescent lights will continue in Beirut for the next 2 or 3 years. Up to the first of this year, 4000 lights had been set up in the main streets.

\* \* \*

Beirut has agreed to establish a center for the gathering of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) before they are sent to Gaza.

Jersey, Oklahoma, North Carolina, Tennessee and Washington, D. C. Next week he will address a public audience at the famous Massachusetts Institute of Technology, sharing the platform with Harold Stassen; and at the end of the month he will be in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, for a CBS television panel-program modeled after "Face the Nation". Later on, he will visit Florida and Minnesota in April.

In the midst of this active speaking and travelling program, Dr. Sayegh finds time to continue to write his weekly column, "For the Record", which has appeared without interruption in every issue of the CARAVAN since it was inaugurated last May, as well as a lengthy editorial article for every issue of the Newsletter of the Arab Students Organization. He is currently writing a booklet on **Recent Trends Towards Arab Unity**, which will be printed in March by the Arab Information Center. The American Mercury published, in its past and current issues, two articles by him on "Communism in Israel," which are being reprinted together in a separate pamphlet for free distribution.

As if all this were not sufficiently time-consuming, Dr. Sayegh also hopes to start very soon on his book, **Nationalism and Neutralism in the Arab World**, which he hopes to deliver to the printer early in the summer.



# THE CARAVAN

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Editor-in-Chief: **George S. Debs**

## RELIGION AND ARAB UNITY

(Continued)

Most of the Lebanese and Syrians who emigrated to this country and other countries were Christians. They carried along with them their old grudges, their old hatreds and their lack of tolerance. The average Moslem was better off than the average Christian in Lebanon and Syria, under Ottoman Moslem regime, and thus, did not have any incentive to emigrate. There are now, it is said, more Lebanese emigrants outside of Lebanon than there are Lebanese in Lebanon itself, and the huge majority of these are Christians.

In Lebanon, however, the Christian majority is not a majority anymore. With the Christians emigrating and the Moslems multiplying rapidly the situation has changed and will continue to change. The Lebanese government and members of parliament today, are aware of these facts and continue to postpone taking a new census for fear of the outcome. Elections and the number of members of the parliament for each sect or creed are therefore still based on the figure of the census years back.

Most of the Pro-Arab nationalists in Lebanon are Moslems, streaked with quite a few Christians. Most of the Anti-Arab nationalists, or rather Pro "Christian Lebanon," are Maronites; streaked with other Christian sects and creeds. There was a movement initiated in Lebanon to allow emigrants to vote in absentia but, so far, this movement has failed to materialize.

The merger between Egypt and Syria into a United Arab Republic has fired the enthusiasm of the Pro-Arab nationalists in Lebanon. Pressure from within and without is being exerted to bring Lebanon into this merger. Pro-Nasser demonstrations by shouting crowds have been dispersed by force in Tripoli. More trouble might be expected.

**The sober-minded, level-headed Lebanese, here and abroad, are neither for a Pro-Moslem nor for a Pro-Christian Lebanon. They are for a free and independent Lebanon. They realize that Lebanon belongs to All of its people, not to any particular sect or creed. The sooner other groups realize these facts, the better it is for the safety, security, and welfare of Lebanon.**

Lebanon is an Arab country. Even those who dislike the word "Arab" and prefer the adjective "Phoenician" forget that the Phoenicians came originally from the heart of what is today the Arabian desert. Lebanon who has been for many generations the standard-bearer of Arab Nationalism, Arab Culture and Arab Independence is still, until today, in the front line, defending Arab causes and fighting for Arab rights and freedoms. Lebanon has always been a refuge for the persecuted and we hope it will always remain as such. Even King Saud himself said once: "If there were no Lebanon in existence, we should create one!"

With conditions as they are today in the Middle East, with dissensions in the Arab ranks, with two or three different Arab camps fighting and exchanging threats, charges and countercharges of plots and would be assassinations, with the uncertainty of whether the pro-Arab nationalists or the pro-Moslem groups will prevail in the end, with no signs whatsoever that any of

With every article or letter to the editor published in The Caravan, the name of the writer will appear unless withholding of name is requested. The Caravan has the right to print anything in whole or in part, as the editor sees fit. No letters or photographs will be returned, whether published or not.

the Arab camps is willing to divorce religion from politics, it would be nothing short of suicide for Lebanon and its people, whether they be Christians, Moslems or Druzes to follow any other course but that of absolute independence and strict neutrality amongst other Arab nations.

\* \* \*

We applaud that part of the Maronite Patriarch's alleged declaration which raised a rumpus on the other side when he said: "The Maornites are a drop in the ocean of the Moslems and they must and should continue to live in peace and harmony with them!"

We admire the courage of the Melkite Patriarch who declared in the heart of Damascus that: "Our Moslem brethren must remember that there were Christian Arabs long before Islam was born!"

\* \* \*

To all of that, we can add that it behooves all of our people on the other side of the ocean to remember; whether they are in the majority or minority, whether they are Christians or Moslems; that whoever is willing to shed his blood and fight for freedom from foreign slavery, will never agree to become a slave to his own neighbor!

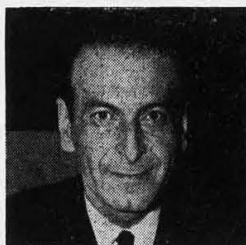
There will never be any hope in the Arab World of real freedom unity or independence until or unless religion is divorced from politics.

We are now in the twentieth century. We are not in the Middle Ages!

George S. Debs

## For The Record

By  
Dr. FAYEZ  
A. SAYEGH



### QUESTIONS ON ARAB UNITY

**Editor's Note:** Instead of the regular weekly column, we publish this week the full text of Dr. Sayegh's television interview of February 16, 1958, on the CBS network program "U.N. in Action", which is telecast over more than 100 stations across the country.

\* \* \*

Mr. Larry Lesueur: We're fortunate that this moment of crisis and also of unity in the Middle East we have as our special guest this morning Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, the distinguished spokesman in America for the Arab League. He's long been known as a champion of Arab unity and the author of several books on that subject. Born in Syria, Dr Sayegh is a son of a Presbyterian Minister and a graduate of the American University in Beirut, Lebanon. He won his Doctorate at Georgetown University in Washington, D. C.

Dr. Sayegh, I am very glad that you could make it here this morning, considering this terrible snow-storm outside — very unusual for a man from your part of the world.

Dr. Sayegh, I think we might start straight off, I'd like to ask you if this merger between the states of Syria and Egypt is for economic reasons or for military reasons?

DR. SAYEGH: I think it is fundamentally a return to normalcy in the Middle East. We Arabs feel that the natural condition of Arabs is to be united; that the state of multiplicity, separateness and division is an artificial state, which was brought about without our consent, against our will, and certainly contrary to our interests. So, as soon as we found it possible for us to return to normalcy, we took the first steps in that direction.

LESUEUR: You mean that the

states which did exist or do exist in the Middle East were created artificially by the former colonial powers, and you felt that they were all one empire before?

DR. SAYEGH: Well, we feel that Arab life is at its best and most normal when it flows freely within one community and one political entity. Whenever we were free to assert our will, we lived as a united community, rather than as separate communities. Then, after the First World War, the British and the French — in accordance with "secret diplomacy" agreements that they had made during the War — carved out a number of new political entities, some of which had had no antecedent existence as such whatsoever.

LESUEUR: Well, I think you forget, of course, that they were liberating you from something which I believe you wanted to be liberated from them, the Otto-

man Empire.

Well, we were jointly liberating ourselves. We were fighting for our independence at the same time that the Western Allies were fighting against Germany and the Ottoman Empire, which was at the time dominating over us.

LESUEUR: Dr. Sayegh, to get down to specific examples: In the case of the formation of the United Arab Republic, under President Nasser, how can you actually have a State when you don't have adjoining borders? How can you have a unified state when there is no common frontier between Syria and Egypt?

DR. SAYEGH: Now, naturally, the more common thing is for States to have adjoining borders. However, the more significant thing is for the same authority to extend to all territories of the state and for the same economic system, the same regulating forms of social and political life, to apply. In other words, having contiguous borders is by no means an absolute condition for statehood.

LESUEUR: But, nevertheless, the question of irredent arise — such as arose between Germany and Poland over the Danzig corridor. Won't this be an integral part of the life of a new state in trying to either get together or somebody trying to claim one side or the other.

DR. SAYEGH: No Because, fortunately, there are direct means of access between the two provinces of the new United Arab Republic — by air and by sea. It will not be absolutely necessary for the land that intervenes between the two territories to be merged into the Union for the Union to operate, since there are direct sea communications and direct air communications between those territories.

LESUEUR: Dr Sayegh, what about the question of the refugees when we turn now to the new merger of the other state, that is, Jordan and Iraq? Iraq will now take in some of the refugees from Palestine, will it not? Do you think that this will have the effect of easing the pressure on the refugees, who thus far have not had real country to call their own?

DR. SAYEGH: I think that the question of the refugees is entirely irrelevant to the question of Union, and vice versa. The question of the refugees pertains to the final settlement of the Palestine Problem and the Arab-Israeli conflict. To the extent to which — and I believe that that is the case — to the extent to which the failure of the solution of the problem of the refugees is the result of Israel's refusal to abide by the junction of the United Nations. . .

LESUEUR: . . . Well, that of course is a matter of dispute. But, the point is right now, if . . . If Iraq and Jordan have formed a new State with contiguous borders, and a lot of refugees live in Jordan, and Iraq does have a manpower shortage, won't this be an easing of the whole refugee case, and isn't this a positive sign towards peace rather than a question of prosecuting a . . . the Israeli-Arab war?

DR. SAYEGH: The question of the fate of the refugees still remains in exactly the same position in which it was before the Union. These people say, "We are entitled to go back to our homes." The United Nations has conceded their inalienable right to repatriation, if they so choose. So, then, the question of the refugees remains today in exactly

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, March 13, 1958

THE CARAVAN

Page Seven

the same position in which it was before the merger of Iraq and Jordan.

LESUEUR: Well, as long as they remain refugees. But if they were to become citizens of Iraq now, and were to go to work there, they would no longer be refugees, would they?

DR. SAYEGH: No; but if they were to become citizens of Iraq now, their capacity so become and their desire so to become (if the desire exists at all) have not been altered by the Union. That's what I have been trying to say—that the facts of the refugee situation have not been changed to any appreciable extent by the merger of Iraq and Jordan.

LESUEUR: Well, Dr. Sayegh, may I ask you this. We see in the Middle East now the formation of one state out of two Republics—that is, Syria and Egypt—and then the formation of another state out of two Kingdoms—that is, Jordan and Iraq. Is it possible for these two states to get together? Is it possible for a revolutionary Republic to get together with a combination of Kingdoms now?

DR. SAYEGH: Well, as you know, when the United Arab Republic was formed by the merger of Syria and Egypt, the invitation was immediately sent out to all other Arab States, either to join in the Union as integral parts of the new Republic, or to federate with it, by maintaining their own political regimes and their own autonomy but entering into a federal relationship with it. The invitation is therefore really a two-fold invitation. And I think that it is possible, with this flexibility, for kingdoms as well as republics either to fuse or to federate with the United Arab Republic.

LESUEUR: Well, as a member of the Yemen delegation, how would you say that a kingdom of a feudal gingship or a kingdom like Yemen could possibly federate with a revolutionary republic like Egypt?

DR. SAYEGH: Well, to the extent to which each federal unit maintains its internal political regime, that is possible. But I also believe further that the greater fluidity of life resulting from the federal relationship between Yemen and the United Arab Republic will eventually make it more possible for Yemen to elevate itself from its present system to a system closer to that which obtains in Egypt and Syria and other more advanced countries.

LESUEUR: In other words, you don't feel this merger of Egypt and Syria is an act aimed at the other countries' systems, the kingdoms of — as we mentioned before — Iraq and Jordan and possibly of Yemen. You don't feel that these revolutionary leaders would do, or are actually doing, something which these other countries might be threatened by, although, they have — we'll acknowledge — formed this other state as a rival counter-weight to the Syrian-Egyptian merger.

DR. SAYEGH: I seriously question this last appraisal. I don't think that the primary impulse, whether in the formation of the United Arab Republic or in the formation a few week later of the new Arab Federation between Iraq and Jordan, was rivalry. The primary impulse was the innate desire among all Arabs for destroying the barriers which were desire among all Arabs for desiring and restoring Arab unity.

LESUEUR: What could happen to the Arab League now, Dr. Sayegh, if some of its members have merged, and it seems to be rather split at the moment.

DR. SAYEGH: I think that as long as there is more than one

Arab state, there is room and need for an Arab League to coordinate their activities and measures. Once all Arab states are united, then, naturally, the Arab League will have survived its usefulness. But, as long as there are number of Arab states instead of one, there is need for the Arab League to coordinate their measures.

LESUEUR: Dr. Sayegh, what's going to happen to the Gaza strip? Has that been incorporated in the new merger state of Egypt and Syria?

DR. SAYEGH: No, because the juridical status of the Gaza strip is that it is not part of Egypt. Under the Armistice Agreement, the Egyptian Army maintains authority in the Gaza strip pending a final settlement, but Gaza has not been incorporated into Egypt.

LESUEUR: You don't foresee a time when the refugees will be allowed to migrate into these new merged states to start life afresh and get some hope in their rather hopeless position?

DR. SAYEGH: Well, I go back to say what I said before: that the question of the refugees is not affected by any new arrangements that take place within the Arab World, as much as by the relationships between the Arab states and Israel. It is part of the Arab-Israeli conflict, not part of the mergers or lack of mergers among the Arab States.

LESUEUR: Thank you, Dr. Sayegh, I'll be back in a moment with two well known UN correspondents after this announcement (STUDIO ONE ANNOUNCEMENT)

LESUEUR: . . . This is Larry Lesueur again at UN headquarters. With us today, to direct some questions to Dr. Faysel Sayegh, are John D. Molleson, the United Nations Correspondent of the New York Herald Tribune, and Max Harrelson, the United Nations Bureau Chief for the Associated Press.

Max, would you care to direct a question to Dr. Sayegh?

MOLLESON: Yes, thank you Larry. Dr. Sayegh, the merger of these countries in the Middle East has certain political implications, I believe, since Iraq is in the Baghdad Pact and there have been reports that the Communists had considerable influence in Syria, before. Could you give us your appraisal of the effect of these mergers on the Cold War.

DR. SAYEGH: Well, you know there were rumors, prior to the federation of Iraq and Jordan, that Iraq's membership in the Baghdad Pact was being reconsidered and that its fate was in the balance. But the proclamation of the Federation seems to have clarified this issue in the sense that Article III states that any member of the Federation that was committed to certain international commitments prior to the Federation continues to be committed to them as long as it so chooses without the other member necessarily being committed to them. So, then, Iraq's membership in the Baghdad Pact, for the time being at least, remains what it was prior to the Federation.

Now, this makes Iraq, from the standpoint of its foreign policy, at odds with the foreign policy of what used to be Syria, which was a policy of neutralism—namely, in my definition of it, an avoidance of entering into any alliance or alignment with any world camp. Neutralism did not mean that Syria was anti-Western and pro-Soviet. On the contrary, by definition and by implementation, it meant that Syria avoided being part of any Power Bloc or being aligned with either Power Bloc. It sought as much

to become independent of Western

influence and domination as it strove to remain free from Soviet influence and domination.

HARRELSON: Would you say then that the tendency to merge the Arab States is moving in the direction of taking this area out of the struggle between the East and the West?

DR. SAYEGH: Well, the one heartening and significant phenomenon is that both Union took place entirely as a result of the free decision of Arab leaders and Arab peoples. Neither of the two events was a manifestation of influence by either Power Bloc. Whether East or West. And, I think that is a very heartening phenomenon, because it shows that the area—the Arab area of the Middle East — is asserting its emancipation from foreign influences in dealing with its own problems.

LESUEUR: Well Dr. Sayegh, isn't it true that the . . . both Syria and Egypt both have negotiated long term loans with the Soviet Union and that it would be unlikely that they would annoy the Soviet Union if by merging the Soviet Union hadn't given this its blessing?

DR. SAYEGH: I don't believe that the blessing of the Soviet Union was solicited. I don't believe that the blessing of anybody—(inter.)

LESUEUR: In other words you . . . do you think that Syria is now being bolstered against Communist inroads by this Union with Egypt?

DR. SAYEGH: To the extent to which unity makes any component of the new Union stronger and more capable of standing on its own feet, to that extent, both components of the United Arab Republic, as well as both components of the Arab Federation between Iraq and Jordan, are now stronger and better able to withstand any efforts by outside powers to dominate them.

MOLLESON: Dr. Sayegh, what do you think will be the effect of these mergers on the Palestine Problem?

DR. SAYEGH: Well, there are several effects. One possible effect is that Israel might use either of these two mergers, or both of them, as a pretext for attack, as it used, if you recall, the establishment of a Unified military command between Egypt, Syria and Jordan in mid-October of 1956 as one of the pretexts for its attack on Egypt later that month. That is one possibility. Another possible consequence of the merger, is that, to the extent to which the members of these Unions become stronger — economically, socially, militarily, politically and in any other respect — they will feel more secure in facing the danger of Israeli expansionism, which is one of the main fears in the Arab mind affecting the relations between the Arab States and Israel.

HARRELSON: Dr. Sayegh, I think Premier Ben-Gurion of Israel just promised yesterday that within 10 years Israel would have a million more people but would have the same boundaries. Now, if there isn't any particular fear of . . . at least he says they will have the same borders — why can't these mergers, if they do increase the security of the Arab states, tend to help reaching some solution of the Palestine Problem?

DR. SAYEGH: Without sounding too cynical, Sir, I would recall that on the 27th of October of 1956, Prime Minister Ben-Gurion made assertions to the effect that Israel would not attack any Arab country unless it was attacked; and yet, within 48 hours, the Israeli Army was marching into Egypt. I don't think that, with

such events in our memory, and also in view of all the ideological statements of Zionist leaders, including Ben-Gurion, to the effect that they have today is only a part of what they call their homeland and that Zionism will not rest until it has taken the whole of so-called "Eretz Israel,"—with these in mind, I think we could not really rely on such unilateral assertions by Ben-Gurion.

LESUEUR: I was just going to say, Dr. Sayegh, that it's also to be recalled, that just 2 days ago, I think King Hussein of Jordan promised to exterminate Israel all over again.

DR. SAYEGH: I beg your pardon, Mr. Lesueur; King Hussein promised to "restore Arab rights in Palestine" which is quite different from saying that he promised to exterminate Israel. Let's quote him correctly, please.

LESUEUR: Well, actually, probably to the Israelis it would amount to the same thing.

DR. SAYEGH: No sir. It is not up to the Israelis to interpret what an Arab means, when he says what he says. I think it is up to the Arab who makes a pronouncement to explain what he means. Restoring Arab rights in Palestine is not the same thing as exterminating Israel.

LESUEUR: Well, isn't it possible for some sort of a peaceful, positive action to grow out of these mergers. Isn't it possible for Israel to be . . . to join in this Federation and keep its own sovereignty and make the whole Middle East a viable area?

DR. SAYEGH: Of course it is extremely interesting to indulge in long-range speculation about hypothetical possibilities. I believe, however, that the prospect of Israel's joining in an Arab Federation is one of those amusing long-range speculations which have to be perhaps somewhat restrained by our realistic awareness of present conditions and difficulties. I think that the main thing to be recalled is that Israel herself does not look upon herself as a member of the Middle Eastern community. She does not look upon her destiny as intertwined essentially with the destiny of the Middle East. Let me quote Ben-Gurion again, whom you seem to be fond of quoting this morning. He said in one of his recent books, *The Rebirth and Destiny of Israel*, which was published in 1954, that "Israel is part of the Middle East only in geography, which is a static element, but from the standpoint of the dynamic element of nature of character, Israel is not a part of the Middle East, but of world Jewry." Now, with such a concept of itself as is held and cultivated by Israel, I find it extremely difficult (even apart from present political differences between the Arab states and Israel) to conceive of Israel even wanting to join in a regional federation in the Middle East.

LESUEUR: I don't think either of us 3 correspondents can talk for the Israelis or for Zionism. But, Dr. Sayegh, may I ask you this. When you speak of the neutrality of the Arab States, does that mean actually the ability to bargain between Russia and the Western Powers? In other words, enjoy the best of both worlds?

DR. SAYEGH: No. I think it means essentially, the ability to deal with, and to initiate or promote relations with, any Power on a basis of mutuality, and to establish relations with any Power or Bloc of Powers as long as those relations are freely negotiated, freely entered into, and freely maintained and as long as they are reciprocally implemented.

LESUEUR: You said before that you feel that this will have a relationship to the Baghdad Pact. The Baghdad Pact ties the several countries in it from actually bargaining with Russia, does it not?

DR. SAYEGH: Well, the Baghdad Pact represents . . . (inter)

LESUEUR: Is that the chief objection to it. . . to the Baghdad Pact, that you can't . . . you can't negotiate with Russia because it's an anti-Communist Pact?

DR. SAYEGH: I think the Baghdad Pact essentially is a choice of self-alignment with one world camp—one of the two contending world camps; and therefore the philosophy underlying the Baghdad Pact as an act of alignment with one camp is irreconcilable with the philosophy of neutralism, which means non-alignment with any camp and free relations with both camps.

LESUEUR: Thank you very much, Dr. Faysel Sayegh, for giving us this calm and fairly dispassionate view of the Middle East this morning. And, thank you, John Molleson of the New York Herald Tribune, Max Harrelson of the Associated Press. We tried to give you today an idea of the international implications arising from the newly emerged states in the Middle East as was viewed here from the United Nations.

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## BLESSED ARE THOSE

We print the following opening verse from a poem which Mrs. Mary Neimy of Coral Gables, Fla. recited at a Hafli during the dedication of St. George's Church in Miami. We add our blessing to hers regarding the hard workers with sealed lips. . .

Blessed are those with love so great

They do not know the meaning of hate.

Blessed are those who built and bought,

And also those who gave much thought. . .

Blessed are those whose lips are sealed

The more they worked the less they revealed. . .



Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, March 13, 1958

THE CARAVAN

## ARAB UNION IN BRIEF

(From Arab News & Views)

This is a chronological summary of the steps which have led directly to the formation of the United Arab Republic, recently announced between Syria and Egypt.

- 1945, March 17 — The formation of the Arab League in Cairo to which both Syria and Egypt belong, as well as Libya, Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Jordan, Iraq and Lebanon.
- 1950, September 5 - The Syrian constitution passed by a Constituent Assembly. This constitution states that the Syrian people form a part of the Arab nation and that they look forward to the time when the Arab nation will be unified in one state.
- 1955, October 20 - A Military Joint Defense Agreement between Syria and Egypt provided for the establishment of a Higher Council, a War Council and a Joint Command, as well as for placing the entire armed forces of the two countries at the disposal of this joint Command in time of war.
- 1956, January 16 - The new Egyptian constitution was presented to the Egyptian people, in which it is stated that the Egyptian people are a part of the Arab nation.
- 1956, June 23 - The new Egyptian constitution was ratified by the Egyptian people in a referendum vote.
- 1956, July 4 - The Syrian chamber of deputies voted to abolish passports between Syria and the other Arab countries on condition of reciprocity.
- 1956, July 5 - The Syrian parliament unanimously approved plans for a committee to negotiate with Egypt for a federal union of Egypt and Syria.
- 1956, September 2 - Syria and Egypt reached an economic agreement for industrial cooperation and the formation of joint companies with joint capital for economic projects.
- 1956, September 3 - President Quwatly, of Syria said that any aggression against Egypt would be considered aggression against Syria.
- 1957, January 2 - Al-Gumhuriyah, an Egyptian paper, announced that talks would begin soon on the unification of Egypt and Syria.
- 1957, January 5 - Prime Minister Asali said that Syria would soon appoint a ministerial committee to start negotiation for a federal union of Egypt and Syria.
- 1957, March 15 - The Arab Cultural Unity Agreement was concluded between Syria, Egypt and Jordan. The aim of this agreement was to unify teaching and education in the three countries and to encourage cultural cooperation among them, thereby contributing to the achievement of Arab Unity.
- 1957, September 3 - Syrian and Egyptian Delegations signed an Economic-Unity Agreement in Damascus to form a joint committee to suggest within three months measures for the final economic unification of the two countries. This agreement stated that "The Government of the Republic... in pursuit of their aim to promote the unity of the Arab nation have agreed to establish comprehensive economic unity with the utmost speed..." The agreement stated that they would form one customs region, that they would unify and coordinate economic legislation, and that they would eventually unify the currency in the two contracting countries, Syria and Egypt.
- 1958, January 26 - Syria and Egypt announced that they were working on a final draft of a treaty of federation.
- 1958, February 1 - Announcement was made from Cairo of unification of Syria and Egypt into the United Arab Republic. All Arab states were invited to join the new republic in union or federation. The new state was to have a single flag, cabinet, parliament, army, and president.
- 1958, February 3 - Ambassador Kamil Abdul Rahim, representative of the League of Arab States, commented that the union was "a new milestone on the road to complete Arab unity." He added: "Such an arrangement is envisaged in Paragraph I of Article 9 of the League Covenant." He quoted this passage as follows: "States of the League which desire to establish closer cooperation and stronger bonds than are provided by this pact may conclude agreements to that end." He drew a parallel between the stages in the unification of the Arab countries and the formation of the American colonies into the United States. He also stated that agreements promoting unity among Arab states "are expected to promote stability

in the area and to advance solutions to social and economic problems."

1958, February 4 - Abdel Khalek Hassouna, Secretary General of the Arab League, made this statement when asked about the union between Egypt and Syria. "It is the beginning of union among all of the Arab states. It is not to be considered a new bloc in the Middle East, but rather as a reinforcement of Arab interests and a strengthening of Arab nations."

1958, February 5 - In a speech to the Egyptian Council of the Nation in Cairo, Gamel Abdul Nasser stated that the system of government for the United Arab Republic would be a presidential democratic system under which the executive power would be vested in the president of the state.

Nasser then went on to outline the principles of the new state in a 17-point provisional constitution which gave the procedure by which the union of Syria and Egypt would be made effective. He described the union as "A united Arab state, an independent, democratic and sovereign republic: its people is part of the Arab nation."

"Liberties are safeguarded within the limits of the law." He stated that "The legislative powers shall be vested in a council named 'a council of the nation' with a defined number of members whose choice shall be made by a decree of the president of the Republic, at least half of the members to be from among the members of the Syrian Chamber of Deputies and Egyptian Council of the Nation."

"The president of the Republic shall be invested with executive powers.

"All the provisions of legislations in force in Syria and Egypt shall remain valid within the regional limits defined at their issue: These legislations may be abrogated or amended.

"There shall be formed in each region an executive council presided over by its president appointed by decree of the president of the Republic. . .

"The jurisdiction of the executive councils shall be defined by a decree of the president of the Republic.

"The provisions of international commitments and agreements ratified between both Syria and Egypt and other powers shall remain in force in the original spheres defined at their ratification. . .

"The existing public departments and administration which are in force in Syria and Egypt shall remain so until they are reorganized and merged by decrees of the president of the Republic.

"Measures shall be taken to lay down a permanent constitution of the United Arab Republic.

"A plebiscite on the unity and the identity of the president of the United Arab Republic shall be held on Friday, February 21, 1958.

1958, February 5 - In Damascus, President Quwatli formally announced the formation of the United Arab Republic in a speech to the Syrian Parliament. He said that Syria had initiated the move for unity. He also stated that "freedom and unity formed the common ground on which Syria and Egypt had met." He proposed President Nasser as the first President of the United Arab Republic. This, together with the 17-point provisional constitution, were approved unanimously by the Syrian Parliament.

1958, February 21 - The proposed date for the plebiscite expected to ratify the formation of the United Arab Republic and name a president for the Republic.

\* \* \*

After the plebiscite the Union followed.

THE

Roving

REPORTER

By John R. Ameer

We recently received a letter from Renee Jacobs, of Cleveland, Ohio, informing us of the First Melkite National Convention commemorating the golden jubilee of St. Elias Melkite Catholic Church, in Cleveland. Miss Jacobs asks for assistance in publicizing the convention by the distribution of flyers and posters and news stories.



To avoid duplication of effort in the New York Metropolitan area, I have suggested to Miss Jacobs that flyers, posters and publicity be directed to the CARAVAN and other newspapers which are the focal points of service for all our people. The best possible distribution of this type of publicity can be obtained by contacting the newspapers, which in turn will work through its correspondents.

The golden jubilee of St. Elias Church will have Danny Thomas as special host welcoming everyone to the three day convention to be held June 13, 14 and 15. There will be entertainment, dancing and music, as well as tours and food. Mohammed el-Bakkar will be a featured entertainer.

Reservations are requested at



PROUD OF DR. SAYEGH

Please add my name to your list of subscribers, starting with the March 6 issue. There is an article about Dr. Fayez Sayegh which I would like to have.

As you know, Dr. Sayegh was here in Charlotte about a month ago and he did an excellent job of presenting the Arab point of view on Palestine and Arab problems in general. We are very proud of him. Mr. Diab Rabie sends his warm greetings to you.

Ezzedin M. Shamsedin  
Acting Head, Department of Economics.

Editor's Note: We are all "very proud" of Dr. Sayegh. Our only regret is that there are very few like him here in America to present the Arab point of view.

WANTS ARAB DAY PARADE

After viewing the St. Patrick's Day Parade along Fifth Avenue today, I began wondering; in America they hold parades for practically every known nationality. For example, there are parades for Hungarians, Greeks, Polish, Irish, Italians, Fernch, Norwegians, Chinese, etc., etc. As a matter of fact, they even hold a parade for the Communists. Well then, if that is the case, why not have a parade for the ARABS?

I realize that this idea may seem difficult to formulate and accomplish, but remember, all of these aforementioned nationalities also had their trying moments in the beginning.

In this great country of America, all nationalities have a right to preserve, indoctrinate, promote, retain and advance their own individual background and ancestry. As a matter of fact, America advocates this. In America there are more foreign language publications, more foreign societies, etc. - more than any other country in the world. That is one of the reasons that makes this country so distinctive from the rest of the world.

There is definitely a "need" for such a parade. When I say a parade, it does not mean simply a display of participating ARABS in this city, but also a representative group of all the ARAB countries in a magnificent array. For example, those that originated from Jerusalem could accentuate the birth of Christ, those from Egypt could depict the great and long history of Egypt, those from Iraq could display the Garden of Eden or the invention of the "wheel", those from Arabia could display the land where Moslem religion was founded, those from Syria could display the oldest city in the world and Lebanon the famed Cedars of Lebanon, the first Phonetic alphabet, the first sea-going people, etc. etc. The subjects and matter are as endless as its history is long.

This is truly a challenge that all Arabic



LEVON  
KESHISHIAN

JORDAN — Ambassador Bahaud-Din Toukan, presented his credentials to Dag Hammarskjold as the new permanent representative of his country to the United Nations, on March 11, 1958. \*\*\* Born in Es Salt, 1910, he received his early education in Transjordan and Jerusalem schools, and graduated from the American University of Beirut in 1932, with a B. A. He then entered diplomatic service in 1949, serving as Consul General in Jerusalem, then Minister in Egypt and later Minister to Turkey. In 1955 he was appointed undersecretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Jordan and following year appointed Ambassador to the Court of St. James. He is the author of a number of books including "History of Trans-Jordan and its tribes" (in Arabic) and in English "Short History of Transjordan".

MOROCCO: Dr. Ahmed Laraki, arrived here on March 14 as special envoy to handle North African affairs, particularly the Tunisian crisis and the Moroccan troubles with Spain and France. Dr. Laraki was the chairman of the Moroccan delegation to the general assembly, a medical man by profession, he has devoted his services to his country as one of the top aides of Foreign Minister Ahmad Balafrej. After having contacts with Hammarskjold he left for Washington and had a meeting with Mongi Slim of Tunisia and State Dept. officials. \*\*\*\* Moroccan Ambassador Dr. Mehdi Ben Aboud (also a medical man) is on a lecture tour in Chicago. His second the Moroccan Minister Dr. Ahmed Benaoud, also medical man, gave a dinner last week, among those present were William Rountree and Julius Holmes. \*\*\*\* Dr. Abdelkader Laraki, Eisenhower fellowship here, lectured at Princeton and later in Washington presented to President Eisenhower a leather desk set and the President personally acknowledged the gift writing a letter to Dr. Laraki.

OTHERS: Elmo H. Hutchison, speaking in Chicago, told American listeners Gamal Abdel Nasser is no dictator. He said Nasser has pushed out all opposition because he believes that with the body of supporters that he has gathered around him he can go on to solve social and economic problems. He said the U.A.R. is "a definite blow to communism." \*\*\*\* Dr. Abdel Moneim el Banna and Ali Fahmi arrived here from Cairo and are participating in the UN Special Fund conference. \*\*\* 14th Annual National Conference of The American Council for Judaism was held at Houston, Texas. \*\*\* Abdel-Mawgood Hassan press attache of the U.A.R. Delegation to the UN has published a very interesting pamphlet called

on March 15 and on March 24 in Boston before the Syrian Ladies Aid Society.

TUNISIA: Mongi Slim gave a big reception in Washington celebrating the second anniversary of Tunisia, on March 20.

ZIONISTS SCORED FOR NATIONALISM

Clarence L. Coleman Jr., president of the American Council for Judaism, criticized the Zionist movement for what he termed was its "effort to include the Jews the world over in one nationalism—the nationalism of Israel."

Other leaders of the council, which has strong anti-Zionist policy, stated the American Jews who classify themselves as non-Zionists were to blame for the success of Zionist causes. Another charge was that Zionism fostered the teaching of Hebrew "not as an instrument of learning but as an instrument to bind the Jews of America to Israel."

These assertions were made at a dinner session of the council as it continued its fourteenth annual conference at the Shamrock Hilton Hotel, Houston.

In scoring what he termed the "nationalist" character of the Zionist movement, Mr. Coleman declared that "official proclamations of the State of Israel and every objective of local Zionist groups contain the force and direction to endow Jews outside of Israel with the nationalism of the state."

In blaming non-Zionist for the success of the Zionist movement, Rabbi Elmer Berger, executive vice president of the council, cited three reasons:

"1. Non-Zionists were afraid to test their strength or to stand for a position they know would be unpopular. At each crisis they blurred the issues and assured anti-Zionist Jews the worst was over.

"2. Non-Zionists never really created agencies of their own for independent action in the fields of public affairs, observance of Judaism or philanthropy.

"3. Zionists permitted naive non-Zionists to think Zionism was whatever anti-nationalist Jews wanted to think."

Lessing J. Rosenwald, a founder and former president of the council, told the session that "on countless occasions, Israeli officials have urged that Hebrew be taught as one means of interesting American Jews in Israel, with the hope that eventually it will entice them to emigrate there.

Mr. Rosenwald declared that "we dissent from all those related doctrines that stress the racialism, the nationalism and the theoretical homelessness of Jews. We oppose such doctrines as inimical to the welfare of Jews in Palestine, in America or where ever Jews may dwell."

With every article or letter to the editor published in The Caravan, the name of the writer will appear unless withholding of name is requested. The Caravan has the right to print anything in whole or in part, as the editor sees fit. No letters or photographs will be returned, whether published or not.

3 - According to the Islamic law, the share of a male in an inheritance is twice the share of a female. If this is made a general law or if it is revised in any way, a great deal of grumbling will no doubt be heard from all sides.

\* \* \*

These are just a few examples that could be given to show the real hardship which confront the leaders of the nationalist Arab unity movement in trying to divorce religion from politics in the Middle East. But, in spite of these many hardships and many difficulties, the Arab nationalist movement is gaining ground every day and cannot be ignored. With a spirit of tolerance and understanding and a real Arab awakening in the Middle East these seemingly unsurmountable obstacles can be and should be removed. The first real step in this direction is to keep religious discrimination out of the constitution which is now being planned for the United Arab Republic.

George S. Debs

## For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayed  
A. Sayegh



### IS ISRAEL A "JEWISH" STATE

In the previous issue we examined one facet of the fundamental misconception pertaining to the Arab-Israel conflict, which misconception Zionism deliberately creates, nurtures, perpetuates and disseminates — namely, the allegation that Zionism and Judaism are identical; that the Arab-Israeli conflict is a manifestation of Arab-Jewish hostility; and that Israel is the "Jewish" State which represents world Jewry at large, in which every Jew is said to have an essential stake, and to which Jews of all lands owe special obligations.

In dealing with the first aspect of this misconception, we have shown that none of the traditional elements of hostility between human groups — religious, cultural, linguistic, or ethnic — obtain between Arabs and Jews; that, indeed, precisely the opposite is the case; that, in fact, the two terms are not mutually exclusive, but belong to two levels which can and do overlap; and that historically speaking, amity and tolerance, rather than hatred and hostility, have marked the traditional relations between the two groups. We have also emphatically suggested that, if the invaders of Palestine (who swarmed the country with the avowed intention of setting up a national home of their own in it, and eventually displaced the inhabitants of the land, usurped their property, and replaced them by immigrants from seventy different lands) have stimulated a reaction of resistance and opposition among the inhabitants of Palestine and their fellow-Arabs in adjacent territories, it is not because those invaders were adherents of a certain faith, but because they were perpetrators of a certain deed: it was not who they were, or what they were (in terms of creed or race) but what they did, that created the reaction to their invasion.

Today we turn to the other side of this matter, and examine the widely-publicized designation of Israel as the "Jewish" state.

\* \* \*

For a state to be "Jewish", or "Christian", or "Muslim", it must

fulfil one or the other of the following requirements: it must, first, manifest in its deeds, reveal in its conduct, embody in its life, or symbolize in its existence, the distinctive teachings of that faith which it claims to represent; or it must, secondly, embrace within its borders all adherents of that faith; or, thirdly, it must have on its soil a population dedicated, in its overwhelming majority, to the ideals and convictions of that faith. Israel is "Jewish" in none of these senses. Examined in the light of any of these criteria, it fails to qualify to be labelled authentically "Jewish".

1. For the deeds and conduct of Israel, initiated by the Government and apparently endorsed by the majority of its articulate citizenry, represent a betrayal, rather than a fulfillment, of the teachings and ideals of Judaism, and a violation of its cardinal principles. Massacres and aggressive raids, invasions and wars, usurpation of the property of others, and world-wide distortion of the truth by the manipulation of the media of communication and the dissemination of patent falsehoods — all these Israeli deeds are the opposite of the sublime teachings and lofty ideals of Judaism as a religion.

2. Moreover, the inhabitants of Israel today are — and are bound to remain — only a fraction of world Jewry. Hence Israel cannot be looked upon as a state of world Jewry, since the largest sectors of the latter live within, and belong to, other nations, and

should owe allegiance exclusively to other states, of which they are nationals.

3. Nor is the sector of world Jewry, which has been brought into Israel by the concerted efforts and high-pressure inducements of Zionist organizations, authentically "Jewish" in its majority. For it is a well-known fact, which few Israelis care to contest or conceal, that only a relatively small proportion of the inhabitants of Israel is "Jewish" in the sense of being dedicated to the principles and teachings of Judaism, or practising the ideals of that faith or its rites. Most citizens, and almost all active leaders, of Israel are either professed atheists and non-believers, or at best indifferent and non-practising Jews. This applies particularly to the European immigrants, who form the substance of the Israeli body politic and dominate its policy-making agencies.

\* \* \*

Israel as a state, and the Israelis as a people, have shown marked disrespect for the creed and code of Judaism in the conduct of the state during the past ten years; Israel is, therefore, a "Zionist" — but not a "Jewish" — state. The claim of Israel to be "Jewish" is the result of either an erroneous identification of "Zionism" with "Judaism", or a deliberate intent to deceive world Jewry and to induce the Jews of the world to involve themselves in, and to identify themselves with, the fate of Israel, in order that they may rally to its support financially, diplomatically, politically, and propagandistically. It is a deliberate tactic designed to exploit the Jews of the world.

\* \* \*

If Israel were indeed a "Jewish" state, then its establishment in the Middle of the Twentieth Century would have been an act of retrogression, and its continued existence in this century would have been decidedly an anomalous phenomenon, at odds with the prevailing trends and patterns of this period in world history. For, in this age of nationalism, the world has outgrown the practice of grouping people into political entities on the basis of their religious affiliations. Far from being the "progressive" state which it claims to be, or symbolizing the "progressive" trends which it professes to incarnate, Israel, as the self-styled "Jewish" state, would indeed merit to be judged emphatically as a retrogressive act, an accomplishment which arrests and reverses the progress of the entire world — from the medieval stage, at which socio-political life was organized on the basis of religious affiliations, to the modern era, where national rather than religious entities constitute the units of the international scene.

## FACT & OPINION

The difference between a neurotic, a psychotic, and psychiatrist: the neurotic builds castles in the air, the psychotic lives in them, and the psychiatrist collects rent on them.

— National Safety News.

\* \* \*

Most people say that as you get old you have to give up things. I think you get old because you give up things.

— Sen. Theodore F. Green, of Rhode Island (aged 90).

With every article or letter to the editor published in The Caravan, the name of the writer will appear unless withholding of name is requested. The Caravan has the right to print anything in whole or in part, as the editor sees fit. No letters or photographs will be returned, whether published or not.

There are ways and means for members of ALSAC, however, to change or amend the constitution if they choose to do so.

These ways and means are specified clearly in Section 1 of Article VII. The way to do so, however, is not by creating confusion while the drive is on. It is not by trying to change horses in midstream. It is by working within your organization.

We have faith in Danny!

We have faith in our people!

We hope, that for once at least, we can forget our petty squabbles and work together.

George S. Debs

## For The Record

By

Dr. Fayer  
A. Sayegh



### "LET'S PLAY CARDS — BEN GURION STYLE"

A friend from Indiana has written me recently inquiring about the statement commonly made by the Zionists to the effect that, while Ben Gurion has frequently offered to negotiate peace with the Arab States, not one Arab leader has accepted to sit down with Israelis for the same purpose.

Let me say at the very outset that technically this allegation is factual, and is true as far as it goes. But it does not go very far. What it omits is far more important than what it affirms.

It is true that Ben Gurion has, on many occasions, offered to negotiate with Arab leaders. What is not commonly known or remembered is the fact that such offers are usually followed, within a very brief period, by military attacks by the Israeli Army. Here are a few illustrations: on February 27, 1955, Ben Gurion, who had returned to power in Israel as Defense Minister only 10 days earlier after retirement of 14 months, made one of his familiar offers for negotiations; but, on February 28th, the Israeli army was marching on Gaza upon orders from Ben Gurion himself. On November 1, 1955, Ben Gurion repeated his offer; on the night of November 2nd, his army attacked El-Auja. Also on December 10, 1955, Ben Gurion announced his readiness to negotiate with the Arab States immediately prior to the raid on Syrian territory across Lake Tiberias, which occurred 24 hours after his announcement.

These are just a few illustrations of the manner in which Ben Gurion has usually accompanied his invitations to peace parleys with concrete acts of military aggression.

This phenomenon alone is sufficient to cast serious doubt on the sincerity of Ben Gurion's offers. But the matter does not end there.

More important than the military aggression which follows on the heels of his waving the olive branch, is the fine print added to Ben Gurion's seemingly unconditional suggestions of peace discussions. Invariably, Ben Gurion announces that the United Nations resolutions concerning Palestine are "null and void"; that they are "dead and shall rise no more". Invariably, he categorically announces that, in any negotiations between Arab States and Israel, the Arab States

must in advance accept Israel as it is—with its present boundaries, its present population, and its present capital. Thus the very purpose and meaning of the discussions and negotiations is subverted in advance by Ben Gurion, when he asks to accept, as a condition for negotiations, of finality of the present demarcation lines, the displacement of the refugees, and the Israelization of Jerusalem.

In any genuine negotiations, the agenda must include primarily the issues around which the dispute revolves. The major issues in the Arab-Israeli conflict are the territorial questions, the repatriation and/or compensation of the refugees, and the internationalization of Jerusalem — all of which are subjects of detailed and clear resolutions of the United Nations. By excluding these subjects from the agenda of the negotiations, Ben Gurion makes negotiations a mockery; by demanding that the Arabs accept as final the present situation of each of these three problems, Ben Gurion virtually demands that the Arabs accept defeat through negotiations prior to beginning to negotiate. Despite the seemingly conciliatory tone of his summary offers for negotiations, Ben Gurion virtually addresses to the Arabs an ultimatum for unconditional surrender every time he voices a readiness to negotiate with them on his own terms.

Furthermore, it is axiomatic that, in a dispute which has been already the subject of discussions, conciliation, mediation, arbitration, countless U. N. resolutions, and signed agreements, one party cannot ignore and unilaterally nullify all these, and demand that a beginning must be made "from scratch" with the present *fait accompli* accepted as final by the other party, although that *fait accompli* violates all those resolutions and agreements.

Israel is in defiance of the Armistice Agreements. Israel has repudiated the Protocol of Lausanne, which it and the Arab States signed on May 12, 1949,

and in which both parties agreed to accept the existing resolutions of the United Nations as the basis for further discussions. Israel has declared null and void all existing UN resolutions concerning Palestine. With such a record, Israel's current requests for discussions with the Arabs must continue to be suspected and ignored by the Arabs until Israel first fulfills its obligations and honors its commitments and undertakings embodied in previous resolutions and agreements. Otherwise, the entire meaning of discussions as a step in the cumulative process of widening the area of agreement is destroyed.

• • •

Finally, one point must not be obscured by the frequency of Israel's voicing of its desire for bilateral negotiations. Negotiations are essentially a means and not an end. The end is a peaceful settlement of the Palestine Problem. The end could be achieved through other means, as well as through negotiations, under circumstances of honest desire for just and peaceful settlement. But Israel seems to have transformed the means into the end. "Sitting down around the negotiation table" has come, at a catchword, to replace "just and peaceful settlement" as an objective. The United Nations has constantly rejected the reduction of the wide range of means to one, namely, negotiation. In every resolution in which it has devised machinery for a peaceful settlement or expressed the desirability of attaining such a settlement, the UN has emphasized the multiplicity of means rather than consenting to the Israeli thesis that negotiation is the only means. The UN has tried mediation, conciliation, direct intervention, good offices of organs or officials; it has considered all these instruments valid means for the attainment of a peaceful settlement. When it has felt that discussions were necessary, it has invariably insisted that the discussions could take place either directly among the parties concerned or indirectly through the intermediation of the UN. But Israel ignores this entire record of the UN and insists that the rejection of the invitation to negotiate with it on its own terms is tantamount to a rejection of the end itself — namely, a peaceful settlement to the Palestine Problem.

When I recall all the facts, I am amazed at the naivete displayed by people who permit appearances to obscure realities, and who allow the deceptive expression of a desire to negotiate (although it is conditional upon the acceptance by the other party of the illegitimate *fait accompli* as final, even before the discussion starts) to be construed as a genuine desire for the attainment of a just peace.

Such spurious invitations as Mr. Ben Gurion specializes in offering remind me of an invitation to a game of cards, in which the individual making the invitation says, in the same breath,

... "but here are the rules:  
... "You may not shuffle  
... "you may not cut  
... "you may not deal  
... "you may not lead  
... "you may not, under any circumstances, win,  
... "but you have the privilege of losing."

The 60th Anniversary Edition of the monumental biographical encyclopedia, WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA, which has appeared recently, contains a biography of



Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, April 3, 1958

THE CARAVAN

Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, of the Arab States Delegations Office.

Another biographical encyclopedia carrying the name CURRENT BIOGRAPHY issued an edition for 1957 recently in which it also carried a three-page biography of Dr. Sayegh.

Both biographies mention prominently the fact that Dr. Sayegh, in addition to his other activities, writes a weekly column for The Caravan.

It is a well known fact that these two biographical compilations select the individuals whom they include, on the basis of general prominence, frequent mention in the news, and requests from librarians, students and researchers in general. The biographees, thus, have no say about their inclusion in or exclusion from those compilations.



**Diplomatic Gossip**  
By  
**LEVON KESHISHIAN**

**UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC —** Dr. Ahmed Husein who was expected to become the Ambassador of the UAR will soon return, and it is learned his place will be filled by Mustafa Kamel, former Egyptian Ambassador to India. \*\*\*\* Major General Aram Karamandoukian former Military Attache of the Syrian Embassy returned to Damascus and on the conclusion of his mission in Washington, Major General was decorated by President Nasser with the First Class Medal. \*\*\*\* Ahmed el Messiri has been appointed one of the five UN member nations to make an investigation of the UN Department of Public Information. Mr. El Messiri is with the UAR delegation to the UN.



**LEBANON —** Dr. Karim Azkoul, presented his letters of credence to Dag Hammarskjold last week as the Permanent representative of Lebanon to the United Nations. We include the following from press release on Dr. Azkoul issued by the United Nations.

Dr. Azkoul was born in Rachaya, Lebanon, in 1915. He received his early education in Lebanon and later attended the Sorbonne University in Paris and the universities of Berlin, Bonn and Munich. He received a degree in French literature in 1937 from the Sorbonne and a doctorate in philosophy from the University of Munich in 1938.

After concluding his studies, Dr. Azkoul taught French and

Arabic literature and philosophy in several Lebanese institutions. In 1943, he was a director of "Dar-al - Nahda," a publishing firm in Beirut and also edited the "Arab World," an Arabic journal.

The new Permanent Representative is well known in United Nations circles. He has attended all General Assembly sessions since the second session in 1947. Also, he has represented Lebanon on the Economic and Social Council, the UN Commission on Human Rights, the UN Subcommission on Freedom of Information and other UN bodies.

From 1950 to 1953, Dr. Azkoul was Charge d'Affaires of the Permanent Mission of Lebanon to the United Nations. Immediately after that, he was named Director of the Department of UN Affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Beirut. He remained with the Ministry until late in 1957, when he returned to the Lebanese Mission with the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary.

Dr. Azkoul represents Lebanon at the present, fourteenth, session of the Commission on Human Rights and has been elected First Vice-President of that body.

He is the author of two publications, one in German on "Faith and Reason in Islam" (1938); and the other, in Arabic, on "Reason in Islam" (1944).

He is married and has two children with him in New York.

**OTHERS —** Washington had two very successful receptions one at the UAR Embassy and the other at the Tunisian Embassy, some 900 guests were present at the two parties, including top American government officials. \*\*\*\* Dr. Ahmed Laraki, special Moroccan envoy had a meeting with William Roundtree, Dulles and Hammarskjold and entertained the top UN newspapermen for luncheon. \*\*\*\* AUB Alumni Association have a meeting for March 28 when President Paul Leinard of AUB and Prof. Costi Zurayk will meet guests.

## IN AMERICAN HISTORY

On April 11, 1803 — 155 years ago — Napoleon Bonaparte, as First Consul of France and hard-pressed for money, offered to sell the whole Mississippi Valley, then called Louisiana Territory, to the United States for fifteen million dollars. He made this offer to the two emissaries sent by President Jefferson to France to ask whether Napoleon would sell New Orleans and West Florida. Jefferson was much astonished that Napoleon was ready to relinquish the whole of the Louisiana Territory for so small a sum. Although doubtful whether acceptance of the offer would be legal under the Constitution, Jefferson finally agreed to buy the territory. In this manner he brought the Mississippi Valley, one of the most fertile regions on earth, under the flag of the United States.

## SUEZ CANAL DREDGER

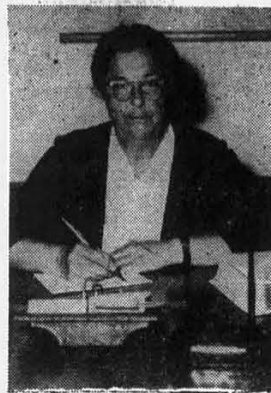
The new dredger named "September 15" purchased by the Suez Canal Authority from the Netherlands went into operation on the day the United Arab Republic was proclaimed.

The dredger cost \$2,900,000 and has been called "September 15" in memory of Suez Canal Day.

It is 197 feet long, 44 feet in beam and 13.3 feet in depth. It can bring up 1400 cubic meters of sand from the bottom of the Canal per hour, and its principal turbine is 3000 HP.

**PLEASE PATRONIZE OUR ADVERTISERS**

## THANKS CARAVAN FOR ITS SUPPORT



MRS. SARAH G. SHAHLA

Before leaving New York, I wish to express my deep gratitude for the help and courtesy you have extended to the project which is being sponsored by the Nurses Branch of the Alumni Association of the American University of Beirut for Nurses House in Lebanon. We are most appreciative of the cooperation you have given the project through *The Caravan*.

You will be glad to know that His Eminence, Metropolitan Anthony Bashir who is a former alumnus of the American University of Beirut has extended his services to us and endorsed the worthiness of our project.

The following organizations have most kindly extended similar cooperation: American Friends of the Middle East, 47 East 67th Street, New York 21, New York; The Congregational Christian Service Committee, 110 East 29th Street, New York 16, New York; Syrian Antiochian Orthodox Archdiocese, 239 - 85th Street, Brooklyn 9, New York; American Middle East Relief, 350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, New York; Church World Service, 215 Fourth Avenue, New York, New York. Now, people wishing to contribute to our project are able to send their donations through any of these organizations, thereby rendering their contributions tax deductible.

The land has already been purchased and registered in the name of the Association. This was made possible through the generous help of the graduates of the American University of Beirut throughout the Arab States and through other friends.

The success so far attained is far beyond what I had hoped to achieve in such a short period; victory can only be achieved after sacrifice. These are the words that I hope to see inscribed on the walls of the Nurses House: "Faith can move mountains." It is my deep faith and conviction in the worthiness of our project that has sustained courage in spite of all obstacles.

With sincere thanks and all good wishes for your health and success of *The Caravan*. Your sincere contribution to the welfare of your homeland, and your strong conviction and moral courage are worthy of great admiration and praise. May God give you all the health and strength to continue your fight in the interest of justice and peace.

S. G. Shahla, Chairman  
Fund Raising Committee

## MISSES CARAVAN

I regret to inform you that I did not receive *The Caravan* for the last three weeks and that is probably because I moved to my new home without informing the Post office of my new address. Needless to say, I have missed *The Caravan* very much. Enclosed please find a check for two years.

James Shehab  
Miami, Fla.

# WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA

A BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF  
NOTABLE LIVING MEN AND WOMEN

**SAYEGH, Fayez A**(*bdullah*) (sī' ēgfi' ēz), Arab diplomat; b. Kharaba, Syria, Jan. 11, 1922; s. Abdullah Y. and Afifi (Batroni) S.; student Scots Coll., Safad, Palestine; B.A., American U., Beirut, Lebanon, 1941, M.A., 1945; Ph.D. (Am. U. Alumni scholarship), Georgetown U., 1949. Editor-in-chief bi-monthly Arabic mag., Beirut, 1944-47, daily newspaper, 1945-47; lectr., Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Transjordan, 1945-47, Niberia and Ghana, 1947; tchr. philosophy American U., Beirut, 1945-47; tchr. Arab area affairs Georgetown U. 1948-49; research officer Legation of Lebanon, Washington, 1949-50; adviser Lebanese delegation to UN, 1949-50, program officer Middle East radio div., 1950-51, social affairs officer human rights div., 1952-54; chief research sect. Arab States Delegation, N.Y.C., 1955, chief pub. liaison, dep. dir., 1955, acting dir., 1956—; counsellor Yemen Delegation O UN, 1955—; columnist Caravan, Arab affairs weekly, Bklyn., 1957—; vis. lectr. Yale Grad. Sch., 1955. Presbyn. Author: National Rebirth, 1943; The Road to National Dignity, 1947; The Sectarian Problem, 1947; The Call from the Depths: An Existential Essay, 1947; Freedom of Thought vs. National Socialism, 1948; The Role of the Arab Intellectual, 1955 (all in Arabic lang.). Contbr. articles profl. publs. Office: 120 E. 56th St., N.Y.C. 22.

Volume 30

(1958-1959)

Sixtieth Anniversary Edition

## Abbreviations from the Who's Who Edition:

Lectr: lecturer

Tchr: teacher

Dir: director

Sect: section

Pub: publisher

With every article or letter to the editor published in The Caravan, the name of the writer will appear unless withholding of name is requested. The Caravan has the right to print anything in whole or in part, as the editor sees fit. No letters or photographs will be returned, whether published or not.

and request membership. **This does not restrict their engaging in other activities.**

2 — Whenever organizations evince interest, they can apply for a charter as a Chapter in ALSAC. Their alliance with ALSAC does not interfere, conflict, nor disrupt their present organization. **To their regular activities, it adds sponsoring a worthy project.**

3 — When chapters, states, regions, or group of individuals decide to raise funds for the St. Jude Hospital, it will be their task to provide events, entertainment, and publicity necessary to the activity; subtract the expenditure entailed; and contribute the net amount.

\* \* \*

Finally, there is one thing we would like to stress once again and for all time. The Caravan is always ready and willing to support any worthy cause regardless of who starts it, who supports it or who opposes it. The welfare of our people comes before the welfare of any particular individual, regardless of how important or how insignificant he or she might be.

**Let's keep going!**

**George S. Debs**

### A TELEGRAM

The Caravan received the following telegram from Mr. M. F. Tamer, National Executive Director of the American Lebanese Syrian Associated Charities:

\* \* \*

MR. GEORGE DEBS — EDITOR OF THE CARAVAN

LET ME CONGRATULATE YOU ON YOUR SPLENDID EDITORIAL IN THE CARAVAN APRIL THIRD. WE DEEPLY APPRECIATE THE FAITH AND CONFIDENCE YOU HAVE SHOWN IN DANNY THOMAS AND ALSAC. IN THE NAME OF DANNY AND ALSAC WE WILL CONTINUE TO UPHOLD THE PRINCIPLES OF HONESTY AND INTEGRITY WHICH ARE THE VERY FOUNDATIONS OF THIS ORGANIZATION.

M. F. TAMER, NATIONAL EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

## For The Record

By  
**Dr. Faysal  
A. Sayegh**



### DAIR YASEEN — TEN YEARS LATER

On 9 April 1948, the massacre of Dair Yaseen shocked the entire civilized world. Today, the memory of the Zionist atrocities in that Arab village is all but lost, amid the jubilations and the celebrations of the 10th anniversary of the establishment of Israel.

There is irony in this selective memory of mankind. For the state, whose establishment ten years ago was then hailed as a compensation for Hitlerite atrocities and is now being celebrated, entered into history via the massacre of Dair Yaseen. Dair Yaseen was the first Palestinian village forcibly occupied by the Zionists; the first step in the phase of forcible occupation of Palestine and the establishment of Israel.

But Dair Yaseen, horrible though its fate was, was only the first — not the sole — atrocity committed by the Zionists, and later on by Israel, in Palestine.

Prior to the entry of the Arab armies into Palestine on 15 May 1948, a number of other massacres were perpetrated by the Zionists in addition to Dair Yaseen. These included Saffuriya, Salah-ed-dine, Ain-ez-zeldoun, and others.

After the establishment of the state, other Arab villages and

towns joined the sad roster of names headed by Dair Yaseen. The destruction of the Catholic village of Ikrith on Christmas Eve 1951, and the massacre of the villagers of Kafr Kassim on 30 October 1956, have become glaring highlights of the 10-year career of Zionist Israel. These two villages lay within the territory occupied by Israel.

There were also villages in neighboring Arab countries which underwent the same fate. Qibya, whose civilians were murdered in October 1953, Nahhaalin, in March 1954, and Qalqilya, in October 1956, are just a few examples. Unarmed civilians were the target and victims of attack in every one of these incidents. In the spring of 1956, when the city of Gaza was bombarded, the hospital was the main target; and over 60 patients were killed.

Finally, after the occupation of the Gaza Strip by the Israeli forces in November 1956, over

400 inmates of the refugee camps were machine-gunned in cold blood by the Israeli army.

All these are manifestations of a regime of terror and bloodshed imposed on the Holy Land by the Zionists since 1948.

\* \* \*

Although Dair Yaseen is not the only victim of bloodthirsty Zionism, it nevertheless merits being deemed specially significant among the many manifestations of Israeli terrorism.

For, in the first place, it marked a turning-point in the long history, Zionist forces attacked and captured Palestine. For the first time in 50 years of Zionist history, Zionist forces attacked and occupied by force an Arab area. Since then, this pattern has been the rule rather than the exception.

In the second place, Dair Yaseen was designed to herald a systematic process of intimidation and expulsion of the Arab residents of Palestine, and thus to bring into existence the cruel problem of the Arab refugees. The man who was responsible for the raid on Dair Yaseen, Menachim Begin (at the time leader of the Irgun terrorist organization, and now leader of the Herut political party, which is the second largest in Israel), boastfully takes credit in his book, *The Revolt*, for the flight of the Arab refugees. He says on page 164 that, as a result of Dair Yaseen, Arabs throughout Palestine "were seized with limitless panic and started to flee for their lives. This mass flight soon developed into a maddened, uncontrollable stampede. . . . The political and economic significance of this development can hardly be overestimated."

It must be remembered that Dair Yaseen, and the resultant forcible occupation of Arab territory and the expulsion of Palestinian Arabs, occurred on 9 April 1948 — that is to say, before the entry of the armies of the Arab States into the Holy Land, before the Arab-Israeli War, before the establishment of Israel, and before the withdrawal of the British forces from Palestine and the termination of the British mandate.

\* \* \*

World public opinion today may have been largely influenced by the limitless outpouring of Israeli and Zionist propaganda to forget the slaughters and massacres which began at Dair Yaseen, and may have been influenced into thinking of the Arab refugees as "voluntary exiles" and conceiving of Israel as a peaceful and law-abiding state. But history cannot be rewritten, even by a shrewd and effective propaganda machine; and the truth cannot be indefinitely dimmed.

The facts concerning Dair Yaseen — as well as the other instances of Israeli terrorism — are available for everyone who cares to unearth them. One account will suffice. The Zionist Journalist Jon Kimche, who today edits the official magazine of the British Zionist movement, and who was in Palestine at the time of the raid on Dair Yaseen reporting as a Reuters correspondent, described the raid in his book *Seven Fallen Pillars* as follows:

"On Friday, April 9th, 1948, a commando force composed of Irgun and Stern soldiers raided the village. There was no obvious occasion for them to do so. What happened afterwards has been the subject of conflicting versions, explanations and excuses by the terrorists; but nothing they have



Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, April 10, 1958

said has explained, or can explain away, the murder of some 250 innocent "Arabs," among them more than a hundred women and children. No less disgusting was the subsequent publicity parade by the Irgun of a number of poor Arab prisoners through the streets of Jerusalem."

Nor are the moral principles involved in Dair Yaseen successfully misrepresented by sheer propaganda. The eminent historian, Arnold Toynbee, says in Volume VIII of his monumental ten-volume books *A Study of History* (pages 290-291) that:

"If the heinousness of sin is to be measured by the degree to which the sinner is sinning against the light that God has vouchsafed to him, 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 divers times in the past. . ."

He goes on to say:

"The evil deeds committed by the Zionist Jews against the Palestinian Arabs that were comparable to crimes committed against the Jews by the Nazis were the massacre of men, women, and children at Dayr Yasin on the 9th April, 1948, which precipitated a flight of the Arab population, in large number, from districts within range of the Jewish armed forces, and the subsequent deliberate expulsion of the Arab population from districts conquered by the Jewish armed forces. . . The massacre and the expulsions, between them, were responsible for the exile of all those Palestinian Arab 'displaced persons' (to use the current euphemism), from the territory conquered by the Israelis, who fled from or were driven from this territory after the 9th April, 1948. . ."

"If, on behalf of Israel, it were to be pleaded that these Jewish outrages in A.D. 1948, even reckoned *pro rata*, were dwarfed in quantity, as well as in heinousness, by the Nazi atrocities in A.D. 1933-45, it would have to be taken into account, on the other side, that the Jews had had much more experience than the Germans had had of the sufferings that they were inflicting. If the Nazis were debarred from filing the plea that they knew not what they did, the Israelis were debarred *a fortiori*."

The world's greatest living historian goes on to elaborate:

"In A. D. 1948 the Jews knew, from personal experience, what they were doing; and it was their supreme tragedy that the lesson learnt by them from their encounter with the Nazi German Gentiles should have been not to eschew but to imitate some of the evil deeds that the Nazis had committed against the Jews. On the Day of Judgement the gravest crime standing to the German National Socialists' account might be, not that they had exterminated a majority of the Western Jews, but that they had caused the surviving remnant of Jewry to stumble."

### LAUGH A LITTLE

"If you could have two wishes," said one girl to another, "what would they be?"

"Well," said her friend thoughtfully, "I'd wish for a husband."

"That's only one," pointed out the first girl.

"I'd save the other until I saw how he turned out."

—Automotive Dealer News.



**Diplomatic  
Gossip**  
By  
**LEVON  
KESHISHIAN**

Dr. Ahmed Laraki, special Moroccan envoy, said his country "would resort to action in the United Nations" if the territorial dispute with Spain did not "evolve rapidly toward a satisfactory solution".

If the situation becomes serious, he added, Morocco will decide whether to raise it in the Security Council or elsewhere, probably in the General Assembly.

Dr. Laraki who has been here for the last three weeks had conferences on this subject with Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, William Roundtree, Joseph Palmer and Dag Hammarskjold.

He gave a luncheon press conference to some 35 of the top newsmen at the United Nations on March 27, and answered questions.

There are a number of questions outstanding with Spain and France. These include the question of Ifni, southern Morocco, Rio de Oro and the French Mauritania.



**Interviewing Dr. George Tomeh**

Spain is still in occupation in Southern Morocco, which they call Spanish Sahara, under the treaty of 1912, which became nullified with the declaration of independence of Morocco, Spain must unconditionally evacuate this area and return it to Morocco. As for Ifni, Spain had given fishing concessions to Spain but in 1934 Spain occupied the area. Spain must go out of this area but still keep its fishing rights. As for Rio de Oro and Mauritania both these territories are historical territories of Morocco which must be returned and Morocco is willing to negotiate with both parties separately.

**OTHER:** April 3, Dr. and Mrs. Azkoul gave a cocktail party at their residence. \*\*\*\* Dr. Garland Evans Hopkins directs the "Continuing Committee on Moslem-Christian Cooperation from Suite 614 Dupont Circle Bldg., 1346 Connecticut Ave., N. W. Washington 6, D. C. — February 27 issue of the Alexandria Journal of Virginia wrote a three column most interesting article on this work. \*\*\*\* Prof. Hussein Kamel Selim, is lecturing under the auspices of the Arab Information Centre of New York, he is now in the Florida area. \*\*\*\* Algeria Office here issued two very interesting documents: "Oil in the Sahara" and "The Algerian Question Background document at private report of high French officials.\*\*\* Shaikh Abdallah el Khayyal returned from Saudi Arabia after spending a well deserved vacation. He is back in Washington on his post as Ambassador of Saudi Arabia. \*\*\*\* Dr. Ahmed Hussein, Ambassador of Egypt will return to Cairo within a few weeks. New ambassador is Mustapha Kamel. \*\*\*\* Dr. Farid Zeineddine has been appointed the Ambassador of UAR to Bonn.

## Israeli Press Attache Suggests Rotary's 4-Way Test In Settling The Israeli-Arab Situation

Continued From Page 1

Israel today as being similar to what the United States was in the pioneer days when farmers plowed with rifles nearby.

He pointed out that Israel which consists of 8,000 square miles, about the size of Massachusetts, is from 150 to 200 miles long, and at its narrowest point is only twelve miles wide. Since the formation of the country's population is largely by mass immigration and a speeded up process is underway to have the government working smoothly, Israel is known as the "Pressure Cooker", as compared to the United States being known as the "melting pot".

Orgel ridiculed the Arab's fear of a small country like Israel conquering the Arab world, comparing it to a state like Massachusetts attempting to conquer the rest of the United States.

In closing Orgel said that now is the time to press for discussions on how to solve the problems besieging his people and the Arabs, and that much depends on the Arabs to bring these talks to reality—Israel being ready to do so.

He was introduced by Edward M. Carter, dean of Tusculum College.

Tuesday night he was an honor guest at a dinner at the First Presbyterian Church.

## Israeli Press Attache Suggests Rotary's 4-Way Test In Settling The Israeli-Arab Situation

### He Told Rotary Club Israel Ready To Discuss Problems With Arabs

Hugh Y. Orgel, press attache of the Embassy of Israel in Washington, suggested the use of Rotary's Four Way Test in settling the Israeli-Arab situation in the Middle East.

Orgel, who came here to address an assembly at Tusculum

College Tuesday morning in answer to the presentation of the Arab point of view by Dr. Fayed Sayegh, acting director of the Arab States Delegation Office in the United States, spoke to the Rotary Club Tuesday at noon.

He said that the four points of the Four Way Test—1. Is it true? 2. Is it fair to all concerned? 3. Will it build good will and better friendship? 4.

Will it be beneficial to all concerned? — if used to conduct the discussions needed to settle Israeli-Arab disputes, could bring peace to the Middle East and drive away the cold war there.

He added that Israel was ready and willing to sit down with Arab leaders and discuss such problems as the refugee problem, which resulted during the war between Israel and Arab when the Arab government asked the Arabs living in the land which formed Israel to take refuge in neighboring Arab countries, as well as the problem of payment for lands now occupied by Israel.

Orgel noted, however that the Arabs will not talk on these matters, preferring, according to Orgel, to use the refugee problem as a "stick" with which to beat Israel.

He said that he felt that even such problems as these were not the largest, that being the East vs. the West situation. Orgel added that the cold war in the Middle East is a result of an "invitation" by General Nasser for Russia to become influential in the area, and noted that this was because of Iraq, felt to be a pro-west Arab country, was chosen as the king pin of the Baghdad Pact, a situation which Nasser did not approve.

The speaker advised the people of democracies to read books by dictators to see what they had planned for the future, pointing out that "Mein Kampf" by Hitler could have revealed to its readers the path that infamous man was planning to take. He said that Nasser had written a book, "Philosophy of Revolution", which could give an insight into the General's plans.

Basically, according to the speaker, Nasser visualizes three world circles, that of the Arab world, the Moslem world and the African world, each with Egypt as its hub.

Orgel described conditions in

Continued On Page 2

## Nasser Move To Settle Suez Dispute Seen

By JOHN SCALI

WASHINGTON (AP) — Western diplomats said today they anticipated a possible major move by Egypt's President Nasser to settle the Suez Canal dispute before he visits Moscow next Monday.

Any such development would be the most important step he has yet taken to patch up his 21-month-old quarrel with the West over his seizure of the Suez waterway.

An agreement by Nasser to give adequate compensation to Suez Canal Co. stockholders would open the way for improved relations with the United States and an end to the financial-economic freeze against his country.

Secretary of State Dulles said he would be willing to unfreeze 30 million dollars of Egyptian

Continued On Page 2

## POLICIES BASED ON ILLUSIONS

(Reprinted by Request)

In dealing with the Middle East problems, some of our diplomats and so-called Arab World experts have been recently laboring under three illusions inherited from the old schools of British and French colonialistic diplomacy. These three illusions are the main reasons for our recent blunders in the Middle East, which widened the breach of misunderstanding between the United States and some Arab countries, and did not improve in the least our friendly relations with other Arab nations.

These three illusions are:

(1) That a *vacuum has been created* in certain Arab countries after British and French influence had faded out and that *this vacuum* must be filled by our own influence.

(2) That instead of making friends with the Arab countries on the basis of being a real helpful friend ourselves, it was more advisable to resort to the old policy of "divide and rule" which the British had followed for centuries.

(3) That the interest and welfare of Israel is the basis of any policy which we adopt in the Middle East, regardless of whether it be detrimental to our own interest or not.

\* \* \*

(1) As far as we can see, if there is any vacuum whatsoever, that vacuum exists only in the heads of these misguided "diplomats" and "experts."

When the founders of this Great Country drove the British out of this land, the vacuum that was created was filled by an independent, self-government. We did not need, nor did we want to substitute one master for another master. These Arab countries, who have fought so hard for their independence and won their freedom, feel the very same way about their independence and their freedom. *THEY DO NOT WANT TO substitute one master for another master.* They want to determine their own destinies. Any interference on our part will only result in loss of faith, loss of influence and loss of confidence, and will certainly not help our friendly relations with the Arab World as a whole.

(2) The policy of "Divide and Rule" which the British and French have followed for centuries, and which we have recently adopted, is very well known in the Middle East countries, and cannot be disguised any longer. We can assure our statesmen, diplomats and experts that if the United States lines up all of the Arab World except one single state, we will be the losers. It is to our advantage and best interests to have a United Arab world either on our side or neutral, than to have one single Arab state turn Communist.

(3) The belief that we are committed to a policy of support to Israel under any and all circumstances is a fallacy created by the former Truman regime and bequeathed to the present administration. Yes our government might have been committed to a policy of preserving Israel—a law-abiding, law-respecting Israel—with definite specified boundaries. But, we are certainly not committed to safeguard the scheming, greedy and aggressive Israel that jumps on her neighbors' throats and flouts every law. We are certainly not committed to realize the designs of World Zionists to rule the world. . .

It is foolish for our government to adopt worn-out policies of the nineteenth century—policies that have been tried and failed in this day and age.

If we want the Arabs to be our good friends, we've got to be their good friends ourselves.

George S. Debs



Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, April 17, 1958

THE CARAVAN

Page Seven

## For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayes  
A. Sayegh



### EVASIVENESS, DOUBLE-TALK — AND LIES! Analysis of Ben-Gurion's interview with LOOK Editor

The April 15 issue of LOOK Magazine contains a lengthy interview with Premier Ben-Gurion of Israel, by William Attwood, LOOK's Foreign Editor, whose interview with President Nasser was published last summer in the issue of June 25, 1957.

Before proceeding to analyze the specific statements made by the Israeli Premier during the course of this revealing interview, let us pause for a moment to examine the general tone of these statements.

#### The New Ben-Gurion:

The replies of Ben-Gurion to the questions addressed to him by Mr. Attwood contain the usual quota of distortions and half-truths which readers familiar with Ben-Gurion's public statements have come to expect. They also have their usual share of the brusqueness which has come to distinguish and characterize the man.

What is unusual about this interview, however, is the degree of evasiveness manifested in some of Ben-Gurion's replies.

This evasiveness may be partly attributed to the quality of the questions addressed to him — many of which were indeed as searching as any that Ben-Gurion has ever been called upon to answer, and as "rough" as the American newspaperman warned him they would be.

But the character of the questions can only partly explain the evasiveness of the replies — a quality which strangely co-exists in this interview along with its opposite, Ben-Gurion's more customary bluntness. In my opinion, the complete explanation for this oscillation between traditional brusqueness and not-so-usual evasiveness must be sought through an analytical comparison of the questions which elicited firm and unyielding replies, with those which brought forth wily evasiveness.

Even a casual comparison of these two sets of questions reveals that, where a question was primarily relevant to the American scene and was considered likely to interest the American public, the reply was coated with seeming reasonableness and apparent conciliation; whereas questions having more direct relevance to the Arab situation, and likely to affect Israeli-Arab relations, received replies which were unyielding in substance and less cautious in form and wording.

I think that two factors have affected the tone of the former replies, and constrained Ben-Gurion to depart from his customary bluntness in deference to his American readers. The first is Ben-Gurion's awareness of the deep impact which the Sinai invasion left on the minds of many Americans, and his resultant eagerness to erase, or at least soften, any lingering ideas of aggressiveness associated with him and his regime in the American mind. The second is the large-scale fund-raising campaign, which is being conducted in the United States in connection with the tenth anniversary celebrations, and which may be adversely affected by a general realization on the part

of Americans of the intransigence and unreasonableness of Israel or its leader.

But any reader who is familiar with the facts, or who can read between the lines, will not fail to notice that the apparently conciliatory tone of some of the replies is deceptive, and that the substance of those replies is essentially unyielding — as we shall show in a moment.

#### To Reply and not to reply:

The art of articulating a reply without in fact giving one is best exemplified in the answers to the first two questions.

Mr. Attwood first asked about the futility of Nasser's negotiating with Ben-Gurion, whose record shows that his disavowals of aggressive intent are belied, within a few days, by full-scale invasion. To this question, Ben-Gurion replies not by denying, nor by refuting, the charge, nor therefore by invalidating the conclusion derived therefrom, but by denying Nasser's readiness to negotiate.

In the second answer, Ben-Gurion replies to a question with a question, and leaves it at that. Is it true — he is asked — that he invaded Egypt in order to overthrow Nasser? His answer is, "What would we accomplish by overthrowing him?"

Later on in the interview, Ben-Gurion displayed the same artfulness. Reminding him that Israel has received two billion dollars in aid since 1948, Mr. Attwood asks how much more aid will Israel need in the next ten years. The reply shifts the attention from Israel's non-viability to the fund-raising theme of immigration continues, he says, Israel will continue to need help. But what about Israel's needs should immigration drop, or come to a halt? That is a question which Ben-Gurion leaves unanswered — leaving the impression that Israel's need for help depends only on the continuation of immigration, without actually committing the unrealistic and inexpedient mistake of saying so in so many words.

On at least one occasion, Ben-Gurion's elusiveness borders on the ridiculous. Mr. Attwood asks, "You are spending more than \$100,000,000 a year on defense. Where are you getting your military equipment? The reply, unbelievable as it may sound, is: "People are buying it — where, I can't tell you. I am not doing the buying myself, and my associates are quite secretive".

On another occasion, Mr. Attwood, referring to the mutual fears expressed on both sides, asked pointedly, "So why won't you allow U.N. forces to patrol your side of the border — both as self-protection and as proof to the Arabs that you are not going to attack them? The reply is a master-piece of evasiveness. First, Ben-Gurion makes it clear that Israel does not require pro-

tection; "we'll take care of that ourselves," he assured Mr. Attwood. But, concerning the protection of the Arabs, all he says is: "If I were an Arab, I would be ashamed to be afraid of Israel." Now, the question of whether or not the Arabs should be "ashamed" of the fact that their defensive potential is not yet fully actualized is an interesting question in its own right; and one could discuss it at length, in terms of many aspects of the Arab situation, past and present. But, interesting though it might be, this question is beside the point. The point at issue is the right of the Arabs to security along their borders, and the obligation of Israel to abandon aggressive intent and practice. Ben-Gurion, true to form, refuses to comment on why he rejected the order of the General Assembly concerning the stationing of U.N. troops on both sides of the demarcation lines — and sidesteps the issue by invoking an entirely irrelevant matter.

It may be to the credit of Ben-Gurion as a man that he can cleverly evade embarrassing questions, and artfully avoid giving the only answer that can be truthfully given. But it is not in the cleverness of a man that the world is primarily interested. Nor was it in order to gauge the cunning of the person that an American newspaperman travelled over 13,000 miles with a pocketful of searching questions in pursuit of an interview. It is in the realities of the Arab-Israeli situation, and the prospects of settlement, that editor, interviewer, and reader are alike supremely interested. And, about these matters, Ben-Gurion offers no constructive suggestion — except to reaffirm his intransigent policies in conciliatory-sounding phrases.

#### To say "Yes" and mean "No":

Evasiveness, however clever, is generally discernible. More misleading is the art of seeming to consent to reasonable suggestions, while tying that consent to impossible conditions — conditions which may, despite their harshness and intrinsic unacceptability, pass unnoticed, save by those who are familiar with situation.

Thus, asked on what terms he is ready to sign a treaty of peace and friendship with the Arabs, Ben-Gurion says, "On terms of equality and mutual interest." Obviously, "equality and mutual interest" sound like reasonable terms to those who do not know fully what, in this particular context, these terms imply. It is fine to stipulate equality as a condition for the establishment of friendly relations between the parties, once the claims which each has on the other are weighed and settled, and once all internationally-recognized obligations are fulfilled; but, to postulate equality of claims and obligations as a condition prior to settlement is to pre-judge the issue, to declare in advance that the claims and counter-claims are equally valid, and to endow with jurisdictional finality a situation many of the aspects of which are precisely the unresolved issues at hand.

It is proposterous, for example, to insist that recognition of the "equality" of the claims of both debtor and creditor should precede and govern the settlement of their financial dispute. It is grotesquely outrageous for a man caught in act of pick-pocketing to demand, before consenting to interrogation, that his possessions (including the plaintiff's wallet) be recognized as having the same inviolability as the plaintiff's property. Yet this is precisely what Ben-Gurion demands, and what his seemingly-reasonable "equality and mutual interest" presupposes. This applies both to the territorial question and to the refugee problem.

Concerning the territorial question, for example, he demands that, in any settlement or negotiation for a settlement, Israel's possession of the excess territories it illegitimately holds be recognized to be as rightful as Egypt's possession of the Egyptian Peninsula of Sinai! Towards this end, he declares that the U. N. Partition Plan of 1947 — Israel's birth-certificate — is a scheme for the "partition of Israel", and from this grotesque promise as a point-of-departure, he proceeds to declare:

"I will discuss the partition of Israel only if Nasser is willing to discuss the partition of Sinai. I would then tell him he had no legitimate claim on the Sinai Peninsula. That's what I mean by terms of equality."

As for the refugees, the same "yes-but-no" attitude is expressed. Says Ben-Gurion: "If he (Nasser) is willing to talk peace, we are willing to discuss the refugees. And we will make constructive proposals to solve the problem for the good of the refugees." On the surface, this also sounds promising and reasonable. But what is the nature of the "constructive proposals" of Israel concerning refugees? Israel has been announcing them for years. They are: Forget about your homes; forget about your right to return to them; your good lies in your turning your backs on your past and your rights, accepting the fait accompli, re-establishing your lives anew anywhere in the world — but not in your own homes, not on your rightful property, not in your ancestral land, not where you want to be. This is the "constructive proposal" which Ben-Gurion promises — the proposal which his envoys and representatives have been making ever since the collapse of the discussions at Lausanne in 1919.

In short, what Ben-Gurion means by "equality and mutual interest" is that Israel — having defied its very charter and scores of United Nations resolutions, having annexed excess Arab territory and confiscated Arab property, having Israelized Jerusalem, and having doomed to perpetual exile a million Arabs — be accepted as final in all these aspects of its present situation, by the Arabs as well as by the rest of the world, before it even starts discussions for the settlement of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

**Hot Seat:** On several occasions during the interview, Ben-Gurion finds himself on a hot seat, where neither evasiveness nor ambiguity can help him out. The path he chooses does little credit to his integrity, whether as a man or as a statesman.

When Mr. Attwood asks him about the condemnations which the Security Council has passed against Israel, four times in the past few years, he replies:

"The reason the Arabs have not also been condemned is that one of the big powers has the power of veto. So there are two standards—one for us, one for the Arabs—and we are usually discriminated against."

A classic example of the bully masquerading as underdog! What is the truth, however, concerning the relation between the veto and the condemnations? Here are the facts:

1. It is absolutely untrue and without foundation — and the record of the United Nations will conclusively prove it to be such — that at any time was there a proposal before the Security Council

that an Arab state be condemned for aggression on Israeli-held territory.

2. At no time, therefore, did the occasion arise for the veto to be used by any great power in order to prevent such a non-existent proposal for a condemnation from being passed by the Council.

3. On at least two occasions, the veto saved Israel from being condemned by the Security Council—apart from the four times when Israel was actually condemned. On the first of those two instances, following the Israeli attack on Qalqilya in mid-October 1956, France indicated that it would veto the resolution condemning Israel; and the resolution was therefore not put to the vote. The second instance was after the Sinai invasion, and this time France did use the veto—thus making it necessary for the matter to be taken up by the General Assembly in a special emergency session.

In other words, the "discrimination", of which the discrimination-minded and discrimination-practicing Ben-Gurion speaks, has been exercised only against the Arabs and in favor of Israel, and not vice versa!

#### Israel and World Jewry:

There are also in the interview a few interesting replies pertaining to the relations between Israel and World Jewry, to which we shall turn in the next article in this space.

### SYRAMAR NEWS

The Syramar Golf Club of New York held its annual cocktail and dinner meeting on April 10 at the Advertising Club, 23 Park Ave. in New York City. The get-together was enjoyed by all the members. Elections were held and to replace the three outgoing Board of Governors namely Emil Tweel, Tony Awn and Arthur Farhood; George Saydah, Al Lian and Mitch Mallouk were elected to serve a three year term. The new officers for 1958 are Mitchel Auda, President, Al Lian, Vice-President, Mitchel Malouk, Secretary and Al Ateyeh Treasurer. George Saydah was appointed chairman of the Golf Committee with the Chairman of Entertainment to be appointed at a later date.

### ORIENTAL DISHES

#### Recipe of the week

#### Sanbusik (Meat Pie)

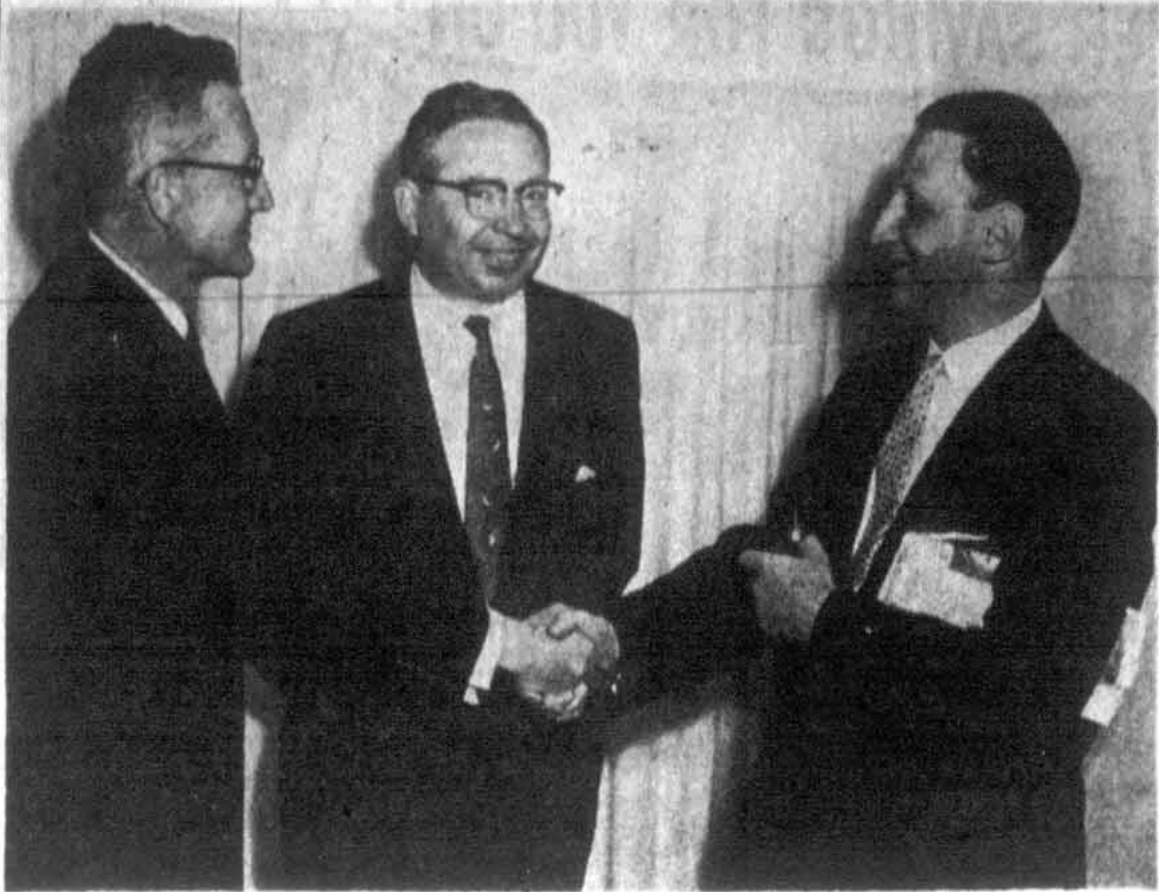
1 pound ground meat  
(beef or lamb)  
Pie Crust Mix  
1 onion  
salt  
pepper  
butter

Fry meat in butter with the onion, chopped fine. Roll out crust to cookie size, spread with meat mixture, close and shape into triangles. Bake in a hot oven until golden brown.

### LAUGH A LITTLE

A small boy came from a friend's house with a hot idea. "Jimmy has a trumpet," he said excitedly, "and we're going to start a band. Can I have a drum?" "I should say not!" answered the father. "It's too noisy!" The child thought for a moment. "Suppose," he compromised, "I only play it when you're asleep." E. E. Kenyon.

JOHNSON CITY, TENN., PRESS-CHRONICLE



(Staff Photo)

Dean Edward M. Carter (left) of Tusculum College shakes hands with Yekutiel H. Orgel, Israeli Embassy press attache, here Tuesday. Seymore Gerson, Morristown businessman, is center.

## Israeli Side Of Dispute Explained Here

By BILL LAWRENCE

There are two sides to every story.

Tuesday Yekutiel H. Orgel, press attache of the Israeli Embassy in Washington, D. C., presented the Israeli side of the Middle East situation in an interview here.

Tuesday night Orgel spoke to a special convocation at Tusculum College, under the direction of discussion leader Seymore Gerson, Morristown businessman.

The Arab viewpoint of the critical and sometimes muddled Middle East picture was presented here and at Tusculum in February by Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, Arab States delegate and counselor of the Yemen delegates to the United Nations.

Orgel, both here and at Tusculum, expounded on such subjects as the border situation, the refugee situation, and related subjects.

Raymond C. Rankin, Tusculum president, presided at the convocation.

Orgel, who has served as press attache of the embassy for three years in the United States, says Israel wants only to be recognized by the Arab states and to be able to sit down at a discussion table with them and present the Israeli side of the story.

So far they have been ignored, he said. "They are like the ostrich with his head in the sand. They pretend that Israel does not even exist," Orgel declared.

Several modes of action might bring about the necessary

change, he said, and perhaps even the irrigation plan proposed some time ago by Eric Johnston could be the answer. This plan, similar to the Tennessee Valley Authority, could only be put into being by the cooperation of all, Orgel said.

But this plan would require conferences, he said, "and once talking together over one issue, maybe others would also be worked out."

Edward M. Carter, dean of Tusculum, said he felt it was the best discussion of its type in the past five years.

Orgel was invited for the special convocation and made only the one appearance in the area.

## New Flag Of United Arab Republic



The New flag of the United Arab Republic, above, was flown especially by T.W.A. to the United States on April 14. The flag was sent by Al Ahram, leading newspaper in Cairo to its U.S. Correspondent, Mr. Keshishian (Caravan's Diplomatic Gossip Columnist) to be handed to the representatives of the U.A.R. Delegation to the United Nations.

At Idlewild Airport, the flag is seen in the hands of Mr. Keshishian, and Abdel Mawgood Hassan, Press officer of the U.A.R. delegation and Mr. Walter Menke, TWA Public relation officer admitting the red-white-black with the two green stars on white.

### ON NASSER

A recent editorial, appearing in a Boston tabloid, likens Premier Nasser of Egypt to Hitler and terms the merger of Egypt and Syria as "the first step of Nasser toward a grandiose dream of creating an Arab empire, stretching from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean". This editorial typifies the attitude of the majority of the American press toward Nasser and Arab unification. It is now fashionable to picture those rulers who do not see eye to eye with America on all foreign policy as "Hitlers". Nasser and Hitler have only one thing in common, however, and that is that the former is, as the latter was, a dictator. But if Nasser is a dictator - a supreme ruler - then so are Franco of Spain, Saud of Saudi Arabia, Batista of Cuba, Shah Mohammed of Persia (Iran), and others whose governments may be theoretically democracies, but in practice dictatorships. But these aforementioned rulers are our allies, and, therefore, are not "Hitlers". Both charges levelled against Nasser are untrue and justice demands that the truth be known.

Although Nasser is a dictator, he is unlike Hitler in every other respect. Hitler was a racist and anti-Semitic. Even Nasser's critics concede that Nasser does not consider the Arabs to be superior to all other races and ethnic groups, and Nasser could not be anti-Semitic, because he himself is Semitic, as are all Arabs. (Some sources would have us believe that anti-Semitism is anti-Jewism and that only Jews are Semites.) Hitler wanted to conquer the world, while Nasser, again agreed by his critics, wants only to unify the Arab people of North Africa and Asia Minor. Hitler was a dictator over a highly industrialized, well-educated country. But, in Egypt, we find an entirely different story. For centuries, people have lived in oppression and poverty. The country was mostly agrarian and almost ninety percent of the population illiterate. Almost all the educated people lived in the large cities and were extremely wealthy, in comparison to the farmers, who barely eked out a living from the soil. In 1952 a junta (with Nasser as one of the leaders) deposed the corrupt and decadent government of King Faruk, whose administration had weakened Egypt almost out of existence. When Nasser assumed his office of Premier in 1954, and later the office of President, he picked up where his predecessor, General Naguib, had left off. He built industry, continued land reforms, and built more and more schools. In fact, Nasser founded almost a school a day, whereas Faruk had established one a year from 1936 to 1952. The people of Egypt were not ready - and will not be ready for a few years - for a democratic form of government, because of the fact that so many are uneducated. Any scholar of government can assure Nasser's critics that no government can be democratic without the great majority of the population being educated to at least the level of grammar school. One cannot give twenty-three million (1956 est.) people eight years of education in five years - as Nasser's critics wish to do apparently. Hitler used the resentment of the German people of the conditions placed upon them by the Treaty of Versailles after World War I, and their desire for revenge to keep him in power, before he was firmly entrenched. On the other hand, Nasser has not used hatred or revenge to keep him in power. He enjoys the support of the people because he has helped his people - as any good ruler, dictator or not, should do - towards pros-



perity and a place of eminence among the leading nations of the world.

There are many examples to prove that Nasser does not wish to build a huge empire for himself from "the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean". First, it is an undeniable historical fact that the present merger between Egypt and Syria was first - and has been continually - advocated by Syria. The merger has been called a "shot-gun wedding" into which Syria was forced by Nasser. But then Nasser's critics have short memories. Secondly, let us take the seldom-mentioned issue of Sudan. Egypt has had many occasions in the last few years to annex Sudan to Egypt under Egyptian rule. This move has been favored by a great many Sudanese, but Egypt has granted Sudan a free and independent government. This policy of Sudanese independence was originated in 1953 by Naguib and has been continued by Nasser. Surely if Nasser was as power hungry as his critics claim, he would have annexed Sudan, which still wants unification with Egypt, to his new "empire" before Syria.

The Critics of the merger between Egypt and Syria point out that both countries, especially Egypt, receive Soviet aid, and are therefore pro-Soviet and Anti West. Disregarding the issue of Syria, it is interesting to look into these accusations and find out how true they may be. Why does Egypt receive Soviet aid? As was pointed out previously, Nasser faces the tremendous task of industrializing and modernizing Egypt. To do

this he needs aid from anyone willing to give it. America refused to loan money for the Aswan Dam Project to appease England, and refused machinery and arms to appease Israel. America also refused much-needed medical supplies, in addition to refusing trade agreements proposed by Nasser. In turn, the USSR extended money, technicians, machinery, arms, medical supplies, and made trade agreements which greatly benefitted Egypt from an economic point of view. What was Nasser to do? Refuse Russia and support his country on ideology? He did what any leader in his position would have done. For that he is now villified and criticized. Do not America, England, and France have trade agreements with Russia and other Iron Curtain countries? Even his critics agree that he has almost wiped out Communism within the borders of Egypt. He has made repeated gestures toward friendly relations with the West, especially this country, - but has been rebuked again and again.

Nasser is a man trying to help the impoverished Arab peoples of Africa and Asia. He is scorned by the West, yet he is trying to keep Egypt and Syria from Communist hands - which is what the West wants. Buffeted by America, England, and France from the West and Russia from the East, he is fighting an endless battle. When will it end? When will America wake up to the fact that Nasser is a friend, not an enemy? Attention: J. F. Dulles.

- SULEIMAN

indissolubly the State of Israel and the Jewish people. There is an indestructible bond, a bond of life and death, between them."

Similarly, Ben-Gurion waters down his frequently-announced interpretation of the relationship between American Jews and Israel. When Mr. Attwood asks him about a statement which Ben-Gurion made in 1953, the Israeli leader disavows it without wincing an eye. The statement which Ben-Gurion made five years ago was unequivocal, unambiguous and clear-cut. It read as follows:

"When a Jew in America 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."

Here is how Ben-Gurion now retreats in his LOOK interview:

"In this quotation, I was merely repeating what some foreign teachers of Hebrew once told me in Jerusalem."

A weaker explanation could not be imagined—nor one with more loopholes! For, in this brief reply of but eighteen words, there are at least four distortions and shady misrepresentations.

In the first place, what Ben-Gurion now calls a "quotation" was not a "quotation" at all, but a straight statement of his own views. There was no indication in the entire text of the original article that this particular extract was a "quotation".

In the second place, even assuming that Ben-Gurion did in fact "borrow" this opinion from some unnamed "foreign teachers of Hebrew", as he now claims to have done, it was his duty - if he did not endorse—to indicate that it was not his opinion but the opinion of others.

If he did endorse it - as is evidenced by the fact that he entered it as his own opinion in a context which allows of no other interpretation - he should now have the courage of his own convictions, and stand up and defend it, rather than hide behind the shadow of some anonymous "foreign teachers of Hebrew" and disavow all responsibility for direct authorship or indirect appropriation and endorsement, as he now does.

Furthermore, the context does not permit the weak excuse, now adduced by Ben-Gurion, that the so-called "quotation" was someone else's opinion and not his own. The context is clear, continuous, with an organic unity or structure and meaning, which makes it unlikely that the opinions expressed in that particular extract originated in an alien source non-consonant with the author's own point of view.

The facts are that Ben-Gurion did make this assertion; that he made it categorically and without any reservations; and that he made it directly, as expressing his own views. Now, he desires to disavow it, for public consumption in the United States.

The importance of this instance lies in the fact that the statement which Ben-Gurion now retracts so unceremoniously represents a fundamental postulate of Zionism in general and Ben-Gurionism in particular.

And the reasons for Ben-Gurion's present desire to disavow direct responsibility for this statement are no less interesting. Some of these reasons in fact, may be familiar to readers of the CARAVAN.

Two years ago, the writer of this column appeared on the TEX & JINX radio program - the transcript of which was later on

published in the CARAVAN. It was in order to reply to the defamatory allegations of the so-called Anti-Defamation League that he appeared on that program. During the course of the interview, he read this same statement of Ben-Gurion's from the official Israeli publication, the *Government Year-Book*. In order to avoid any possible doubt on the part of the listeners, he also asked the interviewer, Tex McCrary, to read it publicly. And then he challenged the leaders of the so-called Anti-Defamation League, either to repudiate this statement of Ben-Gurion's or to stand convicted, by virtue of their silence, of agreement with what it attributes to them and to other American Jews. This challenge was subsequently repeated on countless occasions. While the leaders of the self-styled Anti-Defamation League maintained an eloquent silence concerning the challenge, they also brought to a sudden and dramatic end their wild charges of Arab anti-Semitism, which charges had occasioned the Tex and Jinx interview in the first instance.

Subsequently, other Zionists were put on the spot by this same statement of Ben-Gurion's. In a series of telecasts over the MIKE WALLACE program, Nightbeat, in January 1957, one of the four guests (which included the writer of this column) was the highest-ranking Zionist executive in the United States, Rabbi Miller. The texts of the interview were again published in the CARAVAN. Those who read the texts, and those who watched the televised program, will probably recall how Rabbi Miller, when asked by Mike Wallace whether or not he agreed with Ben-Gurion's statement, squirmed and hedged until he was compelled eventually to express clear, although reluctant, disagreement with it.

A little while later - in the summer of 1957 - the leaders of a prominent non-Zionist organization of American Jews went to Israel in order to discuss with Ben-Gurion a few "embarrassing" aspects of Israeli policy, including the utterance of Ben-Gurion concerning the claimed allegiance of American Jews to Israel. This pilgrimage was preceded by a private meeting with the writer of this column, in which this all-important statement of Ben-Gurion's was one of main themes of discussion.

Faced by all these "hot seats" on which American Zionists and their fellow-travellers have been finding themselves as a result of Ben-Gurion's statement, and urged on all sides by American Zionists to attenuate this very statement, Ben-Gurion had no other alternative - (particularly in this year, where Israel counts heavily on regaining American good will during the tenth anniversary celebrations) - but to say something which represents a softening of his views on the allegiance of American Zionists to Israel.

Rather than coming out with a straight-forward retraction, however, Ben-Gurion preferred to follow the course of disavowal - by claiming, against all evidence to the contrary, that the statement was not his after all, but rather the opinion of some unnamed "teachers of Hebrew"...

What Ben-Gurion did not answer, was whether or not he agreed with this opinion at the time he adopted it in 1953, and whether or not he still agrees with it today; and, if not, why he incorporated it in his formal statement as his own opinion five years ago, and why he does not retract it directly today. . .

## For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayez  
A. Sayegh



### JEW, ZIONIST & ISRAELI

In the preceding article in this space we examined some of the statements made by Ben-Gurion during the course of a revealing interview with LOOK's Foreign Editor, Mr. William Attwood, which appeared in the April 15 issue of LOOK. Today we shall resume our commentary on this interview, focussing our attention on those statements which dealt with Israel's character as a Zionist state, and the relationship between Jew, Zionist and Israeli as Ben-Gurion conceives it.

It is in this section of the interview, more than any other, that Ben-Gurion manifests his elusiveness. This is indeed a strange phenomenon; for, traditionally, Ben-Gurion has shown no predisposition to water down his philosophy of the relationship between Jews, Zionists and Israelis, even when under heavy fire from some of his fellow-Zionists or fellow-Israelis. In fact, some of Ben-Gurion's most extremist and uncompromising views on this subject have been articulated during Zionist Congresses, often at the risk of splitting the Zionist movement at critical times when the supreme need was for preserving the solidarity of the movement and closing its ranks. Why, then, does Ben-Gurion now seem ready to attenuate his Zionist commitments and to make those very compromises which he was reluctant to make at critical moments when the very life of the Zionist movement and its unity of purpose and ranks demanded that he make them? Why does he seem ready to tell the reader of LOOK things that he was loathe to say in the assemblies of his fellow-Zionists?

The answer to this enigmatic metamorphosis of Ben-Gurion

lies in a tactical approach which has characterized the Zionist movement ever since its inception sixty years ago. Throughout these decades, the leader and masters of Zionism followed a consistent pattern in their pronouncements and assertions about the directions, objectives and basic principles of the movement - adhering to strict rigidity in their doctrinal pronouncements within the ranks of the movement, and at the same time manifesting great flexibility in the public pronouncements addressed to the world at large. In the interview which we are now examining, Ben-Gurion merely continues a tradition which has been well-established in Zionist history, and which has been built by previous leaders of the movement. Let us look at a few illustrations.

In 1897, when Herzl masterminded the establishment of the Zionist Organization and the enunciation of its basic principles and ultimate objectives at the Basle Congress, the purposes of Zionism were defined—in a public statement—as follows:

"The aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law."

But, when this public announcement was made, Herzl wrote in his diary:

"If I were to sum up the Basle Congress in one word— which I shall not do openly—it would be this: at Basle I founded the Jewish State. If I were to say this today, I would be met by universal laughter. In five years, perhaps, and certainly in fifty, every one will see it."

Similarly, in 1919, Weismann was assuring the world, at the Peace Conference, that "the Zionist organization did not want an autonomous Jewish Government". But, at the same time, the same exponent of Zionism was announcing that the aim of his movement was "to make Palestine as Jewish as England is English".

Thus, in his recent statement to LOOK, Ben-Gurion merely follows the same pattern previously pursued by his predecessors at the helm of the Zionist movement, Herzl and Weismann: namely, rigid adherence to the orthodox principles of Zionism when addressing the faithful, and attenuation and appeasement in pronouncements meant for world-wide public consumption. The instances in which this calculated duplicity manifests itself in the LOOK interview of Ben-Gurion are many. Here are some examples.

Mr Attwood asks if Ben-Gurion considers Israel to be a Middle Eastern state. Ben-Gurion enthuses: "We are the only real Middle Eastern nation here." Yet, Ben-Gurion himself wrote, only a few years ago: "The State of Israel is a part of the Middle East on in geography, which is, in the main, a static element. From the decisive aspects of dynamism, creation and growth, Israel is a part of world Jewry. From that Jewry it will draw all the strength and means for the forging of the nation in Israel and the development of the Land; through the might of world Jewry it will be built and built again. A community of destiny and destination joins together

2A \* THE MINNEAPOLIS STAR Fri., April 25, 1958

## Leader Predicts 11-nation Arab Union

By JOHN NYBERG  
Minneapolis Star Staff Writer

The Arab world, moving toward federation, faces a future bright with the promise of social and economic betterment, an Arab educator-diplomat said here today.

"We are at the beginning of reviving an ancient civilization in modern terms," said Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, counselor of the Yemen delegation to the United Nations and to Arab States' delegations.

In less than 12 years of independence, we have made more progress in terms of educational facilities and health and governmental



Sayegh

services that had been accomplished in the preceding 450 years of foreign rule."

Sayegh, the Christian son of a Presbyterian Arab minister who works among Arab refugees in Lebanon, compared the present phase of Arab unionism to federation of the 13 original colonies in the United States.

He predicted that the all 11 Arab states—Egypt, Syria, Yemen, Jordan, Iraq, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Sudan, Lebanon and Algeria—eventually will merge in a larger union.

The president of such a union, if a vote were held today, would likely be Egypt's Gamal Nasser.

With a majority of the 80 million people in the Arab states, Nasser symbolizes what they long and aspire for, Sayegh declared.

"Nasser represents the re-

volt for social reform, the challenge to foreign domination and the present daring effort to unify the states."

After centuries of stagnation, change is coming to every phase of Arab life, Sayegh said.

Throughout the Arab states, Sayegh said, living standards are rising through better exploitation of natural resources, challenging feudalism and establishing compulsory and free education (in all countries except Saudi Arabia and Yemen).

Although the governments of the Arab countries are not unified on the question of international political alignments, the majority of the Arab people favor neutrality as the best safeguard to independence, Sayegh said.

"One school of thought—Morocco, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Iraq and Jor-

dan—favors continued association with the west. "A second school of thought, represented by Egypt, Syria and Yemen, believes in a policy of strict neutrality toward East and West.

"No Arab leader has come out and suggested an alliance with the Soviet bloc," he explained.

Sayegh, whose father is a pastor in four Arab refugee camps in Lebanon, believes the first step toward settling the problem of Arab refugees driven from the Holy Land a decade ago should be the recognition of their right to be repatriated.

"This right is acknowledged by the United Nations," he said.

"It is now up to Israel to declare whether the right is theirs and then up to the refugees to choose whether they want to exercise it."

Sayegh will speak at a

special convocation, open to the public, at 8 p.m. today in the museum of natural history at University of Minnesota. The convocation is sponsored by the university and the Arab American club.

Sayegh formerly taught philosophy at the American university in Beirut, Lebanon, and middle eastern affairs at Yale university and Georgetown university.

### YULE STAMPS ASKED

WASHINGTON — (AP) — Two bills have been introduced in Congress calling on the postoffice department to issue special stamps next December commemorating Christmas.

Star Tribune: April 26, 1958

## Arab Spokesman Says Arms Means 'Suicide' for Israel

There is a possibility that Israel "will commit suicide and disappear without our having to raise a finger," an Arab spokesman said in Minneapolis Friday.

Israel can either choose to live with her neighbors or continue her present course of living like a fortress, said Fayez A. Sayegh, counselor for the Arab states delegation office in New York.

The second course, he said, in the long run will lead to the disappearance of the Jewish state.

The Arabs, he said, are willing to live with Israel on the terms of United Nations resolutions, including the partition plan establishing a Jewish state on more limited territory than it now occupies.

Sayegh made this statement in reply to a question as to whether the Arabs had not abrogated this plan by attacking the Jewish state in May 1948.

Speaking on "Arab-American Relations" at the University of Minnesota, Sayegh said "un-American" foreign policies on the part of the United States since World War II have "lost friends and alienated people" among the Arabs on a grand scale.

Such policies, he said, which are foreign to the true nature of America, nearly have dissipated the reservoir of goodwill toward America, built up over 125 years by American missionaries, educators and philanthropists.

## On Sakiet-Sidi-Youssef

Saturday, February 8, 1958, seemed to be an average day in the village of Sakiet-Sidi-Youssef. In Tunisia, near the Algerian border. The children were crowded in the classrooms, learning the three R's, while the adults were hustling about in the market place - for it was market day and the population of the whole countryside crowded into the Sakiet market place. Four International Red Cross trucks came into town, and, as customary, proceeded to a nearby Algerian refugee camp. Suddenly, twenty-five planes loomed overhead, bombs fell throughout the town, fighter planes strafed the streets and market place, all was confusion as the terrified people fled for safety. After the smoke cleared, there were seventy-eight dead, one hundred and thirty wounded, and fifteen hundred homeless. It was an effective military maneuver on the part of France. Not one Frenchman was even scratched in this savage attack. The tactics were somewhat reminiscent of the sack of Budapest in 1956. Three of the Red Cross trucks, all plainly marked, were damaged. It apparently meant nothing to the French that they had violated international law by attacking these vehicles. These aforementioned reports come not from "fanatic anti-French Arabs", but are based on an eyewitness report of Hanton Hebling, a Swiss delegate to the International Red Cross. Hebling went on to say: "They (the French) are crazy. We represent an international humanitarian organization, and what we witnessed today does no pride to humanity."

Norway, one of France's NATO partners, was one of the first countries to protest this atrocious act. Premier Felix Gaillard of France was quick to assure the world that this attack was justified because it was directed against the Algerian rebels and mostly Algerian rebels were killed - a fact that has yet to be substantiated. France claimed that these Algerian rebels had been firing on French planes from machine guns mounted upon buildings at Sakiet. However United States Ambassador G. Lewis Jones Jr., who made a personal examination of Sakiet shortly after the attack, made an official statement saying that he found "no evidence that the Tunisian village served as a headquarters for the Algerian rebels, as claimed by the French." Gaillard called this attack a "legitimate defense" of French interests in North Africa, and said that it did not matter that US planes were used because Algeria is legally a part of France. He, however, failed to mention the obvious fact that Sakiet-Sidi-Youssef is in Tunisia, and not Algeria. Too, he seems to have forgotten the agreement signed by France on January 27, 1950, which says that any arms given France by the US are to be "used only in defense of NATO areas." Although Algeria is a NATO area, Tunisia isn't. Even if the French claim that Sakiet was an Algerian rebel base - which fact, remember, Ambassador Jones says, has no evidence to support it - France is still guilty of breaking the arms agreement. France's claim that "Tunisia was giving asylum to persons engaged in armed rebellion (against France) across the Algerian frontier" still cannot justify the attack, which killed mostly innocent women and children (no Algerian rebels could be found), even under the most liberal interpretation of international law.

It would be logical to expect President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia to be vengeful and uncompromising and Gaillard, or his Foreign Minister, Christian (?) Pineau, to be anxious to seek mediation and compromise. But no, we find just the opposite, Bourguiba almost immediately solicited for US mediation and asked for neutral observers to inspect the Tunisian-Algerian border. But Gaillard was not even willing to make a pretense. Through Pineau he hurled unfounded charges at Tunisia in the United Nations. He also called for the "creation of a no man's land, 200 miles long and 15 to 45 miles wide on the Algerian side of the (Tunisian-Algerian) border. Civilians would be resettled and the zones mined. Some 50,000 troops would be added to France's present 500,000 man army in Algeria to patrol the zone with orders to shoot any thing that moves." The French seem to enjoy resettling civilians, as exemplified by the bombing of Sakiet. It remains to be seen whether the Tunisians or French offer compromise will be accepted. But can the French be trusted to keep their word? Let us not forget that in 1956, when Sultan Mohammed V of Morocco and Bourguiba, in an attempt to arrange a meeting between Algerian rebel leader and the French, were deliberately deceived by France. Arrangement had been made to fly five Algerian leaders, who had been in Morocco for conferences with the Sultan, in the Sultan's own plane, to Tunis for peace talks with the French. Instead of flying to Tunis the French pilot flew to Algiers, where the five leaders were arrested, never again to be heard from. French officials never returned the plane and even bragged of their feat. There has been nothing done about this to this day. Is this typical of French diplomacy? History says yes. However, France has reluctantly agreed to accept US mediation, which brings us to a very important question. What will the US do?

Our brilliant Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, has made some grandiloquent speeches concerning this crisis, but has said nothing, save the fact that there is a crisis. The whole world - free and Communist - looks to the US. We are in a dilemma, according to the press. If we uphold France, all the Arab world will turn against us, thus paving the way for Soviet control of North Africa and the Mid East. If, on the other hand, we uphold Tunisia, France may withdraw from NATO and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization may collapse without France's support. This is nonsense. France is weak, although pompous, and depends upon the US for most of its aid. After all, were not seventeen of the twenty-five planes which took part in the Sakiet attack American gifts to France? France has been living on handouts and the support of other countries since Waterloo, and, although she still thinks she is a colonial power, she is nothing but a beggar. Dulles, and also many other Americans, seem to forget that the US supported Ngo Dinh Diem against the French in Vietnam. Diem, in turn, saved part of Vietnam from the Communists, and might have saved the whole country, if America had acted sooner. Since then France has still been our ally, on paper, and still greedily accepts all the aid we can give, so it is logical to assume that she will remain so if we decide

in favor of Tunisia, which is the only just and logical way to decide. Of course, France will make much ado about this decision, but that's all France has been doing for the past one hundred and fifty years. But, on the other hand, will Dulles appease France? Only the future will tell. Dulles is not always just and is very seldom logical.

SULEIMAN



### Recipe of the week

#### STUFFED PEPPER AND TOMATOES

1 can of tomatoes  
3 green peppers  
3 tomatoes  
½ lb. diced hamburger or lamb meat  
¼ cup of rice  
1 small onion  
Salt and pepper  
Scoop out peppers and tomatoes. Mix meat, rice, onion, salt and pepper together, then stuff peppers and tomatoes. Place in pan and add tomatoes and enough water to cover. Keep on a slow fire about 25 minutes, or until done.

### M. El-Bakkar



#### STAR OF PORT SAID & SULTAN OF BAGHDAD

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### JACK GHANAIM



FOR KANOON OR OUD  
WRITE c/o CARAVAN  
OR PHONE  
MAIN 5-5097



# THE CARAVAN

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Editor-in-Chief: **George S. Debs**

## NOW THAT WE HAVE CELEBRATED

Now that our controlled press, our controlled radio, our controlled television, our controlled motion-picture industry and our ZION infatuated mayor are about through celebrating, hailing, glorifying, saluting and singing the praises of the GREAT state of Israel on its tenth anniversary, **as it has never been done before for any newborn state on earth**, we can hope that they will find time and space to turn their attention once again to the much less important things like international tensions, disarmament, avoiding war, and our **bogieman communism**.

In our frank, insignificant opinion as greenhorns in politics and international affairs, we sincerely believe that the birth of this purely sectarian state in this time and age (for which we were primarily responsible) is a greater menace to world peace and tranquility than the atom bomb, the H bomb, the guided missile and Communist Russia combined. . . We hope that time will prove we are mistaken. . .

Extolling Israel and condemning **bogieman communism** seem to be the only two favorite topics in our press, radio, television and motion pictures. One or the other, or both, make our usual front page headlines. This is not only getting monotonous but is also getting ridiculous. It is making America the laughing stock of the whole World. A foreigner, not from the Middle East but from South Africa, was telling us the other day that he had heard nothing of Israel or Communism until he came to this country on a business trip. At the immigration office, they wasted his time for hours trying to find out if he were a communist or if he knew someone who knew someone who is a communist. . . When he was sick and tired and ready to call the whole trip off he was finally admitted. **A very fine thing for our trade.** . .

This man, who has done a great deal of travelling, swore up and down that nothing like this ever happened to him in any other country which he visited. "Have you no other subject to talk about in this country," he said, "except Israel, communism, juvenile delinquency and murders??" . .

As we said before, this is not only getting monotonous and boring, but also ridiculous and shameful. Is this the way our democracy functions? Are we really scared of the Big Bad Wolf? Aren't we sure that our way of life is the best? Why then, in heavens name, should we be scared of communism or any other "ism"?

Let us remind our lords and masters, who are in control of our means of communication, that the public is not as dumb as they think, and that they can't fool all the people all the time! Let us remind them that the majority of Americans still prefer to do their own thinking and cannot easily be fooled. Those who think they are fooling the people are only fooling themselves!

**George S. Debs**

## WHY WE ARE SUPPORTING ST. JUDE HOSPITAL PROJECT

We would like to make it clear that we are not supporting the St. Jude Hospital Project of Danny Thomas because of any religious zeal or because we prefer

St. Jude to any other Saint. In fact, we are poor authorities on saints and the miracles they performed.

We are backing and supporting St. Jude Hospital for two good reasons:

First: Because it is a humanitarian project intended to **Aid Leukemia Sufferers of American Children** regardless of sect or creed and therefore merits and deserves the support of every American regardless of sect or creed.

Second: Because, thanks to Danny Thomas, the maintenance of this hospital will stand as an everlasting monument for our people amongst our fellow Americans.

We cannot find any two better reasons than these to support any humanitarian project!

**George S. Debs**

## For The Record

By

**Dr. Fayer**

**A. Sayegh**



## THE HULAH DISPUTE

A reader from Massachusetts has inquired about the Hulah Dispute, between Israel and Syria, which has been lately in the news.

The dispute revolves essentially around activities which the Israeli Government is undertaking in an area of Palestine which is a demilitarized zone between Israel and Syria. It is not the nature of the works that is important, but the fact that they are being conducted by Israel in an area outside its sovereignty.

Thus the essence of the conflict revolves around the status of the Demilitarized Zones, which were established by the Armistice Agreements as a "no-man's land" between the contestants. The decisive document which clarifies the issue is, therefore, the Armistice Agreement.

In addition to this document, there are also the records of the Armistice Conference, which contain valuable information about the meaning of certain clauses in the Agreement, and which are considered authoritative sources for its interpretation.

There is also the interpretation of the status of the Demilitarized Zones which was made by the Chief of Staff of the U.N. Truce Supervision Organization.

And, finally, there is a decision by the Security Council on this same question, adopted on May 18, 1951.

The reader will find that, all and one, these four sources support the Syrian charge that Israel was acting in violation of the Armistice Agreement when it worked on certain projects within the Demilitarized Zone. Here are the relevant excerpts from these four sources:

Israeli-Syrian Armistice Agreement of July 20, 1949, establishes the Demilitarized Zone in Article V. Paragraph 1 of this Article states: "It is emphasized that the following arrangements for the . . . Demilitarized Zone are not to be interpreted as having any relation whatsoever to ultimate territorial arrangements." Paragraph 5 (a) also emphasizes that the establishment of the Zone shall be "pending final territorial settlement between the Parties."

Besides stipulating (in Paragraphs 5 (a) and 5 (b) that "the armed forces of both parties shall be totally excluded" from the Zone, and that "any advance by

the armed forces, military or para-military, of either party into any part of the Demilitarized Zone" is "a flagrant violation of the Agreement", the Article also vests the authority to regulate the restoration of normal civilian life to the Zone in the U.N. appointed Chairman of the Mixed Armistice Commission. According to paragraph 5 (e):

"The Chairman of the Mixed Armistice Commission shall be empowered to authorize the return of civilians to villages and settlements in the Demilitarized Zone and the employment of limited numbers of locally recruited civilian police in the zone for internal security purposes."

General Riley, then Chief of Staff of U.N. Truce Supervision Organization, summed up the provisions of the Armistice Agreement with respect to the Demilitarized Zone, on March 7, 1951, as follows:

"The Chairman of the Mixed Armistice Commission was charged with the responsibility of ensuring that the provisions of the Armistice Agreement with respect to the demilitarized zone were implemented. It follows that neither party to the Armistice Agreement therefore enjoys rights of sovereignty within the demilitarized zone."

In its resolution of May 18, 1951, the Security Council endorsed the interpretation of Article V of the Armistice Agreement contained in the summary record of the Armistice Conference of July 3, 1949, which, it declared, "was agreed to by the parties as an authoritative comment on Article V". This interpretation reads: "Civil administration, including policing, will be on a local basis, without raising general questions of administration, jurisdiction, citizenship and sovereignty . . . As civilian life is gradually restored, administration will take shape on a local basis under the general supervision of the Chairman of the Mixed Armistice Commission."

## FACT & OPINION

Money is what you swap for what you think will perhaps make you happy.

—Fred Smith.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, May 1, 1958

THE CARAVAN

Page Seven

# LET'S GIVE VERMONT TO ARAB REFUGEES!

By Sam Salem

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The United Nations and, particularly, the United States are overlooking an obvious, and yet ideal, solution to the Palestinian Arab refugee problem — the central issue of the Israeli-Arab controversy. *This solution consists, essentially, of repeating a plan which was followed quite successfully on an earlier occasion.*

Some ten years ago, the world organization was faced with another refugee problem — that of several hundred thousand homeless, European Jews who had escaped the horrors of Hitler's concentration camps, gas chambers, and crematoriums. On that occasion, the U.N. — chiefly at the instigation of the U.S. — created a Jewish nation, Israel, in Palestine and opened it up for immigration.

The plan worked perfectly. During the short space of a decade, Israel has absorbed not only the original homeless European Jews, but more than a million others from all over the world — representing over 70 countries. Currently, Israeli officials are talking of bringing in two million more immigrants.

While the creation of Israel more than corrected the Jewish situation, it has brought on a complex of disputes and tensions which today make up the Israel-Arab conflict.

For some 1500 years, Palestine had been an Arab country in language, culture, and tradition. Many of the original residents, strangely enough, resented having the character of their land transformed. Others argued that anti-Semitism was a Western Christian creation and that Arabic-speaking Jews within the Arab world had lived peacefully for hundreds of years. Why, they asked, should the West cleanse its conscience at the expense of the Arabs, who had never persecuted their Jewish "cousins"?

## POSITIVE APPROACH NEEDED

As a result, hostilities broke out and, during their course, hundreds of thousands of Arabs — old and young, aged and infirmed — fled in panic to the borders. For ten years these unfortunate people, now numbering nearly one million, have been living as refugees in Gaza, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon. World charity allows each Arab a pittance of seven cents a day subsistence.

Thus far, efforts to solve this refugee problem have met with no success. The U.N. apparently feels that Israel should permit them to return to their homes and has passed eleven resolutions to this effect. The Arabs, of course, agree. Israel, on the other hand, chooses to ignore the U.N. measures, insisting that the Palestinians are the responsibility of the surrounding Arab countries. The Arab private and public lands have been confiscated by the Israeli government and turned over to the new Jewish immigrants.

Primarily because of this refugee problem, and also a running boundary disagreement, the Arab states and Israel have been at odds for more than a decade. The Arabs refuse to recognize Israel and have boycotted her. Border hostilities and small wars have broken out. The Arabs blame the United States for thrusting a Zionist state upon them, and Russia has taken advantage of this situation to gain a foothold in the Middle East. Thus, the Holy Land has become an armed camp — an international trouble spot capable at any time of touching



SAM SALEM

off a global war.

Obviously, a positive approach is needed, so why not utilize the highly successful plan of ten years ago? At that time, it will be recalled, Europe's homeless Jews were given a country in Arab territory even though the Arabs had nothing to do with the trouble they had endured under Hitler. **Thus, it follows that the Arab refugees should now be given a country in a part of the world where the current residents are equally innocent of the wrongs done to the Arabs.**

The American State of Vermont is probably a good choice. It is well removed from the Middle East, its area is almost equal to that of Palestine, and the Vermonters have never been known to persecute Arabs. Therefore, the U.N. should declare Vermont an Arab state and transport the Palestinian refugees to New England.

## U.S. Government Will Approve

A casual observer might think that our Government will oppose this policy because Vermont has been one of the United States for nearly 170 years. However, it is more likely that the U.S. Government will strongly favor the measure so as to be consistent with the policy it followed when our leaders pressed for the creation of Israel. The Truman regime led the way in carving a European Jewish state out of a land that had been Arabic for 1500 years. So, how can our Government honestly object if the U.N. were to form an Arab state out of Vermont, which has been part of our nation for a more than 170 years?

The U.S. Government would undoubtedly favor an Arab State of Vermont, but the U.N. measure might prove unpopular among the current 370,000 American residents. While sympathizing with the lot of the Arab refugees and willing to admit a few of them, they may fail to see why their state should carry the entire burden. They may even be so rude as to argue that the coming of a million Arabs is bound to change the character of their land.

After all, the Vermonters may remind us, the 35 million immigrants who have been absorbed by America during its history have either Americanized or at least are moving in that direction. In this instance, however, the Palestinians would seek nothing less than Arabizing Vermont,

linguistically, culturally, and religiously — just as the Zionists have Israelized Palestine.

Naturally, the U.S. Government, as well as the U.N., would pay no heed to this type of New England reasoning. The Arabs of Palestine, who in 1947 constituted more than two-thirds of the total population, also objected to the creation of Israel, but they were not even permitted a plebiscite. Moreover, the U.N. ignored the Arab plea that the issue be placed before the World Court. Therefore, why should the Americans of Vermont expect better treatment than that given to the Palestinian Arabs?

Nonetheless, the stubborn Vermonters may continue to regard the Arab migration as an invasion, and hostilities may break out. In such an event, the 370,000 contented Vermonters will certainly be no match for one million desperate Arabs, who are bound to be well armed by the U.S. Government and other friends. Possibly, this one-sided warfare will be accompanied by wholesale massacres of Americans, similar to the mass atrocity that the Israelis once committed in the Arab villages of Dair Yassen, Salahaddin, Saffuriya, Ain-az-Zeitoun, and others. Such a development will probably cause thousands of Americans to flee in panic to the borders.

## The New England Refugees?

Meanwhile, the neighboring states of New York, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine — moved by the sad plight of their American brethren — might defy the U.N. and their Government and come to the aid of the Vermonters. Now if the Americans win the resultant struggle, the Arab State of Vermont would be no more. But if the Arabs win, then a series of events may follow which strongly resemble those that occurred after the Israeli-Arab war of 1947-49.

The Arabs might confiscate the homes and properties formerly held by the Americans, who by this time would be living as refugees in the neighboring states. The U.N. would probably demand that the Americans be permitted to return to their homes, but the victory-flushed Arabs are likely to insist that the Americans would constitute a dangerous fifth column and that they should be cared for by their kith and kin. As a result, the neighboring American states might refuse to recognize the Arab nation and go on to isolate it economically with boycott.

Such a situation could easily lead to border trouble, similar to the current Israeli-Arab hostilities. For example, the obstinate American refugees might refuse to recognize the obvious fact that they no longer have any claims in Vermont. Some might persist in crossing the border to see relatives, to retrieve lost possessions, or to chase runaway cows. Others might even murder the Arabs living in their homes.

Would the Arabs diagnose this situation as a reflection of the deeper refugee and boundary problems? Would the Arabs reconsider their decision to keep the American refugees out of Vermont? Possibly, but they are more likely to follow the current Israeli policy of discouraging such incidents by shooting all trespassers, even those in pursuit of cows. Moreover, the Arabs may even launch full-scale military expeditions into the neighboring American states, defending such bloody retaliations as "defensive wars."

Since the new Arab nation would now be surrounded by hostile enemies, the U.S. Government and other sympathetic countries will certainly provide

it with enough arms to ensure its continued existence. Soon it would possess the strongest military machine ever assembled in New England.

## New England "Hot Spot"?

Such a development is likely to make the neighboring American states apprehensive, especially if there are indications of further Arab encroachments. They too may seek arms, but naturally the pro-Arab U.S. Government would turn them down. As a result, New York and New England — having by this time seceded from the Union — may purchase military equipment from Russia. This of course, would make them Soviet satellites and Communists, and their leaders would be counterparts of Egypt's Nasser.

Thus, the New England area may succeed the Middle East as the world's number one "hot spot", and there would be a constant threat of global war because of Vermont and its American refugees. Given such a set of circumstances, the popularity of the U.S. Government in New York and New England would be approximately equal to America's present popularity in the Arab world.

Now one may ask: What would be gained by solving the Palestinian Arab refugee problem only to create a Vermontian American refugee problem? What would be gained by clearing up the Middle East situation only to create an equally disturbing problem in New England?

A facetious person may answer these questions by asking another one: What was gained ten years ago by finding a home for Europe's Jews only to make a million Arabs homeless? But a more intelligent and positive answer lies in the realization that the creation of an Arab state in Vermont, while probably leading to an American refugee problem, is not likely to be followed by the other results outlined above.

**We Americans are basically different from Arabs. The old-fashioned Arabs are unreasonable, stubborn, and selfish. We modern Americans are rational, pliant, and generous. Unlike the Arabs, we are good sports. Therefore, we would not react to the Vermont situation in the same irrational manner that the Arabs responded to the Palestinian situation. Instead, we would do exactly the same thing that many of our pro-Israeli newsmen, newscasters, and political leaders are currently demanding of the Arabs.**

## We Are Good Sports!

The Vermont refugees and the neighboring American states would set the example by declaring publicly:

**"THE ARAB STATE OF VERMONT IS A FACT AND IT IS HERE TO STAY!"**

With this spirit of concession and brotherly love prevailing, we would let bygones be bygones. The Vermonters will permit the Arabs to keep the confiscated property. The neighboring states will absorb the refugees, grant the new Arab state full recognition, and allow it all privileges of trade and intercourse. There would be no border hostilities, no hot-and-cold war, and no danger of Russian encroachment. This turn of events is bound to impress the Arab countries overseas. Certainly they will recognize Israel, call off the boycott, and forget about the boundary dispute. In fact, they may be so pleased by the good fortune of their former Palestinian brethren that they will turn over the entire Arab world to Israel and migrate — all 70 million of them — to Vermont.

This new wave of immigrants will probably make it necessary for Arabized Vermont to expand

its borders, just as Israel is likely to do if it fulfills its current goal of bringing in two million more Jews. In such an event, we Americans — continuing in the good sport and brotherly love tradition — will cooperate fully in accommodating the 70 million Arabs. We will be more than happy to give them all the land east of the Mississippi, with Independence, Missouri, thrown in for good measure.

The latter city — the hometown of Harry S. Truman — will come as a personal gift from our former President who, ten years ago, was so generous in giving away Arab land to European peoples.

## Labor Under Socialism

Traditionally, major labor unions have favored public ownership of the electric utilities. They have praised the Tennessee Valley Authority and its purposes. But there are notable exceptions. Officers of the union which is most intimately involved with utility operations — the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers — have spoken out forthrightly, time and time again, in opposition to socialized power, and the philosophy it represents.

Robert MacGregor, business manager of one of the IBEW locals, have made his views on TVA plain in a letter printed in a labor newspaper. TVA, says Mr. MacGregor, provides favoritism to its customers through various devices, one being lower wage rates than prevail in the utility industry. TVA pays no interest on the money it gets from the government, and pays no federal income taxes. TVA also pays no local taxes, except for certain funds that it decides to pay a locality "in lieu of taxes". Of this, Mr. MacGregor makes a pointed observation: "In the rest of the country, the state or county decides what the utility must pay in taxes. In TVA territory, TVA decides what it is best to pay to the locality."

Finally, Mr. MacGregor says: "Today 82 per cent of TVA investment is devoted to the power business, and 75 per cent of this business is in steam plants. This is the history of an agency that was created to control floods, and in which electric power development was to be an incidental feature."

Such considerations as these grow more compelling all the time. For example, a pending bill in Congress would authorize TVA to issue revenue bonds to finance future expansion. This measure, should it pass, would effectively remove the control Congress now has over TVA — and would open the door wide for the extension of state socialism, TVA style, on an enormous and unpredictable scale — every federal power project would soon be seeking similar privileges along with its unfair tax exemptions. Mr. MacGregor has indicated what that would mean to the workers and taxpayers of this country.

## So You Want To Get Ahead?

Five most important words — I am proud of you!

Four most important words — What is your opinion?

Three most important words — If you please!

Two most important words — Thank you!

Least important word — I — Nathan A. Bailey, Dean American Univ. School of Business Administration.

Be at war with your vision, at peace with your neighbors, and every new year will find you a better man.

George S. Debs

### FOR THE RECORD!

It was a year ago today, that we asked Dr. Fayez Sayegh, and he graciously consented, to write his weekly column for The Caravan.

This column, under the title "For The Record", has appeared every week without exception or delay ever since that day. This was done in spite of the fact that Dr. Sayegh had, on many occasions, from twenty to thirty radio, television and lecture engagements to fill, within a single week, in various parts of the country. While he was jumping by plane and train from one place to another he still had time to write numerous pamphlets, books, booklets and press releases. Last, but not least, he also had time to attend to his duties as acting head of the Arab Information Center during the absence of Ambassador Kamil Abdel Rahim, on sick leave abroad.

How this man was able to do all this is really amazing! How it is possible for a single man to accomplish so much is unbelievable!

In his articles, Dr. Sayegh has been covering momentous issues of the day from the Arab point of view. He has little reason, however, to wonder why only 20 questions were directed at him by our readers during the past 52 weeks (see today's column). The only explanation that we have is that he was really and truly answering the readers, most of the time, before they even had a chance to ask their questions. This is what he does during his debates on radio and television programs and on platforms. He is always a step ahead of the reader or listener. The real wonder is not that our readers asked only 20 questions but that they were able to sneak in that many questions during this period.



Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, May 8, 1958

THE CARAVAN

# For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayez  
A. Sayegh



## SINFUL EVEN WHEN IT CELEBRATES

It was quite typical that the very celebration by the Government of Israel of its 10th anniversary was judged by the United Nations to be a violation of international agreement.

So defiant has Israel been during the past 10 years, of the resolutions of its parent Organization, that its moment of joy and celebration was as sinful as the consistent record of its 10 years of history.

The military parade which Israel made the highlight of its 10th anniversary celebration was held in Jerusalem, a city from which Israeli sovereignty was technically abolished by the United Nations, and as a city into which the Israeli Government itself undertook in the Armistice Agreements not to bring concentrations of troops or heavy military equipment. Thus the celebration was first a violation of the decrees of the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council to internationalize Jerusalem, and secondly a breach of the Armistice Agreement between Israel and Jordan. In addition, the special resolution of the Security Council ordering the demilitarization of the Holy City was also violated in the celebrations and the military parade.

Let us now examine the provisions of these many resolutions and international agreements:

1) Concerning the internationalization of Jerusalem: The very birth certificate of Israel contained provisions to remove the Holy City from the sovereignty of a national state; Part III, Section A of the Partition Resolution of 29 November 1947 clearly decreed the internationalization of Jerusalem. This was reaffirmed in the Assembly resolution of 11 December 1948, and once more, in the Assembly's resolution of 9 December 1949. When Israel defied these three resolutions, it was condemned by the Trusteeship Council in its resolution of 20 December 1949.

It was because of this that many of the countries — including the United States—which recognize Israel and maintain diplomatic relations with it, nevertheless refuse to recognize Israel's occupation of Jerusalem or its consideration of the city as its capital; refuse to permit their ambassadors or ministers to take residence in the illegally-declared capital of Israel; and refused to permit their envoys to attend officially the military parade and the celebrations held in Israel.

2) In addition to the internationalization of the Holy City, the United Nations has also decreed the demilitarization of that city — in Paragraph VI of the Security Council resolution of 15 July, 1948.

3) In the Armistice Agreement Israel made official undertakings towards Jordan, which were subsequently endorsed by the Security Council and declared to be binding under international sanction. In Article VII, Paragraph I of this Agreement, the areas extending 10 kilometers (approximately 7 miles) from each side of the Demarcation Lines were declared defensive areas, in which military forces and equipment were limited and defined. The

Mixed Armistice Commission found out that the number of troops and the type of armaments used during the anniversary parade were in excess of the numbers and categories permitted under the Armistice Agreement, and were therefore a violation of the Armistice.

It would have been out of character for a state whose very existence is dissonant with its charter, and whose entire record is one of persistent violation of international regulations and breach of promises and undertakings, to have celebrated its birth in an atmosphere of legality and peace. Israel's illegal behavior on the day of its jubilation—its violation on that day of three resolutions of the General Assembly, one of the Security Council, one of the Trusteeship Council, and the Armistice Agreement — is perhaps an inevitable consummation of its record, decreed by the very logic of its character.

But the crowing of this inherent feature of Israel's nature and conduct is the cynicism with which Israel viewed the world uproar resulting from these acts of defiance. The *New York Times* quoted an official spokesman for the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs as having dismissed the disapproval of the civilized world with the laconic and cynical phrase that the entire issue should not have been raised and would not have been raised had there not been some "busybodies" in the United Nations' headquarters. His reference was obviously made to the Secretary General, Dag Hammarskjöld, whose sins in the eyes of Israel have been many and grave: for it was he who reported to the Security Council, in the spring of 1956, that Israel's invocation of the principle of retaliation was inconsistent with the Charter as well as with the Armistice; it was he who acted firmly as the symbol of the conscience of the world when Israel invaded Egypt in the fall of 1956; and it was he who now upheld the sanctity of international law by instructing the United Nations' observers in Palestine to observe the existing resolutions of the U.N. and not to accept the Israeli thesis that these resolutions were "dead" and "null and void".

Many a criminal scorns and abuses the judge for upholding the sanctity of the law!

## TO THE READER OF THIS COLUMN

With the appearance of the present issue of the Caravan, this column will be a year old.

The first article in this space appeared in the May 16th, 1957 issue of this newspaper. Since then, articles have appeared in this space weekly. The present article is the 52nd in the series.

When I inaugurated this column a year ago, I had hoped it to be basically a dialogue. I had anticipated it to be primarily a

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response to questions and queries from you.

Unfortunately, no more than 20 of these articles have been written in response to your questions. The inflow of questions and queries was less than I had anticipated.

Accordingly, the majority of the articles which have appeared in this space consisted of analyses of outstanding problems of the Arab World or comments on current Arab affairs.

I am sure that such analyses and commentary are needed — particularly in view of the one-sidedness of reporting on Arab affairs in the American press. And, to this extent, I am not regretful that the designed nature of this series underwent the change it did in the course of the past year.

Nevertheless, I feel that the primary role of this series should, if and whenever possible, be preserved. For it was meant to fill a concrete gap, to answer specific questions which you have in mind, or which are addressed to you in the course of your discussions or talks with people.

As we enter the second year of this weekly column, I want to assure you that principal attention will continue to be given to your questions, if and when they are forthcoming.

In the meantime, I wish to thank all of you who have written to me about this column, whether directly or through the Caravan, for your interest.

The new year in this column's life starts next week — which also coincides with the 10th "anniversary" of the establishment of Israel. I propose to concentrate in the course of the next few weeks on some significant manifestations of the life and record of Israel during the past decade.

## WHY AMERICAN LABOR OPPOSES WAGE-INCENTIVE PLANS

Why are American trade unions usually opposed to wage-incentive plans? This question is answered by a special bulletin recently issued by the Department of Research of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

A wage-incentive plan offers higher wages for more production. It is one form of profit-sharing—the last desirable form says the AFL-CIO, for it is based on the false assumption that workers will not perform "an honest day's work for an honest day's pay," unless spurred by the promise of extra money or a bonus.

Many management leaders have abandoned the wage incentive idea. One survey of the experience of 316 companies over 15 years found that 78 percent of the management were dissatisfied with wage incentive schemes.

One weakness in incentive plans is the extreme difficulty of setting production standards that are reasonable, accurate and consistent. (usually the standards or forms are set on the

basis of time-and-motion studies; that is, as the result of detailed analysis of the manual operations and the time period required to do a particular job or complete a piece of work.) The AFL-CIO bulletin reports:

"Frequently workers on jobs with tight, unrealistic production standards must work at a killing pace in order to just make standard base rates.

Incentive schemes are subject to many abuses—according to the AFL-CIO — among them favoritism and discrimination which set worker against worker. As earnings increase there is a temptation for management to raise standards and lower rates. Workers are forced to work harder and faster to maintain previous earnings. Management is inclined to eliminate "below-average" workers. Older workers find the competition too difficult to meet. And, of course, as the work-pace goes up, so does the accident rate.

Incentive plans tie wages to the production of either an individual or a group. This AFL-CIO survey finds that the group incentive systems are the worst kind because a worker's earnings are made to depend on the work of others. This causes friction between workers, and rivalry which tends to lower morale.

A few unions, notably those in the needle trades where the piece-work and incentive system is traditional, have worked out a reasonably fair arrangement with employers. The terms of the incentive system are part of collective bargaining between the union and management and are under constant review.

But 70 percent of the labor force is outside of any incentive system and the trend is against it. Just recently the Paper Mill Workers ended an eleven-week strike against a plant in Pennsylvania where management had attempted to install a wage incentive system. That was the only issue and the workers won.

Aside from the opposition of workers and many employers, technological advances in the field of automation will tend to reduce further, if not abolish, the use of incentive plans. As production becomes more and more automatic and manual labor is eliminated, workers will play a smaller role in total output and have less control over it.

## WASHINGTON, D. C.

By  
**Elizabeth  
Busada**



A series of two lectures were sponsored by The Middle East Club of Georgetown University. The first lecture, on Feb. 26, by Harold B. Minor, former U. S. Ambassador to Lebanon and now president of American Friends of the Middle East. The second, on March 4th, was by Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, counsellor of the Arab States Delegation, who spoke on "Neutralism".

The Islamic Association and the International Club of Maryland University sponsored a lecture on March 5 by Dr. Sayegh. And the Arab Students Association—American University Chapter—sponsored a lecture by Dr. Hurst Anderson, president of American University, who spoke March 7 on "A University President Looks at the Middle East".

All lectures were followed by questions from the audience.

Albert Mahassel graduated Feb. 22 from George Washington University as a Bachelor of Law. His mother, brother and two sisters came from Worcester, Mass. to see him graduate and celebrate with him on Sunday at a big dinner.

Peter Beter also graduated at the same time as a Master of law.

\* \* \*

## IN THE MAIL MAKES GOOD HIS THREAT

Dear Mr. Debs:

For sometime I have been threatening to write you and express myself for the high esteem I hold for the "CARAVAN", for the splendid editorials you have and the special articles written by that distinguished student of the Middle East Affairs, our Dr. Fayez Sayegh. Undoubtedly, Dr. Sayegh is the man who is qualified to present the Arab Problem before the American People in a flawless diction, clear thought, and historical accuracy.

My Alma Mater, Macalester College of St. Paul, Minnesota, has established, this year, a Forum in which distinguished speakers from all over the Country will be presented to discuss certain subjects. One of them is Mr. Abba Eban, Ambassador to the United States.

I am enclosing herewith a copy of a letter addressed to the Committee in charge of this Forum in which I suggested that Dr. Sayegh be invited to complete the discussion on the Middle East Affairs in order to present the other side counterpart to that of Israeli. It may be too late this year, but I hope that he will be invited next year.

It occurred to me at the same time in order to inform the American Public more and more about the Arab situation in the Middle East, a publication like the "CARAVAN" would be the appropriate medium. I hereby suggest that every graduate of any college or university send the "CARAVAN" to the Library of his or her Alma Mater so the undergraduate of that school may have access to accurate information about the Arab-

Israeli situation, and every college and university in the U.S. should have a copy of the "CARAVAN" in its Libraries.

Please mail your "CARAVAN" as a gift from me to . . .

Enclosed find personal check for one year subscription.

With best wishes. . .

Solomon D. David, M. D.  
Houston, Texas

\* \* \*

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** Letters like this are very heartening, Doc. We are glad you finally made good your threat and wrote. We know of many others who made the same threat but have not yet taken the trouble to write. Here's hoping that we will hear from you more often. Thank you.

### ADMIRE EDITORIALS

I must say I admire your editorials very much and look forward to reading them every week. Keep up the wonderful job and may the future be as successful as the past. The "BEST OF LUCK TO YOU ALWAYS".

Syrian and Lebanon Society  
New Haven, Inc.,  
Mrs. Maharib Hassan, chairman

### A LETTER TO SAM SALEM

Dear Mr. Salem:

"Let's Give Vermont to the Arab Refugees!" merits congratulations for its cleverness, subtlety and objectivity.

Why not present a framed copy to the Truman Library in Independence? I'll gladly pay for the framing.

Yours truly,  
Evelyn J. Abdalah  
West Roxbury, Mass

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, May 15, 1958

THE CARAVAN

## For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayez  
A. Sayegh



### ISRAEL'S FIRST DECADE

The date of this issue marks the tenth anniversary of the establishment of Israel in Palestine.

On this occasion, a brief summation of some aspects of the establishment and survival of Israel seems appropriate. For this purpose, I insert the following transcript of a statement on this subject which I made on CBS television, in a nationally televised interview, a few days ago.

The tenth anniversary of the founding of Israel in Palestine is being celebrated these days with much fanfare and organized publicity. Seldom has the Fourth of July elicited as much fanfare in the United States as has Israel's anniversary.

If the world, looking back upon the past 10 years of the history of the Holy Land, sees merely the rise, entrenchment, and development, of the state of Israel, it is color-blind indeed.

That Israel came into being 10 years ago, that it survived, and that it made great strides towards social-economic development, are undeniable facts — but facts which pertain to only one portion of the situation.

Unless the totality of the situation is envisioned in its organic indivisibility, even such fragmentary aspects as are seen and recognized become misrepresented in character and subject to grave errors of evaluation.

It is imperative therefore to dwell upon the forgotten aspects.

— I —

Israel came into being in the heart of another people's homeland. The area it occupies today has been for millennia, and continued so to be until a short while ago, inhabited and owned and considered their own by the Arabs of Palestine.

The rise of Israel therefore was simultaneous with the forcible disappearance of the Arab people of Palestine as a national community.

The immigration of close to a million Jews into Israel during the past 10 years was preceded by the forcible expulsion of close to a million Arab inhabitants of the Holy Land.

The establishment of these new Jewish-Zionist immigrants was effected on the property whose rightful Arab owners were forced to evacuate.

The accomplishment, then, has not been without its costly price.

Whatever justice was intended to be done for the Jews of Europe has been done through the infliction of grave injustice upon the Arabs of Palestine.

This is the first forgotten aspect of the total Palestinian situation — the moral aspect.

• • •

There is also a legal aspect which is equally forgotten.

The Israel that was legislated into being by the United Nations on 29 November 1947 was far different, in the explicitly-stated intention of the World Organization, from the Israel which shortly thereafter founded itself by force of arms — using, as it did, the United Nations decree as a springboard for establishing an unauthorized fait accompli.

Israel was supposed to occupy only one-half of Palestine; it oc-

cupies today four-fifths of that country.

The Arab inhabitants of the area designed to be transformed into Israel were meant to continue to live there, as equal citizens; but, in the process of coming into being, Israel expelled them, transformed them into refugees, confiscated their property, and refused to comply with the orders of the United Nations — reiterated in 11 successive resolutions — enjoining Israel to permit them to return to their ancestral land and to compensate those of them who choose not to return for their lost property.

Jerusalem, which was declared by the United Nations an international zone administered directly by the World Organization under the Trusteeship System, has been forcibly "Israelized" instead.

And the Arabs who stayed behind and remained under Israeli control have been reduced to second-class citizens — a voiceless and suppressed minority, cordoned in "ghettos" within Israel.

Thus in every respect — in boundaries and territorial scope, in population, in capital, and in policies towards its minority — the state of Israel as it exists today is a direct violation of the conditions under which it was called into existence, as well as of the 74 subsequent orders of its parent Organization.

— III —

Not only are the foregoing moral and legal aspects of the Israeli situation ignored, but the very accomplishments of Israel in themselves are misrepresented.

Much is said about the industrial growth of the Israeli community. But it is forgotten that the entire area of the Middle East — in fact, the entire formerly-colonial world of Asia and North Africa — has been in the past decade the scene of dramatic progress and dynamic development. To emphasize the progress of Israel while remaining silent about the progress of the surrounding area is to promote the Israeli-inspired myth that Israel is an "oasis of progress" in a "dark desert of stagnation and backwardness".

• • •

The conditions which have made Israel's progress possible are often overlooked and underplayed. Let us look at the facts:

The Israelis have usurped the land they today occupy — whose inhabitants they have expelled and to whom they have not paid any compensation. Thus Israel has worked its achievements on land it acquired without cost (and illegally), and erected its accomplishments on the foundations of the toil and labor of millions of Palestinian Arabs during the preceding millennia.

Moreover, Israel has applied to the resources of this land the talent and energies of countless technicians and scientists who flocked into Israel from the technologically-advanced countries of Europe. The ratio of technicians in Israel, as a result of wholesale immigration, is un-

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naturally high.

And, above all, Israel has had an advantage which no other people has enjoyed: virtually unlimited capital funds, collected for Israel abroad, particularly in the United States. American aid alone — public and private — has poured into Israel at the rate of close to \$200,000,000 a year. When we calculate these funds on a per capita basis, we find that every Israeli man, woman and child has received from the United States a "bonus" of \$1,000 to \$1,500 in the past 10 years.

In short, all the conditions of progress and accomplishment have been made available to Israel in unprecedented form and to an unprecedented degree; free land, an unnatural quota of technicians and scientists, and unlimited capital funds.

Another forgotten aspect of the Israeli situation pertains to the impact of the rise of Israel upon the course of American-Middle Eastern relations, and therefore upon America's security and interests in the present international situation.

The role which America has played in the creation and survival of Israel, under the aforementioned circumstances, has antagonized and embittered millions of Arabs, alienated their masses as well as their leaders, and all but dissipated the reservoir of good will and confidence in America which has been patiently cultivated by American educators and missionaries for a century and a quarter prior to 1947/1948.

Observers of Middle Eastern affairs seldom agree on one point to the degree to which they agree on this statement: **America's role (in supporting the Partition Plan, in passively tolerating Israel's persistent violation thereof, and in liberally subsidizing Israel throughout the past decade of intransigent Israeli defiance of the United Nations), more than any other single factor, has directly alienated the Arab peoples.**

When we recall the emerging national self-determination and self-assertion of the Arab World, the revived and heightened strategic significance of the Arab homeland, and the conditions of the Cold War in which America is involved, we will begin to appreciate the degree to which America's partisanship towards Israel — in spite of its questionable moral and legal foundations — has adversely affected America's standing in the awakening Continents of Asia and Africa, and has jeopardized America's national interests at this juncture in its history when America's very national security has come to be at stake.

In addition to these four forgotten aspects of the Israeli situation — moral, legal, socio-economic, and international — there is finally a forgotten spiritual-philosophical aspect, which has many facets.

The character of Israel, as a state identified with a religious faith, marks a retrogression in the socio-political progress of

mankind; it constitutes a return to a bygone era, in which political groupings were founded on the principle of religious identification, segregation, and exclusiveness, but which the world has outgrown. It is therefore an anomaly in the mid-Twentieth Century World, into which Israel was born.

In accordance with the ideological confusion of religion, nationally and state-hood, Israel claims to represent all adherents of the religious faith, with which it identifies itself, throughout the world. It puts claims which appear to involve the allegiance of all Jews in all countries, cutting across national boundaries and purporting to subvert national loyalties — claims which, fortunately, are repudiated by countless Jews throughout the world, but which Israel nevertheless persists in articulating.

The impetus for the creation of Israel was provided, at least partly, by the reaction of the civilized world to the horrors of the Nazi system. But the Zionist creed, which animates Israel, is marked by a fanatic racialism and a belief in racial supremacy such as characterized the philosophy of Nazism.

The United Nations, which gave birth to Israel, was designed as an instrument of peace, and dedicated to the rule of law and order. But the conduct of the child is at variance with the intent of parent. The United Nations records reveal that Israel has received more condemnations from United Nations for military aggression than any other country on earth; and Israel's present status embodies persistent defiance to scores of United Nations resolutions, and intransigent refusal to subordinate the illegitimacy — achieved fait accompli — to the requirements of international law and order.

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Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, May 22, 1958

THE CARAVAN

# ISRAEL AND THE GULF OF AQABA

The United Nations conference on maritime law, which met in Geneva, Switzerland, last month, has adopted by a vote of 62 to 1 with the Arab States abstaining, an article

that is regarded in some quarters to have the effect of through the Strait of Tiran to free passage of ships through the Strait of Tiran to and from the Gulf of Aqaba. The text of the article - which has still to be ratified by individual nations - reads as follows:-

"There shall be no suspension of the innocent passage of foreign ships through straits that are used for international navigation between one part of the high seas and another part of the high seas or the territorial sea of a foreign state."

The Israeli Delegation to the conference is reported to have described the article as a "clear-cut decision preventing suspension on any legal ground of the free passage of ships of all nationalities through the Strait of Tiran to and from the Gulf of Aqaba". The Saudi-Arabian Representative, on his part, has declared that his Government would not recognize the article which he described as "specially tailored to fit a special case".

There is no doubt that this decision was the outcome of Israeli pressure to achieve by political means something which Israel knows full well it cannot gain before a world court of justice. There are, however, several reasons why the terms of the article will not affect or alter in any way the present attitude of the United Arab Republic and Saudi Arabia toward Israel's so-called claim in the Gulf of Aqaba. Among these reasons are:

1. The decision is merely a recommendation and will bind only those nations that ratify it. Refusal by any nation to recognize the agreement can in no way be construed to be a violation of the United Nations Charter.
2. The Strait of Tiran falls within the territorial waters of the United Arab Republic and Saudi Arabia, both of which are still technically at war with Israel - a "state" they will not recognize so long as it fails to respect the rights of the Palestine Arabs in their homeland and to comply with United Nations resolutions regarding boundaries, repatriation of refugees, payment of compensation for losses sustained, and the internationalization of Jerusalem. To expect the United Arab Republic, under such circumstances, to permit the approach to within 500 yards of her shores of a hostile people, who only recently were found guilty of an unprovoked attack on the Sinai Peninsula, is unrealistic and contrary to the known practices of war.
3. The armistice existing between Egypt and Israel provides in Article V that "the armistice demarcation line is not to be construed in any sense as a political or territorial boundary, and is delineated without prejudice to rights, claims and positions of either party to the armistice as regards ultimate Settlement of the Palestine question". Therefore, until the frontiers with Egypt and Jordan are definitely fixed, the position of Israel's "territorial boundary" on the Gulf of Aqaba will remain questionable, and the terms of the said maritime ar-



BY SAMI HADAWI

ticle not applicable, even though Israel may be in physical possession of the shoreline.

4. According to the dictionary, the word "armistice" means "a temporary suspension of hostilities". So long as this state of affairs exists, neither party can claim rights which it did not enjoy during the fighting. According to international law and practice an armistice is generally recognized to "freeze" war operations whereby both parties remain in their occupied positions and undertake not to resume the fighting pending a settlement. If a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict has not been forthcoming for the last ten years, it is not the fault of the Arab States but of Israel which refuses to comply with United Nations resolutions.

An analogy to the Arab-Israeli armistice may be found in the armistice existing between North and South Korea. The latter is being enforced in the strictest meaning of the word where neither party can approach the territory of the other without violating the peace.

To interpret the Arab-Israeli armistice in other than the word implies in order to serve the interests of Israel to the detriment of the Arab States, is a situation which cannot be tolerated.

5. The Arab States regard the presence of Israel on the shores of the Gulf of Aqaba as illegal and in violation of the 1948 truce directives of the Security Council and the terms of the General Armistice agreement signed with Egypt on 25 February, 1949. Referring to the truce orders, which required Israel to withdraw from territory it acquired beyond the positions it held after the second truce had come into force in July, 1948, Article IV of the Armistice Agreement provides:

"The principle that no military or political advantage should be gained under the truce ordered by the Security Council is recognized. It is further recognized that rights, claims or interests of a non-Palestine character in the area of Palestine covered by this Agreement may be asserted by either Party, and that these, by mutual agreement being excluded from the armistice negotiations, shall be, at the direction of the Parties, the subject of later settlement. It is emphasized that it is not the purpose of this Agreement to establish, to recognize, to strengthen, or to weaken or nullify, in any way, any rights, claims or interests which may be asserted by either Party in the area of Palestine or any part or locality

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thereof covered by this Agreement. . . The provisions of this Agreement are dictated exclusively by military considerations and are valid only for the period of the armistice."

Despite the truce directives and the provisions of the Armistice Agreement not to resume hostilities, Israel launched an attack on the southern Negev thirteen days after the signing of this Agreement and occupied additional territory up to and including the shores of the Gulf of Aqaba which it has since incorporated in the "Jewish state". But this does not mean that it is there as of right.

A review of the events which followed the Israeli invasion of Egypt in October, 1956, will reveal how a new dangerous situation is being developed in the Middle East if an attempt is made to apply the maritime article to the Gulf of Aqaba, outside an overall settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The Israeli invasion was launched with two objectives in view: The first, was in order to annex the Sinai Peninsula in conformity with Israel's policy of expansion. That this cannot be denied, is clear from David Ben-Gurion's own statement before the Israeli Parliament on 7 November, 1956, when he declared that the Israeli army had "limited its operation to freeing the area from northern Sinai to the tip of the Red Sea". He went on to say that "Jewish independence has been maintained on the Island of Yotbat (Hebrew name for Tiran) south of the Gulf of Elath (Aqaba) which was yesterday liberated by the Israeli army." The second objective was, (if for any reason Israel failed in gaining her first objective) she would at least have opened the Strait of Tiran to her shipping.

During the discussion of the Israeli aggression in the General Assembly, the stand of the United States Government, supported by repeated pronouncements of President Eisenhower and the Secretary of State, were to the effect that **Israel must withdraw unconditionally and that she must not be allowed to benefit from her attack against Egypt.**

With these assurances in mind, and anxious to lessen tension in the area, the Egyptian Government cooperated with the United Nations to the fullest extent. It allowed a United Emergency Force to be stationed on its soil. Little was it then realized that these forces would be instrumental in defeating the very aims and spirit of the Resolution which called on Israel to withdraw from Egyptian territory. For no sooner were the forces stationed at Sharm Esh-Sheikh, when Israeli shipping and merchandise began to pass freely through the Strait of Tiran and within a stone's throw from the Egyptian mainland.

This attitude on the part of the United Nations has encouraged Israel to believe that she now possesses permanent legal rights

in the Strait of Tiran, and as a result has declared that if she were later prevented from exercising these rights, she would be within her rights under the United Nations Charter to go to war. To lend permanence to her newly acquired "right", Israel immediately embarked on a scheme to enlarge her port facilities; an eight-inch pipeline was constructed linking the Red Sea with the Mediterranean, and Elath was developed as a summer resort which, it is said, attracted 10,000 visitors in 1957. It is reported that during the 7½ years before the invasion, the port of Elath handled only 6000 tons of commerce, but in 1957, 40,000 tons went through, and this year the estimated tonnage is 220,000. These figures, however, do not include Elath's role as an oil port, which are not being divulged for obvious reasons.

That Israel has benefitted from her aggression against Egypt; and that these benefits appear to have the blessing of the United Nations contrary to the expressed intentions and spirit of the Resolution which called on Israel to withdraw from Egyptian territory, there is not the slightest doubt. Any attempt at this stage to interpret the maritime article as to give a legal right to Israeli shipping to pass through the Strait of Tiran before other problems of the Arab-Israeli conflict are settled, can only aggravate the situation in the Middle East and encourage Israel in maintaining her intransigent policy toward the Palestine Arabs.

So long as the United Nations Emergency Force is stationed at Sharm Esh-Sheikh, Israeli shipping will continue to pass through the Strait of Tiran. But once this force is withdrawn - as its presence there cannot continue indefinitely - it is certain that, whatever the consequences, the United Arab Republic will not permit violation of her territorial waters by an enemy that has shown no respect for human rights or dignity. In that event war becomes inevitable. The United Nations must then bear the blame for encouraging by political rather than legal means Israeli shipping to pass within the territorial waters of other nations against their expressed wishes.

**If you have not yet received The Caravan, mail us your name and address immediately!**

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, May 29, 1958

THE CARAVAN

## For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayez  
A. Sayegh



### AMERICAN FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO ISRAEL

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** Through no fault of his, Dr. Sayegh's article did not appear last week because it was delayed in the mail and we had it mixed up with another article. We are sorry this had to happen only one week after we had "bragged" about not missing one of his series, "For the Record", during the whole year.

One of the most ambitious fund-raising campaigns for Israel is being waged nowadays in the United States, in connection with the much-publicized "tenth anniversary" of the founding of Israel.

More than ever before, the twin themes of Israeli achievements and Israeli "survival" are being widely utilized in order to solicit financial contributions in an emotion-charged atmosphere; and the dual slogan of development and defense supersedes all others as a handy fund-raising tool.

Under these circumstances, it is useful to undertake an examination of the magnitude of America's financial assistance to Israel during the past decade, and an analysis of the uses to which American money has been put by Israel. It is also useful to compare the amount of financial assistance which Israel has received from the United States, with the financial assistance which the Arab States have received from the United States.

Accordingly, in the present article, we shall seek to determine the total amount of United States financial assistance to Israel, in its various forms. Next week, we shall examine some of the uses to which Israel has put this American money — particularly, with respect to the purchase of arms. The week after next, we shall determine the total amounts received by the Arab States from the United States, and compare them with the amount received by Israel.

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A well-documented study of the scope of foreign financial assistance to Israel has just appeared in the 1958 edition of the *American Jewish Year Book* (volume 59), published jointly by the American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Publication Society of America. According to this study, four fundamental sources of foreign currency supplement Israel's own earnings abroad — namely:

- (1) Aid channelled through the United Jewish Appeal and other "overseas agencies";
- (2) The Israel Bond Drive;
- (3) United States governmental assistance; and
- (4) Collective "restitution" from Germany.

These four sources have jointly provided Israel with 55 per cent of its total foreign currency income in 1955/56 and 1956/57. The American source alone — the first three items of the foregoing list — have provided 36 per cent of Israel's total foreign currency income in 1956/57.

The total subsidy rendered to Israel by the American tax-payer — through the three American channels of so-called "Philanthropic Agencies", Bond Drive, and direct Government aid — has exceeded \$1,842,000,000 during the first nine years of Israel's existence (1948-1957). This total may be broken down into its fundamental components as follows:

#### 1. So-called "Philanthropic Programs":

Except for the Bond Drive, occasional "Emergency Fund Drives", and minor "independent fund-raising campaigns", funds for Israel are raised within the framework of an integrated and centralized program managed largely by the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds — an association of 214 agencies operating in 800 American communities inhabited by 95% of the total population of the United States. This central association organizes an annual fund-raising campaign, the proceeds of which are distributed, through a complex process of allocation, to local, national, and overseas agencies. Funds are allocated for Israel through the latter channel. Owing to the labyrinthine nature of the network of agencies concerned, the complexity of the formulas according to which allocations are made from year to year, and, above all, the lack of accessible public accounting by agencies which double as Israeli and American structures, exact figures of the amounts received by Israel are not available to the average contributor, much less the average tax-payer. Most of the figures cited are partial and incomplete — and are based largely on estimates, not on direct statements from the recipient Israeli agencies.

According to the calculations cited in the aforementioned study in the *American Jewish Year Book* (page 146), "over \$900 million was remitted to Israel by Jewish organizations" in the form of "philanthropic funds" by 1956; while the remittances in 1956 exceeded \$75 million, and estimates indicated that "the total was expected to be well over \$100 million in 1957".

Thus, the estimated total of funds made available to Israel through the first channel, between 1948 and 1957, amounted to \$1,075,000,000.

#### 2. The Bond Drive:

Israel Bond Issues went into operation on May 1, 1951. There were two Bond Issues: the "Independence Issue", which terminated on May 1, 1954; and the "Development Issue," which began on the same date.

On April 13, 1958, the Vice-President of the Israel Bond Organization announced at a meeting of that Organization's Board of Governors that, since May 1, 1951, a total of \$335,258,250 in bonds has been sold. (New York Times, and Herald Tribune, of April 14, 1958).

#### 3. U.S. Government Assistance:

Long term Statistics of United States financial assistance to Israel are contained in an official report presented by the Of-

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Send in your questions on the Middle East to Dr. Sayegh, and help him to bring you the weekly column you want to read.

Questions dealing with statements or current beliefs which tend to place the Arab countries or Arab-Americans in a bad light are particularly recommended.

Send your questions to "For The Record," c/o The Caravan, 172-174 Hoyt Street, Brooklyn 17, N. Y., or phone them in at

Office of Business Economics of the U. S. Department of Commerce, published in October, 1957, under the title, *Foreign Grants and Credits by the United States Government*. This report reveals that, by the end of June, 1957, a total of \$432,000,000 was received by Israel in net grants and credits from the United States Government. (Table 2, page S-14)

#### Total U.S. Financial Assistance:

The total amount of financial assistance received by Israel from the United States, between 1949 and 1957, thus exceeds \$1,842,000,000.

It will be recalled that the population of Israel during this period ranged between 650,000 in 1948 and 1,872,000 in 1957. The average population of Israel — Jewish and non-Jewish — during this period was approximately 1,500,000. Computed on a per capita basis, therefore, American financial assistance to Israel amounted to \$1,250 per person during the past nine years.

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According to the plan indicated at the opening of this article, we shall proceed next week to explore the various fields into which American aid has been diverted by Israel, with special reference to the procurement of arms and military materiel.

### MID-WEST MAHRAJAN SET FOR LABOR DAY WEEKEND

By Rev. James Allan

Preliminary plans have been made for the 1958 Mid-Western Mahrajan to be held in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, August 30 & 31 and Sept. 1, according to E. J. "Tony" Nassif, general chairman.



Headliners of Arabic and American entertainers, including Fadwa Abed, above, have been engaged for this year's Mahrajan, to be sponsored by the Cedar Rapids chapter of the Attiyeh Benevolent Society. It is expected to be one of the biggest conventions.

Dignitaries, including Iowa's Governor Loveless and representatives of the Lebanese Government, will be in attendance. The Convention will be housed in the spacious Hotel Roosevelt in downtown Cedar Rapids.

If you have not yet received The Caravan, mail us your name and address immediately!

# GFWC Hears Arab Views On Middle East Conflict

By CLAIRE LEEDS

**D**ETROIT, June 3.—One of the principal speakers during the opening convention session presented a point of view on the Middle East seldom heard by members of women's clubs.

He was Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, spokesman for the Yemen delegation to the United Nations and counselor of the Arab delegations office in New York City.

Originally, Israeli Ambassador Abba Eban had been invited to share the platform with Sayegh. Eban declined the invitation, however, and named Dr. N. S. Fatemi, an Arab spokesman for Israel, to present that side of the question to the convention Friday.

In his address to the convention, and later at a press conference, Sayegh emphasized that the crux of the Arab-Israeli conflict as far as the Arabs are concerned lies in the plight of the 1,000,000 Arab refugees, who, he charged "were forcibly expelled from Palestine by the Zionists."

**"Not one of them, he declared, "has been compensated one penny for the loss of his land."**

Typical of the reawakening of the Arab nations, in which women had no rights whatever a decade ago, has been the advent during the past five years of free compulsory education for all girls as well as boys, he said.

Campaigning for the General Federation elections on Thursday began in earnest with delegates from States backing rival candidates blossoming out in a colorful variety of lapel ornaments.

Supporters of the candidates from North Carolina and New Hampshire wore their respective State flowers, the dogwood and the lilac; delegates from Ohio, the home State of a candidate for third vice president sported clusters of buckeyes; and backers of Oregon's choice for treasurer wore leis of green tulle and "Keep Oregon Green" emblems.

HIGHLIGHT OF tomorrow's convention session will be the awarding of \$16,000 in prizes to the winners of the federation's 1956-58 community achievement contest.

General Federation of Women's Clubs, which for 15 years has supported statehood for Alaska, reaffirmed that stand today as its 67th annual convention opened in Ford Auditorium.

The result was a flood of telegrams from convention delegates to their Congressmen, urging passage of the Alaska Statehood Bill which comes before the Senate on Thursday.

In proposing the action, Mrs. Horace B. Ritchie of Athens, Ga., General Federation policy chairman, reminded the federation that the United States has promised residents of Alaska full

privileges of citizenship since the territory was ceded to this Nation, and that the statehood bill has been before Congress for 40 years.

IN HER report to the convention, Mrs. R. I. C. Prout, General Federation president of Wakefield, Mich., said that her goodwill trips to many parts of the world during her two year administration have helped to swell the federation's international membership to a total of 11,500,000.

She reported that the world's largest women's organization now has 375,000 members in the Middle East, 150,000 in Germany and 1,500 in Austria. Applications for federation membership in Iran are pending from 14 women's groups with a combined membership of 800,000.



# REMINISCENCES OF MY YOUTH

By

ALBERT ABDALLAH SLEYMAN



**EDITOR'S NOTE:** Mr. Albert Sleyman is one of the outstanding and highly respected pioneers in our community. The following series, which we have prevailed upon him to write, will, no doubt, be of great interest to our younger generation.

## PART I

I came into this world in 1882. My birthplace was a beautiful little town called Thaher El Ahmar, situated halfway between Damascus and Marj Ayoun, at the foot of Mt. Hermon. The inhabitants were then half Christian and half Druz. Excellent pottery clay, and red sandstone were in great abundance. It was blessed with four public water springs and had two large pottery kilns. Standing in any part of the town, one could feast his eyes on the magnificent snow-capped Mt. Hermon, in all its glory. To the other directions, there were lesser mountains, vineyards, fruit trees, and farms. The farmers raised wheat, oats, lentils, green peas, and other small grain, besides some tobacco. There were three flocks of goats numbering about five hundred, to supply the town with milk and meat; and one herd of cattle to cultivate the land.

My father's assets were: a farm, two vineyards, a herd of one hundred and fifty goats, four mules, and a donkey; also, fifty percent interest in a pedigreed Arabian horse, and a magnificent watch dog to guard the goats against the attack of wolves.

His liabilities were: to supply the family, the farm hand, the goat herder, with wearing apparel, and to pay the farm hand and goat herder four dollars a year each. For taking care of his horse, Zarifi, I was to be treated with a trip to Damascus, the beautiful.

Father's business consisted of buying such items as Backlawa, Burma, Turkish Delight and other groceries, besides twine and soap from Damascus, transport them on the mules to Hasbaya, Darmeemas, and Jadaidat Marj Ayoun, where he had previously taken orders. From here he loaded the mules with olives and oil which he sold in Damascus, a distance of about thirty miles.

Father had told us much about "Ash-sham" (Damascus), its people, Islam and Jews as well as Christians. How gracious and courteous the people he dealt with were. He told us about its fascinating bazaars, its magnificent public baths, its mosques and its orchards. The mental picture he painted created supreme desires in our minds to go there.

One day, while Father was out, I led Zarifi to the "Ain" (public spring), for water and feed, and having all she wanted of both, I started to lead her back to the house. On our way, we passed by the racing field. Satan filled my mind with the feeling that I could race as good as my father, if not better. I became as bold as a hawk. I looked at the field and I looked at beautiful Zarifi; both were most tempting to me, so I led her to a nearby stone fence and perched myself on her bare back. My only guard or shackle to check her from running faster than I could stand was a halter. (Father had locked up the saddle and bridle in a closet to prevent my being tempted to ride). Zarifi was in her glory, ran like lightning. I tried to gather all the strength and courage I could, but to no avail. The townspeople saw us and felt certain I would soon fall and be killed. I saw faces wrenched with expressions of excitement and e-

motion. Finally, I slipped off Zarifi's bare back and fell into a ravine about twelve feet below the road. Subsequently, I was picked up and carried home one block away. Bruises and cuts were washed and bandaged. When I regained consciousness, I was more afraid of my father, for violating his instructions than aware of pain. I realized that I would not have come to this most miserable condition if I had followed his instructions. The following day, while mother was changing the bandages, Father came home, walked to where I was lying, placed his kindly hand on my patched forehead "Mouju?" (In pain?), he asked. "No, Father, forgive me", I replied.

All that I am, I owe to my father and mother; I also owe an unforgettable obligation to Mr. and Mrs. Guy Tuttle (of Atlanta, Ill.), my American parents, who were a patent influence in my Protestant thinking and habits. Of these remarkable people, I shall relate a very interesting experience later.

Father and mother were brought up in the Greek Orthodox faith. My grandfather, Gibran Essayar, was a devout Greek Orthodox and a leader in the church. He was a Chanter and always repeated the Apostle's Creed. He was instrumental in my being made an altar boy to serve the priest and carry the collection tray to the altar.

Aboona (Father) Nicola was a good priest who had a kind face. His bald head always held my admiration and I felt it was an honor and a distinction to be adorned as such. I was dominated with the ambition and desire to become a public speaker and to have a bald head like Father Nicola, although I felt that it would take time and experience to attain that objective.

On one occasion as I was carrying the collection tray to the altar I noted two coins that looked like gold, my temptation was so great that I stole them, while no one was looking. The two shining coins were equal to two-fifths of a cent in American money. At sleeping time, Mother discovered what I did and told my father, who immediately took me by the ear and jerked me from the sleeping mattress. I was ordered to dress and go at once to Grandfather's house, secure the church key, and return the money. Mother came to my rescue

and vigorously protested his order on various grounds. She told him that I was too young to go any distance alone in the dark. A hyena might carry me away, or wolf might attack and devour me. I might be frightened and lose my mind. She saw as much harm in that money remaining in the house overnight as the holy water with which the priest sprinkled the house the week before. She offered to go with me. Father objected to her line of thinking completely. He had an abiding consciousness of being fundamentally right with God and was an uncompromising foe of sin and evil. He taught me the value of courage, tolerance, and faith in God. His mind was full of uplifting thoughts and never deviated from his principle. To this day, I do not recall that he made a promise which he did not keep. He was an inspiration to those whom he knew and dealt with.

Father set his face like a flint, pointed his index finger toward Grandfather's house, and said, "Imshi" (walk). Inasmuch as I felt Mother was right and fair, I could not and dared not offer my viewpoint, the horror of having both my ears jerked paralyzed me. Consequently, in wholehearted simplicity, obedience and courage, I "walked".

Securing the church key and opening the door with humility, I tried to walk on the marble-like floor to the altar. The noise from my shoes echoed through the high ceiling; a peculiar sensation ran through my body from head to toes. I felt my hair was standing up. It was a sphinx riddle that no one can solve. I wondered whether the Lord was coming to reward me, or Satan coming to claim me for stealing the coins. I could almost hear myself saying "am bringing it back, am sorry". At last, I struggled and managed to reach the altar, and replaced the coins on the marble. On my way out, as I was locking the church door, a lady's figure appeared by my side. "Abdallah", she cried, "What are you doing here this late? Praying?" "No", I said. "I had something to do." The lady, who was a friend of ours, walked with me, but I did not allow her to go near the house and made her promise not to tell anyone she saw me. I wanted to prove my fearlessness and that I had an unshakable resolution in the face of adversity. Father and Mother were harried by uncertainties and apprehensions, awaiting my return, and I could see expressions of relief on their faces when they saw me. . . .

TO BE CONTINUED

## FACT & OPINION

A system of televising pictures over conventional telephone lines has been worked out by General Electric, and is said to be the first practical step toward seeing the person being called on the telephone.

. . .

Farmers in some parts of the country are putting in egg vending machines along the highways to sell directly to consumers. An estimated 200 refrigerated dispensers have been installed.

. . .

The reason many people never get anywhere in life is because when opportunity knocks they are out in the back yard looking for four-leaf clovers.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, June 12, 1958

REMINISCENCES  
OF MY YOUTH

By  
ALBERT ABDALLAH SLEYMAN



EDITOR'S NOTE: Mr. Albert Sleyman is one of the outstanding and highly respected pioneers in our community. The following series, which we have prevailed upon him to write, will, no doubt, be of great interest to our younger generation.

PART II

Our trip to Damascus was to take place very early one Monday morning. The distance of about thirty miles was to be made in one day. I was looking forward with delight and joy for that day to come. Father and I were to take turns riding the donkey, while the mules were loaded with olives and oil. Unfortunately for me, an army doctor from Rashaya, the country seat, three miles from our home, unexpectedly came Sunday afternoon. He made a bargain with my father to carry him on the donkey back to Damascus for a sum equal to fifty cents in American money. That meant I was to walk or postpone my trip till another time. Aggravated and exasperated, as I was, I decided to go walking, and my father was so informed. The doctor, because of our very early start the following day, remained overnight with us. During the evening, he engaged Father with an interesting discussion on various subjects. I heard him say, "Abu Abdallah, if you want to be proud of your son later, you should teach him to be truthful, courageous and faithful. You should make him work hard and walk as much and as long as possible to develop all his organs."

Early Monday morning, we started our trip. Father and I walking, the doctor riding the donkey, and the mules loaded with olives and oil. Continuing until almost noon, I began to feel the effect and noted the expression on Father's face, indicating that he had made a mistake. I told him not to worry. A little later, Father whispered to me, "Be patient, son, the doctor will soon tire of riding, dismount, and then you may ride". We continued to travel until we reached a beautiful town with many fruit orchards called Zibdany. Father bought me some luscious apricots and apples to help allay my pain, and in a low tone said, "Courage and patience, son, we are almost there". I began to pull and shake my limbs and feet that seemed numb and lifeless from hips to the toes, while our passenger, persistently hostile to my urgent need, was perfectly satisfied to continue riding the whole distance.

The sun was winging its way to the west, night prepared to enshroud the world with darkness.

Approaching Damascus from the Northwest, in a moonlit evening, seemed to have made me forget the pain. The view of the flat lying city, surrounded with orchards and flowers, a perfect riot of colors, was to me a scene of enchanting beauty. The minarets of mosques, rising above the city, were breath-taking. We entered the roofed bazaar (street) and I began to hear the chanting of melodiously trained voices ringing from the towering minarets, calling the Moslems to prayer. Finally, we reached our stopping place, Khan (Inn) Braheem Basha, which forms a market place for merchants who gather here from surrounding towns. The Inn keeper, Salha, and several out-of-town merchants who knew my father, greeted and welcomed

us most enthusiastically. I was led by Salha to an interior balcony, while Father took care of the mules and donkey on the first floor. Two of the out-of-town merchants picked me up and repeatedly caressed me as they said "Yahabeeb Abdallah". It was agreed that all the out-of-town merchants, including my father, would go out to a nearby eating place. I begged to be excused and went to sleep on a mattress that lay on a marble-like floor.

The following day, Salha, a most tender and indulgent woman, a woman of generous sympathy and kindness, woke me up from my sleep about noon. All I could see as I looked around and down below were mules and donkeys. My eyes were swimming in tears of fright and despair. "Where is my father?", I asked her. She patted me on the shoulder and said, "He has gone to transact his business and will soon return".

She gave me a piece of flat bread covered with grape molasses and a glass of goat's milk. A man named Hourani and his friend came. Each of them had a musical instrument called Rabab, resembling a crude violin. The four of us sat on floor-laid mattresses. Rabab music and Arabic singing followed with a sense of desolation and heartbursting with despair, I listened with patience. Mr. Hourani, a man most amiable of men, spoke in clear and expressive Arabic, perfectly fitted to his environment. He told us about his many experiences, and related the story of the Christian boy who once lost his way going home; frightened and weeping as he was, a Kaulk man came to him and after he offered the boy Turkish Delight, to stop him from crying, he offered to take him home, pretending he was a friend of the boy's father. But instead, the boy was taken to the Kaulkish place where he was stripped of his clothes and was placed in a trunk studded with needle pointed nails, the points pointing inward. The trunk was closed, Hourani went on, and the boy's blood was drained into a hammered brass pot. At a certain time of the year, the blood was diluted with wine, to drink. The Kaulk, he explained, are believers in Lamaism, whose teaching include magical practices and endow the member with mystical quality, such as reincarnation. They believe that if Christian blood enters into their beings, they gain enough power to overcome the gods and demons. Salha and the other gentleman supported Hourani's contention fully. When the Turkish government discovered the incident, the Kaulkish place was closed for a long time. I was then told that if ever I became lost not to show or feel any fright, but to bravely go to a Christian to inquire calmly. Early afternoon, Father came back and promised to take me with him the following day to see the city, and meet his friends and business associates. The next day we both went out together.

TO BE CONTINUED

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, June 19, 1958

REMINISCENCES  
OF MY YOUTH

By  
ALBERT ABDALLAH SLEYMAN



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PART III

Dimishk-esh-sham (Damascus), relates to the flat lying city, and its very fertile plain, the anti-Lebanon to the north, and Mount Hermon to the west. The name has a great fascination for the people as a whole, and it is believed that the city is the most ancient in the world. We went through the street called Straight, where St. Paul was converted, and visited the great mosque of Ommayyedes. The bazaars roofed above of various classes were located by themselves, that is, if you want a pair of shoes, you go to the shoe bazaar, etc.

Father introduced me to his merchant associates, Christians, Jews, and Moslems, who treated me as if I were their own son. I was loaded with delicious confections of every description, and thereafter, returned to the inn. Father invited the out-of-town merchants who were there, to an evening meal, and I spent the evening listening to their different experiences. The next day, Father was to complete his purchases by buying some rope, twine, and soap; so he took me with him. As we walked through the crowded bazaars, I was attracted by two snake charmers. When I turned to my father, he was gone, and I was lost in the crowds. Shrouded in mystery, I began to look for him. I went to the twine bazaar, and to the soap bazaar and was told Father had not been to either. The supreme need of courage came, although I felt a large lump in my throat and a butterfly in my stomach. I was as bewildered as anyone could be, in spite of the mental fervent prayer. I repeated the Lord's prayer my grandfather had previously made me memorize, with the emphasis on "Deliver us from evil". Somehow I found my way to the Inn and found that father had been there looking for me. Salha excitedly said, "Maybe he went to the Kalkish." But in a few minutes, Father came and when he saw me he said, "Ashkurak Yarab", "Thank You Lord."

That evening, Father invited several of his out-of-town merchants and some of the city friends for the evening, we all retired to the interior balcony of the Inn. Salha had, besides Mr. Hourani and his friend the Rababist, invited two very eloquent entertainers and story tellers. The balcony was jammed with people. The two Rababists played and sang; the entertainers told one fascinating story after another, more thrilling than the "One Thousand and One Nights". It was indeed a royal evening, full of laughter and enjoyment. I was told that this was a farewell party, as we were leaving the following day for home. I passed the various confections around and after a while, the crowd began to depart and I tried to sleep.

That night, in my dreams, the very first object I saw was the black trunk with snakes crawling in and out of it. I saw those sharp pointed nails piercing my body and blood running in a stream into a gold pot. I saw a black robed man with very long side burns take some of the blood, and mixing it with other liquid,

he drank. I was a victim of anxiety, and paralyzing fear, hopeless and helpless. I wondered why Father, his bosom friend, Shiekh Ahmad, Rabbi Khaleel and other friends failed to come to deliver me from the horror of being placed in that blood extracting trunk. I tried to find courage and self confidence to overcome this most dreadful thought. I turned to God and in my dream said, "Samihni Yarab anna makhtite", ("Forgive me Lord, I have not sinned.") I called for omnipotent forces to save my spirit, if not my body. The fear lurking in the back of my mind set me quaking in my sleep, and I could feel the floor and mattress on which I slept shaking. Finally, I opened my eyes and realized that it was I who trembled and shook and my clothes were wet with perspiration. The next morning we returned home with no compensation for the donkey.

TO BE CONTINUED

Charleston,

W. Va. News

By

LeNore Rashid



ALSAC CHAPTER of Greater Charleston held a benefit Arabic movie "The Confessional", May 14th. We are happy to report that it was a success and proceeds will go to the St. Jude Hospital. The committee working on this included Mrs. Fred Thabet, Miss Olga Aurady, Mr. Mitchell Rashid and Mr. Phillip Corey.

Sunday, May 18th, a St. George celebration was given by the St. George Ladies Aide Society, celebrating St. George and namesakes. There was local Arabic entertainment. This was postponed until now, as the new activities building was not completed for the original date.

Dedication of the new \$300,000.00 Sunday School and activities Building will be held June 14-15. Phoenicians, Phoenicians Auxiliary, St. George Ladies Aide Society, Knights of St. George and the Board of Directors are all working together on the dedication.

New officers were elected by the St. George Ladies Aide Society, they are: Mrs. Della McCarus, President; Mrs. Effie Hadad, Vice-President; Mrs. Andrew Murad, Treasurer; and Mrs. Skaff Secretary.

The Shums 'il Bir Club had a Mothers Day Banquet at Humphrey's Pine Room.

June 1st, our local SOYO Chapter, the Knights of St. George, will sponsor an affair featuring the "Royal Arabians" from Toledo. Sammy Jacobs, a brother of Danny Thomas, is in this group. There will be a beauty contest to select a representative for the Mid-West SOYO Convention in Pittsburgh.



# For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayer  
A. Sayegh



## AMERICAN CHARITY DOLLARS FOR ISRAELI GUNS

Last week we sought to determine the total amounts of American money which have gone into Israel since 1948. We established that over \$1,842,000,000 went into Israel from the United States in the form of public as well as private remittances. Today we shall examine some of the uses which Israel has made of this money, particularly the non-philanthropic uses.

Despite the philanthropic, humanitarian and welfare purposes professed during fund-raising campaigns, American funds made available to Israel in the past nine years have been used to serve other purposes as well, some of which are inconsistent with the philanthropic impulse which motivated the contributors. This applies not only to the grants and credits given to Israel by the United States Government, or to the proceeds of Bond sales, but to the money remitted to Israel under so-called "philanthropic" programs and collected in the United States with full benefit and inducements of tax-deductibility. In the first place, "philanthropic funds" have been used by Israel as a source of foreign currency and, in this form, used to bolster the Israeli economy in general, without regard to the philanthropic motive as such. As the *American Jewish Year Book* puts it: "While the fundamental use of these funds was for welfare programs, the exchange of dollars for pounds was helpful to the State of Israel in making available foreign currency". (p. 146)

In the second place, the bulk of the "philanthropic funds" remitted to the Jewish Agency for Palestine is invested in Israel in undertakings which cannot be described as "philanthropic" in any commonly-accepted sense of the term. For example, the building of "new settlements, irrigation projects, citri-culture, equipment, seed, instruction, supplementary employment and long-term loans" to Israel's new citizens, which is the "largest single area of expenditures" of the Jewish Agency, (according to the *American Jewish Year Book*, page 151), is of obviously outside the scope of "philanthropy" and "welfare"; it falls more properly under the general category of natural economic development. As Senator Ellender put it (*Congressional Record*, February 7, 1957):

"In connection with this assistance to Israel from Jewish people throughout the world, I was surprised to learn that funds from the United Jewish Appeal, an American institution which is tax-exempt, and to which contributions by American tax-payers are deductible, spends much if not all of its funds to rehabilitate Jews who settle in Israel. Money is advanced to immigrants to provide day-to-day living expenses, and then grants are made to permit them to build homes and prepare the land for tilling. Actually, the United Jewish Appeal makes a part

of its funds available to the United Israel Appeal, and American Jewish agency, which finances the immigration of refugees to Palestine.

"It should be noted that this money is not used as the Red Cross uses its funds — for disaster purposes — or as other tax-exempt organizations operate. On the contrary, United Jewish Appeal funds are used to rehabilitate and settle foreign Jews who immigrate to Israel.

"It should also be noted that the land on which the Jewish immigrants settle is owned by the State, and settlers hold under a lease arrangement only.

"I recommend that the question of tax exemption for these organizations be thoroughly studied in order to determine if such exemptions are legal."

Even the Executive Director of the American Jewish Committee has reportedly declared that some of the funds collected in the United States by the United Jewish Appeal and remitted to Israel are used for purposes that could be described as "non-philanthropic" *Jewish Newsletter*, November 18, 1957).

In the third place, funds raised in the United States have been used by Israel for military purposes, including the purchase of arms and other military equipment.

That American funds, including so-called "philanthropic contributions", have enabled Israel — directly as well as indirectly — to purchase arms and other military equipment has been publicly admitted by official spokesmen for both the Israeli and the United States Governments.

Concerning the indirect use of American "philanthropic funds" for Israeli military purposes, candid testimony has been made by qualified officials of the U.S. Department of State before Congressional Committees. For example, during the hearings on the Mutual Security Act of 1954 conducted by the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the U. S. House of Representatives, (pages 654-655), the following colloquy occurred between Congressman Omar Burleson (of Texas), on the one hand, and, on the other hand, Mr. Arthur Z. Gardiner (Political-Economic Adviser, Bureau of Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs, U.S. Department of State), and Mr. Norman S. Paul (Regional Director of the Office of Near East, South Asia and Africa Operations at the Foreign Operations Administration):

Congressman Burleson: . . . Do we know how Israel is using the private contributions; for example, funds received through the United Jewish Appeal?

Mr. Gardiner: We have a good idea, sir, as to the sectors to which the Israelis direct their resources. . .

Congressman Burleson: I understand some of it has gone

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Send in your questions on the Middle East to Dr. Sayegh, and help him to bring you the weekly column you want to read.

Questions dealing with statements or current beliefs which tend to place the Arab countries or Arab-Americans in a bad light are particularly recommended.

Send your questions to "For The Record," c/o The Caravan, 172-174 Hoyt Street, Brooklyn 17, N. Y., or phone them in at

into arms and into various military items, as well as industrial equipment. I understand it has not all gone for food.

Mr. Gardiner: There is no have received through the United Jewish Appeal, just as the funds they received through these bond drives, have made up the pool from which they met their defense as well as their other requirements. . .

Congressman Burleson: . . . Then . . . funds collected by the United Jewish Appeal are used for defense and for general economic development. . . As for costs to the American taxpayer, it should be remembered that it costs him money when contributions are deductible for this philanthropic purpose, even though tanks and planes and guns are purchased.

Mr. Gardiner: That would only be indirectly. Undoubtedly the Israeli financial sources become a pool of money, and the more money that finds its way into that pool, the greater are the possibilities for purchases of all kinds.

Congressman Burleson: When the dollars in the barrel are stirred you can't identify each, but nevertheless, those exempt contributions, as are the repayments payments, become available for any use.

Such statements of competent and responsible officials of the Department of State have recently received corroboration from a high-ranking Israeli official. Walter Eytan, Director-General of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, in his recent book, *The First Ten Years* (Simon & Schuster, New York, 1958, p. 199), speaking of the receipt by Israel of "massive financial support from the Jews of the diaspora", testifies to the indirect use by Israel of such funds for military purposes by saying: "The larger the income from them has been, the more Israel herself has been able to divert from development to defense and other urgent domestic needs."

Authoritative evidence shows that funds raised from private contributions in America have been used not only indirectly, but also directly, to finance Israel's military establishment.

An ardent American Zionist, Julius Haber, in his book, *The Odyssey of an American Zionist*, (Twayne Publishers, New York, 1956), reveals that "immediately following the November 29th vote on participation (sic), Golda Myerson, then a member of the Jewish Agency, now Foreign Minister of Israel, had come to this country to raise \$50,000,000 for the purchase of arms and equipment in Europe" (p. 326). He also reveals that, during the cease-fire in June 1948, American Zionists rallied to the support of Israel by raising funds for arms procurement: "In the United States, though it was impossible to purchase and ship military supplies because of the govern-

ment's embargo, funds were raised to facilitate purchases elsewhere." (p. 3339).

A well-informed British Zionist, Jon Kimshe, wrote in his book, *Seven Fallen Pillars* (Secker & Warburg, London, 1950) that Israeli purchases of arms during the cease-fire were made possible by American contributions:

"Israeli emissaries scoured the whole of Europe and America for possible supplies. American Jews were contributing generous supplies of dollars and the arms merchants were prepared to deal for dollars. The Czechs were most helpful." (page 249).

Israel's use of American financial contributions for arms purchases did not end with the hostilities of 1948. A spokesman for the Israeli Ministry of Defense revealed recently that American contributions made possible the procurement of arms for the invasion of Egypt in 1956. A dispatch from its special correspondent in Israel, datelined Tel Aviv, April 29, 1957, published in the New York Times on April 30, 1957., says:

"Substantial financial aid mobilized shortly before the Israeli attack on Egypt by the Israeli bond organization in the United States made possible the Israeli military build-up.

"Shimon Peres, director general of the Ministry of Defense, said today this assistance had released funds for the procurement of arms.

"Tens of thousands of tons of supplies costing 'many tens of millions of dollars' were imported, the official said. . .

"Mr. Peres spoke at the opening of an arms exhibition near Tel Aviv. A delegation of thirty-nine leaders of the Israeli bond organization in the United States, who arrived last night, attended the ceremony."

This dispatch requires no comment!

## LAUGH A LITTLE

The two partners desperately needed a loan to keep their business going. As they talked of their bleak outlook, one said, "I have an old friend at the bank who turned me down on a loan last year but he was only a minor executive then. Now, he's been promoted to president."

"Try him again," beamed the other partner. "He's important now — he'll let you have the

money."

After an hour or so, the emissary returned and reported to his partner, "You can say one thing for my old friend — success hasn't changed him."

## MISS INFORMATION



## Lorraine Shalhoub



**ORIENTAL DANCING CONTACT**  
NAT SUTTON  
2285 OCEAN PARKWAY  
BROOKLYN, N. Y.  
DEWey 6-4517

## SOME FUN!



"WHO IN THUNDER IS SNOOKIE-YOOKUMS SUGAR PLUM AROUND HERE?"



# THE CARAVAN

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Editor-in-Chief: George S. Debs

## THE LEBANESE CRISIS BACKGROUND & CAUSES

SPECIAL TO THE CARAVAN

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** The following article, dated May 30, was received by a prominent member of our community in Brooklyn and forwarded to The Caravan for publication. It is written by a "neutral" person residing in Beirut, and expresses in detail the history, background and reasons which led to the present crisis in Lebanon. The writer wishes, for reasons of his own, to remain anonymous. The information detailed herewith, plus the unadulterated news, received from other sources, help to confirm our contention that the struggle abroad is an internal problem which should be settled by the Lebanese themselves and no one else. The Lebanese Americans should not interfere nor take sides in this struggle, no matter how concerned they might be over the situation abroad. It is up to the Lebanese in Lebanon to pick THEIR own leaders and solve THEIR own internal problems.

(1) Lebanon's Independence was established in 1943. That year the whole country, Muslim and Christian alike rose up in an all out revolt against the French Regime to end it once for all, and to establish a Free, Independent and Democratic Lebanon. France had to give in when she could no more play the classical imperialist role of "divide and rule" among the various religious factions in the country.

(2) A Charter was drawn up by the leaders of the country including the Religious Heads of the various religious communities. Civic, social and business leaders, and heads of various political organizations as well as professional syndicates and labor organizations. This Charter was known as "AL-MITHAQ AL WATANI" of 1943.

(3) **MAIN BASIS OF MITHAQ OR CHARTER WERE**

A) Lebanon is for all the Lebanese, Muslim & Christian alike who will live as brothers, and unite under all circumstances to promote the welfare of their country.

B) They will guard Lebanon's Independence with all their power.

C) They will not allow Lebanon to be a foothold for Imperialism, nor to be transitory territory for Imperialistic aims.

D) Lebanon will be friendly to both the West and East.

E) Lebanon will be especially friendly to her Arab Sister States (later known as the Arab League States) and will have with them the closest relations and ties economically and otherwise.

F) There was a gentleman's and tacit agreement that the highest offices in the country will be thus distributed: The President should be a Christian Maronite. The House Speaker should be a Muslim Shi'ite - The Prime Minister should be a Muslim Sunnite.

(4) **NO GOV'T EVER SINCE THE 1943 CHARTER EVER DEVIATED OR VIOLATED THE CHARTER.**

(5) **ELECTIONS IN LEBANON** Parliamentary elections are not conducted on the basis of political parties. It's rather on the basis of religious creeds or sects in the country, i.e. each religious community has

a proportionate number of candidates. There are at least 8 main religious communities. The number of deputies are 66.

(6) May, 1957 saw the worst fraudulent elections in the history of Lebanon. They brought to the Parliament a majority of "AYS" deputies, with a small opposition.

(b) The 1957 elections brought the results that were expected from them according to the design of the President often called a 'strategist in election'. Lebanon was divided into electoral districts whereby the usual candidate who was always elected by a large majority, got only a small minority in his district. Most glaring example was the failure of Druze leader and President of the Socialist Progressive Party, Kamal Jumblat, to win a seat in the elections. In previous elections Jumblat used to get the highest number of votes of any candidate in Lebanon.

(6) **POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT**

The President of the Republic of Lebanon has perhaps more powers than any president of any Republic. He holds the Legislative & Executive branches in his hands. He has veto over them. He can veto the Parliament. He appoints the PM who in turn elects his Cabinet and are responsible to him.

(7) **DEVIATION FROM 1943 CHARTER**

1 After the elections of May 1957 it became evident that the President's policy was drifting away from the path of the CHARTER of 1943.

2 The President saw to it that his PM be Sami Solh, a weakling, whose Nationalist record is absolutely zero, and that his Foreign Minister be Charles Malik, a diplomat with 11 years service in Washington and Lebanon and Lebanese Delegate at the UN. (By the way, Malik's election to the Parliament was most fraudulent. His opponent was brought to the Presidency and enough pressure was put on him by the President and other deputies and Malik himself by promises and threats which put shame to Al. Copone, until

the opponent Dr. Fuad Ghosn collapsed and had to withdraw in favor of Malik.)

(8) **ADHERENCE TO EISENHOWER DOCTRINE**

Malik initiated his office by announcing the adherence of Lebanon to the Eisenhower Doctrine before even the Congress had sanctioned it.

(9) **More violations of the Charter**

1 In external policy Malik and Chamoun were in perfect agreement. Their actions were anything but friendly to their Arab sister States.

2 When Turkey was threatening Syria on her northern border the President and his PM made a friendly visit to Turkey, the traditional enemy of all the Arab States, thus alienating Lebanon from her sister States. They even hinted at joining the Baghdad Pact. But the overwhelming public sentiment against such a move and the open demonstrations in Beirut and the main cities of Lebanon prevented the Gov't from joining the Pact.

3 But Chamoun and Malik were determined to carry out their policy regardless. They openly defied the Opposition. "Lebanon will remain with America for ever". Declared Malik after Richards, Ike's Envoy came to Lebanon and promised \$5 to those who accept his master's Doctrine.

4 **A BLOODY YEAR**

The year May 1957 is the bloodiest and darkest year in the history of Lebanon since the year 1943.

The Gov't succeeded in dividing the people against one another. Divide & rule became the internal policy of the Gov't.

Old feuds and religious strife were revived. People of the same creed were split against each other. Maronite against Maronite, Moslem, against Moslem, Druze against Druze, Brother against brother. Chamoun & Malik succeeded where Turkey and France failed.

The people expressed their fear, public and religious leaders warned against such policy-but without avail. Bribery became the watchword with all its demoralizing effects.

In short, the people's peaceful strikes and demonstrations were ruthlessly suppressed by force of arms. In Beirut, in Tripoli and Zagharta in the North, in Sidon and Nabatiah and Sur in the South, in Hermel and Deir Al Asha'ir in the N. East. The people paid in their blood. Hundreds were killed and wounded. Arrests were made, and hundreds were thrown in prisons and horse-stables and kept there without warrants of arrest and without trial for months. It was a reign of terror.

(10) **Violation of the Constitution** In order to insure the continuity of this policy, the President whose term expires in Sept. 1958 wanted to renew another term of six years. Constitutionally he could not. Plans were worked out to amend the Constitution, and to insure a majority in the Parliament to re-elect the President.

(11) **Political Assassination** But the Opposition was getting stronger. Warnings were issued by the press daily against re-election. Among the sincere opponents of re-election, and who was

critical of the Regime was a Christian Maronite, NASSIB AL MATNI, Editor of the daily Al-Telegraf. He was shot dead near his home at 1:30 A.M. May 8, 1958 while returning home from his office. Beirut and Lebanon were shocked as never before! The fingers of the people were pointed to the real killer. HIS ASSASSINATION WAS THE ANSWER OF THE GOV'T TO EVERY OPPONENT. BUT ... this put the whole country aflame. A people's strike started demanding the resignation of the whole gov't. The latter tried to quell it by force of arms. It was met by arms by the people.

(12) **To Recapitulate**

The Chamoun Malik Solh Trio Gov't has violated the 1943 Charter on two grounds (1) by drifting away from the position of neutrality between the two World Blocks, and (2) by alienating Lebanon from her Arab sister States whereby political plots and Coup d'Etat against Syria & Egypt were openly planned in Lebanon under the very eyes of the Gov't and with her blessing.

(13) **THE OPPOSITION**

The present Opposition should not be interpreted in its narrow Parliamentary sense. It represents at least 70-75 % of the people of Lebanon. It comprises:

a A minority in the Parliament

b Seven National organizations, political and social.

c Several Professional Syndicates, Engineers, Doctors, Lawyers & Writers and Professors etc.

d The spiritual heads of the three main religious sects Maronite Patriarch MAOUSHI, Moslim Grand Mufti ALAYA, and Druze Sheikh ABU SHAQRA.

e More than a score of political leaders and career diplomats some who participated in drafting the 1943 Charter. Some of the leaders are: SA'IB SALAM Ex PM, Ex Min. of Int. Moslim ABDULLAH YAFI Ex PM, Ex Min. of Int. Moslim HUSSEIN OUWEINI Ex PM, Moslim

RASHID KARAMI Ex MP., Moslim HENRY PHROUN Ex FOREIGN MIN. Christian

PHILIP TAKLA Ex FOREIGN MIN. OF FINANCE Christian FUAD AMOUN SCY. GEN'L, MIN. OF FOR. AFF. Christian

KAMAL JUMBLAT PRES. SOCIALIST PROG. PARTY, DRUZE

EMILE KHOURI LEB. ENVOY IN ITALY, CHRIST. DR. ELIAS KHOURI Ex MIN. OF HEALTH EX MIN. OF INT., CHRIST.

(14) **EXPLOSIVE SITUATION**

The Lebanese people are determined to save their country from the dictatorship of a gov't which no more represents the majority of the people.



I am on pins and needles to get to the DANNY THOMAS GALA HAFIL at Hotel St. George in Brooklyn, on June 29.

### WILL NOT ATTEND



**METROPOLITAN ARCHBISHOP SAMUEL DAVID**, above, phoned The Caravan from Toledo, Ohio, to make a correction in a news item which appeared in last week's issue. He said, "neither he nor any of his clergy will attend the Thirtieth Annual Syrian Orthodox (Antiochian Archdiocesan Convention to be held at Los Angeles, California, on August 13-17," as stated by our correspondent.

### STILL VERY ACTIVE



**MRS. LOUIS NASSIF**, above, of Wheeling, W. Va. and former first woman president of the Eastern Federation, is still a very active member in affairs of our communities and other American affairs which keep her busy. She has recently left Wheeling for Detroit, Michigan, to represent the State of West Virginia for the sixth successive year at the General Federation of Women's Clubs held there. She will be back in Wheeling to welcome Danny Thomas when he visits that town on June 10. Wheeling will present Danny with a \$1,200 check for St. Jude's Hospital during his visit, Charleston, W. Va., will present him with a \$2,000 check and Huntington, with another \$2,000.

### GRANT-IN-AID FROM WILLIAM & MARY

By Philip Shaheen  
George Shaheen a standout basketball player at Benedictine the past two years and considered one of the finest performers in the Metropolitan League last season, has received a grant-in-aid from William & Mary University and will join the ranks with the Indians in September.

Shaheen, who also played football at Benedictine was selected last fall to the Catholic All-American eleven as a lineman, plans to major in Business Administration at William & Mary. He will concentrate his athletic talents on basketball.

He saw very little action in the 1956 Catholic Tourney, capped his junior year with a brilliant demonstration of over-all play to walk off with the most valuable player award in the 1957 state Catholic tournament, in Richmond, Va.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, June 12, 1958

THE CARAVAN

# For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayed  
A. Sayegh



## AMERICAN AID TO THE ARAB STATES

In the preceding two articles we discussed American financial aid to Israel; we examined the amount of this aid, and the use which Israel has made of American money, both philanthropic and non-philanthropic.

Today we turn to the Arab States, and inquire into American financial aid to the Arab World.

The statistics published by the United States Government in October, 1957, concerning American grants and credits given away since the end of the Second World War, reveal that the total amount of net grants and net credit received from the United States by Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and Syria in the past twelve years amounted to \$155 million.

Let us now make comparisons between the aid received by the Arab States, and the aid received by Israel, from the United States Government since the end of the Second World War:

Simple arithmetic will show that, if 44, 650,000 Arabs received in 12 years a total of \$155,000,000, then each individual Arab has received 29 cents from the United States Government each year.

On the other hand, 1,500,000 Israelis have received \$432,000,000 from the United States Government in 9 years—that is to say, every individual Israeli has received 32 dollars from the American Government each year.

This per capita, per annum comparison of the amount received by Israelis and Arabs, therefore reveals that individual Israelis have received 32 dollars for every 29 cents received by individual Arabs.

In other words, Israelis have received 110 times as much aid from the United States Government as have Arabs. For every dollar received by an Israeli, an Arab has received less than one cent. It takes more than a century for an Arab to obtain from the American Government what an Israeli receives in one single year.

These are cold facts and figures, calculated in dollars and cents on the basis of official announcements made by the American Government. But these cold facts tell a grave story, and they have had a great deal to do with the feelings in the Arab World towards the United States.

Let us now look at the matter from a different angle. We have so far spoken about governmental aid; but, if we take into account in our comparisons private aid as well, the figures become far more astounding.

We showed in the first article in this series that the total American aid, private as well as public, to Israel exceeded \$1,840,000,000 in nine years — that is to say, an average of \$1,250 per person per year.

No private aid has gone from American organizations or groups to the Arab states in the meantime.

Thus, if we take account of total financial aid, private as well as public, the ratio between what an individual Israeli has received and what an individual Arab has received from America become 4310 to 1.



Diplomatic  
Gossip  
By  
LEVON  
KESHISHIAN

RABAT — MOROCCO Two Arab ambassadors will soon leave Rabat, Abdel Maguid Ramadan, Ambassador of United Arab Republic; and Abdel Ghani El Dallil of Iraq, the former to Uruguay and the latter to Lebanon. \*\*\*\* Ramadan is the author of a beautifully written poem on Morocco in French, which has been published here by the Ministry of Information. \*\*\*\* Saudi Arabian Ambassador, the most agreeable Zurekly, is also a poet. \*\*\*\* UAR, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Tunisia are the only Arab countries who have ambassadors here. \*\*\*\* The energetic cabinet of Ahmad Balafrej has an active program for the near future. \*\*\*\* Rumored here that Mehdi Ben Barka, might be appointed the secretary of the Permanent Headquarters of the Tangier Conference. \*\*\*\* Allal el Fassi will accompany the Mauritanian leaders who are here to plead their case in the UN during the General Assembly. \*\*\*\* Naima Akaf, the Egyptian singer-dancer, was the biggest attraction at the Casablanca International Fair, thousands flocked and crammed the open air theatre, paying 800 fr. to see her. They sing and move their bodies with this charmer. \*\*\*\* We have been treated to special dinners and luncheons by Abdel Maguid Ramadan, the Ambassador of UAR, also present were the Moroccan newspapermen, the Military attache, handsome Hassan Fahmy, and Dr. Arousi of the UAR Foreign Ministry, who was on a visit. \*\*\*\* Kacem Zhiri, director of the Moroccan National Radio Station and his charming wife made us taste the first Moroccan dish. \*\*\*\* In the grand style, we had the same dishes at Ali Bargash's (editor of Al Alam of Rabat), also present were director of Al Alam, Abdel Jalil Kabtaj, and his son. \*\*\* Another party at Mohammed Laghazoui's house, he is the chief of the police and a very good one too.

We met the cousins of famous Abdel Karim, one grew up in Syria, and the other in Egypt; one is typical Syrian, and the other, very much Egyptian. Their union with their third cousin, a Moroccan, was a real scene. Charming three. \*\*\*\* Kacem Zhiri, the active director of the National Radio Station, and his charming wife, daughter of Ahmed Bannani, the Chief Protocol of the King, have been our constant companion. \*\*\*\* Those at UN must remember Abdulrahman Annagai, who is now the chief of the Royal Palace, a most agreeable gentleman. Another is Mehdi Bennouna,

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Send in your questions on the Middle East to Dr. Sayegh, and help him to bring you the weekly column you want to read.

Questions dealing with statements or current beliefs which tend to place the Arab countries or Arab-Americans in a bad light are particularly recommended.

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who is in charge of the press work at the Palace with Ahmed Alaoui. \*\*\*\* Mohammed Tazi, one of the chief editors of Al Alam, a poet and a fine man, and his wife, have also been very much a part of the Keshishian trips. \*\*\*\* In Rabat, we are staying at Tour Hassan, the Waldorf Astoria of Rabat; but at Casablanca, the hotel is called Marhaba, which can match any hotel in United States. \*\*\*\* George Mardikian and his wife arrived here from Tangier and they will be with us on the rest of the trip, which we are calling "Pilgrimage to the Arab World". \*\*\*\* Morocco is a beautiful country and we hate to leave it. We have hardly seen anything. \*\*\*\* We have been invited to the wedding of Dr. Ahmed Laraki, and I am going to describe it separately. He is the chief Moroccan UN delegate. Also in Rabat we met Ahmed Ben About the Minister in Washington. \*\*\* Mr. Pate of the UNECEF is also in the same Hotel. \*\*\*\* We had a very interesting dinner with Abdel Ghani El Dallil, the Iraqi ambassador, he sends his regards to Hashem Hilly and Khadem Khalf and Ismat Kittani. \*\*\*\* Fuad Diab the opposite number of Abdel Mawgood Hassan of New York is doing a fine job here. \*\*\*\* Forgot to mention that Hosein Mones of Egypt delivered a fine lecture here at the Rabat University. \*\*\*\* Those who remember Mehdi Menjra, must know that he is now teaching economics at Rabat University.

More in next letter. . . .

## Abba Eban Withdraws Again...

### ISRAELI AMBASSADOR REFUSES TO DEBATE WITH DR. SAYEGH

The 67th Annual Convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, held in Detroit, Michigan, witnessed an interesting and revealing episode.



Mr. Faye Sayegh

The President of the group, which represents 11,000,000 women throughout the world, invited Abba Eban, Ambassador of Israel, and Faye Sayegh, Counsellor of the Arab States Delegation, to appear jointly before the 3,500 delegates who were scheduled to attend the Convention. Both speakers accepted the invitation.

Eban's acceptance came as a surprise to everyone who was familiar with the facts. For Eban had consistently refused to debate the Arab-Israeli question with Sayegh at any time, on any platform, on radio or on television or before any group. Eban's refusal to face Sayegh on the debating stand had become well known to countless individuals and organizations who had sought in vain to arrange for such a debate.

A few days before the Convention, the surprise of Eban's original acceptance was removed. For Eban changed his mind and refused to participate. He appointed another speaker, to appear before the 3,500 women on the last day of the Convention. Sayegh remained scheduled to speak on the first day, however.

When Sayegh finished his speech, the President of the Convention asked him if he would return on the last day, listen to the speaker representing Israel, and then participate together with that speaker in answering questions from the floor. Dr. Sayegh promptly accepted the public invitation; and the debate took place on the closing day of the Convention.

It was amusing however, that a woman from Israel took the floor and severely criticized the Federation for having permitted its Convention to become "a platform for Arab propaganda." It is equally amusing that the New York Times, which did not print a word about Sayegh's speech the first day, found it fit to report on the Israeli woman's statement criticizing the Federation for inviting Sayegh to speak.

When the debate was over, the

Israeli woman once more came to the microphone to "deplore" again the fact that Sayegh presented the Arab point of view before women - delegates from every state in America and from seventeen foreign countries as well, and to "request" that an "Israeli delegate" be invited to address the Convention of the Federation in future years. . . . She had forgotten, apparently, that Eban was invited and that, after originally accepting the invitation, he changed his mind "at the eleventh hour" and declined to attend, suggesting another spokesman for Israel instead. . . .

### CANCELS MAHRAJAN TO SUPPORT ST. JUDE

The Ramallah Men's Club of Hemstead, L. I. has cancelled its proposed Mahrajan at Heckscher State Park, East Islip, L. I. scheduled for June 29 so that the members may fully support the Danny Thomas Hafli set for that date. The proposed Mahrajan will be held at a future date, and the members are grateful for the support received from their friends.

### PATRIARCH DIES IN DAMASCUS, SYRIA



Alexandros III TAHAN, above, Patriarch of Antioch and All The Orient for the Greek Orthodox died yesterday morning at 6:15 (Damascus time) and will be buried Tuesday, June 24, in Damascus, Seat of the Patriarchate.

A cable received by Metropolitan Archbishop Antony Bashir, confirming the Patriarch's death, reads as follows:

"Regret to inform Your Eminence of the death of our beloved Patriarch Alexandros III, which occurred Wednesday, June 18, 1958.

Funeral services will be held Tuesday, June 24.

Signed: Patriarchal Vicar  
Metropolitan Athanasi.

## 32 Years of Devoted Service



Mrs. E. M. Laird

Beirut, June 6 — Mrs. Edith MacCallum Laird, associated with the Library of the American University of Beirut since 1926, will leave Lebanon in June, to return to her family now living in the United States. Chief Librarian to 1951, she has loyally continued to give her help and experience to her successors, together with serving as Head of the Western Cataloging Department.

Francis L. Kent, present University Librarian, stated that the current library system and its collection of nearly 125,000 volumes are a monument to her labor and skill. When Mrs. Laird

came to the American University 32 years ago, the Library which was then housed in College Hall, possessed about 28,000 volumes.

### CANADIAN

A Canadian, Mrs. Laird was born in Erzerum, Turkey, of Canadian missionary parents in the Middle East with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. When young, she moved with them to Marash in Cilicia. She attended the Girls School of Smyrna, whose principal was Miss Emily MacCallum, an aunt, before she returned to Canada as a girl of 16, with her brother, for further schooling.

Mrs. Laird took her BA at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, and spent her summer teaching in Saskatchewan. Widowed shortly after her marriage in 1917, she attended Pratt Institute of Library Science, Brooklyn, N. Y., and after one additional year of Library work there, took a position with the Princeton University Library, for the next three years.

### VISIT TO ISTANBUL

During a fall visit to Istanbul with her parents, 1926, President Bayard Dodge, of the American University of Beirut, sent her a cablegram offering her the position of University Librarian, which she accepted.

During her three decades at the



Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, June 19, 1958

THE CARAVAN

## For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayed  
A. Sayegh



### THE ROOTS OF THE LEBANESE CRISIS 1. What the rebellion does NOT involve

Note: It was my intention to resume today the articles on American financial assistance to the Middle East, of which three have already appeared in the past issues of the CARAVAN. But I have received many inquiries in the last few days about the Lebanese crisis. Accordingly, I am suspending the articles on financial aid for the time being. I shall return to them, however, when the articles on Lebanon's crisis are completed.

What is behind the rebellion in Lebanon? What are the forces at work on the Lebanese stage? What are the roots of the crisis?

The first thing that we must clarify is: What the Lebanese crisis does NOT involve. It is as important to know what the rebellion is NOT as it is to know what the rebellion IS.

#### 1. The rebellion in Lebanon is not an instance of religious strife.

Lebanon's history has been marked, for more than a century, by sporadic outbreaks of religious and sectarian strife — so much so that the autonomy which the "sanjaq" (or district) of Lebanon enjoyed during the last six decades of Ottoman rule was itself the result of the religious struggles which took place in the 1860's.

Despite the tradition of sectarian strife in Lebanon, however, today's rebellion is free of religious motivation; it is not a resumption of the religious wars of the past.

One look at the religious affiliations of the leaders of rebellion, and the leaders of the government, is enough to reveal that there are Christians, Muslims, and Druzes in both groups. What we have in Lebanon now, then, is a rebellion by Lebanese Christians, Muslims, and Druzes against a governmental regime composed of Lebanese Christians, Muslims, and Druzes.

Among the leaders of the Opposition are outstanding Christian leaders such as Henry Pharaon, Philip Takla, Emile Khouri, Dr. Elias Khouri, Dr. Fuad Ammoun, etc.

The traditional spokesman of the sentiments of the Maronite community in Lebanon — the Patriarch — has come out openly and publicly against those policies of the government to which the revolutionary movement is opposed.

The Opposition - Journalist, whose assassination on May 8, 1958, triggered the strike and demonstrations which set the stage for the rebellion, was a Christian Maronite: Nasib al-Matni.

The religious factor, therefore, is NOT a factor in the opposition of the insurgents to the regime in power. It is idle, in view of all these facts, to attribute to the rebellion in Lebanon religious motivations, or to interpret the Lebanese crisis in terms of sectarian animosities.

2. Equally important is the fact that the rebellion in Lebanon is being led and waged by Lebanese citizens. It is a rebellion of Lebanese against Lebanon — a struggle between a Lebanese opposition and a Lebanese government. It is not a struggle between the Lebanese government and foreign elements.

The leaders of the rebellion are not simple Lebanese citizens; they include an impressive number of high state officials of Lebanon of the recent past, whose eminence is widely acknowledged and whose services to the country are widely known and respected. The Opposition leaders include at least four ex-Premiers, four ex-Ministers, two ex-Presidents of Parliament, and several former Deputies: they also include several political parties and groupings. A rebellion led by such an array of past governmental and public leaders, and manned exclusively by Lebanese citizens, cannot be said to be "non-Lebanese".

The struggle, therefore, is between two sections of the Lebanese people, led by two groups of acknowledged Lebanese leaders — not between Lebanese and outsiders.

#### 3. So much for the identity of the leaders and ranks of the rebellion.

As for "aid" and "assistance" from outside Lebanon, some of the facts are obvious and publicly acknowledged; others are subject to debate, and are far from established.

a. It is well known that the government of Lebanon has received, is receiving, and will apparently continue to receive, military and financial aid from outside Powers — Powers which sympathize with certain policies pursued by the government and opposed by the insurgents; and which have shown readiness to step up their delivery of military supplies to the government, at a time when the government is engaged in military strife with the opposition.

(b) On the other hand, the question of whether or not the insurgents have been, or are, receiving aid and assistance from outside Lebanon has not been established by any non-partisan authority. The government of Lebanon has charged the United Arab Republic with aiding the rebels; the United Arab Republic has denied the charge. The charge and the repudiation have been heard by the Councils of two international organizations (namely, the Council of the League of Arab States, and the Security Council of the United Nations); and neither of the two councils has confirmed or denied the charge. The Council of the League sought to mediate or reconcile the dispute, without success. The Security Council of the United Nations has appointed a team of observers for looking into the situation; but, so far, no reports have been received by the Security Council from its

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observers proving or disproving the charge that the rebels have received aid from outside Lebanon.

We have now established three negative conclusions:

1. The rebellion in Lebanon is not animated by sectarian hostility;

2. The rebellion in Lebanon is not a conflict between Lebanon and forces from outside Lebanon, but between two groups of Lebanese;

3. While one side of the internal Lebanese conflict (namely, the group now in power) has received military and financial aid from friendly outside Powers, it remains yet to be established by the United Nations whether or not the other side (namely, the group now out of power) has received such aid from friendly outside Powers.

In forthcoming articles, we shall proceed from the negative phase of our inquiry to the positive phase. We shall examine the roots and causes of the rebellion — the real forces at work in the armed uprising which is being waged by some Lebanese against other Lebanese in the internal crisis with which Lebanon is now gripped.

THE

Roving



## REPORTER

By John R. Ameer

Staff Sergeant Milton Batrouny, of the United States Air Corps, returned recently to this country after a seven year tour of duty in Japan. He was accompanied by his wife.

Sgt. Batrouny visited with his father, Herbert Batrouny, in Brooklyn for two weeks.

He is now serving at the McGuire Air Force Base and residing in Trenton, New Jersey.

Sgt. Batrouny has been in the Air Force for about eight years.

The wedding of George T. Lewis and Diana Grace Sarraf took place at St. Mary's Orthodox Church, Brooklyn, on Sunday, June 15. His Eminence, Metropolitan Antony Bashir performed the wedding ceremony, and was assisted by Rev. Fathers Paul Schneirla and Wakeem Dalack.

After the ceremony, the couple left for a Nassau honeymoon.

### VISITING BROOKLYN

Helen Nader, daughter of Mr. & Mrs. T. Nader, of Detroit, is visiting her uncle, Mr. Husni Aboud, of 421 - 80th Street. She expects to stay in Brooklyn for two weeks.

### Back From Lebanon Agrees With Caravan



Alfred M. Lilienthal, above, author of "What Price Israel" and "There Goes The Middle East" returned to New York after a sixteen week tour of nine Middle East countries. On this, his fourth trip to the area in the past five years, Mr. Lilienthal had lengthy meetings with President Nasser in Cairo, King Saud of Arabia, King Feisal of Iraq, King Hussein of Jordan, Nuri Said, President Chamoun and others.

Leading Chicago industrialist Arthur S. Bowes and Mrs. Bowes accompanied Mr. Lilienthal and jointly they have prepared a film "The Turbulant Middle East" for educational purposes.

On his arrival in New York from London, the American author notified the Caravan office that he "fully approved" the editorial of June 19th entitled The Crisis in Lebanon. "This is a very complex question and certainly any attempt for outsiders to interfere in an internal Lebanese conflict will only make matters far worse. This is one of those 'all is not white, all is not black' questions. The Lebanese people themselves must decide in which direction Arab nationalism is to run. Any attempt of Anglo-American armed forces to interfere can only bring on the United States the same fate as Britain suffered at the time of the Suez crisis."

Mr. Lilienthal is preparing a new edition of There Goes The Middle East which will bring the book up to date and at the same time is working on a new work tentatively entitled Inside The Middle East.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, June 26, 1958

THE CARAVAN

Page Seven

## For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayez  
A. Sayegh



### THE ROOTS OF THE LEBANESE CRISIS

#### 2. Domestic Causes of the Rebellion

While the Lebanese rebellion broke out in May, 1958, active opposition to the government has been fermenting for over a year. It has been stimulated and consolidated by two domestic factors which divided political leaders and the Lebanese public at large into two factions: one supporting the president and one actively opposed to his rule. The first of these two principal domestic factors revolved around the parliamentary elections of 1957. The second factor pertained to the rumored intention of the president to succeed himself, through requesting parliament to amend the constitution in such a way as to permit him to be elected for a second successive term.

These two domestic causes of the opposition to the president are vitally interrelated. Many have charged that the elections of 1957 were conducted with the objective of constitutional amendment in mind.

#### 1. The Parliamentary Elections of 1957:

Prior to the elections of June, 1957, new regulations and arrangements were put into effect, increasing the number of seats from 44 to 66, and re-shuffling the electoral districts. Observers detected in the manner in which electoral districts were re-delineated a clever strategy calculated to weaken candidates running on the "opposition ticket," and to give the edge to candidates running on the "government ticket". The results of the elections corresponded to the charges made before the elections were held. A number of traditionally secure candidates lost their seats to relatively unknown political figures enjoying the support of the government.

Charges of intended "gerrymandering" were publicly made before the elections took place; strikes and demonstrations expressed the fears of many sectors of public opinion in Lebanon that the elections would be subject to undue influence from the government; and riots and bloodshed marred the Lebanese scene even before the elections were held.

The opposition demanded the resignation of the government and the establishment of a "caretaker" non-partisan government to supervise the elections and ensure freedom at the polls.

The government, refusing to resign, made one conciliatory gesture. It appointed two new ministers, neutral in the domestic struggle and acceptable to both groups, and entrusted them, together with two other members of the cabinet, with the tasks of a "watchdog committee" empowered to observe the conduct of the elections.

These two neutral observers, however, found it impossible to discharge their duties conscientiously, and resigned in the midst of the elections in protest against the "atmosphere" in which the elections were being held.

The resignation of the neutral observers heralded the breach in the political truce between the government and the opposing political forces. The results of the

elections seemed to confirm the worst fears of the opposition. The riots and bloodshed of May 1957 were resumed in June after a brief interruption.

The opposition of other candidates to the government-sponsored candidates soon developed into a general opposition to the regime as such. Many political leaders, who had had little in common before the elections by way of interests or outlooks, found themselves drawn together and consolidated into a common bloc. Having lost, or having been denied, the chance to express their common opposition to the government within parliament, they felt constrained to oppose the entire regime outside parliament. In short, as a result of the re-districting of the country into new electoral districts, and as a result of the conduct of the elections, a forceful coalition of political leaders was created, and a general opposition to the entire regime, outside the framework of parliamentary institutions, was brought into being.

It will be recalled that there had been at least one antecedent to this situation in recent Lebanese history. The first elections held in Lebanon after independence had produced the infamous parliament of May 25, 1947, which was widely attacked throughout Lebanon as an "extravagant farce," and which had engendered a solidification of a heterogeneous opposition into a unified bloc. The opposition to the parliament of 1957, then, is not a unique nor an unprecedented phenomenon in the short parliamentary history of Lebanon; it had its counterpart ten years earlier in the combined opposition of many forces to the parliament of 1947.

But there was one salient difference between the two Lebanese crises of 1947 and 1957. In the earlier crisis, the president eventually bowed to the consensus of the political leaders of the country, and the parliament of 1947 was dissolved before its term expired; new elections were held, under the supervision of a non-partisan, caretaker cabinet, none of whose members was a candidate in the elections. In the 1957 crisis, nothing of the sort happened. The opposition to the 1957 parliament continued to gain momentum as the government refused to dissolve parliament and call for new elections.

This was the first domestic factor leading to the present upheaval. But it was vitally connected with the second domestic factor, namely, the rumored intention of the president to succeed himself.

**2. Constitutional Amendment and Re-election of the President:** Article 49 of the Constitution of Lebanon stipulates that a president "may be re-elected only after an interval of six years". In other words, a president may not be re-elected for two consecutive terms.

We have indicated earlier that

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the opposition feared that the gerrymandering which it charged the government with having perpetrated in the elections of 1957 was made with the objective of amending the constitution in view, in such a way that the president may be re-elected for a second consecutive term. It is true that the president has not announced his intention to seek immediate re-election; but it is equally true that he has not formally disavowed this intention, despite the fact that many of his supporters have been reported to have intimated such a desire on his part.

The fears of the opposition have been heightened by the fact that, one of the results of the elections of 1947 was the amendment of the constitution by that parliament within one year from its election in such a way as to permit the re-election of the then-president for a second consecutive term. On May 22, 1948, the parliament of 1947 passed the following law:

"Notwithstanding the provisions of Article 49 of the Constitution, it shall be lawful, as an exceptional case, to re-elect the President of this Republic now in office for a second term." With this experience in mind, the opposition was actually fearful lest the same "exception" by a submissive parliament be made in 1958, for the re-election of the present president. As early as April 14, 1958, Sam Pope Brewer wrote in a dispatch to the New York Times from Beirut as follows:

"Lebanon already is divided politically. The issue apparently is whether President Camille Chamoun should be allowed to amend the Constitution, which bans a second term for the President, and have Parliament elect him for a second six-year term."

"Amendment and re-election could be carried out in a single afternoon by a two-thirds vote of the single-chamber Parliament. Such actions would require control of only forty-four votes."

"It is generally conceded that President Chamoun can get the votes. But many sources believe that if he goes through with the re-election plan it will mean serious internal trouble in Lebanon. The latest clashes in the hills are regarded as a sample of what might be in store."

In opposing the amendment of the constitution and the re-election of the president for a second consecutive term, the opposition of 1958 virtually resumed a struggle initiated in Lebanon in 1952 against the former president. At that time, however, a new parliament had replaced the parliament of 1947, and the opposition worked within the framework of parliament. Today, the parliament of 1957 is still in existence, and the opposition is denied a voice within parliament. Moreover, in 1952, the opposition was led by none other than the present president of Lebanon; today, this leader is the target of opposition for his rumored intention to do precisely what he had opposed six years ago.

#### 3. Conclusions:

In the preceding article, we established that the strife in Lebanon is an internal struggle between two groups of Lebanese political leaders and two large sectors of the Lebanese public. In today's article we have analyzed the domestic roots of the struggle, and the two principal causes of the opposition to the president and his regime by many political leaders and groups of Lebanese. In the light of the findings we have established in today's article, we may derive the following additional conclusions:

**First:** The rebellion, which was triggered in May, 1958, had its real beginnings in May, 1957, during the preparation for the June elections. The present rebellion, then, is not a 1958 phenomenon, but a consummation of trends initiated over a year ago. Today's rebellion represents the increased opposition of many political forces to the regime, and the widening of the gulf separating the government from many political leaders. Since the struggle could not be waged within parliament and by peaceful means, and since the issues at stake were too vital to submit to complacent stalemate, the struggle has assumed a violent form.

**Second:** The opposition to the present regime consists of many Lebanese elements, animated by many interests and impulses, and representing diverse points of view. But this heterogeneous composite of different elements has been brought together, consolidated, and made to espouse a common cause, by virtue of the agree-

ment of all its components on the denunciation of the elections of 1957 and their unanimous opposition to the re-election of the present president for a second term immediately after the termination of the first.

**Third:** Both these factors—the opposition to the parliament and the opposition to the immediate re-election of the present president—have had analogues and antecedents in recent Lebanese history during the past decade. In the past, however, the fraudulent elections of 1957 were rectified by the dissolution of parliament, and the re-election of the former president was rectified by his resignation in the face of mass popular opposition. In the present crisis, on the other hand, the parliament of 1957 has been allowed to remain in existence, and no timely announcement by the president disavowing his rumored intention to seek re-election has been made in good time to give due assurance to the fearful political leaders and sectors of the Lebanese public.

Together with these domestic causes of the rebellion, there have been other causes contributing to the consolidation of the opposition and its resort to strikes, demonstrations, riots, and, finally, civil war. Chief among these is the foreign policy of the present government, which we shall examine in the following article.

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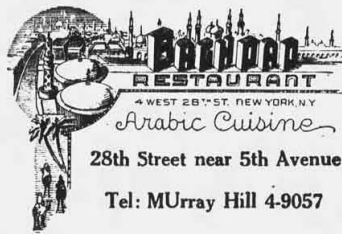
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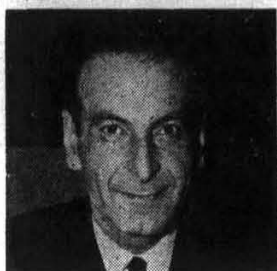
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## For The Record

By  
Dr. Fays  
A. Sayegh



### THE ROOTS OF THE LEBANESE CRISIS

#### 3. Foreign Policy Causes of the Rebellion

The opposition to the government of President Chamoun of Lebanon, which has expressed itself since May 10 in violence and which has now developed into a full-fledged rebellion, has been aroused by two domestic factors, which we examined in the preceding article, as well as by the foreign policy pursued by the Lebanese government since 1957. In next week's article we shall examine the nature of this foreign policy and the reasons why it has created antagonism among many Lebanese leaders and many sectors of the Lebanese people. In order to understand the disagreement over foreign policy between the opposition and the government, we must examine today briefly the background of Lebanese thinking on Lebanon's place in the world.

The sanjaq (or district) of Lebanon obtained a measure of autonomy under an indigenous Christian governor during the last fifty years of Ottoman rule, in consequence of the sectarian conflict of the 1860's and the bloodshed which followed it, and as a result of the intervention of the Great Powers of the mid-Nineteenth Century, each of them championing one religious group or another in the area. This autonomy of the sanjaq of Lebanon, which was guaranteed by the Great Powers, continued from the early 1860's until the First World War. The area of the sanjaq was limited, compared to what is known today as Lebanon. Beirut, the districts of Tripoli in the north, Sidon and Tyre in the south, the Beqaa, Baalbek, Hasbaya, Rashayya and Marjyun in the east, were not part of the sanjaq of Lebanon; they were part of the administrative region of Syria.

When the War ended, Britain and France — who had encouraged the Arabs to revolt against the Ottomans during the War, promising them independence in unity after the War — betrayed their wartime promises and extended their occupation to the entire Fertile Crescent — namely, to Iraq and geographical Syria, including Lebanon. In accordance with an Anglo-French secret agreement made during the War (known as the Sykes-Picot agreement) Britain & France divided the Arab area of the Fertile Crescent into several zones of influence, and prevailed on the League of Nations to assign to them multiple mandates over the ten new political entities carved out of the area. The Allied Supreme Council, meeting in San Remo in 1920, drew out the plans of partitions, and the League of Nations endorsed them in 1922.

At San Remo, France was given authority over the northern sector of geographical Syria. In September, 1920, acting before endorsement by the League of Nations and without authority of any kind, France decided to create two major states (and many minor ones besides) out of this north-

ern sector of geographical Syria. One of these states was named "Greater Lebanon". It consisted of the sanjaq of Lebanon of Ottoman days, plus Beirut, Tripoli, Sidon, Tyre, and the interior districts. These additional cities and districts, which were sliced off and detached from Syria and amalgamated into "Greater Lebanon", "almost doubled the area of the country and increased its population by about one-half, over 200,000, predominately Moslems," according to Dr. Philip Hitti (*Lebanon in History*, p. 489). The French "expanded the small area of the Sanjaq of Lebanon to include the cities of Beirut, Tripoli, and Sidon, as well as the Biqaa, so as to give this "Greater Lebanon" the largest possible area in which there would be no danger of a Muslim majority." (*The Middle East A Political and Economic Survey*, p. 470).

For a quarter of a century, both enlarged Lebanon and truncated Syria lived under the yoke of French domination. The populations had no means of altering the new territorial arrangements made by unilateral French action, although restiveness and protracted resistance in Syria expressed the rejection by Syrians of the imposed post-War settlement in its entirety, including the new territorial demarcations embodying the aggrandizement of Lebanon and the truncation of Syria.

Not only the majority of Syrians refused to recognize the fait accompli engineered by France, but — more significantly — many of the inhabitants of the Syrian cities and districts which France had detached from Syria and incorporated in Greater Lebanon were also unhappy over the imposed transfer. Their grievance was a potential source for civil unrest which constantly threatened to express itself violently once the people were free from the suffocating control of the French army.

Nothing effective could be done, however, as long as France was in control.

During the Second World War, events moved swiftly. The capitulation of Metropolitan France after a brief two-week resistance to the Nazi onslaught promised imminent French retreat from the Middle East; for no country that proved unable to protect itself could be expected to retain imperial holdings across the seas. From 1940 onwards, then, it became clear that French rule would be withdrawn from Syria & Lebanon after the War. The invasion of Syria and Lebanon by British and De Gaulist forces from bases in Palestine, in the summer of 1941, was accompanied by assurances of post-War independence,

made by France and guaranteed by Britain. At the same time, the urge for Arab unity was manifesting itself throughout the Arab World. There was a sense of destiny in the air; and everybody knew that the post-World War II setting would be different from the inter-War setting.

In that period of fluidity and anticipation, with the evacuation of French forces from Syria and Lebanon around the corner, many Syrians and Lebanese who, for the preceding two decades, had submitted under duress to the territorial arrangements made by France in 1920, began to entertain hopes of reversion to the pre-1920 conditions or creating new edifices of Arab unity responsive to the wishes of the people and not to the colonial ambitions of France.

A great question-mark, then, hovered around the existence of "Greater Lebanon" as amalgamated by unilateral French action in 1920. Lebanese, Syrians and many others besides them wondered about what would become of Lebanon after the War. Many forces were determined to upset the precarious demographic, religious and territorial structure that the French and unilaterally created in 1920 and forcibly maintained for twenty years.

The most powerful of these forces, outside Lebanon, was the Hashemite. The rulers of Iraq and Transjordan worked tirelessly for a union of the whole Fertile Crescent. When Anthony Eden announced, in May 1941, that Britain was prepared to support any scheme of Arab unity that met with the approval of Arab leaders, Amir Abdullah of Transjordan rushed a proposal to the British Government, in the same year, asking for the re-unification of geographical Syria with Iraq. Nuri as-Said, Premier of Iraq, submitted his famous "Blue Book" to the British Government in 1943, in which he also proposed the unification of geographical Syria (including Lebanon) and the federation thereof with Iraq. These two schemes, known as the "Greater Syria" and the "Fertile Crescent" schemes respectively, contemplated the integration of Lebanon in the wider area of the Fertile Crescent. They both proposed that, if Lebanon refused this integration, then the districts which had been detached from Syria in 1920 and incorporated into "Greater Lebanon" should be returned to Syria and merged in the contemplated union, while the sanjaq of Lebanon would be granted "autonomy" within that union.

Another force from outside Lebanon called for reconsideration of the arrangements made by France in 1920. The political parties and leaders of the Syrian Republic differed among themselves as to whether to work for immediate pan-Arab unity, for Fertile Crescent unity, or for the unity of the geographical Syria; but they all envisaged the liquidation of "Greater Lebanon" and the return of the Syrian districts to their Syrian motherland.

Not only from outside Lebanon, but also from within Lebanon, there were calls for the return of the former Syrian districts to Syria, for their detachment from the former sanjaq of Lebanon and fusion into some new structure of Arab unity, or for the merger of Lebanon in its entirety into an Arab union of some kind or another. Some local leaders and chieftains in the former Syrian districts of Lebanon favored reunion with Syria. In addition to

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, July 3, 1958

THE CARAVAN

Page Seven

these political forces, there were two ideological forces within Lebanon calling for the reconsideration of the status of Lebanon. One was the Syrian National Party, which proclaimed Syrian nationhood throughout the area of geographical Syria and called for political reunification of that area; and the other was the pan-Arab movement, represented in several parties, which called for pan-Arab unity.

Thus, during that period of fluidity and anticipation which followed the fall of France, many forces, both outside and inside Lebanon, were working for one of two goals: either the unification of all of Lebanon with neighboring Arab territories; or the detachment of the Syrian provinces from "Greater Lebanon" and their return to Syria, reserving autonomy for the area of the former sanjaq of Lebanon only.

.....  
This was the situation in which Lebanon found itself, and these were the forces confronting the existence of Lebanon from within and from without, when the year of destiny — 1943 — arrived.

That was the year in which the struggle with France for Lebanese independence assumed a decisive character. That was also the year in which discussions among the leaders of the Arab States began in Cairo for the establishment of the Arab League.

In the face of the challenge of France and the hope for liberation and pan-Arab consolidation, all sectors of the Lebanese people agreed on a formula about the status of Lebanon; and this formula was also accepted and endorsed by the governments of the neighboring Arab States.

It was this agreement within Lebanon, and by the neighboring Arab countries, reached in 1943, that preserved Lebanon from civil strife within or from irredentism without, and safeguarded the independence of Lebanon in its post-1920, enlarged territory.

What was this formula, which has worked such magic for Lebanon and for intra-Arab stability since 1943 — the year of destiny for Lebanon, and the year in which the Arab League was conceived.

It was a three-pronged formula: 1. Lebanon would retain its separateness and independence as well as its territorial unity within the frontiers drawn up by France in 1920.

2. Lebanon would act in accordance with the Arab character of its population and be an integral component and a loyal member of the Arab community.

3. Lebanon would resist staunchly and adamantly any effort by foreign Powers to exercise special influence or to attain special position in Lebanon, or to use Lebanon as a spring-board for onslaught on neighboring Arab countries or for the subversion of the independence of the neighboring Arab States.

In other words, Lebanon's independence and territorial integrity (including the former Syrian districts incorporated into Lebanon by France in 1920) were endorsed both by those Lebanese who had theretofore refused to endorse them as well as by the neighboring Arab States who had refused to give them free recognition, on condition that Lebanon would promote its own Arab character and would eliminate the threat that it would become a gateway for colonial influence in the Arab World.

This formula brought civil harmony into Lebanon at the time when French power, which had in the past forcibly imposed such "harmony", was on the wane; and it also assured Lebanon the continuation of its post-1920 territorial extent, not by French protectiveness but rather by Arab recognition.

It was because of the acceptance of this formula by all Lebanese political parties and groupings of all shades of opinion, as registered in the National Charter of 1943 that Lebanon faced France, during the dark Franco-Lebanese crisis of the fall of that year, as a united and consolidated society, with the support and sympathy of all Arabs.

This informal formula soon became official state policy. It was announced by the Prime Minister in his famous policy speech to Parliament on October 7, 1943, and was unanimously approved by Parliament.

In this speech to Parliament, the Prime Minister announced the following fundamental principles defining the existence and status of Lebanon:

The geographical position, language, culture, history, and economic conditions of Lebanon require that it direct its primary attention to its relations with its sister Arab states. Our government shall therefore embark on establishing these relations on solid foundation, in such a way as to secure the respect of the Arab states for the independence and sovereignty of Lebanon in its present frontiers.

"Lebanon is a land with an Arab face, selecting that which is edifying from the civilization of the West.  
"Our brethren in the Arab lands do not wish for Lebanon save what the patriotic children of Lebanon wish; and this formula was also accepted and endorsed by the governments of the neighboring Arab States.

We and they, then, want Lebanon to be an independent, sovereign and free land."  
In the light of this official state policy — disavowing any intention to permit Lebanon to become in itself subject to colonial domination or to become a stepping-stone for colonialism to the detriment of neighboring Arab lands — the Arab States granted full recognition to Lebanon, (the first to do so being Egypt), and crowned this individual recognition by collective recognition embodied in the Protocol of the Arab League of 1944. Section IV of this Protocol affirmed:

"The Arab States represented on the Preliminary Committee emphasize their respect of the independence and sovereignty of Lebanon in its present frontiers, which the government of the above States have already recognized in consequence of Lebanon's adoption of an independent policy, which the Government of that country announced in its program of October 7, 1943, unanimously approved by the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies."

.....  
This fundamental formula, defining the character and posture of Lebanon and its place in the Arab World and in the world at large (which was formulated by the political and social groupings of the country, adopted by the state as its official policy, formally announced by the Prime Minister at the opening of the independent life of the country, and unanimously approved by Parliament) was the magic formula which simultaneously accomplished two desired goals: It brought harmony into the internal structure of Lebanon; and it elicited formal recognition of Lebanon's independence in its present frontiers by all the Arab governments. Neither the domestic forces within Lebanon which had until then withheld their endorsement, nor the Arab governments of Trans-

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Jordan, Iraq and Syria, which had harbored ideas of unity involving Lebanon, adhered to their former positions. They all accepted Lebanon as it was, on the sole condition that it be authentically independent of such foreign influences as might endanger Lebanon's own sovereignty or the interests of neighboring Arab states.

Domestically, the pan-Arab parties ceased calling for the incorporation of Lebanon in pan-Arab unions; and the Syrian National Party was authorized by the then-Minister of Interior (Mr. Camille Chamoun himself) to work openly in Lebanon in return for its renaming itself the National Party, abandoning the term "Syrian" from its name, and severing the administrative relations between the party's branch in Lebanon and that in Syria.

Externally, the Arab states of Transjordan, Iraq and Syria ceased also to clamor or to plan for the incorporation of Lebanon, in whole or in part, in pan-Arab unions.

This happy domestic and external state of affairs, in which the status of Lebanon as such ceased to be a subject of questioning and became beyond challenge, persisted from 1943 until 1957.

As long as Lebanon continued to pursue the policy charted in 1943 by all its people, by its government, and by its parliament, and approved by all the Arab states, Lebanon was in no jeopardy. But, when the government of Lebanon seemed, in 1957, to have departed from this salutary policy, some Lebanese were disquieted and disturbed by this departure; and the domestic harmony of the preceding fourteen years gave way to civil unrest culminating in civil war. Thus, the foreign policy of the present government, as well as its domestic measures, aroused the opposition which launched the present rebellion.

What was this new foreign policy? And how did it constitute a departure from the past policy? This we shall examine in the next article.

HAS BUSY SCHEDULE



Miss Liela Stephan, above, well-known songstress, has a busy schedule. On July 5, she will appear at the Cedars Hotel, Asbury Park, N. J. and on July 6, she will be at Green Grove Manor, also in Asbury Park. On July 20, she will be singing at the St. George Orthodox Church in Utica, N. Y. with Elia Baida.

Announcing a New Book by



## Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh on ARAB UNITY Hope & Fulfillment

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In all candor, the Arab author examines the elements of disunity as well as the factors of unity.

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Attached is a cheque to cover my 1958/59 subscription and a gift subscription to my friend, Attorney Thomas Jacob, Dunnville, Ontario, Canada who is the Chairman of the Industrial Commission on the Town council for the last few years and lately was elected President of the Lions Club.

May I humbly suggest an idea to the Arab Information Center through your wonderful paper which I am sure will help the majority of Americans and Canadians to know more about the Palestine refugees and all the trouble that was caused by World Zionism, especially by the Zionists of United States; and that is by publishing in leaflet forms Dr. Fayez Sayegh's letters (which appear weekly in the Caravan) so they could be distributed direct to the Americans and Canadians or through our own people. In my opinion, Dr. Sayegh has done more toward informing the Americans and Canadian people regarding the Palestine affairs than ALL THE ARAB EMBASSIES in the United States. God bless him.

With kindest personal regards, I remain,

Sincerely yours,  
Camille R. Kneider.  
Dunnville, Ontario.

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Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, July 10, 1958

THE CARAVAN

Page Seven

# For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayez  
A. Sayegh



## THE ROOTS OF THE LEBANESE CRISIS

### 4. The Eisenhower Doctrine

From the dawn of its independence until 1956 or 1957, Lebanon pursued internal and external policies consonant with the spirit of the National Charter—formulated by all parties and groups in Lebanon in 1943, and adopted by the government and unanimously approved by parliament in the same year as the official policy of the state.

By virtue of this policy, domestic harmony prevailed among various sectors of the Lebanese, and the "being of Lebanon" as such was accepted and jointly defended by all groups within Lebanon. At the same time, Lebanon was becoming increasingly an integral part of the Arab community, participating in all intra-Arab relations, contributing to pan-Arab causes, and recognized in its present frontiers and in its sovereignty by all Arab states.

Not only Lebanon's independence, but also Lebanon's economy, was buttressed and enhanced by virtue of Lebanon's new place in the Arab World. Tourism, transit trade, financial and other services rendered to businesses outside Lebanon—all these principal sources of income, which contributed to the flourishing of Lebanon's economy, were enhanced as a result of Lebanon's expression of its Arab character in an Arab policy.

In short, Lebanon's faithful pursuit of the policy defined and enshrined in the National Charter of 1943 enabled Lebanon to enjoy domestic stability, economic welfare, and international acceptability within the immediate area surrounding it.

During the entire period, from 1943 to 1956/57, Lebanon firmly resisted every effort by outside Powers to draw it into such pacts or alliances as may have jeopardized its sovereignty, directly or indirectly. It also resisted all attempts by foreign Powers to gain such "privileged positions" or "special interests" in Lebanon as may have compromised the country's undertaking to remain truly independent of undue influence from outside. It put an end to the era of "Great Power Guarantees" of the status of Lebanon, demonstrating that only in voluntary partnership and true harmony with the neighboring Arab States was there real guarantee of Lebanon's safety from internal dissension or from revived irredentism around its borders.

Moreover, during this period, Lebanon resisted all temptations to be drawn into one Arab orbit or another, or to exacerbate existing tensions within the Arab World by becoming party to one intra-Arab axis or another.

Complete neutrality within the Arab World, and complete independence from the outside world—on these two cardinal principles, Lebanon's foreign policy was based between 1943 and 1956/57; and the result was complete acceptability in the Arab context, as well as domestic stability and economic welfare.

A departure from this policy seems to have been initiated in 1956, at first imperceptibly and later on manifestly; and this departure from the post-1943 con-

cept of Lebanon's place in the world was formally registered in 1957, when Lebanon eagerly announced its acceptance of the Eisenhower Doctrine.

Why was this action of the Lebanese government considered, by many Lebanese and by some Arab governments, a drastic departure from the former policy consistently adopted by Lebanon since its independence?

The answer to this question lies, first, in the manner in which Lebanon expressed its acceptance of the Eisenhower Doctrine, and, secondly, in the substance and implications of that decision.

As for the manner in which Lebanon declared its acceptance of the Eisenhower Doctrine, it may be said that Lebanon displayed such extreme eagerness for the Doctrine, and such ardent endorsement of the postulates and general philosophy of the Doctrine, as made the timing and form of Lebanon's endorsement a rare phenomenon in international relations. For Lebanon gave its blessing to the Eisenhower Doctrine before the United States Congress had voted upon it. Thus, Lebanon in effect accepted the Eisenhower Doctrine before it had been formulated in final and binding form: Lebanon committed itself to the Doctrine before America gave the Doctrine final and authoritative shape. At a time when the United States legislature was still debating both the substance and form of the Doctrine, and in fact the very question of whether or not it was expedient, and also at a time when the Arab community in official circles as well as in public opinion—was still examining the implications and import of the Doctrine, the government of Lebanon stepped into the picture voicing its ardent advocacy of the then-embryonic Doctrine.

In its eagerness for the Doctrine, Lebanon did not wait to see whether or not the United States Senate would approve or reject that statement of U.S. policy. Lebanon did not wait to see what amendment would be made in the text of the Doctrine, or what form the Doctrine would finally assume before it became official U.S. policy. Lebanon did not wait for President Eisenhower's Special Envoy to start packing his suit-cases in order to proceed on his trip to the Middle East in an effort to explain the meaning and import of the Doctrine to the governments concerned or to negotiate with them on the implications and reciprocal conditions of its acceptance. Nor did the government of Lebanon wait for intra-Arab consultations to begin, or for a unified Arab position towards the Doctrine to be formulated.

So much for the timing and manner of Lebanon's declaration of its acceptance of the Eisen-

## ????

Send in your questions on the Middle East to Dr. Sayegh, and help him to bring you the weekly column you want to read.

Questions dealing with statements or current beliefs which tend to place the Arab countries or Arab-Americans in a bad light are particularly recommended.

Send your questions to "For The Record," c/o The Caravan, 172-174 Hoyt Street, Brooklyn 17, N. Y., or phone them in at

hower Doctrine in 1957, more important, however, is the substantive significance of that decision on the part of the government of Lebanon.

In order to assess the meaning of the Eisenhower Doctrine for the Arab World, we must examine this phase of United States policy in the light of Western-Arab relations since the end of the Second World War and the advent of the East-West "cold war".

In the early 1950's, the first Western effort to associate the Arab States with the West in the conduct of the East-West cold war was made when the Western Powers proposed a Middle East Defense Organization. This proposal was rejected by the Arab World because the West was negotiating with the Arabs while Western bases and troops were still maintained and stationed in Arab countries against the will of the Arab peoples and governments. Arabs feared that the result of such a policy would be not a real partnership between sovereign states, but a new form of colonial domination adjusted to the post-War era but nevertheless reflecting no greater respect for the sovereignty of the Arab States than had been reflected by the earlier forms and patterns of Western-Arab relations during the era of Protectorates, Mandates or Colonies.

The second phase of Western endeavor to draw the Arab States into the East-West conflict was initiated after the advent of the Eisenhower Administration to power in the United States in 1953. During his visit to the Middle East in May of that year, Mr. Dulles is reported to have conceived the idea of a "Northern Tier" association. British bases and forces were still in Egypt, the Sudan, Iraq and Jordan in that year, against the will of the peoples. And, therefore, the same reasons which had prompted the Arabs to reject the idea of Middle East Defense Organization in 1951 were still at work in 1953 against Northern Tier association.

Many Arab governments felt, then, that before the new version of the older Western idea could become acceptable to the Arabs, two conditions had to be fulfilled: first, the liquidation of existing military bases of Britain, and the evacuation of British forces stationed in Arab lands, had to take place, in order that new arrangements or relations may be negotiated by sovereign and free Arab States as equal partners with the Western Powers, and not under duress; and, secondly, the pan-Arab system of collective security, envisaged in the Treaty of Joint Defense which had been drafted in 1950 and which had entered into being in 1952 had to be given an occasion to become a reality, in order that the Arab States might enter into the new arrangements as one solid bloc, with unified defensive establishments. Only after these two conditions had been fulfilled—many Arab felt—could the anticipated new Arab-Western as-

sociation be a freely negotiated arrangement ensuring for the Arab States their rightful place as a respected partner. In addition, many Arabs wanted to see tangible evidence of the declared new American attitude of "impartiality" with respect to the Arab-Israeli conflict, before committing themselves, even in principle, to the idea of Arab-Western association.

Despite these not unreasonable Arab conditions, the United States went ahead with its behind-the-scenes efforts to induce some Arab States to join immediately in the creation of a new Middle East defense structure in association with the West. The foundations were set in January, 1954, when a Turkish-Pakistani Agreement was concluded. Then, in mid-1954, an Iraqi-American Agreement was concluded. By the opening of 1955, the United States felt that time was ripe for the formal organization of a Western-Mideastern defense structure. This structure began to take shape on February 24, 1955, when Iraq joined with Turkey to build the first span of the Western-Mideastern bridge which came to be known as the Baghdad Pact.

The departure of Iraq from the rule of unanimity which had been laid down in Article 10 of the Arab Joint Defense Treaty of 1955 heralded the period of exacerbated intra-Arab tensions and frictions which have characterized the Arab scene since 1955.

No Arab State followed the example of Iraq. Lebanon, like all other Arab States, remained aloof from the Baghdad Pact, refusing to join it.

The abstention of the Arab States, including Lebanon, from the Baghdad Pact in effect doomed that Pact. Strategists and statesmen in Western officialdom, and many exponents of public opinion in Western countries, recognized that the Pact was ineffective as the proverbial Maginot Line as long as the Arab World continued to boycott it.

It became evident, then, that new efforts must be made, and new formulas must be devised, to draw more Arab States into some new kind of Western-Mideastern arrangement, if the West was to have a real, effective, meaningful association with the Middle East that was strong enough to have positive value for the West in the East-West conflict.

This realization of the practical insignificance of the Baghdad Pact, and the resultant imperativeness of supplementary Western-Arab arrangements, heralded the third phase of American policy towards the Middle East—the Eisenhower Pact phase.

During the two years which elapsed between the erection of the Baghdad Pact and the enunciation of the Eisenhower Doctrine, the gulf between those Arab countries which were predisposed to enter into relations with the Western Powers prior to the fulfillment of salutary conditions ensuring free partnership, on the one hand, and those Arab countries espousing a policy of non-alignment and non-commitment, on the other hand, was widening. On one side stood Iraq. On the other side, new bonds were emerging between Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen. True to its policy of neutrality in Arab tensions, Lebanon remained aloof, joining neither the Baghdad Pact nor the bilateral or multilateral Arab pacts of mutual defense.

This was the situation from the beginning of 1955 to the end of 1956.

It was into this situation, that the Suez invasion descended upon Egypt and the Arab World.

At first, it seemed as though the carefully-planned Western efforts to isolate Egypt from other Arab States and to induce these Arab States to join Iraq in the Baghdad Pact backfired on the West after the Suez invasion. The Solidarity of the Arab peoples in support of the victim of British-French-Israeli aggression was spontaneous and widespread.

But, as soon as the invasion was checked, and the evacuation of the forces of aggression was underway, former Western efforts to isolate Egypt from other Arab States and to restore Western position in the Middle East were renewed and intensified.

Systematic efforts to wean one Arab State after another away from Egypt began to unfold themselves. Then, in mid-1956, an Iraqi-American Agreement was concluded. By the opening of 1955, the United States felt that time was ripe for the formal organization of a Western-Mideastern defense structure. This structure began to take shape on February 24, 1955, when Iraq joined with Turkey to build the first span of the Western-Mideastern bridge which came to be known as the Baghdad Pact. The departure of Iraq from the rule of unanimity which had been laid down in Article 10 of the Arab Joint Defense Treaty of 1955 heralded the period of exacerbated intra-Arab tensions and frictions which have characterized the Arab scene since 1955. No Arab State followed the example of Iraq. Lebanon, like all other Arab States, remained aloof from the Baghdad Pact, refusing to join it.

Thus, for the first time since 1943, Lebanon abandoned its chosen role of neutrality with respect to intra-Arab frictions, as well as its determination to stay aloof from entanglement in treaties ensuring privileged positions for foreign Powers.

It was this departure from the hallowed concept of Lebanon's post-1943 position in the world that antagonized many sectors of the Lebanese people, as well as many Arab governments.

The antagonism within Lebanon to the government's abandonment of the foreign policy pursued between 1943 and 1957 was expressed widely in the press of Lebanon and by same organized bodies of Lebanese. The seeds of discontent were sown.

When the re-districting of Lebanon was decreed for election purposes, some Lebanese sensed gerrymandering and feared lest the aim was to elect a parliament predisposed to approve the government's new foreign policy.

It was at this stage that the opposition to the foreign policy represented by acceptance of the Eisenhower Doctrine, and the opposition to the domestic measures represented in the elections of 1957 and in the rumored and non-disavowed intention of the president to succeed himself after ensuring the amendment of the Constitution, coalesced and intersected. The grounds for the Lebanese Civil War of May 1958 were laid.

In the coming article, we shall conclude this series on the Lebanese crisis, by examining the objections to the Eisenhower Doctrine.

## FACT & OPINION

Let it be impressed upon your minds, let it be instilled into your children, that the liberty of the press is the pabulum of all the civil, political, and religious rights.

—Junius.

Final figures are not in for the aspirin consumption during 1957, but it's pretty sure to be higher than the '56 total, estimated at 65 million every 24 hours.

## Dr. Sayegh at Notre Dame And Colgate Universities

Summer is the season for university conferences on world affairs — where educators and others concerned with international events meet to study world developments.

In the past two weeks, two such conferences were held, in which the Arab point of view on Middle Eastern affairs was presented by Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, Counsellor of the Arab States Delegations Office and principal Arab spokesman in the United States.

The first conference was held at Notre Dame, the famous Catholic University in Notre Dame Indiana. It was held under the auspices of the Catholic History Teachers' Club.

Dr. Sayegh was the only outside speaker invited to address the priests, nuns and professors gathered on Notre Dame campus for three days of discussions. He was invited to speak on Arab Nationalism and its significance for America and the world.

As a result of his speech and subsequent discussions and explanations, Dr. Sayegh was invited to appear at another conference which will be held in Milwaukee in mid-July, and in which some 800 nuns will convene.

The second conference was held in Hamilton, New York, at Colgate University. The Colgate Conference on World affairs is an annual gathering, now in its tenth year. This was Dr. Sayegh's fourth consecutive year of participation in the Colgate Conference.

The Colgate Conference lasted this year from July 2 to 5. It was attended by over 300 delegates from the New England states, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and other states. Over 50 embassies, legations and delegations sent representatives.

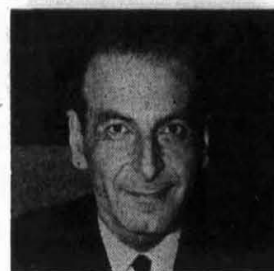
During the discussions, Dr. Sayegh made statements on four topics: the Lebanese crisis, the Arab-Israeli conflict, Arab unification, and the problem of Algeria.

The Caravan has learned from the Speakers Bureau of the Arab States Delegations Office that, in the past three years, Dr. Sayegh has participated in over 60 conferences on world affairs, in the United States and Canada.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, July 17, 1958

## For The Record

By  
Dr. FAYEZ  
A. SAYEGH



### ARAB REACTIONS TO THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE

Over 1900 years ago, Christ — who often spoke in parables and analogies — asked this rhetorical question:

"What man is there among you, who, if his son asks him for a loaf, will hand him a stone; or if he asks for a fish, will hand him a serpent?"

I am reminded of this question whenever I think of the proclamation of the Eisenhower Doctrine in 1957. The disparity between demand and supply, between need and gift, between the requirements of the Middle East in 1957 and the response of America to those requirements through the Eisenhower Doctrine, is strongly reminiscent of the celebrated analogy made by Christ.

For, in the late months of 1956 and the early months of 1957, there was one fear in the hearts of the Arab peoples, one need in the Middle East: the fear of colonial and neo-colonial aggression and of Zionist expansion, as these evils were jointly represented in the tripartite invasion by England, France and Israel; and the need for assurances and guarantees that such invasions would not recur. It was at that precise time, and in response to the needs and fears of the moment, that the United States began to grope actively for a new policy for the Middle East — a policy divorced from the lead of England and France and from favoritism to Israel. When it began to be rumored in official and semi-official circles that the high-level policymakers of the United States were preparing to announce such a policy in early January of 1957, everyone assumed that the "New Year Gift" of America to the Middle East would be a firm policy of curbing aggression and assuring all Middle Eastern peoples of the support of the United States to any victim of future aggression.

But, lo and behold, when the message of President Eisenhower outlining the new policy went to Congress on January 5, the gift was a far cry indeed from the need!

To peoples who had just experienced the foul aggression of colonialism, neo-colonialism and Zionism, the United States in effect said: There is a far greater danger than colonialism, neo colonialism, and Zionism; and we, Americans, are more concerned about the other danger than we are about the aggression you have just suffered; and that other danger, of which you may not be now aware, is the danger of Communist aggression. Therefore, we are ready to help you if you are subjected to Communist aggression.

Nothing was said about the colonialism still present in the area — French colonialism in North Africa, or British colonialism in Arabia, or Zionist super-colonialism in Palestine.

Nothing was said about the dangers of future invasion from these colonial sources.

All that was said was about Communist aggression. . .

I do not deny the fearfulness of Communist aggression. Aggression from any source, and of whatever color, is evil.

What many Arabs were chagrined by, however, was the fact that the new American policy, instead of reckoning with existing and probable dangers, focused the attention exclusively on remote and less probable—though perhaps more serious—dangers.

We would deny that cholera is more dangerous than typhoid? But, if you are about to travel to a country where typhoid is rampant, but where cholera is non-existent, and you go to your doctor and ask him for anti-typhoid injections, and he looks at you and says, "My friend, cholera is much more than typhoid; therefore forget about the anti-typhoid injection and let me give you instead an anti-cholera vaccination"—how would you feel?

Who would deny that an atomic explosion is far worse than an ordinary fire? But, if you went to an insurance broker and asked him for a fire insurance policy, and he looked at you and said, "My friend, atomic explosions are far more disastrous than ordinary fires; therefore, forget about fire-insurance and insure yourself against atomic blasts"—what would you tell him?

Who would deny that drowning is a miserable way to die? But, if you were lost in the desert, and crazed with thirst, and then God sent a passerby your way, loaded with water; and he greeted you cheerfully and solicitously inquired, "What can I do for you, friend?" And you said, "Sir, please, give me a drink of water." How would you feel if he looked at you indignantly and said, "Don't you know that drowning is a terrible thing—how can you even think of drinking when the danger of drowning is more grave? I am your friend, and I would like very much to help you and to protect you. Therefore, rest assured that, whenever you are drowning, if you call for help and if I am around I will jump into the water without a moment's hesitation in order to save you. . . And rest assured: I am an expert life-saver and I am perfectly capable of taking care of you."

Is it any wonder that there were many in the Arab World who, however opposed they might be to Communism and however determined they might be to resist Communist aggression if it occurs, were nevertheless disappointed when the new American policy, instead of taking cognizance of the real and present needs and dangers, focused its attention exclusively upon a danger that was then remote from the minds of Arabs—exposed as they had just been to colonial, neo-colonial and Zionist aggression?

The Caravan makes a very good gift to a friend or relative.

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# Mike Wallace Asks

DR. FAYEZ SAYEGH

What Does U. S. Intervention Mean to the Arabs?

As Beirut bathers quizzically watch U. S. Leathernecks file ashore on Lebanon's beaches, the rest of the world looks upon the action with sober apprehension. Cairo dispatches tell of Arab shock and surprise at the unilateral move of the U. S. What are the elements of the Arab attitude? Here, Dr. Fayez Sayegh, counselor to the Arab States delegation to the U.N., states his people's point of view.

Q. You said to me on Monday, July 14th, immediately after the overthrow of King Faisal in Iraq

— "I feel 10 years younger." Why did you say that?

A. Because when I was calculating the prospects of the fulfillment of certain national aspirations of my people, I used to feel that it might take 10 years before the development of July 14th occurred. It saved me 10 years of living in frustration.

Q. Why do you look 10 years older today?

A. A few measures have been taken by the outside world since then which have nothing to do with the Arab people themselves and this makes me older. I mean the arrival of the U. S. marines in Lebanon.

Q. Why do you think the outside world involved itself?

A. Basically I think they were prompted by a mistaken belief in the U. S. that the attainment, by the Arabs, of their aspirations for freedom and unity imply a threat to Western interests. A mistaken belief to that effect seems to have constrained American policy-makers to intervene in order to retard the attainment by some Arab peoples of these aspirations.

Q. According to President Chamoun of Lebanon, 2,000 Americans living in Lebanon were in danger. He also said a minority task-force is destroying his government.

A. The revolution in Lebanon has been on for more than two months and not one American has been harmed. To protect American lives in Lebanon has not been a need that has arisen so far.

Q. Do you think the U. S. fears that oil will no longer be forthcoming if the oil fields in Iraq fall to Nasser?

A. I believe that all American interests in the Arab world are in greater jeopardy as a result of this American intervention than they would have been if there had been no intervention.

Q. What do you see as the fate of Jordan?

A. Jordan cannot be unaffected by the rising tide of nationalism in the Arab world.

Q. Saudi Arabia?

A. I believe that Saudi Arabia has made appropriate adjustments to the swaying objectives of Arab nationalism in terms of the existing possibilities in that country.

Q. How do you evaluate the U. S. position in Lebanon as opposed to the position it took when Port Said was invaded by the British and the French?

A. As Mr. Dulles said, I really don't see that they are identical situations. Legalistic minds can find in the fact that the President of Lebanon requested such aid a justification. The British and French had no such request. But I believe that substantially they reflect the same motivation, namely the Western intolerance of the attainment by the Arab peoples of their fond and cherished objectives.

Q. Can the U. S. redeem its prestige and respect in the Middle East?

A. Definitely. By a change of heart. By a recognition that what we have been calling the aspirations of Arab nationalism is no

more than an effort by the Arabs to attain for themselves what you Americans have been enjoying all along. If America would put to practice the basic philosophy which your educators taught us in the Arab world to be the substance of Americanism, and reconcile itself to Arab nationalism, it is not too late yet for America to redeem its prestige.

## Raab to Moscow

VIENNA (AP)—Chancellor Julius Raab and an Austrian government delegation left by air today for an official visit to Moscow. Raab said he will seek a reduction of reparations and the release of Austrians still held in Russia.

READ THE WANT ADS DAILY!



Mike Wallace

The Capital Times: July 23, 1958

# GREEN

THE CAPITAL TIMES

MADISON, WIS., Wednesday, July 23, 1958



## MIKE WALLACE asks

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6 Los Angeles Times ★  
Part I—TUES., JULY 22, 1958

# Arabs Here Stage City Hall Protest

## Students Urge U.S., Britain to Pull Out Troops

American and British intervention in Lebanon and Jordan was protested yesterday by placard-carrying Arab students of SC, UCLA and Los Angeles City College.

The dozen students marched first in front of City Hall and then before the entrance to the British Consulate at 448 S Hill St.

Their placard messages read:

"Surprised? You'll be again unless you win Arab nationalism to your side . . . It is time to quit supporting puppets and respect Arab nationalism . . . Arab nationalism is a perpetual force and never yields to imperialism . . . Don't suppress Arab nationalism — understand it."

### Opposed to Reds

Mohammed Joukhdar, 26, of Saudi Arabia, a graduate student in economics at SC, said, "America thinks we are fighting for Nasserism, but instead we are fighting for Arab nationalism."

He added that the Arab world is "against the materialistic ideology of Communism" because of the religious thinking of Arab nations.

Represented yesterday were students from Iraq, Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, Egypt and the Sudan, in addition to Saudi Arabia.

Ahmed Nassief, 24, SC civil engineering student, spoke out in favor of U.N. intervention rather than U.S. intervention in his country, Lebanon.

### Protests Voiced

He protested that the United States is supporting the man — President Chamoun — instead of the people as a whole.

Abdul Razzak Jallow, 28, an Iraqi studying business administration at UCLA, described himself as "in complete sympathy with Iraq's new government" which he said "sprang from the wish of the people."

He called the late King Faisal's government a "feudal system based on corruption and social and political injustice."

The group also assailed British intervention in Jordan and called Jordan's Hussein "a dictator."

There were no incidents as a result of the protest marches.



**CRITIC** — Dr. Foyez A. Sayegh, counsel of Arab delegation to U.N., raps U.S. troops in Lebanon. Times photo

## BRITAIN

Continued from Second Page

millan, "I am anxious to find a suitable means of trying to resolve through a meeting of the heads of government the great problems which confront us."

Britain was sounding out commonwealth partners and other allies in drafting a reply to Khrushchev. Macmillan gave assurances that London and Washington were working closely together—saying "I do not think there is any difference as yet between us and our American friends."

### Talks to Lloyd

The British are anxious not to create an impression among neutrals that the allies were opposed to a top-level meeting.

Just before going to the House of Commons, the Prime Minister got a firsthand report from Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd on his talks with President Eisenhower and U.S. Secretary of State Dulles in Washington.

## Missouri River Flood Routs 100

KANSAS CITY, July 21 (AP) — Missouri streams spilled out of their banks at many points today.

Biggest scramble to get out of the way of the floodwaters was along the east bank of the Missouri River near Jefferson City, an area frequently flooded.

More than 100 residents left their homes at Cedar City, across the river from the capital city, while at Mokane, downstream from there, the Red Cross asked city officials to declare an emergency and evacuate all residents of low-lying areas.

## Arab Visitor Assails Intervention by U.S.

### Counsel for Delegation at U.N. Contends Landing Was Without Any Justification

American intervention in the Middle East is ill-timed, tragic and without justification, a leading spokesman for the Arab nations declared here yesterday.

President Eisenhower's announced reasons for the Marine landing in Lebanon "just don't seem to add up," said Dr. Foyez A. Sayegh, counsel to the Arab states delegations to the United Nations.

The presence of foreign troops in the restive Arab country has brought about "a very explosive situation" and "inflamed the emotions" of Arabs, Dr. Sayegh said at a press conference in the Hollywood Roosevelt.

He branded as "pretexts" the explanation that the U.S. motive was to protect American lives and to protect the integrity of the Lebanese government.

"It is ill-advised for a foreign nation to protect the

President (of Lebanon) from the wrath of his people, a President who seeks to change the constitution to succeed himself," said Dr. Sayegh.

There was no need to land troops to save American lives; he said, pointing out that the Lebanese revolution was already 65 days old and no American lives had yet been lost.

"Americans have been kidnapped in Cuba. Yet there are no bands of marines there," said Dr. Sayegh.

### Describes Revolt

He described Lebanon's revolt as a domestic affair, an attempt to overthrow a regime which was "no longer acceptable to Arab nationalism," and one which did not jeopardize the independence, integrity or sovereignty of that country.

The true American motive was to preserve a prowestern regime, he charged.

# EDITORIALS CITIZEN-NEWS

HOLLYWOOD, TUESDAY, JULY 22, 1958

## Arab Viewpoint

The United Arab Republic believes that one of the objectives of the United States and Great Britain in the Middle East is to obtain bases from which to resist the Soviet Union, according to Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, counsellor of the Arab states delegations to the United Nations.

This point was emphasized by Dr. Sayegh yesterday in a press conference at the Hollywood Roosevelt Hotel. In reply to a question he said the UAR would oppose the granting of bases to the United States and Britain in Lebanon and Jordan because it would feel that such bases had been obtained under duress.

The Arab spokesman agreed that oil is a vital factor in the Middle East crisis, but denied that the Soviet Union needs much of that oil. He conceded that the Soviet Union would naturally wish to dictate the disposition of the oil because it is of utmost importance to the anti-communist nations of Western Europe.

It may be that a compromise could be worked out between the West and the United Arab Republic. The UAR wants the West to cease what it believes is resistance to Arab nationalism. The West wants bases from which its troops could cope with a Soviet invasion or infiltration much better than it can from the nearby British base on Cyprus.

The granting of one strategic base to the British and one strategic base to the Americans in the Middle East, would be a reasonable concession for a "hands off" policy in an area in which the West has invested millions of dollars to help develop the oil resources.

We believe that one reason for concern by the West is the fear that some activities will open the way for Soviet seizure of oil resources without which Western Europe could hardly survive. We believe that the West is fully sympathetic to Arab nationalism along democratic lines, so long as it does not permit itself to be turned against the West and become the tool of Moscow.



## DR. SAYEGH LECTURES AT ALVERNO COLLEGE

Over 600 nuns, assembled at Alverno College, in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, listened for one hour last week to Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, well-known Arab lecturer and author, address them on Communism in the Middle East. An hour of intensive questioning and lively discussion followed the lecture.

The Franciscan Sisters gathered at the meeting to hear the Arab spokesman where faculty members of Alverno College, students, and participants in the summer seminar were being held at the College.

The interest of the faculty of Alverno in hearing the Arab point of view came in consequence of Dr. Sayegh's appearance, late in June, at Notre Dame University, where he was the only outside guest speaker, and where he lectured to the assembled history teachers on Arab Nationalism.

# THE CARAVAN

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Editor-in-Chief: **George S. Debs**

### LESSONS OF LOGIC AND ITS LACK

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** We are not in the habit of saying, "We told you so!" nor do we cherish the idea of criticizing our foreign policy or lack of foreign policy every once in a while. However, our readers will remember from the following article which was published by C. L. Sulzburger in the July 19 issue of the New York Times, under the above title, that most of what he is saying today we have been saying and repeating for two years or more - We are glad that our "foreign experts" have finally come to the conclusion that our foreign policy is badly in need of radical revision and sincerely hope that it is not too late.

. . . .

The only steady aspect of our Middle Eastern policy is confusion. During a decade that saw creation of Israel, Nasser's rise, the Suez war and a drumfire of coups and assassinations, the United States never managed to define its own fundamental attitudes. This observation applies to two American Administrations. Our Levantine follies have been gloriously bipartisan.

Three dilemmas perplexed Washington from the start. We couldn't resolve our determination to sponsor Israel with our craving for Arab friendship. Therefore we wallowed in a trough of indecision. We found ourselves unable to reconcile prejudices against "colonialism" with a need to support our strongest ally, Britain. And we muddled our analysis of Arab nationalism by always regarding its development in rigid anti-Communist terms.

The consequences led to diplomatic chaos. We have ended up supporting outdated regimes and opposing history's trend. Of our principal friends concerned with the Middle East, Britain and Turkey are widely disliked because of imperialist memories, an equally detested France has been excluded from the area, Israel is hated and Iran is weak and uneasy.

#### *Against the Tide*

Today we find ourselves backing the Chamouns, the Saudis and the Husseins against the tide of Arab renaissance. And, by our military interposition side by side with Britain, we have sacrificed those pretensions to moral grandeur we had claimed in the United Nations.

Our elementary aspirations are plain. We sought to keep Soviet influence out of the Middle East, to devise an alliance there for this purpose, and behind such a shield to pacify the area. These aims failed.

By creating the Baghdad Pact we alienated Egypt, most influential nation in the Arab world, and India, most powerful non-Communist state in Asia. Yet we never had sufficient faith in that same pact to join it ourselves.

We distributed arms instead of wisdom. Some of those arms have now been used to assassinate our three best friends in Iraq. We backed Nasser. But we wouldn't give him all the weapons he demanded; so he turned to Russia.

#### *The Suez Affair*

Because we unnecessarily offended the Egyptian dictator we provoked him into seizing the Suez Canal Company. This event could have been foreseen in the cloudiest crystal ball. But we didn't have one single position paper prepared in advance.

When Britain and France, together with Israel, cooked up a war to defend vital interests similar to those we now help London protect, we scotched their plan. Thanks to us Nasser was rescued from disaster and built to hero's stature.

If our policy was correct in 1956 when we backed Cairo against Paris and London, it is incorrect today. And if our policy is now correct, in deciding to risk war for strategic grounds, it was incorrect two years ago. Anglo-American intervention comes at the wrong places, at the wrong time, for the wrong reasons. At least Eden and Mollet had reason on their side when they went for Suez.

#### *Why We Intervened*

We don't fly troops to Lebanon because of a sudden turn in that country's operetta insurrection. Iraq is the explanation. And Jordan, again insured by Britain, isn't a nation at all. A mapmaker's dream, it was created by Churchill and T. E. Lawrence over brandy and cigars to pay a feudal debt.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, July 24, 1958

THE CARAVAN

Page Seven

# For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayez  
A. Sayegh



## OPEN LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

Dear Sir:

In your editorial, "Revolution in Iraq," published in the New York Times of July 15, 1958, you have correctly attributed the diverse manifestations of ferment and change in Arab society to "Arab nationalism", asserting that "much of what has happened in the Middle East since the first World War comes under that flaming banner." It is encouraging to see that the Times has, at long last, recognized the dominant force in Arab life.

Unfortunately, however, neither the import and meaning of Arab nationalism, nor its motivations, seem to have been adequately understood by you.

It is not surprising, under these circumstances, that your evaluation of the Arab national movement, and your resultant attitude towards it, are grievously faulty.

You have conveniently given a name to the complex of stirrings and aspirations which sway the Arab heart; but apparently you have not taken the trouble to analyse the ingredients of the complex reality which that name designates. Nor have you endeavored to ascertain the measure of human universality which characterizes these ingredients.

You would concede, I trust, that the longing for freedom in the human heart is a spontaneous, universal, and legitimate longing. You would not contest the assertion that an awakening people, advancing towards enlightenment in self-determination, naturally aspires to render its governmental systems and institutions progressively more responsive to its will, more serviceable to its legitimate interests, and more consonant with its level of social consciousness, cultural attainment, and political maturity. Nor would you seriously challenge the contention that peoples who believe that they constitute one national community, but who find themselves politically fragmented into many states separated by artificial boundaries erected athwart their homeland by foreign Powers, naturally strive towards reintegration and reunification.

and for unity — jointly comprise These three urges — for freedom, for politico-social reform, and for unity—jointly comprise "Arab nationalism". You may dislike the term; but can you stand for the values which the Times ordinarily espouses, and at the same time question the legitimacy of the Arab struggle for freedom, or the Arab revolutions aiming at setting up republican, non-feudalistic systems of government, or the desire of the Arab peoples to restore political unity to the Arab homeland? Can you take pride in the glorious struggle of past generations of Americans, which have produced this free, united, and democratic country, and still evince hostility to the struggle of the Arabs unto the same ends? Can you proclaim, as you so rightly do, that your country stands for a fitting model for other nations, and still scorn or oppose the endeavors of the Arabs to express in their own particular circumstances, these same universal values in Arab life?

In seeking our national objectives, we Arabs seek nothing for ourselves that you, Americans, have not sought for yourselves and attained. Is it wrong for us to strive for our God-given rights, which are in fact identical with rights for which you have striven in the past, and which you have come to enjoy and exercise in your individual and national lives? Is it too much if we, too, want to be free, as you are; or united, as you have become united; or living under systems of government as responsive to our national will and interests and level of attainment as your systems are to yours?

It goes without saying that our expression of our nationalism is — and must be — different from your expression of your nationalism. For your national objectives have been attained; and your nationalism, therefore, assumes the form of exercising national capacities and enjoying national prerogatives you have already obtained for yourselves. Ours, on the other hand, are as yet unfulfilled aspirations; our nationalism therefore, is in a state of endeavor toward attainment. You have expelled colonial domination, and you are therefore free to exercise your freedom — whereas colonial domination still casts its oppressive shadow over many of our lands, and diverse forms of undue influence over our fortunes are still exerted by foreign Powers even in some Arab countries which are technically sovereign. You have established democracy and a republican form of government in your country; but some of our peoples still live under the yoke of unrestrained monarchic regimes land-oligarchy, and feudal aristocracy. You have tamed the dissensions which obtained among your states when they co-existed, under the Confederation, as sovereign entities; and you have subordinated centrifugal forces, formerly made possible as a result of the exercise of sovereignty by the various states, to the harmonizing influence of the federal government representing the American nation as a whole — whereas we have only recently embarked on the process of unifying the many states which have been carved out of our one nation by others. Thus, what you have already come to enjoy and exercise, we are now in the process of striving towards and seeking to attain. It is axiomatic that the expression of the same urges takes different forms, under the circumstances of struggle for attainment, from those it assumes under the circumstances of actual realization.

It was more with sorrow, than with real surprise, that I read your editorial under reference a statement which follows naturally from your recognition of the paramountcy of Arab Nationalism

????

Send in your questions on the Middle East to Dr. Sayegh, and help him to bring you the weekly column you want to read.

Questions dealing with statements or current beliefs which tend to place the Arab countries or Arab-Americans in a bad light are particularly recommended.

Send your questions to "For The Record," c/o The Caravan, 172-174 Hoyt Street, Brooklyn 17, N. Y., or phone them in at

in the Arab World, and from your simultaneous reluctance to concede to the Arabs the rights and prerogatives which you respect in the abstract and which you practice and exercise in your country. You wrote: "We have to recognize that this pattern in its simplest form is like a tide coming in, the tide of Arab nationalism. No means and no policy have yet been found to stop this tide."

Why do you wish to stop this tide? In terms of what values of civilized human life do you advocate the denial unto others of what you want for yourself? By what standard do you pronounce the Arabs unworthy of those rights which you so often declare to be inalienable and universal, and which you profess that your country symbolizes in the world at large?

And what do you mean by "stopping the tide of Arab nationalism"? Freezing the colonial status quo in the colonial areas? Preserving the privileged position of foreign Powers in some of the Arab countries whose representatives sit, along with your own, in the United Nations as representatives of sovereign states whose equality in sovereignty with your own is upheld by the Charter? Bolstering regimes which neither represent the will nor the interests of their peoples; and enabling individual rulers to defy with impunity the desire of their peoples to infuse their governmental institutions with a greater measure of responsiveness to the national will — simply because such rulers are subservient to your allies or are ready to permit encroachment on their peoples' sovereignty without protest? Is this what you mean by "stopping the tide of Arab nationalism"?

You seldom hesitate to express your disdain for the backwardness characteristic of the less-advanced Arab countries as a result of their feudal system. Yet when an Arab people rises against that system, in pursuit of a better life, you pontificate that such a revolution "is not and cannot be a real, popular, mass uprising" and pronounce the verdict that "from the Western point of view... the status quo was the best possible arrangement." You seldom hesitate to scorn the Arab World for the spectacle of disunity among some of its governments; and yet, when some Arab governments proceed to establish political unity, you rush to condemn their action and profess to detect in it a great menace to Western interests.

You place yourself in a dilemma when you set for yourself the task of seeking ways and means to stop the tide of Arab nationalism. I do not speak of the moral dilemma — for that does not seem to cause you any trouble. I speak of the practical dilemma you purport to see.

I have a suggestion which you may find helpful in your search for methods of stemming Arab nationalism, and frustrating the Arab longing for freedom, unity, and a more abundant life.

If you find it so difficult to reconcile yourself to the thesis that Arabs, too, are human beings and that they are therefore entitled to the universally cherished values on national freedom, unity, and democracy, then why do you not recommend that your government invade the Arab World, that your military forces occupy every square inch of its soil, and that the U. S. A. establish in all Arab lands a regime of military occupation in punishment of the Arabs for their having dared to long for freedom and unity and happiness. You can close their schools and universities, including those which your missionaries established since the middle of the past century; you can disband their armies, destroy and dismantle their fledgling industry, banish their educated men and women, and bribe and train a cadre of opportunistic individuals to serve as proconsuls and handmaids for your occupation regime there. And you can, by these means, stifle every desire in the heart of every Arab for what you piously profess to be your hope and wish for all men everywhere.

Surely, you have many legalistic minds in this country which can advance countless legalistic justifications for such occupation.

Surely, too, you do not lack the physical means for implementing this plan. You have enough men to place armed garrisons in

every hamlet, every village, every town and every city in every Arab land.

And, surely you cannot be too disturbed about world public opinion or the United Nations failing to support your adventure.

And, surely you can go on printing editorials in the Times, day after day, proclaiming the sacredness of freedom and democracy and condemning other nations for suppressing the freedom of weaker peoples.

Indeed, it is the only practical way. There is no middle-of-the-road position.

You either recognize the legitimacy of Arab nationalism, or go all-out to stop it.

You have chosen the latter course. You are searching for means to implement it. I have suggested the ONLY means.

Incidentally, it has been tried before — successfully, for some time. My people have lived under the rule of empires before, Persians, Macedonians, Romans, Byzantines, Ottomans, British, and French.

But, for the record, please remember this: Many of those empires have vanished; the others are disappearing — but my nation is still there, striving to consummate its most recent revival.

New York, July 18

Fayez A. Sayegh

## A STATEMENT

By Alfred M. Lilienthal



The landing of troops in Lebanon today is a tragic American blunder. Added to the British-French invasion in 1956 of Egypt, this means the end of any Western hopes in the Middle East. It is no exaggeration to say that the entire Arab world is now likely to be driven into the hands of the Soviet Union.

The United States has acted unilaterally in complete disregard of the findings of the United Nations observers and the recommendations of Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld. The revolt in Iraq called for a drastic change in American foreign policy, not the dispatch of military forces. The United States has unfortunately aped the British in trying to splinter and divide the Arab world. The peoples of Lebanon and Iraq have added their repudiation of the Eisenhower Doctrine and the Baghdad Pact to that of their brothers in Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia. These events call for the immediate resignation of John Foster Dulles as Secretary of State and a new look at the Middle East.

The United States must stop fighting Arab nationalism or any other nationalism. This is out of character with the American tradition of supporting peoples in their fight for freedom, just as we fought for freedom. An understanding must be reached with Arab nationalism of which Gamal Abdel Nasser is the symbol. The new Secretary of State should invite President Nasser at once for

talks in Washington with President Eisenhower.

The truth about the Middle East has been kept from American people by the State Department and foreign correspondents abroad. When I was in Iraq in May, a meeting was arranged through our Embassy there with members of the underground movement. These Iraqis were then working to overthrow the government of Prime Minister Nuri as-Said and to restore democratic processes. Since the Suez crisis, freedom of speech and press in Iraq have been suspended. Because they demanded a breach of diplomatic relations with Britain, Iraqi opposition leaders were thrown into prison. The jails of Baghdad, Basra and other Iraqi cities have been crowded with political prisoners violently opposed to Iraqi foreign policy which they insisted was British made and British dictated. It was obvious to any observer that the people of Iraq had little confidence in their rulers, and the rulers no confidence in the people.

The unmistakable truth is that the United States or any other western power cannot thrust upon Middle East countries an attitude on foreign affairs drastically opposed by the masses of these countries. Secure and stable government can be established in Iraq and Lebanon by permitting the people to adopt a neutralist course if they so choose. This will in the end serve the purposes of western security to a far greater extent than the pro-western imposed policy. We have the choice now of sitting down around the table with Arab nationalism and by helping its justifiable aspirations moderate its future course. The alternative is chaos, and if not World War III, certainly THERE GOES THE MIDDLE EAST.

## LAUGH A LITTLE

Upbraiding his teen-age daughter for her slovenly appearance a father started in on a tirade of the faults of modern day children. "Why, look at your hair," he snorted. "It looks like a mop." The child looked up and innocently inquired: "What's a mop?" —Philnews.

# Merwin Argues Lebanon Isn't Right Place To Resist Russia

## Claims Our Strategy Pushing Reluctant Arabs Toward Reds

This is fifth in Mr. Merwin's present series of articles on the crisis in the Middle East—Editor.

By DAVIS MERWIN SR.

When Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, U.N. Arab Counsellor, remarked that American intervention in the Middle East is "ill-timed, tragic and without justification" he made an understatement. As this column has more than once pointed out, there is yet to be reported any "legal" cause under the terms of the United Nations Charter or the Eisenhower Doctrine. Yet we have more than 10,000 troops in Lebanon and are flying Naval aircraft over Jordan while the British occupy ground positions there.

### SERIOUS FIGHTING?

The latest news is that U.S. Marines have been ordered to join Lebanese Army units in suppressing "rebel" sniper fire. The latter seems to have been directed more accurately toward U.S. Naval aircraft than other targets such as fellow citizens who are going about their business and diversions as usual. That is mindful of what this writer has reported: that there is more drama, including harmless fireworks to many of these foreign demonstrations, than there is serious fighting.

In the case of Lebanon, there is every indication that no one really has his heart in the fray. Each side daily performs small courtesies for the other, such as seeing that there is plenty of food, water, transportation, and so on. Correspondents shuttle from one headquarters to the other. The girls are sunning in bikinis and drinks are still served on the terrace.

This is despite the fact that probably nothing more inflammatory could be conjured up than the landing of U.S. troops on Arab soil. Good authority has it that after asking suggestions from Congressional leaders, President Eisenhower proceeded single-handed to order in the Marines, then asked the National Security Council to take over. Congress and the United Nations were notified later.

### AMBITIOUS PRESIDENT

One prospective event which has yet to receive much, if any, publicity is the Lebanese election scheduled originally for July 24 and now for July 31. Sometime ago it was suggested in this space that hostilities in Lebanon could be ascribed almost wholly to the longstanding ambitions of President Chamoun to cause the parliament to amend the Constitution to permit him to succeed himself in a second six-year term.

Mr. Chamoun set about this by highpressuring a comfortable two-thirds majority out of the last election. But this generated so much heat that he finally announced a change of heart. That, however, became known after the opposition had become well-established under the leadership of former members of the government whom Chamoun had tossed out of office.

Now, whether the election will be held as prescribed by law or delayed while a coalition government takes over to let the situation cool off, is uncertain. Information from usually reliable sources has for some time been to the effect that a compromise candidate was available if President Chamoun would not only stick to his promise to withdraw personally, but be willing to relinquish ambition to control through a stooge. One likely candidate is Charles Hiliu.

### COULD END TROUBLE

Should Mr. Hiliu fill the bill to the satisfaction of the conflicting factions as is now indicated, the trouble in Lebanon could cease as abruptly as it brewed at the outset of fighting over two months ago.

But, if Washington persists in putting the Marines and other military in the touchy position of taking sides in this internal conflict and doing so with real bullets, almost anything could happen.

One thing already has: another slice of Arab goodwill has been lost to the West and to the United States in particular. All the rationalization in the world won't discount either this fact or the importance of Arab friendship.

Those who have studied this situation and lived in the Middle East are thus more than average hopeful that the election will be held and result in a compromise of the sort described.

### BRITISH ARRANGEMENT

The Arabs are sensitive and proud. These characteristics have been accentuated by the fact that only one state, the kingdom of Saudi Arabia, shed the yoke of oppression at the close of World War

I. The British, French and the U.S. had made a contract gaining Arab partnership against the Turks in return for their freedom.

Iraq and Jordan were creatures of the British, carved out of the desert for British convenience and dominated as a result of the Versailles Treaty mandates. Their kings were appointed by the British, commencing with Hashemite great grandpa Hussein, who through action of the late Ibn Saud, was driven from his kingdom in the Hejaz portion of Arabia. There rest the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. The British promptly cooked up an informal arrangement for him, in what was called Trans-Jordan, in order to link for their own protection the Persian Gulf and Suez.

Syria and the Lebanon fell under mandate of the French who had earlier seized slices of North Africa, as had Britain in the case of Egypt.

### ONLY ONE LEFT

Now great grandson Faisal of Iraq is gone, leaving his second cousin, Hussein of Jordan, the last of the Hashemites. It has been convenient to have these states dominated by Western-trained and friendly monarchs. But that doesn't satisfy the people's craving for a ride on the great wave of Nationalism. Probably nothing short of British occupation will save the bankrupt, teetering throne of Jordan.

And that will mean we end up by footing the bill. But much worse, Arab hatred will have been rekindled to a venomous degree.

That leaves Iraq, with lots of oil and a new ruling military junta reported by responsible Arabs of my acquaintance to be without Communist affiliations. The new government announces that trade will continue free to all comers. Here enters a consideration that must be understood: the Arab emotions born of centuries of domination.

### WANT TO BE FREE

This newly emancipated citizen wants to show the world that he is free to deal as he chooses, just as are the members of the great nations. This accounts for much of the Soviet association. After all, those Arab states which were not under British domination came to the U.S. for defensive arms and were refused. What would seem more natural than having them turn to another source? And the only other one was Russia or one of its satellites. This happened conspicuously in the cases of Egypt and Syria.

The Arabs hold one bitter

grudge against us—one that is well-founded. While the British started the trouble, largely for a sack of TNT, we compounded it with a grave injustice done the former owners of 94 per cent of Palestine. Between us, the British and the Israelis, this almost total Arab ownership has been reduced to about one-quarter. We were the real instrumentality through which they were divested of their possessions. In the name of the United Nations we handed these possessions over to German, Polish and Russian immigrants to get them off our hands.

In short, there is just one imponderable in the Arab Middle East: Israel. Some reasonable consideration is still to be shown more than a million Arab refugees. The expansionist tactics of the Israelis—who after having been handed half of Palestine, proceeded to appropriate by force of arms another quarter—have yet to be dealt with. With proper recognition of these long-neglected problems, the Middle East question would be well on its way toward solution. But, so far, we not only have ignored these running sores in a concrete sense, but virtually branded this discussion as bad manners amongst editors, State Department, Administration and populace as a whole.

### PUSHED INTO RED CAMP

After years of association with these people, many of us are convinced that the Arabs want to be our friends and that they will do almost anything to avoid joining the Communists. Communism is deeply contrary to their religion. But they find Israel infinitely more of a threat. To them, that small country is a deadly menace.

Russia, as such, has been their "friend." She came "to their rescue" when we refused them protection.

Barring a military clash with the Soviets, perhaps we'd better cease tilting with windmills and persuade Mr. Hammarskjold and the United Nations to use their own judgment. In the case of Lebanon, they are very clearly on record with the judgment that the present unarmed observer team can handle the situation.

The Soviets have offered many intolerable provocations. The Marines should long since have landed—but NOT in Lebanon.

(To Be Continued.)

## Name Delegates To State Meet

EL PASO —(PNS)— The Rev. Harry C. Fricke and Louis Clausen were named delegates to the State Convention of the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, at Concordia Seminary, Springfield, Aug. 24 to 28.

Police in Phoenix, Ariz., wear name plates as a regular part of their uniform.



THE INDIANAPOLIS STAR

# Lebanon Intervention Termed Big Mistake



- 1 1948—Israel proclaims independence; Arab-Israeli War begins.
- 2 1949—Arab-Israeli War ends in uneasy truce.
- 3 1952—Army coup ousts King Farouk in Egypt.
- 4 1954—Nasser assumes power in Egypt.
- 5 1955—Baghdad Pact formed.
- 6 1955—Nasser accepts arms from Communist bloc.
- 7 1956—Nasser nationalizes Suez Canal.
- 8 1956—Britain, France, Israel invade Suez; U.N. negotiates withdrawal.
- 9 1957—Jordan cuts ties with Britain.
- 10 1957—Pro-Nasser coup foiled in Jordan.
- 11 1957—Pro-Nasser elements come to power in Syria.
- 12 1958 (Feb. 1)—Egypt and Syria form United Arab Republic.
- 13 1958 (Feb. 14)—Jordan and Iraq form anti-Nasser Arab Federation.
- 14 1958 (May 8)—Pro-Nasser rebellion starts in Lebanon.
- 15 1958 (July 14)—Pro-Nasser coup ousts King Faisal in Iraq.
- 16 1958 (July 15)—U.S. lands Marines in Lebanon.
- 17 1958 (July 17)—Britain lands troops in Jordan.

AP Newsfeatures

By DAVIS MERWIN  
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**IRAQ AND JORDAN** were creatures of the British, carved out of the desert for British convenience and dominated as a result of the Versailles Treaty mandates. Their kings were appointed by the British, commencing with Hashemite great-grandfather Hussein, who through action of the late Ibn Saud, was driven from his kingdom in the Hejaz portion of Arabia.

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**NOW GREAT-GRAND-SON** Feisal of Iraq is gone, leaving his second cousin, Hussein of Jordan, the last of the Hashemites. It has been convenient to have these states dominated by Western-trained and friendly monarchs. But that does not satisfy the people's craving for a ride on the great wave of nationalism. Probably nothing short of British occupation will save the bankrupt, teetering throne of Jordan. And that will mean we end up by footing the bill. But much worse, Arab hatred will have been rekindled to a venomous degree.

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In short, there is just one imponderable in the Arab Middle East: Israel. Some reasonable consideration is still to be shown more than a million Arab refugees. The expansionist tactics of the Israelis—who after having been handed half of Palestine, proceeded to appropriate by force of arms another quarter—have yet to be dealt with. With proper recognition of these long-neglected problems, the Middle East question would be well on its way toward solution. But, so far, we not only have ignored these running sores in a concrete sense, but virtually branded this discussion as bad manners amongst editors, State Department, administration and populace as a whole.

**AFTER YEARS** of association with these people, many of us are convinced that the Arabs want to be our friends and that they will do almost anything to avoid joining the Communists. Communism is deeply contrary to their religion. But they find Israel infinitely more of a threat. To them, that small country is a deadly menace.

Russia, as such, has been their "friend." She came "to their rescue" when we refused them protection.

The Soviets have offered many intolerable provocations. The Marines should long since have landed—but not in Lebanon.

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## EDITORIAL HOW WE STAND AS AMERICANS

Some of our last minute patriots and thick-headed bigots who are not good Americans nor good Lebanese, but plain good-for-nothings, have started a whispering campaign that we are being paid by a foreign government to criticise the foreign policy of our U. S. Government.

To these people, "principle" is merely another word in the dictionary. They cannot seem to be able to understand that anyone could do anything at all for what he believes is right or as a matter of principle, because they never did anything in their lives without getting paid for it, whether it involved a principle or no principle!

These nitwits believe that all you have to do to be a good American is wave a flag, get on a band wagon, praise a mayor, applaud a misinformed congressman and call who do not agree with you, reds, pinkos, traitors and foreign stooges.

For the benefit of those and for the benefit of other misguided Lebanese enthusiasts who were applauding, clamoring and sending letters and cables urging the infamous outgoing Chamoun to stay in office and are now getting ready to applaud whoever succeeds him, we have the following to declare:

First: The only Government that paid us a cent or more for any service rendered during the World War and after the World War is the United States Government and none other.

This was, during the war, when we held office as Chief of the Arabic Desk of the Office of War Information, edited the Victory Magazine for the Department of State and later on acted as head of the Middle East Desk.

After the War, we edited the America Magazine for the Department of State and rendered many other services to our country and government.

Outside of that, we did not receive, have not received nor will ever accept a red cent from any other government whether directly or indirectly.

On a few occasions, we have actually criticized the Arab Information Center (who is supposed to be paying us) in more than one editorial. In fact, the Center has not even paid for its own or a single other subscription to The Caravan.

Ironically, only two Arab Consulates have paid for their subscriptions and one Embassy. Other Arab Consulates, Embassies or Delegates to the United Nations have not even paid their subscriptions.

Second: In spite of these facts we have been honest enough, frank enough and courageous enough, as good Americans who have the interest and welfare of America uppermost in our hearts and minds to criticise, disagree with and ask for a revision of our foreign policy regarding the Middle East ever since the Suez Canal crisis. We did this not because we love Mr. Eisenhower less, but, because we love America more.

All Middle East experts, all Middle East news commentators on the spot and most of our well informed Government diplomats today agree that this foreign policy should be revised and that America should take cog-

Continued on Page 6

## WANTS RECOGNITION



Dr. Garland Evans Hopkins of Herndon, Va., above, secretary-general of the Continuing Committee on Muslim-Christian Cooperation, personally appealed to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles to extend recognition.

"It is now abundantly clear," Dr. Hopkins wrote Secretary Dulles, "that the government of Premier Abdul Karim el Qassem is in full control of the country of Iraq, with hearty support from the vast majority of the people of that nation. Its announced nationalist and reformist goals are consonant with our own declared policy for the Middle East."

Dr. Hopkins also said that further delay in extending recognition is unwise "both from the standpoint of retaining the traditional friendship Iraqis have always had for the U.S.A. and from consideration of our own best interests."

Dr. Hopkins was one of the founders and for five years the executive vice president of the American Friends of the Middle East. For the past four years he has headed up the Continuing Committee on Muslim-Christian Cooperation, Inc., the provisional organization of the World Fellowship of Muslims and Christians. He has made frequent visits to Iraq and traveled widely throughout the country.

## TEXT OF LETTER TO SECRETARY DULLES

Dear Mr. Dulles,  
Let me personally urge that de jure recognition of the new republican government of Iraq be promptly extended by the United States of America.

It is now abundantly clear that the government of Premier Abdul Karim el Qassem is in full control of the country of Iraq, with hearty support from the vast majority of the people of that nation. Its announced nationalist and reformist goals are consonant with our own declared policy for the Middle East. From every available indication, proper and orderly steps are being taken to implement those goals with all possible dispatch.

For the United States to delay further its recognition of the republican regime is unwise both from the standpoint of retaining the traditional friendship Iraqis have always had for the U.S.A. and from considerations of our own best interest.

## Comments Of Foreign Experts On The Middle East Crisis

(Courtesy of "NBC's Comment.")  
Sunday, July 20, 5:30 P.M.

THE ANNOUNCER: NBC News brings you COMMENT, qualified correspondents and news analysts commenting on important topics in the news.

Today on the Crisis in the Middle East, COMMENT brings you five top correspondents. Merrill Mueller, NBC News.

MR. MUELLER: The ultimate danger will grow, if Western leaders believe that any policy of expediency is the right policy for servants of the people.

THE ANNOUNCER: Hanson W. Baldwin of the New York Times.

MR. BALDWIN: You can do everything with bayonets except sit on them.

THE ANNOUNCER: Harry Ellis, the Christian Science Monitor.

MR. ELLIS: What will happen to King Hussein and to President Chamoun if Western troops now leave the Middle East?

THE ANNOUNCER: Also to be heard on COMMENT today by film report and direct short-wave conversation with our correspondents in the studio will be Joseph C. Harsh, NBC Senior news correspondent from London, and John Chancellor, NBC News, Beirut.

NBC News correspondent John Chancellor has been covering this latest fast-breaking crisis in the Middle East since it began.

He comment now by film from Beirut, Lebanon.

MR. CHANCELLOR: The main question in my mind concerning the presence of American troops in Lebanon is, who cashed the check? The United States had given Camille Chamoun, the President of Lebanon, as everyone knows, an i.o.u. to be used if necessary for American intervention in the Lebanese rebellion. Chamoun the other day cashed the check in a great hurry and he cashed it apparently because of a situation in Iraq and not because of any major change in the internal situation in Lebanon.

Therefore many people here feel that the United States government, aroused by the trouble in Baghdad must have had a hand in the game and possibly we cashed our own check. On the other hand, we at least allowed Chamoun to cash it on our terms and at our timing.

Now that we are here in Lebanon with several thousand Marines in battle dress adding to the already colorful population in Beirut, we ought to consider what we have stepped into. Either because of the timing of events, or because of the internal difficulties of his own, it seems President Chamoun didn't tell anybody we were coming. The classic and bewildering example of this secrecy is best shown in the well documented case of General Fuad Shehab, the Commander in Chief of the Lebanese Army. General

Shehab was told apparently of the arrival of the Americans just two hours before the Marines hit the beach. Now he didn't want the Marines here and according to the peculiar powers given to Middle Eastern commanders in chief, he ordered his tanks stationed near the airport to swivel their turrets and their guns in the direction of the oncoming Americans. At that time General Shehab was ready to fight. Somebody talked him out of it fortunately and therefore saved the United States from an almost unbelievably embarrassing battle. Now the General has been criticized by many for his nonchalant conduct in the Lebanese trouble, but he remains as the Chief of the Army here and a considerable power in his own right. How long he will maintain his reluctant alliance with the United States, no one knows, but if he should defect, his army, already of uncertain quality, will break up into warring and shooting groups and then we will have to fight all kinds of people.

Another example of the curious silence of President Chamoun with his own people comes from Adil Asseiran who is speaker of the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies.

Asseiran says in Parliament that the Parliament was not told of the American arrival and he is calling along with rebel leaders for a special Parliament session designed to get the Americans out. If this is not completely unsettling news, there is more. The rebels in Tripoli are seeking a cease-fire with the Army in Tripoli trying to build up a combined force that will fight the Americans. And rebel leaders in both Tripoli and Beirut are threatening to call in foreign volunteers to get the Americans out of the country.

They are joined in this anti-American activity by the forces of the Syrian Socialist Nationalist Party, an extreme right wing group with a rather high muzzle velocity that has been outlawed by the government, but has been given arms incidentally by the government to fight the rebels. These people have been pro-Chamoun, because of the arrival of the Marines, they have turned on him.

There is one very unhappy result in this situation and that is the possibility exists here that the Lebanese population, because of grotesque internal complications, may turn on the Americans, and the Americans would then be forced to defend themselves, fighting foreign nationals on foreign soil.

The comparison with the Russians in Hungary has already occurred, incidentally, in the neutral nations but if the volatile and trigger-happy Lebanese turn their limited fire power against the weapons of the Second Provisional Marine Force, the Marines will be forced to allow a lot of Lebanese to commit suicide and we will have a bloodbath. The alternative is withdrawal and international humiliation.

The middle ground is where we are now and our stability in that middle ground within Lebanon depends partly, at least, on General Fuad Shehab, and President Camille Chamoun.

John Chancellor, NBC News, Beirut.

**THE ANNOUNCER:** The American action in sending troops to the Middle East has raised important questions of a military nature and to answer them, COMMENT calls on the Military Editor of the New York Times, Hanson W. Baldwin.

**MR. BALDWIN:** "You can do everything with bayonets except sit on them."

This paraphrase of an old quotation symbolizes the Anglo-American dilemma in the Middle East. We are trying to sit on bayonets and the seat is an uneasy one, indeed.

The American intervention in Lebanon and the British landing in Jordan represented a quick reaction to the Pro-Nasser coup in Iraq. The tide of Arab Nationalism appeared to be rolling to the flood. It seemed clear that the only way to prevent the rather swift overthrow of the present Western oriented government in Lebanon and Jordan was to bolster them with United States and British troops.

The action we took was fully legal with many precedents in international law. It was in response to requests of the Constitutional Governments of the countries concerned. The military phases were conducted on the whole efficiently and rather rapidly, although the slow air movements verified what was already known, that the United States does not have enough immediately available military air left to meet all the demands of a sudden emergency.

World tension has eased somewhat in the past two days. There is no evidence of mobilization or unusual civil defense measures in any country. Some eight thousand American troops are in Lebanon, more than enough to prevent any internal coup, and ample, backed up as they are by the Sixth Fleet, to discourage any open external aggression against Lebanon.

Some of our friends in the Middle East, notably Turkey have been encouraged by last week's evidence of U. S. power and determination and Washington has given a global warning, at long last, of our strength.

We have built dikes in the Middle East against the rising tide of Arab Nationalism, but what next?

Our landings unfortunately may ultimately help to produce the very thing we are trying to prevent. In Lebanon, some of those who formerly sided with President Chamoun now have turned against him because of his request for American aid, and the Lebanese Army, 40 percent of it Moslem, has made no greater effort since the American landings than it had before, to end the rebellion against its government. The kid glove approach to the rebels still continues.

The truth is, of course, that Western troops in Arab countries, particularly in countries engaged in their own domestic

squabbles, are like a red flag on a bull, we have been put in the position of propping up with our bayonets regimes which have limited popular support and which are faced with strong active opposition from Arab Nationalism.

Our military actions, in other words, may well have weakened the political support of our friends. It seems clear that the future of Pro-Western governments in Jordan and Lebanon is bright only as long as our bayonets remain. For the strategic key in the Middle Eastern dilemma is Iraq. Jordan and Lebanon are side-shows. The inescapable conclusion is that we have either done too much or we have not done enough. Thus our long-term military objective in the Middle East appears to be fuzzy and undefined and the use of the limited forces we have so far employed may well handicap, not help, the attainment of our political objective.

There are some lessons to be learned. First, Arab Nationalism is here to stay. We must accommodate our policies to this fact.

Second, Russia is interested in the Middle East and this interest is certain to continue. Ironically, one of the adverse results of our intervention may be that we have strengthened the foothold of communism in the area.

Third, it is wrong to equalize Arab Nationalism and communism. There are Communists in every country but communism does not dominate any of the Middle Eastern nations. It may however, if we drive them together.

Fourth, we can perhaps sit on bayonets for a short time but the longer we remain in Lebanon the less comfortable the seat will be. And finally the best we can expect from most of the Arab states of the Middle East is neutralism in the world conflict. Not a clear-cut alignment with the West. We can and must insist on real neutralism. But if we attempt to force Arab Nationalism completely into Western channels, we shall have to use a lot more bayonets in many more areas of the Middle East and we shall have to sit on them for a long time to come.

**THE ANNOUNCER:** Harry Ellis, the Assistant Overseas Editor for the Christian Science Monitor, has served as a correspondent in the Middle East and is the author of *Israel and the Middle East and Heritage of the Desert*. Mr. Ellis comments now on the American dilemma.

**MR. ELLIS:** The big question at the moment is, will war result from British and American intervention in the Middle East.

But behind this question lurks another: What will happen to the King of Jordan and the President of Lebanon if Western troops are withdrawn? To protect these two men after all is why American forces in Lebanon and British paratroopers are in Jordan. The answer is clear. If, through fear of a big war, the United States and Britain were to pull out their troops under present circumstances, King Hussein and President Chamoun would fall.

Look at it this way: The real threat to King Hussein is that a majority of Jordanians believe the King is an outmoded ruler, the last remaining symbol of Western control of Jordan. To these Jordanians, Colonel Nasser represents true Arab leadership and they want a government of their own friendly to Nasser.

This tide of Arab Nationalism has been about to engulf King Hussein as his cousin King Feisal was engulfed when the British stepped in to protect him.

Let us be clear on this point:

Only the presence of British troops now keeps King Hussein in his throne and no political settlement between Russia and the West will change the minds of Jordanians who want their king out.

The situation in Lebanon is different. Many Moslem Lebanese look back bitterly on the French controlled Lebanese census of 1932 which found Christian Lebanese in a 55 to 45 percent majority over Moslems. The resulting governmental set up in Lebanon gave the top hand to Christians.

For some years most Lebanese have demanded a new census on the grounds their higher birth rate plus the emigration of Christian Lebanese out of the country have reversed this percentage. Therefore, say the Moslems, hold a new census and see whether the top hand in Lebanon including the Presidency should not go to Moslems.

The Christians, whose ancestors fought hard to carve a sanctuary in the Moslem world, have opposed a new census. This issue now has allied itself to Colonel Nasser's clear call on the Arabs to unite under Cairo's leadership. A possible solution exists in Lebanon. If rebels and government can decide on a compromise candidate, Parliament may elect a new President of Lebanon July 24. If Chamoun agrees to step down immediately, rather than serve out his term until September 23, the present crisis might be ended.

The Lebanese of both sides, Moslems and Christians might agree to revive their old partnership in government. Such a solution would permit the withdrawal of American troops from Lebanon.

In Jordan, as we have seen, no such solution appears possible. Western troops presumably will have to remain there, so long as Washington and London want to keep King Hussein on his throne.

Another point we should not forget: Unless King Hussein or the West tries to win back Iraq, President Nasser will have gained a new ally far more important to him than either Lebanon or Jordan. That ally is oil-rich Iraq, with a glittering possibility Kuwait, beyond.

**THE ANNOUNCER:** NBC senior European correspondent Joseph C. Harsch from his base in London comments now by film on the British attitude.

**MR. HARSCH:** The sudden swift succession of dramatic events in the Near East over the last few days means three things to Britain. First it means that the estrangement of the Suez crisis between their government and ours is over, and the times we sat in lofty moral judgement on them, punished them, withheld oil from them, threatened to strangle their economic life, those times are over. For better or worse, Britain and America are in the Middle East together now in harness. We are together in the defendant's dock at the United Nations. What we two have done, we have done together, planned it together and executed it together, and we face the consequences together.

**MR. MUELLER:** Do the Lebanese rebels at all appear ready to stop the shooting and convert their efforts to politics?

**MR. CHANCELLOR:** The rebels in Beirut it seems to me have always been more ready for politics than shooting. Their shooting has never been very effective, I don't think. So far the rebels have held their fire, as you know, against American troops. One rebel leader, Saeb Salam says his people won't fire on the Americans, at least now, because he

says they have -- his people have more wisdom than Eisenhower and won't start a Third World War.

However Salam and other rebel leaders are mad at the Americans because they came in. However, they are sticking with their pre-intervention plan for a compromise presidential candidate and the shooting is no more than usual, really.

**MR. ELLIS:** If a new President is elected July 24, is President Chamoun going to want to serve out his term until September 23?

**MR. CHANCELLOR:** We haven't that much information from President Chamoun. Although I am convinced, as most observers are here, that he will not run again, of course.

**MR. BALDIN:** Exactly what is the Lebanese army doing?

**MR. CHANCELLOR:** I am not sure I can answer that, Mr. Baldwin. The Lebanese Army is still in town. The Americans have not moved out of their perimeter and I have no evidence that the Americans may have replaced any Lebanese soldiers so that they can go and fight the rebels.

**MR. MUELLER:** I will ask you a question I know you can answer: You have indicated there are two chief political candidates for the presidency. Could you give us any of their comparison positions on three things: Pan-Arabism, the American forces and

the United Nations observers?

**MR. CHANCELLOR:** It is very difficult under existing conditions here, to give you these statements (and positions). One high military leader who has been mentioned as a possible candidate for the Presidency has been more or less neutral in this. We have an upcountry lawyer named Jawad Bolos who is running and his position on the Americans is unclear.

As far as Pan-Arab sentiments are concerned, there is, of course, the understandable lure of a state built upon an acknowledgment of the Arab language, geography and culture. The other kind of Pan-Arabism is reflected by Nasser's United Arab Republic with its striking nationalism. It is not absolutely popular in Lebanon at this time. As to the relations with the United Nations, I think I can say that many Lebanese feel now, after the American intervention, that the UN is not such a bad outfit after all.

#### VISITING

Mr. & Mrs. Sam Namee of Wichita, Kans. arrived in Brooklyn, Saturday, July 5, on a pleasure trip. They are visiting Mrs. Namee's parents, Dr. & Mrs. A. A. Busada, of North Bergen, N. J.

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# For The Record

By  
Dr. FAYE  
A. SAYEGH



## LESSONS OF THE IRAQI REVOLUTION

The swift overthrow of the former Iraqi regime of the Hashemite monarchy by revolutionary officers of the Iraqi Army with the full support of the people of Iraq was one of the most important events in the history of the Arab World since the end of the Second World War.

As soon as it occurred, however, the Iraqi Revolution set in motion a number of processes, which it is of some value to examine.

### 1. The Short-Lived "Big Lie":

No sooner had the wires relayed the story of the overthrow of the monarchy in Iraq, than weird reports began to be circulated about alleged atrocities perpetrated against individuals or groups associated with the old regime. Rumor-mongering had a busy time on July 14, 15 and 16, before contacts with the outside world were reestablished and communications restored.

There was a systematic, concerted effort to besmirch the name of the Revolution, to make the stigma of savagery stick—and perhaps to prepare world opinion for eventual aggression against the new Republic of Iraq.

We were told that Abdul Ilah and Nuri as-Said had been killed, and their bodies mutilated, dismembered and burned.

We were told that Dr. Fadhl al-Jamali had been murdered, and that his body had been dragged through the streets. The Ambassador of the United States at the United Nations dramatically broke the news to the Security Council during a formal meeting, and followed it up with a moving elegy. Leading newspapers wrote editorials paying tribute to the "martyr of savagery".

But the Big Lie was a short-lived. The effort to smear the Revolution crashed on the rock of the truth, when it became known that violence and bloodshed had been contained and reduced to a minimum and that all stories of brutality and savagery had been entirely unfounded.

One wonders how Mr. Lodge must have felt when he saw Dr. al-Jamali's pictures on television and read reports of the interview he had made in prison with members of the press corps, who described him as "well groomed and healthy. . . ."

There were also rumors about unrest in Iraq. There were reports about armies marching from the north to capture Baghdad, and armies converging on the capital from the south-west. Once more, these rumors proved entirely unfounded, and normal civilian life was restored to Baghdad within a day or two.

This incident illustrates the degree of rumor-mongering which prevails with respect to Arab events in the United States, and emphasizes what students of the area have always known—namely, that many of the reports circulating in this country about the Arab World are exaggerated, distorted, or, at times entirely unfounded.

But there is another lesson to be derived from this incident. I refer to the dual standards applied to Arab actions and the actions of other peoples.

The 14th of July, which is the date of the Iraqi Revolution against the former Iraqi mon-

archy, is also the date of the French Revolution against the former French monarchy. How many Americans, who look upon the French Revolution as a milestone in the growth of democratic institutions and republicanism in Europe and the West, recall the guillotines, the violence and bloodshed which characterized the French uprising? How many Americans judge the French Revolution in terms of the number of Frenchmen who were decapitated in the course of the protracted uprising? Or, for that matter, the English or the American Revolutions?

### 2. Tyranny cannot be indefinitely endured:

The swiftly and efficiently executed revolution in Iraq, which was apparently timed and perhaps accelerated as a result of portents of intervention by the old Iraqi regime, in association with other Baghdad Pact countries, was essentially stimulated by the excesses of despotism and the sinister disregard for the wishes of the people and the interests of the country which had characterized the domestic and foreign policies of the old regime.

Gradually and piece-meal, the Hashemite regime of Iraq had alienated its people and departed from the path prescribed by the consensus of Iraqis.

The Hashemite Iraqi regime had come to be considered one of the most stable and secure in the Middle East. It was an open secret that the Iraqi people was discontented and astir; but the regime itself, and its mentors and supporters abroad, seem to have convinced themselves that the people was incapable of giving vent to its dissatisfaction by concrete action.

The successful translation of the will of the people, in a matter of hours, into irreversible reality must now convince other despotic regimes in the area that they cannot indefinitely defy the wishes of their peoples and chart policies unacceptable to them, and that tyranny cannot be indefinitely endured or suffered with impunity.

When you place dynamite under your chair and light the fuse, do not be surprised if everything blows up.

### 3. Surprising Surprise:

Nothing is more surprising than the surprise shown by remnants of the old régime, as well as by its supporters and mentors outside Iraq, at the occurrence and success of the revolution.

The complacency in tyranny, about which we spoke in the preceding section, and the surprise at the revolution, are two faces of the same coin.

Only the naive could have expected that the people of Iraq would endure the Hashemite tyranny and the unpopular policies of Nuri as-Said indefinitely; and only those who were blinded by their naivete would have really

greeted the Revolution with surprise. But many observers have lost touch with the pulse of the peoples—so engrossed have they been in applauding the unpopular measures of their proteges that they have failed to sense the amount of fateful discontent brewing in the hearts of the peoples.

Six and a half years ago, in a booklet entitled *Understanding the Arab Mind*, I had spoken about the stirring within the Arab soul. That was before the Egyptian Revolution, which came soon thereafter as a vindication of my assertions. I had written then—in February, 1952—about those "who still see the Arab World of Yesterday only, and fail to take cognizance of the forces, already at work, building the Arab World of tomorrow."

And six weeks before the Iraqi Revolution, I had spoken in the same vein in the manuscript of my book on *Arab Unity*, which will be out in August. I wrote:

"In the fierce contest between the forces of dynamic and static nationalism in the Arab World, what is involved is nothing less than the place of the human person in Arab society, and the destiny of the Arab community and its role in the world. . . . The issues at stake are too grave and too vital to permit of complacent compromises or to submit to an indefinite, if uneasy, stalemate."

"The popular clamor for reform grows daily, gaining in intensity and insistence. The clinging of the ancient régimes to inherited privileges also assumes an increasingly adamant character every day."

"Unless the popular dedication to the ideals of a healthier national life is blighted by oppression, frustrated by effective suppression, or diluted by appeasement; or unless the ancient régime, resigning itself to the inevitable, decides to embark upon a process of gradual surrender of privilege in order to avert total collapse—turbulence will be, for years to come, the fate of those Arab countries where static nationalism is still supreme."

### 4. Intervention: A Grievous Error:

Unfortunately, governments, like individuals, often commit grave mistakes in order to avert the consequences of earlier mistakes.

Such a grievous error was the military intervention of America and England, in Lebanon and Jordan respectively, in an effort to avert the consequences in those two Arab countries of policies similar to the policies pursued by the former regime in Iraq, and—perhaps—in an effort to proceed from bolstering the tottering regime of Lebanon and Jordan to reestablish the old order in Iraq itself.

In their hurried reaction to the cataclysmic events in Iraq, the United States and the United Kingdom have failed to grasp the lessons borne by the Iraqi Revolution:

that an errant government cannot indefinitely survive the opposition of its people, and that no government can be preserved indefinitely by foreign troops, against the will of its people and against the logic of history.

The Arab leaders in Lebanon and Jordan, who have climaxed their defiance of the will and interests of their peoples by their rash invitation to foreign troops to reenter the recently-liberated Arab lands, will bear in the eyes of history the responsibility for the grave consequences which have occurred, and which may still accrue, from their ill-advised action.

To invite foreign troops in an emergency, which was undertaken so irresponsibly by the President of Lebanon and the King of Jordan, is to reserve the advance of a newly-emanipated country and turn the clock back to the era of colonialism; it is to undo the heroism of past generations who had fought for independence, and to retrace the steps of a people which had eagerly marched towards self-mastery. History cannot pronounce kind judgment on those who rendered themselves handy tools for foreign occupation, even though—or perhaps because—they so acted in order to preserve personal privileges.

Equally misguided was the decision of America and England to accede to such irrational requests. To pamper and indulge the opportunism of others is to be an accomplice in such opportunism.

Not only morally and legally, but also from the standpoint of their practical interests, America and England have committed a grave error in landing their troops on Arab soil in order to buttress tottering and unwanted régimes, or in an effort to intervene in quarrels between certain governments and their peoples. I shall examine the grounds and pretexts of this military intervention in the next article; but, for today, I shall quote from the final page of my forthcoming book on *Arab Unity*, which was written six weeks before the Iraqi Revolution and the Anglo-American military intervention in Jordan and Lebanon:

The Arab world does not exist within an international vacuum. Powers, great and not-so-great, may seek to influence the course of events in the Arab World.

"Some powers may base their policies on the imagined undesirability, from their own standpoints, of the fulfillment of the Arab national aspirations."

"They may accordingly seek to impede the advance of the Arab World towards its national goals by diverse forms of direct, active intervention."

"Or they may endeavor to achieve the same goal indirectly, by buttressing the precariously-perched ancient régimes in some Arab lands."

As a result of such possible attitudes on the part of some foreign Powers, the march of the Arab peoples may indeed be slowed down, hindered, or even momentarily halted. Conceivably, setbacks may be induced.

But, in the end, neither the steady growth of the Arab states towards self-determination, nor the manifest progress of the peoples towards decisive ascendancy in Arab society, can be indefinitely obstructed—whether by direct or indirect foreign intervention in support of the Arab ancient régimes.

"In the final analysis, the decision of a given foreign Power to bolster the ancient régimes and to block the path of the nascent Arab forces is certain to rebound,

to the detriment of that foreign Power, harming instead of serving its long-range interests in the Arab World."

"For the days of the quasi-feudal system, of the oligarchy anchored in inherited privilege and the aristocracy based on excessive land-ownership, and of unrestrained monarchy, are numbered; and nothing that an outside power does or fails to do can permanently protect such institutions against the rising tide of the younger, educated, reform-craving generation."

"To choose to buttress the collapsing ancient régime is to choose to ally oneself with the forces of yesterday in an effort to impede the advance of the forces of tomorrow."

## FOOD FOR THOUGHT

The greatest sin . . . fear.  
The best day . . . today.

The biggest fool . . . the boy who will not go to school.  
The best town . . . where you succeeded.

The most agreeable companion . . . one who would not have you any different from what you are.

The greatest bore . . . one who keeps talking after he has made his point.

The greatest deceiver . . . one who deceives himself.  
The greatest invention of the devil . . . war.

The greatest secret of production . . . saving waste.  
The best work . . . what you like.

The best play . . . work.  
The greatest comfort . . . the knowledge that you have done your work well.

The greatest mistake . . . giving up.  
The most expensive indulgence . . . hate.

The cheapest, stupidest and easiest thing to do . . . finding fault.

The greatest trouble maker . . . one who talks too much.  
The greatest stumbling block . . . egotism.

The most ridiculous asset . . . pride.  
The worst bankrupt . . . the soul that has lost its enthusiasm.

The cleverest man . . . one who always does what he thinks is right.  
The most dangerous person . . . the liar.

The most disagreeable person . . . the complainer.  
The best teacher . . . one who makes you want to learn.

The meanest feeling of which any human being is capable . . . feeling bad at another's success.  
\* \* \*

The greatest need . . . common sense.  
The greatest puzzle . . . life.  
The greatest misery . . . death.  
The greatest thought . . . God.  
The greatest thing, bar none, in all the world . . . love.  
\* \* \*

There is no personal charm so great as the charm of a cheerful temperament. It is a great error to suppose this comes entirely by nature—it comes quite as much by culture.

—Henry Van Dyke

Never bear more than one kind of trouble at a time. Some people bear three kinds—all they have had, all they have now, and all they expect to have.

—Edward Everett Hale.

Don't be fooled by the calendar. There are only as many days in the year as you make use of. One man gets only a week's value out of a year while another man gets a full year's value out of a week.

—Charles Richards.

# THE CARAVAN

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## Senator Flanders Calls For A Revision of Our M. E. Policy

### CAUTIONS ON BACKING ZIONISM AND CONTINUING UNTAXED AID

Senator Ralph E. Flanders, Republican of Vermont, said that Middle Eastern assassinations would go on "so long as the Western nations appear as the champions of Zionism."

In a Senate speech Mr. Flanders renewed his appeal for the Treasury Department to re-examine the tax-free status of the contributions to the United Jewish Appeal. He said that Israel's Dimmigration policies were no longer "refugee policies" that originally justified the tax-free considerations.

Senator Flanders said that under the Zionist program, which he described as an "ingathering of Jews from all over the earth" into a territory of only 7,984 square miles, Israel would become a loaded time bomb.

The Senator said he was being "pro-Semitic," not "anti-Semitic." He warned that if Zionists "continue to ignore the injustices to the Arab landowners" involved and "apply superheat to the pot already boiling in the Mideast, such a wave of anti-Semitism as the Jewish race has never faced will sweep, not only this country, but the world."

Senator Flanders called attention to the near-assassination of Lebanese Premier Sami es-Solh, a strong pro-Westerner, and the killing of Iraq's Premier Nuri as-Said and King Faisal in that country's recent revolt.

"Since the Western world refuses to recognize the paramount concern of the Arab world with the problems posed by Israel, any pro-Western statesman is a target for assassination," he said. "This situation will continue so long as the Western nations appear as the champions of Zionism. Any foreign policy which subjects our friends to assassination needs revision. Why don't we revise?"

### Concurrent Resolution Proposed by the Senator From Vermont

Whereas the people of the Arab nations are in a state of turmoil and discontent; and

Whereas the access of the nations of Western Europe to the oil resources of that area is thereby threatened; and

Whereas cutting them off from that supply would cause distress, lower their standard of living and put their future under bond to Communist domination; and

Whereas the unrest in the Arab World is caused primarily by the forcible occupation of Arab land by the government of Israel; and Whereas the expansion of the population of Israel threatens an added seizure of Arab territory; and

Whereas the over-population of Israel is largely financed by tax-free contributions from American citizens; and

Whereas by certain actions of our government the friendship of the Arab people can be promoted; and therefore, be it

Resolved that the sending of troops to Lebanon be approved by the Congress as necessary means of stabilizing a dangerous situation while more constructive steps are being taken; and be it

Resolved that our government re-instate the sending of Care packages of our surplus food to Egyptian school children; and be it

Resolved that the Treasury investigate the uses to which tax-free contributions of American citizens are put when sent to Israel, to see whether they tend to exacerbate Middle Eastern turmoil rather than relieve unavoidable distress to the end that the tax-free status may be justified or withdrawn; and be it

Resolved that the United States use its good offices to gain recognition in a substantial way of the rights of the Arab refugees who were dispossessed of their land.

**A Copy of a Letter The Caravan Urges Its Readers to Send to Senator Flanders.**

Dear Senator Flanders:

I heartily approve and support your resolution calling for our investigation of the tax-free status of contributions to the United Jewish Appeal.

Please continue your laudable efforts despite any subsequent action from Zionist sources.

All fair-minded people in this country are in accord with your views, expressed in the Senate on July 30, 1958.

You are contributing in a substantial measure to the settlement of Middle East tensions, and the alleviation of the plight of nearly one-million Arab refugees. Keep up your good work.

### Leukemia Group Maps Campaign

At a meeting of the local chapter of the ALSAC (Aid Leukemia stricken American Children) at the American-Lebanese Club Tuesday night, plans were formulated for several money-raising projects.

It was announced that Mr. and Mrs. Robert Jordan of 1213 24th St. NE have contributed money for a memorial plaque to be placed in St. Jude's Hospital at Memphis, Tenn. The plaque will be a memorial to their son, Stephen, who died of leukemia last year.

George Nicola presided at the meeting. The next meeting will be held July 29 at the Phoenician Home with Miss Joyce Esber and Mrs. James Haddad as hostesses.

## ON TV AND RADIO



Eddie Elias, above, television star and Producer, will set some sort of a television appearance record starting on Monday, August 4.

He will be doing fifteen television shows and five radio shows per week in two different cities—Akron and Cleveland. Eddie will sojourn to Cleveland every morning Monday through Friday for a one-hour television show on television station WEWS. He will then journey back to Akron for two television and one radio show per day over WAKR television in Akron.

For one month, Elias replaces Paige Palmer, who has the highest rated women's show in the country. After others had failed in auditions, WEWS called Eddie. He did not audition, and it was certainly a surprise that Elias took the show in Cleveland for he had been turning down such offers for the past two years.

Officials at WEWS have expressed their pleasure in obtaining Elias for the one-month period. The general consensus in that part of the country is that Elias is the best important television performer.

Eddie's only comment was, "The money is right; the challenge is there."

## AT COLD SPRING



NICK ANTHONY, above, and his Starfires will entertain at the Cold Spring Hotel in Tannersville, N. Y. August 16. Nick and his group have been making a great hit with our younger generation and they have been booked lately by many famous night clubs in New York City.

## Dr. Fayeze Sayegh's Interview

### On the Tex & Jinx Show July 18, 1958

TEX:

Our story tonight concerns what's happening in the Middle East, and our guest is an eloquent and restrained spokesman of the Arab States in America whom you've heard here before. Frankly, it's never been tougher than tonight to stick to our policy of airing the views of both sides in every controversy.

I think to our listeners my views are clear. Just as Mr. Truman had no choice, except to send American troops and planes into Korea, without waiting for U.N. debate at the consent of Congress, so now we believe that Eisenhower, had no choice except to send marines and paratroopers into Lebanon, without waiting for the debate of either the U. N. or of Congress.

History may hold a different view. And certainly, the policies, which left Eisenhower no choice will be debated and should be debated, and in that debate we'll probably be among the critics of Mr. Dulles. But for now, just as opposition leaders like Truman, and Stevenson, and Linden Johnson, and Mr. Sam Rayburn, stand firm behind Republican President Eisenhower, along with the sergeants down the line, you'll find us.

But, we do still believe in the principles of open debate, and so tonight we present again a spokesman of the Arab States. The most eloquent we've heard — Dr. Fayeze Sayegh, who is Counselor to the Arab States Delegation at the United Nations and principal spokesman in this country for the Arab World.

But now sir, Dr. Sayegh, will you state your position as we have agreed without interruption from me, and we'll have some questions and discussion.

DR. SAYEGH:

Well, as you very well know there is a crisis in the world today. That's probably why I'm here, why I have been asked to be here. This crisis has been precipitated by the action of the United States Government as emulated immediately by the British Government in London and in Jordan, respectively.

You just said that probably President Eisenhower had no alternative, no choice, but to take that action. I believe that it all depends on what the objectives were, with respect of which, President Eisenhower, the United States Government, had no choice and no alternative. If the objective is to bolster up in countries of the Middle East unpopular regimes revolted against by their peoples, in order to have a foot-hold in those areas I agree with you. President Eisenhower had no alternative, and America will have no alternative but to re-occupy, or to occupy the entire Arab World, and station armed garrisons in every hamlet, and

every village, and every town and every city, in every Arab land. But if the objectives of the United States Government were to see abroad systems of government similar to its own, to see abroad peace and stability, and governmental institutions responsive to the will of the people, then I believe that the choice taken was a mistaken choice, and certainly not the only choice. I believe that the United States landing of troops on Arab soil was an act of aggression, against the people of Lebanon. In complicity with the government of Lebanon, which is being revolted against by its own people, led by every past Prime Minister of Lebanon, every past president of parliament in Lebanon, and countless past ministers and members of parliament. And even the invitation of the present President of Lebanon to the United States government to send arms has been disavowed, repudiated and opposed by at least half of the present Parliament which is Chamoun's hand-picked parliament.

Alright, Sir. Dr. Sayegh, you've said at the outset that you felt the crisis, which is apparent, the crisis was precipitated by the U.S. and the British and the French forces. The U.S. and the British forces landing in Lebanon and Jordan. Just by way of getting a point of origin; wasn't the crisis precipitated by the overthrow of the government in Iraq?

DR. SAYEGH:

The overthrow of the government in Iraq is the affair of the people of Iraq. Besides it was not in Iraq that you landed troops it was in Lebanon that you landed. And in Jordan that you landed. Although, probably what constrained the United States government to act now, whereas it had not acted for 60 days before, vis-a-vis, the Lebanese rebellion, was the fact that Iraqi revolution had convinced American officialdom, that the "ancient regimes" in the Arab World are no longer bolsterable except by military intervention from outside. In other words that they are collapsing before the will of the people, and that if Iraq falls, the citadel of the feudalistic monarchy falls, then every similar Arab government will fall upon the onslaught of the people of their country.

TEX:

Do you contend that Nasser had no part, and that communists had no part in the overthrow of the Iraqi government?

SAYEGH:

I believe that the overthrow of the Iraqi government came to Nasser as a big surprise. I don't believe he knew it was being prepared for and planned at this time. I tell you every observer of the Arab situation anticipated that at a certain stage or another the Iraqi government would fail. That was coming and there was



no way of stopping it. But whether it fell on the 14th July, and whether it fell at the hands of this group or that group of army officers, and in this manner or that manner, I personally believe that Nasser was as surprised by it as you and I were.

TEX:

In other words, you accepted at face value that Nasser was away with Tito, not as a diversion or distraction, but because he didn't know anything was going to happen.

SAYEGH:

I believe that the Iraqi officers who acted in Iraq, acted under the same impelling motives, which compelled Nasser himself to act six and a half years ago. Six years ago in Egypt. There is a similarity of methods. There is also perhaps an inspiration, but I do not believe that there was any direct contact of any fore-knowledge on the part of Nasser, of what was happening at this specific time, in this specific way in Iraq.

TEX:

How do you account for the fact that Soviet Russia was so quick to recognize the rebel government, and that hard in the wake of what's happened Nasser flew to Moscow for a meeting with Khrushchev?

SAYEGH:

It doesn't take more than a couple of seconds for the Soviet Union to make up its mind to recognize such a revolutionary situation as soon as it hears about it. I don't think that fore-knowledge was necessary for that prompt recognition.

TEX:

Why didn't the Soviet government recognize the rebels in Hungary, and why didn't Cairo do the same thing?

SAYEGH:

Well I'm glad you brought the case of Hungary up, because I see tremendous similarity between what the Soviets did in Hungary and what you did in Lebanon. I believe this is the crux of the situation. I've heard analogies made between the Suez situation, and the Lebanon situation, I don't agree with those analogies. But I do agree that the big analogy is between the Soviet entry into Hungary on the flimsy pretext that an unpopular government had requested them to enter Hungary, in order to help them suppress the people, and analogy between that on the one hand, and the entry of United States marines into Lebanon territory on the same flimsy pretext.

JINX:

You feel that the Russians should have withdrawn from Hungary? You feel that the Russians were wrong to have entered Hungary?

SAYEGH:

Surely.

TEX:

How many of the Arab States are on record as opposing the one, and of insisting on the other?

SAYEGH:

Tex, let's not forget when the affairs in Hungary were happening, they were happening at the time when England and France were attacking Egypt, and while the U. N. was preoccupied with the one issue, it was also preoccupied with the other; and naturally, when Egypt was. . .

TEX:

But there was a great debate going on in the United Nations, and on that occasion the United States acted to restrain aggression, - the crossing of boundaries.

SAYEGH:

Yes sir. Only the resolution condemning Russian action in Hungary was co-sponsored by

England and France, and Egypt would have been in a very ridiculous position were it to take at face value a resolution condemning aggression, sponsored by the two countries that were committing aggression at the same time against Egyptian territory.

TEX:

Yes, but you're clinging to consistency; and I repeat, not just Egypt, but you're a spokesman for all the Arab States. How many of the other Arab States condemned the aggression of Soviet Russia in Hungary?

SAYEGH:

If I remember rightly, about half of them did. At least.

TEX:

Have they continued to insist that the forces of Soviet Russia, colonial forces in my view, be withdrawn from all the Satellite countries? Don't they recognize that ultimately the Arab States will become themselves Satellites of communist colonialism?

SAYEGH:

To the best of my knowledge, Tex, the question of the presence of these Soviet forces in certain Satellite countries has not been before the United Nations, for the Arab States to have had the opportunity to vote for or against such resolution. You don't expect the Arab States to vote on a resolution. . .

TEX:

It isn't just a question of voting, but position declared far in advance of the voting.

SAYEGH:

We are for self-determination of everybody against any colonial, semi-colonial, quasi-colonial force occupying its land.

TEX:

Do you recognize, as spokesman for the Arab States, do you recognize communism as a colonial power?

SAYEGH:

Yes we do. The Bandung recommendation, and communique, in which the then nine independent Arab States participated, unanimously condemned all kinds of imperialism from the west and from the east.

TEX:

Earlier, sir, you said, that our landing of marines and paratroopers in Lebanon, represented an aggression against the people of Lebanon. There is still a Prime Minister in power, he's not been overthrown yet; you say that half the parliament opposed our landing, but that half were in favor; there has been no vote only a poll. Are you presuming that this Prime Minister will be overthrown, are you anticipating the event, Dr. Sayegh?

DR. SAYEGH:

I think the landing of your troops in Lebanon makes the days of the present regime in Lebanon numbered. You will have to stay there indefinitely, surrounding the Presidential Palace, and surrounding the various government buildings with your marines and tanks, in order for these people to escape the fury of the people.

I believe that their asking for help in order to suppress a popular rebellion, has made more imperative and inevitable their over-throw by the people of Lebanon.

TEX:

What about the landing of the British in Jordan? Do you think there too, the government was due for over-throw?

SAYEGH:

I think that last April's events in Jordan, April of 57, indicated how the people felt. Even American observers were saying that less than one-third of the people of Jordan supported the king. I believe today they would find that even less; and again because the re-entry of British forces into

Jordan, tops every other reason that the people of Jordan might have had against the king.

TEX:

You foresee a rising tide, not just of pan-Arab nationalism, but of anti-Americanism, anti the British; at the time we differed with the British, at the time of Suez, why then did anti-Americanism not die down in Egypt, Dr. Sayegh?

SAYEGH:

I don't agree with the word anti-Americanism. I think the word anti-Americanism is definitely misleading. I think that some of my people are opposed to some of the things that the American government does in terms of what they consider Americanism. Those of us who are educated in American Colleges, or by American educators, and most Arabs are, associate Americanism with the principles of freedom, respect for the dignity of others, democracy, justice, - principles which unfortunately, since World War II, American policy has directly or indirectly, actively or passively betrayed in the Middle East. So it is not anti-Americanism, it is a pro-Americanism anti-American policy attitude, if I may put it that way.

And I anticipate that the recent landings of the marines in Lebanon adds to this fury of the Arab people against American policy, once more in terms of American. . .

TEX:

Dr. Sayegh, I can never forget being the first American into Batavia, what is Jakarta today. Finding the agents of the communists crawling on all the walls to welcome me, - all the mottoes of the American Revolution, "Give me liberty or give me death", "taxation without representation is tyranny" and so forth. Do you feel that there is a democracy in Israel?

SAYEGH:

In certain respects yes, there is democracy in Israel. There is democracy for Jews in Israel.

TEX:

Is there a duly elected government in Israel?

DR. SAYEGH:

Yes.

TEX:

What do you foresee if the pattern set by Nasser, in first bringing Syria into a United Arab Republic, and presumably others will come into the same sort of first federation, and inconceivably, as we did in this continent, the United Arab Republic will cover the Arab World, what do you foresee as the fate of Israel?

SAYEGH:

That depends to a very decisive extent on what Israel would then envision as her role and her place in the Middle East. If it continues to be the defiant expansionist, potentially aggressive attitude that is adamantly opposed to regressing any of the wrongs she has done it's going to be tougher and tougher for Israel to be there. On the other hand, if Israel reconciles itself to the fact that it has made injustices, and that injustices of the nature which Israel has made will never be forgiven and forgotten, and that the balance of power is shifting daily under the impact of Arab unity, from her to the Arab side, and wisely and morally chooses reconciliation and regressing of past wrongs as her policy, then I believe there will be a place for Israel in the Middle East.

TEX:

In other words if Israel behaves according to the rules laid down by the Arab World, Israel can survive.

DR. SAYEGH:

If Israel behaves according to

the rules laid down by any civilized community, including the community of nations which gave birth to Israel; including also the Arab community of nations, then she has a greater chance of surviving, than if she tries to play in the Middle East the role of the jungle.

TEX:

What do you demand that Israel return to the Arab World as a price of survival?

DR. SAYEGH:

Well the governments I represent have indicated on many occasions on the highest operative level, that what they demand is not the full length of what we consider to be our right, but what they demand is what the United Nations itself demands. Namely we are preferred, according to the Arab governments who signed the Protocol of Lausanne and the Bandung Communiqué, what we demand is that the United Nations resolutions on the Palestine problem in their totality be implemented.

TEX:

And on the implementation of those demands, would the Arab States, in your view, enter into a guarantee of the territorial integrity of Israel against further aggression?

DR. SAYEGH:

Well according to the exact wording of the communiqué signed by the nine Arab Prime Ministers who attended Bandung, we are ready to work for a final, peaceful settlement of the Palestine problem on the basis of the existing resolutions of the United Nations. A final peaceful settlement means even many things beyond just a negative guarantee. It means positive things as well, and these are exactly the words of the resolution of Bandung, that was signed by nine Arab Prime Ministers.

TEX:

Let's go back to Iraq. Do you feel that the Arab States recognize communism, not just Soviet Russia, but communism as an alien, an enemy philosophy?

DR. SAYEGH:

Yes. And I think that there are not one but many reasons for that. You see, one thing, the Arab is still largely a religious person. Whatever his religion is, whether he is a Moslem, a Christian or a Jew, an Arab is largely a practising religious person, and his religiousness is highly incompatible with the materialism of the Marxist metaphysics, and the denial by Marxist communism of the existence of a spiritual principle and a divine being. Then the individualism of the Arab is cultural, national characteristic that again immunizes him somewhat against accepting any regimentarian collectivist ideology, which tramples upon irreducibility of the human person. Then take our nationalism, which today is the strongest motivating force in our life. Such nationalism is incompatible with the doctrine of communism, which transcends nationality in theory, and in practice subjugates communist nations, and subordinates them to the nucleus of the Soviet, of the Communist world, namely the Soviet Union. And then our belief in the family, as the cornerstone of society, which is typical of Arab society. Our belief in private property, as the cornerstone of economy. All these things, religiousness, individualism, nationalism, family and property, every dimension of life makes us almost immune against communism as an ideology.

TEX:

If you are so deeply opposed to Communism as an ideology, why do you seek and accept arms,

and loans from Moscow?

DR. SAYEGH:

Because, the tanks and guns have no ideological persuasions. Because, when I buy a gun that I need to defend myself, whether that gun was produced and manufactured by a materialistic communist, or by a Presbyterian American, makes little difference to the actual usefulness of the gun to my purpose.

TEX:

If the guns from Soviet Russia and Communist Czechoslovakia in Egypt have no ideological persuasion, why then do you feel that the marines in Lebanon have an ideological persuasion or motivation? Why cannot you see the difference between our marines and our policy which says that when the UN shall police the area we will withdraw, as opposed to the view of the Red army which has defied the UN's effort to replace the Red army with a UN force?

DR. SAYEGH:

I'll take your second question first. Before the United States faced the United Nations with a fait accompli, and landed its troops there, and then said let the UN have a police force, the UN was of the opinion that no police force is necessary or needed in Lebanon. This is the crux of the question. The United States government, by sending troops, and then telling the United Nations, when you send a police force I will pull out my troops, was virtually blackmailing the United Nations into taking a decision which the United Nations was not prepared to take before the landing of those troops. Am I clear. As to the first question, The difference between my buying arms that my people will use in order to defend myself, on the one hand, and on the other hand, someone else sending troop into my country to suppress my people, the difference is obvious, between them.

TEX:

Nasser is in control of Egypt, and he sent for arms from Russia. Chamoun is in control of Lebanon, he sent for arms and troops from us.

DR. SAYEGH:

Ah, Chamoun has been getting arms from the United States for a long time, nobody considers that aggression. It is the landing of troops to surround his palace in order to protect him against his people, and to enable his army, if it obeys his orders, to shoot at the population of Lebanon. It is that that is considered an act of aggression against the uprising of the people of Lebanon for greater and greater democracy in Lebanon.

TEX:

Apparently you've marked the government of Lebanon, for overthrow.

DR. SAYEGH:

I'm afraid it has marked itself, definitely and irrevocably, by asking for foreign troops to come to the country. The question of foreign forces is a chronic question in the Middle East. It is a question that raises the emotions to a highest pitch that anybody who is not subject to foreign domination can't even understand. The idea of British troops returning to Jordan, only about a year after they had withdrawn from Jordan; the idea of American troops coming into Lebanon for the first time in history as occupying forces, that idea arouses emotions in the Middle East, that is difficult for me to describe.

If you have not yet received The Caravan, mail us your name and address immediately!



Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, August 7, 1958

THE CARAVAN

Page Seven

# For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayez  
A. Sayegh



## ANGLO-AMERICAN MILITARY INTERVENTION

The authors of Anglo-American military intervention in the Middle East have advanced several "explanations" and "justifications" for their military adventure — which

has precipitated a grave crisis in Western-Mideastern relations and in the international life of the world at large. Let us examine these various "explanations", in order to see whether they were really anything but pretexts for a misguided decision adopted for entirely different reasons.

### 1. "To protect American lives."

This was the first official explanation cited by high-level American policy-makers on July 15.

The Lebanese civil war triggered on May 10, 1958, had been going on for 65 days when America decided to dispatch "a contingent of United States forces to Lebanon to protect American lives." Not one American had been harmed during those 65 tumultuous, pre-intervention days.

Few American residents of Lebanon had found it necessary to leave that country, before July 15, out of fear for their lives. Few dependents of American officials in Lebanon, who had been offered transportation out of the country at their government's expense, had opted for departure.

In actual fact, therefore, as well as in the opinion of Americans in Lebanon, the need for "protecting American lives" was non-existent. This alleged need, conjured up all of a sudden on July 15, was obviously a pretext, not a real reason for military intervention.

The protection of lives of citizens of a country has never been recognized as a legitimate cause for military occupation of another country except in the twisted logic of colonialism.

It is ironic, in fact, that — at the very time when America was dispatching a sea and air armada to Lebanon to "protect American lives", although no need for such protection existed — Americans, including American servicemen, were being kidnapped by the dozen in another area of the world, far closer to the United States, without arousing the United States to military intervention.

### 2. "To encourage the Lebanese Government in defense of Lebanese sovereignty and integrity."

Everyone knows that the political and military opposition to the government of Lebanon has been led by Lebanese citizens representing wide sectors of the Lebanese people, and including every past Premier, every past Speaker of Parliament, many a past minister and deputy, as well as some ministers and deputies and directors of ministers who resigned their posts and refused to support the government. Religious leaders, including the Maronite Patriarch, have also declared themselves opposed to the government. It is not against outside forces that the government of Chamoun fights, but against Lebanese forces.

It is more accurate, therefore, to say that the objective of American military intervention was to bolster the Lebanese government in a civil war against Lebanese groups, in which the Lebanese

Army had made at best only token and perfunctory efforts to fight against the Lebanese people.

American forces are in Lebanon to protect the Lebanese government against large sectors of Lebanese people — a task which Lebanese military forces have not cherished.

American forces are in Lebanon to protect an unwanted and unpopular governmental regime against the political and military opposition of the people of Lebanon.

It was not the sovereignty, the independence, or the integrity of Lebanon that was at stake when America intervened, but the retention, by an unpopular government in Lebanon, of its power and privilege despite the opposition of many Lebanese.

The sovereignty, independence and integrity of Lebanon came to be violated only when foreign troops entered Lebanon.

To those who believe that sovereignty rests in the people, that the people is the ultimate source of legitimate sovereign power, and that conflicts between a people and its government are the exclusive concern of the people itself — pious professions of "protecting the sovereignty" of a given country sound hollow indeed when they in fact mean protecting the government from its people, and giving the government a lease on life against the wishes of its people.

### 3. "To preserve democracy in Lebanon."

American troops in Lebanon have been told: "You are helping the Lebanese people to remain free. You are there. . . to preserve for them the same freedoms that we have here at home."

But it was precisely in order to have democratic freedoms and orderly and representative institutions of government that the Lebanese waged their civil war against their government.

Accordingly, American forces in Lebanon are in effect acting as a barrier between the people of Lebanon and a free, democratic government in Lebanon. American military intervention in effect hinders the attainment by the freedom-loving people of Lebanon of their cherished objective of responsible, democratic, representative government.

By virtue of their mere presence on Lebanese territory and by their taking sides in a civil war between a government and the people it is supposed to represent, American forces in Lebanon are committing an act of aggression against the people of Lebanon (of whom President Eisenhower correctly said) that "they want only to live in peace and in freedom" at the behest of an unwanted government. American military might has been placed at the disposal, and in the service, of a government pronounced errant by many of its people.

### 4. In response "to an urgent request from Lebanon" and pursuant to "an urgent plea."

????

Send in your questions on the Middle East to Dr. Sayegh, and help him to bring you the weekly column you want to read.

Questions dealing with statements or current beliefs which tend to place the Arab countries or Arab-Americans in a bad light are particularly recommended.

Send your questions to "For The Record," c/o The Caravan, 172-174 Hoyt Street, Brooklyn 17, N. Y., or phone them in at MAIn 5-5096.

It may be true that, faced by the widespread opposition and armed uprising of his people, and by the understandable reluctance of the Lebanese Army to pull his political chestnuts out of the fire, the President of Lebanon "had no recourse but to appeal for assistance," as President Eisenhower has stated.

But it was not assistance "in preserving his country's cherished independence" that Chamoun needed and requested. It was assistance in suppressing the armed revolt of his people; assistance in silencing the opposition to his regime; assistance in forcing himself upon his country for six more years, and in succeeding himself as president for a second consecutive term in contravention of the explicit provision of the Constitution.

Let us examine the validity of this claim that American military intervention was in response to a request made by a legitimate government.

Not only the Opposition, but also a large number of the present Parliament, including its Speaker, have opposed Chamoun's plea for American military intervention.

Now, such vital questions affecting national sovereignty, as the stationing of foreign troops on Lebanese soil, are within the jurisdiction of Parliament, under the Constitution of Lebanon. The Cabinet is not authorized to decide on such vital question without recourse of Parliament. The government of Chamoun, therefore, has acted summarily and arbitrarily in requesting foreign troops; and the request itself is unconstitutional.

The similarity between American military intervention in Lebanon, and Soviet military intervention in Hungary in 1956, is striking. In both cases, an embattled and unpopular government, about to lose control of the situation, appealed to a foreign Power for military assistance against the insurgent people. In both cases, the government to which the appeal was addressed responded with phenomenal haste. In both cases, the military intervention was "justified" by its authors in terms of the plea of the requesting government.

It is as wrong for America to send its troops to fight Chamoun's private war in Lebanon against the Lebanese people, as it was for the Soviet Union to send its troops into Hungary in 1956 at the behest of the Communist government of that country.

There have been many revolutions and civil wars in many lands in recent times; in none has the United States intervened militarily. The singling out of the Lebanese civil war for open American intervention, therefore, cannot be explained simply as a response to the request of a government in trouble with its people; it must be envisioned as a political decision betokening preference by the United States for a subservient though unpopular

government, over a more popular but independent and non-subservient government, in Lebanon and in the Arab World at large.

### 5. As a stop-gap measure pending United Nations effective action.

No Power, however great or however convinced of its own righteousness, is empowered by the Chapter of the United Nations to take the law into its own hands on behalf of the world Organization. Unilateral action retroactively defended as preparatory for or supplementary to United Nations action represents a high-handed assumption by a single member-State of the collective prerogative and powers of the United Nations as a whole.

The usurpation of United Nations' powers by the United States has been exceptionally grave in this instance inasmuch as, the present situation, the United Nations had acted collectively before the unilateral American intervention. The Security Council had adopted a resolution on the Lebanese crisis on June 11. It had established a special observation team. The team had submitted clear reports to the Council. The Secretary-General of the U.N. had also visited the area and conveyed to the world the conclusions of the observation team and his own. Neither the observers nor the Secretary-General had proposed further action by the United Nations, or by any of its members, when American unilaterally intervened in the Lebanese situation.

Furthermore, by proclaiming that American troops would be withdrawn from Lebanon as soon as the United Nations had taken some effective action, the United States in effect sought to force the hands of the Security Council and to dictate to it certain decisions, which the Council had not formerly seen fit to make, as a condition for the withdrawal of American forces.

If the action of the United States becomes an acceptable precedent or an emulated example — and if, consequently, every member-State allows itself at one time or another to undertake military adventures first, and then to proclaim piously its readiness to undo what it had done as soon as the United Nations agreed to do what it had formerly refused to countenance — the United Nations will become an unwilling follower of adventures, acquiescing in their unilateral actions and obeying their virtual ultimatums only in order to avert the explosive consequences of their military adventures.

The practice of blackmailing the United Nations into action will eventually mean the death of international law and order as envisaged by that Organization.

### 6. Under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter:

Article 51 of the Charter cannot be validly invoked in defense of America's military intervention in the Lebanese civil war.

For, in the first place, that Article refers to "armed attack" on a member State, not to domestic conflicts within a member-State.

And, in the second place, the Article refers to actions undertaken before the Security Council had an opportunity to intervene — whereas America's military intervention occurred 54 days after the Lebanese crisis was brought before the Security Council, and 34 days after the Council had taken the action that it deemed fit and adequate, while refusing to endorse military measures.

### 7. To preserve the peace and stability of the Middle East:

Rather than enhancing peace and promoting stability, America's military intervention has, first,

aggravated the domestic conflict within Lebanon, and alienated some formerly loyalist members of Parliament; secondly, endangered Middle Eastern stability; and, thirdly, exacerbated global tensions.

### 8. To safeguard American and Western interests in the Middle East:

If this was really the intention of America, then America has chosen the least appropriate instrument and least advisable means for its ends.

No course of action could have jeopardized American and Western interests in the Arab World, particularly in terms of the long-range future, more menacingly than the action which has been taken.

For this action antagonizes the Arab peoples to a degree which it is difficult to overestimate: first, by reviving their fears of military occupation and foreign military intervention, reminiscent of the era of imperialism; and secondly, by convincing the Arab peoples that, in their struggle against the ancient regime, or against tyrannical, errant or otherwise unpopular ruling groups, the peoples of the Arab World have to contend not only with domestic oppression but also with foreign intervention at the behest of those unpopular regimes. Nothing could more endanger American or Western interests in the Arab World than for America and the West to act in such a manner as to convince the Arab peoples that America and the West are always ready to ally themselves with unpopular or despotic governments against their peoples.

It is in befriending and re-earning the respect and love of the peoples that America's legitimate interests in the Arab World can be effectively ensured. Neither direct foreign control, nor the manipulation of unpopular regimes (which have to be constantly bolstered from outside in order that they may remain on their feet and withstand the disapproval of their peoples) is an adequate or wise substitute for voluntary and mutual partnership with friendly and trusting peoples.

The danger to Western legitimate interests oil or otherwise, is not from the fulfillment of the aspirations of Arab nationalism, but from the frustration of this nationalism by Western Powers, whether by direct occupation or by indirect control through the championing of unpopular governments.

It is the desire to contain and check the rising tide of Arab nationalism that really lies behind, and explains, the ill-advised military intervention of America and England in Lebanon and Jordan respectively.

All the other explanations, which we have just cited, were either pretexts invoked in order to conceal the real intention, or consequences and manifestations of the underlying determination to contain and check Arab nationalism.

This attitude towards Arab nationalism merits fuller examination, to which we shall turn in the coming article.

## FACT & OPINION

Worry is a thin stream of fear trickling through the mind. If encouraged, it cuts a channel into which all other thoughts are drained.

—Arthur Somers Roche

A good conscience is to the soul what health is to the body; it preserves a constant ease and serenity within us, and more than counterbalances all the calamities and afflictions that can possibly befall us.

—Joseph Addison

## **DR. SAYEGH TOURING THE WEST COAST**

Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, Counselor of the Arab States Delegations Office, is on the West Coast on a speaking tour of the main cities of California, Oregon and Washington.

He left New York on July 20 to Los Angeles, his first stop. After a number of engagements, press conferences and other appearances in that city, he visited Pasadena, Whittier and Santa Barbara.

This week he proceeds northwards to Carmel, Monterey, Palo Alto, Berkeley, Oakland and San Francisco.

Next week he will appear in Portland, Oregon, and in Tacoma and Seattle, Washington.

He is due back in New York in the middle of August, and will proceed shortly thereafter to fulfill a few engagements in Oklahoma.

## **The Caravan: August 14, 1958**

### **Hudson Co. N. J. News**

**By Doris Doumit**

Mr. & Mrs. Sam Namee of Wichita Kansas, visited Dr. and Mrs. Busada of North Bergen - Mrs. Namee's parents. Mr. Namee followed by car four weeks after her arrival. They also visited Worcester, Mass. along with the Busadas. While there a hundred of their family and friends gathered in a local park for a celebration. The Namees were also invited to be the guests of Dr. Fayez Sayegh at a dinner party. They motored back to Wichita on July 18.

\* \* \*

**The Historical Background To Nasser's Pan-Arabism**

# Twelve Hundred Years Of Arab Unity

By FAYEZ A. SAYEGH, Ph.D.

Counsellor, Arab States Delegations Office

The following is an extract from the author's forthcoming book, "Arab Unity," which will be published in August by Devin-Adair company.

The area known today as the Arab world, stretching from Morocco to Iraq, has been since the dawn of history the target of successive migrations and incursions by diverse Semitic peoples originating in the Arabian peninsula now known as Saudi Arabia.

The population of the area is the resultant of a history-old, unceasing process of amalgamation, in which earlier settlers and newcomers, victors and vanquished, continuously merged with one another in that most ancient of melting pots, the Near Eastern-North African basin of the Mediterranean.

From the First Millenium B. C. onwards, the Arabs have been the dominant migrating Semitic group hailing from the Peninsula.

## Historic Process Resumed

In the Seventh century A.D. new migrations and incursions, from the same Peninsula, resumed the historic process of earlier centuries. But the triumphant hordes of that century differed from their predecessors in that they came infused with a new spirit and a new faith, Islam, which had swept the Peninsula in the preceding decade and unified its tribes.

The Muslim-Arabs fanned eastwards as far as China, and westwards as far as the Atlantic coasts of Africa, penetrating thence into Europe and across Spain to the borders of France, within less than one century.

Some of the conquered peoples adopted

the faith and the language of their Muslim-Arab conquerors. They remain until today characterized and identified, in their ethnic composition, language, culture and predominant faith, by the arabization which they underwent thirteen centuries ago. They are the Arabs of today; and their lands comprise the Arab world.

These Arab lands and peoples enjoyed a great measure of political unity—at times effectively centralized, and at other times loose and decentralized—from the Seventh century until the Sixteenth, when they fell under the hegemony of the Empire of the Ottomans.

Even under Ottoman rule, the Arab lands preserved not only the Arab character of their peoples, but also their political unity. Provincial administrations, even when they were semi-autonomous, remained within the framework of the over-all political system and under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Sultan.

## Unity For 1200 Years

It was not until the Nineteenth century that this political unity of the Arab World, enjoyed continuously for the preceding twelve hundred years, began to collapse gradually under the impact of European imperialism. European powers nibbled at the outlying Arab provinces of the Ottoman empire, detaching them one by one from the rest of the Arab world and setting up in each of them a separate administration.

This process of forcible dismemberment and occupation of Arab lands went on throughout the Nineteenth century, until the eve of the First World War. Before the outbreak of the war, France had occupied or otherwise extended its control to the string of principalities and sheikdoms stretching along the southern and eastern coastlands of the Peninsula, as well as Egypt and the Sudan; Spain had taken a portion of Morocco; and Italy had occupied Libya.

Only the Fertile Crescent at the eastern end of the Mediterranean and portions of

the Peninsula had continued to enjoy political unity within the Ottoman system.

The Arabs of the Fertile Crescent and the Peninsula, allying themselves with Britain during the war, rose in revolt against the Ottomans in June, 1916. This Arab revolt was preceded by lengthy Anglo-Arab negotiations, which culminated in an agreement whereby Britain promised to support the Arab aspirations for liberty-in-unity after the war.

When the war ended, however, it transpired that Britain, after concluding its agreement with the Arabs, had concluded another agreement with France, in accordance with which the Fertile Crescent was to be divided into diverse zones of influence for the two Powers.

Despite the Arabs' protest against, and resistance to, the betrayal of principle and pledge by their wartime allies, the dismemberment of the Fertile Crescent into ten separate and distinct political entities was forced on the Arabs as part of the post-war settlement—by virtue of which the Arabs lost not only the unity they had enjoyed under the Ottomans but also the liberty they had helped gain for themselves during the war.

## Forcible Dismemberment

Thus, although the unity of the Arab world was preserved for twelve centuries, a process of forcible dismemberment, initiated during the Nineteenth century, and reaching its climax after the First World War, left the Arab world a mosaic of separated political units.

At the end of the war, the Arabs, comprising one nation, found themselves living in some twenty-five different states under as many different political systems. Barriers, often artificial and arbitrary, were erected athwart the Arab world—interrupting the free flow of communications, transportation and trade; and sealing off one segment of the Arab nation from the others, against the will of all Arabs.

It was as a reaction to this intensive,

arbitrary, merciless fragmentation of Arab society that the modern Arab idea of unity first arose in the Arab mind—becoming one of the cardinal objectives of the Arab national movement.

Since disunity was a concomitant of foreign domination, however, the Arab national movement was compelled to seek first to extricate itself from the hegemony of foreign powers, in order to be free afterwards to restore Arab national unity.

The period between the two world wars was a period of struggle for independence. Towards the end of the Second World War, seven Arab states had succeeded in liberating themselves. Since then, four others have accomplished that primary national objective, self-determination. Others are still struggling for their freedom.

## The First Effort

As soon as they became free to pursue the policy they chose, the seven then-independent Arab states launched their first effort to restore Arab unity. On March 22, 1945, they founded the League of Arab States.

The League was not a union, but a step towards unity. It was somewhat analogous to the "league of friendship" in which the American states were associated under the Articles of the Confederation, which was the precursor of the federation introduced in the subsequent decade under the Constitution of the United States of America. Acting under similar objective and subjective compulsions, many Arabs have persisted, since the founding of the League, in their efforts to evolve the League into a union, or, failing that, to erect structures of political unity independently of the League.

If the League was the first step towards the restoration of Arab unity, the arrangements made in February, 1958—thirteen years after the founding of the League—were the early fruits of the second step towards Arab unification.

# Longview Daily News: August 13, 1958

## AN EDITORIAL listing diplomatic needs

# Mid-East Trouble Due Partly To Our Not Being Informed

ONCE THE AIR in the Middle East has been drained of some of its present electricity, a Senate inquiry will probe the Administration's reluctance and tardiness in coming to grips with the forces of Arab nationalism.

The ranking majority member of the Foreign Relations Committee, Sen. William Fulbright (D-Ark.), has charged: "We have never made the fundamental decision as to whether Arab nationalism—epitomized in Nasser—was a force with which we should try to work or a force we should oppose."

He scores the fact that due to our pre-occupation with military pacts and doctrines we understand few of the motivations of the Middle Easterner and even fewer of his goals.

BECAUSE WE HAVE been eager to support the status quo, and leaders representing the status quo in the Middle East, it has been easy for President Nasser to scheme and triumph.

Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, an Arab spokesman who addressed a press group in Portland last week, stated Nasser has been forced to broaden his horizons to encompass the needs of Arabs seeking his leadership in other nations in the area.

If the drive for Arab nationalism requires a new leader to fulfill the demands of the

followers, the change will be made, said Dr. Sayegh.

While there is no indication that Nasser will curb his bombast against the West, or that his grip on the forces of Arab nationalism is anything but firm, it is clearly evident the Arabs want to be understood and gain at least tacit support of the West in their aims of gaining a better deal in life.

## HOW CAN WE learn more about Arab nationalism?

On the face of the matter it is not easy for Americans of a non-conspiratorial bent to compete with beefed-up Soviet embassies in the area, to analyze the emotional tides of the Arabs, to seek out the genuine leaders of the opposition to existing Arab governments, or to know how far to carry their "salesmanship."

For Americans in the area's embassies special knowledge is required along with emissaries who speak Arabic and attaches with a common touch. For an effective program in the area, our representatives must have the approval of the State Department, funds from the Congress, and a secretary of state who will heed the memorandums sent home.

Once the American public has better information on the Middle East it can form opinions on our official conduct of Middle Eastern affairs and let them be known.



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## WITH GAMAL ABDEL NASSER

By Levon Keshishian

One of the most cherished highlights of my recent pilgrimage to the Arab world was the one-hour-ten minutes spent with President Gamal Abdel Nasser, at his modest Heliopolis home.

He is a charming and polite personality and undoubtedly the symbol of Arab nationalism. His name rings from Rabat to Kuwait; love, respect and admiration for him are embedded in the hearts of the Arab people.

He behaves like any other person. Gives you the cigarette and offers you the coffee himself, sits and talks frankly on many subjects and shows all the maturity of a man of the world.

He knows he is destined to lead his people in the right path, and he is correct in his approach, because he is sincere and is working only for Arab nationalism.

What is an Arab in the mind of Gamal Abdel Nasser? Is this understood by the world and particularly the West?

As far as President Nasser is concerned, the Arab is an individual who lives in the Arab world stretching from the Atlantic to the Arabian gulf, who speaks the language, and has Arab consciousness.

This is the message of the United Arab Republic. This is Arab nationalism, in which all different races and people mix and emerge as one, an Arab consciousness — like the people of the United States of America. What is an American? It is a consciousness.

But first and foremost, the individual living in this area — from the Atlantic to the Arabian Gulf — is an Arab. It is his consciousness. Next comes his religion, or religious denomination which is very important an ethnical origin.

President Nasser confirmed to me that this is the conception of an Arab in his mind, and it is for this very reason that the Constitution of the United Arab Republic has no state religion. Everyone is an Arab without religious or racial discrimination.

With me, visiting President Nasser, was Mr. George M. Mardikian of San Francisco, a well known philanthropist; he wrote an article in the Cairo weekly magazine "Al Mussawar" mentioning the conversation I had with the President and pointing out this very conception of the Arab.

The three weeks that I spent there, after an absence of nine years, I found real progress. I found a proud nation, having many difficulties to overcome but being aware of them and knowing how to overcome them all.

I went to Cairo with the preconceived impressions in my mind, created by American newspapers. I was expecting anti-American feeling and antagonism. I found the contrary. The Egyptian everywhere wants the friendship of America, they do rightly complain that the Americans do not understand them.

I had several talks with Americans stationed in Cairo, among them the United States Ambassador Raymond Hare, who incidentally, is a very fine and capable man—but his staff, and the directives he receives from Washington. God help him. . . .

I cannot understand why Washington is taking this attitude towards Egypt; the key to the Arab world. The attitude of refusing their friendship, the real friend-

## METROPOLITAN DAVID DIES IN TOLEDO, OHIO



Metropolitan Samuel David, above, Archbishop of Toledo and its dependencies for the Greek Orthodox Antiochian Church died suddenly of a heart attack Tuesday morning August 12, at 10 A.M.

Funeral services will be held Monday August 18 at the St. George Orthodox Cathedral in Toledo.

ship the Egyptians want based on equality and the moral standards United States is built upon. What is wrong with Washington? Are the Americans blind?

### COULD NOT HEAR THE VOICE OF AMERICA

I tried several times to listen to the Voice of America, but it was impossible to receive it in Egypt. I asked many Egyptians if they have ever heard or listened to the Voice of America. They said that even if they wanted to listen to it (if they have a powerful short-wave radio set) they are unable to hear it, because the reception is very bad and dim.

I could not find out what is wrong. This is only on the technical side, I am not speaking about the contents of the broadcasts. Why then all this bluff and waste? What is the use of this Voice of America?

The USIS information sheets? I have seen with my own eyes at many Cairo newspaper offices, the envelopes that come addressed to the editors and writers from USIS, without being opened they are dumped into the waste basket. I asked why. One editor said, "open and read it yourself" and after having done so I would have done the same thing if I was in his seat. I do hope someone will bring these remarks to the attention of Mr. George Allen and the Voice of America.

### NASSER IS PRO-ARAB

President Nasser is pro-nothing but pro-One-Thing. He is pro-Arab. The West must realize this. The stupid editorials in the American press and the newspapers only deceive the American reader and consequently true

## Support of the Flanders Resolution for M. E. Policy

Washington, D. C., August 5, 1958 — Support for the Flanders resolution dealing with current American-Middle Eastern policy was voiced to day by 35 Americans with long-time interest and experience in the area. The group called on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to hold immediate hearings on Senate Concurrent Resolution 106, introduced by Senator Ralph E. Flanders (R., Vt.), in order to report it out for consideration and action before Congress adjourns.

American interests. They refuse to present Nasser as he really is. "I am not disturbed by the American Press", President Nasser told me, "because I have faith in the American people." He said he has received over 90,000 letters from United States supporting him — most of the letters are from the West Coast and the Midwest.

Is it a crime for Nasser to work for the raising of the standard of living of his people? The economic pressure United States has placed on Egypt is short sighted and stupid. It is difficult to find any American reading material in Egypt, and what there is, it is little. New books from America hardly find their way into bookstores. Does Washington know this? This is an unpublicized affect of economic pressure put on Egypt. Is it the policy of Washington. Does Washington want the Egyptian people not to read anything American? I think this is a big mistake.

I have visited Morocco, Tunisia, Syria, Kuwait, and Lebanon on this trip. I am convinced the United States policy towards the Arabs is wrong and with a big capital W. It must be immediately revised.

It is not Nasser everyone admires but it is what he stands for, since he is the symbol of Arab Nationalism, Arab awakening, Arab renaissance. America must realize this and wake up before it is too late.

There are already signs in North Africa that America is losing her prestige, because the entire policy is based on wrong pillars. This policy of divide the Arabs is a wrong conception that is being followed by Washington and executed by American officials in the field.

The majority of Americans I have met throughout this trip who have jobs in the embassies are to my mind failures at home who have obtained jobs abroad. I doubt if an honest American who is not a failure at home will go out. Mediocre Americans whom I met on this trip made me sick, and I told many Arab friends these Americans certainly do not represent the American people or real America. These diplomats have little real contact with the Arab people, do not know the language and have a supercilious superiority complex.

The only hope is Gamal Abdel Nasser. Washington must come to terms with Arab nationalism.

The Flanders resolution gives Congressional approval to the action of the President in dispatching troops to Lebanon, asks for the resumption of sending of CARE packages of surplus food to Egypt, requests that the Treasury Department investigate the uses to which tax-free contributions are put when sent to Israel and calls on the United States to extend its good offices to gain recognition of the rights of dispossessed Arab Refugees.

The 35 signers, including educators, clergymen, jurists, journalists and others, noted that not all of them approved the sending of troops to Lebanon. "Some of us opposed and some others have reservations about the wisdom of the sending of troops to Lebanon", they wired Senator Green,

Dr. Garland Evans Hopkins of Herndon, Va., spokesman for the group, said he believed "the time has come for a full-dress review of American policy in the Middle East. Through the errors of the Truman Administration, we lost the goodwill of the area, built up over the years by missionary educators, doctors and social workers. Now the Eisenhower Administration has, through the constant bungling of the State Department, lost the chance to regain that goodwill. It may be too late to retrieve partnership with the Arab Nations, but, if we act quickly enough, we can assure friendly relations with them. The alternative is to push them into the arms of the Soviet. If we do that, the very survival of the West is imperiled. The stakes are too great for the sentimental attachments of any minority special interest to be put ahead of the best interest of the United States, indeed, the West. Yet that has been, and continues to be, the basis on which American policy is formulated. If we want the Arab nations to judge impartially and in their own best interest as between East and West, we must set an example for them by dealing impartially and in our best interest with the Nations of the Middle East."

Those who signed the telegram to Senator Theodore Green, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, were:

James Ansara, Washington, D. C., Editor, National Herald; Earl Bunting, Washington, D. C., past president, National Association of Manufacturers; Mrs. Robert H. Baldwin, New



Levon Keshishian is received by President Gamal Abdel Nasser.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, August 14, 1958

THE CARAVAN



**Diplomatic  
Gossip**  
By  
**LEVON  
KESHISHIAN**

## AFRICAN BLOC AT UN

UNITED NATIONS, NEW YORK—Independent African nations have started to "solicit aid for Algeria", and governmental missions have been sent to different parts of the world to prepare the way for a more favorable United Nations debate on Algeria, when the regular session of the UN General Assembly convenes on the 16th of September

This was a decision taken by the Accra Conference which took place early this year in April, where independent African nations assembled to discuss their mutual problems.

It was decided: "that the representatives of the Independent African States at the United Nations be instructed by their various governments to consult each other constantly and acquaint members of the United Nations with the true state of affairs in Algeria and solicit their support for a just and peaceful settlement; to recommend to the Independent African states measures which may from time to time become necessary to be taken, and in particular find ways and means whereby the Independent African States may enlighten world opinion of the Algerian situation including the appointment of a mission, as soon as possible to tour the capitals of the world to enlist support of governments".

The Independent African nations meeting in the African capital of Ghana included Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, United Arab Republic, Sudan, Ethiopia, Liberia



**Nadeem Damashkieh, Lebanese Ambassador to Washington talking to Dr. Nkrumah of Ghana in Washington.**

and Ghana.

The Accra nations have already become a new bloc at the United Nations. All are members of the powerful Asian African group and have their own bloc, calling themselves the African nations, and holding regular meetings at the United Nations.

The African bloc became more active in the United Nations. Last year the United Nations decided to create a UN Economic Commission for Africa. It was this bloc that pushed the idea and the Commission came to being in April of this year, and the first session of the Commission will be held on the 29th of December 1958. The object of the Commission is to "initiate and participate in measures for facilitating concerted action for the economic development of Africa, including its social aspects. . . " with a view to raising the level of economic activity and living standards in Africa and to strengthen the economic relations of countries and territories of Africa, both among themselves and with other countries.

The African nations at a meet-

ing here decided to dispatch missions composed of three nations to Scandinavian countries, Ireland, Canada and all the twenty republics of Latin America.

Each group is composed of representatives of three nations usually represented by high-ranking ambassadors, for example, the mission going to the Scandinavian nations is composed of the Moroccan Minister to London, the Chief delegate to Sudan to United Nations, and the Ambassador of Ghana to Britain.

Another group of prominent personalities includes the Tunisian Ambassador to Washington and the United Arab Republic's Ambassador to Brazil.

One Asian African diplomat said this shows how seriously the Independent African nations are concerned with the Algerian problem to find a peaceful settlement.

Each delegation will carry with it literature and documentations to these countries, hold press conferences, appear on radio and television and also contact official government representatives, since permission is taken from all the countries the missions will visit.

The French circles are greatly disturbed, and see in this new and concerted cooperation of African nations for the independence of Algeria, will also have its impact on Black Africa under the rule of France.

## ON ARAB NATIONALISM (ARAB NEWS & VIEWS)

"Oversimplification must occur before war, "is a saying always forgotten just at the time when it should be remembered—and the crisis in the Arab World is the current proof. Dangerous oversimplification has occurred in the matter of "legally established governments," "Communist domination," "protection of citizens," "legitimate interests," "right of self-defense," and so on.

The Caravan: September 4, 1958

## ADMIRE ENORMOUSLY

May I congratulate you on the wonderful, true and worthy articles which appear on the pages of The Caravan.

I heartily wish you and The Caravan all the luck and success in the world.

Give my regards to the brilliant, outspoken and energetic Dr. Fayeze Sayegh, for he sure is tops - And to say the best, I admire you both enormously.

Farid Hanna  
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, August 14, 1958

THE CARAVAN

Page Seven

## For The Record

By  
Dr. FAYE  
A. SAYEGH



### CONTAINMENT OF ARAB NATIONALISM

We have examined, in the preceding article, every explanation advanced by the United States government in justification of the dispatching of American troops to Lebanon a month ago, and in justification of the American military intervention in the Lebanese rebellion. We have seen that, all and one, these explanations contradict the facts as established by the United Nations. We have, therefore, concluded that these explanations have been mere pretexts, concealing — or designed to conceal — deeper causes and motivations.

It was not because of Lebanon, nor because of the Lebanese civil war, nor therefore because of any of the reasons connected with Lebanon which have been advanced so profusely by the United States Government, but rather because of Iraq, that America launched its military intervention in Lebanon. This is a conclusion, implicit in the diverse statements made by General Eisenhower, which is of great significance. Let us then carry on with our examination of the real cause of American intervention from this important point-of-departure.

The revolution in Iraq, which was admitted to have caught American officialdom by surprise, destroyed all the shaky promises on which America's policy towards the Arab World had been based since the advent of the Eisenhower Administration early in 1953. Iraq, under the Faisal-Abdul Ilah-Nuri as-Said "triumvirate", had been the cornerstone of America's policy concerning the Arab World, and perhaps a significant citadel of America's policy towards the entire Middle East. Upon Iraq had converged all the lines of America's Middle Eastern policy; namely, neglect of the internal problems of the Middle East, emphasis upon the East-West conflict, erection of political and military alliances with pro-Western governments, and neglect of the feelings and restiveness of the people of those governments. As long as Iraq was secure under Nuri and Abdul-Ilah and Faisal, the upholding of other Arab governments, following the same line as Iraq's, was fairly simple: sale of token quantities of arms, token economic assistance, and professions of friendship and support, these things were all that was needed to keep all those pro-Western governments contented and heartened, and to assist them in facing the restiveness of their peoples.

But the fall of the Iraqi regime destroyed the foundations of this policy and shocked into a new awakening the former complacency in the West.

The shock could, indeed, have generated an "agonizing reappraisal" of America's entire policy in the Middle East, and could have led to an adoption of a new policy based on replacing injustice, supporting legitimate claims and aspirations, and befriending peoples instead of buying off government. The shock could have been of salutary therapeutic value, and beginning of a new, constructive era in American-Arab relations. Unfortunately, however, the shock generated the opposite reaction. Rather than reexamine the premises of its

former policy, America was constrained—erroneously, I maintain—to seek new means to attain the same old objectives which had been determined in the light of the same old premises. This was the tragic American failure to seize the pregnant opportunity offered by the Iraqi revolution of July 14, 1958.

Refusing to revise its former policy-objectives, or to reexamine its former premises, American officialdom sought merely to alter its methods and instruments. If, before the Iraqi revolution, military and economic assistance and diplomatic pressures had been sufficient to uphold the status quo and to bolster the pro-Western governments (despite their unpopularity with their own peoples), the stunning success of the Iraqi revolution suddenly made it necessary to go beyond such simple methods. Only direct military intervention lay beyond those methods—so, direct military intervention it had to be.

I said that President Eisenhower has made it clear on several occasions that it was the Iraqi revolution that made him decide on the dispatching of American troops to Lebanon. What General Eisenhower has not revealed is, what were those troops going to do in Lebanon, and how their presence in Lebanon was designed to help offset the Iraqi revolution.

Several American columnists, who must be presumed to speak about what goes on in American political circles with some knowledge, have revealed one or more of the following answers to the question we have just enunciated.

According to their widely-published reports, the first objective of the dispatching of these troops was to guard against the foreseen impact of the Iraqi revolution on the balance of power, between people and governments, within the other pro-Western Arab countries, particularly those countries where the governments were most shaky and most unpopular, namely Lebanon and Jordan. In order to guard against such effects, Western troops were rushed into these two countries.

Other analysts assert that the objective was even more militant. It was not merely to guard against the overflow of the Iraqi revolutionary spirit, as it were, into such other Arab countries as Lebanon and Jordan, but also in order to enable Jordan and Turkey (the one as a co-member of the now-defunct Arab Union, and the latter as a co-founder of the Baghdad Pact) to intervene militarily in Iraq in order to subdue the revolutionary regime and restore the old regime. According to this analysis, Western troops in the area would have served one of three purposes: either, first,

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to guard the governments of Lebanon and Jordan while Jordanian troops entered into Iraq; or, secondly, to intervene directly on the side of the attackers, Turkish and Jordanian, after they had borne the initial brunt of the invasion of Iraq; or, thirdly, to guard against the possibility—that the Soviet Union might intervene against Turkey as a result of Turkey's proposed invasion of Iraq side by side with Jordan.

It is not up to me to establish which, if any, of these objectives was actually in the mind of American leaders when they decided to dispatch American troops to Lebanon. Different American reporters and columnists have emphasized different elements. What is certain, however, is that—as General Eisenhower has made abundantly clear—the military intervention was precipitated by the Iraqi revolution, and the objective, stated generally, was to contain that revolution.

Here we find, then, two important policy-factors indicated by the fateful decision of the U. S. government taken immediately after the Iraqi revolution.

First, that the rising tide of revolutionary, dynamic Arab nationalism, which had been gaining momentum on the popular level for years but which had remained contained on the governmental level within the United Arab Republic, had now overflowed

beyond the United Arab Republic and destroyed the regime considered so far the cornerstone of the opposite wing of Arab nationalism.

Secondly, that after this development, unless America wanted to acquiesce in, or even to encourage, this newly invigorated movement, America had to use more effective instruments than those which, until now, had proved adequate—namely, America had to resort to direct military intervention in order to contain dynamic Arab nationalism, now that military, economic and diplomatic assistance proved incapable of doing the job.

In other words, America had been content with indirect action in support of those governments which supported its policies, and in the hope of checking and containing those governments which pursued dynamic policies of their own, but the fall of the old Iraqi regime compelled America either to abandon its old policy or to abandon its old methods, and America chose the latter alternative.

Until the beginning of 1958, the old methods had seemed to be adequate. First, the Baghdad Pact had pulled the old Iraqi government out of the Arab fold. Then, the Eisenhower Doctrine had weaned Lebanon, and subsequently other Arab governments as well, from the anti-Baghdad group. King Saud's visit to Washington early in 1957 had shifted his position, to some extent, from the neutralist camp, towards the center. By the end of 1957, only Syria and Yemen had survived the multifarious American pressures and remained solidly associated with Egypt in the neutralist policy.

But, in 1958, fluidity was re-injected into the Arab situation. The unification of Egypt and Syria, and the federation of Yemen with them, set loose widespread popular enthusiasm for these countries in the hearts of Arabs everywhere, in consequence of the general Arab dedication to the idea of unity. The improvised Arab Union of Iraq and Jordan proved incapable of stimulating equal popular enthusiasm. The peace-

ful and orderly recognition of the government in Saudi Arabia also restored the warm ties between that country and the United Arab States—Egypt, Syria and Yemen. Restiveness in Jordan and Iraq, formerly under the surface, came out to the surface. The revolt in Lebanon followed—and it was evident even to the blind that, whatever the outcome, the post-revolt Lebanon had to be less one-sided in its foreign policy than the pre-revolt Lebanon. All these changes indicated that the tide of dynamic Arab nationalism was stronger than the cardboard dams with which America tried to obstruct it—namely prompt airlifting of arms to any embattled government, prompt financial aid to any government threatened by popular uprisings, and unqualified diplomatic support. But it was only the Iraqi revolution that proved to America the utter bankruptcy of its old methods and, in the panic aroused by the revolution, precipitated the fateful decision to use new methods: direct military intervention.

The new methods required a new quasi-legal justification, and a re-enunciated objective. These were hurriedly formulated. For the first requisite, America came up with the doctrine of outlawing "indirect aggression"; for the second, America enunciated the cognate doctrine of upholding the status quo and existing governments against "indirect aggression." A new dimension of American foreign policy, beyond any past doctrine or policy, and with implications affecting not only America's position in the Middle East but also America's position in other areas of the world, was opened up. The new doctrines and the new dimension merit further examination, which will occupy us in future articles.

### LAUGH A LITTLE

The photographer had just taken a picture of an old gentleman on the latter's 98th birthday. He thanked the oldster, saying, "I hope to be around to take your picture when you're 100." "Why not?" the old man replied, "You look pretty healthy." —The Modern Woodman.

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Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, August 21, 1958

THE CARAVAN

Page Seven

## For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayes  
A. Sayegh



### THE CONCEPT OF "INDIRECT AGGRESSION"

The Iraqi revolution of July 14, 1958 demonstrated conclusively that the rising tide of dynamic Arab nationalism was mightier and more irresistible than the cardboard dams with which the West had sought to block it. It showed that the conventional measures with which the West, particularly the United States, had tried to contain dynamic Arab nationalism were impotent to check the growth of that nationalism, or its overspilling across political frontiers from one Arab country into another. Therefore, new methods had to be devised — if the same objective of maintaining the status quo was to continue to animate America's Mideastern policies. The old methods of promptly airlifting arms to any government embattled by its people, pouring in economic aid, and extending diplomatic support to the old regimes, while withholding military, economic or diplomatic assistance from the dynamic regimes, had to be supplemented by new methods of direct military intervention in support of the unpopular governments against their peoples. Maintenance of the status quo remained the primary policy of the United States; only the instruments changed, as soon as the Iraqi revolution demonstrated the futility of the old instruments and the irresistibility of old methods of the current of dynamic nationalism.

Accordingly, a quasi-legal foundation had to be found, in order to justify the new methods of direct military intervention. This quasi-legal foundation was christened, "defense against 'indirect aggression'."

What was meant by this new, strange concept of "indirect aggression" has never been made very clear by those who have been using it left and right in recent weeks. Apparently, it is not clear even to themselves. They have confessed publicly that the concept is as incapable of easy definition as is the charge incapable of conclusive proof. Nevertheless, they have tried to tailor definition to their needs, and have come up with some pathetic excuses for a definition which a student of elementary international relations would be embarrassed to whisper before his professor in a classroom.

According to the logic of this innovation in international relations, whenever a people rises against tyranny at home there must be a villain behind the uprising; and, since a purely home-grown villain is not enough to justify international intervention by the West, then the villain must be assumed to have his headquarters outside the boundaries of the country in which the uprising takes place. If proof is needed that such a villain does indeed exist, and that he has indeed exercised influence across international frontiers, then it can be summarily charged that "massive intervention", "infiltration", "smuggling of arms and men", etc. have occurred. When investigation by international and impartial observers explodes these charges above the heads of those who made them, and those who readily professed to believe them (because it suited their purposes

to establish such charges), then, rather than being dismayed by the ruling of impartial tribunal, the makers and propagators of those charges proceed to assert that propaganda from outside the borders was as effective in fomenting the uprising as infiltration and smuggling of arms and men. When they are reminded that the tyrannical governments against whom the peoples have rebelled had confiscated magazines and newspapers from outside the borders and prevented their entry into the countries over which they rule, then those who made and those who propagated the charge of "indirect aggression", rather than giving up, focus all their wrath and fury around radio broadcasts. Indirect aggression by radio broadcasts has thus become the new doctrine on which American policy pins its entire hope of maintaining the status quo, the old regimes, the static ways of life, and the feudalistic-tyrannical governments in the Arab world, and protecting them against the cleansing surgery of dynamic Arab nationalism and revolutionary change. . .

In the present article, I shall make some reflections on this strange new concept from three angles — first, from the standpoint of international relations in general; secondly, from the standpoint of American traditions, policies, and interests; and, thirdly, from the standpoint of the Arab situation.

#### 1. The Concept in Itself:

To rule summarily that, whenever a people rises in revolt, there must be somewhere an agent fomenting the uprising or inciting the people, is to assume that people, of and by themselves, do not desire freedom or better life, unless someone agitates and tells them to. This is a fatally mistaken view of human nature. Indeed, it is an insult to human nature. The urge for freedom, for self-determination, and for justice is inherent in the heart of man as man — and only a cynic or a misanthrope commits the moral and physical sin of assuming that man listens more to the voice of agitation than he does to the voice within his own heart and conscience. This assumption, too, is a retrospective insult to the noblest moment in America's own history — for does anyone believe that the revolutionary generation rose in 1776 because of agitation from outside, and that the American Revolution would not have occurred had there been no agitators?

What if there have been radio broadcasts, beamed at one country or another, and attacking the policies of its government? Has the Voice of America not filled the air with anti-communist broadcasts beamed at satellite countries? Has Radio Free Europe not been founded for that very purpose? Does anyone believe that these broadcasts generated the discontent in the hearts of the peoples of the satellites?

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Does anyone believe that it was these broadcasts that created the revolution in Hungary in 1956, or the revolts in Poland shortly before that? Is there anyone so naive as to assume that the people of Hungary were nappy and content, until someone heard a broadcast from the Voice of America telling Hungarians that they shouldn't be — and lo and behold, everybody suddenly developed a distrust of the communist system and took to arms in order not to disappoint the Voice of America newscasters? Why apply the same silly logic to other broadcasts, allegedly emanating from other countries and beamed to other peoples?

Radio broadcasts never create revolutionary situations. When they seek to stir discontent where the cause of discontent do not exist, such broadcasts boomerang and backfire against their perpetrators. When they focus attention on existing grievances, they cannot be accused of creating those grievances. "Indirect aggression by radio" is as ridiculous a concept as can be formulated.

Incitement and criticism of existing governments are impotent in themselves to create revolutions, unless grave discontent already exists. Let us imagine the following experiments, and judge for ourselves their results:

a - Suppose Radio Cairo had beamed daily — or even hourly — broadcasts in favor of Nuri as-Said or Abdul-Ilah. Would that have made the Iraqis love those two men? Most Iraqis would have shut off Radio Cairo the moment it started to praise those distrusted leaders; why then accuse Radio Cairo of having been behind the distrust?

b - Suppose the Voice of America tried to beam daily — or hourly — broadcasts against President Nasser. Would that create a revolution against him? The British tried it in 1956. They were bombing Cairo and Alexandria, and at the same time telling the people over the radio that they were being subjected to those air raids because of one man, Nasser; "Get rid of him, and the raids will stop", said the British-inspired broadcasts, hour after hour. Did that arouse anyone against Nasser? On the contrary; he was in the habit of driving in an open-convertible in the midst of the crowds, and not a pebble was thrown at him. He was taking less precautions than the chief of state of any republic in normal times takes — and he was safe, despite the inflammatory British broadcasts, because his safety rested on the love and trust of his people. Similarly, suppose all the radio stations in the world were to broadcast the daily columns of David Lawrence, George Sokolsky, Drew Pearson and the like about Nasser — they will fall on deaf ears in Cairo. (Incidentally, will the United States extend its logic of "indirect aggression by propaganda" to apply to

some of the American commentators and columnists whose daily outpourings of venomous anti-Arab propaganda are calculated to poison the American mind against Arab nationalism?)

c - Suppose the Israeli Radio had beamed broadcasts against Nuri as-Said or Abdul-Ilah to Iraq. Then, despite all the distrust of Israel in the hearts of the Iraqis, would anyone have dismissed those broadcasts simply because they emanated from an enemy country?

The concept of "indirect aggression" is an elusive concept. Many international lawyers have pointed out that, if the League of Nations and the United Nations have spent years trying to find a definition of "direct, overt aggression" without success, it will be infinitely more difficult to find a definition for "indirect aggression".

Assuming that some definition will eventually be found, it will be bound to be either too strict and narrow, or too wide and loose. If it is so tightly tailored as to apply strictly to the alleged situation in the Middle East today, (in order to serve America's desire to protect rulers who are no longer wanted by their peoples), then it will prove inapplicable tomorrow, when the situations challenging the status quo may be different. On the other hand, if the definition is loose and all-encompassing, it will have to cover any and every revolutionary situation, even when it has nothing to do with fomentation from outside.

To twist logic in order to formulate a definition of "indirect aggression" which will indict Arab governments for alleged fomentation of civil strife within other Arab countries is self-defeating; for, by the same logic, America herself will be similarly indicted for the frequently-expressed sympathy for the satellite peoples in their wrestling with their communist regimes. It was President Eisenhower himself who said, not too long ago, that there cannot be two laws, one for the big and the other for the small. The standards that America wishes to apply to the United Arab Republic, it must be prepared to see applied to America itself also.

On the other hand, a loose, sloppy, blanket, omnibus definition of "indirect aggression" which will cover all revolutionary situations, will, in effect, submerge the essential distinction between genuine revolution born out of discontent, on the one hand, and uprising incited and fomented from across the frontiers, on the other hand.

To submerge the distinction between these two types of revolutionary phenomenon is indeed a disservice, rather than a service, to the cause of international stability and "government by consent".

For this is the essence and crux of the situation: to recognize that the status quo is not always everywhere ideal, nor even satisfactory; to recognize that there are intolerable tyrannies, unwanted and unpopular governments, creating by their daily conduct discontent in the bosom of their own peoples, and sowing the seeds of revolution by their very deeds. Neither America alone, nor even the whole world as represented by the United Nations, can indefinitely protect local tyrants and reactionary rulers and systems against the peoples over whom they rule. Obstruction of the endeavors of the peoples to emancipate themselves will not subdue those efforts — it will only make them more violent, and render their eruption more explosive.

Those who, in order to protect one or two tyrants, promulgate a global law condemning all revolutions regardless of their nature or inspiration, are in effect only preparing the stage for more violent eruptions than would otherwise occur! Such approach betokens not only unwarranted meddling in other peoples' affairs — but also poor statesmanship, color-blindness, and a clumsy talent for making more aggravated the problems whose amelioration is purportedly being sought.

#### 2. The Concept in its American Setting:

To create such world outlook on revolution and revolutionary change as would, in effect, outlaw every popular uprising as soon as the targets of such uprising charge that it had been fomented from out side the borders, is to give a lease on life to all tyrants, of the right or of the left!

America's exertion of its leadership in order to provide the quasi-legal justification for foreign intervention against every revolution aiming at emancipation from tyranny is perhaps the best news ever received by every reactionary tyrant, every fascist dictator, or every communist oppressor, anywhere in the world. For, to all intents and purposes, America now serves notice on all restive peoples, and virtually warns them against ever rising against their governments — lest their governments utter the magic formula, "indirect aggression," and thereby win for themselves the protective military assistance of outside powers in order to suppress the insurrection.

What better assurance could tyranny receive from the present policies of democratic America? What better insurance against the wrath of their own peoples, what better protection against the revolutionary forces set in motion by their own tyranny, what greater security and therefore what encouragement for continuing to deafen themselves against the murmurs of their subjects, could oppressors — whether communist or rightist — hope for, or receive on a silver platter, from America's present policy of branding every revolution as the product of "indirect aggression"? How could America give greater aid or more effective comfort to oppression abroad, than by this policy?

And, let us not forget that the America which now take this attitude towards revolution is precisely the America which made its debut onto the stage of history 182 years ago through a revolution!

Let us not forget also that America, by giving blanket endorsement to all regimes, through allowing every regime to charge "outside intervention" and "indirect aggression" whenever its people rise against it, is indeed committing itself (and trying to commit the United Nations) to military intervention infinite in magnitude. This is a commitment that goes far beyond anything contained in the Monroe Doctrine, the Truman Doctrine, or the Eisenhower Doctrine — all of which had applied only to overt aggression. And such a sweeping commitment has been made without even a vote of congress. . . A summary commitment, pledging American support to any government anywhere, is implicit in the enunciation made profusely nowadays by American policy-makers who refuse to read the signs of the times or to recognize that there are built-in situations of discontent in some countries of the Middle East.

Today, it is "friendly" governments in the Middle East who are beneficiaries of this novel con-

(continued on page 8.)

## THE CONCEPT OF "INDIRECT AGGRESSION"

(Continued from page 7)

cept of "opposing 'indirect aggression';" but tomorrow it may be the other way around. Another Hungary, another Poland, another Yugoslavia may arise against the Kremlin or against its domestic communist regime, or indeed both — and, if the threatened regime but shouts, "indirect aggression", America will find itself constrained, by the logic of the statements its leaders are making today, to stand idly by lest any word of encouragement over the Voice of America or Radio Free Europe be used against it, to indict it before the world of "indirect aggression by radio. . ." America is today forging handcuffs which will be used to ring its own wrists tomorrow.

What an irony. The leaders of the present administration campaigned in the 1952 elections on a platform of "liberation" of subject peoples — and now they voice principles which will hand-cuff them against even supporting the efforts of subject peoples to liberate themselves. The descendants and heirs of the revolutionary Founding Fathers now look upon revolution as a crime; and the champions six years ago of active liberation today build a situation which will make their whispered support for liberation of subject peoples tomorrow a crime. . .

George III would have been fortunate indeed if his days had been **after** these fantastic events. He would have quoted the leaders of the present American administration to infer from their 1958 statements that Washington, Madison, Franklin, Jefferson, Hamilton, et al, were indeed nefarious rebels, to charge "indirect aggression", and to seek the support of all champions of the status quo in suppressing the American revolution. . . .

Actually, what America's policy in 1958 will amount to is a clear-cut division of the world into two sections — one under Soviet leadership and the other under American leadership — and to op-

pose all efforts made by any people for self-emancipation whether from governments subservient to the one or to the other. What America started to do, since the end of World War II, in order to "contain" the Soviet Union, has become — thanks to America's failure to recognize the illegitimacy of the status quo in many lands — a policy to "contain" democracy and drastic change unto progress.

### 3. The Concept in its Arab Setting:

However ambiguous in itself, however incompatible with America's traditions as well as long-range interests, this habit of branding every revolution as the product of "indirect aggression" is utter blindness as far as the Arab World is concerned. Three factors make it such:

a - It cannot be denied that there are certain Arab countries whose form of government or the national or international policies of their governments are far from being responsive to the will of the peoples or to the degree of attainment achieved by those peoples. Unless their governments adjust their forms or their policies to the progress of their people, they are only paving the way for revolutionary outbursts. The peoples can take it only up to a point — but not indefinitely. When all peaceful and orderly means fail to set an errant government on the right track, and to make government abide by the will of the people and rest upon the people's consent, then it is inevitable that, sooner or later revolutionary means be resorted to.

b - In some Arab countries, this has already happened. Revolutionary regimes, responsive to the will of their peoples, have been established after overthrowing the old regimes. Such revolutionary regimes are vested with a messianism which is germane to idealistic revolution as such — witness the impact of the American Revolution on the world at large, or the French Revolution on Europe, in the eighteenth century. Without saying a word, such revolutionary regimes also become a source of inspiration for the peoples of the other Arab countries — who have the same grievances, the same aspirations, and therefore the same readiness for revolution. Hence, by the mere fact that there is a built-in

revolutionary situation in some Arab lands, and a messianism inherent in the dynamic regimes coupled with a responsiveness to their example in the hearts of the peoples who still live under the burden or reactionary of tyrannical systems, the spirit of revolution overpasses political frontiers, and mutual sympathy between struggling peoples on the one side and emancipated peoples and governments on the other naturally arises. (An illustration may be found in the mutual sympathy which bound together the American and the French peoples in the 18th century, after their respective revolutions — or during the French revolution).

c - This is all related, also, to the fact that, to most Arabs in most Arab lands, the present frontiers between one Arab country and other are not real, nor are they accepted as final and permanent. They were imposed on the Arabs without their consent, against their will, and contrary to their interests, by outside powers. An Arab, in the overwhelming majority of cases, does not look upon another Arab living across the frontiers as a "foreigner"; nor does he view the mutual concern of one Arab people or government for the fate of another as a form of "international meddling" or "foreign intervention".

The Joint impact of these three factors, within the Arab setting, is such as to make inapplicable the conventional charges of "intervention" and "indirect aggression" which may, under certain circumstances, apply in other areas. To force such extraneous concepts, derived from non-analogous circumstances, upon the peculiarity-different Arab situation, is to lose sight of the predominant forces and persuasions of the Arabs themselves (except for a handful of rulers and dissidents) and therefore to presume to dictate to the Arabs the terms in which they "should" view their own affairs.

**NOTE:** In the forthcoming article, we shall examine why America has failed to recognize the obvious facts of life in the Arab World. In the article to follow, we shall conclude this series with an examination of how American-Arab relations can be improved while respecting the principles and safeguarding the interests of both parties.

# Sunday Evening Forum Begins 17th Season



DR. FAYEZ SAYEGH, director of the Arab States Delegation, New York, will talk on "The Arab World Between East and West" Nov. 23.



AMBASSADOR ABBA EBAN of the Embassy of Israel in Washington, D. C. will be the Nov. 30 speaker.

Tucson's Sunday Evening Forum, the largest community forum in the nation, will open its 17th season next month. Letters seeking patrons have been mailed to ask support for the \$30,000 budget which is met through this medium and by contributions received at each program. Since no admission is charged at the Forum these requests for help are necessary to keep it going successfully.

"We've never been in the red," says Mrs. Mary I. Jeffries, who has served as Forum director since its beginning. "I'm frankly proud of this and the fact that people on a limited income can attend and know they are welcome. I feel very strongly about keeping it a community service open to everyone."

Mrs. Jeffries says that people from all walks of life are represented on the patron list which has increased every year of the Forum's existence. Starting at 50, the list now numbers a thousand.

The Forum is held on Sundays at 8:15 p.m. On occasions when particularly noted speakers have appeared audiences have totaled from 3,000 to 3,500. These crowds are handled by putting chairs on the sides, in the pit and on the stage of the auditorium.

This season's programs begin Sept. 21 and will continue through May 10. Among those to appear are the persons pictured here.

Mrs. Jeffries presides at each program either introducing the speaker or another person who will give the introduction. Does she get nervous?

"No," says Mary. "I grew up in this sort of thing. My father was a minister and lecturer and I have been a program chairman many times."

In addition to this, she does all her office work: correspondence, filing, phoning, publicity and money raising, with the exception of an occasional volunteer helper.

In 1952 Mrs. Jeffries received Tucson's first Woman of the Year award. She is a member of the board of directors for the National Association for Mental Health and is vice president of the state association.

A big job, yes. But because of the opportunity to meet world renowned personalities and because of the many spoken and written words of thank you from Forum-goers Mary Jeffries finds it all worthwhile.

Incidentally, if you would like to become a Forum patron, and support this interesting Tucson program, you may do so by mailing a check (generally from \$10 to \$50) to the Sunday Evening Forum, P. O. Box 6306.

The Forum is sponsored by the Catalina Methodist Church. Members of the advisory committee are Dr. Hayden S. Sears, chairman; Mrs. Margaret E. Carver, John C. Epley, C. K. Jones, Ivan B. Mardis, Dr. F. Earl Roe, Mrs. Joe E. Titchenal, Dr. Perce P. Yohe, Calvin Wolfe and Joe M. Young.



DR. HARRY LEVINSON, psychologist at the Manning Foundation in Topeka, Kan., will discuss "Emotional First Aid" Nov. 9.



DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, Negro leader of Montgomery, Ala., is the Forum speaker for March 15.



Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, September 4, 1958

THE CARAVAN

# For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayez  
A. Sayegh



## THE GRAND OBSESSION

It is commonly asserted that, as far as the Middle East is concerned, the United States has no policy.

This assertion is incorrect. In fact, it is dangerous. For, by alleging the non-existence of a U.S. Middle Eastern policy, one is blinded to the faultiness of that policy, and dissuaded from seeking remedies and corrections.

The truth of the matter is that there is a United States policy for the Middle East, but that this policy is predicated on erroneous and unrealistic postulates and animated by faulty compulsions.

The United States looks upon the Arab World as a static society. Its understanding of the elements shaping the Middle East in general, and the Arab World in particular, is guilty of an assumption of changelessness. It attributes to the existing Arab situation a certain measure of finality. Having mentally "embalmed" the Arab status quo, America is consequently bewildered by such animation as the living Arab World evinces. Having denied the possibility of animation, America rushes to deny also the desirability of change in the Arab structure—attribution it to agitation and incitement, instead of envisioning it as a spontaneous manifestation of intrinsic vitality.

Hence the American determination to check and contain basic change in Arab fortunes.

The paths of American officialdom and of the Arab World have intersected at a very dynamic moment in modern Arab history. It is this fact that renders America's assumptions of staticism of the Arab scene so grievously unrealistic, and America's resultant determination to obstruct change in the Arab World so unacceptable to the Arabs, so pathetically ineffective, and indeed so tragic.

American officialdom encountered the Arab World, shortly after the Second World War, when Arab society was at the threshold of a dramatic era of dynamic self-realization. The chief attributes of the Arab situation, in that twilight period between pre-War dormancy and post-War revival, were three: (1) dependence on the outside world, particularly the Western Powers; (2) disunity, and division into a number of self-contained states, mutually sealed off from one another; and (3) under-development, not only culturally and socially and economically, but also in political institutions and forms of government.

The initial situation, characterized by these three attributes, seems to have impressed the American official mind far more than the latent forces of emancipation, unification, and reform.

Gradually, and step by step, measures were taken by the Arabs to change the untenable situation. Liberation of one Arab country here, expressions of inter-governmental solidarity there, and daring reforms (including overthrow of existing regimes) elsewhere, were occurring in the Arab World in rapid succession; but the mythical American concept of a changeless status quo persisted. Until, all of a sudden, America was awakened in 1958 to the belated realization that, after all, the Arab World is not asleep! The

unification of some Arab states in February and March, the Saudi Arabian reforms in March, the Lebanese civil war in May, and, above all, the Iraqi revolution in July—all these events, of far-reaching significance, following one another in dizzyingly rapid succession, brought home to the American official mind the belated, if grudging, realization of dynamism in the bosom of Arab society.

Rather than delighting in the awakening of the Arabs, or at least accepting the dramatic Arab revival, American policy embarked on an eleventh-hour endeavor to return Arab life to the moulds out of which it had burst forth, or at least to manufacture new moulds which would halt Arab growth at the point it had reached in mid-July.

But this objective—to which American policy applied itself with a zestfulness and forcefulness worthy of a better cause—was patently outmoded and unattainable. It came at least ten years too late—in terms of both the world situation and the Arab situation. America cannot dam a fast-flowing river in mid-stream. The dynamism of Arab nationalism has attained a momentum which defies obstruction—whether by card-board dams of bribery, intimidation, or other forms of pressure; or by outright use of force through marine-battalions. As we suggested before in this column, nothing short of outright military occupation of the entire Arab World can now stop, at its present stage of attainment, the dynamic tide of Arab nationalism. The status quo ante cannot be restored; the present status quo cannot be preserved. It is too late for either course.

It is not then that America has no policy for the Middle East; it is, rather, that America's policy towards the Arab World is predicated on a postulate of staticism in the Arab situation, while the Arab situation is irresistibly dynamic.

America's policy towards the Arab World is as ineffective in its objectives as it is unrealistic in its premises. It is tragic on both counts.

Why is American policy towards the Arab World so indissolubly wedded to an untenable status quo, so mistakenly dedicated to the obstruction of the growth of the Arab World from a situation of dependence, division and under-development into a situation of independence, unity and reform?

Certainly it is not because America is intrinsically opposed to independence, unity, or reform—for these three values are the pillars of true Americanism.

The answer to the question must be sought in the direction of a basic American misconception

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Questions dealing with statements or current beliefs which tend to place the Arab countries or Arab-Americans in a bad light are particularly recommended.

Send your questions to "For The Record," c/o The Caravan, 172-174 Hoyt Street, Brooklyn 17, N. Y., or phone them in at

tion of the world. It is what we have called, in the title of this article, the "Grand Obsession."

Fundamentally, this misconception reflects an over-simplification of the world picture. Like all oversimplified versions of complex situations it transforms a substantive truth into a grave falsehood.

America sees the entire world—in the infinite variation of culture, problems and aspirations of its infinitely varied peoples—from the angle of the East-West conflict.

Nothing is supposed to reflect the East-West conflict; everything is examined from the standpoint of its effect on the East-West conflict.

The plain stubborn fact, however, is that other peoples have other problems or other obsessions in mind besides the East-West conflict. In the eyes of American policy-makers, the preoccupation of other peoples with their own burning issues and vital problems is at best a token of blindness and, at worst, an act of criminal distraction. For everything else must be subordinated to what America considers primary.

From this attitude, several corollaries follow.

1. Every country in the world must take a stand with respect to the East-West conflict. Non-commitment means indifference; and indifference is immoral. Failure to take a stand is pronounced a stand in favor of the enemy: "He who is not with me is against me." Such a stand deserves punishment—subtle punishment, by smear or economic pressures; or direct punishment, by covert or overt efforts to isolate the country in question and subject it to economic strangulation. If the country in question, refusing to bow to the dictates of the spurious "Either/Or" with which America faces it, seeks to open new channels of trade with the other camp or to purchase the vitally-needed commodities, withheld from it by the West, from the other camp, it is pronounced Communist, a satellite of the Soviet Union, or at least anti-Western.

2. Furthermore, in the course of conducting the East-West conflict, America seems to think that countries must choose sides in terms of concluding military-political pacts with the West and giving military bases to the West. Any other demonstration of alignment remains unconvincing and unsatisfactory as long as it falls short of tying oneself to the West by a political alliance or a military pact, or setting aside parts of its territory for air-bases or naval bases for the West.

3. It follows from these premises that the self-commitment of the government of a given country to the cause of the West, even if it is opposed by the overwhelming majority of the people of that country, is deemed more important for America than winning the trust and friendship of the people. A paper-contract with a government and/or a military

base is more satisfying than the self-giving friendship of a people.

4. Finally, it follows that, whatever government calls itself pro-Western and declares itself in favor of pacts, doctrines or alliances, is good—regardless of how much or how little it enjoys the support of its people, how enlightened or how reactionary its policies might be, of how liberal or how tyrannical it might be at home. It is a "free" government, a part of the "free world," and a "good" government which must be supported at all costs—even against the will of its people and even at the expense of armed intervention and at the risk of triggering a global conflagration.

Setting up "pactsmanship" as the supreme instrument of diplomacy; putting professions of friendship to the West by a given government on a lofty pedestal above every other credential of worthiness; and turning deaf ears to the murmurs of peoples, their grievances against the policies of one Western country or another, or their aspirations for genuine independence in policy-making, for union with sister-countries, and for sound systems of government—America ends up as the custodian of the governmental status quo and the protector of any and every ruler who resorts to the magic formula of declaring himself pro-Western in order to get the military support he needs for suppressing his people. All this, in violation of every principle for which America has traditionally stood, and with which the proud name of America has been associated in the minds of the peoples of the world.

It is wrong to say that America does not have a policy for the Arab World. American does have a policy. But it is an unrealistic policy. It is a hopeless, futile policy. It is a losing policy. It is a static policy. It is an "un-American" policy, in the most profound sense of that term. It is, in principle as well as in practical enforcement, a tragic policy.

NOTE: In the next article, I shall conclude this series—which began on July 19—by suggesting an "alternative" American policy towards the Middle East: a policy which, while safeguarding more securely the full range of America's national interests in the Arab World, will also be true to the values and principles of the American tradition, and will befriend, instead of alienating, the Arab peoples and safeguard their legitimate interests. These four pre-req-

## ON ZIONISM

Zionism is a movement which has for its object "the creation of a home, secured by public rights, for those Jews who cannot, or will not, be assimilated by the country of their adoption", says Theodor Herzl, the founder of modern Zionism. This statement, by a person who should know more about Zionism, since he founded it, shows that Zionism is, by its very nature, an international political movement. Thus, if it is international, any person who is a Zionist must be loyal to the movement and, therefore, could not be loyal to the country of which he is nominally a citizen. Like Communism before the Bolsheviks took over in 1917, Zionism was loyalty to a movement, but when Israel came into being, the loyalty of the Zionist was transferred to the country, although still remaining loyal to the movement which stands for the country. This is similar to the Communist who is loyal to both the USSR and to Communism. Thus, we can see that a Zionist cannot be a loyal American, a loyal Briton, a loyal Frenchman, or a loyal anything, but a loyal Zionist (or Israeli) would have us believe otherwise. They would also have us believe that Zionism seeks only to establish a national home for homeless Jews or, as the First Zionist Congress, which met at Basel, Switzerland, in August 1897, stated: "Zionism aims at establishing for the Jewish people a publicly recognized and legally secured home in Palestine". We are all aware of the fact that Israel is now publicly recognized, but there are many who are not aware just how legally secured it was. A brief glance back into history will show that Israel was no more legally secured than was Russia, or any country secured by the Communists.

Although modern Zionism was not officially organized until 1882, at Odessa, in the Ukraine, with the formation of the Lovers of Zion (Chovevi Zion), the first modern Jewish colony was founded at Petah Tiqva, Palestine, in 1870. Soon, others followed, and helped by the impetus of Herzl, there were twenty-three in 1898. These colonies were occasionally attacked by small bands of Arabs, who had been forced from their homes, and the colonists formed groups of guerillas who repelled these attacks. However, the Arabs, in general, were sympathetic toward these Jews who fled the pogroms of Eastern Europe. The powers of the Middle East viewed the Zionist cause very sympathetically also. In 1903, Sultan Abdul Hamid II, the ruler of the Ottoman Turkish Empire, which at that time, included Palestine, offered various areas in Turkey for the building of the Zionist state. Herzl flatly refused him, as he later refused a British offer to give the Zionists the Uganda Colony in East Africa. The Sixth Zionist Con-

gress, which met from August 23rd to 28th 1903, declared: "The Jewish national home must be in Palestine and nowhere else." In the first decade of the twentieth century Jewish immigrants poured into Palestine and it seems that these beggars were very choosy. They fled from their native lands to lands owned and occupied by others and demanded that they settle where they wanted, not where their benefactors were willing to settle them. With the advent of World War I the immigration came to a sharp halt, and the two would-be benefactors of Zionism, England and Turkey, became enemies. The Palestinian Zionists showed their gratitude to the Turks for their offer of territory for the Zionist state by joining the British campaign of Gallipoli against the Turks. However, as the British eventually discovered, they had an ulterior motive. They planned to march from Constantinople back to Palestine, conquer the entire territory, and establish the Zionist state there. But this dream to legally secure Palestine did not materialize so, after the War, they demanded British help to take over Palestine in payment for their help to the British, which, history shows us, was negligible and merely a pretense. Their demands were strengthened by the Balfour Declaration, a letter by British Foreign Secretary, Arthur James Balfour, written in March 1916 and published in 1917. It expressed the British government's "sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations" and its favorable attitude toward "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." It pledged the British government's "best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine." It seems that the Zionist leaders forgot about this provision even before the ink was dry, as they have forgotten it to this day. The "immediate purpose (of the Declaration) was to win, for the Allied cause in World War I, the support of Jews and others in belligerent countries and in neutral countries, such as the United States, who had been horrified by the anti-Semitic persecutions in Russia, one of the principal Allies. This immediate purpose was of special importance because it was known that the German government was negotiating with its Turkish ally toward a similar end. In long-range terms, the motive behind British policy, as set forth in the letter, rested upon the importance of Palestine as a strategic point on the land and sea routes to India and, above all, as the terminus at the Mediterranean Sea of the pipelines from the oil-bearing regions of the Middle East. The establishment of a Zionist state under British

protection would give Great Britain possession of this coveted prize, while at the same time apparently implementing the Allied slogan of 'self-determination of small nations'."

The League of Nations embodied the declaration in 1922, in its mandate for Palestine, which set forth the terms under which Great Britain was entrusted with the temporary administration of the country "in behalf of the Jewish people". Faisal I, King of Iraq, supported this move in an exchange of letters with Dr. Chaim Weizmann, who later became the first president of Israel. (Weizmann, a chemist and a citizen - nominally - of England, discovered a very important ingredient for smokeless powder which helped the Allied war effort tremendously. When offered by David Lloyd George, Prime Minister of Great Britain any honor, he asked for a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine. It is interesting to note that the same Weizmann also greatly aided the United States in its manufacture of synthetic rubber during World War II. Is it possible that he made a similar "deal" with this country? Based on the support this country has given Israel, it would not be unreasonable to assume that he did.) Jewish immigration again increased sharply after 1922. Not satisfied with all given them by the Balfour Declaration and the League of Nations mandate, the Zionists demanded that they be allowed into Trans-Jordan which was reserved for the Arabs by the same League of Nations mandate which supported the Zionist state in Palestine.

There were the belligerent Arabs whom the Zionist have always been crying were persecuting them and attempting to destroy the Zionist state? In fact, they formed no organized opposition to this movement, which drove them from their homes by the thousands until 1929—which is fifty-nine years after the first Jewish colony was established. The sporadic attacks by those Arabs who were so prejudiced against the Zionists that they went to the extreme of defending their own homes and property were held in check by the Zionist band of terrorists known as the Hashomer (Watchmen). After steady oppression by the Zionists, finally, in 1929, the Arabs united and proposed the following four points: "1. Revocation of the Balfour Declaration; 2. Restriction of Zionist immigration to Palestine; 3. Establishment of a national representative assembly (in Palestine); and 4. Administration of all holy places on status quo." The Zionists refused all four of these points with their only reason being that the large majority of the Arabs got along in harmony with the Zionists. Almost in the same breath they accused the British of aiding the Arabs were rebuked and the Zionists exerted great pressure in London to prevent restrictions

of immigration to Palestine by Zionists during the nineteen thirties. In 1936, the Arabs started fierce riots to protest the almost unlimited immigration of Zionists into Palestine, causing the Zionists to dissolve the Hashomer and form the Haganah (Defense) and, in 1937, the Irgun Zvai Leumi (national Military Organization), more commonly known as simply Irgun. The Haganah was solely for the defense, by the Zionists, of the lands they stole from the native Arabs. The Irgun, on the other hand, "sought out and conducted retaliatory attacks against Arabs, on the theory that Arab rioting was encouraged by the British and could not be halted merely by defense tactics." The reasoning behind this organization, as with all Zionist reasoning to defend the movement, is definitely illogical. We have seen that Great Britain wanted to establish the Zionist state in Palestine as a base and as an outlet for oil pipelines. It does not seem logical that they would deliberately thwart their own plans by supporting the Arabs. The Peel Commission, in 1937, divided Palestine into a three part state, one part for Arabs, one part for Jews (meaning Zionists), and a third part consisting of neutral corridors under British rule. The Arabs abided by the provisions of the Commission, but the Zionists didn't. They, financed by their various groups throughout the world, continued to shrewdly purchase land and deprive the Arabs of more and more land. To put an end to this circumvention of the Peel Commission decree, the British, in 1939, issued the MacDonald "White Paper" which curtailed the Zionist immigration and land-buying to uphold the rights of the "local inhabitants" (the Arabs). In this paper, the British government stated that Zionists had (at that time) had a national home and that the Balfour Declaration did not necessarily intend "national home" to mean a state, merely a "functioning community". After this, anti-British and anti-Arab violence was increased tremendously by the Zionists, especially the Irgun, while there "was a virtual cessation of Arab violence."

However, when World War II began, the Zionists changed their allegiance and joined the anti-Hitler British forces. They seemed to forget, though, that the object of the war was to fight the Axis Powers, because their chief efforts were spent helping European Zionist come to Palestine. A faction of the Irgun, known as the "Fighters for the Freedom of Israel", or "Stern Group", lead by Abraham Stern, devoted all of its efforts during World War II to the assassination of British officials, in an attempt to force the elimination of immigration restrictions imposed by the British. This group believed that "the rescue of Jews from Europe... was of primary importance." When, after the War, the British

refused to remove immigration restrictions, the "Stern Group" and Irgun declared "that the British administration occupation regime had become unlawful by violating immigration and land settlement provisions." Of course, they could give no factual basis for this accusation. It seems that these Zionists forgot that they were the ones who stole lands from the Arabs and forced their way into Palestine by underhanded dealings (Weizmann's "deal" with Lloyd George) and strength of arms (Haganah and Irgun). The Jewish Agency, the official Zionist and semi-governmental organization of Zionist Palestine, in the person of David Ben Gurion, denounced the "Stern Group" and the Irgun, but its hand was strengthened by their activities, which, it told the government (British) it could not control, unless concessions were made." Ben Gurion's diplomacy can be summed up in one word - extortion. In the meanwhile, the Haganah joined the other two Zionist terrorist groups in attacks on British authorities who, it said, were stopping illegal refugee from entering Palestine and impeding the Haganah's efforts to smuggle refugees into Palestine. This smuggling was contrary to all agreements and promises given by the Zionists to Great Britain. The Zionists had no legal or moral justification for the immigration of refugees. As might be expected, more and more Palestinian Arabs were being forced from their homes of nearly two thousand years by the mass migration of these European refugees into Palestine. In 1947, the Zionists began to assassinate British civilians and military personnel in retaliation for the execution of various Zionist terrorists-legally convicted - by the British authorities in Palestine. Also in 1947, the Haganah (which, lest we forget, means "Defense") openly merged with the underground terrorist groups in their aggressions against the British, as well as against the Arabs.

While all this activity had been going on in Palestine, Zionist organizations throughout the world, especially in America, exerted great pressure on their respective governments to force Great Britain to change its Palestinian policy. Britain, knowing that she had some moral obligation to protect the defenseless Palestinian Arabs, who would be forced out of the country altogether, stubbornly refused for this reason. By this time she knew that the dreams envisioned by her in the forming of the Balfour Declaration would never be realized, so her only reason for the opposition to the Zionists, would logically seem to be to protect the Arabs - which, of course, the Zionists would deny. However, since the Zionists, and not the Arabs, control the economy of the Western World, the Zionists won out. Finally, after Zionist-inspired pressure by the United Nations, "on

May 14 (1948) the British High Commissioner for Palestine and the last of the British troops sailed from Haifa harbor. That night the state of Israel was proclaimed by Jewish (Zionist) leaders and a provisional government was established."

Many Zionists were saddened that Herzl, who died in 1904, could not have lived to see the fulfillment of this dream in Israel in 1948. But, would Herzl have wanted to see Israel formed with so much bloodshed and by such unjust means? If he believed in what he said when he stated, "the creation of a home secured by public right," he wouldn't. History shows us that Herzl, like his successors, Weizmann and Ben Gurion, was a master of deceit and an opportunist. No doubt he was motivated by the desire to establish a homeland for "Jews (Zionists), who cannot or will not be assimilated by the country of their adoption." But, he, and all Zionists, in their attempts to gain this home, have disregarded the teachings of Abraham and the prophets and followed more the philosophy of Machiavelli and Lenin by letting the end justify the means. Today we hear Zionist leaders, Ben Gurion in particular, attack Nasser and the Arab League, accusing them of terrorism and attempting to drive them from their homeland. They seem to forget the history of the Zionists in Palestine, which need not be repeated. When Ben Gurion attacks Nasser's fedayeen, he makes no mention of the Irgun and "Stern Group", which were formed before Nasser ever dreamed of the fedayeen. Israelis and Zionists in the rest of the world are upset and surprised that anyone could oppose their great and glorious cause. For the handful who might actually be sincere, let them look at the history of Zionism, full of hypocrisy, deceit and terrorism. Are the Zionists any better than Hitler and Stalin in their methods? (Many Zionists say that Zionism must be good because it is opposed by the Communists. But didn't Fascism and Communism oppose each other, and didn't Stalin oppose Hitler?) Because Jews have been oppressed, do Zionists have the license to persecute another group of people? Ben Gurion and the Zionist leaders, aware of the truth, have formed the party line to sidetrack the truth. They agitate and rave about Arab atrocities and, through the Zionist strongholds in the Western world, force Nasser and the strong Arab nations to deal with the USSR in order to survive, and then accuse them of being the lowest forms of human beings, pro-Communists. When will the world wake up to the Zionist peril which is more serious than the Communist peril, because everyone is aware of the latter, whilst blissfully ignorant of the former?

- SULEIMAN



# THE CARAVAN

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Editor-in-Chief: George S. Debs

## FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

It is needless to say that we are firm believers in the "freedom of the press" and that this freedom is the basic foundation for all other freedoms.

Without freedom of the press and freedom of speech and expression there can be no democracy, no liberty, no equality, no real justice and no other form of any basic human right.

On numerous occasions, we have demonstrated this conviction by printing many articles and many "letters to the editor" which expressed different opinions than ours, and at times, were not very complimentary. In fact, we have often printed opinions and comments which very few other publishers would have dared print. **We are firm believers in the famous saying: "We might disagree with everything you say, but we will fight to the death for your right to say it!"**

A few of our readers, however, seem to labor under the impression that "freedom of the press" means the right of any reader to see his comments in print. They think it is the duty of every editor to print each and every letter he gets in the mail. If every editor had to do this, there would be no more space in any newspaper for anything else but letters.

The Caravan gets hundreds of letters from its readers every week. It is humanly impossible to print all these letters. Subjects that have already been covered in detail are therefore omitted. Repetitions are avoided. Samples of the average mail are picked and printed in proportion to their number, regardless of whether they are complimentary or otherwise. This has to be left to the honesty and discretion of the editor and the result is usually a cross-section of the general opinion.

**"FREEDOM OF THE PRESS" DOES NOT MEAN THE PRINTING OF EACH AND EVERY ARTICLE OR LETTER RECEIVED BY THE EDITOR.** To expect that, would be utterly unreasonable.

We are grateful to each and every one of our readers who writes a letter or expresses an opinion, whether "pro" or "anti". But we do hope that the writers of these letters will keep in mind what we have just said and not feel disappointed if it so happens that their letters are not published.

They can rest assured that we still believe in the "freedom of the press".

## HALF A QUOTATION . . .

A few of our readers have innocently construed our advice to mind our own business regarding the internal dispute in Lebanon, as to mean that we should not give a hoot about what is going on in our motherland.

Others, for malicious reasons, insist on referring to half of what we really said.

*What we actually said and are still saying is that "we as good Lebanese Americans should mind our own business, stop interfering in Lebanon's internal affairs and try to make peace between the opposing factions instead of picking one side on the other while brother is fighting brother."*

**This is exactly what we said and nothing else!**

It is not fair to quote the Koran as saying "Do not pray" when the full quotation reads "Do not pray while you are drunk. . ."

A half-truth is worse than a lie!

George S. Debs

With every article or letter to the editor published in The Caravan, the name of the writer will appear unless withholding of name is requested. The Caravan has the right to print anything in whole or in part, as the editor sees fit. No letters or photographs will be returned, whether published or not.

## For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayez  
A. Sayegh



## BLUE PRINT FOR FRIENDSHIP

1. How many times does the postman ring?

At a press conference I held in Tulsa, Oklahoma, on the eve of the recent emergency session of the General Assembly, I told the press:

"America faces today its most challenging opportunity to improve the rapidly deteriorating position of the West in the Middle East. The special emergency session of the U.N. General Assembly, which will open in earnest tomorrow, will put America's intentions — as well as America's creative statesmanship — to the test. The decisive thing is whether America will meet the challenge of Arab nationalism creatively and constructively."

In fact, the challenge of Arab nationalism has been hurled at American statesmanship for years. It was the half-hearted response of America, and America's failure to emancipate itself from the grip of myths and mistaken concepts about Arab nationalism, that led to growing Arab disillusionment in America and eventually compounded the difficulties in the relations between the United States and the dynamic Arab national movement.

As so often happens in the relations between peoples, inertia soon sets in, and events follow in the paths indicated by initial actions and reactions, until all of a sudden one finds oneself at the cross-roads where a new choice has to be made. It is at that point that the opportunity to cast off the spell of inertia emerges; it is at that point that the challenge becomes acute, and the stakes become unprecedentedly high.

I believe that such a point was reached in mid-July, 1958, when the Iraqi revolution destroyed the very cornerstone of former American policy towards the Middle East and raised the opportunity for a new look and a creative, though agonizing, "reappraisal". But, as we saw in previous articles in this series, the opportunity was missed entirely. Instead of revising their objectives and reexamining their premises, American policy-makers sharpened their commitment to the old objectives by seeking more drastic methods (i. e., armed intervention) to attain them.

But even those methods proved inadequate; in fact, they backfired. Hence the new opportunity heralded by the special emergency session of the General Assembly.

There was much hopefulness in the air on the eve of President Eisenhower's dramatic appearance before the General Assembly. Time was ripe for a new approach. The situation was critical; old trends, therefore dimly visible, had become abundantly clear in their direction and in their ultimate outcome; new courses had to be charted. Moreover, a whole month had elapsed since that fateful day when the President of the United

States had committed American troops to the Middle East in an act of direct military intervention in Arab affairs; and the futility of that action, as well as its potentially explosive consequences, had already revealed themselves. Everything, then, that could have counselled a new approach had actually obtained. It was in that atmosphere of hopefulness that I made the statement quoted at the outset of this article.

But the results were disappointing. While decidedly an improvement over previous positions and policies, and while actually paying lip service to Arab nationalism, the program outlined by President Eisenhower was "too little and too late". The Arab resolution redeemed the Assembly session from ending either in complete failure or in tragic decisions. Arab unanimity on the resolution — which the Assembly adopted without one dissenting vote — saved the day, in the sense that it kept the door open for the creative approach, which had been anticipated but had not materialized, to be adopted before it was too late.

It is within this concrete, historical context that we examine today and alternative program: a blueprint for friendship, a course of action for halting the deterioration of American-Arab relations and for recapturing old friendships and building new relations and for recapturing old friendships and building new relations on the solid foundations of mutual interest and sound principles.

• • •

2. Sins of Omission, Commission and Diversion:

But, first, let us examine the shortcomings of the Eisenhower Program for the Middle East.

In my opinion, the program was debilitated by its omissions, its commissions, and its diversions. Contrary to the dictum that "first things must come first", the program ignored first things, ignored second things, and placed third things first, amidst a few other things that had no place at all. Let me explain what I mean.

a) Above everything else, what was needed on that fateful day in mid-August when President Eisenhower addressed the General Assembly was a dramatic announcement of the withdrawal of Anglo-American troops from Jordan and Lebanon and a pledge not to resort to direct military intervention again. This was the sin of omission — the neglect of "first things" in the future.

b) The sin of commission — the inclusion of things that had no place at all in the program — was the reiteration of the theme of "indirect aggression".

Certainly such reiteration could not have been expected to win the confidence of the "Arab nationalism" to which the President of the United States paid some verbal compliments.

Furthermore, the inclusion of this charge of "indirect aggression" and of measures to combat it betokened an utter lack of

understanding of the real situation in the Arab World; it indicated a failure to distinguish between spontaneous and genuine discontent on the part of some Arab peoples with their existing governmental regimes, and instigation and incitement from outside. No sound program for dealing with a situation could emanate from such a gross misunderstanding of that situation.

c) From the standpoint of long-range measures for restoring stability to the Arab World, the Eisenhower Program completely ignored every single element of instability and dissatisfaction in the area without exception. As such, it was a unique instance of ignoring the entire substance of discontent and dwelling exclusively upon secondary aspects or non-existent and unreal aspects of a situation.

How can anyone understand, let alone grapple with, the problems of the Arab World, without reference to the Arab-Israeli conflict in its thousand ramifications, or the problem of direct or indirect colonialism, or the problem of the desire of certain parties to the cold war to drag the Arabs into their orbit while the Arabs want to remain independent of either party and aloof from the cold war?

How can anyone speak of security in the Middle East, when the fear of Israeli expansionism dominates the scene?

How can anyone speak of happiness in the Middle East, when a million Arab refugees rot in their camps, denied the right to reenter their ancestral land and return to their homes and property?

How can anyone speak of friendly relations between the Arabs and the West, when there are close to twelve million Arabs living in Algeria and in the Arabian Peninsula under French or British colonial or semi-colonial systems, and many more millions of Arabs living in countries whose collective will is manipulated by indirect Western colonialism?

A program for peace in the Middle East and for Arab-American friendship which ignores these basic elements of unrest and Arab-American alienation is a vain whistle in a dark, desolate wasteland.

d) Finally, because it ignored "first things" and "second things", and introduced things that had no place at all, the Eisenhower Program, though it did incorporate some "third things" (such as blueprints for regional economic development), failed to endow these matters with acceptability.

Let us put this point bluntly: Economic development, however highly desirable in itself, is not the answer to the problem of peoples who are anxious about more fundamental matters, such as freedom and justice. "It is not by bread alone that man liveth". The dollar does not solve all problems.

When the dollar is offered as a substitute for freedom and justice, it is a bribe, not a gift. And bribery never evokes gratitude; it is accepted only when the soul is corrupt or corruptible.

3. Highlights of the Program:

a. America must recognize that there is an awakening determination, on the part of the Arab peoples, to set their house in order. America must accordingly abstain from meddling in the domestic affairs of any Arab country. Respecting their absolute right to self-determination, it must scrupulously refrain from interfering in their endeavors to set up governments of their choice, in the

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THE CARAVAN

manner and method of their choice.

Indirect intervention (by such stratagems as economic, military or diplomatic support of such regimes as have been led to believe that the label of "pro-Americanism" is their best "certificate of good conduct" and their surest guarantee of American support, even against the uprising of their peoples or the verdict of their national self-interest) must be abandoned.

More so, direct intervention, military or otherwise, must be abandoned as an instrument of American Policy in the Middle East.

b) America must recognize that, whether the various Arab peoples want to remain separate from one another in separate states, or whether they want to be confederated, federated, or merged with one another, is **their own business**. Direct or indirect discouragement of unification is incompatible with this recognition. America must leave the Arab people entirely to their own counsel, to choose that form of intra-Arab relationship that seems to them to be best.

c) America must recognize that the Arab-Israeli conflict is at the root of the unrest in the Arab World and of the Arab distrust of America. A stance of "friendly impartiality" vis-a-vis the Arab-Israeli conflict is only the beginning of a policy; and it is meaningless unless it is implemented. But a fuller policy to the Arab-Israeli conflict must comprise also vigorous American efforts to ensure that the standing resolutions of the United Nations concerning Palestine must be implemented in good faith, beginning with the more fundamental problems (such as the plight of the refugees) and proceeding thence to the less primary but equally vital aspects of the Arab-Israeli situation (such as those affecting frontiers, Jerusalem, faithful implementation of the Armistice Agreements, etc.).

d) The struggles for national liberation in the Arab lands currently under colonial or quasi-colonial systems of foreign domination cannot and must not be ignored or suppressed. The fact that the colonial or quasi-colonial Powers in question are allies of the United States vis-a-vis the Soviet Union must not continue to seem to American officialdom as warranting blind American support for their colonial greed in areas outside the East-West conflict or the North Atlantic Alliance.

e) If America wishes to support the Arab states economically, technically, or even militarily, such support must be unconditional. Assistance must not become a gadget for blackmail.

Unconditional assistance, offered and received after the basic injustice have been redressed and the fundamental irritants have been removed, will produce good will and genuine friendship by its own logic; but conditional assistance, particularly when the prospects thereof are dangled before the eyes of under-developed peoples as a substitute for sound policy, is not only humiliating and therefore infuriating, but is also doomed to backfire.

The United States, moreover, must not be intolerant of the Arab desire to seek the best terms in the course of contracting loans or making purchases. America believes in competition as the cornerstone of national economy. The free enterprise system is based on the belief in the healthfulness of competition. Today the world witnesses an extension of the competitive system onto the international stage. For America to grudge others the right to respond

to the competitive world situation is for America to confess either its disbelief in its own principles or its doubt that it can favorably compete with its rivals.

f) America must respect the Arab desire to be neutral in the cold war.

The urge for non-commitment, non-alignment, and non-involvement in the quarrels of others is an urge which determined America's own foreign policy for many generations; it cannot now be grudged others, who are passing through the same transitory stages of national development through which America passed in the aftermath of its independence and national consolidation.

The urge for neutrality is complex, but foremost among its determinants are two factors: first, that the Arab peoples have a multitude of domestic challenges to which they must constructively respond in relative peace, without involvement in outside problems; and, secondly, that Western policy has so far been responsible for so many national problems in the Arab World that Arabs cannot today align themselves with the very Powers who have exercised (and still exercise) colonialism in the Arab World, who have devided their Arab homeland, and who have planted Israel in their very midst.

As far as the first factor is concerned, only time, patience and unselfish help can accelerate the process of internal consolidation in the Arab World and enable the Arab World, as a consequence, to indulge in the luxury of taking sides on the international stage. As far as the second factor is concerned, only corrective Western policies can heal the wound—or at least stop inflicting fresh wounds—which alienate the Arabs from the West.

A policy of intolerance of neutralism is self-defeating. It only pushes the Arabs — whom it is intended to draw closer—farther away. Pressures and admonitions to "take a stand" are intrinsically obnoxious; they also tend to deepen Arab suspicions of designs for "indirect domination", and aggravate existing fears and resentments. They are certain to harden the neutralist position even when they are designed to "bring into line" some neutralist Arab governments or "keep in line" currently "pro-Western" regimes. They result in the enhancement, rather than the weakening, of the appeal of neutralism to the Arab mind. For the greatest argument for neutralism in the Arab world so far has been the scope, intensity and multiform nature of Western pressures to woo some Arab governments and drag them against the will of their peoples into Western pacts or alliances, or to penalize neutralist Arab governments for their independence in foreign policy.

g) These are some of the highlights of a sound, potentially effective American blueprint for healthier American-Arab relations, as seen by an Arab who believes in the desirability and attainability of such relations.

They are outlined here in the form of concrete "Do's and Don't's". But they are all, in fact, capable of being subsumed under one principle: Let America do unto the Arabs what Americans would have wished done unto them had they been in the same position. . .

All the concrete proposals I cited, then, are but manifestations of an imperative new outlook, new spirit—a spirit of adequate understanding of the Arab situation and honest respect for the legitimate rights of the Arabs. Nothing more—but nothing less—is being suggested.

Given such understanding and

## IN THE MA

### ADMIRE YOU FOR YOUR

I have taken your paper for and still enjoy it very much, your straight forward expression of current affairs. I can't say that everything you say but I do admire your honesty.

Keep up the good work. I discard an issue of your Caravan given them to interested persons by hope to increase your subscription in that way.

Anne E. Jackson

### PLEASED WITH PA

I am pleased with your paper and your fine work.

John B. Bethlehem

## River Steamers a

The Mississippi River, 4,000 miles in length, is one of the great rivers of the world. It bears a name originated by the Ojibway Indians—"Missi Sipi"—was the Ojibway term for "Great River." Other tribes spoke of the Mississippi as the "Father of Waters," an apt name for the river with its many tributaries.

The Mississippi runs a more-or-less straight course between the high plateau near St. Paul, Minnesota, to the lowlands of the Gulf of Mexico, where New Orleans is a major seaport. The river is navigable along its entire length, and its principal tributaries, the Missouri, and the Ohio, extend its influence westward to the Rocky Mountains, eastward to the Appalachian Range.

When the first steamboat traveled its length in 1811, the Mississippi became an important waterway. The first boats, called packets, carried passengers and freight.

Steamboat travel on the Mississippi had risen to such proportions by the middle of the nineteenth century that 1,100 river steamers called at St. Paul, on the upper reaches of the river, during the year 1857. Not all this traffic was commercial. A new phenomenon in the entertainment field of that period was the show boat, a floating theater.

Show boats patrolled the entire length of the river, mooring for a day or a week at a time at a boat landing, to present a show which was a cross between a the mistrel show and the musical revue popular in the large cities.

respect, all the suggestions I have outlined will emanate spontaneously and naturally. Without understanding and respect, even the soundest suggestions become hollow and ineffective.

### ???

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Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, September 18, 1958

THE CARAVAN

Page Seven

## For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayed  
A. Sayegh



### "THE GREATEST OF THEM ALL"— Understanding & Respect

Last week I outlined a blueprint for friendship" as an alternative to the current American policy towards the Middle East. After citing the main ingredients of such a new policy, I expressed the opinion that, without understanding and respect, all these ingredients become hollow and ineffective, and that, given adequate understanding of the Arab situation and honest respect for the legitimate rights of the Arab peoples, those elements of policy will emanate spontaneously and naturally.

What does understanding mean? What does it entail?

A dictionary definition of "understanding" is not hard to obtain; even a dime-store dictionary should contain an intelligible explanation of the literal meaning of the term. But, in the relations between peoples, understanding refers not only to intellectual, rational comprehension, but also and primarily to human, existential comprehension.

Let me explain the elements of understanding in this context.

#### 1. Understanding as Identification:

The primary connotation—and condition—of understanding of one people by another is for each to interpret the thoughts, words, aspirations, or deeds of the other as the latter interprets them, not as the former wishes to interpret them. The Arab situation must be understood by Americans in terms of itself, not in terms of the American situation.

To illustrate: When Americans speak or think of Arab fears or doubts or suspicions, they should have in mind the fears that inhabit the Arab heart, not those fears which Americans think should exist in the Arab mind. Americans are entitled to fear the expansionist designs of Soviet communism above everything else; but they are not entitled to deny Arabs the right to fear Israeli-Zionist expansionism or colonial greed above everything else. Nor can American validity ignore, belittle or otherwise dismiss the existing Arab fears or suspicions, simply because these fears or suspicions do not apply to the American situation or have no bearing on the existence of America. The "beginning of wisdom" for Americans is to "put themselves within" the Arab situation, as it were, in order to be able to understand that situation through Arab senses and concepts and see it through Arab eyes. Otherwise, America's understanding of the Arab situation remains defective. It is the eyes of the resident, not the eyes of the tourist, that can discern the real meaning and significance of what is seen.

#### 2. Understanding as Humility:

It follows that, in order to be able to understand another person or people, we must "tune in" to that person or people; we must listen to the other's self-explanation, not arrogantly presume to tell the other what he should mean or how he should feel. A scientist seeks to understand the laws of nature by discerning observation, not by dictation; he listens to nature talk, as it were, instead of giving his own "cues" to nature. Only in humility towards the object can the subject understand the object; in arro-

gance and dictation, he may succeed only in deluding himself and in confirming to himself the reality of his own imagination. Neither the cosmos nor the lowly speck of dirt, neither the proud peacock nor the worm in the earth, neither outer space nor the inside of the atom, can be understood by arrogant imposition of one's hypotheses, but only by humble self-attunement, by listening, by discerning observation—so why should Americans assume that understanding the Arab situation can be obtained by a different approach and attitude?

To illustrate: It is perfectly all right for Americans to attach whatever significance they wish to attach to economic development. But, for them to choose to project that significance onto other peoples' lives is, in fact, for them to "play God". Arabs happen to attribute greater importance to national freedom than to a good meal, a television set, or a comfortable car. Who is so bold enough as to tell them that they shouldn't, or so arrogant and presumptuous as to tell them that they should accept a bagful of dollars as a substitute for national freedom and dignity? Or who but the blind or the wittingly self-deceiving can say to himself, "Since I cannot personally pass an offer of financial assistance by for any reason, therefore I cannot believe that the Arabs really do—so, there must be some agitator behind it; or else they must be trying merely to bargain with us for larger sums of aid when they profess not to be impressed by our latest offer. . . ."

Who on earth has received a special delegation of Divine Powers, so as to permit himself to tell an Arab refugee: "Your insistence on repatriation is irrational. If I were in your place, I'd settle myself somewhere else and forget all about my home. America is made up of immigrants from diverse lands, who started new chapters in their lives in this great land of opportunity; therefore, you too must be ready to do the same. You should accept resettlement in Jordan or Lebanon or Syria or Iraq, instead of demanding repatriation to Palestine—for I believe the resettlement is better for you than repatriation. . . ."

#### 3. Understanding as Tolerance of Diversity:

If understanding cannot obtain without self-identification with the other in humility, it follows that understanding entails a genuine tolerance of diversity.

Americans are perfectly entitled to their belief that the American way of life is the best for them; they may even be right in believing that, under the best circumstances and the most conducive

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conditions, such a way of life is the best for everybody. But this is a far cry saying that therefore the American way of life should be superimposed on any people regardless of its historical, social, cultural or political experiences, and regardless of its cultural pattern, its predispositions, and its total concrete situation. Therefore, to judge others in terms of America's criteria, or to use American systems or standards as the yardsticks whereby to measure other peoples' accomplishments, is to be guilty of self-deification and of ignoring the elementary facts of life. The American way of doing things or of running one's affairs is not necessarily the best, the most appropriate, nor the most advisable way for everybody at all times and under all circumstances. Yet America's efforts to understand other peoples are usually invalidated by the postulation of the contrary thesis and the resultant universalization of Americanism. If a certain people approves a constitution which is not an exact replica of the American Constitution, many Americans rush to the conclusion that that choice could not have been real, that there must have been something wrong, that the referendum was not free—and, therefore, that the Communists must have subverted the national will of the people in question. This, in fact, is provincialism at its very worst: it is the clumsy habit of labelling as "backward" whoever does not fit into one's own parochial patterns.

#### 4. Understanding as Fairness: the "Golden Rule":

To understand others is to sympathize with their legitimate aspirations, even if they curtail one's own ambitions. The taming principle of morality and religion, which protects legitimate self-seeking purposes from becoming harmful to others, is the Golden Rule of recognizing the right of others to the privileges which one has sought for oneself.

It is an infringement on this rule to censure Arab peoples for waging their own revolutions, when America entered the stage of history through a revolution of its own.

It is a desecration of this rule for Americans, who enjoy the blessings of self-mastery made possible through their War of Independence, to deny the same right to others, or to belittle the genuineness of the craving of other peoples for independence by attributing it to agitation or "indirect aggression", or to subordinate the right of others to self-determination to the interests of America's allies.

And how can Americans, whose country's greatness is in no small measure due to the national unity made possible by the federation of the American states, cast aspersions at the endeavor of other peoples to attain national unity among themselves?

Why should Americans think that it is a great and noble gesture on their part to strive towards impartiality in their dealing with the Arabs and with Israel and

yet condemn as "moral indifference" the desire of the Arabs to be neutral in the East-West conflict?

How can Americans, who sold or gave away large arsenals of arms to the Soviet Union 15 years ago, blame the Arabs for buying arms from the Soviet Union today?

#### 5. Organic Understanding:

The four elements I have so far enumerated may all be described as the moral conditions of understanding. But there are also some intellectual conditions which must obtain before understanding can be attained.

Foremost among these is that actions, events, developments and social phenomena in general must be envisioned in the organic human totality within which they have their rise.

This means that social phenomena must be viewed in their inter-relatedness. To view such phenomena in isolation from one another is to miss the essential connecting thread which makes them inter-related manifestations of the same vital force. History neither begins nor ends with today's headlines; yet most people are inclined to take the day's events in isolation from what preceded them in time, or in isolation from other contemporaneous events, and to seek to understand them in that artificial isolation. Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Aden, Oman, and countless other Arab names which have figured prominently in the news in the last two years, for example, are but successive manifestations of the awakening of one and the same people and their demand for one and the same right: independence.

Similarly, events must be viewed in the light of their generative background. The unification of Egypt and Syria, for example, was not an arbitrary action which was decided upon and enforced overnight. To understand that historic action, one has to go back to the time when the Arab homeland was dismembered, and examine the Arab refusal to accept that dismemberment as final; and one has also to trace the slow, piece-meal development of unity, which culminated on February 1, 1958, in the formation of the United Arab Republic. Unfortunately, however many Americans who become suddenly aware of a certain trend of problem tend to assume that that problem itself had come into being at the time they happened to become aware of it—and their entire effort to understand the problem is vitiated by that assumption.

#### 6. Cause & Effect:

Finally, the essence of understanding is to distinguish between cause and effect and to relate the one to the other. Aristotle used to say that the difference between a man of experience and a man of knowledge is that the former fails to grasp what the latter seeks above everything else: namely, the principle of causation. This is the difference between guesswork and science, between the quack and the physician (to use another Aristotelian illustration).

An understanding of the causal connection between events will enable Americans to view certain Arab attitudes as reactions to antecedent Western actions, not as manifestation of an innate Arab predisposition. Such a realization is the real beginning of the determination to correct past mistakes; otherwise, the temptation is too strong, on the part of Americans, to condemn Arab actions, one after the other, since few recognize the role which past American actions had played in conditioning the Arab situation so as to generate the reaction of today.

Moreover, understanding of the causal connection between events will enable Americans to project themselves into the future, to forecast the shape of things to come, and to chart long-range policies designed to meet future situations—instead of contenting themselves with facing one crisis after another as soon as these crises arise, and sighing with deep relief in the brief intervals between the time one crisis subsides and the time when the next emerges.

Understanding of the causal connection between events, moreover, will spell the difference between those who treat the symptoms, after the symptoms have appeared, and those who administer preventive measures to protect the situation against unsalutary developments.

Finally, understanding of the causal connection between events will help Americans avoid that frequently-encountered manifestation of American policy: putting the cart before the horse. We have seen this pattern reveal itself in the Johnston Plan for the Jordan River, in the Dulles Plan for the Baghdad Pact and the Dulles Plan for Palestine, in the Eisenhower Doctrine of 1957 and in the Eisenhower Program submitted to the General Assembly in August, 1958.

It is only in the recognition of the elementary principle that causes must be treated first in order that symptoms may be understood in the light of their total historical and human context, that a rationally-sound understanding may obtain, and many of the futile improvisations may give way to sound, reasoned policies. And it is only in identification of oneself with others, in humility, in tolerance of diversity, and in fairness unto others, that such policies can be not only rational but also humane. And the condition of rationally sound and humane policy is understanding.

It was shrill cry - a sharp trill made with the tongue alone. The trilling resounded successively again and again with a melodious chant of welcome.

To carry out the old tradition of generous hospitality among Syrians, Lebanese, and Palestinians, my mother, Kareemi (Generous), assisted by relatives, had prepared the following for the guests:

Three whole goats, stuffed with rice and pine nuts, roasted in Tannoor (clay bread oven). Four large trays of kibbi Sineyeh (ground leg of goat meat, mixed with wheat germ, pine nuts and baked - some times eaten raw. There were two hundred Fatayer Blehm (individual meat pies), two hundred (Fatayer Bisbanegh) (individual spinach pies), fifteen stuffed roast chicken, four trays of Baklawa and four trays of Burma (pistachio pastries). I saw five trays of grapes, figs and pears piled up like pyramids. The liquor (Arak) and relishes were prepared by my father.

Mukhtar Albalad, Abo Abdallah, acted as toastmaster in the evening. He called on the Bishop to say grace, releasing the guests to help themselves. After dinner when they were contented, Aboona Nicola (priest) finally stood, complimented the host and congratulated the guest of honor for returning home safely, and thanked the public for their interest.

The Caravan makes a very good gift to a friend or relative.



## Arab League Head Abdel Khalek Hassouna Stresses League Role

Machinery already exists for putting into effect an economic development program for Arab States of the Middle East, the Secretary General of the Arab League said in an interview in New York, August 15.

Secretary General Abdel Khalek Hassouna was in New York to observe the General Assembly debate on the Mideast. He expressed intense interest in the programs outlined for the area by U.N. Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld and President Eisenhower.

However, Ambassador Hassouna indicated it would be necessary first to "create the necessary climate" before any long-term economic scheme for the area can be put into operation. In other words, political understanding comes first.

The nations — Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, the Sudan, Libya, Syria and Egypt — took first steps toward formation of an Arab Development Bank. The bank would provide capital to its members for economic development projects. Ambassador Hassouna said the bank will start operating as soon as its capital reaches \$56 million. Arab nations are to contribute in proportion to their contributions to the Arab League budget. Thus far Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Syria and Egypt have signed the agreement, Hassouna said. Iraq deferred because of political obstacles. But Ambassador Hassouna indicated that he expects Iraq to join the plan soon. If Iraq does come in, the bank will be able to start operations.

The development bank will be open to Arab nations who are not members of the League. No plans have been formulated so far for participation by nations outside the Middle East because the question had not come up, Ambassador



Abdel Khalek Hassouna

Hassouna said. He said that this may be brought about through "proposals now taking shape here in the United Nations." It was stressed that outside participation in the Middle East development program should be channeled through the U.N.

One Arab League chief indicated that offers by outside nations to participate as individuals would meet only lukewarm Arab reception. He stressed that there must be a complete lack of "political pressures and political difficulties" in any Mideast Development Plan.

Ambassador Hassouna emphasized that withdrawal of American troops from Lebanon and British troops from Jordan heads the list of "political understandings" which must be reached before economic subjects are discussed. The presence of British troops in Jordan, instead of stabilizing the area actually increases unrest and friction. The fact that they are there is a sore spot in the relations of Jordan with other Arab nations and makes cooperation between them more difficult.

## Revisions Suggested For American Foreign Policy

WARRENTON, VA., Sept. 8 — A plan for the United States to follow in its relations with the Middle East was suggested today by a Methodist clergyman long familiar with the area.



Garland Evans Hopkins

Addressing the Alexandria District Methodist Ministers Association, the Rev. Dr. Garland Evans Hopkins, Secretary-General of the Continuing Committee on Muslim-Christian Cooperation, suggested six steps the United States could take to secure "friendly neutralism" from the Arab countries. He said that a decade of partiality in American dealings in the Arab-Israeli dispute plus help to the colonial powers and renegeing on promises has now lost the chance for United States' partnership with the Arab

## SHEHAB TAKES OVER

Beirut, Sept. 23 — General Fouad Shehab took over office today as President of the Lebanese Republic. He promised to restore peace and order to the country, disarm bands of both factions and bring about the evacuation of American troops in the near future.

Reliable sources asserted that American troops will be evacuated from Lebanon before Saturday.

states. "If we continue the policies which have characterized both the Democrat and Republican administrations," he said, "we will surely push the Arab states into the Soviet orb."

"The basic problem," Dr. Hopkins believes, in "the survival of the West and Christendom, the prospects for which are not good at best and extremely imperilled if we lose the uncommitted Middle East and Muslim World to the Communists."

To prevent this eventuality, he proposed that the present American-Middle Eastern policy should be scrapped and suggested six points as the basis of a new policy:

(1) "Recognizing that no economic plan, however good and necessary, will work until there is political settlement, we should press in U. N. for a settlement of the boundaries of Israel, the Arab refugee problem and the internationalization of Jerusalem, using as a basis for negotiations the 1947 U.N. Palestine Resolution. We could thus implement the many U.N. resolutions on these subjects, thereby strengthening the U.N."

(2) "Announce, as Mr. Eisenhower did, our willingness to participate in an economic plan for the countries of the Arab World, supplying such help as we may give without political or military conditions attached thereto, and without requiring that we either administer or supervise the administration of the funds supplied or agency created. We should keep in mind that for almost a generation the West has been taking far more money out of these countries than it has put back into them."

(3) "Offer to join U.S.S.R. and other countries in balancing once and for all time the arms distribution in the Middle East and after that supplying only items needed to maintain that balance."

(4) "Announce our support of all efforts leading to unity, and our lack of opposition to union, of the Arab Nation."

(5) "Call for immediate independence from colonial rule of Algeria, Aden and other foreign enclaves in the Arab World."

(6) "Take steps to put an end to the unconscionable exploitation of oil and other resources by Western companies in the Middle East."

The address was heard by the pastors of some 80 Methodist churches in northern Virginia

## News Of The Arab World

Shehab, Lebanon's top army officer, was elected his successor with the support of all factions.

### Taken Toward Syria Border

Lahoud was arrested early today and taken to Marjayoun, near the Syrian border, where he had been regional commander.

A widespread plan involved seizure and control of government machinery long enough to enable Chamoun to get himself renamed for another six-year term.

Chamoun himself is said to have been unaware of the plot. Nine prominent military and civilian figures were understood to have been held for questioning after protesting Lahoud's arrest.

The Lebanese government was not expected to issue any statement on the plot until after Shehab takes over.

## ARAB POTENTIAL

### Positive Neutralism vs. Alliances

Text of speech delivered by Dr. George J. Tomeh, Consul General of the United Arab Republic in New York at the Arab Students Convention held at Urbana, Ill. September 5, 1958.

#### PART I

It is no mere coincidence that the issue of an "Arab Potential", opening vistas with inspiring visions of the future, should be raised at this critical juncture of our modern history. For at no other time have we faced our ultimate destiny the way we are facing it now. At no other time has that creative force latent in every human being been challenged as it is being challenged in us now. What is involved is not merely our immediate and urgent problems, but the whole fabric of our existence and our future.

The setting in which our problems are being raised and discussed makes our probing into the future an imperative. Arab problems have left behind their geographical confinement and acquired continental dimensions. The various aspects of our Arab existence, material and spiritual, have engaged the attention and interest of peoples in far remote places. Our awakening, our inner strife and our outward struggle are being witnessed by the whole world.

There was a time when every one of us was living a tormented existence under the yoke of imposed rule—but almost no one talked of it. The unspeakable sufferings of some of our fathers and grandfathers, the unregarded pains and turmoils of our masses were met with scorn or indifference. Our human tragedies were our own, and no one died our death.

This period is over now. Our tragedies have been so deeply human and so humanly unjust, that at long last we have awakened in the world a moral human consciousness. The world can not any longer involve us in a cause and offer no hope or solution. Even that part of the world which has been most antagonistic to us can not any more level the accusation of negativism against us. It is gradually, not without reluctance, discovering its own destructiveness and negativism. From various quarters and responsible writers and thinkers, we hear free and frank voices dissenting from the traditional policies of their governments and requesting a new, fresh approach to our problems. One of the auguries of the "Arab Potential" is that, at last, into an inhuman world we are injecting a sense of humanity.

A prior and deeper significance is an internal one. For had it not been for the deep inner revolt that has shaken our existence spiritually, the world would not have noticed us. Our pondering the implications of an "Arab Potential" stems from very specific



Dr. George J. Tomeh

historical conditions that we are experiencing. Our problems have become historical problems, because they are primarily and basically grounded in the innermost recesses of our humanity. That which is profoundly human has always an eternal aspect. The great periods of historical change, such as we are now going through, have always been periods of great historical thinking, when the future of the whole world was pondered. Augustine wrote his "City of God" when the Roman Empire, and with it the old world, was crumbling. Ibn Khaldoun wrote his unprecedented, unequalled Prolegomena when, likewise, the great Arab Empire was in its last stages of spiritual agony. Both these, under such circumstances, brooded over the future of mankind.

Our generation has not only read history in books, but has been witness to unique events surging out of the infinite realm of the potential to become recorded history. Our fathers and we have lived to see two world wars. The holocausts that they engendered, together with the numerous revolts arisen in various parts of our own, our one Arab homeland while we were fighting for independence in Egypt, in Syria, in Palestine, in Jordan, in Iraq, in the Arabian Peninsula, in Algiers, have all left among us their sad traces of death and destruction—not only throughout the cities, towns and villages, but at times in every home and every family.

Today we are witnessing another great historical phenomenon, the collapse of a regime that has cowed and exploited the two great continents of Africa and Africa, with all their tremendous human and material resources. I mean the collapse of Imperialism and its sick ally Feudalism. Undoubtedly the greatest single historical factor of the half century that has elapsed, developing before the rise of Communism, is the revolt of the two giant continents Asia and Africa against their imperialist rulers, and the upsurge of nationalism.

To martyr a whole people, even a defeated people, is an impossibility which the French are bitterly learning in Algeria, and as all the colonialist Powers have learned in other Arab countries and throughout Asia and Africa. Since we have mentioned Algiers, we can not at this very moment but bow in esteem for their noble war of liberation, with hundreds of thousands of its innocent victims dying to uphold the dignity and sanctity of the individual and his inalienable rights—a war which leaves us in no doubt that the aggressive imperialist Powers will collapse in shame, to be severely judged by history.

When politics are no more read in terms of plots, manoeuvres, hidden machinations and dubious ways, but in terms of the human and the historic, it will become crystal clear to everyone what is the position we have adopted in the world. For it was against a background of collective imperialism, when in the 19th century the great European Powers stood around the death bed of the Ottoman Empire, each waiting for its share to be sliced from that sick body (a period from whose evil consequences we are suffering at this very moment); against a background of enforced division in the one Arab homeland, of the establishment of artificial frontiers, fancy kingdoms and royalities, the enthronement of greedy feudal regimes, of broken promises, of the forcible creation of Israel that has shaken our faith in the morals of the West—it was against this background, with its access of humiliation, that our policy of Positive Neutralism was born, embodying our past sad experience and our hopes for the future. I shall venture in what follows to make certain observations concerning this policy.

1) The liberated Arab States, as well as all the liberated states of Asia and Africa, can no longer tolerate to be considered as tender infants requiring the guardianship of stronger nations.

Drawing in evidence the prolific statement, declarations, doctrines and principles enunciated of late on the highest levels of world officialdom, suggesting short term or long term solutions of Arab problems, it must be clear that these have been formulated without heed to the desire of the peoples concerned, without joining them for study and consultation before the propounding of such doctrines and solutions. Though those directly concerned in the problems of the Arab world are their people, first, last, and only so, most of the formulators of doctrines and solutions regard these countries basically as representing wealth to be exploited, corridors and strategic routes of which control and utilization is imperative sooner or later—not as countries populated by human beings, by free peoples, honorable, deserving life and opportunity for self-realization and the fullest enjoyment of their resources and natural wealth.

#### To Be Continued

If you have not yet received The Caravan, mail us your name and address immediately!



## For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayez  
A. Sayegh



### BLUNDERING DIPLOMACY: THE THIRD PHASE

**NOTE:**— The Organization of Arab Students in the United States recently held its Seventh Annual Convention at Urbana, Illinois. As in the preceding two conventions, I was privileged to be the final speaker at the closing banquet. I chose as my topic, "Dynamic Arab Nationalism on the March: A year of Triumph", and analyzed the progress accomplished by the Arab National Movement from September 1957 until September 1958. One portion of my speech dealt with the confrontation between Arab Nationalism and Western policies in the course of the year which has just elapsed. This portion has some relevance to the series I have been publishing in this space, about American-Arab relations, since June 19. I feel, therefore, that the reproduction of this portion of my address to the Arab students now, at the end of the series of articles on American-Arab relations, is appropriate. Accordingly, I have secured a transcript of this portion of my address, which I print below:

The progress in our attainment of our national goals has received a grave setback in one area—namely, in our relations with the West. In Lebanon and Jordan, foreign-troops have been stationed where, until recently, the air had been free of the humiliation of foreign occupation.

There is, however, a potentially hopeful side to this tragic development.

The ill-advised recourse by Western Powers to direct military intervention in Arab affairs, on behalf of two lone Arab dissenter-regimes (one of which is already on its way out), was an act of desperation. It revealed most eloquently the bankruptcy of antecedent Western policies in the Arab World. For a policy that has to be defended by methods which openly belie its professed objectives cannot be described as a "success". And the authors of this policy are not less aware of its dismal failure than we are. The resort to force was an open admission of the defeat of the antecedent diplomacy of bribes, punitive measures, sanctions and pressures, to which dynamic Arab nationalism had been subjected by the West since 1955.

From 1955 until mid-1958, Western policy-makers, aiming at the arrestation and containment of the progress of dynamic Arab nationalism, had sought to achieve this objective by indirect intervention. The instruments of this indirect intervention had been: the bolstering of the tottering unpopular regimes in certain Arab countries by economic, military and diplomatic aid; and the endeavor to enfeeble the dynamic, popular regimes by withholding such aid from them and subjecting them to mounting pressures.

The fall of the Hashemite regime of Iraq on July 14, 1958, however, suddenly revealed the ineffectiveness of these methods. It showed that the West could not stop the mighty tide of Arab nationalism by cardboard dams. It demonstrated that the peoples of the Arab World could no longer be forced to put up with, and acquiesce in, errant governments even though these governments enjoyed the blessings and support of the West. It revealed that the peoples of the Arab countries could no longer be dismissed or ignored; that they were no longer ready to submit to governments forced on them from the outside. It showed that unpopular governments could no longer be kept in power, against the will of their peoples, by financial support, by military support, by propaganda support, or by diplomatic support,

of outside Powers.

Rather than prompting them to reappraise their objective of bolstering their unpopular, tyrannical and reactionary proteges, now, ever, this setback to Western designs in the Arab World seems to have driven the Western Powers to panicky acts of despair, of which direct military intervention was the main instrument.

This was tacit admission, by the authors of the policy of containment of dynamic Arab nationalism, that this movement was too real, too strong, too powerful to be contained by indirect intervention. It was a tacit admission that neither dollars, nor promptly airlifted consignments of arms, nor pacts, nor doctrines, nor theatrical nods and gestures of disapproval of one movement and approval of another, could halt the determined march of the Arabs everywhere towards dignity in unity and freedom. A greater compliment could not have been paid to dynamic Arab nationalism by those who had vowed to destroy it.

The swift overthrow of the most trusted proteges of the West in the Arab World—namely, the Triumvirate of Abdul-Ilah, Nuri As-Said, and Faisal—on July 14, 1958, thus, heralded a prompt switch in Western diplomacy, and occasioned the transition from the first phase of American diplomacy vis-a-vis the Arab World to the second phase. If the first phase was one of indirect intervention, the second was one of direct military intervention. If the first phase consisted of the effort to contain dynamic Arab nationalism by a diplomacy of BRIBE, BLACKMAIL, BLUSTER AND BULLY, the second phase consisted of the effort to arrest the growth of dynamic Arab nationalism by a MARINE-DIPLOMACY CY and a PARATROOP-DIPLOMACY, reminiscent of the GUN-BOAT DIPLOMACY of the Nineteenth Century.

But the second phase soon gave way to the third. For even direct military intervention in Lebanon and Jordan did not succeed in attaining its objectives. The Lebanese civil war was not prevented by marine landings from blocking the reelection of Chamoun; Hussein did not become more popular after the landing of British paratroopers; and, above all, the Iraqi Republic did not collapse as a result of these menacing military Western moves.

Thus, when the moment of panic passed, the authors of direct military intervention in Arab affairs came to have second thoughts about the presuppositions of their

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attitude towards dynamic Arab nationalism

The wisdom of opposing the constructive forces of tomorrow, and staking the entire range of Western interests in the Arab World on shaky, vulnerable, precarious, reactionary regimes (the most formidable of which had fallen so spectacularly within but two hours on July 14), came to be questioned—first in hesitant whispers, and later on loudly.

The authors of the policy of direct intervention soon learned that, what they had been unable to stop by dollars and pressures, they were equally unable to stop by marines and paratroopers.

They learned that Arab nationalism was "there to stay".

This realization seems to have begun to inspire the third phase of Western diplomacy in the Arab World. Instead of opposing dynamic Arab nationalism, Western diplomacy now seems to be prepared to tame it. Instead of trying to block the irresistible tide, it now seems eager to ride it. Instead of endeavoring to contain dynamic Arab nationalism, whether by indirect or by direct intervention, Western diplomacy now seems inclined to circumvent it.

This third phase of Western diplomacy in the Arab World may therefore be termed the DIPLOMACY OF CIRCUMVENTION.

Indicative planted statements have been made, to the effect that America now recognizes that Arab nationalism is a fact, that America respects Arab nationalism, and that America is now ready to come to terms with Arab nationalism—but that America demands "alternative leadership" for the Arab national movement as the price for American-Arab cooperation. We are now told that America is prepared to accept Arab nationalism—but only when it is led and inspired by other than its present leadership.

From this platform of the Seventh Annual Convention of the Organization of Arab Students I say to those who entertain such ideas: "You are once more following a mirage. You are once more following futile policies, and aiming at unattainable goals. You are once more heading towards disappointment and frustration and well-earned failure."

From this platform I say to those who entertain such ideas: "Do not experiment. You are wasting your time. We enjoy Caudillos made-in-America; and we relish Coca-Cola made-in-America; but we are not prepared to follow leaders made-in-America. We are not prepared to follow leaders whose sole credential for trust consists of the 'made-in-America' label. Nor are we prepared to follow leaders hastily manufactured in improvised Middle Eastern assembly-plants, which are but extensions of American factories."

What do they mean by "alternative leadership"?

Is it an Arab leadership that pursues other objectives than

those which we deem to be the principal objectives of our dynamic nationalism? If so, our rejection of such leadership has already been made known to the whole world. And, if so, then the new American profession of respect for Arab nationalism is insincere; for it is not Arab nationalism as we Arabs understand it that America now accepts, but Arab nationalism as American policy-makers understand it.

Or do they mean by "alternative leadership" such leadership as would be more docile, more meek and timid and supine, and more subservient to outside pressures? Such leadership can no more command our respect and allegiance than that which compromised our interests and mortgaged our destiny, and which we have categorically rejected.

Perhaps, then, they mean by "alternative leadership" such Arab leadership as espouses our national cause and pursues our national objectives as we understand them. If so, why seek "alternative leadership" at all—unless the intention be to divide our ranks in order to keep the Arab World disunited and therefore more manageable.

Having attended your convention for the last four days, having watched you in your enthusiasm and in your apprehension, having studied your moods and your thoughts, having listened to your outburst of applause, and having listened to your reaction to what I have been telling you for the last few minutes, I am emboldened to declare emphatically to those who are now busy searching for "alternative leadership" in the Arab World: "Your maneuvers shall fail. You shall not find among the emerging leaders of dynamic Arab nationalism one genuine leader who will be prepared to make of himself a tool for national disunity—nor shall you find followers for such a leader. A movement based on the dedication to authentic unity cannot lend itself to the disunifying tactics of those who want to keep it weak and helpless. You shall not find a dynamic Arab nationalist who will lend himself to be used as an instrument of division. Such a being is a contradiction in terms, a logical impossibility, of the same species as a circular triangle, and as hard to find as a dancing cripple."

I am convinced that the newer Western strategy which is now being contemplated—the strategy of grooming "alternative leadership" as a means for circumventing dynamic Arab nationalism—will fail as dismally as did the first strategy of containing dynamic Arab nationalism by indirect intervention or the second strategy of opposing it by direct military intervention.

Sooner or later, American officialdom will be convinced of the truth of what I am now affirming.

Sooner or later, American officialdom will discover, by sad and tragic experience, that all half-way measures, all middle-of-the-road attitudes, are equally of no avail; that indirect intervention, direct military intervention, and circumvention, are equally incapable of debilitating dynamic Arab nationalism.

When American officialdom learns the obvious, it will have to make a crucial choice between two radically-opposed attitudes towards dynamic Arab nationalism. America will have to choose between a dignified policy of support for (or at least a coming-to-terms with) our legitimate national aspirations, on the one hand, and a policy of outright destruction of our national movement, and indeed of our very na-

tional existence, on the other hand. Let America waste no time on futile experimentation with middle-of-the-road measures. It must either accommodate itself to our just national movement, or else embark on an adventure of occupation of the entire Arab World.

Sooner or later, America will have to make its choice between these two alternatives

I am confident that America will, in the end, decide to respond constructively to our legitimate national aspirations—although it may take time before American policy-makers become fully convinced of the futility of all half-way measures for arresting, containing circumventing dynamic Arab nationalism.

Honest recognition of the legitimacy and the irresistibility of dynamic Arab nationalism is the beginning of wisdom. Principle and self-interest alike counsel a drastic reversal of the American policies of the recent past, and a dignified and mutually-advantageous "coming to terms" with dynamic Arab nationalism. I am hopeful that this realization will yet dawn upon the policy-makers of the United States. And, the more they toy with half-way measures and experiment with middle-of-the-road policies, the more will they experience disappointments and failures; and, as a result, the more prepared will they be to make a drastic revision of their unrealistic policies of today and yesterday.

It is this, then, that I consider to be the silver-lining in the cloud. It is this that is the supreme progress accomplished by dynamic Arab nationalism in the course of the past year on the battlefield of our struggle with outside forces—namely, the elimination of all alternatives, and the realization by those who had entertained them that all those paths were but luring blind-alleys.

When the last dead-end street comes to be recognized for what it is, the opportunity will be at hand for America to discover the only real path towards safeguarding its legitimate interests in the Arab World: namely, support for dynamic Arab nationalism.

Despite all our bitter experiences in the past year, then, I am hopeful that we might yet look back, in the future, at the year 1958 and describe it as the year in which America discovered—or, at least, began to discover—that all those seeming avenues on which it had tried to travel towards the Middle East were in reality dead-end streets; and, therefore, the year in which America began to consider—or, at least, conditioned itself to consider—turning towards the only real channel of access to the heart of the Arab World.

It is because of this that I entertain guarded hope about the future, even while the cloud still casts its ominous shadow over American-Arab relations.

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THERE IS ONLY ONE WAY  
FOR ISRAEL TO PROCEED

By Dorothy Thompson



DOROTHY THOMPSON

The overweening difficulty of bringing reason to bear on the Arab-Israeli problem is that all discussion is surcharged with emotionalism, and colored and distorted by Zionist-Jewish propaganda.

The number of Americans who have any firsthand knowledge of the Arab world or of its history even in this century is extremely limited. When, eight years ago, I took the lead in forming "The American Friends of the Middle East" it was at the behest of people not prominent in public life, many of them in universities, who had spent years in the Eastern Mediterranean countries, as scholars, archeologists, missionaries, social workers, or who had, through disinterested study and reading, achieved competence, and who were not "in politics."

All knew that the policy being pursued by the United States in giving uncritical (and virtually unlimited) support to nascent Israel regardless of the policies pursued by that state would inevitably alienate the Arab people, turn the whole world against the United States and the West, and toward whatever great power would give it moral support.

From the very beginning "AFME," as it came to be called, fell under a constant barrage of fire directed through every media of communication, and especially vulnerable. This story of organized boycotts, character assassination, libel, slander, and commercial pressures, is a blight on the history of our time in which numerous organized forces perpetually suppress or obscure appeals to reasons.

I resigned as President of AFME and from its Board of Directors two years ago, first because I had never intended to stay after the organization was on its feet, and second because I wanted to be completely free.

What I now write is, I believe, entirely without resentment or recrimination. I have never been anti-Semitic (or more correctly anti-Jewish) as every honest person who knows me or my writ-

ings is aware.

Nor am I anti-Israel, in the sense of believing that an autonomous and self-governing Hebrew Community has no right to exist in the land of the origin of Hebraic self-consciousness.

I am only convinced by observation, logic and reason that any state within the Arab world and completely surrounded by it must live within it, as part of it, in helpful cooperation with it, making its cause its own cause, and not as an alien and exclusive body directed against it, intriguing against it with every Western government, lending support to every divisive element within it, and making "pro-Arab" into a term of opprobrium.

One of the most flourishing periods of Jewish culture occurred when with Europe in chaos centers of learning passed to the Eastern Mediterranean and there was an intermingling of Jewish and Arabian knowledge, science, and culture. The Jews, as a people, should always recall that they flourished in Spain under the Moors and suffered excruciatingly under the Christian Spaniards.

At any rate it remains my unshakable conviction that only what is really good for the Arabs is good for Israel, and that no Israel can long survive in peace that does not identify itself with its neighbors—the children of Jacob with the children of his brother Esau, the children of Isaac with those of his brother Ismael, and that those Jews who have longed to return "home" must recognize that home is not theirs alone.

If the Arab people are determined to base their future on non-alignment with either great power bloc, as they certainly are, Israel must adopt the same policy and Americans must stop talking and thinking of Israel at a "bastion of the West."

Israel must go back to the ideas of a great, enlightened Western Jew, Judah Magnes, and not promote with American Jewish support the Ghetto-Chauvinism of David Ben-Gurion.

A settlement with the Soviet is possible in the Middle East, but it is inconceivable along present lines. If such a settlement, based on mutual non-interference, is betrayed by Russia the Arab myth of Russian beneficence will evaporate.

If anyone can suggest anything more rational, let him do so.

Gift News Broadcast  
By U.S.I. Service

In our September 11 issue, we published an article about Mr. George Coury, of Miami, Florida, who donated \$100,000 to his Alma Mater, Notre Dame University, for a Student Loan Fund. The Caravan has learned that

LEAVES FOR SYRIA



METROPOLITAN ANTHONY BASHIR, above, Archbishop of New York and all North America, is leaving for Lebanon and Syria next Monday, October 6, to participate in the Synod election of a new Antiochian Patriarch to succeed the late Patriarch Alexandros Tahan.

Accompanying His Eminence are the following members of the Archdiocesan Board of Directors and their wives: Mr. and Mrs. Mousa Soaid of Montreal, Canada, Mr. & Mrs. Monsour Laham of Boston, Mr. Abdallah J. Corey of Ohio, Dr. and Mrs. A. S. Abdun-Nur of Los Angeles, California and Dr. & Mrs. Shaker Ilyas of Pittsburgh, Pa.

Conditions in Lebanon had delayed the election of a new Orthodox Patriarch.

RETURNS FROM TRIP  
TO EUROPE AND M. E.



DR. FOUAD AL AKL, above, dean of our surgeons and noted writer, poet and social leader, returned with Mrs. Akl (Peggy) from an extended vacation in Europe and the Middle East, with many interesting stories to tell. In spite of Dr. Akl's full schedule, the editor of The Caravan is trying hard to induce him to write about a few of his experiences and impressions during his trip.

Mr. Coury was approached by the Mid-East Information Branch of the State Department to gain his permission to relate the story of this gift throughout the Arab World. Mr. Coury agreed.

MIDDLE EASTERN PEOPLE  
STRIVING FOR INDEPENDENCE  
Says Former American Ambassador

URBANA, Illinois, 6 September, 1958 — "The people of the Middle East are striving for independence, sovereignty and self expression. But they seek something more important than this, they desire to be treated as equals as they seek a sense of participation in world affairs", said Mr. Harold Minor, President of the American Friends of the Middle East, at the concluding banquet of the Seventh Annual Convention of the Arab Students in the United States, meeting at the University of Illinois.

Mr. Minor, a former American Ambassador to Lebanon, pointed out that above all, the Arabs seek recognition of their right to understanding human dignity and justice.

"The West has failed to understand the power and validity of the Nationalism that is sweeping the Arab world", said Mr. Minor. "We have given the impression of opposing rather than understanding and working with this force. Somehow we have tragically failed to associate ourselves with the people of the area in their great revolution. We have also failed to sympathize with the people, with their very natural desire for neutralism, even though President Eisenhower has pointed out that this is a position which Americans should comprehend." "We have seemed to substitute



Harold B. Minor

mechanisms of power such as pacts, agreements and doctrines for the more enduring value of human understanding."

Mr. Minor suggested that only through such understanding of people could there be hope of stopping the erosion of the Western position in the Middle East.

In conclusion Mr. Minor said we should now direct ourselves toward the heart of the problem, that is the Arab refugees and the Palestine problem. There will be no peace in the Middle East until this problem has been tackled realistically and courageously by the Western Powers.

NEWS OF THE ARAB WORLD

The U. S. Navy and Marines combined in a dawn operation to whisk threatened pre-Western Premier Sami Solh out of Lebanon and to safety in Turkey.

The hush-hush move was planned and swiftly carried out as armed men reappeared on city streets and a wholesale wave of kidnappings threatened to touch off more violence.

Before the plump, whitehaired, 70-year-old premier left, he gave a written resignation for himself and his cabinet to outgoing President Camille Chamoun, who hands over his office Tuesday to Gen. Shehab.

Solh's departure was so secret that not even his brother and sister were told until he had left Lebanese soil in Adm. James Holloway's personal aircraft. Solh has narrowly escaped five attempts on his life in the past two months. Several other persons died in the assassination tries.

The decision was taken after pro-Chamoun newspaper columnist Fouad Haddad was mysteriously kidnapped. The incident set off a series of arbitrary abductions by armed men of both pro and anti-Chamoun factions.

Beirut, Sept. 21 — A round-the-clock curfew until Tuesday midnight was suddenly ordered into effect tonight as shootings and wholesale kidnappings threatened to set off a new explosion before Lebanon's presidential change-over.

The curfew order was issued after emergency talks between outgoing President Camille Chamoun and President-elect Gen. Fuad Shehab, who takes office Tuesday at a closed ceremony in Parliament.

It was aimed at quashing a general strike called for

## For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayez  
A. Sayegh



### THE END OF A CIVIL WAR

After four-and-a-half months of bloodshed the Lebanese civil war came to an end. The uprising of political parties, political leaders, and multimorph popular groups of Camille Chamoun, initiated on May 10, 1958, came to an end on September 23, with the ascent of General Shehab to the Presidency.

It is appropriate to inquire: What did the civil war accomplish? Was it a failure of was it a success?

To answer this question adequately, we must recall the objectives of the insurgents and the causes of their insurrection, and compare the situation after the end of the civil war with the situation as it had been prior to the civil war.

In the articles we published in June and July on the Causes of the Lebanese civil war, we pointed out that the main reason for the crisis was the departure of Camille Chamoun from the accepted principles of Lebanon's policies, domestic and foreign, as defined in the National Charter of 1943, and his intended violation of the Constitution of Lebanon by seeking to succeed himself in office. It was in order to reassert the stipulations of the National Charter and to safeguard the constitutional provisions against reelection of a president for a second consecutive term that the Opposition forces took up arms against Chamoun and his regime.

ALL THESE OBJECTIVES OF THE CIVIL WAR HAVE BEEN ATTAINED OR ARE NOW ON THE WAY TOWARDS ATTAINMENT, AS A RESULT OF THE COLLAPSE OF THE CHAMOUN REGIME.

The civil war forced Chamoun to surrender his ambition to be reelected. The Constitution was upheld, and a new President is now in office.

The new President has repeatedly announced his respect for the National Charter of 1943 and his intention to observe it. He has solemnly indicated his determination to restore to Lebanon the national unity and solidarity, which the National Charter had enshrined, and which Chamoun's policies since 1956 had torn apart.

A new Prime Minister has been installed to replace the former Prime Minister who had been Chamoun's instrument in violating, by his foreign and domestic policies, the Lebanese consensus proclaimed in the National Charter. It is symbolic of the change in orientation that the new Prime Minister is precisely the man who fired the first shot in the civil war indicating his protest against Chamoun's desecration of the National Charter.

The new Prime Minister has proclaimed his intention to restore the neutralist foreign policy stipulated in the National Charter.

While solemnly announcing his dedication to an independent Lebanon, the new Prime Minister—just as the new President—has also announced his equal dedication to Lebanon's solidarity with the Arab family and to Lebanon's neutrality with respect to foreign powers.

In short, the character of Lebanon which was defined in the

National Charter of 1943, and which was radically distorted under Chamoun, has now been—or is now being—actively restored; the civil war has vindicated itself, in its triumph over those who had sought to disfigure Lebanon, and in its restoration of an image of Lebanon which symbolizes the widest consensus of the various segments of Lebanese groups, interests, and orientations.

The image of Lebanon, as it was painted by the National Charter, was that of (1) an independent state, (2) internally balanced and harmonious, (3) solidly attached to the Arab community within the Arab League, (4) honestly neutral in its dealings with foreign Powers, and (5) scrupulously ruled by the supreme law of the land. Chamoun's policies had desecrated these principles of Lebanon's free existence. It upset the internal balance, served Lebanon's friendly ties with other Arab countries, made mockery of neutrality, held the constitution in contempt, and—as a last stroke—mortgaged the independence of Lebanon by calling foreign troops into the country in order to protect a power-hungry ruler. The civil war, by reversing these errant trends, brought Lebanon back to the right tracks.

To be sure, the restoration of the legitimate order of things to Lebanon's life was not without high costs. Lebanon has paid a great price in order to rid itself of a system that had desecrated the principles of its true existence and in order to disengage itself from the blunderous policies and practices of the discredited regime. Lebanon has paid a high price in terms of human life: more than 2,000 Lebanese are said to have lost their lives.

Lebanon has paid a high price in terms of earthly fortunes: several hundreds of millions of dollars have been lost.

Lebanon has paid a high price in terms of internal harmony. The balance of interests among various groups of Lebanese, laboriously built during thirteen years of cooperation within the framework of the National Charter, has been upset, and old animosities and suspicions have been aroused.

Lebanon, above all, has paid a high price in terms of its independence. The indignity of foreign occupation—however temporary it may yet prove to be, and however benign in character it may be said to have been—has been inflicted on the proud land of Lebanon at the behest of its outgoing president and his lieutenants. By all standards, this human, material, political and national price was high indeed.

And history (that impartial tribunal before which all human actions shall sooner or later stand for judgement) will pass a severe verdict over those whose lust for power, and whose disregard for

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constitutional integrity and popular wishes rendered them so intransigent in their errors that there was no way to arrest their their blunderous courses of action or to dislodge them from office other than civil war.

But when all is said, it remains undoubtedly true that, for the restoration of the true image of Lebanon, internally and externally, and for the safeguarding of constitutional authority, the price—however high it was—was not higher than the reward.

The prize indeed, was well worth the price.

### Charleston,

W. Va. News

By

LeNore Rashid



Labor Day Festivities saw a round of engagement parties given for Virginia Thabet and fiancé, Mitchell Habib. Miss Thabet has been in New York for the past 3 years as Home Equipment Editor for "The American Home" magazine.

Mr. Habib is a native New Yorker.

Mary Lou and Janice George of Kansas City, Missouri, are here visiting Dolores Shreed of Montgomery, for two weeks. On the agenda for the sisters' stay is a trip to the famous Greenbrier Hotel for a day of shopping and luncheon.

Announcement of the engagement of Miss Barbara Ruth Thabet, daughter of Mrs. Ruth Thabet and the late Mr. Fred Thabet to Mr. Jim Norman III of Charleston, was made Saturday, the 13th at a dinner party given by the bride-to-be's mother.

A few West Virginians attending the ALSAC Convention in Chicago are Dr. Eli Namey, Mrs. Ruth Thabet, Chapter President; Mr. Nathan Haddad, Vice-President; Mrs. Madeline Brown, Miss LeNore Rashid.

Visiting here from Wichita, Kan. is Miss Jeanette Farha, she has been visiting her aunts Mrs. Aziz Farha and Mrs. Sah Shreed.

In from New York is George Gannon visiting parents, Mr. & Mrs. Toufic Gannon, and brother Alfred in Oak Hill, W. Va.

A ranch party was given in his honor Saturday night. CONGRATULATIONS to Mr. and Mrs. Edward Farha on their First Anniversary, Sept. 20.

A very successful open house was held Sunday, Sept. 14th, at "The Pines" in a White Sulphur Springs, W. Va. A Buffet Dinner was served to some 100 guest that evening. Good luck to its owner and operator, Mr. Floyd Shreed.

## All Is Not Well In Israel

From an Editorial by William Zukerman in the "Jewish News Letter" entitled:

### ISRAEL'S CONTAINED IMMIGRATION

The Middle East crisis obscured an important internal problem in Israel which would have occupied the front pages of the newspapers in normal times. Even now it is one of the big stories in the country and is the cause for anxiety among the top leaders. A recent emergency meeting of the Department of Immigration of the Jewish Agency, attended by Premier Ben-Gurion, revealed official showing that the immigration to Israel for the first half of this year had reached an all-time low of 8,534. At this rate, the total immigration for the year would be 16,000, as compared with 70,000 in 1957 and 120,000 in 1956, and would make 1958 the smallest immigration year since 1953.

The most serious aspect of the problem is that this decline is not temporary due to a specific cause; it is a result of conditions implicit in the Jewish immigration situation in the world which is not likely to change in the near future. For the three main reservoirs from which Jewish immigration to Israel was drawn have been either exhausted or blocked.

Immigration from Poland and from other Communist countries, the mainstay and chief hope of Israeli immigration, which yielded about 35,000 immigrants last year, has been almost entirely suspended because of the latest political changes in the Cold War. Soviet Russia and the Communist countries are now practically allies of the Arab States and they will not do anything to antagonize them—and that rules out Jewish immigration from those countries for years to come. The other source of mass immigration—Morocco, Algeria and other North African countries has also been practically blocked for the same reason.

The third source, the Western countries, had to be abandoned long ago. Not only do American, British, Canadian and other Jews who have homes in Western and overseas countries refuse to immigrate to Israel, but even those who plan to leave their homes do not go to Israel. Immigration figures published by HIAS (United Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society) and by the Canadian Jewish press show that there is considerable and growing immigration of Jews from all European countries to South America, Canada and the United States, while Israel, which is much nearer to these immigrants, is being studiously ignored, despite the free transportation and other inducements it offers.

### The "Returnees"

The problem has been complicated still more by another, even more painful, issue—the so-called "returnees" (people who leave Israel). The emergency meeting which discussed the critical situation of immigration to Israel also touched upon this problem. It was revealed that 6,000 Jews officially registered as immigrants have left Israel this year; 110,000 have left since the establishment of the State. A great many more, whose number cannot be ascertained, have left the country as tourists. According to official information, the number of people expected to leave Israel this year will reach 30,000. At the Polish Consulate in Tel-Aviv alone, 6,500 immigrants have registered for emigration. Of those who left, 26 percent are old and well-established settlers, including native-born Sabras.

The most painful fact about the "returnees" is that Israeli students

who are sent by the government to study at foreign universities as well as instructors and other emissaries do their utmost to remain in foreign countries rather than return home. Of 3,000 students who are sent to complete their education abroad at government expense only 600 returned. In short, while practically all source of new immigration have been closed, the flow of emigrants from Israel is steadily rising.

At the emergency meeting it was decided to introduce a motion in the Knesset to appoint a committee of specialists and psychologists to investigate the problem and to ascertain the reasons why the immigration trends run counter to all Zionist ideological tenets. Whatever new reasons the Israeli committee may discover, this year's facts fully confirm the old well-known criticism advanced by opponents of Zionism that the Israeli immigration policy, based on the calamitous "Ingathering of the Exiles" is doomed to complete failure because the economic, political, cultural and psychological forces in Jewish life work against it.

### Containment by Diplomacy

To these old forces a new one has now been added, one which few critics have thus far anticipated. It consists of the fact that the Arab States have suddenly become an important political power in the world and they can actually stop further mass immigration into Israel at the source by diplomatic pressures. In fact, they have already done so. During the last year, Russia, Poland and the entire Communist block, as well as Morocco and Tunisia, in order to please the Arab States, have contained Israel's immigration to an unprecedented degree by merely issuing an order. They already have practically eliminated the "Ingathering of the Exiles" and dealt a serious blow to the Messianic aspirations of Israel to become the "redeemer" of the Jews of the World. In short, the de-Zionization of Israel has begun. This is the significance of Israel's present immigration crisis. The new element of Arab power introduced into the picture seems to have accomplished more than all the appeals to reason, common sense and the criticism of the anti-nationalists. It may even start Israel on the road to becoming just another modest nation in the Middle East which is the first prerequisite to peace.

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ARAB LEADER HERE—Tariq Khudayri, studying for his doctor's degree in chemical engineering at Michigan State university, and president of the university's Arab club, greeted Dr. Faye A. Sayegh, spokesman for Arab states in the United Nations, who spoke Tuesday night at the M. S. U. horticulture auditorium.

Speaker Declares Dulles Caused U.S.-Nasser Split

By DORIS JARRELL  
(State Journal Staff Writer)

All the Arab states eventually will be led by one man—Nasser, or someone like Nasser—according to Dr. Faye A. Sayegh, spokesman for the United Arab delegation in the United Nations.

Dr. Sayegh, whose appearance Tuesday evening in the Michigan State university horticulture auditorium was sponsored by the university's Arab club, is counselor of the Arab States delegation office in the United Nations. He is principal spokesman for the middle east in the United States.

"Every Arabic-speaking section of the middle east must find its place in the Arab federation," Sayegh said. He denied that Nasser of Egypt had inspired governmental changes in other Arab states, but that "the movement that Nasser symbolizes" has brought about the changes, resulting in the United Arab states.

He attributed the split between Nasser and the United States to "a personality clash between Dulles and Nasser" and to the fact that "Nasser has been just too successful for the United States."

He described United States' policies in the middle east as showing "progression in attitude."

"The United States first tried

giving economic assistance to maintain governments in power, whether or not they were popular with the people. Any government that said it liked America received aid. When economic aid failed and the government was overthrown, the United States then tried military intervention," he said. He pointed to the toppled government of Iraq as one which had received the most American economic aid.

Sayegh shrugged off current rebellious activities of the Phalangist group in Lebanon as the "usual aftermath of civil war."

He described the Phalangists, opposed to the new government, as isolationist extremists" and predicted that the Lebanon pro-Chamoun parliament may be dissolved soon if it refuses to cooperate with the present government.

Sayegh said that "legitimacy" was restored to Lebanon's government when Chamoun, supported by the United States, was removed as Lebanon's president. He maintained that Chamoun had rigged elections in 1957 by changing voting districts to eliminate his opponents, and that the United States "must have been aware of it."

Oil revenue has been put to good use in Lebanon, Iraq and Kuwait for economic development, according to Sayegh, and it is expected that Saudi Arabia's free-spending royal family will see that it, too, must further divert oil wealth to development of the country.

Stillwater Gazette: October 17, 1958

Written by Leading Arab Spokesman in America

'Arab Unity' Reveals Understanding

By KEN WEAVER  
News-Press Mng., Ed.

Stillwater residents who think of the Middle East only as an area "somewhere over there" and Arabs as camel-riding savages will understand better the area and its peoples by reading Dr. Faye A. Sayegh's new book, "Arab Unity, Hope and Fulfillment."

They will understand, too, the reasons for the drive toward unity by the Arabs and the need for recognition of the Arab states in the community of nations — the necessity for recognition of these proud states, not as satellites of one or more of the stronger powers, but as nations seeking respect.

Local residents will remember Dr. Sayegh for his talks here to the Arab Students convention, to the International Relations Council, and, more recently, to the American Legion post, where he pointed out the similarity between the drive by the Arabs toward unity and the American Revolution and the birth of the United States.

Dr. Sayegh, leading Arab spokesman in America, speaks with authority and knowledge of

both his fellow Arabs and of Americans.

Certainly he is, as often described, "the most articulate" exponent of the Arab point of view in the United States. He has appeared on dozens of coast-to-coast television and radio programs and has been interviewed hundreds of times. He has participated in more than 60 conferences on the Middle East and lectured widely on campuses of all major American universities and before many different kinds of audiences across the nation.

Dr. Sayegh's contention is that nothing can halt the drive toward unification into one great federation of Arabs. This federation, he believes, will be friendly to the West unless we make it impossible. He points out that idea of Arab unity is not new to the 80 million Arabic speaking people of the Middle East.

In his book, published by the Devin-Adair Co., of New York, he examines and traces the background of Arab unity.

As one who considers Dr. Sayegh a dear friend, but who considers himself capable of professional objectivity, I recom-

mend strongly this effort of Dr. Sayegh's to explain the Arab position.

Some readers may find the book imposing in its language, because Dr. Sayegh speaks and writes English much better than most native born Americans.

His education includes bachelor and master of arts degrees from the American University of Beirut, Lebanon, and his doctorate in philosophy from Georgetown university, Washington, D.C. He lectured at both universities.

He also was visiting lecturer in the graduate school of Yale university.

His fellow Arabs have recognized his talents. Consequently he has served in many capacities in connection with the United Nations. He also was research officer at the embassy of Lebanon and adviser to the Lebanese delegation.

At the United Nations he served as Middle East program officer, radio division; and as special affairs officer, human rights division.

More recently he was acting director of the Arab States Delegations office. He is coun-

seller of that delegation and counselor to the Yemen delegation to the United Nations.

In addition to seven books in Arabic, Dr. Sayegh has published five booklets in English and contributed chapters to the "New Look at the Middle East" and "Oil and Turmoil."

His articles and book reviews have appeared in "Current History, Social Science, Middle East Journal, Middle East Forum, Muslim World, Islamic Review, Arab World, Lands East, Jewish Newsletter, National Herald, American Mercury, Progressive, Moody Monthly, America, Free World," and others. Since 1957, he has been writing a weekly column on Arab affairs in the "Caravan."

Dr. Sayegh is a Christian Arab, the son of a Presbyterian minister who is one of the million Arab refugees from Palestine — now Israel. It is to his credit that he has never written or spoken, so far as I remember, a word of revenge in referring to the creation of Israel.

Furthermore, his honesty, his integrity, is warming. Any American who knows him is struck by his Lincolnian quality.

ties, his sincerity, his good will. He is a man with a mission, which he prays — as he has told me many times, Americans will understand.

If they thoughtfully read this book and hear the cry of truth for justice, they will.



DR. FAYEZ SAYEGH



Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, October 9, 1958

THE CARAVAN

Page Seven

## For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayez  
A. Sayegh



### THE MORAL POINT OF DEPARTURE

NOTE:—The JEWISH NEWSLETTER is a bi-weekly periodical published in New York by Mr. William Zukerman, a courageous editor who is not afraid of being a non-conformist. Its motto is "Independent thinking on Jewish Problems". In the summer, Mr. Zukerman initiated a series of articles on the relations between Arabs and Israelis. The series ran from May 19 until July 28. Among the contributors were men like Professor Arnold Toynbee, the world-renowned historian; Martin Buber, the philosopher; Erich Fromm, the psychologist; Clarence Pickett, the pre-eminent Quaker, and others.

It was requested by the Editor to participate in the series; and this I did with some hesitation. My article was published (with some editorial abbreviation) as the last in the series. It appeared in the issue of July 28. I insert the full text of my article in this week's space.

In the same issue in which my article appeared, a reply by Professor Herman Gray was also published. The Editor asked me to comment on the reply. I shall publish the "debate" between Professor Gray and myself in next week's issue.

The three articles are re-published here with kind permission from Mr. Zukerman and, through him, from Professor Gray.

It was not without much reluctance that I agreed to make these observations on the current series of articles being published by the Jewish Newsletter. For I feel somewhat uneasy about voicing basic disagreement with the views of some of the distinguished contributors to this series, whose aims I respect and in whose intentions I have confidence.

The Arab-Israeli Conflict of the past decade, and the underlying Palestine Problem of the past forty-one years, illustrate a basic feature of human hostility: namely, that disputes of a political nature often reflect, and result from, deeper conflicts of a spiritual-ethical character. In such disputes, efforts at political settlement, unless preceded by spiritual reconciliation and moral rectification, are doomed to practical futility as well as moral reprehensibility. Obversely, when candid examination of conscience, repentance, contrition, and a sincere determination to atone for evil and injustice are induced, or when they otherwise come to obtain, then even those obstinate political impediments which may have seemed insurmountable tend to submit to peaceful and generous settlement and to enduring agreement.

No appraisal of the Palestine Problem can be adequate or fair unless it takes its departure from this incontrovertible and self-evident fact: In the encounter between the Arabs and political Zionism, earlier in the present century, one party was passive while the other was active. The Arabs did not go with acquisitive intent towards the lands inhabited by Zionists. It was the politically-motivated Zionists who flocked into Palestine with the avowed intention of acquiring land, bringing in more people, and ultimately setting up a Zionist state on Palestinian territory, and perhaps beyond the boundaries of Palestine as well, without the consent and indeed despite the opposition of the population of Palestine. The Arabs sought and obtained nothing from the Zionists; it was the Zionists who coveted and obtained — largely by force — whatever they now

possess in Palestine. Whatever territory Israel occupies today was inhabited and owned by the people of Palestine; whatever Israel has today, represents a loss sustained by the population of Palestine. The avenue of seeking someone else's possessions was not a two-way street; the burden of responsibility for the fact that there came to be a Palestine Problem at all, and for the form assumed by that problem, rests unevenly on the shoulders of the two parties.

Unless this crucial fact is acknowledged as the moral point of departure, and unless the serious recognition of this fact profoundly effects the entire approach to the Palestine Problem, then all the honorable intentions of men of good will to solve that problem will fail to produce concepts of a solution or to devise blueprints for a settlement consonant in their moral quality or in their potentiality for durable implementation with the benevolence of the original impulse or the integrity of the initial motive of peace-makers.

I must confess, in all candor, that I have grown impatient with the moral relativism implicit in the utterances of well-meaning people who, in an effort to appear "impartial" and who accordingly proceed to exhort both sides to evince equal readiness to "compromise."

Are the "wrongs" committed by a people seeking to defend its rightful possessions to be equated with the wrongs committed by others in their endeavor to acquire those possessions? Is the primary wrong of the one who strove to dispossess the other to be dismissed in the concentration on the subsequent and resultant, allegedly equal, wrongs committed by invader and defender in the process of giving effect to the avaricious intention of one party to dispossess the other?

And, with respect to the plea for "equal concession" can any one validly ignore that whatever one party now possesses has been acquired avariciously at the expense of the other party, and then complacently proceed to appeal to both parties — the dispossessed and the dispossessor alike — to make "equal compromises" from this point onwards?

Send in your questions on the Middle East to Dr. Sayegh, and help him to bring you the weekly column you want to read.

Questions dealing with statements or current beliefs which tend to place the Arab countries or Arab-Americans in a bad light are particularly recommended.

Send your questions to "For The Record," c/o The Caravan, 172-174 Hoyt Street, Brooklyn 17, N. Y., or phone them in at Main 5-5096.

By taking their departure from the situation as it is today, by ignoring the process which made it what it is, and by following an arithmetical, "quantitative" approach to "compromise" in oblivion to the essentially dissimilar and unequal qualitative-moral values of the present positions of the two parties, those who enjoin both parties to exhibit equal readiness to compromise from now on virtually ask the dispossessed to surrender more than they have already lost, while recommending that the dispossessor be rewarded for past wrongdoing.

The entire structure of morality is subverted by such relativism in judgment and by the cognate amoral concept of impartiality.

There has been no scarcity of political proposals for settlement. What has been lacking is the earnest grappling with the "original sin" which generated, and which has also permeated the evolution of, the Palestine Problem.

The Arab governments directly concerned with the Palestine Problem have repeatedly and formally announced their readiness to accept a political settlement based on the cumulative resolutions of the United Nations, and within the framework of United Nations jurisprudence. They have made this announcement in the discussions with the Palestine Conciliation Commission of the United Nations which culminated in the signing of the Protocol of Lausanne on May 12, 1949; at Bandung, in April, 1955; and on many other occasions before United Nations bodies. If the United Nations concept of Israel and of Arab-Israeli settlement, though declared by the Arab governments to be acceptable to them, have nevertheless failed to attain implementation, it is only because political Zionism, which initially made use of a United Nations recommendation in order to bring Israel into being, has declined since 1949 to accept any United Nations recommendation or decision the import of which was to confine Israel within those territorial and demographic limitations which were originally decreed by the United Nations when it legislated Israel into existence and which have been repeatedly reiterated since then.

Thus, the Arabs (to whom the United Nations recommendation entailed loss of inalienable national and individual rights) have come to accept those recommendations, although they continue to withhold moral approval; while Zionism (to which the United Nations granted every privilege enjoyed by Israel, by virtue of its statehood, at Arab expense; and to which the recommendations of the United Nations therefore represent net gain) has consistently challenged the authority of the United Nations to enforce limitations on the scope or exercise of Zionist statehood.

In accepting the cumulative resolutions of the United Nations concerning Palestine as a basis for political settlement, the Arabs have made the greatest concession that a people may be in good faith called upon to make; they have shown readiness to sacrifice national possessions and rights in deference to world order and regional (and perhaps global) peace. On the other hand, in refusing to surrender such assets as it has forcibly acquired in excess of what had been gratuitously bestowed upon it by the United Nations at the expense of the Arabs, political Zionism reveals once more its insatiable avarice which from the outset alarmed the Arabs and prompted them to oppose and resist Zionist encroachment however disguised it was at its initial phases.

exercise of Zionist statehood.

And now we are being treated to moralistic, non-partisan efforts at peace-making which, instead of firmly drawing the line between right and wrong, seek to prevail upon the Arabs to make further concessions. The Arabs are being called upon — not by politicians whose trade mark is amoral compromise, but by moralists — to acknowledge that, not only the statehood of Israel as such, but also the mass exile of the Arabs of Palestine and the territorial expansion of the initial Israeli beach-head, are "there to stay," while Israel is being exhorted to make some "token concessions" falling far short of the surrender of the assets it has forcibly acquired in excess of what it had been granted by the United Nations.

Such watering-down of the concept of justice and moral law, however well-meaning, may prove in the long run to be as guilty of emboldening Israel to cling to the fait accompli in its entirety, as has the outright support of the Zionist International upon responsible for encouraging Israel to believe that it can disregard its moral and legal obligations (as well as its long-range self-interest) with impunity, nay, with assurance of support. The only difference is that the blind support of world Zionism for Israel's intransigent adherence to the fait accompli has at least the merit of consistency.

I am not unaware that, as far as proposals for political settlement are concerned, much of what I have written may be pronounced negative. Perhaps, however, the greatest positive contribution to the political settlement that one can make is to disabuse the mind of non-partisan, moralistic peace-makers of the illusion that political compromises predicated on the virtual condonation of wrongdoing can lead to just or durable peace.

I do not believe that "good will" decrees that a victim be urged to submit to injustice simply because his non-submission may perpetuate turmoil or may retard regional socio-economic progress, or simply because the perpetrator of injustice adamantly refuses to atone for it.

I do not believe that the call for "token atonement" by the dispossessor absolves those who make that call from the higher duty of demanding "honest atonement."

I do not believe that, in a conflict involving qualitative disparity in wrong doing, "non-partisanship" as such is morally defensible.

I do not believe that the drawing up of "amoral blueprints" for the settlement of an essentially moral problem is consistent with the moral vision of that problem.

I do not believe that "impartiality" and "non-partisanship"

decreed that the wrongs — real or alleged — committed in the course of self-defense be equated with the undeniable wrongs committed in the process of encroachment, in utter oblivion to the wrongfulness of encroachment as such.

I do not believe that "peace at any price" — including the price of justice, human dignity, and respect for inalienable rights — is desirable or even justified.

I do not believe that the pangs of the position of "mediator" assumed by an earlier contributor to this series, however humanly touching it may be, need prevent him from searching his soul in order to determine whether his approach to mediation was not in itself defective, and whether it was not that defectiveness that made the victims of the Palestine tragedy less disposed than they would otherwise have been to applaud and promote his efforts at conciliation. The greater danger inherent in the position of a non-partisan peace-maker is that he may develop a self-righteousness and an unreal sense of martyrdom which may militate not only against the success of his endeavors but also and primarily against their being morally worthy of success.

### Paul Michael To Appear In New Broadway Musical



PAUL MICHAEL, above, formerly of Providence, R. I. and now residing in New York, has been chosen to portray the part of 'Baptiste' in new FEUER & MARTIN musical, "WHOOPE UP." Paul has also been designated Assistant Stage Manager by Feuer & Martin, two of the biggest producers on Broadway. The show begins rehearsal on Monday, October 13; starts an out-of-town try-out of five weeks in Philadelphia's SHUBERT THEATRE, beginning November 10th; and opens in New York's Shubert Theatre on December 18, 1958.

In his last show, "BELLS ARE RINGING" starring Judy Holliday, Paul was a member of the chorus and played several parts.

Paul is also a member of Our Lady of Lebanon's Church Choir in Brooklyn; and among other activities makes up 25% of the Amalgamated Bachelor Club of Brooklyn, which includes Joseph Ganim, President-Ex-Officio, Edi Kochak, President-In-Officio, and James Glayat, President - Pro-Tem, co-ordinator of activities, reservations, and entertainment.

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Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, October 16, 1958

THE CARAVAN

Page five

## Toward A New Beginning

By Dorothy Thompson

All my life I have been involved in the fate of my country and of mankind, both greater than the fate of any individual amongst us. During the two months of my husband's illness throughout which my apprehensions greatly exceeded those of his physicians; even during the sudden relapse that in less than three days ended in his quiet passing, the so-called "crisis" in the Middle East was adding another dimension of pain and anxiety.

I say "so-called" crisis because what has occurred and drawn our country into a trap from which there is no advance but disaster and no retreat but political defeat, is not something that happened when President Chamoun of Lebanon sent an "ultimatum" to the United States and the President sent the Marines to support his embattled government; nor did it occur when the King of Jordan called on British to send military aid to his government and, as I write, is threatening to "restore order" in Iraq, whose "lawful" government has been overthrown by a military coup.

Nor did it occur when Gamal Abdul Nasser seized the Suez Canal and Israel, France and Great Britain invaded Egypt.

These are but flashes of revelatory lightning in a key where dark clouds have been accumulating for the West since World War I as the result of "solemn" promises then made for opportunistic war reasons.

British agents, most notable among them Lawrence of Arabia, raised the first anti-colonial revolt in the Arab world, against the Turkish Empire with which Britain was at war, with the promise of freedom and independence for the whole Arab world.

For the same reasons of war, Britain during World War I gave a contradictory but ambiguous promise to "World Jewry" (with which international Zionism has always identified itself) to establish a "Jewish homeland" in Palestine, Zionist leaders having argued that this would cause the defection to the allies of the German Jews.

Subsequently every wartime promise to the Arab was broken, the Arab world was partitioned, and eventually the Jews in Palestine drove the British out by an insurrection using every instrument of terror.

The Jewish insurrection was against a government "lawfully established" by a League of Nations mandate which international Zionism originally claimed to desire. It occurred because the Zionists failed in their attempt to dictate the terms on which the mandate should be exercised — terms which would, by colonization, have turned an overwhelmingly Arab country into a Jewish one. The insurrection succeeded, partly by its cunning and ferocity and partly by poisoning British relations with the U.S.A.

The withdrawal of the British Army and police in the spring of 1948 left the Palestinian Arabs totally unprotected against the Jews who, though they constituted but a small minority of the population, possessed a regular army in the "Haganat," plus two armed terrorist bands, the Stern Gang and the Irgun, and were bent on driving first the British and then the Arabs from the country and possessing their lands.

There is not the slightest question about this, Ample documentation for it comes not from Arab but from Zionist and Israel sources. When the surrounding Arab states sent their armies to protect their Palestinian brethren



DOROTHY THOMPSON

they were acting first, as they had given due notice they would, and, second, as any people worth their salt would have done under similar circumstances.

Insurrection and war had thrown the issue into the United Nations, whose General Assembly at the end of November, 1947, approved the recommendation of a special committee that the British mandate be terminated and the area divided into a Jewish and a Moslem state, linked by economic union, and with an internationalized Jerusalem.

From then on the British lost all authority in Palestine. In March, 1948 Senator Austin, then U.S. delegate to the U.N., suddenly asked for a revised policy that would put partitioned Palestine under a U.N. trusteeship. Not the most elementary instincts of protection for the Arabs influenced Harry S. Truman, but advice he had received that otherwise Western oil supplies

might be endangered. The Zionists, who possess the most efficient propaganda organization in the United States, immediately raised an outcry from coast to coast, and Thomas E. Dewey, the Republican leader, took advantage of it to woo "the Jewish vote." The question was thus thrown into the 1948 Presidential election campaign with Republicans and Democrats vying with each other for Zionist support — the most disgusting and cynical subjection of honor, decency and American interest to vote-grabbing in my recollection.

On May 14th when the British mandate expired and the U.N. Security Council was still discussing trusteeship, Ben Gurion of Israel proclaimed the establishment of the State of Israel, and President Truman immediately recognized it. This, again was totally without precedent. The action was taken for purely internal political reasons.

The Palestinian war ended in a truce wholly to the advantage of the new Israelis who had extended their territory far beyond that included in the U.N. plan. The frontiers of Israel had been fixed by coup de force. Almost the whole Arab population had been dispossessed and become wretched refugees in surrounding states, chiefly Jordan. Every provision of the original U.N. plan had been defied by Israel (and has been, ever since), and the United States had made itself the first champion of this dubious and unreckonable state and its subsequent protector and leading supporter.

This initial American action and those that followed, dictated, I repeat, by the most sordid party-political competition for votes, destroyed the hitherto unswollen

reputation of America among the Arab masses and their intellectual leadership, gave the most powerful impetus to pan-Arabism it had yet received, led directly to the army revolt in Egypt, made this latest one in Iraq inevitable, and leaves the West with a toe hold in Lebanon and Jordan, fighting, like King Canute, against a tide bearing upon its crest a new world identity.

Now, if we are not to advance to disaster or retreat to defeat—and we need do neither—we must make a total re-evaluation of our Middle Eastern policy and this demands fearless exposition of long suppressed facts.

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## Announcing a New Book by



Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh

## on ARAB UNITY Hope & Fulfillment

For the first time in any language a full-length study of Arab Unity—past and present, idea and reality — appears in the English language in August 1958.

The book consists of fifteen chapters, in about 300 pages. It is divided into three parts:

**Part I** examines the background of Arab Unity, by tracing the origin of the Arab Nation and the fragmentation of the Arab World between 1800 and 1925 into twenty-five political entities.

**Part II** describes the birth of the idea of Arab Unity as a reaction to this intensive political fragmentation, and traces the evolution of this idea during two decades, from 1925 to 1945.

**Part III** examines the ingression of the idea of Arab Unity into Arab history since 1945. The first effort to establish Arab Unity is examined at great length: the Arab League, its promise and its failure to achieve unity among the Arabs. The recent developments since February 1958 are then taken up, the rise of new unions is described.

In all candor, the Arab author examines the elements of disunity as well as the factors of unity.

The author's conclusions about the prospects of Arab Unity in the future are both revealing and timely. Much of what is happening today in Lebanon and elsewhere in the Arab World finds its explanation in the pages of this book.

The book contains also the fullest compilation of official documents on Arab Unity ever made. In carefully translated appendices, all pertinent documents are reproduced in full.

This book will be out on September 10, 1958. A special pre-publication price is now announced — \$4.00 per copy.

The book may be ordered during September at this reduced pre-publication price by writing to:

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## William Cline Appointed

New York, October 2 — The appointment of William Z. Cline as Eastern Area director of American Friends of the Middle East, Inc. was announced today by Harold B. Minor, president and chief executive officer of the organization.



**HAROLD MINOR**  
Announces Appointment

The Eastern Area offices will be located at Executive House, 225 East 46th Street, New York City.

In announcing the appointment, Mr. Minor also revealed that the administrative headquarters for the American Friends of the Middle East, presently located at 47 East 67th Street, will be moved to Washington, D. C., effective November 1.

"With this move," Mr. Minor, a retired diplomat and former U. S. ambassador to Lebanon, declared, "our Eastern Area office in New York becomes an increasingly important program center for our expanding operations.

"Due to the fact that the United Nations is in New York and a large concentration of our membership resides in this area, we

plan to give New York and its environs more personal attention than was possible while our national headquarters was located here and our attention was focused to a large extent on our international commitments.

"The program and activities of the Eastern area," he continued, "will be increased and intensified. The program here will be centered on educational, cultural and public affairs aspects of our relations with all Middle Eastern countries.

"The Board of Directors feel," Mr. Minor declared, "that Mr. Cline is the logical choice for directing the New York office. He is one of the original staff members of AFME, and his knowledge of this organization and his contribution to its program has been considerable. His contacts with foreign delegates to the United Nations, as well as with members of the communications media and the business world, are extensive," he added.

Mr. Cline has been with American Friends of the Middle East as public relations director for over six years. He is married and has a child, a four-year-old son.

American Friends of the Middle East is a non-profit, non-sectarian, cultural organization interested in a people-to-people approach to the problems affecting the relations between the United States and the countries of the Middle East. It endeavors both to interpret Americans to the Middle East and Middle Easterners to America.

## OUTLINE FOR BETTER ARAB-AMERICAN RELATIONS

By Elie A. Salem

The Arab World consists of all the Arabic speaking people from Morocco to Kuwait. On the surface the Arab World betrays disagreements and jealousies, but there lies beneath an irresistible movement to self-determination. This liberating and unifying movement is called Arab nationalism.

Any Near Eastern policy, present or future, which disregards this movement is doomed to failure. The primordial goal of Arab nationalism is political. Social and economic factors come in second. Politically the Arab's quarrel is with the West - with Britain and France because of colonialism, with the United States because of its support to Israel. The Arabs never suffered Russian control. Now Russia supports the main objectives of Arab nationalism; America seems to be opposing them.

There is a cobweb sensitivity throughout the Arab World. The Iraqi crisis, for example, is not local. It represents a microcosm of the tension in Arab political life in general. The situation therefore will not be remedied by sending aid to shaky governments and ships to turbulent shores.

### Mistaken American Attitudes

Six erroneous attitudes in American relations with the Arabs suggest themselves immediately.

1. The American attempt to bring the Arabs into pacts with the West.
2. The American attempt to set itself uninvited as the guardian of the Arabs. (The Eisenhower Doctrine is so viewed by the nationalists.)
3. The American refusal to recognize the surging tide of nationalism and to deal with its representatives on a basis of quality;
4. The American lack of sympathy toward the integral right of the Arabs to determine their own political destiny;
5. The American accusation that strong independent Arab action rests on ulterior motives inspired from abroad;

6. The misrepresentation of Arab affairs by American press, radio and television.

Let it become too late the United States must renounce its possessive statesmanship in the Arab World and recognize the stubborn facts of the area. Let the American policy-makers sit and imagine the Arab World ten years from now; and let him in light of his vision fashion his present policy.

Since there is no hope at present of the Arabs being pro-West, the United States must recognize the policy of neutrality espoused by the nationalists. To have the Arabs genuinely independent is not harmful to American interests. To tell the Arabs you are either with us or against us is childish and insulting to Arab dignity.

### What can U. S. do?

Before Israel, the Arab trusted the United States and preferred it to all foreign nations. What can the United States do now to re-enter the heart of the Arab and commune with him on a basis of trust and freedom?

In addition to the above suggestions, hidden, direct or implied, one further way of action deserves investigation. First, granted that full rights to the Arabs cannot be restored in Palestine, the United States must, as the mainstay of Israel, apply pressure on that country to comply with all the United Nations decisions regarding Palestine. This is the least the United States can do to ameliorate political tension with the Arabs.

The Arab conflict with America is based on an alienation of minds. Present American responses are therefore inadequate. If this attitude is to continue the crisis will grow deeper. It is not cowardice but courage to recognize one's error, and start all over again. In this sense a crisis is an opportunity.

**SAY YOU SAW IT IN  
THE CARAVAN**



Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, October 16, 1958

THE CARAVAN

Page Seven

# For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayez  
A. Sayegh



## A DEBATE

NOTE:—As I indicated in the prefatory note to the last column, I am publishing today the article written by Dr. Herman A. Gray, Professor of Law at New York University, replying to an article of mine which appeared in last week's column. Both articles appeared in the JEWISH NEWSLETTER of July 28. I am also publishing the reply I wrote to Dr. Gray's article, which I prepared at the request of the Editor of the JEWISH NEWSLETTER, Mr. William Zukerman, and which was originally published on October 6, 1958. Both articles are published here with kind permission from Mr. Zukerman and, through him, from Dr. Gray.

### DR. GRAY'S REPLY TO MY ARTICLE In Defense of Israel

Exactly of what property were the Arabs who lived in Palestine despoiled by the creation of the State of Israel, from what were they dispossessed? The land which the Jews owned they had obtained through purchase. The former Arab owners had been under no compulsion to part with their holding. They had sold voluntarily at prices to their satisfaction and which no one has suggested were not full value. A buyer who pays whatever price the seller is free to ask can hardly be charged with having acquired the property "avariciously at the expense" of the seller.

So, too, the birth of Israel entailed no loss of "inalienable national rights" for the Palestinian Arabs since they had none to lose. The land allotted to Israel was never an Arab State nor even part of an Arab State. It had belonged to the Ottoman Empire and fell to the Allies as the result of their victory in World War I. It then came under the control of the League of Nations from which it passed to the United Nations. In terms of "national rights" the Arabs living within this territory had no older or better claim than did the resident Jews.

Then came the war. What "rightful possessions" were the Arab States seeking to defend in making this war? They had no claim to any of the land given to Israel. They had no vested economic or political rights which were being denied them. They did not act in "self-defense." New born Israel neither made war upon them nor threatened to do so. By any criterion this was naked aggression. The purpose, to frustrate the judgement of the civilized world expressed through the United Nations.

The Arab States lost this war. Now says Dr. Sayegh they are ready to make peace on the basis of the United Nations resolution after they had failed to nullify it (incidentally, a statement believed by the facts) and he condemns the Israelis for their failure to do so. Of the war itself, Dr. Sayegh approves. He finds nothing morally wrong with this unprovoked attack and with its objective. The disruption of so many lives, the bloodshed and the killing, these he accepts. For him there is only one thing that is morally reprehensible and that is the failure of the victor to give back to the attackers what they had lost in the course of their futile adventure.

Like all wars, the war conducted by the Arab States brought its aftermath of hardship and injustices. Chief among these is the plight of the refugees. Many of the things which the Israeli Government has done since the fighting came to an end or has failed

to do can well be criticized, particularly in respect to the refugees. But, in so far as what has transpired has its origin in this war and stems from it, the Israelis cannot be charged with moral fault. That responsibility rests with the Arab States who made the war.

### II. MY REPLY TO DR. GRAY

I wish to comment on four points raised by Professor Gray in his reply to my article, The Moral Point of Departure.

1. Asserting that "the land which the Jews then owned they had obtained through purchase," Professor Gray asks: "Exactly of what property were the Arabs who lived in Palestine despoiled by the creation of the State of Israel; from what were they dispossessed?"

Let the official statistics of the Mandatory Government of Palestine furnish the factual answer to this question.

According to the British Government's Survey of Palestine (published by the Government Printer, Jerusalem, 1946, page 243, paragraph 520), Jews owned 650,000 dunums at the outset of the Palestine Mandate, and purchased a net area of 938,365 dunums during the Mandate period, out of the total of 26,320,000 dunums of Palestinian territory.

Simple arithmetic shows, then, that the land purchased and owned by Jews prior to the establishment of Israel in Palestine (namely, 1,588,365 dunums) comprised 6% of the total area of the country.

Within the Israeli-occupied territories, all land and property belonging to the Arab refugees (and some land belonging to Arabs who did not depart from Israel) has been seized by, and registered in the name of, the Israeli government without compensation or purchase.

2. In order to deny that the establishment of Israel entailed any loss of "national rights" by the Palestinian Arabs, Professor Gray makes the assertion that in fact these Arabs "had none to lose". He proceeds to amplify this contention by stating that, in modern times, Palestine had first "belonged to" the Ottoman Empire, that it subsequently "fell to the Allies as a result of their victory in World War I, and that it then "came under the control of the League of Nations from which it passed to the United Nations."

Thus, in his eagerness to deny Arab national rights, the eminent Professor of Law finds it necessary to introduce a novel juridical principle concerning national rights. His thesis seems to be that a subject people loses to an occupying Power not only its actual independence but also its

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natural right to self-determination. Only on the basis of such a thesis could Professor Gray proclaim that Palestine "belonged to" the Ottoman Empire, and that therefore the population of Palestine had no national rights of their own in their country. On the basis of the same thesis, however, Professor Gray must be equally prepared to assert that Occupied France and much of Europe "belonged to" Nazi Germany in World War II and to the United States after the Liberation! He must also be prepared to recommend the reversal of the whole trend of recent world history; for, according to his logic, the diverse lands of Asia and Africa did not "belong" to the Asiatic and African peoples inhabiting them but to the respective European colonial Power which ruled them, and therefore the recent restoration of sovereignty to dozens of formerly non-self-governing Asiatic and African peoples was a travesty of international justice.

In claiming that Palestine "fell to the Allies as the result of their victory in World War I" Professor Gray ignores two facts: first the liberation of the Arab regions of the Ottoman Empire, including Palestine, was accomplished by the joint war-effort and the joint sacrifices of the Allies and the Arabs (and many Allied leaders admitted this fact during and since World War I); and, secondly, that the Allies made repeated wartime proclamations assuring the Arab populations of those territories that they would be permitted to exercise self-determination at the end of the war.

As for the League of Nations, it neither transferred nor purported to transfer to Britain the natural, national rights of the Arab population of Palestine when it entrusted the administration of that country to Britain as Mandatory — any more than it transferred or purported to transfer the natural, national rights of the populations of other mandated territories to the respective Mandatory Powers. The Palestine Mandate was defined, both in its scope and in its limitations, by Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which set up the system of the Mandates. According to this Article, the Mandate system was designed to give "practical effect" to the principle that "the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization." The Article also acknowledged that "communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone." The League of Nations clearly acknowledged the natural rights vested in the Arab population of Palestine, which Professor Gray finds it so easy to nullify by a

stroke of the pen.

It is true that the Mandatory for Palestine was entrusted by the League with "putting into effect" the Balfour Declaration. But even the Balfour Declaration did not ignore the natural rights of the existing population of Palestine (of whom the Arabs formed 90%). For it limited the undertaking of Britain to facilitate the "establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish People" by the provision that "nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil religious rights" of the Palestinian Arabs. It was the Declaration in its organic totality that was incorporated in the Mandate, not only the first part.

3. The reminder of Professor Gray's article is predicated on the assumptions that the Arab States committed "naked aggression" against Israel, which, he asserted, had neither made war upon them nor threatened to do so; and that it was as a result of the alleged Arab States' war against "peaceful" Israel that the plight of the Arab refugees and the expansion of Israeli territory took place. He concludes: "The responsibility rests with the Arab States who made the war."

But it is well-known that the Arab States did not intervene militarily in Palestine until May 15, 1948 — when the British Mandate came to an end. Before that date, not one single Arab soldier entered Palestine. By that date, however, the embryonic State of Israel had been — by its own admission — in a state of war for 168 days, and had in the course of that war expelled hundreds of thousands of Arabs and occupied large sectors of the country, including areas lying outside the territory given to Israel by the United Nations in its Partition Resolution (such as the all-Arab cities of Jaffa and Acre). Let Professor Gray read Section I (Paragraph B-b) of the Fallen Soldiers' Family Law of 1950, or Section V of the Defense Army Ordinance of 1948, or Section VI (a-1) of the Nationality Law of 1952; and he will find that the State of Israel openly proclaims in these enactments it had been waging war for five-and-a-half months before the entry of Arab States' armies into Palestine.

During the course of this war waged by embryonic Israel against the Arabs of Palestine, hundreds of thousands of these Arabs were expelled and made refugees — as Count Bernadotte established and reported to the United Nations shortly after his arrival in Palestine in May, 1948. Professor Gray's statement that the refugee problem was a consequence of the Arab States' "naked aggression" against Israel contradicted both by the facts as admitted by the Government of Israel and by the finding of the United Nations Mediator.

Similarly, it was during the military operations conducted by the military forces of pre-natal Israel before the intervention of the Arab States that Israel expanded the territory given to it by the United Nations and annexed additional Arab territories. Even Ben-Gurion admits (in his *Rebirth & Destiny of Israel*, pp. 291-2 and 530-531) that the military forces of pre-natal Israel had occupied certain all-Arab cities (he uses the word "liberated"), "cleared" Arab sectors of Palestine of their Arab inhabitants, and "enlarged" the area of Israel, before the entry of the Arab States' armies into Palestine on May 15, 1948.

One wonders why the eminent Professor denies, on behalf of Israel, certain crucial facts which neither the Government of Israel nor its Premier find it necessary

to conceal.

Professor Gray asks rhetorically, Why did the Arab States intervene militarily in Palestine? The answer is not hard to find. The Haganah and other forces of pre-natal Israel had been waging their war against the Arabs of Palestine for five and a half months and, by Israel's own admission, had already perpetrated mass expulsion of the Palestinian Arabs, and had already accomplished territorial expansion, before the withdrawal of British forces. The Arabs of Palestine, through their internationally-recognized representatives, appealed to the Arab States to protect them against further expulsion and further Israeli expansion; and to this appeal, the Arab States responded immediately upon the withdrawal of British troops on May 15, 1948.

4. Finally, Professor Gray describes as a "statement belied by the facts" his own paraphrase of my statement that "the Arab government directly concerned with the Palestine Problem have repeatedly and formally announced their readiness to accept a political settlement based on the cumulative resolutions of the United Nations on Palestine, and within the framework of United Nations jurisprudence."

I hope that his own dedication to the truth will prompt the good Professor to read the text of the Protocol of Lausanne, signed by the Arab States on May 12, 1949 (which may be found in U.N. Document A/927, Annex A). I hope, too, that he will read the paragraph dealing with Palestine in the Bandung Communiqué (Section E, Paragraph 1), which was unanimously signed by high-level representatives of the nine then-independent Arab States. I trust that, when he does, he will discover that the statement I made was not belied, but rather incontrovertible supported by the facts.

### California Lawyer Candidate For Atty. Gen.

Atty. George A. Kasem of Baldwin Park and West Covina, California, is a candidate for State Attorney General on the Democratic ticket.

Atty. Kasem holds degrees both in Commerce and in Law from the University of Southern California. He is a member of the Lions, the Baldwin Park Chamber of Commerce and the American Legion.

In his campaign, he calls for "friendship not charity" as the basis for America's foreign policy.

Kasem has a wife Katie, a school teacher, and a daughter, Janet, 7.

At the primary election, he received 47,277 Democratic and 6003 Republican votes.

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## How Would It Look To You?

By Dorothy Thompson



Often my husband repeated to me: "All truth is simple. The politicians, statesmen, generals economists, are, most of them, complicated idiots. They cannot see the most obvious things and therefore have no insight."

Now, in this time of Middle Eastern crisis, the debates in the U.N., the votes that are counted, the exchanges of letters, the speculations of commentators seem to have supreme irrelevance.

For history is not made by such votes and debates. History is made by the movement of social, intellectual, and emotional (popular) forces. It moves by a dialectical process that Hegel observed before Marx, and Aristotle before either of them.

The historical process now at work is toward coalescence. Actually the process has prepetually been at work. Once Italy was a congeries of City States warring against each other. The notion of "Italy" did not exist.

There was no "Greece" until Homer invented the name.

And there was no United States of America until the obstinacy of the British against according equal rights to the colonists precipitated "the shot heard round the world."

These coalescences begin on a national level, the moment there is general recognition of nationality. It is not the recognition of common ethnic origins, which may or may not exist, but of kinship of mind, custom, culture, destiny, aided by contiguity and powerfully promoted by language, the medium through which ideas are formed and transmitted. When this recognition occurs nothing can stop the birth of a nation but external, continual brute force.

That recognition has occurred from Morocco to the Persian Gulf. Gamal Abdul Nasser is not its creator but its catalyst.

It is nearly thirty years since the Crane Commission, appointed by Woodrow Wilson, recognized this *de facto* Arabism. It is twenty years since George Antonious, a Palestine-born Arab, educated in the American University of Beirut, published "The Arab Awakening." His widow, an "Arab," was born in Lebanon of

a French mother, and of a father who, like many Lebanese, became an Egyptian, and publisher of the great Egyptian daily, *Al Muqattam*, and of a forerunner of our *Reader's Digest*, *Al Muqtataf*, both of which greatly contributed to promoting Arab consciousness. Both the younger Arab Antonious lived long in England, greatly admired both England and France, and the surname suggests original Greek origin.

And why should it not? Every blood has mingled in the Arab world, overrun as it has been since the dawn of Empires.

The Arabs (of what is now Saudi Arabia) proclaiming a new monotheistic religion, conquered this world in the 7th century, when Europe, with the fall of Rome, was in ruin, and, incidentally, kept alive, in the Eastern Mediterranean the Graeco-Roman culture that was sunk in a wave of Western barbarism.

Soon, however, this area became subject first to the Seljuk and later the Ottoman Turks, as, before it was "Arab" in language and religion it had been conquered by Greeks, Romans, Persians, Babylonians, Assyrians.

But the Turkish Empire, though it ruled it, did not fragmentize it, and shared, at least, its religion.

A special position was granted to Lebanon because of its large Christian population, but Lebanese, Egyptians, Syrians, Iraqis carried the same passport, dealt in the same currency, and were enclosed in the same defense system.

It remained for the victorious Western powers after World War I to divide it between them, establish protectorates, and eventually "free and independent" states, introduce into it an alien colony, of an exclusive and separatist people hostile to its unity and intriguing against it in Washington and every European chancery, and turn its parts into pawns, booties, military outposts of the Cold War, with the threat of making it again a battleground in a world holocaust.

How would this picture look to you were you an Arab from Cairo, Damascus, Beirut or Baghdad? Would you not be for unity and non-alignment, for tolerable relations with East and West and subjection to neither? How would you view the presence of American marines in Lebanon and British paratroopers in Jordan to protect the "freedom and territorial integrity" of states originally created by foreign empires?

You would view it exactly as do an overwhelming majority of Arabs and probably 90% of literate ones. And as every honest man must do, who has any historical sense or power or objective reasoning.

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## Dr. Sayegh Lectures At 4 Universities



With the reopening of universities and the beginning of the new academic year, many universities have turned once more to inviting outside guests for public lectures on international affairs. Though the spotlight has momentarily shifted from the Middle East, the interest of university-groups in that area has not diminished.

Dr. Faysal Sayegh, the Counselor of the Arab States Delegations Office in New York, inaugurated his fall lecture-program in the Mid-Western region.

It was begun with two full days at the Kansas State College, in Manhattan, Kansas. The College, which sponsors each year a dozen "All-College Assemblies," invited Dr. Sayegh to be its first speaker for the season. The 2000 seats in the university auditorium were full, with many students standing, during the Arab speaker's 50-minute address on "The Arab World Between East and West". As he spoke, the university radio carried his address to other students who could not assemble in the auditorium, and the city radio carried the speech to wider audiences throughout the state of Kansas.

This major address was followed by six other speeches, before classes of political science or meetings of faculty-members.

Dr. Sayegh's next stop was at Wayne State University in Detroit, where he gave a public lecture on "Arab Unity", participated in a 15-minute radio interview with the Chairman of the Department of Political Science over the university radio, and spoke to a small audience of Americans of Arab origin at the International Institute in the evening.

The following day, Dr. Sayegh was at Michigan State University in East Lansing, Michigan, as guest of the Department of Political Science. His major address in the evening, which was introduced by the University Vice-president, was the culmination of a full day in which he delivered three lectures and held a press conference.

While at East Lansing, Dr. Sayegh was invited by a delegation of students from the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor to address its student-body under the auspices of the International Relations Club. Other commitments



# PEACE BY PERSUASION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

## WHY ISRAEL, THOUGH CLAIMING TO BE A "FAIT ACCOMPLI," HAS NOT ACHIEVED ANY MEASURE OF PEACE

By Dr. William Ernest Hocking

Those who hope for peace in the Middle East have on their hands something more than a problem of power-balance, namely, a problem of psychology. Power-balances are excellent placebos for minor and transient irritations; for persisting sources of wrath they are both costly and futile. Unless substantial peace lies in the minds of adjacent peoples, the formal devices of ceasefire, armistice, even peace-treaty, can bring only suspension of enduring hostilities. The radical issue in the Middle East is not whether fighting can be suppressed; it is whether antagonisms are incurable. Why, for example, can the Arab world not adjust itself to the Israeli *fait accompli*? Is it a case of what we pleasantly call "intransigence,"—in the vernacular, pure cussedness? Or is this facile theory an instance of reluctance to face a genuine issue, — which after all must be faced? . . .

My modest suggestion is that a certain haste to pronounce a disturbance-breeding situation an "accomplished fact" may be wishful thinking, sometimes indicative of an uneasy conscience. If an

achievement is won by means not bearing too close scrutiny, and more especially, if it has been won with the conscious aim of making immediate appeal to the *fait accompli*, there is reason to ask whether, indeed, everything is finally settled: when can we fairly say the matter is concluded?

I suggest, further, that in the present situation this question has peculiar importance; for accurate diagnosis is here the prior condition for any cure. In my judgment, this hurried appeal to accomplished fact is precisely the element that justly infuriates the Arab mind and blocks the spirit of peace. It is not (as Lester B. Pearson of Canada recently suggested in the U.N. General Assembly), — it is not simply fear of Israel's future expansionist ambition: it is a radical sense of injustice in what has already been done. A perfect security, which should freeze the *status quo*, unexamined, and justified in its own realism, would leave the root of trouble untouched . . . for the Arab world will not solve the problem for us by forgetfulness; nor will it be choked down.

## WHY NEITHER TIME NOR FORGETFULNESS MITIGATES THE ARAB HATRED OF ISRAEL UNLIKE THE CASE OF OPPOSING NATIONS ONE OF WHICH IS DEFEATED IN A WAR

In mid-1917, the Allied Campaign in Europe seemed about to collapse. In Churchill's words, "many hitherto unswerving despaired of victory." Haig's drive had failed; French troops had mutinied at Verdun; the Russians were about to desert; American help was as yet only a hope and unproven. In this situation, referred to by Lloyd George as the darkest hour of the war, no item of possible help was insignificant: the favor and financial aid of World Jewry, not forgetting the great Jewish American banks, were matters of weight. In February of that year, Sir Mark Sykes began discussion with Zionist leaders. When we refer to the "Balfour Declaration" our perspective will be wholly out of drawing if we fail to realize the conditions of its origin. In Churchill's words,

"The Balfour Declaration . . . must not be regarded as a promise given from sentimental motives: it was a practical measure taken in the interest of a common cause, at a moment when that cause could afford to neglect

no factor of material or moral assistance."

The Declaration was devious in three ways:

1. It bargained with interests in Palestine which were not at British or any Allied disposal;

2. Its promises to Zionists were inconsistent with simultaneous and later expectations deliberately raised in Arab minds, to whom Allenby was soon to proclaim from Cairo not only the intent of emancipation from Turkish rule, but also a clear prospect of independence; but

3. — and this is the presently important point. — The Declaration is at odds with itself, inherently — I will not say crooked, but disingenuous. . . . It promises, together with the "favour" of His Majesty's Government, also their "best endeavors to facilitate the achievement" of the projected national home for the Jewish people. At the same time it expresses the all-important condition that "nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities. . . ." Yet the logic

## THE OTHER CHIEF REASON WHY ARAB HATRED REMAINS SO LASTING AND INTENSE

With Hitler's catastrophic passage through European history . . . from the mid-thirties, onward, the "National Home" as a token Jewish society, accepting physical limits, began to be called on as a refuge in emergency for stricken multitudes. Their mortal need swamped existing conceptions, and unfortunately also swept away regard for existing obligations. It was natural and right that limitless human exigency should for the time take first place; it was natural that the terms of the Balfour document and the balanced policy of the Mandate should require revision. It was neither natural nor right that the new demands should be held to cancel permanently the human claims for which the soil of Palestine was already in bond.

The events which called out universal compassion appeared to call out in Palestine a leadership devoid of compassion except for its own. Events after the end of the British Mandate (May 14, 1948) and the proclamation of the State of Israel are well known. But the half year between November 29, 1947 and May 14, 1948 is a little known period of our current history. Its importance, however, is out of proportion to its extent — it contains the key to all that has followed.

To understand the events of these six months, we must recall to begin with that the United Nations Partition Resolution gave 56% of Palestine to the proposed State of Israel. The remaining 44% was to be divided between the Arab State of Palestine and the International Zone of Jerusalem, which would be accessible at all times to all three faiths. This arrangement was obviously unfavorable to the Arabs, since the population of the so-called "Jewish" portion was only 50% Jewish and this 50% actually owned less than 10% of the land in this territory. The United Nations tried, however, to protect the Arab population by clearly stating that the position of the current inhabitants was in no way to be prejudiced by the proposed partition and that they were to retain all rights and property (Partition

Resolution, Part 1-C Chapter 3).

On the morrow of the Partition Resolution, disorders broke out from both sides. In the confusion a pattern began to emerge, an organized military campaign systematically directed toward two major objectives: first, to confirm the Jewish dominance over the Arabs within the proposed limits of the Jewish state and second, to enlarge those limits. The Irgun, the Stern Gang, & the Haganah — forerunner of the Israeli army — came out from underground and began openly to attack Arab villages and cities, driving out the inhabitants or massacring those who stood by their homes and fields. In this way they managed to enlarge considerably the 56% of territory which had been liberally assigned to them in the first place. During this period more than 200,000 Arabs were expelled from their homes and territory.

That this was a planned military maneuver there is no longer the slightest doubt. The then commander of the Irgun (now leader of the Herut Party), Menachem Begin, in his book, *The Revolt — Story of the Irgun*, documents the planning of the attacks by the leaders of these three organizations. In addition to this, the Government Year Books of the State of Israel comment at length on this period of the war and the Knesset in their Nationality Law of 1952, which was passed April 1, 1952, gives mention to persons who have served in the Defense Army of Israel after November 29, 1947. David Ben Gurion said in September 1950, "Until the British left, no Jewish settlement, however remote, was entered or seized by the Arabs, while the Haganah . . . captured many Arab positions and liberated Tiberias and Haifa, Jaffa and Safad. So, on the day of destiny (May 15, 1948), the part of Palestine where the Haganah could operate almost clear of Arabs." It is significant to note that all this was taking place during the remaining period of the British Mandate and before the combined Arab armies ever set foot into Palestine.



Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, October 23, 1958

THE CARAVAN

# For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayer  
A. Sayegh



## LET US LEND A HELPING HAND

Have you ever lain in a hospital bed — burdened by the agonies of physical pain, tortured by worry, anguished and fearful, forlorn and lonely, distressed by your separa-

tion from your loved ones, tortured by your helplessness, beaten down by despair? If so, then you will recall the cheering effect of a nurse — a white-robed "angel of mercy", as members of her profession have come to be known, administering medicine to alleviate your suffering, displacing gloom by a pleasant word or a cheering smile, or performing any of a hundred small and insignificant chores which, at the time, spelt the difference between comfort and discomfort.

From such individual experiences, multiplied a thousand times every day, has emerged the collective image of the "nurse" as benefactress when help is most sorely needed. Employing the most modern techniques of advanced civilization, the "nurse" nevertheless falls far short of the standards embodied in that collective image unless she blends those techniques with the perennial human qualities of warmth and tenderness. In the concept of the "nurse", these two elements — perennial human kindness, and advanced techniques of scientific civilization — blend together inextricably.

The virtues of nursing, as such, hardly fit into the scheme of subjects ordinarily dealt with in this column. But, today, I am making an exception.

The occasion for this exception is a project launched in the Middle East — in the vicinity of Beirut — to pay homage to the "nurse", and to repay in a very modest way the Angel of Mercy in her own currency: in human kindness and consideration.

The project I am speaking of is called "Nurses' House." It is launched by the Nurses Branch of the Alumni Association of the American University of Beirut. It is designed to provide the aged and retired members of the nursing profession with a home in which to spend their last years — a home in which to spend the remainder of a lifetime devoted to helping others and bringing happiness and joy and health to others. People are so completely engrossed in the problems and conflicts taking place in the Middle East that they lose sight, almost completely, of such constructive efforts of kindness and love as are exerted from time to time by the peoples of the Middle East. Surely it is worthwhile for us, at least occasionally, to focus the spotlight on these activities which are of more positive character than many of the events which capture the headlines of the newspapers.

The idea of establishing the Nurses' House originated in 1955, during the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of the School of Nursing of the American University of Beirut. The School of Nursing, established in 1905 — the first of its kind in the Middle East — had spent fifty years training nurses and making them available for the expanding hospitals, clinics, and doctors' offices in the area. And for fifty years,

the products of that school — and of other schools of nursing, which followed its establishment — had devoted their lives to the welfare of others.

But a nurse's income in the Middle East is low, and saving is proportionately low. And few Middle Eastern countries have adequate provision for pension funds or other means of old-age security. The net result was that many nurses were reaching the age of retirement with little, if any, means of retirement. Those who had spent their lives laboring selflessly for the well-being of others, with no time to provide for their own future, found themselves at the threshold of old age with no means to call their own. They were condemned, as it were, to end their lives in that situation of forlornness and loneliness and helplessness which they had tried all their lives to alleviate in others.

It was because of this that the Nurses Branch of the Alumni Association initiated its project for a Nurse's Home.

Local contributions soon enabled the group to purchase a plot of land designed to be the site of the House. This plot lies on a hilltop below Brummana, surrounded by pine-forests for which the Lebanese mountains are famous. It enjoys the assets of beautiful scenery, mild climate all year round, and proximity to Beirut.

The blueprint for a sixty-bed building has been drawn by the architect of the American University of Beirut. Estimated cost, including furnishings, is in the vicinity of \$300,000. Provision has been made for beginning the construction without awaiting the collection of the entire amount: the building will be erected in units, which can be built as funds become available. Donors of \$5,000 — whether individuals or groups — will have rooms dedicated in their names.

The Fund-Raising Committee of the sponsoring organization has despatched its Chairman, Mrs. Sara Shahla, to the United States, in the hope that contributions from Americans would help launch the construction of the building. Mrs. Shahla is herself a graduate nurse — having spent twenty years in charge of the Student Infirmary at the American University of Beirut.

Thanks to her efforts, Mrs. Shahla has succeeded in interesting a number of American organizations in this humanitarian project. Five of these groups have not only approved the project, but also consented to act as official receiving agencies for contributions. All donations for the project, made through any of these five organizations, are deductible for income tax purposes. They are:

1. American Friends of the Middle East, Inc.  
47 East 67th Street, New York 31, N. Y.
2. American Middle East Relief Inc.  
350 Fifth Avenue, Room 4824,

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Send in your questions on the Middle East to Dr. Sayegh, and help him to bring you the weekly column you want to read.

Questions dealing with statements or current beliefs which tend to place the Arab countries or Arab-Americans in a bad light are particularly recommended.

Send your questions to "For The Record," c/o The Caravan, 172-174 Hoyt Street, Brooklyn 17, N. Y., or phone them in at MAin 5-5096.

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3. Church World Service  
215 Fourth Avenue, New York 3, N. Y.
4. Congregational Christian Service Committee, Inc.  
110 East 29th Street, New York 17, N. Y.
5. Syrian Antiochian Orthodox Archdiocese  
239 - 85th Street, Brooklyn 9, N. Y.

Contributors sending checks through any of these channels are kindly requested to indicate that the donations are for Nurses' House, Beirut, Lebanon.

As you read these lines — or as you are approached by Mrs. Shahla, in her forthcoming tour through the United States — will you please remember that any contribution, no matter how small, will help to meet the goal; and that, of all the needy people, hardly anyone is more worthy of help than those who had spent their youth and middle age and early old age in helping others.

# PEACE BY PERSUASION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

## THE OTHER CHIEF REASON WHY ARAB HATRED REMAINS SO LASTING AND INTENSE

By Dr William Ernest Hocking

(Continued From Last Week)

estine. As Ben Gurion so aptly expressed it in *(Rebirth and Destiny of Israel)*: "Force of arms, not formal resolutions, will determine the issue."

In sum: before the British Mandate had ended on May 14, 1948 and two months before the State of Israel could legally be proclaimed according to the United Nations Partition Resolution (Paragraph 3, Part 1-A) the Zionist-Israeli armies had already illegally occupied much of the territory reserved for the Arab State as well as most of the International Zone of Jerusalem in addition to the territory reserved for the Jewish State. During this six months period of hostilities (November 29, 1947 - May 14, 1948) more than 200,000 Arabs were driven out of their homes by terrorist tactics and became refugees - contrary to every expressed intention of the United Nations and to every human decency. The impact of these sufferings extended in deep waves to the entire Arab world. Sympathy and an outraged sense of justice became a determined antipathy to Israel not to be cured by diplomatic placebos of essentially uniformed statesmen. . .

It was only after the British withdrawal, and the immediately following proclamation of the Israeli State on May 14, 1948, that organized Arab armies entered Palestine to contest the Partition which all Arab states had consistently and reasonably opposed. From this date onward, the United Nations, dismayed that its effort

for a peaceful solution had produced the opposite effect, has constantly reminded Israel of its obligations, contractual and human, almost without result. As Ben Gurion has stated, "All that we have taken we shall hold." For this reason the situation in the Middle East remains in principle and unprinciple what it was 10 years ago, except that in the war of 1948 - 49 Israel annexed even more territory and that there are now about one million refugees, for whose absorption Israel firmly washes its hands, - let the Arab States take care of their own!

Rejection of responsibility for the refugees is often sustained by the theory that they were not driven from home, but fled on the advice of outside leaders hopeful of swift victory. Here one must seek the dominant truth amid many mixed details. Fortunately we have this over-all judgment by a singularly competent and objective observer, Major O'Ballance. At the end of his careful account of *The Arab-Israeli War* he writes: "Many Israeli sympathizers were appalled at the ruthless way in which the Arab inhabitants were ousted from their homes and driven before the advancing armies, and this caused many twinges of conscience in the Western World. The Israelis made no excuse for it as it was all part of their plan for the reconquest of their Promised Land, in which there was no room for large, hostile, alien groups."

## WHY THE WORLD CONSIDERS AMERICA RESPONSIBLE FOR THE EXISTENCE OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL AND ITS SPONSOR AND GUIDE TODAY

By Dr. Virginia C. Gildersleeve

In this section before we resume the excerpts from Professor Hocking's writing, I should like to recall briefly the chief facts concerning the relationship of U.S.A. and Israel with which Professor Hocking has dealt elsewhere. Our knowledge of these facts and events forms a necessary connecting link between the preceding sections of this pamphlet and Professor Hocking's conclusions which follow.

When the Resolution recommending the Partition of Palestine was brought before the General Assembly of the United Nations in November, 1947, it was the United States which by every kind of persuasion and pressure forced its adoption.

This resolution recommended division of Palestine into two states, one Arab, one Jewish, united in an economic union; and also an internationalized Jerusalem, administered by the United Nations for the great religions which hold the city sacred.

Out of the tumult which ensued, and which Professor Hocking has so vividly described, the Zionist state emerged. Proclaimed on May 15, 1948, it was instantly recognized by President Truman, who thus gave it official standing in the world. But, as Professor Hocking has just shown you, this new de facto state was neither in its boundaries, its population, nor its economy the state which the U. N. had recommended.

Since then the United States Government has repeatedly made

grants to Israel, amounting in all, for her one and a half million inhabitants, to nearly half a billion dollars. This contrasts with about one hundred fifty-five million dollars granted to all the Arab States together, with their forty million inhabitants.

Besides the United States Government funds, Israel has received another billion dollars from private citizens and organizations in America. Thus we have expended this little country, the size of Vermont, almost one and a half billion dollars, in round figures.

Why we have done this is easily comprehensible. Because of the terrible Hitler persecutions we felt deep sympathy for Jewish refugees and wanted to help them. Because of our general ignorance of the circumstances in the Middle East and the extremely effective Zionist propaganda we did not realize the cruel injustice and prolonged exile we were inflicting on the Palestinians, or the perilous position in which we were helping to put the Jewish refugees who had fled to Palestine.

Moreover, a large proportion of the Jews of the world live in the United States. The city of New York alone contains far more Jews than the whole State of Israel. These Americans have given generously to their fellow Jews overseas.

Finally, politicians have favored Israel in order to rescue, as they thought, the "Jewish vote" in certain critical states such as

New York. (The existence of such a vote seemed to be disproved by the "landslide" for President Eisenhower in 1956 at a moment when he was opposing Israel.)

Altogether we have committed ourselves, in the eyes of the world, to the support and protection of Israel, while Russia seems to have committed herself to the support and protection of the Arab States.

(to be continued)

## Loss of Naturalization Certificate

**Question:** I was naturalized as an American citizen many years ago. In connection with a passport application, I now need proof of my citizenship, but cannot find my certificate of naturalization. Is there any way in which it can be replaced?

**Answer:** Yes, there is. Anyone whose original Certificate of Naturalization of Citizenship has been lost or mutilated or destroyed, or anyone whose name has been changed by order of a court or by marriage subsequent to the issuance of such certificate and who wishes a certificate in his new name, may make application for a new certificate on Form N-565. The fee is, ordinarily, \$5. No fee is required if the applicant has served honorably in the armed forces during any period in which the United States has been at war, or since September 16, 1940.

In cases where the original certificate was mutilated, the mutilated certificate must accompany the application. In cases where the application is for a certificate in changed name, it must be accompanied by documentary evidence of the change, as well as the original certificate.

## Grand Rapids Hosts Soyo

The St. Nicholas Young Peoples Society hosted the Fall Executive Council Meeting of the Midwestern Region of SOYO on Saturday and Sunday, October 25-26.

Some 200 delegates and youth leaders from a ten state area took part in the two day meeting, with Nicholas D. Coba of Indianapolis, newly elected president of the Midwestern Region, presiding. The welcoming address was given by Charles Hiemstra, president of the local chapter. The agenda included committee reports, discussion of current problems, and a report on the annual convention which will be held in Detroit next June 24-28.

The Right Reverend Archimandrite Ellis Khouri, national Spiritual Advisor of SOYO and local pastor, officiated at Divine Liturgy in Grand Rapids' newly completed Church. Following Divine Liturgy, the out of town guests were tendered a banquet in their honor. The reception committee included Mr. & Mrs. Charles Hiemstra, Mr. & Mrs. Salem Bashara, and SOYO's past-president, George Samra.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, October 30, 1958

## For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayez  
A. Sayegh



### A FOOTNOTE TO HISTORY:

#### The Balfour Declaration & the Zimmerman Pledge

This week—on the second of November—the anniversary of one of the darkest spots on the record of the Western World will be marked.

On November 2, 1917, the British Government, acting through its Foreign Minister, made what has come to be known as the Balfour Declaration.

By any standard, the Balfour Declaration constitutes an act of high-handed Power politics, intrigue, and double-crossing.

It presented the complete divorce of politics from morality, the cynical disregard by a Great Power of the rights of others and its equally cynical betrayal of principle and pledge.

For one Power to solicit the aid of another people in wartime through promising that people the land of a third, and to do so without the consent—even without the knowledge—of the third people, is in itself an unprincipled, high-handed, immoral action. But the sinister nature of such action is compounded when the people whose dispossession is thus contemplated is, at the moment when such a policy is being formulated, fighting as an ally of the plotting Power against its enemies, in accordance with a pledge given two years earlier by the selfsame Power guaranteeing its support of that people's independence after the War.

History is full of ironies. But seldom has it been as ironical as in 1917.

For, in that same year—the year of the Balfour Declaration—a similar plot was being hatched, in another area of the world, in which Britain was destined to play the role of indignant observer.

It was early in 1917—on the 16th of January. The Great War had passed the halfway mark. The War had been militarily stalemated. Each of the two major belligerents—England and Germany—was seeking new avenues, through which to escape the deadlock.

The Kaiser's Germany, exasperated with President Wilson's slow progress toward a "negotiated peace", had decided to unleash its U-boats in an effort to win decisive victory. But unleashing the U-boats was certain to drag the United States, out of its neutrality, into belligerence. It was imperative, therefore, for Germany to involve the United States in hostilities in another area, which would suck its resources during the period of anticipated mobilization, and enable Germany to win the war of the seas against Britain before the full might of the United States was mobilized and employed against Germany. Recalling the then-recent hostilities in which America and Mexico had been embroiled, Germany turned towards Mexico, hoping to reactivate American-Mexican trouble, involve American forces in a prolonged war in the Mexican mountains, and avoid America's active participation in the British war-effort.

It was in implementation of

this policy that the German Government made a pledge to Mexico similar in character to the British pledge to the Zionists. From Zimmerman, the German Foreign Minister, went a cable to the German Ambassador in Washington, instructing him to offer Mexico an alliance with Germany, coupled with the promise to assist Mexico to regain by conquest her lost territory in Texas, Arizona and New Mexico."

This cable was intercepted by British Intelligence. The scandal which its disclosure caused in America is a matter of record; many historians of the First World War have asserted that it was this telegram, more than any other single factor, that constrained President Wilson to abandon neutrality and join the war on the side of the Western Allies.

Full details about the Zimmerman telegram, and its impact on American policy during the second half of the War, have been recently revealed in a well written book by Barbara Tuchman, under the title, *The Zimmerman Telegram*, published by Viking Press in New York in 1958.

The similarity between the two pledges of 1917—the German pledge to Mexico, offering to assist Mexico in occupying portions of the United States; and the British pledge to Zionism offering to assist Zionists in setting up a national home in portions of the Arab Homeland—is very close. In each case, a hard pressed belligerent sought to drag into the War a non-belligerent party by promising to assist it in occupying the land of a third party.

But the British—who exhibited such indignation with the German plot—went one step further than the Germans: the land they promised to the party they were then wooing belonged not to a neutral Power, nor to a people that was expected to turn into an enemy, but to a fighting ally.

It is healthy for Americans who cannot understand why Arabs reacted in the way they did when they knew about the Balfour Declaration long after it was issued, to remember how their country reacted to the Zimmerman Telegram. . . .

#### 1st ANNUAL BAZZAR

St. Anthony's Orthodox Church of Engelwood, N. J. will hold its first Annual Bazaar for the benefit of the Church Building Fund, Saturday, November 1, in the Church Hall, at 138 West Palisade Avenue, Englewood, N. J. Drawing for beautiful prizes will be at 9 p.m. All New York and Paterson Areas are invited.

#### MOVED

Mr. & Mrs. Vincent Sarge, of 939 S. Broadway, Los Angeles, California, have moved to their new address: 4015 Melrose Avenue, Hollywood 29, Cal.

#### MOVED

The American Friends of the Middle East recently moved from 47 E. 67th St., New York City, to 225 E. 46th St.

Page Two

## PEACE BY PERSUASION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

WHAT BEING THE SPONSOR OF ISRAEL  
LETS US IN FOR

By Dr. William Ernest Hocking  
(Continued From Last Week)

The impasse between the Arab States and Israel brings out to the full the anomalous character of the relation between this country and the State of Israel. The situation has such explosive possibilities for world peace that even a person who would a thousand times rather keep silent is impelled to speak out, and call for a clear termination of our false position.

The point is this: that we have, with all good will, been thrown into a relationship of sponsorship of Israel with no capacity for controlling Israel's foreign policies. If Israel, instead of making friends, makes enemies, they become, wholly apart from our intention, critics of the United States. And Israel has busily been doing this, relying—as I read the story—either on the disposition of her sponsor to help her over any consequent difficulties, or perhaps on his inability, or his fear, to do otherwise.

Looked at objectively, the situation is clearly preposterous. It

encourages the Israelis in regard to boundary lines which, in view of the common good and good will, need to be considered and reconsidered . . . to take an indiscriminate and intransigent position, and in the same breath to appeal as by unwritten right to Uncle Sam for military means to support this inflexibility, however contrary to the world interest in peace. . . .

What these United States are called on to endorse, with increasing assurance on the part of Israeli emissaries, is the Israeli fait accompli—regardless of the means by which the accomplishment has been effected, and in the full extent to which the new state would like to regard the job as done. We are finding ourselves insensibly drawn to be the material guarantors of the Zionist futurity. Do we like the role? Is there any honesty in it? I say no. Even if Israel could grow in a vacuum, our endorsement of her dream is not our function nor our right.

### WHAT WE MUST TRY TO PERSUADE ISRAEL TO DO

An Israel which would meet with her Arab neighbors for the express purpose of discussing border revisions, which would meet with the United Nations for the purpose of internationalizing Jerusalem for the three faiths, which would offer to repatriate some of the refugees—or in minimum would acknowledge their right to return—in other words, an Israel which would take the initiative and demonstrate her oft-proclaimed but never practiced willingness to make peace, would go a large part of the way towards breaking down the natural distrust of the Arab states.

Let Israel acknowledge responsibility, offer available redress, and undertake revision of the ambitions which involve continued enmity with its neighbors—including the difficult but necessary work of restating the ideal of Zion in universal terms—and a new era of hope begins. Such an Israel would win as well the good will—yes, even the gratitude—of a world on the verge of a disastrous conflict of which Israel would, in the perspective of history, be the chief author. . . .

#### Note by Dr. Gildersleeve

It is encouraging to observe that a recent peace proposal by a group of twenty-five leading Americans, headed by Dr. Clarence E. Pickett, President of the American Friends Service Committee—that most respected of relief agencies—offers much the same solution for the present impasse as does Professor Hocking. Somehow the U.S.A., her sponsor, must persuade Israel to take some such positive action toward peace.

To break this Arab-Israeli deadlock some unpalatable things must be done, by the Israelis, by the U.S.A., by the U.N., as well as by the Arabs. Working through the U.N., the U.S.A. was able, after Israel's invasion of Egypt, to induce her to evacuate Gaza and Sinai. In the same way we can doubtless persuade her to initiate some peaceful action now.

This would be greatly to her advantage. At present she lives in an armed camp surrounded by neighbors who hate, fear, and boycott her, and whom her military forces have five times attacked (according to U.N. rul-

ings). Should war break out again between Israel and Arab state, Russia is apparently sure to come to the aid of the Arabs and we are committed to come to the defense of Israel. In the resulting holocaust what is likely to happen to Israel? And to the U.S.A.?

But if, instead of continuing to present to the Arabs a face of implacable hostility, of political and territorial rigidity, Israel shows some real desire to settle down in the Middle East as a good neighbor, and takes positive steps to implement this desire, then the Arab States may well recognize her and lift the boycott which largely strangles her economy, and Israel can become a self-supporting nation, no longer precariously dependent on gifts from without, but strong in her own resources, trade and great abilities. And in this new psychological climate the United States can help generously to plan and carry out the economic development of the whole Middle East region, bringing a better life to Arabs and Israel alike. . . .

The President of the United States,  
The White House,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President, —  
To establish political and economic stability in the Middle East it is essential that a peace treaty be negotiated between Israel and the neighboring Arab States. To this end agreement on the following issues is basic:

1. The problem of the Arab refugees should be resolved by permitting a limited number to resettle in Israel, and by offering equitable compensation to all of them for property lost or left behind. Resettlement of the refugees, both of those who return to Israel and of those who decide not to return, should be facilitated by an international loan administered through a United Nations Agency.

2. Definitive borders between Israel and its neighbors should be established, straightening the lines between the borders recommended by the United Nations in 1947 and those established by the armistice agreements of 1948.

3. The city of Jerusalem and



Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, November 6, 1958

THE CARAVAN

Page Seven

# For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayes  
A. Sayegh



## FIRST-HAND IMPRESSIONS OF AN INFORMED OBSERVER

When so much of the reporting on Arab affairs in the American press suffers from prejudice, sensationalism, ignorance or long-distance semi-familiarity colored by editorial bias, it is cheering and pleasant to read, from time to time, first-hand accounts of impartial observers who have recently visited the Arab World and whose accounts blend the virtues of objectivity and long-term knowledge with immediate eye-witness observation.

One such report has recently appeared in the SEATTLE TIMES of Seattle, Washington, in the form of a series of articles published between September 28 and October 6 by Dr. Ivar Spector.

Dr. Spector is Associate Professor of the Far Eastern and Russian Institute at the University of Washington in Seattle. He has written extensively on international Communism and its methods of operation. One of the fields of his specialization is the policies of Soviet Communism towards the Muslim World, and how these policies have been put into practice since 1917, when the Bolsheviks came to power in Russia. Two years ago he published a full-length book — one of the very few books on the subject — on Soviet attitude towards the Muslim World, both in theory and in practice. The book draws heavily, and almost exclusively, on original, first-hand documents: reports submitted to Soviet Congresses, Working papers, and other Soviet manifestos. By virtue of his intimate knowledge of Russian language and the Russian scene, and his access to complete compilations of official Soviet documents, his book was a real contribution to scholarship on this subject, being based on first-hand evidence and not on hearsay or second-hand reports. It brought into focus theory, policy, tactics and actual practice, and did not deal exclusively with one to the exclusion of others.

When Dr. Spector visited the Arab World in August and September of this year, then, he went there as a learned student of Soviet affairs, not as an amateur; he went there with his eyes open — not as a tourist hungry for sensational pictures, nor as a journalist eager to report on last-minute events without knowledge of their background or hidden meaning, nor as a propagandist with an axe to grind, but as a scholar eager to explore phenomena and capable of understanding both their inner significance as well as their outer appearance. His opinion, therefore, is worth listening to — because it is the informed opinion of the scholar, the enlightened opinion of the understanding observer, and the impartial opinion of the objective student.

I shall quote now some of the things he has said concerning the current situation in the Arab World, particularly as regards Soviet-Arab relations.

### 1. Soviet "Experts" or Soviet "Agents?"

We are constantly told — particularly by people who have never been to the Arab World — that Soviet experts in some Arab countries are in reality Soviet agents, whose presence there is for the sole purpose of serving as agents of Soviet policies, agi-

tators, or spies. But Dr. Spector, who went to the United Arab Republic eager to ascertain the exact role of "Soviet specialists and technicians," reports that "they appear to be holding themselves aloof and there is little evidence of their presence."

### 2. Soviet-Arab Cultural Relations:

As an educator who is cognizant of the impact of cultural relations on political relations in the long run, Dr. Spector has a long section in his first article on the recent establishment of Arab-Soviet cultural relations. I shall quote this section extensively: "In spite of the significant role of the Soviets in the Arab World today, and specially in this area, classes in the Russian language are being introduced for the first time at Cairo University and at a few secondary schools. The language is optional. Ten Soviet professors have been brought here to teach it.

"Dr. Mursi, a scientist, said Russian is being introduced not to understand the Soviet people, their ideology, history and culture, but to provide access to Soviet scientific works.

Dr. Zaki (undersecretary of the Ministry of Education), too, placed emphasis on the need to study Russian for scientific purposes, quoting American sources that Soviet science was 20 years ahead of the United States.

"Rightly or wrongly, I felt that Dr. Mursi was somewhat apologetic about the introduction of Russian at the university and the use of Soviet teachers. He explained this step as an outgrowth of ineffectual efforts to obtain top American scientists. There is a ready-made English-speaking audience to profit from the instruction of American scientists. There is no such Russian-speaking audience to profit from the instruction of American scientists. There is no such Russian-speaking audience in the student body; there will be in two or three years. . . . The implication of Dr. Mursi's comments was that American scientists would be preferable in every respect. His university's efforts, however, had resulted only in an opportunity to enlist second-rate men, and this was unacceptable. . . .

"If American scientists cannot be obtained, within a few years top Soviet scientists will be provided, and the United States will have lost an ideal opportunity to create a lasting impression on the Egyptian and the Arab World.

"Educators here, as elsewhere, have become science-minded. The presence here for a year or so of a few first-rate American scientists, even if their salaries had to be subsidized by our educational foundations, would lay the groundwork for Arab scientific

## ????

Send in your questions on the Middle East to Dr. Sayegh, and help him to bring you the weekly column you want to read.

Questions dealing with statements or current beliefs which tend to place the Arab countries or Arab-Americans in a bad light are particularly recommended.

Send your questions to "For The Record," c/o The Caravan, 172-174 Hoyt Street, Brooklyn 17, N. Y., or phone them in at MAin 5-5096.

studies. It would be an immense source of pride and gratification to the Egyptian academic world and to the public.

### 3. Germans & Japanese Help Fill the Vacuum:

One important observation which Dr. Spector makes is worth emphasis. We are commonly led to believe, by prejudiced editorial opinions in the U. S. press, that the withdrawal of British and French interests and firms from the United Arab Republic, and the reluctance of the United States to establish substitute interests and firms, have left an economic vacuum in the United Arab Republic which is being filled exclusively by Soviet Bloc interests and firms. This is not a fact, however. A little-publicized trend receives careful analysis by Dr. Spector — namely, that Germans and Japanese have energetically entered into the scene and are helping fill the economic vacuum. He says:

"The vacuum created by departure of the English and the French is being filled. . . .

"The West Germans have made a substantial investment here in loans exceeding \$100,000,000, and appear ready to advance more. . . . One hundred Egyptian trainees have been working in German industrial firms for a year, and more will follow. The Germans are also trying to regain their influence in educational institutions. . . .

"The Japanese likewise are active in their search for business with the United Arab Republic. Preliminary talks expected to lead to a new trade-and-payments agreement were held in Tokyo recently. . . . A \$30,000,000 economic cooperation agreement, designed to finance projects connected with the Five-Year Plan and including the purchase of 35 factories, is being concluded by Japan and the U.A.R. . . . in mid-September a \$2,000,000 deal was concluded for Egyptians purchase of 30,000 Japanese cotton spindles.

"Aside from the numerous projects undertaken to bolster the local economy, tourism will be an important factor for many years. . . . Compensation for the loss of West European and American tourists has been found in Asia and Africa, as well as in the rapid development of the domestic tourist traffic. The constant flow of official and unofficial delegations from the Sino-Soviet orbit, from India, Pakistan, Ghana, the Sudan, Senegal, and other parts of Asia and Africa, has helped to fill the gap."

4. Political Antagonism vs. Human Friendship: It is not always superfluous to reiterate the obvious! The distinction between political relations among governments and human relations among individuals and peoples must never be lost sight of. Dr. Spector notes this distinction, both as far as Arab-Western relations are concerned, and also with regard to Arab-Soviet relations.

On Arab-American relations, he says: "Irrespective of the fact

that official U.A.R. and American policies are widely at variance, there still is today a substantial reserve of warm friendship for the American people among Egyptians in all walks of life."

Concerning Arab relations with Frenchmen and Englishmen, he asserts: "In spite of local resentment of colonialism, of the Anglo-French attack on Suez, and of the Algerian crisis, there is no hostility here to Englishmen or Frenchmen, or to the use of the English or French language."

### 5. Communist Sympathies vs.

Relations with the Soviet Bloc:

On the other side of the coin, Dr. Spector observes that the compulsion to seek credit from or trade with the Soviet Union, as a result of the Western "economic embargo," has not generated — nor does it indicate — sympathy for Communism as an ideology.

In an interview with the UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON DAILY, published on October 2, Dr. Spector was reported as having asserted that "since coming to power in Egypt, Nasser has jailed many Egyptian Communists while receiving emissaries with open arms."

"This is not a contradiction," Dr. Spector emphasized. "Communism is not popular in Egypt — but the country must have help from somewhere. The United States and Britain refused economic aid when it was needed — where else could it go but to the Soviet Union?"

In his article in the SEATTLE TIMES issue of September 28, Dr. Spector wrote: "In spite of the growing impact of the U.S.S.R. in this part of the world, there still are no Soviet roots in this country, or in its educational system. One feels that the departure of large numbers of English and French instructors during the Suez crisis and the difficulty of obtaining first-rate American instruction led U.A.R. educational leaders to turn to the U.S.S.R. to fill the gap."

### 6. Tolerance of Jews vs. Hostility to Israel:

Departing from the related themes of Arab-Western and Arab-Soviet relations, Dr. Spector examines the question of Arab-Israeli relations. Here he finds again the same distinction between political relations among governments and human relations among individuals and peoples, together with the added distinction between Zionism and Judaism. He paints therefore a picture of the situation of Jews in Egypt which is quite different from the picture painted by mouthpieces of Zionist propaganda and defamation. He says:

"Another striking example of tolerance, due either to Islam or to the Egyptian character, is the attitude toward the remaining local Jewish communities. While there is hostility toward the State of Israel, there is no apparent hatred toward the Jews who remain here.

"President Nasser recently recognized Rosh Hashana, the Jewish New Year, by delegating the commandant of the Cairo police to represent him at the religious services at the Ismailia Synagogue in Cairo. The local press wished its Jewish readers a 'Happy New Year.'"

### 7. Conclusion:

The foregoing extracts from the report of an eminent authority on Soviet objectives and tactics, made after an on-the-spot examination, conform to what we have been saying in this column all along, concerning Arab-Soviet relations. The underlying principles may be summed up as follows:

1. The Arab World did not open its windows to Soviet trade, loans, arms, technicians or teachers except after it was compelled to do

so by Western policies. When trade, funds, experts, or arms were denied the Arab World by the West, Soviet offers were accepted. For there was no other alternative but military suicide, economic paralysis, or starvation.

2. Even as Soviet offers of trade and credit are accepted, they are given and received without political conditions or political commitment of any kind. No surrender of Arab sovereignty, direct or indirect, has been or will be involved.

3. Soviet experts, technicians, scientists and instructors, when they are asked for and supplied, are vigilantly held under surveillance, in order to ensure that they do not become political agents or agitators.

4. Acceptance of Soviet offers has not meant relaxation in the Arab measures against Communism, nor Arab acceptance of the Communist ideology.

5. The Western spirit and the peoples of the Western world are still held in high esteem, despite the political antagonism between the Arab and the Western governments, caused by Western policies towards the Arab World.

## ALSAC NEWS

Captains have been named to head volunteer groups from various Brooklyn parishes which will raise funds for Danny Thomas' St. Jude Hospital on behalf of the ALSAC Committee of Greater New York.

They are: Mitchell Auda and Alyce Hamatie, St. Mary's Orthodox Church; George Ayoub and George Hatab, St. Nicholas Cathedral; George Hatem and Victoria Khoury, Our Lady of Lebanon Church; Louis Kawam and Eli Raheb, Church of the Virgin Mary; Mr. & Mrs. George McCaba, Fourth Avenue Presbyterian Church. Mr. & Mrs. Nat Sutton (nee Olga Agby, Kahraman), will head the committee for the Syrian Jewish community. The Captains for the Moslem Community will be selected soon.

Chairman of the volunteer groups is James Azrak. Mitchell Awn is City Director and Charles Barsa, Co-director.

## TRAFFIC NEWS

In 1957, 1,330 Americans were killed in train-car crashes. 53,000 Americans were injured in car-bicycle mishaps in 1957.

A total of 38,700 Americans were killed in 1957 traffic accidents.

In 1957, 2,525,000 Americans were injured in traffic accidents. Speeding was blamed for 13,200 deaths on U. S. Highways in 1957.

In 1957, 7,500 pedestrians were killed by autos in the U. S. Jaywalking was costly in the U. S. last year — 2,600 were killed.

PLEASE SEND  
PLEDGES AND  
CONTRIBUTIONS  
TO ST. JUDE  
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CARE OF  
BROOKLYN VOLUNTEERS  
FOR ALSAC  
54 - 86TH STREET  
BROOKLYN 9, N. Y.  
TEL: SH 8-2710

## HASSOUNA AT GENERAL ASSEMBLY

New York, October 27 — (AIC) — "I am happy to be here to attend the thirteenth General Assembly of the United Nations," Ambassador Hassouna said on arrival.

"It is most gratifying to note that conditions in the Arab World have greatly improved since the Special Emergency Session of last August.

"I am especially proud of the role that the League of Arab States has played in bringing about this improved state of affairs.

"Now that the American forces have just withdrawn from Lebanon, and British troops are being removed from Jordan, the situation in the Middle East should continue towards stability.

"It was most regrettable that military intervention took place in Lebanon and Jordan. And we are most fortunate that the fears and dangers that this intervention gave rise to did not materialize. It is my earnest hope that such an episode will not recur again.

"The new Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria has been formally recognized by all of the members of the Arab League as well as several other countries. This is a most important step forward in making possible a settlement of the Algerian question through negotiation, since Algeria now has recognized leaders with whom France can negotiate. The offer of General de Gaulle, however, to limit negotiations only to a cease-fire, under a white flag of surrender and in France itself, was quite naturally unacceptable to the Algerians.

"But it must be noted that the Algerians are always ready to negotiate a political settlement



**Abdelkhlek Hassouna**

which will put an end to the present hostilities. They will never countenance an offer of unconditional surrender such as has been made by the French Premier. The Algerians are determined to continue their struggle for independence and the fighting will go on. It remains for the United Nations very shortly to find a peaceful and just solution to this problem.

"As regards the Tunisian issue within the Arab League, I wish to emphasize that this is a difference within the family and should be resolved within that family. Moreover, Tunisia was welcomed unanimously as a new member of the League October 1, and she is still a full-fledged member. I anticipate that these differences will be solved amicably in the future."

# THE CARAVAN

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## A CHANGE OF HEART

A few months ago, or rather a few weeks ago, Charles Malik, who was representing the Chamoun regime in the United Nations and who now heads the United Nations General Assembly, was raising his voice in no uncertain terms against Egypt and President Gamal Abdel Nasser and demanding United Nations and United States intervention against him.

Now, that the presidency in Lebanon has changed hands and General Fouad Shehab is in power, Mr. Malik, for reasons of his own, has evidently changed his mind and his attitude.

The whole world was surprised yesterday when he urged the United States to **give Nasser one billion dollars as a gift**, to help Egypt build the Aswan Dam.

What caused this sudden roundabout change of heart and attitude in Mr. Malik is hard for anyone but Mr. Malik to tell. But, as far as we are concerned, we are always very happy to see that an attempt is being made towards a better understanding between Arab countries.

What we cannot understand, however, is why some of the fanatic Lebanese elements who hate to see any kind of understanding prevail between Lebanon and other Arab nations, have refrained so far from calling Malik a Nasserite, a Red and Anti-Lebanese. . . .

Did they also have a change of heart and a change in attitude?? we wonder. . . .

**George S. Debs**

## Recipient of Grant



**Edward Gorayeb**  
By Dr. Basile G. D'Ouakil

A meeting of the Scholarship Committee of the Aleppian Foundation, composed of Anthony Kahwaty, James Azrak, Elias Keyloun, Basile G. D'Ouakil and counsel of the Foundation Edmond Kawas, was held at its headquarters 419-9th Street Brooklyn.

At the recommendation of Dr. Basile G. D'Ouakil, Edward Gorayeb, a Junior at Fordham College, Fordham University, New York, was unanimously awarded the first partial scholarship amounting to \$300. for the current scholastic year. Mr. Gorayeb is an excellent student, he is on the Dean's Honor list and is 21st in a class of 394 students. Of Lebanese origin, he is the son of

George S. Gorayeb and they live at 567 Drew St. Brooklyn. His father operates a grocery store on 17th Street, Brooklyn, and is the well known poet of The Caravan (Gems To Remember)

The Aleppian Foundation is a charitable and educational institution having its headquarters in Brooklyn and operates with its affiliate the Aleppian Fraternity in their own building located in the Park Slope of Brooklyn.

It has distributed generously of its funds to various hospitals and educational institutions of higher learning. Last year, the Aleppian Foundation's recipients of contributions were: Damascus University (Syria), through Chicago University for the former's Medical School \$500.; St. Jude Hospital, Memphis, Tenn. through the appeal of Danny Thomas \$200.; and \$100. each to Methodist Hospital, St. Peter's Hospital, Long Island College Hospital, St. John's University all of Brooklyn and Fordham University, New York City.

The attention of high school graduates of this coming June is called to the fact that the Aleppian Foundation is now accepting applications for scholarships for the school year 1959-60. The candidates must be of Lebanese or Syrian origin, of good scholastic and moral standing. Applications will also be considered from those now attending college and in need of financial assistance.

The Foundation does not choose the college for their grantees. All requests should be addressed to Aleppian Foundation, 419 9th St. Brooklyn 15, N. Y.

With every article or letter to the editor published in The Caravan, the name of the writer will appear unless withholding of name is requested. The Caravan has the right to print anything in whole or in part, as the editor sees fit. No letters or photographs will be returned, whether published or not.

## CHARLES MALIK



Has a change of heart

## ARAB UNITY

• Hope and Fulfillment  
By **Levon Keshishian**  
Special to The Caravan

NEW YORK — Bookstores throughout the United States began on October 31 to display with unusual prominence, a colorful book, entitled "Arab Unity" which made its formal appearance.

"Arab Unity" by Dr. Faysel Sayegh and published by The Devin-Adair Company, 23 East 26th, New York — 272 pages \$4. is written by the popular columnist of The Caravan, Counsellor and formerly Acting Director of the Arab States Delegations Office in New York, is described by the publisher as "the most articulate" and most widely-known spokesman for the Arab point of view in America.

This is not a book review, this is just the first impressions, and I must admit that Sayegh's book is the best contribution to Arab nationalism since the classic book of George Antonious "The Arab Awakening."

Even before it began to be displayed in the windows of American bookshops, Dr. Sayegh's book on Arab Unity received an unusually hearty welcome from American editors and reviewers.

At the height of the Middle Eastern crisis last summer, LIFE Magazine devoted a full editorial to Arab Nationalism which revolved around Dr. Sayegh's interpretation and portrayal. The Editor of LIFE said, "The idea of Pan-Arab unity is one that Arabs have not made very clear to the West. . . . Hence the timeliness of a forthcoming book by Dr. Faysel A. Sayegh called Arab Unity which explains the movement as a learned Arab sees it."

The highly-selective magazine, "All-American Book", reviewing Arab Unity, wrote:

"We have today lost nearly all the high esteem in which we were held in the Middle East. We might still regain that esteem, if the President, the Secretary of State, and every official concerned with American foreign policy would read Dr. Sayegh's book."

Dr. Sayegh's analysis of Arab Unity focuses on the establishment of the United Arab Republic and the United Arab States earlier this year, and forecasts the future growth of the movement for Arab unification, on the basis of a scholarly background examination of Arab unity both historically and philosophically.

The book is thus divided into three parts, the first part traces the origins of the Arab nation, is historic solidarity for 1200 years, and its dismemberment by European powers in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

The second part studies the emergence of the idea of Arab

Unity as a reaction, initially, to political fragmentations of Arab idea of unity. The third part surveys the efforts of the Arabs since the second world war to restore their formal political unity — first, through the Arab League, then through bilateral arrangements of functional unification between Egypt and Syria from 1955 to 1957, and lastly through the formation of the United Arab Republic and the United Arab States in 1958.

A vigorous chapter on the clash between dynamic and static Arab nationalism has been described by Dr. George Tomeh, Consul General of the United Arab Republic in New York, as an original contribution to the understanding of the new phase of the Arab national movement.

Thoughtful editors all over the United States are calling on their readers to study this new book. Typical are the words of the editor of a newspaper in Oklahoma, who wrote: "If we want to survive as a Great Power, we must understand, and come to terms with the emerging nations of Asia, Africa and the Middle East. To understand the nationalism of the Arabs, we must study Dr. Sayegh's penetrating book".

As for a conclusion I strongly recommend every reader of this newspaper to buy this book and read it and it will serve the best cause for the Americans of Arab origin to buy copies of this book and give it to their American friends, universities and clubs.



**Diplomatic Gossip**  
By **LEVON KESHISHIAN**

**DEMANDS WITHDRAWAL OF BRITISH FORCES FROM OMAN UNITED NATIONS, NEW YORK**—Oman demands the withdrawal of the British forces from its territory. . . . this demand is heralded here by a man who walks in the United Nations delegates lounge, speaks with delegates and newspapermen explaining the demand of his people.

In his native Arabic attire, Mohammed el Harithy comes to the United Nations daily to try to win support for his country's cause and find support. This is the second year he has made this regular visit.

He attracts attention and many come to him to find out what he is and what he wants. They find a fine man who speaks little English just enough to explain what he wants.

His major support comes from the Arab delegations who have pledged to support Oman' decision has already been taken to this effect by the Political Committee of the Arab League.

On November 5, the Arab delegates had a meeting here under the chairmanship of Mr. Abdel Khalek Hassouna and heard the official Oman representative give his side of the story and the urgent demand of his government for Arab support to get the British out of Oman and re-establish the long-agoed independence of Oman.

The position of the Oman government is that the Arab delegations should place the Oman question on the agenda of the General Assembly this year, but it seems many delegations believe that it is too late. But it seems they are willing to place it on

## "SNOW WHITE" QUEEN



Thomasine Ilyas, above, daughter of Dr. and Mrs. S. T. Ilyas of Pittsburgh, Pa., was elected "Snow White" queen of Idenboro State Teachers College by the Phi Sigma Pi Fraternity. Being a sophomore majoring in elementary education, Thomasine is in the School of Liberal Arts and is also active as one of the schools cheer leaders. She is a member of St. George Orthodox Church in Pittsburgh.

## VISITING NEW YORK



Simon Nagib Karam, above, is here in the U. S. to secure further factual material for his latest book, "The Last Revolution in Lebanon." He attends sessions in the UN regularly to observe its operations with particular attention to the participation of all the Arab Nations; also to cover the field of American-Arab relations. He proposes to remain another month before sailing to Brazil to complete his book in both Arabic and Spanish for distribution throughout the world.

In the past ten years he has made as many trips back and forth from Lebanon to South America and the U. S. A., during which time he authored two books in Arabic: "Guide of Lebanon" and "Immigrants."

Mr. Karam is a native of Beirut and a graduate of its National University-Wisdom College, and the Political College of Paris, France. After receiving his degrees he returned to Beirut where he was assigned the task of Official Journalist for the Government of Lebanon during President Beshara EL Khoury's term. He is the son of Mr. & Mrs. Nagib Karam and is married to the former Mary Podesta of Buenos Aires.

the agenda next year.

Mr. el Harithy said that he demands from the United Nations and the International Red Cross to send any possible assistance to the injured Oman soldiers.



Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, November 13, 1958

THE CARAVAN

Page Seven

## For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayez  
A. Sayegh



### SOVIET-ARAB ECONOMIC RELATIONS

In last week's issue, I reproduced certain extracts from a series of articles written by Dr. Ivor Spector, a noted expert on Soviet policies and strategy, after a study-visit he made to the United Arab Republic. The articles, and the extracts I reproduced from them, dealt with Soviet-Arab economic and cultural relations, and helped rebut some of the common allegations, often made by biased propagandists, about the reasons for, and the scope of, Soviet-Arab relations.

This subject has now become even more timely as a result of the recent announcement of the Soviet Union's consent to assist the United Arab Republic in the building of the High Dam at Aswan. Even those whose memory is weak will recall, I am sure, the background of this new development. The United States had offered Egypt 56 million dollars to build the Aswan Dam—the total cost of which will be \$1,300,000,000—in December of 1955. This offer was made some two months after Egypt had purchased Soviet arms for the first time in its history—in September of 1955. In July of 1956, however, the United States withdrew its offer. So did Britain, which had offered to loan Egypt 14 million dollars (i.e., one-tenth of one per cent of the total cost of the Dam) for the same purpose. For two and a half years, Egypt has been stalled in its efforts to build that vital dam. In October of this year, however, the agreement of the Soviet Union to furnish Egypt with credits totalling 100 million dollars was suddenly announced.

The pattern which unfolded itself in connection with the Aswan Dam project is identical with the over-all pattern of Western-Arab and Soviet-Arab relations: first, the Arab states expect to deal with the West and to receive sympathetic consideration for their needs from the West; then the West either refuses, or withdraws its promise of help after having made it; then the Soviet Union steps in to fill the vacuum and earns the gratitude of the recipient Arab states.

Not only is this pattern often forgotten by anti-Arab propagandists in their wholesale condemnation of the Arabs for accepting Soviet help; but the character and implications of the help received by the Arab states from the Soviet bloc are often distorted. It was because of such common distortion that the remarks of Professor Spector were refreshingly welcome.

Today, I shall add some observations on the subject, derived not from one individual's writings, but from the official findings of the United States Government, as compiled by the State Department from the reports of American embassies abroad.

On January 3, 1958, the Department of State issued a carefully-worded study of the growing economic relations between the Soviet Bloc countries and some under-developed countries in Asia and Africa. The full text of this study was published in the New York Times of January 4, 1958, under the heading, "Study on Soviet Economic Aid Campaign in Mideast and Orient".

#### Part of the Campaign:

Rather than being isolated events, the economic relations be-

tween the Soviet Bloc and some Arab States were found by the State Department to be manifestations of a more widely-followed Soviet policy. Said the State Department:

"The bloc began in about 1953 to use economic programs for gaining greater influence in the less-developed countries, particularly in the vast areas of Asia and Africa. In these regions, new nations are struggling for national identification and economic improvement. Through offers of aid and increased trade to less-developed countries, . . . the bloc is seeking to promote its political objectives. . . . Throughout 1957, the bloc has pressed its economic offensive by the implementation of earlier credit agreements, the expansion of its technical assistance measures, and intensive efforts to stimulate even further the rising level of trade. By December 30, 1957, bloc agreements to provide assistance to the less-developed countries totaled \$1,900,000,000."

The State Department listed the countries to which this assistance has been furnished, and the list included Afghanistan, Cambodia, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Nepal, Yugoslavia and "others", in addition to Egypt, Syria and Yemen.

After making these general observations on the purposes and scope of the new Soviet economic policy in Asia and Africa, the State Department study proceeded to examine this economic policy in three sectors: (1) provision of credit for economic development; (2) technical assistance; and (3) trade.

#### "Easy Credit":

"Practically all bloc aid has been offered in the form of easy credits", says the State Department study. Explaining this aspect of Soviet economic policy in Asia and Africa, the State Department says:

"The credits generally appear to carry favorable terms. Interest is commonly 2.5 per cent, with repayment on the major economic credits scheduled over periods of twelve years or more."

In order to appreciate this statement, one must recall that Western credits, when forthcoming carry an interest rate of 5 per cent or more, and demand repayment in shorter periods.

Furthermore, "most of the agreements provide for at least partial payment in commodities or local currencies." This makes much easier the burden of the recipient countries, than would have been the case had repayment been requested in hard currency.

A third feature of the "easy credits" program is that, "in negotiating agreements, the bloc gives no evidence of requiring economic justification for the pro-

????

Send in your questions on the Middle East to Dr. Sayegh, and help him to bring you the weekly column you want to read.

Questions dealing with statements or current beliefs which tend to place the Arab countries or Arab-Americans in a bad light are particularly recommended.

Send your questions to "For The Record," c/o The Caravan, 172-174 Hoyt Street, Brooklyn 17, N. Y., or phone them in at MAin 5-5096.

jects involved", according to the State Department study. In other words, the Soviet bloc avoids hurting the sensitivity of the newly-emancipated countries by demanding that they submit their programs of economic development to an outside Power for endorsement prior to their obtaining credit. This recognition by the Soviet bloc of the special emotional atmosphere in the under-developed countries has proved to be of great importance in affecting the response of these countries to Soviet offers.

Fourthly, according to the State Department study, "implementation of agreements has usually been started with considerable dispatch". This, too, is important; for it contrasts favorably with the dilly-dallying of some Western countries in their implementation of their economic agreements with some Asian countries.

Finally, the Soviet bloc seems to adjust its easy credits program to the needs of the recipient countries. In the words of the State Department study:

"Since most of the less-developed countries place a high priority on industrialization, the bloc has concentrated its efforts in the industrial field. . . . However, the bloc has been active in other fields, notably transport and communications, power, irrigation and mineral development."

No wonder, then, that the State Department has observed in its study that "such provisions are considered highly desirable by the less-developed countries."

#### Technical Assistance:

It is commonly asserted that Soviet bloc technicians sent to the Arab countries are a potential danger to the security of those countries, for — it is alleged — these technicians are nothing but communist agents sent to the Arab countries to subvert and help communize the Arab states.

But here is what the State Department says:

"Those technicians sent abroad to date appear to have been regarded as competent; and their behavior so far has given rise to few complaints."

Moreover, it is commonly alleged that the recipient Asian and African countries are unaware of the potential danger of the presence of Soviet bloc technicians in their midst, and do not recognize that Soviet technical assistance may be a "Trojan Horse". The State Department study, however, admits that "certain of the less-developed countries have so far been wary of accepting any large number of bloc personnel, since they recognize the potential for subversive activities."

Finally, it seems that the unofficial press reports about the numbers of Soviet bloc technicians in less-developed countries have been exaggerated. For the State Department study reveals that "during the first six months of 1957, more than 2,000 Sino-Soviet bloc technicians worked for one month or longer in nine-

teen under-developed countries" — i.e., an average of 100 technicians per country have worked an average of one month out of six! And the State Department adds: "Most technicians go abroad only long enough to carry out brief surveys, to supervise construction, or to service equipment of bloc origin."

#### Expanded Trade Relations:

Expanded trade relations form the third aspect of the new program of economic relations between the Soviet bloc and the less-developed countries. The State Department study emphasizes that, in most cases, Soviet efforts to initiate economic relations with the less-developed countries have "featured trade deals more than aid." It goes on to explain the reason for the favorable response to Soviet offers of expanded trade relations; it writes:

"Bloc offers to expand trade have met a favorable reaction in many of the less-developed countries, particularly in cases where primary producers were finding it increasingly difficult to dispose of commodities in normal cash markets."

The State Department study cites many illustrations, of which one deals with Egypt. It says: "Cotton marketing problems were a factor in close bloc economic relations with Egypt". It adds, in amplification of this trend:

"The receptivity in many of these countries to closer economic relations with the bloc varies directly with the market outlook for basic commodities. . . . Despite general recognition of the advantages of trading for cash in the free world markets, and some apprehension, over the rigidities and other disadvantages of barter trade, the less-developed countries are likely to be receptive to the bloc offers in the absence of alternative cash markets or when bloc prices appear to be favorable."

#### Conclusion:

The State Department study, which is based on the reports of American embassies abroad, speaks for itself. No comment is needed.

Let those who make irresponsible condemnations of those Arab (or other Asian and African) countries which accept Soviet credits, technicians or trade offers, or those who make wild charges about the so-called "communist danger" allegedly im-

plicit in these economic relations, concentrate first of all on studying the facts, as revealed by the State Department of the United States, and ponder the remarks made in this official study.



## Roving Reporter

By JOHN R. AMEER

### SOYO MEETING

Delegates from many of the 16 member chapters of the Syrian Orthodox Youth Organization, Eastern Region, will attend a two day meeting in Syracuse, New York on November 15 and 16.

Co-hosts for the SOYO meeting are the Geneva and Syracuse, New York chapters, it was made known by Simon G. Saba, president of Eastern Region.

Sub-Deacon Louis Mahshie will be coordinator of the delegate's meeting. The business session opens Saturday, Nov. 15, 1:30 p.m. at St. Elias Church, in Syracuse.

Following the session, dinner will be served for the delegates. Vespers will take place at 7 p.m. Singing will be by the combined choirs of the Geneva and Syracuse church members under the direction of Miss Jewel Hara.

A Saturday night Hafli will start at 9 p.m.

On Sunday, Nov. 16, a banquet honoring the SOYO delegates will follow the divine liturgy at St. Elias Church.

The SOYO meeting marks the first time that two chapters will be co-sponsors. President Simon Saba expects a good turnout from Eastern Region chapters.

The Very Rev. Father Michael Simon of Paterson, New Jersey, is spiritual advisor of Eastern Region, SOYO. Rev. Father George R. George of Danbury, Conn. is a member of the advisory board.

Eastern Region SOYO has member chapters in the State of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut, Georgia and in Washington, D. C.



U. N. BACKS A-TEST HALT—U. S. Ambassador to the United Nations Henry Cabot Lodge (left) tries to stifle a yawn as he and British representative Sir Pierson Dixon (right) cast affirmative votes at the U. N. Political Committee session in New York. After a debate that went on for hours, the General Assembly group approved the U. S. resolution calling for suspension of nuclear arms tests during the Geneva negotiations.

## 234



# U.S. Arab Policy Denounced At Forum

By JOHN BARNETT

United States foreign policy was roundly denounced last night as interfering with the internal affairs of the Arab world and for failing to reflect the high ideals of American freedom.

Dr. Fayez Sayegh, counselor of the Arab States Delegations Office in New York, was the critic as he spoke at the Sunday Evening Forum.

Sayegh invited the U. S. to stop meddling in Arab affairs, and to treat the Arab states fairly if it expects to keep the Arabs from turning to Russia for support.

Sayegh said there are three separate dimensions to the terms East and West:

- 1—Each term designates a different tradition of culture and civilization.
- 2—Each term stands for a different pattern of social, economic and political ideologies. West stands for democracy and capitalism, with man as an individual the cornerstone. East stands for Marxism, communism and the totalitarian political state.
- 3—Each term designates a different bloc of world powers—the West headed by the United States, the East headed by Russia.

**THE ARAB WORLD** stands firmly with the West in the first two areas, Sayegh said.

"We in the Arab world are heirs to the peoples and cultures which contributed to the formation of the Western heritage—your most ancient roots are with us."

In the realm of social, economic and political ideologies, the Arab also stands staunchly with the West, Sayegh said. The Arab mind is virtually immune to the impact of Marxist-communistic ideological systems.

It is in the area of world powers that there is a great debate in the Arab mind—to align with the West, represented by the U. S., or to align with the East, represented by Russia.

To understand the problem, Sayegh said, one must put himself in the place of the Arabs.

"ONE PART after another of our nation was nibbled at by one Western power or another since 1900—France, Spain, Italy, Great Britain."

This continued until World War I when Britain suggested the Arabs rebel against the Turks—and guaranteed the Arabs would be freed afterward, he said. This brought about the great Arab revolt.

After the war, he said, "Instead of finding ourselves free . . . we found our allies had placed forces on our territory . . . to dominate us. The promise to us was betrayed. We were to be dismembered arbitrarily . . . We found ourselves divided into 25 different countries."

Yet, until the end of World War II, the United States remained a respected, trusted and loved country, Sayegh said.

**THEN THE U. S.** stepped in the Palestine problem. When the matter of dividing Palestine between Arabs and Jews came up in the

United Nations, the U. S. engaged in a "high-handed endeavor" to pass the measure through pressuring smaller delegations, Sayegh said.

And the U. S. became "conspicuously indifferent" when Israel violated the conditions of the partition resolutions and took 80 per cent of Palestine and ousted the Arabs.

"By its support and indifference, by its subsidization of Israel, the U. S. became as suspect as Great Britain and France," Sayegh said.

"RUSSIA STANDS for everything we do not accept or tolerate—but it has never hurt us. The U. S., on the other hand, has slapped us in the face."

Thus originated the Arab spirit of neutralism, Sayegh said.

To a question from the audience as to his recommendations for U. S. foreign policy, Sayegh replied there are three.

- 1—"America, which fought for its own freedom, should believe in our desire for freedom. If you won't help us, at least stop supporting the enemy." As an example, he cited the Franco-Algerian dispute, where the U.S. aided France.
  - 2—Make certain that the Israelis stop violating the resolutions drawn up by the U.N. "Make Israel a law-abiding citizen of the international community."
  - 3—"Leave domestic Arab affairs to the Arabs. Allow your principles to reflect your ideals.
- "God knows we have it hard enough without the 'paratroop diplomacy' and the 'Marine diplomacy' we have to put up with."



# Arabs Seek Peace, Unity, Visitor Says



Dr. Fayez Sayegh . . . Arabs "struggle for achievement."

## Budget Lists Cost Spiral For County

Cost of Salt Lake County government is on the increase, according to the reliable measuring stick—budget requests for 1959.

Six more county departments submitted their budgets Monday to County Auditor Glen T. James and all showed increases but the "big one", the roads and bridges department.

**A DECREASE** of \$43,193 in the roads and bridges budget was noted when the department submitted a request for \$1,710,256 compared with \$1,753,449 for 1958.

The county fire department budget is climbing to a request for \$332,495, compared with \$307,531.

The assessor's 1959 budget requests totals \$251,196 compared with \$245,500 in 1958.

The county agricultural and inspection program wants \$32,750 compared with \$31,200, while the county attorney seeks \$76,975 for next year's operation, compared with \$71,121.

Most of the turbulence on the Arab scene in the last few years has been the result of the struggle of the Arabs themselves to achieve certain aims, which long ago were gained by the people of most western countries.

This appraisal was given Monday by Dr. Fayez Sayegh, counselor of the Arab States Delegation office in New York and also of the Yemen Delegation to the United Nations.

**HE MADE** Salt Lake City a stop on a western tour to address a meeting of the Salt Lake City Committee on Foreign Relations Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Hotel Utah.

The tour is under auspices of the U.N. Arab delegation, which is seeking to acquaint the American people with "the aspirations of the Arabs and the problems they confront."

"An ancient people," Dr. Sayegh said, "is awakening after a long period marked by domination from without and decadence within."

He gave as the principal objectives in this movement:

1. Self-determination for the Arab states; freedom of life and action on the part of the people.
2. Restoration of the unity which was torn apart "against our will" following World War I.
3. A remodeling of the socio-political organization, and an invigoration of the economy to bring a better life for the people.

**DR. SAYEGH** denied that the Arabs are pro-Communist, although admittedly they harbor considerable resentment toward the West. He believes that greater understanding in the western nations of Arab hopes and aspirations is necessary for an orderly peaceful solution of present problems.

Although events at any one moment may be discouraging, taking a long view gives Dr. Sayegh an impression both optimistic and hopeful, he declared.

**FOR INSTANCE**, he pointed out that there are now 10 sovereign Arab states, compared with only two at the end of World War II; many obsolete governments have fallen to regimes responsive to the desires of the people; educational opportunities are being broadened; women are being given political rights, and economic development is proceeding rapidly.

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## Report By Msgr. Tuohy On Arab Refugees Problem

Washington, Nov. 21—A Catholic prelate, expert on Middle East, sees "absolutely no possibility for peace" in that area until almost one million Arab refugees are resettled.

Msgr. Peter P. Tuohy's report, released here today, was given to the U.S. Catholic Bishops meeting in annual session here last week.

Msgr. Tuohy is President of the Pontifical Mission for Palestine Refugees, and National Secretary of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association. He is a priest of the Archdiocese of Boston, but has his office in New York.

He stated that 963,956 persons, uprooted by the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, "are convinced that a grave injustice has been done to them by the United Nations." He warned that Soviet Russia will make "further progress" in the Middle East unless something is soon done.

He said the refugees "are bitter over the fact that nothing has been done to implement the United Nations resolution of 1948." The resolution maintained that the refugees had a legal right to return to their old homes or receive compensation for their losses, Msgr. Tuohy continued. "Every refugee could recite the text word for word," the prelate asserted.

The Pontifical Mission, established by the late Pope Pius XII, has given \$34,000,000 (million) in aid to the refugees over the last 10 years, Msgr. Tuohy stated.

"The next twelve months will be critical ones, and unless the free world looks upon this tragic problem with compassion and justice, Soviet Russia and the Communists will make further progress in their active attempts to bring the entire Middle East behind the Iron Curtain," he concluded.

## ARAB LECTURER ON THE MOVE



Dr. Fayez Sayegh

Dr. Fayez Sayegh, author of the newly-published book ARAB UNITY and writer of our weekly column, FOR THE RECORD, departed over the week-end for a three week lecture tour in which he will visit Arizona, Utah, Wyoming, California, Oregon and Washington States. This will be Dr. Sayegh's thirteenth visit to the Pacific Coast in the past three years, and will mark the end of this year's lecture program for the busy Arab speaker.

In the preceding weeks, Dr. Sayegh had participated in a number of conferences and given a number of addresses.

At Cortland, New York, Dr. Sayegh was the guest of the Methodist Church annual conference. He preached the morning sermon at the Methodist Church, which was broadcast over the local radio, and made three other addresses and one radio program during the remainder of the day.

At Glenco, Illinois, Dr. Sayegh spoke to a full meeting of the Women's Library Club of that Chicago suburb.

Then he spoke in Chicago to 500 women, meeting in a regular conference of presidents and officers of women's club in four

states.

In Michigan, Dr. Sayegh was the guest speaker at Ann Arbor, at the famed University of Michigan. His public address was followed by an unscheduled meeting with a smaller group and by a press conference.

In New York City, Dr. Sayegh had four more speeches before his departure. One was at Fordham University, in which he addressed an audience of anthropology students. Another speech, at the United Nations, was before a group of Ministers from the state of Indiana. Then he spoke to a group of Ministers from Long Island Churches, at the World Affairs Center. And, finally, he spoke to a group of Y.M.C.A. leaders from Michigan, assembled in New York for an annual conference.

## She Wants To Come Back



SABAH, above, famous Arabic singing star of stage and screen, who had visited the United States not long ago, is said to be anxious to pay us another visit, now that she has divorced Anwar and has no more "husband" to quarrel with at entertainments.



NEW CARDINALS—Pope John XXIII has named two Americans for elevation to the Sacred College of Cardinals. Archbishop John O'Hara (top), 70, of Philadelphia and Archbishop Richard J. Cushing (bottom), 63, of Boston are among 23 new Cardinals, who will bring the total to 75, the greatest number in history.

## ALSAC NEWS

Charles N. Ged, State Director for New Jersey, announces the following appointments: Albert Farha, 78 Northmun Ave., Newark, New Jersey, as Director for Essex County; George Ysrael, 116 Shippen St., Weehawken, N. J., as Director for Hudson and Bergen Counties; and Mrs. Ann Betar, 275 Atlantic Street, Paterson, N. J., as Director for Passaic, New Jersey.

Judge Joseph G. Rashid, First Vice-President announces the following appointments: Thomas Boutrous, M. D., 4520 W. Outer Drive, Detroit, Michigan, as State Director for Michigan; Edward Kassab, 12225 Whitehill, Detroit 24, Michigan, as City Co-Director for Detroit; George Lutfy, c/o Beechwood Creamery, 7401 Melrose, Detroit, Michigan, as City Co-Director for Detroit; Dr. Paul Dwaiby, 14530 E. Warne, Detroit 15, Michigan, as City Co-Director for Detroit; Michael Berry, 2015 Cadillac Tower, Detroit, Michigan, as City Director for Dearborn; Dr. Paul Thomas, 8825 Middlebelt, Livonia, Michigan, as City Director for Livonia; Sam Said, 65 Farrand, Highland Park, Michigan, as City Director for Highland Park.

## Palestine Refugee Problem

AHMAD SHUKAIRY SPEAKS ON REFUGEES

By Levon Keshishian

Special to The Caravan

UNITED NATIONS, New York — Ahmad Shukairy of Saudi Arabia speaking before the Special Political Committee of the General Assembly discussing the problem of Palestine Refugees pointed out that "repatriation, and nothing but repatriation", was the solution to the refugee problem. "Resettlement, reintegration, rehabilitation or any similar projects", whatever their connotation, were no solution in themselves, and neither were relief or works projects and self-support programs.

Mr. Shukairy spoke for two hours on November 11 in opening the Arab side of the story and he attacked the American statement made on November 10, when the US Representative suggested that perhaps the Refugee Agency should be terminated. The U. S. Representative Mr. George M. Harrison told the same committee that the continuation of the United Nations Relief Agency beyond the present mandate - due to expire on 30 June, 1960, was "not, in the eyes of the United States, the proper way to handle the refugee problem."

Mr. Shukairy said that the US suggestion had serious misgivings, in suggestion to terminate the Agency in favor of a better system. The refugees did not want indefinite relief, he said. They had properties and fortunes — "estimated at the equivalent of two billion dollars" — in their homeland, and as soon as they could lay hands on their properties, they would be glad to give up the relief.

"It is only then that the United Nations responsibility ends, but not before. Inasmuch as all UN means and facilities, including mediation and conciliation had exhausted, he said, "the problem is left to unilateral sanctions to be taken against Israel. It was "part and parcel of states' sovereignty to take any legitimate unilateral sanction to meet any international situation" and that applied particularly to this problem.

Mr. Shukairy then suggested the following sanctions:

1. Zionism should be outlawed, its organizations dissolved and its funds handed over to Jewish

charitable organizations.

2: "Jewish mass immigration" should be prohibited.

3: Economic assistance to Israel, technical or financial, should be discontinued as well as fund raising campaigns, whether as loans or contributions.

The Saudi Arabian Minister of State who is also chairman of his delegation a former Palestinian and a refugee now began speaking of the former Director of UNRWA, Henry R. Labouisse, whose "devotion, sincerity and deep concern for the plight of the refugees" would be long remembered, he said. Mr. Labouisse had not resigned for lack of interest but because of "depleted patience and frustrated hopes," he believed. To tackle the refugee problem—"this human tragedy"—was a truly "crushing challenge to human fortitude."

Mr. Shukairy recalled that Mr. Labouisse had stressed each year that repatriation of the refugees was the key to the refugee problem and "the whole problem of Palestine." The former Director had struggled hard to achieve this aim, but "at last the crusader succumbed to human exasperation," he said.

The representative of Saudi Arabia went on to say that the resignation of Mr. Labouisse was only one link in a chain of resignations of officials who had dealt with the refugee problem.

It was not the first, and it would not be the last. They had resigned as "a silent protest against injustice, inaction and a continuing life of exile" for the refugees.



AHMAD SHUKAIRY - AT THE UNITED NATIONS

Page Two

THE CARAVAN

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, November 27, 1958

But while these international servants might "abdicate," the refugees remained — and they were determined "never to surrender."

Mr. Shukaiky said that 11 years had passed since a "human disaster" swept a whole people from their "ancient home." They had fled to refuge in "panic and terror," leaving behind their homes, their belongings, their fortunes, their churches, and mosques. And since then they had led "a life of exile with its moral degradation, its physical deprivation and its spiritual tribulation."

They had lived "a life of agony." In maximum hardship, with repatriation as their dream and their daily prayer, he went on. They had been forced to abandon their homes, which in many cases they could see just across the armistice lines, but they had not abandoned their hopes. Their morale was high, and would remain so, he declared.

It was the duty of this committee, to give the refugees full understanding and active support.

He then asked, what was the refugee problem, after all? Why was it still unsolved?

After all that had been said on this matter, it was still necessary to ask and to answer these questions, he believed.

For one thing, he added, the new members of the United Nations had not had a hand in "this human tragedy." For another, Zionism constantly sought to distort the problem, he said. In addition, UNRWA's mandate was soon to expire, and a whole series of solutions to the refugee question had been suggested, "based on either ignorance, convenience, malice or a combination of all."

It was necessary to understand the background of this problem, he held. The problem of the refugees was not, in the main, one of relief, but of fundamental human rights. To understand the political background was all the more necessary, he added, in view of the statement of the United States representative yesterday, who had "omitted certain truths," related "half-truths" in some other cases, and arrived at "wrongful conclusions" on the substance of the problem.

He said he would refrain from dealing with the responsibility of Israel for the war in 1948. He would merely observe that "whoever has started the war, a refugee cannot be diverted of his right to repatriation, neither can he be dispossessed of his property."

Two dates were "fateful" in the history of this problem, he continued. One was 2 November 1917, when the British Government had issued the "notorious" Balfour Declaration, promising establishment of the Jewish national home in Palestine. The policy of "Jewish settlement and Jewish immigration carried out under British bayonets" was bound to make the Palestine Arabs a refugee people, he held. To make room for the establishment of a Jewish national home, or a Jewish state, they had to be "thrown out of their country."

The second "fateful" date, pointed out Shukaiky, was 29 November 1947, when "the United Nations, in no wisdom, in no political, legal or international justification, decided to partition the Holy Land and to establish a Jewish state—a state to rule a people not its own, and upon a land it does not possess."

This "flagrant injustice" had been "extracted from the United Nations under a colossal avalanche of undue pressure," he declared. And it took no genius to see the relation between the establishment of Israel and the creation of the refugee problem.

"It is the relation of cause and effect," he said.

MR. SHUKAIKY then turned to the question of how the United Nations had so far handled the refugee problem.

In the beginning, the United Nations Mediator, Count Bernadotte, had cabled the Israeli authorities urging the repatriation of the refugees to their homes, but Israel had refused, on grounds of security and economic stability, which the Mediator had not accepted. Israel had raised the same arguments year after year, and each time they had been rejected, the representative of Saudi Arabia remarked.

He recalled a number of the pronouncements of Count Bernadotte, on repatriation of the refugees, on Israel's liability to restore refugee property, on the responsibility of the United Nations for aid to the refugees, and on other matters, which, he said, remained as "fresh and lively" today as if they had been made for this discussion.

The problem of the refugees had been raised as early as the Third Session of the General Assembly. Mr. Shukaiky went on. The General Assembly had rejected all of Israel's arguments, and had adopted resolutions which, among other things, called for aid to the refugees, reaffirming their right to repatriation or compensation, provided for certain action regarding Jerusalem and the Holy Places, and appointed a conciliation commission with a specific mandate to facilitate the repatriation and compensation of the refugees.

Since then, the General Assembly had considered the problem year after year, and, meeting continued Israeli "defiance," had reaffirmed its stands, he said. The situation this year, was the same as before — "Israel's constant defiance, no repatriation and no compensation."

The balance sheet for all the efforts of the United Nations could only be described as "nil," he declared. The 16 progress reports of the Conciliation Commission showed no "progress." It had done everything possible to get Israel to abide by the resolutions of the General Assembly, "but Israel would listen neither to the Commission nor to the United Nations, nor to international decency."

The charges against Israel were "not motivated by hate or spite," for "hatred is not our nature or tradition," the representative of Saudi Arabia declared. The verdicts and condemnations against Israel were those of the Conciliation Commission and of UNRWA, as shown clearly, "although sugar-coated and couched in refined phraseology," in the reports of the two United Nations organs.

Israel called repatriation "putting the clock back," and therefore impossible, but as Mr. Shukaiky saw it, this was "a preposterous fallacy." The United Nations had a duty to "put the clock back" when encroachments occurred, in order to restore the status quo ante, he held.

He added that Israel seemed quite willing to put the clock forward "when it comes to territorial aggrandizement." Israel declared itself willing to take the refugees in the Gaza area if it got the Gaza area itself, and did not seem to be worried about its security in this case.

The whole position of Israel toward the refugee problem was, he said, one of "continuous violation of the Charter, complete defiance of all the resolutions of the General Assembly, total frustration of the mandate of the Conciliation Commission and, in general, willful disregard of human

dignity and fundamental human rights." As for Israel's attitude toward UNRWA, it was enough to say that it was "an Israeli attitude." This Committee would understand.

Mr. Shukaiky went on to say that he found "shocking" any idea of linking repatriation of the refugees to Israel's sovereign consent.

The Arabs had been rooted in the country "long before this so-called sovereignty of Israel," he declared. Israel had no more than one occasion said it was willing to pay compensation to the refugees, but he knew Israel could make accounts and "bring the balance to nothing." Perhaps the refugees should be grateful if they were not held to be indebted to Israel, he said.

Continuing, Mr. SHUKAIKY said the question now was, what is next? What is the solution? The destiny of a people was involved, and the peace of the world was at stake. There was a need, in his view, for "plain talking" and frankness.

No solution could offer a chance for peaceful settlement unless, he said, it took full account of these five principles:

(1) "The *de facto* situation created by Israel" as the "fait accompli of a military action" was "entirely unacceptable as a basis for a solution" either of the refugee problem or of the Palestine problem as a whole.

(2) The rights of the refugees were not related to, or in any way dependent upon, the consent or refusal of Israel.

(3) "Resettlement, reintegration, rehabilitation or any similar projects, whatever their connotation, were not a solution by themselves, and should be planned or carried out only as a means of 'giving effect to their inherent right to their homeland.'" On the subject of "reintegration," he commented that the interpretation given to the word yesterday by the United States representative given to the word in the original General Assembly resolution, of which the United States had been a prime mover. It was time, he said, to be "more thoughtful" and less forgetful.

(4) Relief was no solution to the problem, not even a substitute. It was "a humanitarian measure having no political implications."

(5) Works projects and self-support programs were no solution. Self-supporting or not, the refugee remained a refugee, and his status an international problem until satisfactorily solved.

"If accepted," continued Mr. Shukaiky, the measures he had just outlined "will bring Israel on her knees to the threshold of the United Nations in total obedience to the will of the international community."

The proposals were addressed to all states, members and non-members of the United Nations, he noted. "We will certainly be grateful to any state that accepts these measures, all or any of them. That would be a great service to the cause of peace and a solid ground for friendship with the Arab states."

However, if such support was not forthcoming, the refugee problem would still proceed toward its "national solution," he said, for "Arab nationalism is the ultimate force to achieve its objectives." The "fortresses" left behind by "the retreating forces of imperialism" were falling one by one, and Zionism would surrender, too, he said.

Then, Mr. SHUKAIKY concluded, the refugees would return to their homeland, and their homeland would return to them.

The CHAIRMAN said the representative of Israel had asked to make a brief statement in re-

ply to the remarks just made.

Mr. Shukaiky said he had "serious misgiving" about the termination of UNRWA's mandate in favor of a better system, as advocated yesterday by the United States representative. The refugees did not want indefinite relief. The refugees, now "costing you seven cents a day per head," had property, fortunes in their homeland. The minute they laid hands on their properties, they would be glad to give up the relief.

"It is only then that the United Nations responsibility ends, but not before," he asserted.

Mr. Shukaiky wanted to make clear that "any attempt which directly or indirectly reduces in any degree the right of the refugees to repatriation" or sought to absolve the United Nations of responsibility "will be resisted here in the Committee and in the Arab world."

The solution to this problem, he maintained, was "repatriation and nothing but repatriation."

Repatriation was an inalienable right of the refugees, and any arguments against it, from wherever they came, were "a heap of nonsense," the representative of Saudi Arabia continued. Israel said it had "no room," but it seemed to have room to bring in thousands and thousands of Jews. Israel said its security and economic stability would be undermined. To this, Mr. Shukaiky would reply that Israel had not been invited into the area. "If the security of Israel is shaky, and if Israel itself is not viable, there is no one to blame except Israel."

Similarly, the argument that conditions had changed from those the refugees had known did not hold water, he said.

All that he had outlined to the Committee so far showed how "impotent" the United Nations was to implement its resolutions.

The United Nations had given the small nations the "dangerous" impression that "they are not taken seriously except when they take the law in their own hands," he said. "It is only when you go to war that your problem moves the United Nations into action."

Therefore, it seemed to him that, while the present circumstances prevailed, the solution to the refugee problem should be sought inside and outside the normal procedures of the United Nations, as all UN means which had been tried had failed.

With the failure to adopt collective measures for implementation, "the problem is left to unilateral sanctions to be taken against Israel," he declared. This was not contrary to the Charter, although admittedly a new approach in the United Nations. "It is part and parcel of states' sovereignty to take any legitimate unilateral sanction to meet any international situation," he said.

He was accordingly submitting a proposal suggesting sanctions to be applied in connection with the refugee problem. It was not meant to be voted upon, but to be conveyed to governments, through their representatives here, for consideration and action. The measures proposed were as follows:

(1) Zionism should be outlawed, its organizations dissolved and its funds handed over to Jewish charitable institutions.

(2) Jewish mass immigration should be prohibited.

(3) Economic aid to Israel, technical or financial, should be discontinued, as well as fundraising campaigns, whether as loans or contributions.

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Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, November 27, 1958

## For The Record

By  
Dr. Fays  
A. Sayegh



### EXPANTIONIST DESIGNS: OPEN OR CONCEALED?

Last week we suggested that the record of Israel—and of Zionism — reveals a steady pattern, a consistent *modus operandi*, oscillating with the regularity of a pendulum between outright aggression, when the occasion seems appropriate, and satisfaction with seemingly innocuous arrangements which are subsequently exploited to further the expansionist objectives of Zionism, if the occasion does not seem appropriate for overt action.

Israel's recent expressions of concern over the "fate of Jordan" have partaken of both attributes.

There were repeated calls for military action, in case of a change in the status or the regime of Jordan, to be undertaken by the Israeli armed forces and to push the boundaries of Israel to the River Jordan. These calls, made in the press and in the parliament of Israel by leaders of diverse shades of opinion, were neither strange to nor unexpected by any student of Israeli affairs who has even a casual knowledge of Israel's record.

In the midst of the clamoring for "preparedness" and "overt action", however, Ben-Gurion came with a seemingly less aggressive suggestion.

In an interview with the *Sunday Times* of London, published on October 26, Ben Gurion said: "I am satisfied with the maintenance of the status quo in Jordan. . . . If, however, the status quo in Jordan is altered, then I would like to see complete demilitarization of the west bank of the Jordan River and its control by a U.N. police force. . . ."

To some outside observers, Ben Gurion's suggestion seemed harmless. Even as perceptive a student of Zionist and Israeli affairs as Mr. William Zukehman, Editor of the *JEWISH NEWSLETTER*, seems to have been misled by appearances to such an extent as to have written an article in the November 17 issue of his periodical bearing the strange title, "Ben Gurion Among the Peace-Makers", and opening with the following words:

"Premier David Ben Gurion, whose efforts on behalf of peace have never gone further than frequently talking about it, has now made a proposal, which is so much out of character with his previous activist policies, that it has baffled many of his political friends and enemies alike. The proposal was contained in an interview he gave to the London *Sunday Times*, in which Ben Gurion offered a solution to the present dilemma in Jordan, which, if implemented, would make a great contribution toward peace in the Middle East."

Mr. Zukehman gives further evidence of his failure to detect the ominous pattern of Ben Gurionist tactics by saying:

"It would demonstrate more than any words by Israeli statesmen that Israel has no aspirations for further expansion and for the acquisition of more lands from the Arabs — what the Arab States feared most."

He concludes his article with the remark:

"Ben Gurion has made a real move toward peace, probably the first of his career, and this

deserves to be greeted by all, even his severe critics."

\* \* \*

Perhaps the reaction of Mr. Zukehman, and people like him, to Ben Gurion's suggestion is the best explanation of the motives behind the suggestion itself. In other words, it is the seeming innocuousness of the proposal that is its most dangerous attribute.

For the crucial fact is that the demilitarization of any area of Palestine never viewed by Israel as final of permanent arrangement; demilitarization has invariably been viewed by Israel as a stepping-stone for Israeli occupation. The record is unmistakably clear; there is not one single exception to the pattern.

The demilitarization of Jerusalem by a Security Council order in August 1948 with a view to its eventual internationalization has led to the Israelization of the Holy City.

The demilitarization of el-Auja in accordance with the Armistice Agreement has not prevented Israel from establishing settlements, administering them, policing them, and eventually expelling the U.N. observers, and remilitarizing the area.

The demilitarization of the zones near the Syrian borders, also in accordance with the Armistice Agreement, has led to similar results.

Israel knows that it has little chance of getting away with annexing a part of the Kingdom of Jordan by outright force in naked aggression. Therefore, the next best alternative is for Israel to lobby for the demilitarization and the U.N. - policing of the area, confident that, from that platform, the distance towards Israelization is much shorter and the adventure less costly and more likely to succeed.

If Mr. Zukehman is as "baffled" by the Ben Gurion statement as he says many are, all he has to do is to study the fact of every Palestinian area that was demilitarized in the past.

If however, Mr. Zukehman really believes that Mr. Ben Gurion's purpose in his proposal is really the attainment of peace in the Middle East, then surely his concept of peace must be the peace accomplished by an expanded Israel after it has succeeded in misleading and confusing even those students of its activities who had ordinarily shown a capacity to distinguish between appearance and reality.

If you have not yet received The Caravan, mail us your name and address immediately!

**HERE AND THERE:** Kamil Abdul Rahim left for a two month vacation in Cairo. His place at the Arab Information Center is filled by Prof. Hussein Kamel Selim. \*\*\*\* New Press Officer at the Center is Dr. Husni Khalifa, a well known Egyptian Journalist. \*\*\*\* Dr. Fays Sayegh left on a lecture tour to the West Coast. \*\*\* Dr. Mekki Abbas of Sudan is the new director of the UN Economic Commission for Africa. UN gave a \$500,000 budget for this new organ whose headquarters will be in Addis Ababa and the first meeting will be held on December 29, 1958. \*\*\* Omar Loutfi of UAR has been elected to go on a UN Visiting Mission to the Pacific.

# THE ARIZONA POST



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16 Kislev 5719

Friday, November 28, 1958

The Arizona Post's

## World Report

A Digest of Jewish World News

### More Bomb Threats Hit Synagogues

More bombing threats have been received at Jewish synagogues. In Savannah, Ga., the Jewish Educational Alliance took special security measures after receiving an anonymous bomb scare telephone call. And three synagogues were under police surveillance following bomb threats. Buildings of Agudath Sholem, Temple Sinai and Temple Beth-El all were searched by police but no bombs were found. At the University of Missouri a railroad fuse resembling a dynamite bomb was found on the porch of the Jewish Student Center. In Rochester, N.Y., 25 headstones were overturned in the cemetery of the Rochester Jewish Relief Organization and at Miami anonymous telephone callers threatened to blow up a Catholic and two Protestant churches. Police searched the buildings, found no bombs. . . .

B'nai B'rith, at its 115th annual meeting in New York, adopted a record budget of \$6,099,890 for service activities on the national level. The major part of the increase was for BB youth activities. The convention honored Bernard B. Baruch with its President's Medal. . . . In Cleveland the National Council of Churches of Christ announced it will conduct an inquiry into reported Soviet Russia policy of destroying the human rights of Jews. . . .

### Israel Position Improved--Eban says

Ambassador Abba Eban declared at the New York convention of the American Zionist Council that Israel's international position has been "substantially" improved. The Ambassador declared that for the first time the three major Western powers are each aiding Israel. . . . It was reported at the convention that Zionists councils are now functioning in 477 cities in the U.S. Rabbi Irving Miller, Woodmere, L.I., was re-elected chairman of the American Zionist Council. . . . The 60th anniversary biennial convention of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America met in Atlanta City and hailed United States voters for voting on the basis of qualifications of candidates rather than religious belief. The conference presented a service award to Phillip M. Klutznick, president of B'nai B'rith, for his and BB's service to world Jewry. Moses I. Feuerstein was re-elected president of the UOJCA.

### Israeli To Be Tried For Espionage

The Attorney General of Israel has decided that the state has sufficient evidence on which to try Aharon Cohen, member of the Mapam Central Committee, for having passed secret information to an agent of a "foreign power". Cohen is in jail charged for passing secret information to a foreign agent between April and August of 1958. Cohen has applied for bail, citing a heart ailment. . . . In Tel Aviv it was announced that another Arab spy ring inside Israel has been smashed and 10 Arab youths arrested. . . . In New York Israeli officials told the United Nations it is willing to pay compensation to Arab refugees if the Arab states agree to integrate those Arabs in Arab lands. . . . Israel also has offered to allow the Soviet Union to tour Israel borders as a result of Russian charges of troop concentrations. . . .

Three Israeli Arab Communists have been expelled from their home villages for passing out threatening propaganda. . . . The murder of a vacationing British woman at Lake Tiberias has been blamed on Syrian soldiers who lobbed mortar shells into Israel territory. . . . Widespread concern among Israel farmers is reported over the continued absence of rainfall. . . . The 20th Jew to sit in the Current British Parliament was elected this week. . . . Arnold Zweig, 71-year-old German-Jewish writer, has received the Lenin Prize for "the promotion of peace among nations". . . .



TUCSONANS MEET AMBASSADOR—Abba Eban (right), Israel's Ambassador to the United States met with Tucson's Benjamin N. Brook (left) and David N. Ginsburg in Washington recently to discuss the Ambassador's Tucson appearance Nov. 30. The Ambassador will speak on the Sunday Evening Forum. Mr. Ginsburg, president of the Tucson Jewish Community Council, and Mr. Brook, Council executive director, were in Washington for the meetings of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds.

## Moscow Radio Raps 'Zionist' Rockefeller

LONDON (JTA)—The Moscow Radio laid down a propaganda barrage against Israel and the Zionist movement this week in which it blasted Nelson Rockefeller, Governor-elect of New York, as an instrument of "international Zionism."

At the same time, short-wave broadcasts from the Soviet capital denounced alleged shipment of arms by the West to Israel and Jordan, because these shipments would kindle "war passions." The broadcasts made no reference to Soviet arms shipments to the United Arab Republic.

THE SOVIET propagandists expressed pious concern lest the Western armament of Jordan lead to an arms race between that kingdom and Israel because of their "existing feeling of hostility."

The New York governor-elect was assailed as a "vigilant trustee of international Zionism" and the broadcasts linked his family oil interests with the Zionist movement. This was how Moscow described the alliance of the socialist Mapai Party and Standard Oil:

"Weizmann, the leader of the conservative Jews, played an important role in the World Zionist organization toward the establishment of the State of Israel. Weizmann's group enjoyed the support of Shell, the oil monopoly, which tried to establish a large oil empire rivaling in its wealth that of India. Weizmann was associated with the oil companies as a chemist."

"With the leaders of Zionism, the British oil monopolists secured a number of industrial establishments in Palestine, including Palestine Electric, Jordan Oil Exploration Company, the Zionist Central Bank, and the Anglo-Palestine Bank."

"But after World War II,

when Britain lost her influence in the Middle East, the Zionists transferred their allegiance. The Rockefeller family penetrated the world Zionist organization and consequently effected a change in the government away from Weizmann's conservative party, called the General Zionist Organization, to the reformist, pro-American party, Mapai, which is led by Ben Gurion."

## UJA Will Ask Increase In Fund-Raising

WASHINGTON, (JTA)

—The United Jewish Appeal will ask the leadership of the Jewish welfare funds to sit down with its leaders to review the allocations to be made to UJA from their campaigns to ensure a "just and fair allotment" to the Appeal, Morris W. Bernstein, general chairman of UJA, said here.

Mr. Bernstein stressed the conclusions reached by the UJA Study Mission that far more money must be made available for overseas programs and that failure to provide the funds required "can only result in eventual bankruptcy of the program."

## Abba Eban To Speak At Forum Here

### Community Is Urged To Attend Program

An open reception honoring Abba Eban, Israel's ambassador to the United States, will be given by the Tucson Jewish Community Council this Sunday night following the Sunday Evening Forum beginning at 8 p.m. and the Council has urged the entire Jewish community to hear his important address.

AMBASSADOR EBAN'S appearance in Tucson—the first here for an Israel ambassador—is co-sponsored by the Jewish Community Council and the Forum.

Mrs. Harry Gorodess is chairman for the reception which will be held in the auditorium of the Tucson Jewish Community Center. Her co-chairman is Mrs. Alex Weiss.

Ambassador Eban recently was elected president of the Weizmann Institute of Science in Israel and there are unfounded reports which say he will soon step out of government service.

The Israel Ambassador will follow on the Forum program by one week the appearance of Dr. Fayed A. Sayegh, counselor for the Arab States Delegation Office at United Nations.

DR. SAYEGH, in his Tucson appearance, made bitter charges that the United States had forced through the UN the resolution which created the nation of Israel in Palestine. Dr. Sayegh also attacked the Zionist movement, saying that Zionists must bear the blame for the present hostility between Arabs and Israelis.

The Arab leader said Arabs would be willing to negotiate peace with Israel if the Israelis would agree to abide by the UN resolutions.

When he was informed that he would follow Dr. Sayegh on the Forum program, Ambassador Eban smiled and said that he was happy to have the opportunity to speak at the Forum and to follow the Arab speaker.



LANDMARK COMES DOWN—A service station soon will be built on the same lot where Congregation Anshei Israel had its first house of worship. The adobe-walled building on South Stone Avenue is pictured here as it was being torn down last week. The conservative congregation, now located at 1801 East Sixth Street, was first located in the South Stone building in 1930. Cong. Anshei Israel again is studying the possibility of expanding into new and larger headquarters.



Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, December 4, 1958

THE CARAVAN

Page Seven

## For The Record

By  
Dr. FAYEZ  
A. SAYEGH



### THE PROCESS OF SELF-AGGRANDIZEMENT Step by Step

In the preceding two articles, we analyzed the recent Israeli statements on Jordan from the perspective of the sixty-year old record of Zionism and its characteristic *modus operandi*.

In the light of this analysis, we may now proceed to describe the process of self-aggrandizement of Zionist footholds, and of Israel in particular, step by step.

The point-of-departure is the knowledge that the Israel of today is NOT, to orthodox Zionists and Israelis, a terminus, but a mere station, in a long journey that will not end until Israel has occupied all of Palestine and all of former Trans-Jordan, that is to say, the entire area which the Zionists call "Eretz Israel". The stop may be long or short at each station, depending upon circumstances; but the traveller will not rest until the terminal point has been reached.

During the stop at intermediate stations, the Zionist movement concentrates on consolidating its position and entrenching itself in the footholds it has attained, and on preparing itself for the next jump. But, all the while, Zionists and Israelis angrily deny any charge that they are preparing for further expansion, and disavow any expansionist intent. Such denial is germane to the *modus operandi*; it has been a permanent and essential feature of the conduct of Zionism at every intermediate stop on the path of its journey towards occupying the entire area is covets.

At each stop, however, as the opportune moment for expansion draws near, Zionists and Israelis begin dropping broad hints about the direction of the next move. This is made partly in order to test the reactions of the Arabs, and of the world at large, to the proposed move; and partly in order to prepare world public opinion for the projected jump. This is the stage at which we find ourselves today with respect to Israel's apparent intention to move towards the Jordan River.

We said before that such a move ordinarily takes one of two forms: Either an outright military move, as in Sinai two years ago; or an indirect move, as in the Demilitarized Zones since 1949.

It seems that Israel now deems the direct move inexpedient, at least for the time being, and is contemplating an indirect move.

Let us see the steps which such an indirect move is likely to take, or has already taken.

The first step is to cast some doubt on the finality or the legitimacy of the status of some portion of the coveted area, adjacent to Israel. At this stage, Israel purports to envelop the status of that segment of, coveted land with questions, and to toss its future into the arena of political speculation. This is what is happening today as far as the Arab lands west of the River Jordan are concerned.

Israel chooses, for this type of treatment, an Arab area in which some trouble may be brewing—even where the trouble has nothing to do with the Arab-Israeli conflict. Or Israel may time its sowing of the seeds of

doubt in such a way as to coincide with trouble between the Arab World and one Western Power or another—as it did during the invasion of Sinai, when it exploited the alienation between Egypt on the one hand and England and France on the other over Suez. Whatever the particular occasion which renders Israel's maneuver timely, Israel's purpose is primarily to make it seem as though the status of the Arab land in question is subject to doubt and that something must be done about it by the outside world.

The next step, which follows the initial step of psychological preparation, is political. Having made the status of a given Arab land a subject of concern and speculation, Israel moves forward to the political dimension. It submits, tentatively and as it were disinterestedly, one or more proposals for the "solution" of the "problem" which it had deliberately conjured up. It posits itself as a party—and a constructive-minded party at that. It introduces an element of political fluidity into the picture.

Invariably, the proposals presented by Israel call for the de-Arabization of the area which Israel now describes as "disputed territory". It seeks to shake the exclusive Arab control of the Arab area, to undermine the sovereign Arab authority over that Arab area. It does not claim the area for itself—not yet! To do so would be to act as an amateur, not as a professional. It does not show its hand prematurely. All it seeks is the "demilitarization" and "de-Arabization" of the area in question—the area whose fate Israel has unilaterally pronounced jeopardized.

If Israel does not act amateurishly by prematurely claiming that area for itself, neither does it act short-sightedly by fore-dooming its chances to occupy that area in the future. Thus, Israel does not call for the "internationalization" of the area in question; for, if it did, it might create an unnecessary obstacle to its own future expansion, by bringing into the area an international sovereignty which it would find it difficult to dislodge in the future. Therefore, Israel shrewdly calls for the "de-Arabization" and the "demilitarization" of the area—but neither the "internationalization," nor the outright "Israelization," of the area.

To make its proposal even more palatable and less suspicious, Israel calls also for "United Nations policing" of the area. There is a fundamental juridical and practical difference between "United Nations policing" and "internationalization": the former is confined to maintenance of security; the latter involves sovereignty and administration.

By speaking of "United Nations policing", rather than "internationalization", Israel succeeds in appearing to be non-self-seeking, while in the fact also succeeds

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In creating a vacuum of authority and sovereignty into which it can creep stealthily piece-by-piece in the future.

The third step—which follows the psychological and the political—is practical. Israel infiltrates the area. It begins to exercise administrative authority here and there, and to act seemingly innocuously within it. In the northern Demilitarized Zone, it began to work on the diversion of the Jordan River waters. When it was challenged, it screamed that the Arabs were opposed to constructive development of the area. Even though the Security Council enjoined it to cease its construction, it went on with its actions sporadically. It built settlements—and then sent Israeli police to police them. Then it sent the Israeli army, clad in police uniforms, to "protect" them. Before long, Israel was established in the Demilitarized Zone, as thought it was operating within its own territory. The same thing happened in el-Auja Demilitarized Zone in the south. Undoubtedly, Israel hopes to accomplish the same in the east, if the western banks of the River Jordan are de-Arabized, and de-militarized.

With its record of turning deaf ears to the resolutions of the United Nations with impunity, and with its spectacular capacity to manipulate the media of mass information and communication in key countries of the world (such as the United States), Israel feels sure that, if the western banks of the River Jordan are de-Arabized and de-militarized, they will become progressively Israelized: by settlement, exercise of administrative authority, policing, gradual exercise of sovereignty, and eventual remilitarization and full-fledged Israelization of the area. Neither United Nations resolutions, which Israel has traditionally scorned as mere scraps of paper, nor world public opinion, which Israel has successfully proved capable of deceiving, will be an insurmountable obstacle.

The ominous beginning of a new phase in the unending process of Israeli self-aggrandizement are already evident. It remains to be seen how far, and when, Israel will proceed with the next move.

### BEG PARDON

An item appearing in last week's "Roving Reporter" column was the result of a misunderstanding between the writer and Miss Yvonne Nahas who recently returned from abroad.

The item misstated that Miss Nahas offered to show some movie films, she took during her trip, to anyone interested in viewing them. Actually, Miss Nahas is showing the film only to relatives and close friends, not publicly.

## 1,500 ARIZONIANS HEAR DR. FAYEZ A. SAYEGH Arab Speaker Then Moves to Utah

A record audience assembled at the largest auditorium in Tucson, Arizona, to listen to Dr. FAYEZ A. SAYEGH speak on "The Arab World Between East and West". The speech is to be followed by Abba Eban's speech next Sunday, on "Israel Amongst the Nations." The two speeches formed the highlights of the 1958-1959 season of the Tucson Community Forum, the largest of its kind in the nation. The Forum has featured in previous years some of the most outstanding speakers in the United States.

After speaking for one hour, Dr. Sayegh answered questions from the audience for another hour. In accordance with the tradition of the Forum, these questions were written by members of the audience and handed to the ushers, who brought them to the Chairman's platform; and the Chairman, Mrs. Mary Jeffries, read them to the speaker.

However, in an unusual gesture, Mrs. Jeffries announced that Dr. Sayegh has asked her not to screen the questions, as she ordinarily does. He asked that the questions be read to him as they came, without selectivity or editing and without omission.

Following the two-hour meeting, Dr. Sayegh met with a group of about one hundred members of the audience who rallied to the Student Union to pursue the question-and-answer period. An invitation had been publicly addressed to the audience to that effect, by the International Students Association, when it transpired that the scheduled time of the meeting would not suffice for answering all questions. Two hours of lively discussion at the

Student Union followed the two-hour meeting at the auditorium.

These four hours formed the climax of a busy day, which had started early in the morning with a breakfast address and discussion period at the Presbyterian Church. Dr. Sayegh spoke to the Presbyterian Students Club on the Role of Students in Furthering International Understanding.

Another meeting for the Arab students was also held, which lasted several hours.

After his brief but full visit to Tucson, Arizona, Dr. Sayegh proceeded to Salt Lake City, Utah, where another round of meetings had been scheduled for him.

The highlight of Dr. Sayegh's visit to Salt Lake City was the meeting with the Committee on Foreign Relations. This is a relatively small group of outstanding men—professors, editors, publicists, and businessmen concerned with world affairs. There are some thirty such committees in the United States, and Dr. Sayegh, who has spoken to several of them in the past, is scheduled to speak to three more in January.

Addressing himself to the theme, "Arab Nationalism Today," Dr. Sayegh spoke for one hour, and participated in a lively question-and-answer period of one hour afterwards.

Besides this main address, Dr. Sayegh was interviewed on two radio programs, one TV program, and by the editors of the two newspapers of Salt Lake City. Informal meetings with leading authors and educators brought the Arab point of view to more key-people in yet another key-city.

## Creature Dis-Comforts

By J. RODGER DARLING  
Written Especially for Central Press and This Newspaper  
WITHOUT peeking at the answers at bottom of this story, do you know what these critters do when cold weather comes?  
1—Woodchuck.  
2—Blue heron.  
3—Earthworms.  
4—Field mice.  
5—Spiders.

The purple grosbeak flies to sunny Havana for the winter, but the purple-lipped suburbanite shivers in the snow. The red squirrel sleeps snug in its cozy nest during cold months, while the red-nosed commuter snuffles around drafty waiting rooms.

There have been rumors that whole families of Russian peasants doze through the winter—crowded around the fire, waking once a day to eat—in the region near Pskov. Scientists scoff, saying that only certain animals enjoy the strange big-sleep known as "hibernation."

With the coming of cold weather these lucky animals curl up and become torpid (the way you feel at 6 a. m.). Their temperature drops from 100 to 40 degrees, and during their 200-day nap they won't breathe as much as in one day awake.

IN THEIR WINTER burrows some animals (such as chipmunks) store a lunch and awaken from time to time for a "midnight snack." Some don't really sleep all winter (raccoons), but just have more sense than to wander out in the cold like certain two-legged creatures.

In some species (skunks) the female snoozes through bad weather while the male plods through snowdrifts—a condition not unlike that of the human animal.

No birds hibernate, being able to take off when local weather gets too rugged. As for our faithful feathered friends that winter with us—anything with wings that lingers in this land



Woodchuck (alias Groundhog)

of rain and snow instead of flying down to Rio is just too dumb to talk about.

SOME CREATURES even hibernate in hot weather (called "estivation") by taking it easy in cool, dark places and soaking up lots of moisture.

Thus poor (?) animals enjoy life, while man is so intelligent he keeps right on toiling, sweating and freezing.

When blizzards blow and alarm clocks jangle, wouldn't you rather be a bear? Just crawl into your cozy den and yawn to Mrs. Bruin. "It's going to be a c-o-l-d winter. Wake me up at half-past April!"

### THE ANSWERS:

- 1—Sleeps in snug burrow until Feb. 2... maybe later.
- 2—Doesn't turn blue with cold... just flies south.
- 3—Creep deep and sleep curled up by dozens.
- 4—Move into your cellar.
- 5—Move into your attic.



## For The Record

By  
Dr. FAYEZ  
A. SAYEGH



### TWO ANNIVERSARIES: DECEMBER 10 & 11

On December 10, 1958, thoughtful people throughout the world celebrated the tenth anniversary of a landmark of the progress of mankind in giving expression to its collective conscience. For, on the tenth of December of 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a document of great historic import, known as the Universal Declaration of human rights.

The adoption and proclamation of that Declaration may not have appreciably changed the actual state of affairs in the world, as far as the status of the human person in society was concerned. In other words, the mere enunciation of the principles embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights did not, of and by itself alter the actual position of the human person or entail a greater degree of respect for the rights and liberties of man in practice in society. The fact of the human person did not differ appreciably in the past ten years from what it had been prior to the adoption of the Universal Declaration.

Nevertheless, the adoption and proclamation of the Declaration was a historic event in that it defined the principles and standards by which civilized men agreed to be judged, or the aspirations to which civilized men professed dedication.

A society in which men consider murder a crime is more civilized in terms of the principles it holds dear than one in which men condone crime, even though there may be as many murders in the former as in the latter. The profession of principles, while in itself it does not guarantee implementation of those principles in practice, nevertheless reflects the measure of refinement in thought and aspiration which the members of a given group have attained.

It was perhaps because of this disparity between the enunciation of principles and the incarnation thereof in concrete life, that the General Assembly, in proclaiming the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, described it as "a standard of achievement" for societies and individuals. For it was cognizant that, lacking in instruments of enforcement, it could not ensure the actual application of the principles of the Declaration; and it therefore chose to proclaim those principles as civilized standards towards which people could aspire, rather than ignore the task of safeguarding the rights of man entirely simply because a self-enforcing law could not at the time be contemplated or promulgated.

By an interesting historical coincidence, however, the selfsame General Assembly which adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on December 10, 1948, proceeded on the following day to adopt another resolution which also pertained to human rights — the basic rights and fundamental freedom of a specific group of human beings, namely, the Arab refugees from Palestine.

For, on December 11, 1948, the General Assembly resolved that the injustice done to the Arabs of Palestine be undone. It resolved, unto that end, that the refugees be given the opportunity

to choose between returning to their homes, on the one hand, and staying outside Israel and receiving compensation for their property, on the other hand.

In no area of human rights, anywhere in the world, have the general provisions of the Universal Declaration and the specific provisions of a supplementary specific resolution been ignored and defied as flagrantly as in the case of the Arab refugees.

This is all the more striking and agonizing in view of four additional facts, which are of crucial importance for assessing the sinfulness of Israel's intransigent non-compliance with the United Nations resolution on safeguarding the human rights of the Arab refugees:

1. When the nations of the world supported the idea of establishing a state of Israel (on November 29, 1947), many of them were influenced in so doing by the inhuman and brutal treatment which the Jews of Europe had suffered under Hitler. It was out of their respect for the idea of human rights that many nations supported the establishment of Israel in the belief, rightly or wrongly, that only within such a state could the human rights of those who had suffered under Hitler be safeguarded and ensured against future opposition and discrimination. A state which came into being in response to the zeal of the community of nations to safeguard the rights of man owes it to that community of nations to behave in accordance with the standards of achievement which animated that community's decisions, and which that community enunciated once more in a universal declaration.

2. Of all the member-states of the United Nations, the one which, more than any other, is called upon to head the injunctions of the world organization and to put them into effect is Israel. For no other state in the world, except Israel, is the creature and child of the United Nations — literally so. Israel is; therefore, under a greater obligation to comply with the decisions of the United Nations, to which Israel owes its very existence, than is any other member-state.

3. The resolution of the United Nations concerning the refugees was not an added obligation which the United Nations sought to impose on Israel after it brought it into being—as an afterthought, as it were. On the contrary, the stipulation that Israel should respect the human rights of the Arab inhabitants had been included in the very birth-certificate of Israel, as a condition on which Israel was born and with which Israel was supposed prior to its birth to comply. For, in an act of supreme far-sightedness, the General Assembly had

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anticipated and sought to avert the adoption by the proposed state of Israel of discriminatory measures against the Palestine Arabs; and accordingly, it had included in the Partition Resolution (Israel's birth charter) clear stipulations safeguarding the human rights of the Arab inhabitants, and added: "The stipulation contained in the Declaration are recognized as fundamental laws of the State; and no law, regulation, or official action shall interfere with these stipulations; nor shall any law, regulation, or official action prevail over them." Moreover, the United Nations reserved to itself the right to invalidate all Israeli measures of discrimination against the Arabs of Palestine; it said in the Partition Resolution: "The provisions of chapters 1 and 2 of the Declaration shall be under the guarantee of the United Nations, and no modifications shall be made in them without the assent of the General Assembly of the United Nations."

4. The United Nations has not acquiesced in Israel's non-compliance with the resolution of December 11, 1948, concerning the return of the refugees to their homes. For, in every successive session of the General Assembly, it has "recalled" and reaffirmed that resolution—eleven times since the date of the original resolution. And, every time it approved a temporary relief program to keep the refugees alive, it has made it clear that that relief program shall be "without prejudice" to the right of the refugees to repatriation. Finally, in the past five years the United Nations has indicated, in each annual resolution, that it "viewed with concern" the fact that the refugees had not yet been repatriated.

In other words, the United Nations has insisted in every ordinary session of its General Assembly that Israel's intransigence be halted and that the human rights of the Arab refugees of Palestine be respected and observed.

As the world celebrates at this time the Tenth Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and as speakers orate on the importance of that document as a landmark in the progress of the human conscience, let it not be forgotten that this time of the year is a twofold anniversary: the first being a happy anniversary of progress; and the second, an unhappy anniversary of disregard of human rights and continued trampling upon them.

Israel's violation of the letter and spirit of the resolution of December 11, 1948, is also a glaring violation of the letter and spirit of the Universal Declaration of December 10, 1948, as well as an insult to the spirit of humanness which prompted the civilized community of mankind to establish Israel, an ungrateful defiance of the will of its creator-patent, a desecration of the principles of safeguards contained in its birth-charter, and persistent

violation of every single resolution on the refugees adopted by the United Nations since December 11, 1948.

It is unlikely that many of the orators on "Human Rights Day" will have dwelt, even for one moment, on this black side of the United Nations and its creature; but the memory of history will yet prove more retentive, in the future, than the memory of many of today's speakers on the Tenth Anniversary of Human Rights Day.

### HAPPY BIRTHDAY

Charles Saydah celebrated his 12 birthday on Friday evening last, with over a dozen of his friends and schoolmates at his home on 91st Street. Charles is the son of Mr. & Mrs. Edward K. Saydah and the grandson of Mrs. Khalil Saydah (Katie), one-time president of the Syrian Ladies Aid Society.

## IN MEMORY OF ARCHBISHOP DAVID

The parishioners of the Archdiocese of Toledo, Ohio, and dependencies are initiating action for erection of a mausoleum as a memorial and final resting place for the late beloved Metropolitan Samuel David. We feel that a man known and loved not only by his own people, but by all Christians throughout the world, should be eulogized and memorialized, not just in the heart of those in his diocese where each person can see his own memorial erected to his love and greatness, but unselfishly felt with all peoples of the world who knew, loved and respected him.

Although for many years he made his permanent home in Toledo, we know that all persons in his entire Archdiocese loved him and would desire to contribute to a fund for the erection of an everlasting memorial.

Therefore, we are extending to you this privilege with the hope that 30 days construction can be started on an edifice that will reflect the greatness of Metropolitan Samuel David and the love and devotion of his people for him.

Direct all donations to:

Metropolitan Samuel David Memorial Fund  
Box 199  
Toledo 1, Ohio

George M. Saba  
Chairman

### Announcing a New Book by



## Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh on ARAB UNITY Hope & Fulfillment

For the first time in any language a full-length study of Arab Unity—past and present, idea and reality—appears in the English language in August 1958.

The book consists of fifteen chapters, in about 300 pages. It is divided into three parts:

**Part I** examines the background of Arab Unity, by tracing the origin of the Arab Nation and the fragmentation of the Arab World between 1800 and 1925 into twenty-five political entities.

**Part II** describes the birth of the idea of Arab Unity as a reaction to this intensive political fragmentation, and traces the evolution of this idea during two decades, from 1925 to 1945.

**Part III** examines the ingression of the idea of Arab Unity into Arab history since 1945. The first effort to establish Arab Unity is examined at great length: the Arab League, its promise and its failure to achieve unity among the Arabs. The recent developments since February 1958 are then taken up, the rise of new unions is described.

In all candor, the Arab author examines the elements of disunity as well as the factors of unity.

The author's conclusions about the prospects of Arab Unity in the future are both revealing and timely. Much of what is happening today in Lebanon and elsewhere in the Arab World finds its explanation in the pages of this book.

The book contains also the fullest compilation of official documents on Arab Unity ever made. In carefully translated appendices, all pertinent documents are reproduced in full.

This book will be out on September 10, 1958. A special pre-publication price is now announced — \$4.00 per copy.

The book may be ordered during September at this reduced pre-publication price by writing to:

Department F. S.  
Devin-Adair Company  
23 East 28th Street  
New York 10, N. Y.

Page Two

THE CARAVAN

Brooklyn, N. Y.

# PALESTINE QUESTION

DR. IZZAT TANNOUS ARAB REFUGEE REPRESENTATIVE, SPEAKS BEFORE THE ASSEMBLY

By Levon Keshishian

Special Correspondent of "Caravan"

UNITED NATIONS, NEW YORK — As in the previous years, this year again, Dr. Izzat Tannous, representative of the Palestine Arab Refugee office, was permitted to speak before the United Nations General Assembly's 81 Special Political Committee.

The objections of Abba Eban of Israel were ignored by the Committee, Iraq's Hashim Jawad in a letter to the committee demanded that this year, too, a hearing be given to Dr. Tannous.

Speaking on November 24 before the Committee, Dr. Izzat Tannous first thanked the committee for allowing him to give the point of view of the Palestinian Arab refugees.

He began by paying tribute, on behalf of the refugees, to the former Director of UNRWA, Henry R. Labouisse. He also thanked the Acting Director and staff of UNRWA and the other organizations which had helped the refugees.

"The Director's report this year," he said, "showed that the refugees had miraculously survived another year of hardship, misery and suffering." The Acting Director had told this Committee that even if there were a solution tomorrow, hundreds of thousands of refugees would still need help.

This problem had begun 41 years ago — on 2 November 1917 — and there was no hope of a solution in the near future, Dr. TANNOUS declared. To the refugees, this was a "world catastrophe." However, he saw "something cheerful" in the "sympathy and understanding" shown by the majority of delegations here toward the refugees.

Dr. TANNOUS said "he wondered whether they could afford to wait indefinitely for a solution without endangering the peace of the area and perhaps of the world. This was an explosive situation which may blow up at any moment."

"It was not the Palestine Arab refugees who had brought about this situation," he went on. "They were victims of a grave injustice."

He, like the others, had been "expelled from my country, from my home and my work," he said, "and only because I was not born of Jewish parents. His home and clinic were only a short distance from the armistice line in Jerusalem, and he could see people going in and out of them. But he could not take a step toward them himself, without being killed and labeled an infiltrator."

"Meanwhile," Dr. TANNOUS declared, "his home was being offered to any Jew in the world . . . if he will only condescend to go and take it."

Continuing, Dr. TANNOUS, Director of the Palestine Arab Refugee Offices in New York and Beirut, said, "this was not a simple refugee problem to be compared with those in other parts of the world where the two parties agreed on exchanges of population, it was a problem of religious discrimination, of transplantation of one people of one faith in the place of another people of other faiths and by force of arms."

"Britain had initiated this injustice with the Balfour Declaration of Nov. 1917," he went on, the United Nations, with the encouragement of the United States,



DR. IZZAT TANNOUS

had aggravated it by the partition resolution of November 1947. And so far, the end was not in sight, he said. "The refugees cannot brush away the responsibility of the United Nations and some of the big powers who sponsored such an injustice."

"The refugees now had to live on a bare subsistence level. What about the protection of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in this connection," he asked.

Dr. TANNOUS noted that the representative of Israel here had taken the stand that Israel rather than the refugees should determine the choice between repatriation and compensation of the refugees, in the terms of the General Assembly resolution of December 1948. However, this was not the case," he said, and he cited a statement by the United States representative in this Committee several years ago as evidence to the contrary.

Dr. TANNOUS denied Israel's assertion that the Arab states had caused the refugee problem. "Actually," he said, more than 300,000 Palestine Arabs had already fled their homes before one Arab soldier had set foot on Palestine soil." "He was one of the victims who had to flee to escape death," he said, describing some of the horrible incidents which had caused the Arabs to flee.

"A few calculated massacres," Glubb Pasha had been told by a Jewish official at the time, would get rid of the Arabs of Palestine. These massacre had been followed by military occupation of towns and villages by terrorist gangs, and all this time Britain was still the mandatory power over Palestine," he declared.

The story could be found in Toynbee's "A Study of History." The frightened Arab inhabitants had begged the Arab armies to come and save them from Zionist terror and occupation. They had come, alas, too late, but at least they had been able to save thousands of Arabs and to save Palestine from total Zionist occupation.

Continuing, Dr. TANNOUS said, "the refugees were determined to get their rights at any cost and had made their plans to reach their objective. For this reason, they had accepted some projects such as the vocational schools and individual grants — not because they had given up hope of returning home, but rather to prepare themselves for that return."

He urged the Committee to take urgent steps to increase the vocational schools for the refugee youths.

He also urged the Committee to approve aid for the front-line villagers.

Regarding Israel's offer this year of compensation for the refugees, Dr. TANNOUS said, "that this was not a true offer. For an offer was something a giver could freely give, whereas the properties of the refugees were their own, although temporarily — and unjustly — used by the Israelis." "However, this so-called offer was conditioned on the willingness of the refugees to give up forever their rights to their homes and their country, he said, "and therefore, the 30 pieces of silver offered by the Israelis are categorically rejected."

The refugees wanted to return to their homes, and had not been influenced in this stand one way or the other by the Arab states," he declared.

He supported the proposals of Saudi Arabia and Lebanon for appointment of a United Nations custodian to take control of refu-

gee properties in Israel and provide the refugees with the rentals and incomes from those properties.

"As for a study of future arrangements for the refugees," Dr. TANNOUS commented that "some 20 commissions had been sent to Palestine and the result had been expulsion and exile for the Arabs. The refugees had lost all their faith in commissions."

"This problem could not be solved by UNRWA relief or by any change of administration," he went on. "Nor could it be solved by stopping relief and threatening the refugees with starvation. The solution lay, in justice and fair-play for the refugees, in what the representative of India called a bold, but just, and equitable solution which would satisfy the conscience of the world and enhance the prestige of the United Nations."

## THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

The Smithsonian Institution was established by Congress in 1846, according to the terms of the will of James Smithson, an Englishman. Smithson left his fortune to the United States, to be used for the "increase and diffusion of knowledge among men."

For more than a century, the Institution has done this through research, publications, explorations, lectures and museum exhibits. Since the original bequest, the Smithsonian has received gifts from various sources which has made it the largest depository of cultural and scientific collections in the United States, and one of the largest in the world.

These collections are housed in several buildings in the national capital. The main building occupies a prominent position on the Mall, a broad parkway more than a mile in length.

The Smithsonian Institution is made up of ten branches. Among these are museums of art, natural history, science and industry; the Washington zoological gardens; a tropical research station in the Panama Canal Zone; an astrophysical observatory; and an International Exchange Service for governmental, literary and scientific publications.

This year, ground will be broken for an additional building to house the Museum of History and Technology. It will be

erected on the Mall, not far from the other Smithsonian buildings, and will contain exhibits showing every phase of America's development.

The National Gallery of Art, with its extraordinary collection of European and American masterpieces, and the Freer Art Gallery which is devoted mainly to Chinese and Japanese, are part of the Smithsonian. So is the U.S. National Museum, which has the largest national collection relating to natural sciences, American history, engineering and industries.

The National Air Museum has aeronautical exhibits, including Charles Lindbergh's airplane, "Spirit of St. Louis," which carried him on the first non-flight solo flight across the Atlantic in 1927. The Bureau of American Ethnology makes continuous studies of the culture of the American Indians.

In the year ending June 1957, nearly ten million visitors were estimated to have visited the various Smithsonian exhibits.

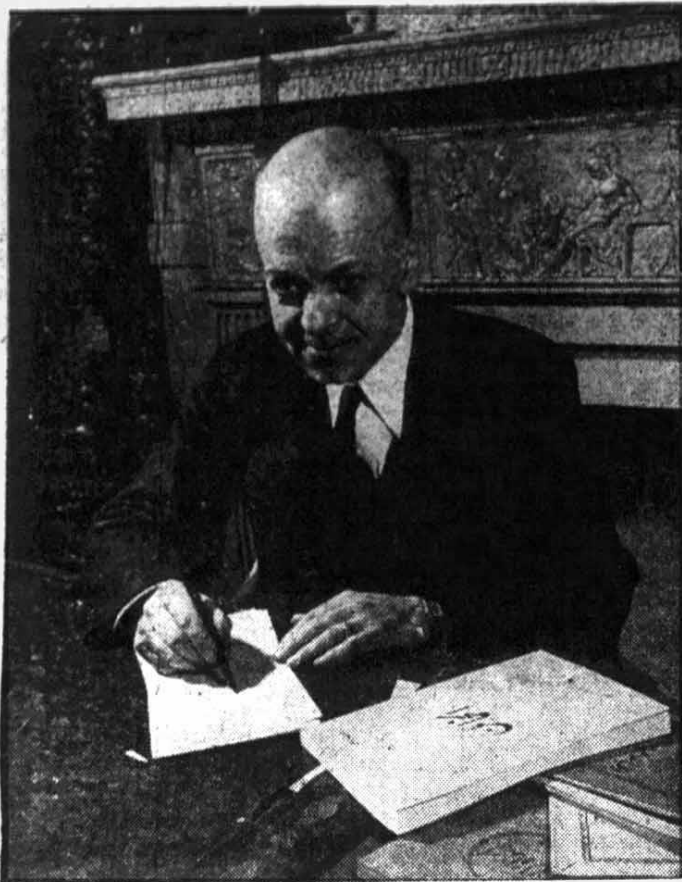
The Smithsonian issues 14 series of scientific publications which are distributed free to libraries, learned societies and educational institutions throughout the world. It also maintains a library of nearly one million volumes throughout its various branches and at the Library of Congress.



VILLAGE SHELLED—A man is shown in the wreckage of a home in Hulata, Israel, after the border village was shelled by artillery. Israel charged that Syrian forces opened fire with the biggest barrage since the 1948 Palestine war, severely damaging Israeli villages near Lake Huleh. Arab leaders charge Israel with massing troops on Syrian and Lebanese borders.



## In Memory Of A Dear Friend



### ELIA D. ABU MADEY

About a year ago, the Arab World lost a great Arabic poet, a forceful writer and a brilliant thinker, Elia D. Madey. The editor of this paper lost a dear old friend.

To honor the memory of this great Lebanese Arab, the Arab Students Organization of New York has arranged for a mass meeting to be held at St. Nicholas Cathedral Hall on the evening of Saturday, December 20. On Sunday, December 21, a memorial Mass will be held at the same Cathedral

The Caravan has devoted this space in tribute to his memory.

George S. Debs

\* \* \*

#### In Loving and Cherished Memory

"Midnight stars are gleaming  
Upon a lonely grave  
Where sleeping but not dreaming  
Lies the one we could not save.  
In dreams we see his dear dear face  
And kiss his cold cold brow  
And whisper 'As we loved him then  
We love his memory now.'"

A year ago, the Arab world lost a remarkable man in the death of Elia D. Madey. He had made an important reputation as a poet, writer and journalist, but he even made a greater contribution to the world as a family-man. To us he was the tender and devoted husband, the loving and kind father and brother full of love, tenderness and human understanding. He had faith in his friends and humanity as a whole. It was this faith which gave him strength to move the obstacles both social and economic, which were placed in his path. It was this faith which enabled him to express the courage of his convictions at the risk of losing the freindship of those who did not agree with him.

Elia is gone now, but certainly not to oblivion, as his unique way

of thinking about human problems survives in his love for his family, his books, his way of life, and in the thousands of people who knew him personally and read his works. He had the simple belief that there was much good in the worst of humanity. No one knows this better than his family, - the many little deeds and acts of kindness to those in need, done in secrecy and without fanfare.

MEMORY ETERNAL, DEAR ELIA, and may your name forever live in the hearts and minds of those you love and who will always cherish that love.

DOROTHY MADEY, RICHARD, LOUISE, EDWARD AND ROBERT MADEY,

MURAD AND SALEEMEH MADEY

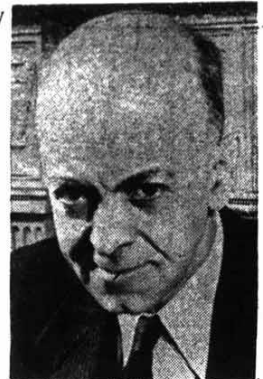
### ELIA ABU MADEY

About a year ago, the Arab World lost a great poet and a forceful writer. The Arab Students Organization of New York City is holding a mass meeting this coming Saturday evening to honor his memory.

It is most appropriate that the Arab Students have sponsored this meeting. It is most appropriate also that every lover of Arabic literature should not fail to attend this meeting at St. Nicholas Cathedral Hall in Brooklyn.

The Arab Students are holding this meeting because

they, more than many others, realize the extent of this great loss to the Arab World. Elia Abu Madey's Arabic poetry is taught in schools all over the old country. His beautiful Arabic poems were among the first verses which the editor of this paper memorized when he was still in school and long before he came in contact with this great poet.



ELIA ABU MADEY

Elia, who lived most of his life here in America, was probably more known by our people abroad than he was known and appreciated by our people on this side of the ocean. There are very few of our people here who can still read and write Arabic.

Dignataries, students, government officials, newspaper men and authors from all over the Arab World were always anxious to meet Elia when they came to this country. He was the first man they wanted to see. His poetry stimulated their imagination and his writings commanded respect and carried weight.

It will be a long time before the Arab World will produce another man like Elia who can fight like he did for their just causes.

George S. Debs



### EDITORIALS HEART WARMING

Your editorials have been truly heart-warming, particularly when you disclose to our people the policy and character of our pompous orators and self-appointed "leaders", such as the fellow who used his organization's stationery and felt insulted because you recognized that it was not the group's idea he was presenting, but his own. I wonder if such people some day will learn that they are spreading a cancerous idea instead of a prescription to success and harmony among our people here and in the old country.

Believe it or not, I had the misfortune of running into some fellows that denied their noble heritage and had the nerve to claim they were French. How can anybody degrade himself to such a level! I don't imagine EVEN the French will claim such persons.

Enclosed is a letter to Dr. Fayez Sayegh. I understand that he is on a tour and I need the answer to the questions asked of him. Kindly do your best with it. I am hoping he'll receive it in time to send me the information needed.

Allow me to congratulate you on the most admirable stand you have taken on all issues pertaining to us Syrian, Lebanese, or Arabic-speaking people in general in these wonderful United States. Allow me also to repeat with you, "Let us be good Americans first. That way we can prove our good heritage."

I close with my best wishes to you and your family, and may the Lord keep you and fill your heart and home with happiness and attainment of desires for the coming holidays.

Naji Momary  
Orlando, Fla.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, December 18, 1958

THE CARAVAN

Page Seven

# For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayez  
A. Sayegh



## NEW ISRAEL STRATEGY

For some time, a slow, almost imperceptible, change has been overtaking the over-all strategy of Israel regarding its relations with the Arab States. Beginning a year or so ago, this change has been consummated in the past few weeks. It is metamorphosis which has taken place clearly but not suddenly, comprehensively but not spectacularly. And it is a change which affects methods but not objectives.

I believe that the understanding of this change, and the dangers latent in it, is important — since the new strategy is more subtle than the old, although its goal is the same as that of the earlier strategy.

Today, therefore, I shall sum up the situation in a few brief sketches, in the hope that I might return to the subject in later articles with greater detail and with documentary evidence.

Ever since its establishment, Israel's aim has been to keep whatever it had obtained, while inducing the Arab States to recognize it, to make peace with it, and eventually to normalize their relations with it, until such time as Israel might choose to stretch its arm and grab more territory. Israel's strategy in the meantime was therefore adjusted to this two-fold objective: to establish peaceful relations with the Arabs, provided that none of the assets grabbed by Israel are surrendered as the price for those peaceful relations.

What methods did Israel choose for that purpose? What was its strategy?

In brief, Israel sought to obtain the consent of the Arabs — or failing that, the support of the outside world — for a program of "peace" which encompassed the entire range of Arab-Israeli relations, but which entailed no surrender of any of Israeli-attained assets. Israel pressed for "peace", and for negotiations towards "peace", making "omnibus offers" and presenting "package-deals." It envisaged a settlement affecting all aspects of the Palestine Problem — refugees, territories, Jerusalem, treatment of the Arab minorities, non-aggression pacts, and lifting of the Arab blockade — all at once, in such a way that Israel would be left with all the territory it now holds, including Jerusalem, intact with all of the refugees remaining outside its area, and with the Arab blockade lifted. It presented a program for "peace" which in effect enabled it to keep everything it had and also to gain further advantages.

The entire diplomacy of Israel was aimed at this goal for the first ten years of its existence. It called for "peace" while rejecting the U.N. resolutions; it pressed for "direct negotiations" (independently of the United Nations and of Israel's obligations under the United Nations system) with all the Arab States, with some of them, or with any of them; and it called upon the rest of the world to urge the Arabs to enter into such negotiations under those conditions.

But the Arabs did not consent to offers of peace which were in effect demands for Arab unconditional surrender. King Abdul-lah's reported readiness to nego-

tiate separately with Israel was interrupted by his assassination. Shortly after the advent of the revolutionary regime in Egypt, Israel tried to induce the new regime to enter into bilateral negotiations, through a third party, but met no encouragement.

As a result of the firmness of the Arab party, however, the Western Powers began to realize that a "negotiated peace" on Israel's terms (which would be in effect an Arab endorsement of the *fait accompli*, enabling Israel to keep what ever it had come to hold and also giving Israel the further advantage of acceptability and normality) was inconceivable. Therefore, the Western Powers began to counsel compromise, and to bid both parties to give in a little. Hence the speech of Secretary of State Dulles in August of 1955, and the two speeches of Anthony Eden, the first when he was Foreign Minister, in April of 1955, and the second as Prime Minister, in November of 1955.

Finding that the Arabs were unwilling even to consider negotiations based on the acceptance of the *fait accompli* as final, and that, as long as that was the case, the Western Powers were unwilling to urge the Arabs to consent to Israel's demands for such negotiations, Israel began to seek new methods of influencing the Arab decision. As long as the West would not support Israel's bid for negotiated settlements finalizing the *fait accompli* and perpetuating the *status quo*, in view of Arab opposition to that approach, Israel sought to soften Arab opposition.

To this, Israel operated on the basis of a promise which many Israeli leaders have repeatedly articulated — namely, that the "Arabs understand only the 'language of force'." Israel's new tactics therefore were to compel the Arabs to realize that "Israel, in its present form, was there to stay", that the Arabs could do nothing to change that fact, that the Arabs could not defeat Israel, that it was better for the Arabs to settle their differences with Israel in its present form than to run the risk of being defeated by Israel in the future and losing more to Israel. Accordingly, Israel initiated a new policy of alternation between border attacks and calls for direct negotiations, hoping thereby to accomplish what it had failed to accomplish by its earlier policy.

Here, it should be recalled that this shift in tactics was simultaneous with the shift in leadership in Israel. For, late in 1953, Ben-Gurion had retired from public life, and handed the reins of Israel to Sharrett. (Ben-Gurion was the man who believed in force as the means of attaining Israel's objectives, while Sharrett believed in attaining the same objectives by diplomacy.) When it became apparent that neither

## ????

Send in your questions on the Middle East to Dr. Sayegh, and help him to bring you the weekly column you want to read.

Questions dealing with statements or current beliefs which tend to place the Arab countries or Arab-Americans in a bad light are particularly recommended.

Send your questions to "For The Record," c/o The Caravan, 172-174 Hoyt Street, Brooklyn 17, N. Y., or phone them in at MAin 5-5096.

the Arab Governments nor the Western Powers were responding to Sharrett's overtures, Ben-Gurion returned to active participation in public life in Israel on February 17, 1955. Eleven days later, he made the first major military attack since hostilities of 1948/1949 — the Gaza raid of February 28, 1955, which was openly conducted by the regular military forces of Israel. From then on, for about two years, Israel pursued, under Ben-Gurion's leadership, a dual policy of hit-and-smile, punctuating its military raids with offers of "negotiated peace". But this hot-cold, bitter-sweet approach was not more successful than the Sharrett policy which preceded it. Hence the invasion of Egypt in October-November 1956, which represented the culmination of Ben-Gurion's policy.

All along, the propaganda machine of Israel and of its Zionist agents in the West was actively urging the Arabs and the Western Powers to sponsor a program of "direct negotiations" aimed at settling the entire problem of Palestine all at once, through Arab acceptance of the *status quo*. American Zionists and politicians following the Zionist line even as far as to urge the American Government to "force" the Arab Governments to enter into such negotiations.

But, in the meantime, the idea had struck roots in the Western mind, that if there was to be an Arab-Israeli peace, Israel must be ready to compromise, not to insist that it keep everything it held. And the policy of force had backfired, making the Arabs less prepared — rather than more prepared, as Ben-Gurion had anticipated — to accept Israel in its present form than they had been before the raids and the invasion.

It reached a point that any suggestion of peace immediately led to the response, even from Western sources, that Israel must at least show readiness to give up some of the territories it occupied, to allow some of the refugees to return, and perhaps to make some adjustment in the status of Jerusalem.

Israelis began to feel that their game had worked against them. They had spoken so often about peace, and pleaded so often for negotiations, that now the world was asking them to give some indication of their willingness to make compromises as a basis for peace.

It was at this stage that Israel decided to abandon its ten-year old strategy, and to reverse itself — dramatically in substance, although imperceptibly and in concealed steps.

The first indication of a change in strategy came in April of 1958. It was expressed in a major policy address delivered by Abba Eban at the opening of the celebration of Israel's tenth anniversary. This address was described as a "key-note speech", and was obviously intended to set tone for all

speeches during the year-long anniversary celebrations. It also transpired that this speech was more than a lecture in propaganda techniques: it was a reflection of a new policy.

In this speech Eban said that, although Israel had allegedly sought peace for ten years, no peace had been attained; that Israel's preoccupation with total peace and comprehensive settlement, having failed to accomplish its alleged objectives, had been a waste of energy; and that therefore Israel now concluded that the time was not yet ripe for peace. Instead, said Eban, Israel and its friends should now concentrate on a peace-meal approach, isolating one problem from others, and endeavoring to secure acceptability of each facet of the *fait accompli* without insistence that all other facets be simultaneously accepted nor that the state of Israel as such, in its present form, be recognized.

In due course, the implications of this address, and the new policy it expressed, became clear.

One by one, the various aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict came to be isolated from the other aspects and from the status of Israel as such. The refugee problem came to be discussed, and policies with respect to it came to be devised, as though it were an independent problem — as though indeed, it were the only manifestation of the Palestine Problem. So, too, was the problem of the boundaries. Similarly, the problem of the status of the Arabs within Israel. And the problem of Jerusalem was completely overlooked, as if by overlooking it entirely Israel hoped that the Arabs and the rest of the world would forget it.

Each of these segregated problems, detached from the rest, and separated from the problem of Israel's status as such, was then subjected to subtle maneuvering.

1) Concerning boundaries, Israel said that all it was interested in for the time being was that each party be assured of the integrity of its territory. Therefore, it urged that the Great Powers guarantee the borders of every party against aggression from the other. In that manner, Israel and its friends and agents in America hoped that a guarantee by the Great Powers would silence once and for all the demands for adjustment of the borders, and would enable Israel to retain all the territory it now occupies, so that when, at an appropriate moment in the future, Israel once more asks for a "negotiated settlement", the entire question of border adjustment would be declared out of order and not subject to discussion.

2) Similarly, concerning the Arabs in Israel, the Israeli Government began making apparent relaxation — and some real, though relatively small, relaxation — in the difficult and medieval discriminatory laws and measures imposed upon them for ten years. Thus for example, the officers who had perpetrated the massacre of Kfar Qassem on October 29, 1956, were recently duly convicted of the crime — but were given a mild prison sentence for a heinous crime of mass murder. Similarly, some restrictions on the travel of Arabs were lifted, but the major restrictions continued to apply — publicity in the meantime being given to the lifting of the minor restrictions but withheld from the maintenance of the major ones. Also, the plight of the 20,000 Arabs within Israel who had been considered "refugees" inside their homeland was to be in due course ameliorated, said Israeli; although the emigration of their plight consisted of nothing more than offering them

land belonging to other Arabs (refugees outside Israel) and of an inferior quality compared to the land they themselves owned within Israel but now occupied by other Israelis.

3) Above all, the question of the refugees became the subject of a new Israeli initiative. With all the fanfare of a soap-opera, Israel's representative at the United Nations tried to give the impression that Israel was making a real offer for settling this cruel problem. But the offer, upon examination, proved to be nothing more than what Israel had pressed for all along. Israel now said: We are ready to settle the refugee problem, through compensation for the property of the refugees, without waiting for total settlement of the entire Arab-Israeli conflict. But, in fine print, Israel added: Provided that, by being compensated, the bulk of the refugees abandon all claim for reparation and forfeit forever their rights to return; and that financial assistance from outside (obviously from the pockets of the American taxpayer) be made available for this purpose.

In short: The new Israeli strategy differs from the earlier strategy, adopted from 1948 until early 1958, in the following respects:

1. In the past ten years, Israel used to take the initiative in pressing for a "peaceful" settlement arrived at through direct negotiations outside the framework of the United Nations; now, Israel says that the time is not ripe for settlement or peace.

2. In the past, Israel used to predicate its call for negotiations and its programs for peace on the totality of the problem, making "omnibus" offers or proposing "package-deal". When that opened the door for demands, from the Arab side as well as from the Western Powers, that Israel make some promise with respect to some of the assets it had grabbed, Israel abandoned the integral approach and adopted a peace-meal approach. It found it preferable to deal with each problem separately, rather than to stir a hornet's nest by trying to deal with the over-all problem in its organic indivisibility as one total problem.

Despite these two differences in policy, however, the objective remained identical: Whether it seeks to settle each of the different aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict separately, or whether it tries to settle the entire conflict at once, Israel insists that it keep everything it holds, but that the Arabs come to accept that situation as it is — any concession in the direction of settlement being apparent but not real, infinitesimal and not substantial and calculated to bring Israel greater advantages rather than give the Arabs any advantage.

## CITIZENSHIP

**Question:** My daughter, a native born America citizen, had a child out of wedlock, while she lived abroad. After some time she and the child came back to the United States. Is that child an American citizen by birth?

**Answer:** Yes. A child born out of wedlock outside of the United States on or after December 24, 1952 is a citizen of the United States at birth, if the mother was a citizen of the United States at the time of the child's birth and if the mother had previously been physically present in the United States or one of its outlying possessions, for a continuous period of one year. Incidentally, American citizenship is not conveyed by an American citizen father to his illegitimate child, who is born abroad.

## INTERVIEW WITH FOREIGN MINISTER OF ALGERIA

DR. MOHAMMED LAMINE-DABAGHINE

Five questions were put to the Foreign Minister of Algeria for comments and he answered them all which give important light on the Algerian problem.

1. What are your comments to the results obtained in the United Nations Political Committee on the Algerian problem?

2. These results are a clear demonstration of the new trend in international circles with regard to the Algerian problem. It is to be noted that the votes in the political Committee gave more than a 2/3 majority for the recognition of the right of the Algerian people to independence, the recognition of the state of war between France and Algeria, and the necessity for negotiation between the two parties to reach a solution of the problem. At the same time, it is important to note that in the committee, 32 nations accepted the reference to the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic. In our view, this is a remarkable recognition of the representative character of our government.

2. What are your comments on the final result in the General Assembly?

The final result in the General Assembly calls for the same comment as the results obtained in the Political Committee. The fact that the 2/3 majority required was short only by one vote is a clear indication of the feeling of the U.N. towards the Algerian problem, that is to say, recognition of the right of the Algerian people to independence, and of the necessity of a political solution through negotiation between the French Government and the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic. Moreover since the 28 abstentions on this vote include not only a number of traditional supporters of France mainly from the Latin American countries, but also some western powers, members of NATO, and particularly, the United States, these abstentions represent almost a revolution in the minds of the leaders of these countries. It is clear that they no longer want to be associated or identified with French colonial policy. It is also clear that, after having left a free hand to France in Algeria for several years, they no longer believe that any French Government, including General de Gaulle's is in a position to settle the problem in its own way.

3. How do you interpret the abstention of the United States?

We regard with great interest the new attitude of the U.S. Government which, for the first time, not only abstained on the vote

but also refrained from making any statement during the debate and from any lobbying in support of the French thesis. It appears now that if, for the sake of friendship and a military alliance with France, the United States has for several years followed a policy contrary to the anti-colonialist principles which it had championed during the last world war, this latest stand could constitute a significant evolution on its part. We welcome this evidence of evolution concerning the Algerian problem, and hope that the future will see the concretization of this position.

4. "After this UN result, under what conditions are you prepared to negotiate with France?"

While the UN results are encouraging to our cause, there is no change in our position—rather, the results at the UN are evidence that our stand regarding negotiations has the strong support of the majority of members of the UN. The position of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic remains: we welcome negotiations with the Government of France at any time, such negotiations to be held in a neutral country and to consider an overall solution of the Algerian problem. We hope that in this way, the independence of Algeria which is the aim of our struggle, will be obtained through peaceful negotiations, more in conformity with the interests of world peace than the war which the intransigence and incomprehension of the French Government forces us to pursue.

5. Do you have any immediate intentions to open embassies in the countries that have recognized your government?

5. This is a question which is being considered by our Government.

## NASSER APPRECIATES ABU MADEY'S POETRY

DR. GEORGE TOMEH,

Consul General of the UAR in New York, received the following cable from President Gamal Abdul Nasser of Egypt:

I am pleased to associate myself wholeheartedly with you in the ceremony commemorating the late Elia Abu Madey whose death was a loss to the Arabs and Poetry and whose literary heritage shall forever remain the pride of Arabism.

Gamal Abdul Nasser

The Caravan makes a very good gift to a friend or relative.

## RECEIVES CITATION



BUDDY RASHID

Washington Attorney, Baddia J. Rashid, a past president of the Syrian and Lebanese American Federation of the Eastern States, received a Sustained Superior Performance Award from U. S. Attorney General William P. Rogers at special incentive awards ceremonies at the Department of Justice on December 16. The citation was presented for services rendered from January 1957 to March 1958, and was accompanied by a cash award of \$500.

Mr. Rashid entered the Antitrust Division of the Justice Department in 1948. He rose rapidly to become Assistant Chief of the Special Litigation Section in 1952, and was promoted to Chief of the Section in 1957.

The citation pointed out that since he became Chief of the Section, Mr. Rashid performed outstanding services without the help of an assistant chief. In this connection, the citation read: "Despite the fact that he has been single handedly supervising one of our litigating sections, he has produced this year a record number of cases. . . Mr. Rashid's section has been responsible for more than half of the cases which the entire Division has filed. This is indeed an outstanding performance and is due in large part to Mr. Rashid's administrative ability and judgement."

The Attorney General concluded the citation with the following commendation: "Mr. Rashid has performed his duties with outstanding ability. He has demonstrated consistent good judgement and discretion, and I have learned to rely very heavily on his advice and suggestions. He has always been completely loyal and dependable in carrying out promptly and effectively every assignment that has been given to him."

On the same day that Mr. Rashid received this award, Assistant Attorney General Victor Hansen promoted him from Chief of the Special Litigation Section to Chief of the Trial Section. The new

## Arabs Are Friends Of America Says UAR Ambassador

By Levon Keshishian

TOLEDO, OHIO — United Arab Republic diplomat paid tribute to the United States as a country that welcomes people of all kinds from all parts of the world and offer them freedom, equality protection and an open road for an honorable life.

This was the theme of the speech delivered before the Moslem Society of America by UAR Ambassador to Washington, Dr. Moustafa Kamel, pointing out that "more than one aspect of similarity between Americans and Arabs—that they are both old pioneers and that they both share the qualities of hospitality, constructive work, and a great love for freedom and individual dignity."

Dr. Kamel said that Arab civilization, which covered more than one-third of the face of the earth for many centuries, was based on an equilibrium between the freedom of the individual and the interest of the community.

"I would like to stress the fact that there is no genuine conflict between Arab nationalism and the interests of the United States", said Ambassador Kamel. He added that "with their historical agreement on the basic principles, the values and goals of life, and a great similarity between their national philosophies, there was no reason why friendship should not flourish between the Americans and the Arabs."

"The Zionist minority having a one-sided goal which is to serve the state of Israel, are engaged in an unprecedented campaign of propaganda to distort the Arab point of view and push the Arabs and Americans apart; not only to the detriment of the Arabs' point of view, but more so to the detriment of the United States' interests."

He added: "The creation of Israel resulted, as far as the Arabs and Americans are concerned, in the present regrettable state of misunderstanding; a state which encouraged the Zionists to work for the destruction of friendship between us and marked a starting point for a policy of favoritism by the United States towards

position involves the handling of more complicated antitrust cases in a variety of more significant industries. In this capacity Mr. Rashid will supervise a much larger staff of antitrust lawyers than in his prior assignment. The Civil Service Commission recently classified his new position as one which merits a super-grade, which were especially created by Congress for a limited number of Government professional positions.



LEVON KESHISHIAN

Israel, which for ten years has made the Arabs feel that the United States bestowed her friendship on Israel alone."

Ambassador Kamel stressed the fact that "this was no time to debate who was to blame, but to positive thinking and research for an area of understanding to improve relations and understanding in many aspects of cooperation."

## ARAB NATIONALISM

Arab nationalism is simply a movement by the Arabs to liberate themselves from foreign domination and emancipate themselves from social injustice and corrupt governments. Its roots are imbedded in a long historical process of intellectual and spiritual drive, nurtured by Arab civilization. It is a constructive and peaceful movement, and is not anti-Western nor anti-anybody." President Nasser had said, "it is crystallized in the struggle of the Arab nation to progress, raise its social standards, and bring about the true renaissance of which it has long been deprived, and which has been a privilege of so many countries for so long. It does not mean the leadership of Nasser or that of any individual but the leadership of honest people who have nothing in mind but the welfare of their country and their people, President Nasser is neither a dictator nor an enemy of anybody, but a national leader whose people designated him to lead them to the fulfillment of their hopes."

## ALSAC NEWS

"The National Executive Office of ALSAC has received the first return from the National Campaign.

One of our smallest cities, Greenwood, Mississippi, forwarded \$2,000 from its drive. Greenwood's energetic City Director, Mr. Lewis Naaman, and his able co-workers are to be congratulated."



## ARAB LECTURES IN OREGON AND WASHINGTON STATES



DR. FAYEZ SAYEGH

The final appearance was at Tacoma, before a large audience of the World Affairs Council at the lecture hall of the College of Puget Sound. With this lecture, the fall tour of the West Coast, Dr. Sayegh's thirteenth visit to the area in the past three years, came to an end.

The total cost of Federal, state and local government in the last fiscal year was \$124,400,000,000. This was \$11 billion greater than in the preceding year.

Winding his three-week lecture tour of the Western States, Dr. Fayeze A. Sayegh spent the last four days in Oregon and Washington, lecturing intensively in Portland, Seattle and Tacoma before college audiences and international-minded groups.

In Portland, a special meeting was covered by the Supervisor of the Board of Education, which was attended by teachers of Social Affairs in the eleven public high schools of the districts. The interest of the teachers was reflected in the lively question-and-answer period which followed the one-hour lecture on "Revival in the Arab World".

A full day was then spent on the campus of the Portland State College, where the Arab speaker was the official guest of the Department of Social Affairs. Beginning with a full Convocation of all classes of the Department, in which Dr. Sayegh analyzed for an hour the objectives and aspirations of Arab Nationalism, the program continued at noon with a faculty luncheon, attended by professor of the Department and a select few of the graduate students, and a lengthy discussion of the Arab-Israeli Problem. Then Dr. Sayegh met with the combined classes on international affairs, speaking on the Arab Philosophy of Neutrality, and what it means for the West. The last formal lecture was delivered before a combined audience of upper classes in Western Civilization, and dealt with Islam and Arab Civilization. Finally, Dr. Sayegh met with the Dean of the Faculty and the Planning Committee for the proposed Center of Middle Eastern Studies.

The next day, in Seattle, Dr. Sayegh spoke on the campus of the University of Washington, to an audience which included members of the faculty, Arab students, American students and some Americans of Arab origin. He also addressed the World Affairs Council of Seattle, which he had addressed several times in the past. A lively radio program followed, with Dr. Norbert Einstein as guest-interviewer.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, December 25, 1958

THE CARAVAN

Page Seven

# AN APPEAL BY AMERICAN MIDDLE EAST RELIEF

## MOVE COULD EASE TENSION OVER PALESTINE PROBLEM

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS, December 3, 1958  
UNITED NATIONS — The Government of Jordan has granted permission to a private U.S. relief agency to set up "self-help" training for 150,000 Palestine Arab refugees.

The permission, which may help ease one of Mid-east's deepest sources of tension, was granted a few weeks ago after 11 months of delay to the American Middle East Relief Inc.

Refugees living in misery near the Jordan-Israel border will be trained in such crafts as woodwork, metalwork, glass-making, tailoring, shoe-making, cane furniture-making.

The permission also opens the door to "any other local industry which may be encouraged and improved in the interests of the refugees and border villagers," in an official letter from Tabet Khalidi, Jordanian delegate to the United Nations.

AMERICAN Middle East Relief released the letter from Khalidi in a holiday season fund appeal mailed to 45,000 Americans.

Among those signing the appeal are the Rev. Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Millar Burrows, famed Dead Sea Scrolls scholar; Harold B. Minor, president of the agency and of American Friends of the Middle East, and Prof. Emeritus Philip K. Hitti of Princeton.

The agency has sent more than \$10 million in relief supplies including government surplus food to the 900,000 Palestine refugees since 1948, George M. Barakat, executive director, said.

IN LEBANON, near the joint border with Syria and Israel, 6,000 refugees from the Lake Huleh reclamation project in Israel have been trained in handicrafts by agency workers.

This Lebanese project at Marjayoun was suspended during the border crisis, and now is running independently as a self-supporting cooperative, Barakat said.

American Middle East Relief, with headquarters at 350 Fifth ave., New York City, also is appealing for "good used warm clothing, blankets and shoes" for Arab refugees living on U.N. relief handouts averaging 7 cents a day.

JORDAN'S willingness to promote training for its refugees in skills that will earn them a living reflects a new emphasis also shared by the United Arab Republic which looks after Arab refugees in the Gaza Strip and in Syria.

Brig. Gen. Salah Gohar of the United Arab Republic has urged the United Nations to restore vocational training money in the U.N. relief budget for Palestine refugees.

THE REFUGEES have long been a major sore point in the tense Arab-Israeli keystone of general Mideast tension.

The Arab countries insist on the refugees' "rights" to return to former homes inside Israel. But Israel wants to pay compensation (with American help) to resettle the refugees in Arab countries.

With no end in sight to this deadlock, willingness to train the refugees in jobs that will enable them to go away and make lives on their own, if they wish, may be the key to a long-range way out.

MEANWHILE, the United Nations has temporarily put aside the Arab refugee relief question while American and Arab diplomats attempt to find a compro-

mise on American insistence for a new study of the over-all refugee situation before extending the relief past 1960.

The Arabs oppose the study plan as a threat to the future of the refugees as their crucial complaint against Israel.  
Dear Mr. Barakat:

With reference to your letter of 19 November 1957, I have the pleasure to convey to you the opinion of the Government of Jordan favoring the proposal of your Organization to establish self-help projects in Jordan from which Palestine Arab refugees would benefit by setting up training centers in border villages where following crafts could be taught and developed:

1. Woodworking and carpentry.
2. Metal-work and turning.
3. Glass-work.
4. Tailoring, embroidery, knitting, etc.
5. Leather-work (including tanning): shoe-making, manufacture of handbags and suit-cases.
6. Dairy products and derivatives.
7. Manufacture of cane furniture, mats and basketwork.
8. Any other local industry which may be encouraged and improved in the interests of the refugees and border villagers.

Yours very truly,  
Thabet Khalidi  
Acting Permanent Representative

If you have not yet received The Caravan, mail us your name and address immediately!

### IMMIGRATION

Question: I arrived in the United States as an exchange visitor, after agreeing to return to the country of my nationality upon completion of the exchange program. Meanwhile, I have married an American girl who does not wish to return home with me, if we can avoid it. Is there any way in which I can persuade the Immigration Service to let me stay here?

Answer: Generally speaking, exchange visitors, as you know, are required to return to the country of their origin or to some other country which is party to an exchange agreement. If there are exceptional circumstances, as for instance if your wife's health would not permit her accompanying you to your country, or if there is political unrest in the country of your origin, which

might be dangerous both to you and your wife, or if there are similar circumstances, a waiver of the condition may be obtained. I suggest that you consult a social agency, or an attorney experienced in immigration, in connection with this matter.

### LAUGH A LITTLE

"Miss Jones," said the exasperated professor, "the quotation is, 'All men are created equal,' and not, 'All men are made the same way.'"

"Why did you ask your roomer to leave?"

"Well, I'm not one to suspect people, but when a man always hangs his hat over the keyhole. . ."

Senator, you promised me a job.

"But there are no jobs open." But you said you'd give me one.

"Tell you what I'll do: I'll appoint a committee to investigate why there are no jobs, and you can work on that."



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Holiday Season

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Dear Friends:

We are deeply grateful for the generous support you have, over the years, given to our Arab refugee relief and rehabilitation programs.

All of us know that relief alone offers no solution to the sad and tragic plight of the nearly one million men, women and children who, through no fault of their own, find themselves helplessly facing the rigors and privations of another winter--the eleventh of their cruel exile from their ancestral homes.

But until the world finds a just and acceptable solution to their problem, our great American humanitarian tradition will not permit us to abandon them. For our way of life is deeply rooted in a firm belief that we are our brothers' keepers, no matter where they might be. President Eisenhower recently stressed this responsibility in these words:

"Oceans and great distances do not divide the human family in the sight of our Divine Creator. We are still His Children. He teaches us to cherish and sustain one another. In joining hands against human suffering, we fulfill His teachings, which are shared by all our religions and all our peoples."

So as we gratefully and reverently approach the coming Holiday Seasons, let us together respond to President Eisenhower's call for humanitarian action by helping to provide some of the urgent unmet needs of the nearly one million Arab refugees--over half of whom are children under the age of sixteen--all of whom are desperately in need of the bare necessities of life: clothing, shelter, food, medical attention and self-help training, which the 7¢ a day U. N. ration cannot possibly provide.

We ask you and your friends to share as much as you can spare of good used, warm clothing, blankets and shoes and speed them to us by using the enclosed addressed sticker. The U. N. will transport your clothing gift free of charge if you will help us ready it for shipment. The cost is only five cents per pound.

Immediate funds are needed for relief and self-help training. The enclosed return envelope is for your contribution. Your gift is deductible from Federal Income tax. We know that you will want to help generously and in time to bring some measure of comfort and hope to those who are in need in Arab lands.

Gratefully,

Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick  
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## DR. FAYEZ A. SAYEGH: MISSIONARY OF ARABISM IN AMERICA

BY SAM SALEM  
Akron Ohio

(ED. NOTE: The author, a native-born American of Arabic-speaking extraction, is a lecturer in History and Research Associate at Case Institute of Technology, Cleveland, Ohio. As a student of recent Arab history who has written and lectured on the subject, Mr. Salem is keenly aware of the job by Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh in aiding Americans to arrive at a better understanding of the Arab World.)

Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh's return to his beloved Arab World this month will probably pass relatively unnoticed except among those who are familiar with the unique role he has played in presenting the Arab message to the American people.

As the brilliant Arab spokesman conducts his study-tour from Morocco to Iraq, the masses are not likely to greet him with blaring bands, parade him through crowded streets, and extoll him in song and speech.

Ordinarily, such dramatic receptions are reserved for those popular returning heroes who have captured the public's imagination through spectacular exploits on the battlefield, across diplomatic tables, or in athletic contests.

Far less visible is the recognition given those, epitomized in this instance by Dr. Sayegh, whose mastery in conveying the written and spoken word has won an almost unbelievable series of victories for the Arab cause in the hearts of many Americans.

Dr. Sayegh joined the staff of the Arab States Delegations Office when it was established on February 1, 1955. For a time he served simultaneously as Acting Director, Chief of Research and Public Liaison, & Counselor. More recently, however, the heavy pressure of lecturing, researching and writing obliged him to surrender these positions in favour of the less restrictive role of Counselor.

### EXTOLLED BY AMERICANS

During the past four years, Dr. Sayegh has received general recognition as the most outstanding Arab spokesman in the United States. Dr. John C. Cambell, writing in the New York Herald Tribune, put it this way:

"For years he has been the most indefatigable and probably the most effective defender of the Arab cause on the lecture platforms and the radio and television channels of America. He has fought the propaganda battle of Palestine from coast to coast, acquitting himself well in what has been, to say the least, an uphill struggle."

This is not the opinion of a casual observer, but rather the studied view of a qualified expert. Dr. Campbell, a Harvard Ph. D., has authored several authoritative volumes on Middle East affairs, has served over ten years in the State Department, and is now the Director of Political Studies for the Council on Foreign Relations.

The list of testimonials is vir-



DR. FAYEZ A. SAYEGH

AS A TRIBUTE, THIS ISSUE OF  
THE CARAVAN IS DEDICATED TO HIM

(See Editorial Page 6)

George S. Debs, Editor

tually endless. In the Chicago Sunday Tribune Literary Supplement, Chesly Manly described Dr. Sayegh at "the most authentic exponent of Arab Nationalism in the United States." Freda Uitley, author of the well-received Will the Middle East Go West?, calls him the "most brilliant and forceful spokesman in America for the Arab World." And Tex McCrary, nationally famous radio commentator, rates him as "the most eloquent and most restrained exponent of the views of the Arab states."

Dr. Sayegh's vast and widely-read writings have become the "Bible" of the Arab position on every question that has arisen during recent years. Leading colleges, foreign-affairs groups, and other organizations have literally waited in line to schedule him as a speaker, and he has become a familiar figure over radio and television.

### Faored by Zionists

Dr. Sayegh has been featured

in Current Biography, which presents monthly articles on prominent people in the news. In this article, the author concluded that "Dr. Sayegh has brought a broader understanding of Arab problems to many of his listeners."

Perhaps the most glowing tribute to Dr. Sayegh was paid by a reviewer on the All-American Books staff. Commenting on Dr. Sayegh's brilliant volume, Arab Unity: Hope and Fulfillment, the critic concluded:

"We have lost nearly all the high esteem in which we were once held in the Middle East. We might still regain that esteem . . . if the President, the Secretary of State, and every official concerned with foreign policy would read Dr. Sayegh's book."

Dr. Sayegh has proved so effective in speaking on the Arab-Israeli conflict that the Israeli agencies do not have a single speaker who would dare engage him in a public debate! This is an incredible fact if one considers

## Nasser Represents Arab Ideals, Says Lebanese Ambassador to Canada

At a banquet held in Montreal, Canada, January 20, for the Lebanese Ambassador, Mr. Abdallah Najjar and his wife, Mr. Najjar declared that Lebanon and the entire Arab World regard Nasser as "a man who represents fully in the best possible way now known, Arab Nationalistic ideals in all their purity."

The 59-year-old Ambassador, who arrived in Canada in March 1958, also said, "that Lebanon is in complete sympathy with Nasser and his views as long as he sticks to the principles of Arab Nationalism."

"Nasser is not a dictator," he said, "if the word 'dictator' is understood to mean someone who refuses to follow legislative processes, and who mobilizes a country's armed forces for his own personal advantage."

He said when Western financial aid was refused Nasser to build the Aswan dam, and when the U.S. declined to sell Nasser arms to "protect himself against outside aggression," Nasser had no choice but to turn to Russia.

However, he said, Nasser will never be dominated by Russia, and will never allow Communists to take over his country.

Now, he said, Nasser has once again opened the door to the Western powers to reclaim the ground they lost when he first came to power, and the West "thought of him only as a man who would rise and fall quickly like the dictators of South America."

Concerning United States suspicions regarding Nasser, Mr. Najjar commented: "The United States is not serving its own best interests when it allows suspicions to infiltrate its otherwise sound political policy; suspicions raised by factions whose loyalty to A-



President Nasser

merica is impaired either by loyalty to foreign states, or by the interests of foreign states."

When the U.S. "views impartially, and in the right perspective her international relations with the Arabs," he said, "she will see Nasser and the Arabs in their true colors," and recognize that the two, far from posing a threat to freedom, represent freedom of the best kind.

Asked about the troubled five months in Lebanon last year, Mr. Najjar said: "Some of the trouble was at first blamed on Nasser by the government in power, but we have since found out this is false."

About 200 people attended the banquet. Mr. Richard Saba acted as toastmaster and introduced Mr. Najjar to members of the community present.

Mr. Edward Chamandy, President of the Syrian Canadian Association, extolled the services to Lebanon and the Arab World in general which his excellency, the Ambassador, has performed.

a difficult road to tread.

Most Americans, including many enlightened ones, know surprisingly little about the current Arab World. Our schools and public information sources have been lax in this respect. Perhaps we have been unduly influenced by Hollywood films, which present the typical Arab as a hooded, robed, bearded polygamist, who sits in front of his tent and puffs on a water pipe, while dreaming of additions to his harem.

As an added complication, the American public has tended, perhaps unknowingly, to view the Arab World through the eyeglasses of hostile Zionist propagandists and their sympathizers. No one can seriously deny that the Arab position has never been adequately presented in the United States. Nearly all the press-radio-television facilities tend to parrot the familiar Israeli

(Continued on Page 2)



Page Two

THE CARAVAN

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, February 19, 1959

# MISSIONARY OF ARABISM IN AMERICA

(Continued from Page 1)

line.

Yet, in spite of these obstacles, Dr. Sayegh has managed to make incredible strides in getting the Arab message across to many Americans. What is the explanation?

## "Face that Kills"

As a beginner, there is the rather obvious fact that Dr. Sayegh's output during the past four years has been nothing short of staggering. Pursuing a pace-that-kills schedule, he has traveled to every major city in the United States, participating in over 50 foreign-affairs conferences, appearing on more than 240 radio and television programs, lecturing on the campuses of at least 125 colleges and universities, and speaking to countless numbers of church, civic, and fraternal groups.

Between these personal appearances, Dr. Sayegh has seldom taken time to rest. Somehow he has found time to conduct painstaking research and to author a score of articles, booklets, and monographs, among them *Palestine Refugees*, *League of Arab States*, *Arab-Israeli Conflict*, *Strife in the Holy Land*, *Record of Israel in the United Nations*, *Communism in Israel*, *Arab Plight in the Holy Land*, *Suez Controversy*, and *Turmoil in the Middle East*.

Dr. Sayegh's articles on Arab affairs have been printed in various publications. He has been interviewed by hundreds of reporters and news-casters. Since May, 1957, he has written a weekly column for *The CARAVAN*, America's most widely-circulated English-language newspaper devoted to Arab affairs.

Last September, Dr. Sayegh's writings were climaxed by the appearance of his classic book, *Arab Unity*, which has been described by Dr. Gerald Evans Hopkins as "by far the best thing that has been published on the subject, not only since but including *Antony's The Arab Awakening*." Another reviewer, Col. John C. Kieffer, called it a "must" if you want to be well informed.

Undoubtedly, the sheer weight of Dr. Sayegh's efforts is an instrumental factor in explaining his success, but mere quantity has little meaning unless it is considered along with the far more important factor of quality.

## "Man with a Mission"

When one analyzes the writings and lectures of Dr. Sayegh, it must be remembered that his are NOT the superficial efforts of a hired public relations man. He is not merely doing his work for a living.

Of crucial importance is the realization that Dr. Sayegh is a sincere, loyal servant of the Arabic-speaking peoples and their great Awakening which Westerners prefer to call Arab Nationalism. He is to the Arab World what St. Francis of Assisi was to the Church — a completely dedicated man whose fidelity and devotion to Arabism transcends all possible money, ambition, fame, comfort, health . . . everything!

This missionary aspect of Dr. Sayegh is always apparent to his readers and listeners, even to the most hardened and critical critics. Writing in the *Stillwater* (Oklahoma) *News-Press*, veteran newsman Ken Weaver made this striking observation:

"His (Dr. Sayegh's) honesty, his integrity, is warming. Any American who knows him is struck by his Lincolnlike qualities, his sincerity, his good will. He is a man with a mission, which he prays . . . Americans will understand."

Moreover, Dr. Sayegh is an active participant in Arab Nationalism, not one who has been content to observe events from a safely-cloistered ivory tower.

## Campaigned against Reds

He was born 37 years ago in Syria and raised and educated in Palestine and Lebanon. During his teens he took part in the campaign to free his country from foreign domination. At the age of 23, he made a nationwide lecture campaign exposing Communism in Syria and Lebanon, and was nearly assassinated by the Reds. He has taught in Arabic schools, edited Arabic newspapers, written outstanding Arabic books, and lectured extensively on Arab problems throughout Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Jordan.

Finally, Dr. Sayegh is an intellectual and a first-rate scholar—a holder of B. A. and M. A. degrees from the American University of Beirut and a Ph. D. Degree in philosophy from Georgetown University in Washington, D. C. He has been on the faculty of A.U.B. and Georgetown, and has served as Visiting Lecturer at the Graduate School of Yale University.

The fruits of Dr. Sayegh's scholarly background are evident in all of his writings and lectures. Unlike much contemporary literature, Dr. Sayegh's statements tend to increase in value as they are subjected to the close scrutiny of empirical analysis and as time permits an even deeper analysis in the light of subsequent happenings.

It is a significant fact that—after four years of steady writing and lecturing on controversial subjects—no critic has ever successfully challenged the authenticity, accuracy, or logic of Dr. Sayegh's presentations! On the other hand, the critics have been quick to see his respect for scholarly, objective procedures.

## Respected as Scholar

Middle East expert and educator Virginia Gildersleeve described his *Palestine Refugees* as "scholarly . . . Its statements are carefully supported by the best documentary evidence available." General William H. Wilbur, in *Guidposts to the Future*, described Dr. Sayegh as a "careful, sound thinker, a student who carefully documents his written statements. . . ."

Similarly, the reviewers went overboard in praising the scholarship evident in Dr. Sayegh's *Arab Unity*.

Dr. Jerome Niosi, commenting in the Brooklyn (N. Y.) *Tablet*, wrote: "Arab Unity is certainly no polemic, no piece of propaganda . . . Dr. Sayegh has confined himself with unusual objectivity to an intellectual analysis of an important phase of world affairs with which intelligent Americans must become familiar. They will with this scholar's work."

Miss Miriam Quinn wrote in the *Catholic Standard and Times*: "His scholarship is sound. He has fine historical sense and a style which is clear and logical."

Not only is Dr. Sayegh careful to document his writings, but he is equally careful to avoid the charge that he is selecting only Arab or pro-Arab sources. Nowhere is this more apparent than in two articles, listed earlier, which exposed Israel's flagrant violations of the United Nations and which pointed out previously unpublicized evidences of Communism in Israel. Dr. Sayegh did not use any Arab sources in either article. Instead he relied entirely on U.N. documents, official publications of



By Sam Salem

the Israeli government, the writings of Zionist authors, and reports made by observers who are considered sympathetic to Israel.

## Defines Philosophy of Arab Unity

Dr. Sayegh's high degree of intellectualism is particularly evident in his account of Arab unity, which he feels is more than a mere chronological sequence of historical happenings. To him *al-Itihad al Arabi* has no meaning unless its history is viewed in connection with its deeper philosophical implications. Thus, reading the book becomes a challenging, stimulating intellectual experience, as one ponders the "continuous interaction between philosophy and history, idea and reality, hope and fulfillment."

Despite all the demands of a pressure-packed schedule, Dr. Sayegh has always been able to combine the objectivity of a scholar with a genuine faith in the cause of Arabism. This fact goes a long way toward explaining several other key Sayeghian attributes which were first recognized by George S. Debs, editor of *The CARAVAN* and head of the Arab American Business Service Bureau.

As one who has enjoyed a distinguished, life-long career in the American and Arabic Journalistic fields . . . as one who has been understanding of both the American and Arab public minds . . . as one who has fought courageously for healthy Arab-American relations — Mr. Debs knows of the difficulties involved in conveying the Arab point of view to Americans.

Moreover, Mr. Debs is well aware of a basic problem of communication that seems to exist between Arabs and Americans — a natural outgrowth of differences in the respective cultures.

## Makes "Break Through"

Shortly after Dr. Sayegh first appeared on the American scene, Mr. Debs observed editorially in *The Caravan* that Dr. Sayegh had acquired an amazing understanding of the American mind, that he knew what made Americans "tick," and that he had succeeded in making a "break through".

Mr. Debs went on to point out that this "break through" was due not only to Dr. Sayegh's deep conviction and his remarkable display of knowledge, but perhaps more important to the fact that he has an uncanny knack of getting across his ideas in a calm, restrained, and highly lucid manner. This has had a special appeal to Americans, who are impressed by the ability of Dr. Sayegh to "keep his head" even when baited by antagonistic inquisitors.

To those may be added the observation that Dr. Sayegh is gifted with a rare intellectual depth and alertness. He can absorb a vast quantity of carefully documented facts and categorize them in such a manner that they are always on ready call. Thus equipped, he is always ready to

answer a challenge and spot an inaccuracy by quickly marshaling out an indestructible army of undisputable facts.

Television interviewer Mike Wallace has unnerved many guests with his penetrating, devastating questions. However, in two appearances on the program, Dr. Sayegh did such a good job of holding his own that Wallace made no bones about respecting the Arab spokesman's "combative tactics in verbal warfare." The Sayeghian adventures in such "warfare" would fill a book, and a few can be given here.

## Adventures in Verbal Warfare

In August, 1956, a panel of reporters interviewed Dr. Sayegh on the nationally televised *Face the Nation* series. One reporter charged that Egypt was violating the Convention of 1888 by not permitting Israeli shipping to pass through the Suez Canal. Dr. Sayegh quickly pointed out that Egypt's action was permissible as a defense measure under Article X, Clause 1, of the Convention.

"You mean Article V, don't you?" queried one reporter.

"I mean Article X, Clause 1," replied Dr. Sayegh, and then proceeded to stump the panel by quoting verbatim from memory both of the passages.

On another occasion, Dr. Sayegh was debating with an Israeli spokesman. (This was before the Zionists learned to steer clear of him.) The Israeli stated that his countrymen were deeply interested in Arabic culture, but that the Arabs refused to learn anything about the Israelis. To illustrate his point he concluded by addressing a few remarks in Arabic directly to Dr. Sayegh. Immediately Dr. Sayegh stood up, and answered him in perfect Hebrew.

New York City's Zionists still shudder when they remember the time that Dr. Sayegh turned the tables on them. The scene was the top-ranked *Tex and Jinx* radio program, with a listening audience of millions.

The interviewer, Tex McCrary, brought out a book published under the auspices of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League. He referred to a page on which the authors claimed that official Arab spokesmen had accused American Jews of being more loyal to Israel than to the United States.

Dr. Sayegh replied calmly that he had read the book, but that the authors had presented absolutely no evidence to support their charge. McCrary admitted that documentation was lacking. The Arab spokesman challenged the authors to produce one sentence by an Arab to support their accusation.

## Plays Trump Card on Zionists

Then Dr. Sayegh played his trump card. Declaring that he knew of only one author who had accused American Jews of disloyalty, he pulled out a book, opened it to page 35, and asked McCrary to read this passage:

"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."

Once McCrary had recited this excerpt, Dr. Sayegh asked him to identify it. One can readily imagine the anguish of the listening Zionists when McCrary named the author as *David Ben-Gurion* and the book as the official *State of Israel Government Yearbook, 1953-54!*

It is no problem to see why *Current Biography* cited Dr. Sayegh's "ability to parry with experts" . . . why the master deba-

ter Norman Thomas described him as "cool, brilliant" . . . why he has won so many friends to the Arab cause . . . why he is both feared and respected by his opponents . . . and why he has gained general recognition as the most effective Arab spokesman in America

## His Victory and Reward

It would be too much to say that Dr. Sayegh is taking home a complete victory . . . that he has succeeded in breaking down the mighty dike which seems to hold back the Arab message from the American public mind. This would be too much to hope for.

But there is no question that Dr. Sayegh has managed to punch some strategically located holes in the dike—holes which seem to be getting bigger and bigger as they are steadily lashed by the relentless avalanche of frustrated truth which has waited so long to be heard.

Perhaps it is well that Dr. Sayegh will not be met with bands and parades when he returns home. Such a reception would be out of character with this humble, modest missionary of Arabism. More than enough will be the sweet reward of mingling again with his Arab brothers and sisters from Morocco to Iraq as they strive toward freedom, progress, reform, and unity under the banner of a dynamic, dramatic Awakening.



GARLAND HOPKINS

Dear Mr. Debs,

\* Thank you for the opportunity to contribute to your special issue on Dr. Fayed A. Sayegh's activities and impact.

I know of no individual, Arab or American, who has contributed more to creating better understanding and goodwill between Americans and Arabs than Fayed Sayegh. As one who has had the opportunity to know him rather intimately and who has followed his activities for many years now, I say this without hesitation or reservation. The Arab cause has been especially fortunate to have a man who combined in fullest measure both scholarship and integrity. Americans instinctively believe what Fayed Sayegh tells them because they instinctively recognize him to be an honest man. I think no one who knows him can doubt that he is as emotionally involved as any other Arab in the sad plight of Palestine. He has had the unique ability to restrain his emotions and present his argument on a factual basis, admitting mistakes where there have been Arab mistakes, and fearlessly but courteously pointing out the tragic blunders of American policy.

As he leaves for the Arab World, I can only wish *bon voyage* and a hasty return to our shores to continue the service he has been ably rendering both his own Arab brothers and the American people.

Garland Evans Hopkins  
Secretary General  
Continuing Committee on  
Muslim-Christian Cooperation

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, February 19, 1959

THE CARAVAN

## ARAB AMERICAN PRESS APPLAUDS ARAB SPOKESMAN

The CARAVAN, which was the first Arab-American newspaper to pay tribute to the effectiveness of Dr. Faye A. Sayegh and his impact on the American mind, has heartily welcomed the applause of other Arab American journals. Below are some extracts from the editorial opinions and statements published by our colleagues in the past four years:

On December 22, the STAR of Los Angeles, naming Dr. Sayegh among its "TOP TEN FOR '58", wrote:

"He has done more... than any other individual... to promote better relations and enlighten Americans about the Arab World. It can easily be said that this brilliant individual, whose capacity for rationalization has won him the admiration of both the American press and radio, has almost single-handedly changed what once was a hostile attitude."

On January 14, 1959, AL-ISLAH of New York wrote editorially:

«كأن الدكتور صايغ، في خلال السنوات الثلاث الأخيرة، مثل مكوك الحائك، يروح ويجي في سدى الولايات المتحدة ولجنها، طولا وعرضا، يبرز ما يراه حقا وعدلا، مناديا به على رؤوس الأشهاد دون خوف أو ذبذبة. ولم يكف بموجات الاثير تنقل رسالته الى الملايين من سامعيه. بل سجل من محاضراته وأرائه على الاشرطة الكهربائية، أو ضمنها بين دفات الكتب، أو قام بتوزيعها على القاصي والداني، بكل حرية وجراءة. وفي كل هذا يستحق الدكتور صايغ كل تقدير واعجاب بمواقفه المشرقة. فدفاعه الكلامي والكتابي كان انفذ من سهم، واحد من سيف. فقد اخترق كلامه الاذنان. واننا على ثقة من أنه نال اكليل الظفر في اقلية الميادين التي جاهد فيها.»



Dr. Faye A. Sayegh

On May 6, 1957, the editor of AS-SAYEH gave this description of Dr. Sayegh's role in the United States:

«الرجل الذي استرعى بفضاحته وبلاغته انتباه الامة الاميركية في طول البلاد وعرضها لقضايا العرب، مزحزحا عنها ما تراكم عليها من اكوام الدعايات الاسرائيلية وغيرها... وتكمن ببيانه الساحر ووطنيته المتوقدة من خلق جو جديد في هذه البلاد يري الحقيقة معراة عن الغايات التي حاول اربابها زعما طوليا تشويهها بشتى الدعايات الخبيثة.»

On March 29, 1958, AL-BAYAN carried a long article by the Arabic writer-poet, Diab Rabie, analyzing the personality and dedication of Dr. Sayegh. Mr. Rabie wrote:

«الشخصية العربية الوحيدة التي استطاعت، بفضل الثقافة والموهبة وعمق المعرفة، اختراق الحائط السيك الذي بنته الدعاية الصهيونية لحجز انظار الشعب الاميركي عن رؤية الحقيقة.»

And on August 29, 1956, AL-HODA, in an editorial which was highly critical of the Arab Information Center, paid tribute to Dr. Sayegh's talents in the following words:

«ان الاستاذ فايز صايغ، الذي يدير المكتب حاليا، وما يتمتع به من صفات علمية وخبرة جعلته اشته بالانكولوجيا المتحركة، هو من هذه الناحية من الشخصيات التي يندر ان تجد مثلها اسين. ولنا مبالغين. وهو بالنسبة للقضية التي يخدمها كسب لم تحلم به الجامعة العربية في حياتها. وقليلون يعرفون عن آلاف الناسات التي ظهر فيها. وليس المهم ظهوره بقدر الشكل القوي والدور المشرق المبيض للوجه الذي رآناه فيه. حقا ان اسمه كلما ظهر على لسان كان مقلقا بالنساء، وهذا اقل ما يستحق.»



COSMO ANSARA

As an American of Arabic speaking descent, and as President of the National Association of Federations of Syrian and Lebanese American Clubs, I am very much interested in the problem of American-Arab relations and understanding, and I wish to pay tribute to the work of Dr. Faye Sayegh in this field.

Without minimizing the contributions of other Arab spokesmen to a better understanding of the Arab world in this country, Dr. Sayegh's contributions have unquestionably been outstanding. His extensive and brilliant writings and lectures on the problems of the Arab world and its importance to America has without doubt had a strong impact upon a consciousness of a large segment of the American people.

Our National Association and affiliated regional Federations have always had as one of their primary objectives the promotion of not only our cultural heritage, but also the present problems of our countries of origin, among both our own membership and the general American public.

Dr. Sayegh has been one of the most welcomed and effective speakers at the Middle East Forums of our Federations, and his writings have done much to educate our members and their friends in the problems of American-Arab relations. I dare say that our members who are from every part of the United States and will be joining our Overseas Convention to our homeland this summer, will better understand and appreciate what they see and hear in the Middle East because of Dr. Sayegh.

Cosmo M. Ansara, President  
National Association of  
Federations of Syrian  
& Lebanese American Clubs

### A LETTER FROM DR. PHILLIP BARKER

There is so much to say about this man that I don't really feel I can do him justice even in thousands of words.

When I first became interested in the Middle East back in 1947, there were only two sides to every question: that of the big powers and that of the Zionists. Anyone who wanted to understand the real issues was confronted by lack of information, misinformation, and propaganda put out by the Crusaders back in the Middle Ages. Even after the conflict broke out in Palestine, there was no source for the Arab case in North America.

Americans who felt that there was indeed an Arab case and a need for American-Arab understanding found themselves up against tremendous odds here and a good deal of misunderstanding in the Arab world itself. Many Arab leaders seemed to feel that Americans were irretrievably against them and that no amount of information or presentation would do any good.

When the Arab Information Center first opened, many of us felt that it was still not enough — a drop in the ocean of uninformed public opinion. I am now proud to say that this drop has reached the proportions of a large stream — still not enough by any means, but expanding and reaching new areas every day.

The guiding spark of this endeavor has been Dr. Faye Sayegh. His energy and courage have been boundless; his work has been

careful and meticulous; his personality has inspired his co-workers and his friends.

Yet the thing which amazes — and pleases — me most is his thorough understanding of the American scene and the cultural factors which make us Americans tick. He has appealed through honesty and fair play to all of his audiences. His willingness to debate in public with anybody, any time, anywhere, has endeared him to American audiences. The strict correctness of his information and his avoidance of rabble-rousing propaganda have brought home to the American public an understanding of Arab thought and culture that nothing else could do.

Most of all, he has picked out those chords in the Arab character that harmonize the best with corresponding chords in the American people. He has shown that those characteristics of independence, love of fair play, and moral courage, which we Americans so love, are matched by these same traits in the Arab world. He has brought home to us that the Arab view of the Palestine question, of Suez, and of Arab Nationalism is not hostile and inimical to American ideals, but in full sympathy with the spirit which guided my ancestors at Valley Forge and Gettysburg.

This understanding — which we despaired of in 1948 — is now an attainable goal. I think the thanks are largely due to Dr. Sayegh.

Phillip R. Barker, Director  
Islamic Center, Montreal, Canada



# THE CARAVAN

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Editor-in-Chief · George S. Debs

## A TRIBUTE TO DR. FAYEZ A. SAYEGH

With all due respect to all Arab diplomats and dignitaries who have visited this country, we have always contended and we now repeat the following:

**No one, whether Arab, American or otherwise, has done as much in recent years as Dr. FAYEZ A. SAYEGH to impress American public opinion with the justice of the Arab cause and to promote mutual Arab-American understanding.**

The Arabs in America and Arab-Americans as a whole have breathed more easily, and have been proud and gratified ever since his face appeared on television and platforms, and ever since his voice was heard on the radio in America.

The acclaim which he received from Americans all over the country, wherever he spoke or whenever he spoke, was a tribute, not only to him but also to all his people, here and abroad.

With Dr. Sayegh jumping from one corner of the country to the other, lecturing, debating, writing books, pamphlets, newspaper columns (at one time, at the rate of 54 lectures and speeches in 2 weeks), it is very hard to figure out how **ONE MAN** can do all this.

Americans of Lebanese, Syrian and Arab origin in this country are deeply grateful to Dr. Sayegh for all he did and is still doing to promote Arab-American good will and understanding. We hope that our people on the other side of the ocean are aware of this and just as appreciative as we are.

Dr. Sayegh has promised to continue his weekly column in The Caravan "For the Record" while he is visiting the Arab countries abroad in the coming two months. We are sure he will keep his promise in the future because he has never failed to do so in the past, even when he was thousands of miles away from New York. These articles, we are sure, are going to be, as always, very interesting, informative and enlightening.

As a tribute, we have dedicated to Dr. Sayegh this entire issue of The Caravan.

George S. Debs

### DR. SAYEGH'S RECORD — IN FACTS & FIGURES FOUR FULL YEARS OF ACCOMPLISHMENT

The Arab League began its long-overdue program of information in the United States in February, 1955. From the first day until today, Dr. FAYEZ SAYEGH has been bringing to millions of Americans the Arab point of view by word of mouth and by the written word. Here is a statistical summary of his accomplishments:

#### 1. PUBLICATIONS:

In the battle of the written word, Dr. Sayegh has been a tireless author, whose pamphlets and articles have appeared not only under the auspices of his office but also in independent Journals. His written record includes:

1 Book: "Arab Unity: Hope & Fulfillment". Since it appeared four months ago, this book has been widely reviewed by American reviewers in more than forty-five journals and newspapers. (Sample extracts from the opinions of reviewers appear elsewhere in this issue).

4 Booklets: "The Arab League", "The Arab-Israeli Conflict", "The Record of Israel at the United

Nations," and "Communism in Israel."

6 Pamphlets: "The Arab World Awakens", "The United Nations and Palestine", "Notes on the Suez Canal Controversy", "Turmoil in the Middle East", "Strife in the Holy Land" and "Arab Plight in the Holy Land."

17 Leaflets: These were mimeographed studies on such topics as "Border Incidents", "Arab Property in Israeli-Controlled Territory", "Notes on the Eisenhower Doctrine", etc.

3 Chapters in Books: Dr. Sayegh has also authored an individual chapter in each of three books on the Middle East, namely, "New Look at the Middle East, Oil & Turmoil, and National

#### Values in a Changing World.

150 Articles: These have appeared in varied magazines and journals of diverse points of view — from the Catholic America and the Protestant Moody Monthly to the Islamic Review and the Jewish Newsletter, and from the liberal Progressive to the conservative American Mercury, and including Social Science, Middle East Journal, Middle East Forum, Current History, Free World, and others. Included among these articles is Dr. Sayegh's weekly contribution to the CARAVAN in the column "For the Record" which he has written since May 16, 1957.

48 Letters-to-the-Editor, commenting on editorial opinions.

Translations: Many of these writings have been translated into Spanish, Arabic, French and German, and published in Latin America, Europe and the Middle East.

#### 2. PUBLIC APPEARANCES:

These writing activities are enough to consume all the time of a full-time author. But they have been only one side of Dr. Sayegh's activities. For, in the past four years, he has been a constant traveller, going far and wide wherever the demand came to lecture, appear on radio and television, or to hold press conferences.

In the course of these travels, he has visited over 150 cities in 40 states in the U. S. and 4 provinces in Canada. His public appearances have included:

#### 474 Lectures

136 Radio Programs, many of which were coast-to-coast broadcasts. The total number of stations carrying these programs was over 2340.

106 Television Programs, including network programs telecast from a total of 720 stations.

#### 54 Study Conferences.

#### 3. PERSONAL CONTACTS:

Nothing is as important, in educational and information programs, as the personal contact with individuals who are themselves engaged in disseminating information. Dr. Sayegh has devoted much of his time to this type of work, and his activities in this field include:

330 Briefings, interviews, or conferences with newsmen — journalists, newscasters, radio and television commentators, etc;

98 Authors, assisted in the course of their preparation of their manuscripts of books, dissertations, or articles on Arab affairs.

#### 4. EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS:

All these activities were undertaken during a four-year period in which, for the most part, Dr. Sayegh held two or three executive positions simultaneously, with endless administrative tasks.

Although he first joined the Arab States Delegations Office as Counsellor and Chief of Research, he soon assumed the duties of Chief of Public Liaison as well.

Before the end of the first year, he had also taken over the duties of Deputy Director, and had served for some weeks as Acting Director as well.

During the second and third years, he was serving most of the time as Acting Director, besides the other positions he was holding.

It was not until the beginning of 1958, his fourth year, that he acceded to the advice of his doctors, and asked to be relieved of all his executive positions in order to concentrate on his writings and public appearances.

#### QUANTITY vs. QUALITY:

In an editorial which we wrote about Dr. Sayegh in the CARAVAN of May 3, 1956, we spoke of Dr. Sayegh's record as "a record hard to beat" and added: "The feather in Dr. Sayegh's cap goes, however, not for the quantity of these lectures and debates, as much as for their supreme quality."

This Special Issue of the CARAVAN therefore contains many comments on the quality of Dr. Sayegh's writings and public appearances. These comments were made by groups interested in American-Arab friendship, by newspapermen, by authors. But, while fully mindful of the impressive quality, we felt that we should also include this brief statistical summary of the productivity of Dr. Sayegh in his four full years of accomplishment.

It would be inaccurate to say I am happy to pay this tribute to FAYEZ SAYEGH, for after something like a decade of personal and intellectual friendship and companionship, I am saddened by the thought he is leaving the United States. And yet, even in sadness at the thought, I am happy to be able to say a few things about this man which, out of respect for his own reserve and modesty — and his selfless dedication — I have always thought would embarrass him if I said them to him directly.

I am sure others will evaluate his contribution to what I believe is a better understanding of my countrymen for his people, their history and aspirations. And I am also sure that beyond these close-up evaluations, history will write an eloquent judgement. If revolutions need the power of ideas as well as the power of action, at least to this amateur observer of the new Arab revolution, no man since George Antonius has done more to order and systematize thought and by bringing to others a comprehension of the past, helped them to understand — in the midst of the inevitable turbulence of any revolution — Arab aspirations for the future.

But it is of two other facets of these past ten years, or so, of my friendship with Dr. Sayegh that I would like to testify.

One is a highly personal reflection, but one, I think, not without significance to larger issues in the world. Though he is an Arab to his core — and we are of different faiths — our personal



DR. ELMER BERGER

friendship, developed out of understanding, I think, has been constant and, since friendships are sensitive, I think I may say, mutually treasured.

Though FAYEZ SAYEGH will leave our country, he will never really leave my own nor Mrs. Berger's affection, nor our home.

Secondly, though he is about to leave us — as an American I hope he will return after he has

#### FORMER AMBASSADOR



HAROLD B. MINOR

During my association over the past several years with Dr. FAYEZ A. SAYEGH, I have come to value him very highly, both as an individual and as a writer and speaker. One may say without exaggeration that he has become the most effective and eloquent spokesman in the United States in presenting the viewpoint of the Arab World. His unusual speaking ability, his sense of balance and fairness, and his knowledge of the facts make him a formidable debater and speaker. But above all, he presents the facts with fairness and objectivity. We will be very sorry to see Dr. Sayegh give up this work in the United States but can only hope that he will continue to make a contribution in some form to the Cause to which he has been devoted.

Harold B. Minor  
President, American Friends  
of the Middle East and  
Former U. S. Ambassador  
to Lebanon

again refreshed himself at the grass-roots of the social, political and economic upheaval of his people, about which he has written and spoken so eloquently.

Perhaps he will understand better than anyone else why I express this wish in just this way. I am one of those Americans who believe in the necessity, for my country, to understand the Middle East and to develop with its people sound and enduring relationships, based upon a **MUTUALITY** of self-interest. I have admired and felt a strong affection for FAYEZ SAYEGH for himself. But he knows that I have also admired and honored him because of the service he has performed for millions of my fellow-Americans. He has enabled them to see and understand, in his person, the hopes, fears, idealism, capacity for self-criticism, integrity and intensity of purpose — which qualities must pervade the revolution in the Arab world if it is really to benefit those it is intended to serve. By understanding FAYEZ SAYEGH, my fellow-Americans have come to understand their own obligations — and their failures — in the Middle East. He has therefore served America well — even as he was, and primarily, serving his own people's interests. This, I think, accounts for his titanic achievements here. I am sure he would want it no other way.

We wish him Godspeed; a stimulating return to the rock whence he was hewn and an eventual return to this country and his friends to help carry on the still unfinished job of providing the understanding — and mutual respect — between his people and us, which is so necessary to both and to the peace for which all responsible men pray.

Dr. Elmer Berger  
Executive Vice-President  
American Council for  
Judaism



# COMMENTS OF THE AMERICAN PRESS, AMERICAN AUTHORS AND EDITORS ON DR. FAYEZ A. SAYEGH'S ACHIEVEMENTS AS AN AUTHOR, A SPEAKER AND A WRITER

## DESPITE ITS GENERAL HOSTILITY TO ARABS, THE AMERICAN PRESS HAILS DR. FAYEZ A. SAYEGH

It is a well-known fact that the American press, when it is not openly hostile to the Arabs, is either indifferent to their fate or lamentably ignorant of their affairs. This makes it all the more astounding that one man, who is openly active as a spokesman for the Arabs, has received wide acclaim by editors and reporters all over the United States.

Many CARAVAN readers frequently send us clippings from the local press. Our files contain literally hundreds of clippings about Dr. Sayegh's speeches and debates. We have selected for this Special Issue some extracts from these clippings. They reveal the high esteem in which the Arab speaker is held in American journalistic circles.

We have classified these extracts, which appear on this page, into three groups: (1) Reviewers' opinions of Dr. Sayegh's recent book, ARAB UNITY; (2) Comments on his other publications; and (3) Comments on his lectures, debates, and radio and television appearances.

### AS A SPEAKER

"The most brilliant and forceful spokesman in America for the Arab World" — Freda Utley in her book, WILL THE MIDDLE EAST GO WEST?

"For years he has been the most indefatigable and probably the most effective defender of the Arab cause on the lecture platforms and the radio and television channels of America. He has fought the propaganda battle of Palestine from coast to coast, acquitting himself well in what has been, to say the least, an uphill struggle." — Dr. John Campell, in the New York HERALD TRIBUNE.

"The most eloquent and most restrained exponent of the views of the Arab States." — Tex McCrary, on the TEX & JINX radio program.

"The most articulate spokesman in this country for the Arab point of view." Editorial in AMERICA.

"The most authentic exponent of Arab nationalism in the United States." — Chesley Manly, in the CHICAGO TRIBUNE.

"One of the world's best informed authors on Middle East affairs." — The STAR of Los Angeles.

"Remarkable erudition and deep conviction." — Professor Stanley Feingold, in MAIN EVENTS, City College of New York.

"A remarkable display of knowledge." — Maurice Naquin, in DAILY REVEILLE, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

"An eloquent and leading exponent of Arab nationalism" — San Francisco EXAMINER.

"An able spokesman. . . A good case. . ." — Editorial, The Seattle TIMES.

"The Arab point of view. . . was presented eloquently and compellingly" Editorial, Santa Barbara NEWS-PRESS.

"Convincing speaker." — Editorial, The FLORIDA ALLIGATOR.

"As an eloquent speaker with the ability to parry with experts on the subject. . . Dr. Sayegh has brought a broader understanding for Arab problems to many of his

listeners." — CURRENT BIOGRAPHY.

"Noted for his combative tactics in verbal warfare. . ." — Mike Wallace, in the New York POST.

"Articulate author and lecturer." — John O'Connor, The San Francisco MONITOR.

"Cool, brilliant." — Norman Thomas, The DENVER POST.

"Calm, restrained." — William Zukerman, JEWISH NEWS LETTER.

"Keen-witted lecturer and author." — Paul Mays, in Johnson City (Tenn.) PRESS CHRONICLE.

### AS A WRITER & AUTHOR

"Eloquent essay on the spiritual trends in Arab countries." — MIDDLE EASTERN AFFAIRS.

"A lucid and informed interpretation of the Arab point of view. . . persuasive plea for Arab nationalism." — The ARGONAUT.

"A careful, sound thinker, a student who carefully documents his written statements. . ." — General William H. Wilbur, in his book, GUIDEPOST TO THE FUTURE.

"Eminently qualified to speak on the subject with telling effectiveness. . . Very few individuals are as well qualified. . ." — Professor Nabih Amin Faris, in MIDDLE EAST FORUM.

"Scholarly. . . Its statements are carefully supported by the best documentary evidence available. . . A real contribution to our understanding." — Dean Virginia Gildersleeve, Preface to Dr. Sayegh's booklet, THE PALESTINE REFUGEES.

"A stimulating introduction to a relatively underdeveloped field which has major political implications." — Douglas Chalmers, JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.

"Lucid and powerfully in command of fact." — MIDDLE EAST FORUM.

"Challenging." — Paul O. Peters, NEWS BULLETIN.

"A passionate and eloquent study." — Professor Albert Hourani, INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.

### ARCHBISHOP BASHIR



#### Loyal Dedicated Service

Mutual understanding between Americans and Arabs has been most honorably served by Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh for the last four years. He has rendered to both Arabs and Americans a great service by giving the true story about every step of the long list of problems. Men like Dr. Sayegh are needed in this country to give the American people a true story of the problems of the Middle East. He has done a great service to create more understanding between Americans and Arabs, and was loved and respected by all our people. We wish him a happy return to his country.

Metropolitan Antony Bashir  
Archbishop of New York  
and All North America



Dr. WM. SAHADI

While there may be among your readers some who might disagree with his teachings or writings, all would be united in their admiration of his courage, enormous vitality, tremendous stamina, enthusiasm and devotion to his work.

W. SAHADI  
President of the A. U. B.  
Alumni Assn. of America

### Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh's ARAB UNITY: HOPE & FULFILLMENT



Mrs. Rosalie M. Gordon, in ALL-AMERICAN BOOKS: "Brilliant exposition of the rise and fall — and rise again — of the Arab peoples. . . We have today lost nearly all the high esteem in which we were once held in the Middle East. We might still regain that esteem if the President, the Secretary of State and every official concerned with foreign policy would read Dr. Sayegh's book."

Chesley Manly, in the Chicago SUNDAY TRIBUNE Literary Supplement: "This book is a reasonable, temperate treatment of the development and prospects of the Arab unity movement" by "the most authentic exponent of Arab nationalism in the United States."

Dr. John C. Campbell, in the New York HERALD TRIBUNE BOOK REVIEW: "A scholar and a philosopher. . . Dr. Sayegh writes forcefully with a commendable directness. . . A refreshingly frank and soundly-argued analysis."

Editorial in LIFE: "The idea of Pan Arab Unity is one that Arabs have not made very clear to the West. The key interlocking phrases, al Umma al Arabiah and al Uruba, are powerful but imprecise. Hence the timeliness of a forthcoming book by Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh called Arab Unity which explains the movement as a learned West-conscious Arab sees it."

Dr. George Tomeh, in ARAB WORLD: "Dr. Sayegh's book. . . is, to say the least, a timely and a needed one. . . Dr. Sayegh has combined the objectivity of the scholar with faith in a great cause."

THE BOOKSELLER: "A timely history."  
Col. John C. Kieffer, in SPECIAL MEMORANDUM: "Easily the best book on Arab Nationalism yet written. A 'must' if you want to be well-informed."

Dr. Garland Evans Hopkins: "By far the best thing that has been published on the subject, not only since but including Antonius' 'The Arab Awakening'."

LEVON KESHISHIAN, in THE CARAVAN: "The best contribution to Arab nationalism since the classic book of George Antonius, 'The Arab Awakening'."

Ken Weaver, in The Stillwater (Oklahoma) NEWS-PRESS: "His honesty, his integrity, is warming. Any American who knows him is struck by his Lincolnian qualities, his sincerity, his good will. He is a man with a mission, which he prays. . . Americans will understand. If they thoughtfully read this book and hear the cry of truth for justice, they will."

H. Kretschmann, in The Salt Lake City (Utah) TRIBUNE: "America must have a better understanding of the Arab. . . people. To this understanding, Dr. Sayegh's book certainly contributes." Diab Rabie, in ALBAYAN: "The least that can be said of this book is that it is first class. It is the only book yet written which contains a full and profound analysis of the idea and progress of Arab unity."

Barney Ballard, in The Nashville (Tennessee) BANNER: "Makes a good case for the thesis that Arab countries want Arab unity without foreign interference."

Editorial in AMERICA: "The most articulate spokesman in this country for the Arab point of view."

Rev. Humphrey Walz: "A scholarly yet readable, occasionally exciting, often startling volume on the forces which are forming a groundswell toward reunion in the dismembered Arab World. The Soviets have carefully studied these trends and have sought to capitalize on them by seeming sympathetic. Americans have tended to ignore them or misinterpret them, much to the loss of our prestige in the Middle East. Now that Dr. Sayegh has put his lucid English at our disposal, we have only ourselves to blame if we do not take advantage of his insights."

SEND YOUR ORDER NOW TO THE CARAVAN — PRICE \$4.00.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, February 19, 1959



**JOHN S. BADEAU**  
**A MESSAGE**  
**TO DR. SAYEGH**

It is with much regret that I learn of your return to the Arab World after your years of residence and service in the United States.

You have been an able and effective representative of the Arab World in this country. Your addresses, writings, and television programs have been marked by detailed knowledge of the Arab World, calm objectivity of presentation and a deep understanding of the Middle East situation. Through you many Americans have gained a fresh and valuable insight into Arab affairs. Leaving this country you have the satisfaction of knowing that you have made an outstanding and permanent contribution to the governments you have represented so ably.

With best wishes for your future service,

**John S. Badeau, President**  
**Near East Foundation**



**ALI A. MAHGOUB**

Dear Mr. Debs:

Thank you for your letter dated Jan. 28, 1959, in which you invited me to write a message embodying my estimate of Dr. Fayez Sayegh's work and effectiveness. I am more than happy to write about Dr. Sayegh, although I feel that I will not be able to give him all the credit he deserves. I have to thank you for giving me this wonderful opportunity to participate in honoring Dr. Sayegh and to express our gratitude, our admiration, and our appreciation towards him for his dedicated service to the cause of American-Arab understanding.

Should I write about Dr. Sayegh, I would not mention the several books he wrote, the numerous lectures and speeches he delivered, the conferences and panels he participated in, the radio and television programs and magazines, all of which concerning the Arab cause, and by which he brought a broader understanding of Arab problems and aspirations to many of his readers and listeners.

What I am concerned with, is to write about Dr. Sayegh as a big brother, as a friend, as an advisor, and as a teacher to the Arab students in the United States.

He is our big brother and our friend, because we feel that we, the Arab students in this country, are in his heart, and that he has a special interest in us. Whenever he goes, he tries to find us and know us. On the other hand, we always look for him and follow him where he goes. In fact he means a great deal to us. He looks upon Arab students as future leaders of the Arab World, and he has a great hope in them.

In our yearly conventions he is always one of the main speakers, and he always reserves the first week of September every year for these conventions and devotes himself completely to these occasions. His attendance at these conventions is one of the important factors for their success, either by his informative and effective speeches, or by attracting a large number of students to attend in order to meet him and listen to him.

He is our advisor, because he has assisted many Arab and non-Arab students in their studies and in their research work. He was their advisor and consultant in these matters. Many questions are sent to him from all over the U. S., either through our newsletter or through personal letters, requesting his opinions about various problems. He never hesitated to answer these questions, no matter how busy he is, in his friendly and satisfactory way.

He is our teacher, because when we hear him, we learn a great deal from him. We learn how to approach the audience, how to answer the questions, and how to express our opinions in a simple, sincere, clear, convincing, and tactful way as he does.

Last but not least, should I describe him, I would say that he is the modern philosopher of Arab nationalism in the United States. His mastery of facts is only equal to his profound knowledge of human nature, while his mastery of presentation is unequalled even by Americans speaking their native language.

No other person can speak for the Arab cause in English better than he can with his tactful marshalling of relevant facts, his logical presentation and his mastery of a language to which he was not born.

He can go on speaking for hours and his listeners will be spellbound by the exquisitely refined prose and his splendid oratory.

**Ali A. Mahgoub, President**  
**Organization of Arab Students**  
**In The U. S. A.**

## JACK GHANAIM



**FOR KANOON OR OUD**  
**WRITE c/o CARAVAN**  
**OR PHONE**  
**MAIN 5-5097**

Page four

THE CARAVAN

## George Washington's Farewell Address

On February 22 this year, as every year, a time-honored custom will be observed in the chamber of the United States Senate. At precisely twelve o'clock noon, the presiding officer will gavel for order and announce the reading of George Washington's Farewell Address.

In the House of Representatives too, at the same hour, Washington's address of farewell, will be read as he delivered it, at the close of his second term in office. Thus the words of our first President, long dead, are made to live again.

It was 163 years ago that the first President addressed his eloquent words to the first Congress under the Constitution. The first Congress, like the people whom its numbers represented, was well aware of the debt owed to George Washington — the victorious leader of the American Revolution.

Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Armies, that was his first title — and the first great service for which we honor him. As General Washington he led a citizen's army — a ragged, ill-equipped force, lacking shoes, clothing, ammunition — led them against the strongest forces of that time. For six years he lost battle after battle. A lesser man might have raised the white flag. Washington fought on. to win the battle that counts — the last one—at Yorktown, in 1781.

We honor him, too, as George Washington the man of peace, who presided over the convention which wrote the American Constitution, under this constitution the people elected him our first President. Father of our country, we call him — for in that high office, with no precedent to follow, it was he who gave form and substance to the outline for government which the Constitution describes. In dependencies, and made them into a nation.

In George Washington's Farewell Address, upon his retirement from public office, he enunciated the basic principles of American government. So it is more than a ritual observance that takes place in Congressional chambers annually. It is a re-affirmation of the obligation of the elected representatives of the American people. These are some of his words of 163 years ago:

"The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and alter their constitution of government. . . The constitution, which at any time exists till changed by authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. . . Let there be no change by usurpation; for this is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed."

In this Farewell Address, too, George Washington set the pattern for foreign policy which brought the United States to full stature—a pattern still observed today:

"Observe good faith and justice toward all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. . . In the execution of such a plan nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments should be excluded, and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings toward all should be cultivated. . . Harmony and a liberal intercourse with all nations are recommended by policy, humanity and interest."

More than 150 years separate the terms of office of our first and thirty-fourth President. Yet the following declaration, made so long ago, has a familiar ring:

"For the sake of humanity, it is

devoutly to be wished that agriculture and commerce would supersede the waste of war and the rage of conquest; that the swords might be turned into ploughshares, the spears into pruning hooks, & the 'nations learn war' no more. How much more delightful is the task of making improvements on the earth, than all the vain glory that can be acquired from ravaging it by the most uninterrupted career of conquest!"

Such is the spirit, and these are some of the principles, of the man whose birthday our Congress and our people commemorate on February 22.



George M. Barakat

All of us, I am sure, agree that a way must be quickly found to restore the historic bonds of friendship and understanding that up until very recent times have united the Arab and American peoples. And all of us also know that if that way is not found —

and found soon—both peoples will stand to suffer irreparable and irretrievable losses.

I have been asked to give, in a very few words, my own estimate of the contribution that has been made by a young and distinguished Arab scholar who has been in the forefront of this search for that elusive healing and restorative formula. The mere mention of his name is an adequate introduction to anyone concerned with Arab-American affairs, and most certainly, to the readers of this paper who have been enjoying his illuminating columns.

In my well-considered judgment, Dr. Sayegh has made a most profound and salutary impact on American public opinion, and has given what should be a most convincing demonstration to Arab leaders that informed Americans can be counted upon to stand up for what is fair and just. It is now up to all those who genuinely desire an improvement in Arab-American relations, from both the Arab and American sides, to help make the truth known throughout the grassroots of America. For only through the dedicated and selfless devotion of competent people of the calibre of Dr. Sayegh can the truth find its way into the minds and hearts of Americans who will one day soon insist on a sound and just foreign policy that will serve the best interests of Americans as well as Arabs.

GEORGE BARAKAT  
Executive Director  
American Middle East Relief

If you have not yet received The Caravan, mail us your name and address immediately!





**FRANK MARIA**

Dr. Fayez Sayegh has proved to be the most effective exponent of the Arab point of view in the United States.

On several occasions I have seen and heard Dr. Sayegh more than hold his own before Zionist-packed audiences and on programs heavily loaded in favor of the Zionist point of view. His ability is so great that it is no wonder that the most able Israeli spokesmen refuse to debate with him. Not only is Dr. Fayez Sayegh armed with the sword of truth, but he is a skilled and effective fencer! Confronted by interrogators or reporters — prejudiced against the Arabs because of lack of information or by false Zionist propaganda, — Dr. Sayegh has regularly succeeded in making them friends of the Arabs or at the very least more objective in their viewpoint.

What the Arab World needs in the United States are many more spokesmen of the calibre of Dr. Fayez Sayegh!

**Frank Maria**  
Past President & Chairman of  
Foreign Affairs Committee  
of The S. L. A. Federation

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, Feb



**M. S. MASSOUD**

The magnificent service Dr. Fayez Sayegh has rendered to his homeland is an outstanding and unparalleled feat. His persuasion through clear facts and magnetic logic is superb.

In his mission of good will Dr. Sayegh has rendered a great service to the American people by allowing them the benefit of his fair perspective and his knowledge of the true facts concerning the tragic Palestine question.

For the first time in my active career, I can attest with candor and satisfaction that Dr. Fayez Sayegh, lecturer and scholar, has admirably served the Arab cause on this continent. His presence as a representative of the Arab cause in the United States has given the devotees on this continent a sigh of relief.

Dr. Sayegh is one of the few who really understand the keen conscientiousness of the inner soul of the American people.

It was very inspiring to follow his activities on his lecture tours, television and radio engagements. His unflinching articles in the press, particularly in the esteemed Caravan, have earned him a well deserved vacation in the homeland.

**Mohammed S. Massoud, President**  
Canadian Arab Friendship League

## President Chehab Decorates Dr. Fayez Sayegh While Hassouna Bars His Return To The U.S.A.

LEBANESE PRESS, PARTIES, POLITICIANS AND PUBLIC DENOUNCE  
HASSOUNA'S ACTION—LEBANESE GOVERNMENT INTERVENES OFFICIALLY  
OUTCOME STILL IN DOUBT



Rashid Karami, Lebanese Prime Minister (right) pins the decoration of the "Cedars" on Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh.

BEIRUT, Lebanon — Special to The Caravan — The President of the Republic of Lebanon, General Fouad Chehab, has bestowed on Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh — the man who for years was the foremost Arab spokesman in the United States — the Order of the Cedars, rank of Commander, "in recognition of his outstanding and dedicated services to the Arab causes and his defense of Arab rights in Palestine."

This decision, which was executed and announced after the removal of Dr. Sayegh from his post in New York was decreed by the Secretary-General of the Arab League, was widely interpreted by the Lebanese public and press as a pointed retort to the action of Abdul Khalik Hassouna.



HASSOUNA

As the furor of the Lebanese public, press, and political parties was reaching its zenith, and expressing itself in unprecedented unanimity, a further gesture was made by the Lebanese government, which was taken as another demonstration of Lebanon's official disapproval of Hassouna's action. Two weeks after the

award of the Lebanese medal, the Prime Minister personally held a ceremony in his office in the course of which he personally decorated Dr. Sayegh with the medal.

Within the same week, Dr. Sayegh was received by President Chehab in the Presidential Palace, after the publication of some reports in the press indicating that the President had shown personal interest in the issue.

### ACTIONS IN ADDITION TO GESTURES

But the public was clamoring for deeds, in addition to gestures. And the Government was not slow in taking official action.

According to an announcement from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Lebanese Foreign Minister — former Premier Husein Oweini—instructed the Ambassador of Lebanon in Cairo to protest the measure undertaken by Hassouna and to request him to withdraw the decree removing Dr. Sayegh from his post in the United States.

The Acting Director-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also flew to Cairo, reportedly to discuss "with certain authorities" three matters, of which Dr. Sayegh's case was one.

Other reports were published to the effect that the Ministry also instructed all its Ambassadors in all Arab capitals to discuss the matter for further, common ac-

tion.

### OFFICIALS AND POLITICIANS DENOUNCE THE ACTION:

While the press campaign against Hassouna's action was at its height, the Lebanese News Agency made a survey of official political opinion on the subject. Its report, which was featured prominently in a dozen or more newspapers, showed unanimous disapproval by politicians from all wings, and by responsible officials of the government. THERE WAS NO DISSENT FROM ANY QUARTER.

Among those who bitterly denounced the measure were the following:

- \* Former Premier Dr. Abdullah Yafi
- \* Former Minister, and Deputy, Baheej Taky-Deen
- \* Deputy Munir Abu Fadel
- \* Deputy Ma'rouf Sa'd
- \* Former President of Parliament Sabri Himadeh
- \* Deputy Naseem Majdalani



KAMIL ABDELRAHIM

Foremost among the officials who took the same stand was the Director-General of the Ministry of Information, the Acting Director-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and a Judge of the High Court.

Of the intellectuals who expressed similar opinion, special mention must be made of two poets. The first is the celebrated emigrant-poet, Rashid al-Khouri (Ash-Sha'ir al-Korawi), who is currently on a tour of the Arab World, in which he was specially well-received by high officials in the United Arab Republic. The second is the Lebanese poet, Sa'id Akl, who articulated his opinion as follows:

From New York, where he worked as though he alone were a state, Dr. Fayez Sayegh has been transferred. He has been demoted. He has been purportedly confined to Cairo.

"An act like this alone have sufficed to make more than one government topple. If we

(continued on page 7)

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, July 16, 1959

THE CARAVAN

## Dr. F. A. Sayegh Decorated And Banned From Returning

(Continued from page 1)

had governments!

"But this act, which was an injustice inflicted not on Fayez Sayegh but on our entire national cause, was undertaken not by a government but by a league which, as everyone knows, has already been responsible for our greatest national calamity. . . .

"To those who have clamored for the return of Fayez Sayegh to New York: I say, 'You are clamoring for the wrong objective. You should rather demand that that bankrupt league be "sent home"!'

"Fayez Sayegh, as a miraculous intellectual capacity the like of which we may not witness among us for the next half-century, is a man whom states need far more than he needs states or leagues of states. For he is one of those rare individuals who exist by virtue of the decree of Destiny itself".

### PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS PROTEST ACTION:

Day after day, the newspapers publish the texts of telegrams sent by parties and organizations to Hassouna, with copies to Presidents Nasser and Chehab and other heads of Arab States. Among the groups which have demanded immediate undoing of Hassouna's deed are the following:

- \* Federation of Women's Organizations — representing 107 Women's Associations
- \* Union of University Women
- \* Union of Palestine Women
- \* Alumni Association of the Islamic Makasid Colleges.
- \* Arab Socialist Association
- \* Association of Arab Nationalists

- \* Arab Cultural Clubs in Beirut, Tripoli, Sidon, Tire, and Baalbeck
- \* Society of Vigilantes
- \* Association of Palestinian Arab Youth

Some of these groups have sent delegations to all Arab embassies in Beirut, carrying memorandums on the subject and requesting forceful action by the Arab governments.

### ARAB REFUGEES PROTEST

Specially active were the Palestinian Arab refugees in Lebanon. A special conference was held in Beirut, consisting of representatives of all the camps in which Arab refugees live, as well as representatives of all the political groups among the refugees — such as the Arab Higher Committee for Palestine, the Higher Committee for Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon, the Association of Palestinian Youth, and the All-Palestine Scouts Union.

As a result of this meeting, a joint telegram was sent, signed by all delegates, to Hassouna, with a copy to President Nasser.

In addition, representatives of individual camps wired similar protests.

### INDIVIDUALS DENOUNCE MEASURE

Individual wires and letters of protest have been forthcoming from Lebanon, the United Arab Republic, Kuwait, and other Arab lands also. According to the Cairo weekly, AL-ITHANIN, Hassouna has been "flooded" with such expressions of disapproval.

### PRESS TAKES THE LEAD

In all this public denunciation of the action of Hassouna, the press has taken the lead.

Veteran observers of the Lebanese scene have publicly testified that on no other occasion has so vehement a stand been taken for so long a time by so many newspapers and magazines representing so many shades of opinion — without dissent from any quarter.

The organs of the political parties as Al-Ba'th, al-Najjada, the Association of Arab Nationalists, and the Socialist Progressive Party, have published countless editorials. Each of them has on more than one occasion, published two or three editorial articles, signed by the Editor-in-Chief and the major columnists of the paper, in one single issue — in addition to several feature stories running into ten to twelve columns (one-and-a-half newspaper pages) each.

Similarly, traditionally pro-UAR papers, such as As-Siyasa (published by former Premier Yafi), Al-Kifah, Al-Diyar, Al-Yom, Beirut al-Masa, and Ash-Sha'b have spear-headed the campaign. Other newspapers have not been less caustic in their criticism? such as Al-Telegraph, Al-Tayyar, Al-Nahar, and others.

The weekly newsmagazines have participated fully, expressing the public wrath. Al-Hawadith, Al-Ahad, Al-Jumhour, Al-Usbu' al-Arabi Kull Shai, Al-Rasid, Al-Sayyad, have all published more than three or four articles each.

The tone has ranged from caustic to violence, all have treated the issue as an instance of incompetence and bankruptcy of the Arab League. They have described it as struggle between the new, dynamic generation and the old, incompetent generation. As one columnist said, "The Fayez Sayegh case, which has now assumed all the proportions of a classic cause celebre, has gone beyond itself; it has opened up the case of the Arab League itself, which for eleven years Arabs of all walks of life had wanted to raise, but which no single issue like the present one has proved to be as provoking an occasion for raising."

It would take too long to insert here a resume of the articles which have appeared; even a list of their headlines and authors would be beyond the space of this dispatch. Sample headlines, however, would suffice to give an indication of the tone and approach of the Arabic press to this issue:

- \* "The Transfer of Fayez Sayegh: A Gain for Zionism; an insult to Competence and Integrity"—by former Premier Dr. Yafi, publisher of As-Siyasa.
- \* "The expulsion of Sayegh: An Arab Calamity; A Zionist Victory" — by K. Sinnu, in Al-Kifah.
- \* "Is Hassouna an Israeli Agent?" Al-Kifah, Editorial
- \* Arab League: Killer of the Chicken that Laid the Golden Egg"—Al-Diyar, Editorial
- \* "The Fayez Sayegh Case: A Struggle Between Two States of Mind"—Ba'athist As-Sahafa Editorial.
- \* Revolution in the Arab League" — Former Deputy Ghassan Tuweini, Publisher of An-Nahar, Editorial.
- \* "The Man Who Chose Candor As His Path" — Al-Amal (Organ of Al-Katayeb)
- \* "The Mentality of Officialdom"—Wafik Al-Tibi, former



DR. FAYEZ A. SAYEGH

president of the Editors' Syndicate, in Al-Yom

- \* "Conspiracy: Hassouna Must Be Tried" — by S. Kamal, in Al-Ahad
- \* "Vengeance and Ingratitude" —by Ghazi Fayid, Al-Jumhur
- \* "The Case of Fayez Sayegh: The Case of the New Generation"—by Mohsen Ibrahim, in Al-Kifah
- \* "The Arab League: Burial Place for Talent" — Maurice Sakr, in As-Sahafa (Organ of the Ba'th Party)
- \* "The Transfer of Fayez Sayegh: A Stab Into the Body of A Million Refugees" — Tewfik al-Matni, Publisher Al-Telegraph.
- \* "Israel Would Pay Millions to silence Fayez Sayegh: the Arab League Has Silenced Him by a Routine Decree" — Samir Sanbar, in As-Sayyad

These are but a few sample headlines. The essence, however, is this: From a hundred pens in a hundred ways, Arab editors in Lebanon have described the Arab League as a "Museum of Wasted Talents", and its Secretary General as feeble instrument who has acted to the detriment of the Arab Cause at the behest of Kamil Abdul-Rahim, whom many, many newspapers have described as "a Leftover of the Farouq Regime"

### FLYING ABROAD



Mr. Fouad Helou, above, prominent member of the Lebanese Syrian community in St. Petersburg, Fla. and an active officer in the Southern Federation is flying to Beirut, Lebanon, July 16 to attend the 1959 Federation Convention. He is accompanied by his wife, Jamilia, The Caravan's correspondent in St. Petersburg.

Mr. Helou who left Beirut about 37 years ago will represent The Caravan with his wife at the Convention and during their stay abroad.

### Syrian Diplomat Dies

Beirut — Fayez al-Khoury, former Syrian Ambassador to Washington, D.C., passed away from a heart attack in this capital where he made his residence with his family, coming from Damascus.

Mr. Al-Khoury was well known in diplomatic circles in the Arab East and the U.S.A., and is a brother of the foremost Arab diplomat Dr. Fares Bey Al-Khoury.



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# THE CARAVAN

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GEORGE S. DEBS

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Pictorial

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## Dr. Sayegh Elected President of the Palestine Arab Congress Leads Opposition to Hammarskjold Plan The "Sayegh Case" Goes On...

The first conference representing all groups, organizations, committees and associations of Palestinians since the Arab exodus from Palestine in 1948 has been held in Beirut, and has *unanimously* elected Dr. Faye A. Sayegh as its President. The immediate purpose of this exceptional gathering is to oppose the Hammarskjold Plan regarding the refugees — before Arab public opinion, before the Arab governments and in the world at large.

Foremost among the tasks entrusted to Dr. Sayegh by the Congress and its Bureau, was the publication of a 125-page analysis of the Hammarskjold plan, which Dr. Sayegh had read to the Assembly, and the convening of separate press conferences for Arab newspapermen and for representatives of the world press.

The Congress was composed of representatives of the nine Palestinian organizations operating in Lebanon: the Arab Higher Committee for Palestine; the Palestine Youth Organization; the Organization of Palestinian Students; the Union of Arab Palestinian Women; the Palestinian Boy Scouts Union; the Palestine Arab Office; the Higher Committee for the Refugees; the General Committee for the Refugees; and the Committee of Land-Owners. Each organization had equal representation.

A preliminary Congress had been held on June 26, consisting of representatives of all groups, as well as individuals and camps' representatives, to examine the Hammarskjold Plan and adopt a common attitude towards it. An invitation was sent to Dr. Sayegh to address this preliminary congress and analyze the Secretary-General's proposals.

This was pursuant to an initial release which Dr. Sayegh had issued a few days earlier, and which was carried by all the major newspapers with editorial support.

The preliminary congress decided, after listening to Dr. Sayegh's analysis, to reject the proposals for "reintegration of the refugees in the economies of the Arab States". It further decided to call for a general strike of all Palestinians in Lebanon, to boycott the services of UNRWA, and to go on a hunger strike, on the day of Hammarskjold's arrival in Cairo. These decisions were spectacularly implemented.

The congress also decided to convene again, a fortnight later, and appointed a three-man committee to plan for the next congress. Dr. Sayegh, Mr. El-Ghuri (of the Arab Higher Committee), and Mr. El-Yamani (of the Palestine Youth Organization), were to compose this committee, and to act on behalf of the congress between the two meetings.



DR. FAYEZ A. SAYEGH

Finally, the preliminary congress requested Dr. Sayegh to submit to it, at its next meeting, a detailed analysis of the Hammarskjold Report.

The second Congress was held amidst great public and press interest. After unanimously electing Dr. Sayegh to the presidency, it listened for several hours to his paper, which was then discussed thoroughly by the house and adopted unanimously as representative of its point of view.

Three representatives — one from the Arab Higher Committee, one from the Palestine Youth Organization, and one from the Union of Arab Palestinian Women — were elected to compose, together with the President, the Bureau of the Congress.

The press has received with great enthusiasm the manifestations of Palestinian unity displayed in the composition and the deliberations of the Congress, and in the unanimous adoption of its resolutions. Many editorials have called for the transformation of this ad hoc Congress into a permanent body representing Palestine. But Dr. Sayegh has ruled out this possibility, and, in an interview with the Lebanese News Agency and later on, at his press conferences, he has firmly stated that the mandate of the Congress, its Bureau and its President was strictly confined to the opposition to the Hammarskjold Plan. He has added, however, that the Congress could, if it chose, perpetuate itself and extend its own mandate if the organizations which composed it so desired, but that, as far as he himself was concerned, he would not

be available for any task more permanent than the present task.

### Heads a Group of Experts:

Meanwhile, shortly after he has issued his initial press release, Dr. Sayegh had convened a group of experts on the Palestine Problem to prepare a joint study for the Arab Governments, to be submitted to the Conference of Arab Foreign Ministers, or the Summit Arab Conference, if and when either conference materialized.

The group — which has not yet finished its task — is composed of three economic experts, two professors of political science, two professors of law, and two professors of history, in addition to Dr. Sayegh.

### Visiting American Ministers

The renewed interest in the refugee problem coincided with the visits to the Arab States made by four different groups of ministers: one from California and Arizona; one from Louisiana; one under the auspices of the National Council of Churches of Christ; and one under the auspices of the Y.M.C.A.

The Ministries of Information and Foreign Affairs jointly supervised the program of these groups. The highlights of the programs were: visits to the refugee camps; visits to the President, Prime Minister, President of Parliament, Foreign Minister, etc.; and panel discussions.

The panels consisted of some of the best-informed officials and writers — Drs. Zurayk, Sarruf, Saab and Sayegh, Messrs. Tuweini, Bustani, and Khalidi, and Rev. Audi.

The Ministry of Information requested Dr. Sayegh to prepare a study on the subject: "Do Jews Have a 'Divine Right' to Palestine?" which was printed under its auspices and distributed to the visiting ministers.

### The "SAYEGH CASE" Goes On.

In the meantime, the "Sayegh Case" goes on. It has moved from the popular and press level, to official levels.

Some members of Parliament have raised it in Parliament, submitting an official inquiry to the Government on the subject.

A statement from the Foreign Ministry has stated that the Government of Lebanon has officially requested the Council of the League to examine the matter at its forthcoming session in September. It has specifically requested, further, that the Council rule that "transfers of principal officials of the League" shall henceforth require a decision of the Council itself, not merely the decision of the Secretary-General, "in order that the grave error committed in the transfer of Dr. Sayegh may not be repeated."

And a memorandum, signed by ten major political parties and organizations, has been submitted to the embassies of all the Arab States in Beirut, requesting that the Arab Governments take up the transfer of Dr. Sayegh, as well as the entire prob-

lem of Arab Information Programs in the United States and elsewhere, at the September Meetings of the Arab League Council.

In an address made before a gathering of officials, newspapermen, party-representatives, authors, and others, Dr. Sayegh made one of his very few statements on the "Sayegh Case". He said:

"While I am deeply grateful to all those officials, groups, and private citizens who have, in recent weeks, championed what has come to be known as the 'Fayez Sayegh Case', and to all the newspapers which have given this 'Case' great prominence, I cannot but plead with them, all and one, not to permit my personal case to overshadow the greater problem."

"For, in truth, I have no personal case as such. Nor did I have one to start with. A personal case was created for me, precisely in order to divert attention from the general case I raised — the case of the fate of Arab Information Programs overseas, and the need for dynamic change in the concepts, blueprints, and structures of Arab Information Agencies abroad."

"I plead with you, all and one, to recall that the transfer, the demotion, and the annoyance of Fayez Sayegh are not national problems; and to beware lest the focussing of attention on the personal aspect of the issue drown the more general, and the more important, aspect."

The retraction by the Secretary-General of the Arab League of the decree whereby he "transferred" me from New York to Cairo is not an end in itself. My return to the United States — unless it is accompanied, or preceded, by the creative transformation in the concepts, methods, and

programs of information, along the lines I have advocated, and for advocating which I have been penalized — would in itself constitute no triumph, whether for me, for you, or for our national cause.

"Had I deemed my presence in New York an end in itself, I would not have spoken up in the first instance; nor would I have volunteered to utter my calls for reform, for the sake of which I have incurred the wrath of the 'powers that be'."

"In fact, were I to return today to New York, to the situation as it has been and as it is, I would find myself once more at the point whence I had departed, and I would have to start making my 'unorthodox' calls for reform all over again, and to incur the wrath of officialdom all over again."

"It is far better for Fayez Sayegh to be eliminated from the Offices of the Arab League, and for that elimination to be the occasion for reform — by virtue of the echo which it has already aroused — than it is for Fayez Sayegh to remain where he was, and for the situation to remain as it was."

This plea has apparently served its purpose. For there has been, since these utterances, less negative criticism of the League for its punitive measures towards Dr. Sayegh, and more constructive criticism of the conditions in general which had caused Dr. Sayegh to murmur and complain in the first instance, and had caused his resolute 'transfer'.

The word "transfer" has been inserted between quotation marks in this dispatch because, although the "transfer order" is already over two months old, and although it was designed to be implemented immediately, Dr. Sayegh has so far shown no indication of recognizing its existence.



The Most Reverend Archbishop Philip Nabaa, Archbishop of Beirut and Gibail is pictured above following Holy Mass celebrated at St. Joseph's Oratory, Montreal during Eastern Melkite Convention. To his Excellency's right stands His Eminence Cardinal Leger of Montreal, Canada, and on his left, Elias Sayour, Papal Chamberlain Cape and Sword. They are surrounded by Archmandrites, Ecomonos and Priests all of whom attended the Convention. Msgr. Elias Skaff is on extreme left.

Page Six

THE CARAVAN

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, August 13, 1959

# THE CARAVAN

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Editor-in-Chief: George S. Debs

## TWO WEEKS VACATION

On the first page of The Caravan (top left) is stated that this newspaper is "published weekly except the first two weeks in September."

Accordingly, there will not be any issues of The Caravan on September 3 and September 10. The first issue in September will appear September 17.

This has been decided upon a year ago to give the staff and workers of this publication a very much needed rest.

Advertisers will be credited for these two weeks.

George S. Debs

## THE CARAVAN SOCIAL CLUB

We had postponed the opening of The Caravan Social Club for reasons stated in a former editorial, until we are able to sell the Caravan building downtown and move to a more suitable and convenient location in Bay Ridge or Prospect Park West.

This we have not yet been able to do and it might take a few more months to accomplish.

In the meantime, and beginning next week, we are returning the hundreds of checks to the subscribers who responded to our call and joined as members. They will hear from us again when the Club is ready to open its doors.

At the moment, however, we wish to express our sincere thanks and gratitude to those members who responded, hoping that what we have been looking forward to with them will materialize in the near future.

George S. Debs

## WHAT IS PLANNED FOR ARABS IN ISRAEL

New York, August 5—(AIC)—The Israeli Government's decision to relax restrictions on the movement of Arabs in Israel is but a disguised attempt to disperse some 213,000 Arabs who, not choosing to leave their homes, have been suffering for the past eleven years under inhuman racial and religious discrimination.

This decision, in fact, has been made to "encourage the dispersal of Israeli Arabs from their present concentration in the Galilee districts in northern Israel . . . and in the central part of the country", according to the New York Times correspondent in Israel.

This is the core of the decision; to dispossess the Arabs of whatever property they have left in return for alleged "financial assistance to those Israeli Arabs who were able to find employment in "mixed cities."

To cover this new discriminatory action - opposed to the terms of the Partition Resolution that gave birth to the State of Israel, and to the Declaration of Human Rights - the Israeli Government announced that Arabs will be permitted to travel freely, during the day, to most major communities.

However, Israel dictates that the system of military government, only for the 213,000 Arabs in Israel, will continue. Military governors of the Arab Ministry will retain the authority to place an Arab under "preventive arrest" without trial. And military gov-

ernors will still be allowed to order an Arab moved from one district to another.

In a policy statement, the Israeli Government excused its system of military government because there was no peace with its neighbors. Yet these stringent measures are not based upon the exigencies of war, but are directed against peaceful Arab communities and individuals who do not pose any danger to the security of the state. The Arab minority has not given the Israeli authorities any cause during the past decade to suspect them either as whole or as individuals of subversive or hostile activities. The fact that the Arab residents happen to belong to the expelled population is not sufficient cause to place them under such despotism.

"A power over a man's subsistence amounts to a power over his will." Alexander Hamilton, "The Federalist".

"One of the surest of all truths is that life will give you no more than you give it." Norman Vincent Peale.

With every article or letter to the editor published in The Caravan, the name of the writer will appear unless withholding of name is requested. The Caravan has the right to print anything in whole or in part, as the editor sees fit. No letters or photographs will be returned, whether published or not.

## Statement By Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh President, Palestine Arab Congress

Beirut, July 17, 1959

I - The Palestine Arab Congress, on whose behalf I speak to you today, is the first gathering of its kind in over a decade. Every single organization, committee, or association of Palestinians in Lebanon has participated in this Congress. Its decisions, adopted unanimously, reflect the solidarity of all Palestinians in Lebanon and their identical attitude towards the recent proposals of the Secretary-General of the United Nations regarding the Palestine refugees.

We have good reason to believe that the resolutions adopted by the Congress reflect the views of all Palestinians everywhere.

The announcement, by Palestinians, of their own views regarding proposals and plans which directly affect them is a significant phenomenon in the evolution of the Palestine Problem. For many years, unfortunately, the Palestine Problem has been discussed in international circles as though the people of Palestine were a negligible factor in the equation, and as though the United Nations could safely and with impunity ignore them and make decisions about them without consulting them or taking their views into consideration. The initiative now taken by Palestinians will, we trust, help restore normalcy to the vision—and perhaps the procedures—of the United Nations.

### - II -

The Palestine Arab Congress has decided unanimously to reject the proposals made by the Secretary-General, inasmuch as they entail — all assurances to the contrary notwithstanding — the absorption of the Arabs of Palestine into the economies of countries other than their own, their de-Palestinianization, and their abdication of many of their inherent rights, national and individual, including those rights which the United Nations has repeatedly recognized.

The Palestine Arab Congress has also unanimously announced the determination of Palestinians to oppose the implementation of those proposals and to obstruct any measures aiming at such implementation.

### - III -

The Palestine Arab Congress considers that the detrimental nature of the Secretary-General's proposals emanates from the erroneous concept of the problem on which those proposals have been based.

In viewing the refugees primarily — if not exclusively — as "unemployed population", the Secretary-General overlooks the main elements of their situation. The status of "unemployed population", and the attendant economic hardships, are but a result of a prior act of displacement inflicted upon them and a prior act of usurpation of their homeland and their private property. The continuation of their unemployment and their hardship is the direct result of the persistent refusal by Israel to comply with 37 injunctions of the United Nations, to the effect that it should permit those refugees, who choose to return to their homes, to do so. Mr. Hammarskjold has focussed on the results, ignoring the causes; and, of the results, he has focussed on only one, ignoring all else.

To us, the refugee status of the Arabs of Palestine is paramount;

unemployment and economic hardships are derivative. To us, the refugee problem is inseparable from the total problem of Palestine, from which it cannot be isolated — whether in vision or in remedy.

### - IV -

The announcement of our unanimous decision to reject the proposals, and our equally unanimous determination to oppose and obstruct their implementation, is addressed to three parties:

1. The Governments of the Arab States, who, having championed our cause for years, and having, together with their peoples, made great sacrifices on our behalf are entitled to know how we view these proposals, even before they formulate their own attitudes, individually and jointly, towards them. We are certain that no Arab Government will associate itself with any proposal entailing the liquidation of our rights. We are certain that the earnest concern for our welfare, which the Arab Governments have so far consistently displayed, will continue to reflect itself in their formulation of their attitudes towards the Hammarskjold proposals.

2. The Secretary-General of the United Nations. As author of the plan, we are certain that he would not wish to ignore the unanimous views of those primarily affected by it. We take note of his statement:

"No reintegration would be satisfactory, or even possible, were it to be brought about by forcing people into their new positions against their will. It must be freely accepted, if it is to yield lasting results in the form of economic and political stability."

We trust that he would equally take note of our announcement that we reject his proposals and shall oppose and obstruct their implementation. And we trust that, according to his own logic and in the light of our position, he would realize the futility of his plans.

3. Those members of the United Nations whose pressures at the General Assembly have prompted the Secretary-General to prepare the present report, and have inspired its contents. We consider the United States Government primarily responsible for the approach to the problem which the Secretary-General's report embodies. We consider the United States Government ill-advised in this manner. We trust that the United States Government will not fail to realize that, in pressing for the integration of the Arabs of Palestine outside their homeland and for their forced abdication of their inalienable rights, it will not only inflict added injustice on a people already burdened by the legacy of past injustices it has suffered as a result of past United States policies, (thus furthering the ominous process of Arab-American alienation), but will also defeat its professed purposes of seeing stability and tranquillity prevail in our area.

## NEW DOCTOR

Mr. Michael Abosamra, son of the late Tohmi Abosamra, of Detroit, Mich. was recently graduated from Iowa Medical University with high honors.

## BASHIR APPROVES POPE'S UNITY EFFORT

Archbishop Antony Bashir, head of the Syrian Orthodox Diocese of New York and all North America, gave a press interview while he was visiting Quebec, Canada, as a guest of Mr. Edward Shoiry and his family.

During the interview, His Eminence disclosed his approval in principle to His Holiness, Pope John XXII's effort in regard of the Unity of both Eastern and Western churches to overcome the menacing danger of Communism that threatens the world.

The Archbishop declared also that "basically there are no differences between the Western and Eastern folds of the church." His interview was given wide publicity in the Canadian press.

## IMMIGRATION

Question: I am a naturalized citizen. My son has a position abroad with the American government, in the country where I was born. I accompanied him overseas and have been with him now for two and one-half years. I have been told by the American Consul that before the end of three years I must return to the United States or lose my American citizenship. Is there any exception in the law in cases like mine?

Answer: No, the advice the Consul gave you is correct. As the parent of an American citizen you are not within the exceptions of the statute as it now stands. The present exceptions permit only naturalized citizens who are the spouse or child of an American citizen to remain with him indefinitely without losing citizenship. However, Congress is presently considering an amendment, which if enacted into law, would permit the parent of an American citizen the same privilege.

## NEW JERSEY NEWS

David Shaleesh, son of Mr. and Mrs. Astory Shaleesh of 437 Conrad Rd., Englewood, N. J. flew by jet with his grandmother, Mrs. Mary Saady of 127 Pacific St., Brooklyn, N. Y., to Hollywood, Florida, Tuesday night to be an usher at the wedding of his cousin, Miss Yvonne Saady, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Mike Saady of Hollywood, Fla., to Mr. Louis Nader of Zanewille, Ohio, on Saturday August 8th.

Mrs. Mary Saady and David will be back by August 15th to attend the wedding of her grandson, George Zelhof of 215 Hudson Ave., Englewood, N. J. Mr. Zelhof, son of Mr. and Mrs. Mitri Zelhof, will marry Miss Barbara Daniels, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Anthony Daniels of 11-D Ivy Lane, Bergenfield, N. J., on Saturday, August 15th. A reception will follow.

On Sunday of July 26th, the Parish of St. Anthony's Eastern Orthodox Church of Englewood, N. J., had the pleasure of meeting Paul Anka and his parents and sister. The boys and girls were ready and waiting with their church bulletin and pens for Paul's autograph. Paul will be back with us again in September as he is leaving for England. The Ankas now live in Tenafly, N. J.

## TO LEBANON

Mrs. Nead Audi and her three sons, of Canton, Ohio, left recently from New York to Lebanon to join her husband and their father at Zahle where he is now spending the summer.

## ***The Refugees Still Howl***

The Arab League and a new agency, the Palestine Arab Congress, are almost sure to issue a flat no to the most recent United Nations proposals for ending the nagging problem of some million Arab refugees from Israel.

Ever since they left or were driven from Israel, the refugees have been supported, mostly in camps, by the U. N. Relief and Works Agency which receives about 70 per cent of its funds from the United States. Moslem leaders have refused to try to assimilate the refugees into their own lands, not because of a food or nuisance problem, but because the refugees are a fine political issue. Under the instigation of Arab pressure, the General Assembly has passed several resolutions supporting the returning of the refugees to Israel if they will "live at peace with their neighbors."

Israel, however, has consistently refused this solution, first, because ownership of the land would be extremely difficult to ascertain, and, secondly, because the Israeli feel that such a large number of Arabs in the country would be an obvious fifth column. Obviously they have reason to fear, as long as the Arab League and the leaders of various Arab countries continue to shout, that the extermination of Israel is their first aim.

The United Nations has offered to spend up to \$2 billion in five years to help resettle the refugees in Arab lands and

provide or promote jobs. But the Arab Congress wants the agency to stick simply to relief, not resettlement, and to take some sort of action to implement the General Assembly resolutions. The Arab League officials further fear that the least turning over of control of the refugees to Arabs would lead to permanent control and weaken claims to return to Israel.

Obviously this is a problem which needs a Solomon to solve but, even in the area of his homeland, none seems to be forthcoming. A year ago the Arabs were widely split as pro- or anti-Nasser and indifferent to him. But with the strides of communism striking some real doubts, the Arabs seem to have grown closer together. Even Jordan's King Hussein is rumored to be willing to support Nasser in case of an Egypt-Israel war in exchange for a hands-off policy if the leadership in Iraq gets further muddled and Hussein steps in. Tunisia, on the outs because of Nasser's interference in its internal affairs, is being ardently wooed by Arab League officials.

The Arab refugees are pawns on the chessboard of Middle Eastern politics. The real rights and wrongs of the whole matter will long be forgotten before there is a solution and their situation has little to do with either the ideal of self-determinism or plain humanity. Ironically, or perhaps pathetically, the fact that the UNRWA has kept these people fed and well for years may simply prolong their plight.



Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, October 22, 1959

THE CARAVAN

Page Seven

## For The Record

By  
Dr. FAYEZ  
A. SAYEGH



### SETBACKS ARE NOT DEFEAT

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** We publish below the first part of the address delivered by Dr. FAYEZ SAYEGH at the Concluding Banquet of the Eighth Annual Convention of the Organization of Arab Students, held in Columbia, Missouri.

It has been my constant privilege to appear before you, at the Concluding Banquet of your Annual Conventions, and analyzing the prominent developments which had occurred to make some observations about our National Movement, in the preceding year and describing the salient characteristics acquired by the Movement in the course of its evolution.

Thus you will recall, I surveyed last September — at your 1958 Convention — the events which had taken place, and the trends which had developed, since September 1957, and described the intervening year as a "Year of Triumph". I spoke about "Dynamic Arab Nationalism on the March."

Nothing, however, the jubilant spirit in which you met last year, and observing the exuberance with which you then greeted the victories scored by our National Movement in the preceding year, I felt constrained to make some remarks designed to sober your enthusiasm and perhaps inject a trace of realistic apprehension into your then limitless joy.

Needless to say, I did not choose to adopt that attitude because I begrudged you the thrilling exuberance of the moment. Rather, it was because I feared lest reverses in our national fortunes or setbacks in our national evolution — if they descended suddenly upon the scene, without our having been forewarned about them — might inflict upon us undue suffering or cause us disproportionate disillusionment. That was the reason why I chose to remind you that, despite the victories it had scored, our National Movement was then still far from full attainment of its total objectives; that setbacks and reverses were still possible; that many struggles still lay ahead of us; and that we were still called upon to exert ourselves, not only to attain goals as yet unattained, but also to preserve and build upon the gains we had actually accomplished. That too was the reason why I warned that it would be tragic if our National Movement, which had been undaunted by real dangers and unthwarted by opposition, were to defeat itself by allowing itself to be lulled into complacency or to throw vigilance and caution to the winds or to let down its guard in response to partial victory.

Little did I know, when I made these remarks a year ago, how soon their relevance would be proven. For it was not long after your last Convention that the march of our National Movement towards the fulfillment of its political objectives was slowed down, if not arrested, and reverses began to set in.

The year which has just elapsed has been a year in which our progress towards political victory was halted, and a year in which we suffered some grave political setbacks.

But let us not fail to remember that political victory is not the only yard-stick wherewith one may measure national progress; halted in its political drive, our dynamic National Movement has diverted its unleashed energy to

other positive and constructive tasks in the economic, social and cultural fields. Nor do setbacks necessarily forecast defeat; for, properly viewed, many a political setback may become a challenge, a spur, and an inspiration for corrective and creative action.

Who knows? Perhaps it was providential that our onward march towards political accomplishments was momentarily halted. For as long as relative political defeat did not translate itself into defeatism, but instead served to open some eyes to the opportunity and the need for socio-economic construction, it has virtually become a real, even though partial, national victory.

#### - I -

This, then, was the most significant development of the year under review. It was a year of construction in the non-political fields of our national life.

Halted in its political drive, our National Movement has nonetheless made great strides towards non-political objectives. The zeal with which creative national energy has been applied to industrialization, to the modernization of our socio-economic systems, to raising the standard of living of the masses, to expanding the educational and health services for the average citizen, concretely in our national existence to incarnating social justice more concretely in our national existence, has been unparalleled in our recent history.

This re-orientation and re-direction of national energy was a blissful by-product of the political stalemate which characterized the Arab scene during the past year. For it has helped remedy what had been decidedly an unequal concern for political and non-political objectives, and has begun to correct between our political and non-political accomplishments thus averting the fatal danger which had lain dormant in our National Movement threatening to transform it into a one-sided, political movement suffering from the anemia generated by uni-dimensional vision.

#### - II -

The drive towards Arab unity gained no momentum in the past year. In fact, it was with respect to the goal of Arab unity that the severest setbacks were experienced.

The Plans for the Federation of al-Maghrib seem to have been, to all practical purposes, set aside for the time being.

Little, if anything, was done to transform the United Arab States (the federation of the United Arab Republic) into a concrete reality.

But what was not gained (or, in fact, what may have been lost) in

breadth, was gained in depth. Systematic efforts were made to render the United Arab Republic a real union. New structures were created; unification proceeded at a quick pace in the fields of law, economy, education and political institutions.

Similarly, inter-governmental relations underwent significant change. Earlier alignments were re-shuffled; new alignments came into being. Arab ranks were closed, to some extent at least. The conceptual framework itself changed: "political unity" gave way to solidarity and "cooperation" as the goal. The immediate manifestations of this re-orientation were two: First, the improvement of the relations between President Nasser, on the one hand, and King Hussain and King Saud, on the other. Secondly, the return of Prime Minister Kassem's Iraq to a relative isolation which had characterized Nuri As-Said's Iraq. These inter-related developments are fraught with significance. It remains to be seen how the first trend will affect the dynamism and revolutionary character of the U.A.R. and what impact it will have on the fortunes of dynamic, revolutionary forces within the Arab Kingdoms concerned; and how the re-isolation of Iraq will affect its people, and whether it will serve to accelerate the closing of ranks among all Arab countries, including Iraq, or will widen the gulf and herald a menacing rigid polarity in the Arab situation.

#### - III -

Concerning the third aspect of our National Movement — our concepts of foreign policy — I can speak in a somewhat happier tone.

In the first place, the dynamic concept of independent, "neutralist" position in the world has gained wider acceptance among Arab leaders. The new Government of Morocco has given clearer expression of its policy of "non-alignment"; General Abboud's regime in the Sudan emphasizes more than its predecessor its neutralist stand; so does General Chehab's regime in Lebanon, which replaced Chamoun's a year ago; and Iraq's General Kassem, besides speaking in terms of neutralism, has withdrawn his country from the Baghdad Pact and ensured the liquidation of British bases from Iraqi soil. Added to the persistence in neutralism on the part of the United Arab Republic and Yemen, and the non-renunciation of neutralist sentiment in Saudi Arabia, these phenomena render neutralism the official policy of seven of the ten Arab States. Only Libya, Jordan and Tunisia — each in its own way — continue to entertain concepts of foreign policy incompatible, to varying degrees, with neutralism.

In the second place, Arab neutralism has received, and promptly seized, an opportunity to make its true character more clearly revealed and more emphatically expressed than it had the occasion to be in the past. I refer to the firm Arab reaction not only to Communist efforts to subvert Arab nationalism from within, but also to Soviet and Communist Chinese championship of the cause of Arab Communist forces. These developments have already had a twofold impact on dynamic Arab Nationalism. They showed the world that Arab nationalists, who had revolted against existing or intended Western encroachments on Arab sovereignty and had asserted and exercised their right to initiate free relations with all responsive countries, whether from the East or from the West, were ready to resist with equal promptness and equal firm-

ness Communist efforts to drag the Arab States into the orbit of the East. The myth, conceived in ignorance and born in intolerance, that Arab neutralism was tantamount to pro-Soviet leanings, was exploded once for all. Furthermore, the firm Arab stand against Communist subversion and Soviet-Chinese efforts at intervention provided the Arab mind with a splendid opportunity for self-clarification. Those Arab nationalists who had erroneously viewed the common stand which they had had with Arab communists against Arab reactionary regimes as a positive community of purpose, and had therefore identified the cause of revolutionary Arab Nationalism with the cause of Communism, came suddenly to see the radical difference — in premises, in objectives, in values, and therefore in basic character — between the two causes. And, similarly, those Arab nationalists who had erroneously viewed the common stand which the Arab nation and the Soviet Bloc had had against Western domination and intervention as a positive identity of purpose and policy between Arab Nationalism and the Soviet Bloc, came readily to see the Arab Nationalism, although threatened in the past only by the West, had been potentially threatened all along — and had then actually come to be threatened in reality — by the Soviet Bloc as well. Dynamic Nationalism came to be seen in its true character as a third alternative, accepting neither reactionary nor Communist systems and rejecting equally Soviet and Western domination.

Such self-clarification has already had some salutary effects on the Arab mind. It has served as an incentive for search for deeper meaning in Arab Nationalism and has enhanced the interest of Arab nationalists in questions of ideology and theory.

One can already detect, as a result, the beginnings of a new Arab concept of neutralism — a con-

cept at once permanent and universal in import.

No longer is Arab neutralism envisioned as primarily a pragmatic, tactical position in the cold war between East and West, likely to be superseded and rendered obsolete at the end of the cold war. It is rather viewed as a permanent position in defense of the sovereignty of smaller nations against Great Power policies of "spheres of influence", whatever form these policies might take under the international circumstances of the day.

And no longer is Arab neutralism viewed as the appropriate policy for Arabs dictated by the particular circumstances of their national evolution today. It is coming to be viewed as vested with universal relevance, as indeed the foundation for a new kind of world order. It is a challenge to the concept of "collective security through power blocs" as such, proclaiming that this concept predicated as it is on the belief in the inevitability of war, in fact perpetuates the fear of war and heightens the chance that any small, local friction may involve other than the immediate partisans and consequently plunge the world into a global conflagration. And, not only does this concept of neutralism challenge the concept of power blocs; it also suggests an alternative to it, based on the belief in the sovereign equality of all nations and on labor for the evolution of real international authority endeavoring to promote international cooperation, to develop international law, and to evolve methods for entrusting a world organization with the security of all nations.

In short, just as the Arab mind passed in 1955 from the phase of negative neutralism to that of positive neutralism, so it may now be transcending the latter into a phase of dynamic, universal neutralism.

(To be continued)

## Dr. FAYEZ A. SAYEGH'S ARAB UNITY: HOPE & FULFILLMENT



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Col. John C. Kieffer, in SPECIAL MEMORANDUM: "Easy the best book on Arab Nationalism yet written. A 'must' if you want to be well-informed."

Dr. Garland Evans Hopkins: "By far the best thing that has been published on the subject, not only since but including Antonius' 'The Arab Awakening'."

SEND YOUR ORDER NOW TO THE CARAVAN — PRICE \$4.00.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Thursday, October 29, 1959

THE CARAVAN

Page Seven

## For The Record

By  
Dr. FAYEZ  
A. SAYEGH



**SETBACKS ARE NOT DEFEAT — Contd.**  
EDITOR'S NOTE: This is the second part of the address delivered by Dr. FAYEZ SAYEGH at the Concluding Banquet of the Eighth Annual Convention of the Organization of Arab Students, held in Columbia, Missouri. The first part was printed in the past issue of the CARAVAN.

In the past year, the stalemate concerning two of our cardinal national problems began to stir.

In Algeria, we may now be at the threshold of a new phase in the five-year-old war. The beginning of the end appears to be around the corner. I predicate this prediction on the fact that, having gambled all, De Gaulle seems to have realized that he must lose all — unless he changes his strategy. "Operation Binoculars", France's last military hope for a military victory, has fizzled out. Was the wide publicity given it in advance, a calculated effort on the part of De Gaulle to prepare his countrymen for a saner approach to the Algerian problem? Or was it born in confidence — a confidence which the results by no means vindicate? Whatever the explanation, the verdict is clear. Political wisdom is being forced upon France as a result of military impotence. De Gaulle's anticipated new political move, expected to be announced when the General Assembly begins its Fourteenth regular session, will be made not from a "position of strength" but from a position of continued and hopeless stalemate. He cannot reiterate the mythical principle that "Algerians are Frenchmen, whether or not they like it." He has to concede to Algerians the right to determine for themselves their own future, and the right to define freely their own national identity.

The danger, of course, is that such a "conversion to sanity" on the part of France may be less than tactical. A formula may be devised which, while seeming to imply recognition of separate identity of Algeria and the right of Algerians to self-determination, belies in practice that nominal recognition. Recourse to such a strategy may kill for France many a bird with just one stone. It would appease world public opinion; it may avert strong resolution by the General Assembly; it may confuse the Asian-African supporters of Algerian independence; and it may even cause some confusion among Algerians themselves. In all these respects, it would enable France to prosecute its war of suppression in Algeria with less fear of moral censure by the world conscience and with some prospects of less reluctance by its allies to provide it with military and material support.

Whatever the nature of De Gaulle's anticipated formula, however, Arab nationalists must approach it with caution and statesmanship. If it transpires that De Gaulle prefers to resort to spurious, instead of authentic, concessions to Algerian rights, the deceptive nature of his offer must be carefully and painstakingly exposed to the world, in order that few only might be deceived by the appearances of his offer.

In Palestine, too, we face a real test to our statesmanship. A new proposal has been tossed

into the stalemate situation. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, in his famous report of June 15, has made suggestions which appear to perpetuate international responsibility for the refugees and to assist in the economic development of the Arab States, while in fact they purport to accord final acceptance, by the Arabs and by the United Nations, to the Israeli fait accompli, to "de-Palestinianize" permanently the Arabs of Palestine and destroy their identity, and to liquidate the Palestine Problem as an object of international concern without bringing about any restoration of justice to the Holy Land.

Fortunately, however, the Secretary-General's proposals have defeated their very purpose. Instead of luring the Arabs into what have been a national calamity, they have set in motion two processes which may produce the beginning of an upward trend in the Arab handling of the Palestine Problem.

In the first place, the proposals have aroused Arab public opinion to a realization of the sad decline which Arab national consciousness had steadily experienced regarding Palestine. It was as if we had been lying on a sandy slope, constantly slipping inch by inch, imperceptibly slipping without being aware of the fact. By inertia, we had fallen down, down, down, — but very gradually and, as it were, unconsciously — in our attitude to the Palestine Problem. We had indeed retained our conviction that Palestine was ours, and that the rights of the Arabs of Palestine were inalienable and absolute. But our Governments had accepted, in the meantime, the compromises inherent in the United Nations resolutions on Palestine as the basis for a permanent settlement of the problem, thus watering down our national demands. And, in the meantime, Israel, having exceeded in every respect the provisions of the United Nations compromise resolutions, had managed for ten years to proceed with its violation of those resolutions without effective challenge whether by the United Nations or by the Arabs. It was this decline (from sound nationalist position, via diplomatic compromise, to actual acquiescence in the fait accompli) that Mr. Hammarskjöld dramatized by his proposals; and, by so doing, he opened our eyes to the ultimate outcome of our surrender to inertia. To resume the metaphor, the Secretary-General of the United Nations caught us half-way down the slippery sand and, pointing to the precipice beneath us, said: "Why move slowly and inch by inch there? Why not dive, and get there in one leap?" By showing us the end of the course we were half-consciously following,

he helped renew our determination not to end up at the bottom of the precipice. The Arab public is now determined at least not to slip any further down the slope, and indeed to begin the ascent to where we are entitled to be.

The other consequence of Mr. Hammarskjöld's proposals was that they breathed new life into the Palestinians themselves. Only one week after the publication of the Secretary-General's report, a conference of Palestinians — in which every single organization, committee or group of Palestinians without exception, was represented — was held in Beirut, Lebanon. This was the first gathering of all Palestinian groups since the rise of Israel; and its decisions were adopted with rare unanimity. I am happy to tell you that the decisions of this Palestine Arab Congress — of which I had the honor to be elected President — decisively influenced the recommendations of the Arab Governments' Experts issued in Sofar on August 18 and approved today in Casablanca by the Council of the Arab League.

These are, in my opinion, auspicious developments with respect to the Palestine Problem. For, whatever happens this fall at the General Assembly, these things cannot be denied: that Arab public opinion is now aware of the dangerous decline we have unconsciously undergone in our position regarding Palestine; that Arab opinion is renewing its determination to arrest this decline and to inaugurate its long-overdue upwards march towards attainment of Arab rights in Palestine; and that Palestinians themselves have, by joining forces and speaking up, reasserted their status as the ultimate custodian of their own interests.

- V -

A year of arrested march? Yes. A year of setbacks? Yes. But also a year of triumph. For triumph is, when setbacks do not precipitate retreat, when defeat does not turn into defeatism, and when obstacles on one road only spur the energies to seek alternative channels for their creative action. Arrested in its pursuit of its political objectives, the Arab National Movement has nonetheless moved onwards towards its final goals — by exerting constructive efforts in the social, economic, and cultural fields; by introducing greater clarity and added depth to its aspirations; and by sharpening its consciousness of what lies ahead.

In all these respects, your role — as young, dedicated, idealistic, and educated Arabs — grows steadily in stature. For in the years ahead of us, not only do our political and military leaders have a place, but you too, as economist, engineers, scientists, administrators, educators, and, regardless of your professional skills and callings, as enlightened citizens, are irreplaceable. And sorely needed.

### TO INCREASE ELECTRICITY

BEIRUT, Oct. 21 — Beirut Electricity Company, a government enterprise, is arranging to increase supplies to cope with an unexpected rise in consumption. A company spokesman also said that work was going on with great vigor in the construction of new premises to accommodate two generating plants which will be installed by an Austrian firm.

He estimated the cost of the project at about LL 14 million for the premises.

The first power plant, according to the spokesman, is expected to start operation in autumn, 1960.

### BOOK REVIEW

## "Algeria Before the United Nations"

By Mohammed Alwan: Robert Speller & Sons New York - 120 p. - \$3.50

By Levon Keshishian  
Special for The Caravan



Algeria is one of the problems with which the world organization has been seized for a number of years, and those interested in this development will be interested to learn that young Iraqi diplomat has published a book called "Algeria Before the United Nations".

Mr. Mohamed Alwan, above, a first secretary at the Iraqi Embassy in Washington has written the history of Algeria before the United Nations, and since Algeria is one of the important items on the current agenda of the United Nations General Assembly, this book is timely and can be of great assistance to any student of this problem, and certainly the diplomats.

In five chapters, Mr. Alwan has attempted to give a background to the present conflict, which in our opinion is most objective and a result of arduous research. He gives the historical data of the French conquest and later the policies executed by France till the emergence of the nationalist

revolt for self-determination and independence.

The next chapters are exclusively devoted to the debates at the United Nations and also the author has done a very important service having included charts of the actual voting on all the different resolutions on the question of Algeria.

We strongly recommend this book and must congratulate Mr. Alwan for publishing it.

### DIES IN UTICA

Bashir Tahan of 1225 Elm Street, Utica, New York, a retired businessman originally from Aleppo, Syria died after an illness of two years.

Funeral services were held in St. Basil's Church with Rev. Julien Eliane, pastor, officiating.

He is survived by his wife Mrs. Jennie (Altonjy) Tahan, a son, Louis, in Utica, and five daughters, Mrs. Michael Zaloom, Mrs. Raymond Jones, Mrs. Elden Griffiths Mrs. Arthur McLoughlin of New Hartford and Mrs. G. Edwin Griffiths of Utica, 14 grandchildren, and several nieces and nephews.

### DEATH

Elias M. Hajjar of Union Park, Boston, Mass., died recently. Funeral services were held in the Melkite Annunciation Church with Rev. George Coriaty officiating.

He is survived by his wife Nabeeha (Moghaghbab) Hajjar and their children Joseph, Edward, Frederick, Louis, Janette and Mrs. Najla Salhani, also his two sisters Mrs. Leena Shanteery of Lawrence, Mass. and Mrs. Ethel Saab of Fall River, Mass.

## Dr. FAYEZ A. SAYEGH'S ARAB UNITY: HOPE & FULFILLMENT



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## Arab Spokesman Sees Improvement In Future American-Arab Relations

A new era in American-Arab relations may be in the making and the process of American-Arab alienation may begin to be reversed.

This is the cautious assessment of present American-Arab relations by one Arab spokesman who has just returned from a six month visit to the Middle East.

Speaking before a large audience of the American Friends of the Middle East at the Carnegie Endowment Building yesterday, Dr. Fayez Sayegh, Chairman and chief architect of the Palestine Arab Congress held in Beirut last summer, listed some of the "surface" indications that offered some reasons for optimism.

Among these are the relative mildness of the tone of Cairo broadcasts regarding the United States; the release of some frozen funds of the United Arab Republic in the United States and the limited resumption of Point IV aid and other types of American assistance.

While these constitute an "unmistakable" trend towards "steady rapprochement", the cause for greatest optimism, according to Dr. Sayegh, is dedicated on the fact that real, objective changes, have taken place in the minds of American policy-makers on the issue of Arab neutralism.

"The American fear, real or professed, of a year ago, lest Arab neutralism be a 'front' for pro-Soviet leaning, or lest it develop in due course involuntarily into Communism within Arab Society an instrument for the growth of and/or the penetration of Soviet influence into the Arab World," Dr. Sayegh declared, has had, since the fall of 1958, "every reason for being dispelled."

"No sooner did domestic Communism in the United Arab Republic raise its head and begin to assert itself, than the entire state-machinery was mobilized to frustrate its efforts and remove its menace. The passive intolerance of Communism of past years gave way to active repression and the change in practical policy was accompanied by corresponding changes in pronounced ideology. What had been a potential and latent conflict between dynamic Arab Nationalism and Communism was made open and articulate." In the context of the East-West cold war, Dr. Sayegh sees evidence of "greater tolerance and flexibility" in dealing with neutralist governments.

"If, in that phase of the cold war which is now passing away, American pacto-mania had generated American neutro-phobia, the new framework of the East-West context", he pointed out, "may bring American officialdom to lay greater stress on the roots of friendship and less stress on that one-sided version of its fruits. . . . namely, the politico-military



DR. FAYEZ A. SAYEGH

version. . . with which American officialdom has been for so long preoccupied." the improving relations between

Whether the present trend in the Arabs and the West and particularly between the Arabs and the United States will be permanent or transitory, will depend largely, in Dr. Sayegh's opinion, on the readiness in the United States "for corrective grappling with the thorny problems of Palestine and European Colonialism".

It was America's stand on Palestine and European Colonialism, according to Sayegh that initially created Arab distrust of the United States and resulted in the emergence of Arab neutralism and gave impetus to the rising tide of dynamic Arab Nationalism.

"If the present time is not propitious for vigorous American action with respect to Palestine and Algeria," he declared, "the opportunity nevertheless exists for America to display courageous statesmanship in dealing with both problems.

"Only bold, principled American action with respect to the existing stronghold of Colonial domination in the Arab World (in North Africa and the Arabian Peninsula), and only retroactive corrective measures with respect to the continuing injustice suffered by the Arabs of Palestine, can bring about a real and lasting change in American-Arab relations."

### KING'S LAND TO BEDOUINS

AMMAN — King Hussein has ordered the distribution of 27,000 dunoms of his private land in the Kuteifa area, near Amman, to Bedouin tribes living in the neighborhood, it was officially announced Thursday night.

## Lebanese Labor Leaders Return Home

A delegation of eight Lebanese labor leaders, representing four different Labor Federations in Lebanon, returned recently to their country from a six week tour in the United States, sponsored by the U.S. International Co-operation Administration in Washington. The delegation was invited to study American Labor Management Relations, Collective Bargaining, Popular Housing, Social Security and Health Insurance.

During the delegation's tour from Aug. 31st to Oct. 12 they attended the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Convention that was held in San Francisco, and visited besides Washington, D. C. and New York City, Los Angeles, Oklahoma City, St. Louis Mo., Detroit, Mich., Buffalo and Niagara Falls, N. Y.

The delegation was feted by two banquets at the U.N., the first was by Mr. Nadim Dimeshkieh, Lebanese Ambassador in Washington, D. C., and the second was by Mr. George Hakim, Lebanese Ambassador to the United Nations.

The delegation was composed of the following: Gabriel Khoury, Issa Shahal, Nabil Ghosn, Aziz Wazan, Elias Ghamika, Ibrahim Awarki, Adib Nojaim and Hassan Asmer.

## Arab Palestine Tragedy and Failures of The U. N.



Two new books appeared recently on the Arab Palestine Tragedy, Zionist Aggression, Failures of the United Nations and other Arab questions as a general review of these historic problems.

The books are compiled by Dr. Izzat Tanous, above, head of the Palestine Arab Refugee Office in New York City.

The first book is called "Failures of the United Nations in the Palestine Tragedy and contains a commentary on the proposals for the continuation of United Nations assistance to the Palestine Refugees.

The second book contains the Official Documents, Pledges and Resolutions on Palestine, beginning with the Hussain-McMahon Correspondence, 1916. The Documents are of special interest in any study of the Palestine case. Both books may be obtained from the Palestine Arab Refugee Office, 801 Second Ave., Room 801, New York 17, N. Y. for \$1.00.