

The National JEWISH MONTHLY

DECEMBER 1976 VOLUME 91 NUMBER 4

RABBI EUGENE J. LIPMAN 6 MAGIC AND MITZVA IN JERUSALEM
Wondrous things kept happening to Reb Aryeh

MARK A. BRUZONSKY 12 WHAT THINK-TANKS THINK ABOUT THE MIDDLE EAST
The fifth branch of government steps up its production of Mideast studies

DAN KURZMAN 24 THE LAST DAYS OF MILA 18
On April 19, 1943, Nazi troops burst into the Warsaw ghetto

On the cover: Robert Barkin's impressions of Reb Aryeh's magic

DAVID M. BLUMBERG 4 THE PRESIDENT'S COLUMN
LILY EDELMAN 41 OF BOOKS
ERROL B. IMBER 52 PROGRAM EXCHANGE
54 IT'S HAPPENING IN B'NAI B'RITH

Editor Emeritus EDWARD E. GRUSD

Editor CHARLES FENYVESI Assistant Editor DIANE COLE

Book Editor LILY EDELMAN Editorial Assistants BESSE ZARITSKY, LINDA ALTSHULER

Business Manager JOSEPH SKLOVER Design JEFF BLUE

Advertising Manager ALAN HARTMAN

Advertising Offices 315 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016 ■ (212) 689-7400



Advertising Representatives: San Francisco J. E. Publishers' Representative Co., 1485 Bayshore Blvd., Box 140 (94124). Los Angeles J. E. Publishers' Representative Co., 8732 Sunset Blvd., 4th Floor (90069). Chicago Stuart J. Osten, 601 East 32nd St. (60616).

Israel David Lederman, 4/6 Mishmar Hayarden St., Givataim. Telephone: 748271.

NJM is a member of the Audit Bureau of Circulation.

Paid Circulation: approximately 200,000.

Signed articles represent the opinions of their authors and are not necessarily the view of B'nai B'rith. Return postage must accompany unsolicited material, for which no responsibility is assumed. Contents © 1976 by B'nai B'rith. All rights reserved. Printed in U.S.A. NJM is indexed in *Index to Jewish Periodicals*, Cleveland College of Jewish Studies.

THE NATIONAL JEWISH MONTHLY is published by B'nai B'rith monthly except for combined July-August issue. President David M. Blumberg. Honorary Presidents Philip M. Klutznick, Dr. William A. Wexler. Executive Vice President Dr. Daniel Thursz. Honorary Executive Vice President Rabbi Benjamin M. Kahn. Vice Presidents Lawrence Peirez, Gerald Kraft, Murray H. Shusterman, Jerome W. Bristol, Robert I. Lipton, Dr. Elmer M. Imber, Abe Kaplan (United States), Max Shecter (Eastern Canada), Georges M. Bloch (Continental Europe), Gerry Levy (Australia-New Zealand), Carlos Zelenka (Caribbean), Helmuth Heinemann (South America), Walter Schelitzer (Israel), David Stern (Great Britain-Ireland), Jacob Priest (Brazil). Treasurer Irving Rubinstein, Sr., Honorary Treasurer Moe Kudler. Subscriptions \$1.50 per year or 50 cents a copy. Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C. Postmaster: Send form 3579 for undeliverable copies to Editorial Offices and Circulation, 1640 Rhode Island Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

What Think-Tanks Think About the Middle East

The fifth branch of government steps up its production of Mideast studies

by Mark A. Bruzonsky

WASHINGTON

There is in the nation's capital a fifth branch of government—the fourth, of course, being the press. Populated largely by former government officials (many anxiously awaiting a call back to the executive branch) and by one-time and on-leave academics, Washington's think-tanks exert considerable influence on both public opinion and government policy.

Activities directly related to U.S. Middle East policies are only a small part of the overall goings-on at these post-graduate, student-less universities. Yet the Middle East has won special prominence in recent years because of the implications of the Arab-Israel conflict for the superpower relationship; the West's dependence on Arab oil; and the increasingly massive exchange of U.S. arms for petrodollars.

It is imprecise and often unfair to label these tax-exempt thought-factories by the standard partisan categories of American or Middle East politics. Indeed, most of them pride themselves on their objectivity and scholarly detachment. Nevertheless, each has developed a reputation, and when it comes to thinking about the Middle East, they generally live up to it.

The Brookings Institution

The Brookings Institution is the largest and, in many minds, the most prestigious of the think-tanks. Last year, a study group met under the auspices of Brookings and, by December, released a report which has become one of the most talked-about documents on Middle East policies. But aside from this report—titled "Toward Peace in the

Middle East"—and some comments in the new book *Setting National Priorities: The Next Ten Years*, Brookings has done little else specifically on the Middle East—far less than a number of its smaller competitors.

The liberal-progressive reputation Brookings wears has derived from its domestic and economic positions, there is a decidedly Keynesian and Democratic bias at Brookings. But it is a reputation also earned from its views on military expenditures and strategic forces, as well as for its progressive ideas about conflict resolution.

With "Toward Peace in the Middle East" and with the comments about the Arab-Israel conflict in *Setting National Priorities*, Brookings has indirectly endorsed an active U.S. pursuit of a comprehensive Middle East settlement.

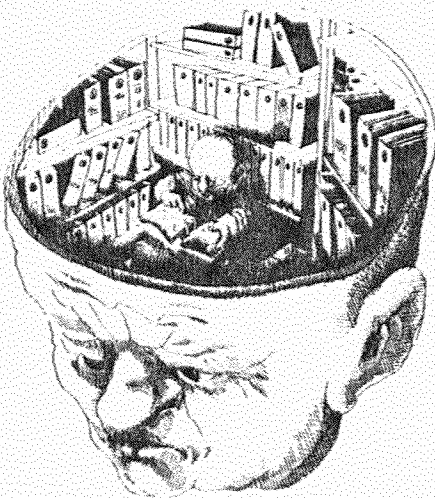
"Encouraging and supporting Arab-Israeli negotiations for a general settlement will thus be the most urgent foreign policy task facing the next administration," is the way Henry Owen, director of Foreign Policy Studies at Brookings, sums up his thinking and that of most of his colleagues. "There is no alternative if we are to remove what is now the most

serious threat of conflict that could involve the United States and the USSR," he notes in *Setting National Priorities*. Owen co-edited the book with prominent economist Charles Schultze, who formerly headed LB's Bureau of the Budget.

And yet Owen's discussion of the delicacy with which U.S. diplomacy would have to approach the Arab-Israeli conflict and the numerous barriers blocking an overall settlement seems to call this "no alternative" attitude into question. Owen writes: "Walking the narrow line between an overly intrusive role and passivity will be a demanding task for the United States." But this realization in itself would seem to necessitate careful reflection upon various alternative roles the United States might attempt to play in catalyzing the kind of overall settlement he discusses.

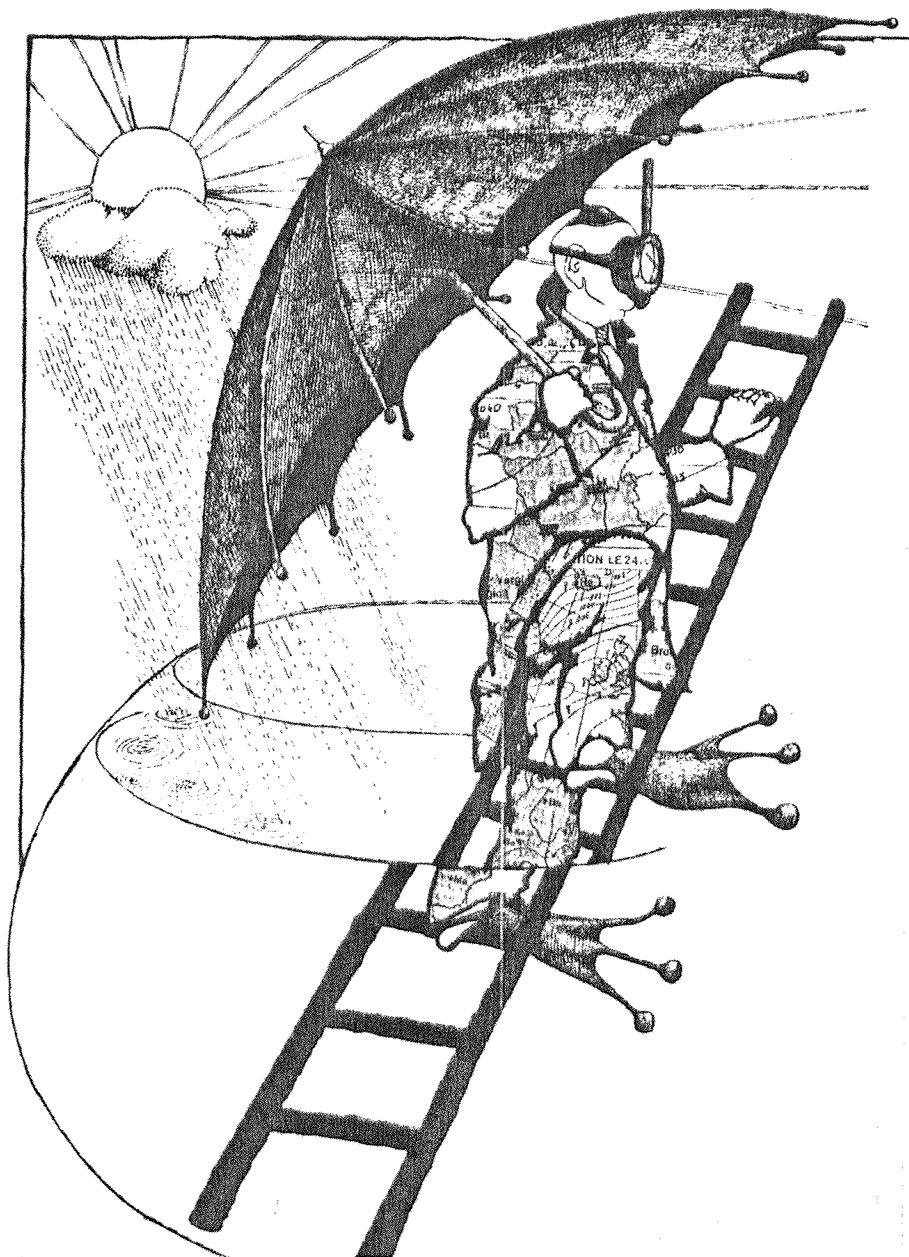
For feasibility is left hanging by both Owen and the study group report—whether U.S. diplomacy is capable of walking that exceedingly difficult path between imposition and inactivity. After all, if it is not, it might well be preferable for America to encourage Arabs and Israelis *themselves* to find some way of reaching a *modus vivendi*. This is what many Israeli officials continue to insist would be best. Foreign Minister Yigal Allon, for instance, in an article in the October issue of *Foreign Affairs*, warns: "The various proposals . . . and plans raised by third parties to the conflict only serve" to prolong it. "If we had not had to deal with such proposals in the past, we would now be nearer to a settlement."

Nevertheless, pleas aimed at putting an end to U.S. or other third-party plans in the Middle East are, at this late date, doomed. In the American press—as well as in the American Jewish community—a new anxiety has surfaced, stimulating discussion of alternative policies which might be pursued by Israel and the United States.



A drawing by Kerman/Kerman. Tel Aviv

Mark A. Bruzonsky is a Washington-based writer and consultant on international affairs. His articles on the Middle East have recently appeared in periodicals including *Worldview*, *Commonweal* and *New Outlook*.



A drawing by Medee of L'Arche, Paris

For one thing, for over three decades, the parties themselves have had little success on their own. For another, the conflict has now become so all encompassing—with the fear it might ignite a larger war, with the Great Powers acting as arms warehouses, and with the possibility of another oil embargo—that outsiders are no longer so sure that they really are outsiders.

Some or all of these considerations may lie behind the Brookings study group report which has gained much attention in the Middle East and, more recently, in the United States. Though one of the briefest of the numerous publications emanating from Washington's research institutes, this report deserves special notice.

Carefully worded and aimed at a balancing of interests, the report has received mixed reviews in Israel and

largely positive responses in America. Last summer, at subcommittee hearings of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on future U.S. Middle East policy, strong support for the report's recommendations was expressed by witnesses including Leonard Fein, editor of *Moment* magazine, and Michael Curtis, a Rutgers University professor and chairman of the American Professors for Peace in the Middle East.

Owen summarizes from the report three basic requirements for peace:

1. "Arab commitment to full-fledged peace with Israel. . . . Their willingness publicly to face up to the fact that Israel is here to stay and that the Arab-Israeli issue has been settled once and for all will determine whether a settlement is feasible."

2. "Israel's withdrawal from territories occupied in the 1967 wars," with

some special arrangement to be worked out for Jerusalem.

3. "Palestinian self-rule on the West Bank . . . It is difficult to see how an enduring Middle East settlement can be achieved that does not concede in some fashion, the right of self-determination" for the Palestinian Arabs.

Other crucial features include a phased implementation of the agreement to insure that each step is fully carried out before the next is undertaken; and a combination of international and bilateral, U.S.-Israel guarantees to provide the glue which may be required to hold the settlement together while the Middle East gets used to its new stability.

What the Brookings report represents is not a new conceptual approach to thinking about the conflict, or even a scholarly presentation of useful information, which is what research institutes usually provide. It is, rather, a synthesis of opinion hammered out by a diverse panel at a time which coincided with the special reassessment ordered by President Gerald Ford following the March, 1975 breakdown of Henry Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy. The group included B'nai B'rith Honorary President Philip M. Klutznick, Zbigniew Brzezinski of Columbia University, Ambassador Rita Hauser, Nadav Safran of Harvard University, A. L. Udovitch of Princeton University and former U.N. Ambassador Charles W. Yost. It is the combination of consensus and timing which is largely responsible for the acclaim the report received.

As Henry Owen told this reporter: "I can't recall any report which has elicited such continuing interest." And he describes the report as "really a collective effort," remembering how "members wanted to meet even more often" and "really took seriously" the process of reaching consensus.

The origins of the report illustrate one method by which these extra-governmental academies can serve a unique purpose in bringing experts together to consider crucial problems.

This particular panel originally included nineteen members. In the end, Thomas Hughes, president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (another Washington think-tank), and Sol Linowitz, former Ambassador to the OAS, decided not to sign the report, primarily because, Owen said, they felt they had not been sufficiently involved in its formulation. Bertram Gold, executive director of the

Continued

American Jewish Committee, decided against signing, he told this reporter, because his organization had not reached positions on a number of the key issues.

But the other sixteen panel members were able to reach a consensus—much to the surprise of some of them. When the first of the six one- and two-day meetings was held in June, 1975—shortly after the Ford-Kissinger “re-assessment” of Middle East policy—Owen recalls the initial skepticism. Someone in the group indicated at the outset that it was obvious from the make-up that no consensus could possibly be reached and that any report would become a series of separate statements and dissenting opinions. It was a “moving experience,” as Owen describes it, to watch others persuade the panel—with Klutznick taking a lead—that the question of Middle East peace was now so crucial that a major effort had to be made to find a common strategy. Though what finally came out was often ambiguous and Jerusalem’s status was left unresolved, the report is both substantial and timely.

As Klutznick told this reporter: “I believe the report has moved the possibility of a settlement a step forward. . . . The report has proved that people who feel keenly but differently can find half-way points that some people call compromise but others call solution. . . . The greatest handicap to securing an understanding of Israel’s situation is that we always go into a discussion on these issues thinking that we can’t convince them and they can’t convince us.” *Washington Post* political columnist Stephen Rosenfeld singled out the report not for the novelty of its conclusions but for its restatement of the basic formulation—“territory for peace”—that has existed for some years and which surfaced first in the Rogers Plan of 1969.

While a follow-up meeting of the study group is scheduled in the near future, Brookings has no plans at present for further forays into the Middle East thicket.

American Enterprise Institute

The American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research (AEI) has released, over the past half dozen years, more than a dozen studies in its “Middle East Perspectives” series. These studies by individual scholars range from an analysis of the Arab-Israeli military balance to consideration of

and studies of Saudi Arabian development plans and the crisis in Lebanon.

Beginning in 1974, AEI has also conducted a “National Energy Project” to examine “the broad array of issues affecting United States energy demand and supply.” The Saudi Arabia study is part of this project, chaired by former Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird. Other studies to be completed this year include “Middle East Oil in a Revolutionary Age” and “The World Price of Oil.”

“Our focus on Middle East work for the past five years has been two-fold” Robert Pranger, AEI’s director of Foreign and Defense Policy Studies told this reporter. “First, the interplay between military and political factors, and second, the interplay between economic and political factors.”

AEI, second in size only to Brookings, is sometimes referred to as the “conservative Brookings,” a label Pranger is quick to question in relation to its international affairs work. Like Brookings, AEI’s reputation has to do with the persons closely associated with the Institute, including the Nobel laureate economist Milton Friedman and the former chairman of President Nixon’s Council of Economic Advisers, Paul McCracken. Both serve on AEI’s Academic Advisory Board.

In its Middle East studies series, AEI has avoided study groups and commissions to look for the “right person.” “Sometimes we try to get younger writers who won’t give us their last convention paper,” Pranger says “while sometimes we ooze credibility and sometimes we put people like Sheikh Zaki Yamani and Senator Henry Jackson together in a forum and see what happens.” Pranger was referring in this second example to the TV and discussion forums which AEI occasionally sponsors.

Pranger’s own background is in university teaching and in the Department of Defense. In the days of Vietnam trenchment at the end of the 1960s, he served as both Deputy Assistant Secretary for Near East Affairs and for Policy Planning. He came to AEI in 1971.

AEI’s philosophy, as Pranger outlined it to this reporter, is that “good public policy in this country is policy that’s debated—preferably before it is announced.” Admitting somewhat to the conservative label as an image “coming from our connection with free-market ideas” professed by many of the economists connected with AEI, Pranger believes that AEI’s studies do not represent a single ideological thrust but, when taken together, contribute to the body of knowledge needed to make sound policy decisions.

and present study in 1971 titled “American Policy for Peace in the Middle East 1969-1971.” He outlined there a series of steps that could move the Arab states and Israel toward a peace treaty. “What is required for peace . . . is plenty of human ingenuity,” Pranger noted, foreseeing Kissinger’s shuttle diplomacy. But since 1971, AEI has limited itself to less creative, though substantial, projects such as “Nuclear Threat in the Middle East,” “Political Elites in the Middle East,” “Major Middle East Problems in International Law,” and “The Arab-Israeli Military Balance Today.”

Pranger emphasizes that AEI has “tried to stay ahead of the action” rather than do research on subjects “hot” at the moment. “In this sense we’re hardly a conservative think-tank,” he remarks. “We’re ahead. We’re not playing for the safe position. Some of our publications haven’t gotten the attention they deserve because we plan ahead,” he adds.

And this may well be the case with some of the most recent AEI publications which examine the problems of a nuclear Middle East and the destabilizing dangers of possible military pre-emption.

Center for Strategic and International Studies

CSIS is unlike any of the other research institutes in the capital because of its affiliation with Georgetown University. But CSIS, located in downtown Washington like all the others, functions largely autonomously.

CSIS, as its name implies, is international in focus with heavy emphasis on strategic considerations. For the past few years, Dr. Ray Cline, former director of the State Department’s Bureau of Intelligence and Research and former deputy director of the CIA, has been the CSIS executive director.

Like AEI, CSIS has primarily taken an ad hoc approach to the Middle East, commissioning studies when the right person is available to work on the right issue. And like AEI, CSIS tries to be ahead, “to gear papers to anticipated policy developments,” says Jon Vondracek, director of communications.

CSIS’s publication list is varied though there has been some tendency to give emphasis to the Gulf area. “Back in the mid 1960s,” Vondracek notes, “we sifted through the various policy issues while most people were focusing on the Suez Canal and the Arab-Israeli dispute. . . . and we discovered this place called ‘the Gulf.’”

A number of CSIS publications deal directly with the Arab-Israeli conflict. In 1971, the Center published a study

by Hisham Sharabi on "Palestine Guerrillas; Their Credibility and Effectiveness," but it has not followed this up with other papers on the subject. In the Washington Papers series, edited by the prolific and well-known Walter Laqueur, a recent study by Martin van Creveld looks at "Military Lessons of the Yom Kippur War," while upcoming papers will deal with Egypt since Sadat (AEI is also planning a study of post-Nasser Egypt) and Saudi Arabia.

In the CSIS monograph series, two studies this year are focused on the Middle East. The first by Roger Pajak considers "Soviet Arms Aid in the Middle East," and the latest, by this author, reviews the background and considers the various proposals for "A U.S. Guarantee for Israel."

Dr. Cline has been working on books on the American intelligence community, and on the definition and measurement of power in the international system. This latter project, "World Power Assessment," is of special interest because in it Cline advocates a new alliance framework for the United States—one which specifically includes Israel.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Carnegie instituted its Middle East program in 1974. The initial impetus was the realization that the American public lacked basic information on crucial aspects of the Middle East conflict. But as the program developed, it came to have a more specific theme: the relationship between Israel and the Palestinians.

"Anyone who has thought about various alternatives for the political future of the Middle East has at one time or another come to the West Bank and Gaza Strip question," Larry Fabian, director of the Middle East program, told this reporter in describing the first of two studies Carnegie will be releasing early in 1977.

In the first study, Professor Brian Van Arkadie examines the economic consequences of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip since 1967. Van Arkadie, professor of Economic Development and deputy rector of the Institute of Social Studies in the Hague, Netherlands, has produced a factual study—not a "future-oriented" one, Fabian is quick to point

Continued

out. It is "obvious that one of the ingredients, though not necessarily the overriding or decisive one, for discussing the future, is the question of how economic interests" in Israel, Jordan, the West Bank and Gaza have been affected since the six-day war.

Fabian, who spent seven years at Brookings and went over to the Carnegie program without any formal experience in Middle East affairs—though his knowledge and contacts are now extensive—is writing a brief political and historical essay for the Van Arkadie study. He is also editing, together with Zeev Schiff of *Ha'aretz*, a study on Israeli-Palestinian relations, which is being produced in an unusual manner.

Thirteen Israelis of varying views were invited by Carnegie to spend eight days in Italy during 1975 to discuss "the issues bearing on the Israeli-Palestinian relationship."

Fabian hesitates to be more specific about the study. One of the hallmarks of the Carnegie approach is tight control—keeping the press out of the picture until a decision is made on what to reveal. In dealing with the Middle East, it may well be a wise approach. Except for one story in *Yediot Ahronot* and a brief mention on Israeli television, this Carnegie project to bring the Israeli debate about the Palestinian Arabs to the American public has escaped the notice of the vigorous Israeli press. And Fabian clearly wants to keep it that way until the document is ready to speak for itself.

Fabian spent much time in Israel interviewing candidates for the dialogue in Italy. The names of those who attended will appear in the publication, but no specific views or quotations will be attributed to any individual. The list includes many of those prominent Israelis who would be expected to be invited to a symposium of this kind. The hope is that a great deal of insight can be gleaned from off-the-record, free-wheeling discussion.

"To give an accurate picture of Israeli thinking about the Palestinian issue" is the way Fabian very carefully explains the purpose of the upcoming publication. Then he rephrases his statement and claims only a "fair sample of many of the main currents of political thinking about the Pales-

tinians," careful not to trap himself into promising "the full range" of thinking in Israel. In all likelihood what will be missing are the extremist positions on both sides.

The publication itself will be a synthesis, by Fabian and Schiff, of what was said. In view of the resources that have gone into the project, the American audience—the report's intended beneficiary—has reason to have high expectations.

Institute for Policy Studies

A *Washington Monthly* article in April described Brookings as "the flagship of the numerous extra-governmental enterprises" in Washington and then went on to range them from "the Institute of Policy Studies on the left to the American Enterprise Institute on the right." While AEI tends more to the center, IPS is proud to remain on the far left.

Arthur Waskow, a resident fellow at IPS since its founding, handles all of IPS's Middle East projects. He is a well-known writer-activist in radical circles and currently divides his interests into three areas: "1. basic changes in American foreign policy as they relate by cause and effect to the Middle East; 2. the relationship between the American Jewish community and Israel; and 3. the interconnection between religion and politics."

IPS sponsors a Transnational Institute (TNI) that reflects "a growing realization that the social and political problems of the United States . . . are in fact part of larger global problems" which require a global context for solutions.

TNI has helped support and encourage a number of scholars and writers whose work is concerned, at least in part, with the Middle East. Simha Flapan, editor of the Israeli monthly *New Outlook*, is at work on a study of the diplomacy of the Zionist movement and the Israeli government in the 1940s. Eqbal Ahmad is studying the implications of U.S. Middle East policy, while Paul Jacobs continues to analyze Palestinian politics and Middle East policy at the U.N.

IPS occasionally holds seminars with dovish Israelis such as Matti Peled and Meir Pa'il. Most recently, Israeli lawyer Felicia Langer and the Mayor of Nazareth, Taffiq Zayyat, went to IPS

Continued

for an afternoon discussion of the situation in Israel.

On Mideast matters, IPS can be considered a haven for dovish and radical American Jews and Israelis.

Middle East Institute

Finally, there is the Middle East Institute—a membership organization as well as think-tank. It was founded after World War II with the official purpose of educating the American public about the Middle East and fostering an understanding of American interests in the area.

With a membership of about 1,900—about half in the Washington area and about 200 overseas—MEI is designed “to serve as the focal point of reference for anyone interested in the Middle East,” according to Malcolm Peck, assistant to the president. The current president is Ambassador L. Dean Brown, formerly a career foreign service officer and more recently President Ford’s special envoy to Lebanon.

MEI serves the academic and business communities. Its yearly October conference at the Mayflower Hotel is an important gathering for Middle East scholars and business people.

The quarterly publication, *Middle East Journal*, publishes background articles but keeps away from those of front-page significance. For instance, the current bicentennial issue contains

an article on the first 200 years of America’s relationship with the Arabian Peninsula, and a series of articles considering the American Christian, Jewish and Arab relationships to the Holy Land. The *Journal* is useful for its chronology of events, its comprehensive book review section and its bibliography of periodical literature.

MEI is often assigned a pro-Arab designation. The fact that MEI concerns itself with the numerous Arab states and only the single state of Israel partially accounts for this orientation. The attempt is made to be impartial, objective, even detached, but the result is still something of a tilt toward Arab views.

MEI has attempted programs in which a small number of Israeli and Palestinian students were brought together to talk about the future. “Unfortunately, this took place at about the time of Black September—the civil war in Jordan in 1970,” Peck recalls, and it didn’t work out as planned. Since then, MEI has not been as daring.

MEI might be able to alter its pro-Arab image by publishing some analysis of Israel. Its special studies series might be a good vehicle, but only two have appeared in six years: The first, in 1970, considered the possibility of a “Palestinian Entity,” and the second, this year, discusses “Arab Perceptions

of American Foreign Policy During the October War.”

MEI also has a language program—Arabic and Persian are now taught, the latter with the aid of the Iranian government. Other languages, such as Hebrew, will be added if there is a demand, Peck says. And he points out that MEI has had Israeli participants at some of its programs.

But there is a somewhat defensive tone whenever MEI tries to assert its impartiality, and more than a few Israeli participants will be required to offset the Arab bias some people find at MEI.

Washington’s think-tanks, with the exception of Brookings, have not really taken on as much of the specifics of the Arab-Israeli conflict as might have been expected. They seem to be holding back, in a manner reminiscent of the pre-Yom Kippur war days when Kissinger retorted: “I will never get involved in anything unless I’m sure of success. And if I do get involved, it means I’m going to succeed. I hate failure.” The Middle East, Kissinger is reported to have said, “isn’t ready for me.”

But just as Kissinger was forced into active involvement by the Yom Kippur war, so were these research institutes spurred into looking more closely at the Arab-Israeli conflict and its effect on U.S. Middle East interests and policies. Carnegie instituted its Middle East program in 1974, the same year AEI began its National Energy Project. Brookings stepped into the Middle East question with its study group report. All of the research institutions mentioned here have come forth with many more studies and projects in the past three years than in the 1970-73 period.

The work at these institutions finds its way to the official policy makers and to the limited group of scholars and experts interested in each specific subject. In a few cases—as with the Brookings report and as can be expected from the two forthcoming Carnegie publications—a contribution is made to public understanding. But the impact of these studies is not measurable. What can be said with certainty is that what goes on in the fifth branch of government is substantial and important—and too often overlooked. □