

Teddy Kalleck

~~XXXX~~ FIRING LINE \_ #125 - WILLIAM BUCKLEY - MAYOR ~~KALLECK~~ ~~KALLECK~~

BUCKLEY: This is William F. <sup>B</sup>uckley, Jr., our guest next week will be the Mayor of Jerusalem, Mr. Teddy Kalleck, on the subject of Jerusalem and the Mid-East crisis. I hope you will join us.

BU: Mr. Teddy Kalleck is the Mayor of Jerusalem, the city with the longest recorded history in the world, indeed, he has written a book called "Jerusalem -- a History of Forty Centuries", and at this moment the principal point of contact between the Arab and the Israeli populations in perhaps the most combustible area in the world. Mayor Kalleck was born in Austria in 1911, and during the Second World War organized a Jewish ~~xx~~ underground, the principal purpose of which was to help such Jews as he could help to escape from Germany. At one point, shortly before the war, he even succeeded in in ~~xxxxxx~~ wresting exit visas from Adolph Eichmann. After the war he turned to militant Zionism and served as the Executive Director of the government of David Ben-Gurion and policy. as such was one of the principal managers of Israelix~~xxxxxx~~ In 1965, he ran for councilman in Jerusalem and was appointed mayor. Instantly, after the war of 1967, Mayor Kalleck extended a conciliatory hand to the 70,000 Arabs whose unelected mayor he found himself owing to the circumstances of the war. I should like to begin by asking Mayor Kalleck why he ~~was~~ resists the recommendation by the United Nations that Jerusalem be declared an international city ~~xx~~ to be

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administered by the U.N.?

HA: Well, that recommendation was accepted about 20 years ago. It was not a practical recommendation, because a city can only exist if it has a hinterland. The various attempts at international cities, whether it was Trieste, or Danzig, led almost always to war and not to peace. Uh, Jerusalem moreover, in the minds of the Jewish people for well over 2,000 years, or 3,000 years since King David, made it its, the capital of the Jewish kingdom, ~~and~~<sup>in</sup> the minds of the Jewish people the capital of the Jewish people, whether they were there, or weren't there. When the United Nations decided they recommended that this be an experiment for ten years. The first who didn't allow it were the Arabs, who immediately conquered half of it, under the Jordanians. Ten years ran out in '58. For 20 years, since '48, half of the city was in Jewish hands, and half in Arab hands. The Jewish half was permanently under danger of attack, with quite a few sacrifices, and quite a few problems during these years. There have been 500,000 people visiting the city from abroad since the war, I think everyone of them, if you would ask them, would say it's a better city united. And it's being kept today by the interest of the Israel Government. It's the capital of Israel.

BU: Yeah, but the United Nations proposal would not ~~ex~~ call for dividing the city, that is to say, the United Nations proposal, as I understand it, would continue to consider the

city of Jerusalem as a ~~single~~ single municipal entity, but intending to remove such strife as now exists by ~~volunteering~~ volunteering a host of administrators who are neither Arab or Jewish, right?

HA: Well, in '48, when the United Nations decided this, immediately the Arabs attacked the city, but there was not much defense there, but certainly the United Nations didn't come to defend it. The Jews who were there without any arms defended it barehanded, practically, and suffered of nine months without the United Nations coming to their rescue. You can't accuse us of not relying on the United Nations on this.

BU:q Now, wait a minute. I'm asking not ~~in~~ the question do you have the raw power to continue as you do, because I don't doubt that in fact you do.

HA:q This is not the question.

BU: No, it isn't the question. The question I'm asking is why is what the United Nations proposes unreasonable and I would suppose, that with your experience, that ~~was~~ you would not say that it is unreasonable because the Arabs considered it unreasonable at some point in the past. On the contrary, you would you would normally tend in the contrary direction.

HA: Well, I don't think there is a country or a city in the world who would ~~rely~~ rely on the defense of the United Nations against aggressive power from the outside, nor shall we.



BU: ~~W~~ Well, now, suppose that you made the government of Jerusalem as conditional on great power guarantees defense, would that be sufficient?

HA: I wouldn't sleep, if I would have to depend on that.

BU: Well, I understand you don't sleep anyway. You work all the time.

HA: Well, I would be very nervous if I would have to rely on great power. It is a small country, and before the great powers would come to our assistance, as has been proven in the past, you wouldn't exist anymore, you wouldn't depend ~~any~~ a little more on ourselves.

BU: Well, what is to exclude/<sup>the</sup>Israeli ~~to~~ continuing to have an army which would be prepared to move in if necessary to preserve the internationalized city? Well, let me put it this way: if what you're saying is that we want Jerusalem because we want Jerusalem, and that's all there is to it, why don't you say it?

HA: ~~xxxxxxx~~. I've said this. It was the capital of Israel three thousand years ago and will remain the capital of Israel for the next three thousand years ago. Jews have paid for it for two thousand years. But this wasn't ~~xxxxxxx~~ the question you asked me. You asked me the question why don't we rely on the United Nations? And I said we couldn't rely on the United Nations, and nobody can really, with all our high regard for the United Nations.



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BU: Why do you have a high regard ~~for~~ for it, if you can't rely on it?

HA: Because it's the only place where people are still meeting and talking and I think this is the

BU: Why do they bother to talk if nobody pays any attention~~xx~~ to it?

HA: Ah, well, if we wouldn't have them, it would be even worse.

BU: But ~~xx~~ the United Nations has condemned your country thirty times, I understand, in the last, since 1948, now, do you still regard the United Nations highly for condemning your country thirty times? If you had been in the U.N., would you have joined in that condemnation?

HA: Well, let's stick to Jerusalem,<sup>right?</sup> and let's keep out the Suez Canal, because of all kinds of other condemnations, because as the United Nations has just as often, more often, ~~xx~~ condemned the Arabs. They have decided the Suez Canal should be open, and the Arabs haven't accepted it. They have decided an Israel should exist, and as the first thing happened~~xxx~~ was that seven Arab armies marched on Israel, although the United Nations decided on the creation of Israel, and the United Nations didn't come ~~xx~~ to its rescue, 20 years ago, so, ~~xxx~~ with all this there was the decision of the United Nations, and it helped us to establish Israel. We might have established it without that decision.

BU: Sure. But the United Nations doesn't have an army, it's

not generally supposed

HA: it and sleep well, as citizens  
So, why do you ask us to rely on ~~the United Nations~~  
of a city, if it hasn't got an army and can't defend us?

BU: Well, because

HA: Excuse me, let me say something more. A year and a half ago,  
let's take the few effects. War began between Israel and  
Egypt, and in Jerusalem there was peace, We had 50,000  
children at school, the Jordanians started shelling us at  
the request of an Egyptian field marshal, who had taken ~~the~~  
over the Jordanian army. He sent messages through your  
ambassador to King Hussein, and said if you stop the shelling,  
we shall not do anything and we shall not retaliate. He  
said to your ambassador in Amman, the chips are down. We  
had to defend ourselves. The children stayed in school  
under shelling for sixty years, and ~~ex~~ couldn't go to their  
parents. While the children enjoyed it, the parents enjoyed  
it less. And this these are the facts. This is ~~the~~<sup>a</sup>/city  
which will live, and this is a country which will ~~be~~ live  
only to the extent we can physically defend it. And not to  
any other extent. With all this, all this conversation~~xx~~  
between us~~xx~~is creating a situation, or an image, that this  
is not a peaceful city. Believe me, in Jerusalem you can  
walk around at 11 o'clock at night, or at nine o'clock in  
the evening, through the streets of Jerusalem, without any  
fear.

BU: Well, you can in Prague, too. In other words, we shouldn't make too many inferences

HA: Can you? Mr. Charles Jordan ~~thxxx~~ there when he walked around at nine o'clock at night.

BU: Well, I'm sure you can find somebody murdered somewhere, anywhere, but the point is that the peacefulness of the city is sometimes deceptive, and I think that there would be no point at all in our focusing on this problem, except that there is a thing called a Mid-East crisis, and one of the pressure points, perhaps the principal pressure point is in Israel. Now, incidentally, let me hasten to say this, that from what I know of your administration, of your duties, I think they, it has been exemplary that you have done more than perhaps anybody else might have done to successfully persuade the Arab population of your good intentions; but in point of fact there are Arabs who feel very vigorously that your own rendition about Jerusalem and whom it belongs to is arbitrary. They would point out that they, after all, had

HA: Oh, I would agree with them.

BU: had control of Jerusalem for 2,000 years, and that kind of business, and

HA: Well, let's say for the last 800, that's a long time.

BU: Yeah, that's a long time. Yeah. And under the circumstances, we raise the question, is the ~~U.N.~~ U.N. the kind of body



that is supposed to adjudicate situations of this kind? And for you to say that the U.N. has no military army to enforce its guarantees is, as far as I can understand it, the equivalent of saying whether the United Nations therefore shouldn't exist. But what about the United Nations recommendations? Is there a reason why you would not accept the recommendations urged by the United Nations, if they were backed up, ~~xxxxx~~ let us say, by treaties from the relevant powers that ~~xx~~ would guarantee the geographic integrity of the area?

HA: Well, I could only repeat what I have said before, and I hope I'll make it clear, that I wish ~~xxxxx~~ for the United Nations it would have the power to insist on its recommendations and carry out, but at this moment for 200,000 people  
if

BU: Well, but/it had that power to insist on its recommendations, then you wouldn't have Jerusalem. You'd be an ex-mayor, wouldn't you? And yet a moment ago you said, look, we want Jerusalem to be the capital of Israel, and that's what we want and that's what we're gonna fight for. Now, you're saying that you wish the United Nations had enough power to keep  
your  
you from having/way.

HA: Well, if the United ~~xx~~ Nations would have this power to insist in 1948 a ~~xxxxxx~~ state of Israel would have been created without 10,000 young Jews being killed afterwards in an unnecessary war. We would have lived at peace with our

Arab neighbors, we would have developed the Middle East together without spending a larger proportion of our gross ~~na~~ national product for wars than the United States or Russia is spending, both sides, Arabs as well as Israelis, and would have today a ~~more~~ fortunate situation. This, however, has not happened and the recommendation has lapsed in '58 because it was taken for ten years, and now they're in a different situation.

BU: Well, well ~~na~~ just to wrap this up. Are you prepared to say that, assuming that the United Nations had the power to enforce its recommendations, you would accept its recommendation vis-a-vis Jerusalem and the international ~~situation~~ (BOTH TALKING SIMULTANEOUSLY)

HA: Let's assume ~~that~~ the Messiah will come tomorrow, and <sup>then</sup> I'll accept his adjudication or the promise of God that was given a long time ago. They're all "if's", and I hope all of them will come true.

BU: I think that's a little evasive. I don't have any chiliastic notions about the United Nations but I do think that it is not inconceivable that it could guarantee the integrity of Jerusalem. All I'm asking you is to be quite candid on that one point. Would you agree ~~that~~ to the internationalization of Jerusalem if you felt that the physical and military security of it was guaranteed?

HA: I don't want to be evasive at all. At the ~~moment~~ moment the

situation is such that Jerusalem will for the next three thousand years, I hope, remain the capital of Israel as it is.

BREAK

BU: Now, Mayor Kalleck, you having said what you desire for Jerusalem for the next three thousand yearsxx would strike me, if I were an Arab, as provocative, right?

HA: May I say something about this?

BU: Sure.

HA: Well, this is a difficult situation for the Arabs. They are at the moment, certainly, opposed to this. The vast ~~majority~~ majority of them, I think all of them, would like rather to see this as I said a united city, and not a divided city, although they probably would like to see it under a different management than it is today, and the vast majority I think without exception would like to achieve their aims by political means and not by violence. And this is fortunate, because this will enable us to test the ideas that we have, and I hope we shall. And this is for the first time a city of freedom of religion, of religious performance and that it ~~is~~ hasn't been for a very long time, and neither for Moslems that couldn't visit their holy places, if they lived in Israel, nor for Christians, certainly/<sup>not</sup>for Jews, and I hope we shall eventually achieve a situation in which the Arabs will be convinced that they can ~~perhaps~~ pursue their cultural life



because we have no intention of dominating them. I think if I can give an example from, let's say ~~xxx~~ this continent that we would like one day to achieve a situation where we live together as the French and English live together in Montreal, and without any relationship to whatever De Gaulle wants ~~xx~~ to do ~~xxx~~ there, and where the French certainly don't want to become English and the English don't want to become French, but <sup>where</sup> they are all Canadians. We're still far away from that. I think your allusions before that we ~~xx~~ are keeping peace by police methods as in Prague was unjustified and had no relation to reality. If you come to my house in Jerusalem, it's a private house, we have no official residence, there's no policeman outside ~~xx~~ the mayor's house, and there is no policeman following me when I walk through the city, or through the Arab quarter, either at day or at night, nor whenever anybody else walks through.

BU: Well, yeah. Look. I'm not saying that there's a tyrannical chromosome in your system, I'm simply rejecting the invitation to infer that there is a non-despotic ~~xxxxxx~~ relationship simply because ~~xxxxxxxx~~ there ~~xxx~~ aren't visible bodyguards. There are no visible bodyguards around any of the people I once visited in South Africa. But we must assume there that there is a

HA: I understand your rejections, for the same justification I reject the comparison to South Africa or to Prague, ~~xx~~ I

don't think they're relevant.

BU: Well, you brought it up by asking us to believe that the fact that we could stroll the streets of Jerusalem suggested that there was no disharmony there. I think there is a very considerable disharmony, and for reasons which in some of your speeches you yourself ~~xxx~~ have pointed out. There are fifty-thousand Arabs living in a city which has been theirs and their ancestors for as you put it 800 years, who all of a sudden wake up and find you ~~xxxxx~~ their mayor. Now, however affable you are, they might feel that there was a political short ~~xx~~ circuit there.

HA: Well, at the same time, let me say, that within living memory and since ever statistics were taken, which is for about 120 years, there has always been a majority of Jews in the city.

BU: Well, I know, but that is in the part of the city which is now Jewish.

HA: No. In the entire city. In 1844, see, for 3,000 years the city wasn't divided.

BU: There are now 200,000 Jews, 70,000 Arabs and 11,000 Christians right? in the general area?

HA: No. 50,000 Moslems, 20,000 Christians and 200,000 Jews. But in 1844, when the first time statistics were taken and ~~xx~~ for the last 3,000 years, the city was not divided. It was only divided for 20 years, after all, but for the

last 120 years, there was always a vast majority of Jews in the whole city.

BU: Yes. But we mustn't presumably go on to assume what would be the political arrangement simply from the historical ethnic arrangements over there. As you know, there are more Jews in New York City than there are in Israel, which doesn't ~~make~~ necessarily make New York City a satellite of Israel.

HA: Not more than other people in New York.

BU: Well, more than almost any other single group, as I remember. In any case, I think this is an (BOTH TALKING SIMULTANEOUSLY) argument

HA: Well, I don't put any claim to be the Mayor of New York. I would fear to do that.

BU: No.

HA: I don't want to compete with anybody.

BU: Well, let me ask you this. Do you subscribe to the notion that a city belongs to whatever group anywhere can, in effect, dominate it by ~~force majeure~~ force majeure (?). Does Goa rightly belong to India in spite of 400 years

HA: When you say this, you're defeating your own argument because 400 years

BU: I haven't made an ~~argument~~ yet.

HA: in Goa, 800 years in Jerusalem, the thing ~~is~~ is that this city gave something to the world and was only of importance when it was the capital of a Jewish State. And again became



important when it became the capital of a Jewish State 20 years ago. All through these years, when it was part of Babylonia, Egypt, India and ~~xxxxxx~~ British or Arab, it was a little unimportant provincial town. When Hussein had the ~~chance~~ chance of becoming King of Jerusalem, the greatest title in monarchism, he ~~xx~~ did ~~xx~~ prefer to become King of Ammon, which is a little Arab town.

BU: Yes, but to quote you, a while ago you mentioned the fact that a particular situation was once prestigious or better economically does not necessarily justify the colonialism which is experienced by ~~xxxxxx~~ people who consider themselves a s occupied. You mentioned specifically the case of Nigeria, where you said it's true that Nigeria was better off under English occupation, but in fact the Nigerians consider themselves blessed for their independence. Now. Applying those arguments to Jerusalem, mightn't you have a situation in which the Arabs say look, we regret to recognize that your culture is older

HA: Well, I mentioned, I spoke about Cypress, not about Nigeria, but the argument stands.

BU: Well, do you want to cope with it?

HA: Certainly not. But no I say that today economic well-being can't stand up against nationalism. I would agree to that. This is your proposition. I would agree that nationalism is a stronger force than economic well-being.

BU: Yes. My point is this that we have in Jerusalem, as in other parts of that area, a situation in which Arabs/<sup>are</sup>considered completely irrelevant. Any argument that has to do with the beneficenses that you shower upon them in ~~xxxx~~ virtue of your superior culture

HA: Agreed.

BU: your superior industry, and so on , and what we therefore don't know is

HA: I don't think that our culture is so much superior.

~~HA~~ BU: You don't?

HA: Not necessarily.

BU: Well, why don't you change it?

HA: Well, we'll improve it in time.

BU: Well, I think you probably do  
seriously

HA: No, I ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ think that the Arabs have contributed a great deal to the culture of the Middle East.

BU: Mathematics, that kind of thing.

HA: No, very beautiful buildings, for instance. I don't think there's anywhere in the world a more beautiful building than the Mosque or the Dome of Iraq in Jerusalem,

BU: Yeah, and you've pointed out that there's only one beautiful synagogue, but you're ~~xxxx~~ correcting that, right?

HA: Did I? Where?

BU: In your book. However, the actual question ~~there~~ is

HA: I'm glad you read it. Another shilling in my pocket

- BU: The actual question then is what do you propose to do about a people over whom you ~~have~~ have control by right of conquest?
- HA: First of all, convince them
- BU: ~~xx~~ Who are unhappy and consider you as in effect an invading power, even as I assume the East Berliners consider that the mayor appointed by Eulbrecht (?) has really no legitimacy.
- HA: Well, I'm glad that you can find the nicest examples from South Africa, to Prague, to East Berlin to compare ~~xxx~~ to Jerusalem
- BU: Now, now, now, now.
- HA: Well, you are
- BU: But that's a stolen base, because I concede that your motives are different from theirs. I'm simply talking about the fact that there is this identity of resistance on the part of the individual subject peoples.
- HA: Well, I shall not for a moment try to creat an impression, and I don't want to create an impression that this unification of the city has been brought about by vote of the Arabs, in favor of unification, or that the Arabs are today happy at this. I don't want to create this impression, and the argument that we are leading somehow brings me to defense of a position that I don't really take. What I would like to say is this. On the first day after the conquest, we had a tremendous exodus of Arabs from Jerusalem, who/told by their people that when the Israelis would come in they would



all be slaughtered and all the girls would be raped and all the children would be killed. And then after a ~~xx~~day or two or three, they all came back, because they felt that this was

BU: Exaggerated.

Ex HA: not only exaggerated, there wasn't a ~~xxxxxx~~ single case of murder. There was one case of a few months later, outside of Jerusalem, for which the people were sentenced to life which is the highest penalty in existence in Israel.

BU: Except Eichmann.

HA: Except Eichmann. Except for Nazi crimes. There was one case in the 20 years of history, which was Eichmann, who was executed, but for no other crime can you be ~~xxxxxxx~~ sentenced to death in Israel. And that nobody that the first thing we did was, for all ~~xxx~~ this we don't deserve any particular applause, but we brought in milk and water and this kind of thing, and we improved the administration itself. But it means that the Arabs are learning that at least we can live together. How we'll live together, the future will say. But if we can live together without ~~xx~~ killing each other and without domineering each other as far as culture is concerned, or ~~and~~/as far as civilization is concerned, we have not done anything in order to change Arab schools into Hebrew schools or Hebrew schools into Arabic schools, and this in itself is a great advantage to them at least, because Jews and

Arabs in Jerusalem particularly and in the present occupied territories are living together without killing each other, without, practically without terrorism, although there are always individualxx cases of terrorism.

~~XXXXXXXX~~ BREAK.

BU: Yes, sir, you were ~~xxxxxxx~~ saying.

HA: Now, I can well see Arabs in the city playing exactly the same part as <sup>the</sup> Jews do. I was very happy to see the other day we had, during the summer, a Youth Republican, which for the first time ~~400~~ 500 Arab children participated and this is, I grant you, a facile answer, because it doesn't go down to the depths, but still they elected an Arab Vice-Mayor, a Jewish as a mayor, and a very nice Arab boy as a vice-mayor, ~~and~~ in this Jewish youth republic and then we let them run the city as a whole, ~~xx~~ and for ~~xx~~ a day, and they did no harm to the city, and I could see, I could look forward to the time when they were running the city better than we, and when there would be an Arab mayor, one day, in Jerusalem. But this is not the argument. But it will remain the capital of Israel.

BU: Yeah. Well, it will if you can have your way.

HA: If we can have our way.

BU: Yeah. Sure. Tell me this, why is it that you resist as emphatically as you do the idea of an aculturation, of sort of a cultural integration? Your words exactly were that you

want no melting pot in Jerusalem. Why is the idea of the melting pot sound in say New York City, but unsound in Jerusalem?

HA: I am not judging on New York City, and I don't know how well it works. But

BU: ~~xwllx~~ Well, you can ask anybody you want.

HA: Well, tell me.

BU: Well, ~~xxxworksxxx~~ it's worked pretty well. It's worked pretty well. There is what they call the third generation problem, which is sort of separatist in impulse but by and large the melting pot has been ~~xxxxxxx~~ I think at least a little bit more than merely a dream. But, for instance, we do have in America, in New York, when you come to school, beginning 125 years ago, they insisted that you study English instead of maintaining schools in your<sup>own</sup>/manner, and that kind of business, but you're opposed to that, ~~xxx~~ aren't you?

HA: Well, the situation is a different one. ~~xxxxxx~~ In this country, the you are all immigrants, with the exception of/Indians. ~~xxx~~

BU: Well, don't the Arabs consider you ~~xxxxxxx~~ immigrants to Jerusalem?

HA: Well, not all, but the Arabs ~~xxxxxxx~~ aren't immigrants.

BU: What's that?

EX



- Ha: But the ~~xxx~~ Arabs aren't immigrants. The ~~xx~~ Arabs aren't immigrants.
- BU: Yeah. Well, they were there. Yeah.
- HA: And there was always a Jewish population for the last 3,000 years, the city was never without Jews. And for the last 300 years they were a majority, but this isn't to the point. I think the essence of the Jews coming back to Israel is that they didn't succeed in assimilating, especially in Europe, or in the Arab countries, and for good or for bad, they continue to exist over the last 2,000 years and they prayed for coming back to Jerusalem for 2,000 years, and Jerusalem in ~~xxx~~ this sense meant also national resurgence, and coming back to their own land, this they have achieved. To go now and try and force the Arabs to become Israelis or Jews or Hebrew-speaking I think would be barbarian. They ~~xxx~~ have a culture of their own, they live as part of the Arab ~~xxx~~ world all around us, 40, 50, 60, 100-million Arabs around us. Some people say the Egyptians are Moslems but not Arabs, but their culture is of the Arabs, certainly.
- BU: Well, suppose you compare this to South Africa, now, incidentally, let's be grown-up about this, and not have you know, a / ~~xxx~~ good ~~xxx~~ guys, bad guys business, and incidentally there are a lot of bad guys in South Africa; but let's simply ~~xxx~~ attempt to understand ~~xx~~ the analogy there. Would you say that the ~~South~~ ~~xxx~~ South African Dutch, the Afrikaans,

who take the identical position, vis-a-vis the Bantus are making an intelligible point, from the point of view of your own experience, that they are surrounded by approximately the same ratio of Bantus to whites, and ~~xxx~~ although they do attempt to teach them Afrikaans and English, they encourage them to learn Swahili and maintain their <sup>old</sup> ~~own~~/culture, and that kind of business, do you think that this is in any sense parallel?

HA: But we allow them to go in the same busses, and we travel in their busses and we have business partnerships, and we have

BU: Well, I'm not talking about the differences, I'm talking about the similarities. I know there ~~are~~ are a lot of ~~xxx~~ differences between Israeli and South Africa, amongst them geographical, but I'm asking you whether or not the notion, the anti-integrationist notion

HA: I know very little about (BOTH TALKING SIMULTANEOUSLY) I don't really know what the Bantus want. But I know that the Arabs want to remain Arabs. And that we shouldn't disturb them at doing so.

BU: And those Arabs who do not want to remain Arabs, is there are there plenty of opportunities for them to join you and to become totally qualified Israelis?

HA: Well, they are totally qualified Israelis in the sense that they are ~~xxx~~ members of parliament, and they are judges, and they can judge ~~xxxxxx~~ Israelis, Jews as well as Arabs,

there is no difference in that sense, and they ~~xx~~ are civil servants, the only thing in which they ~~xx~~ are not equal is that they are not asked to join the army, because the only wars we (INTELLIGIBLE) , ~~POSSIBLY~~ possibly, and we hope there won't be anymore, but if it all would be against Arabs, and why should we ~~xx~~ we ask Arabs to fight against Arabs?

BU: Well, but isn't this a presumptive slur on their loyalty, if they say look I'm on your side, and you say I refuse to believe that ~~you're~~ you're on ~~my~~<sup>your</sup>/side because your blood is Arabic and under the circumstances I'm going to treat you the way the American s treated the Japanese during the Second World War?

HA: You didn't take any into prisons.

BU: Excuse me?

HA: You didn't imprison any. You didn't put any into concentration camps.

BU: No, no. (UNINTELLIGIBLE) you're ~~xxxx~~ better than we are, but ~~xxxx~~ there is this similarity.

HA: Not better, different.

BU: Yeah, but there is this similarity, and that is that we simply assumed the presumptive disloyalty of Japanese, don't ~~you~~ ~~xxxx~~ you assume the presumptive disloyalty of any Araba by refusing to permit them to join the army, or is ~~xxxx~~ this simply a political problem?

HA: Well, it's a small scale, and it could ~~xx~~ very well feasibly



be that today literally a brother or a cousin would stand up against a cousin across the firing lines. I don't think that this would be fair to demand in this generation, <sup>or</sup> loyalty should be put to such tests.

BU: You don't think it would be fair to demand? I'm not asking you whether you demanded it, I'm not asking whether you want to conscript Arabs, I'm asking you whether you would accept

HA: But there is conscription, there is ~~xx~~ conscription, in Israel. My son just left the army after three years in the parachute ~~parachute~~ corps, last month. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ If he had chosen or not ~~xx~~ chosen to be, he would have been in the army. So, everybody else. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Arabs are not asked to go into the army. There have been Arabs, many Christian Arabs who have ~~xx~~ formed units in the army. We haven't refused them. They're the vast minority.

BU: Well, what is it you were telling me that they were not permitted to do?

HA: I said we have not conscripted them, but there were Arabs who ~~xxxxxx~~ have volunteered.

BU: Oh, but you would accept volunteers.

~~BU~~ HA: We have accepted volunteers. <sup>They</sup> ~~xxxxxx~~ were very, very few. Because the vast majority is still torn in their souls, and you were pointing this out and I accept this statement.

BU: May I ask you on a slightly at a slightly removed level, how

do you account for the anti-Israeli feeling in the ~~hard~~ hard American Left, I assume you are aware of it, that it was from the extreme Leftwing of America uniquely that the resistance to Israel in 1967 was especially marked, so much so that for instance Ramparts Magazine, a far Left Magazine, in an explosion of anti-Israelism after the war, lost a lot of its support. Now, how do you motivate that? What is it that happened in your judgement, that you did, that antagonized the American Left?

HA: Well, you'd have to ask them, probably, and not me.

BU: There not here, and I'm asking you. I say how do you account for it?

HA: But the fact ~~is~~ is that of course ~~these~~ they are against nationalism in general, they regard Israel as an (UNINTELLIGIBLE) of nationalism, which they couldn't

BU: But ~~is~~ they're in favor of nationalism in North Vietnam, or what they understand to be ~~nationalism~~ nationalism, aren't they? irrational

~~HA:~~ Now, if you want to tell me they're ~~irrational~~, okay, because I happen to think in many respects they are, but tell me that, if you want to.

HA: I think so.

BU: They are irrational?

HA: I think so.

BU: In other words, you don't think there was no objective basis ~~is~~ for being anti-Israel?

HA: Well, there's a little bit of, among ~~xx~~ some of them there is a little bit of thing that's known as the Jewish self-hatred, which is a well-known phenomenon ~~xxxxx~~ amongst the Jewish Left.

BU: Yeah. Well, could it be that the people that you beat up were people who had been financed and armed by the Soviet Union and that there are certain Americans who are always against anybody who damages the Soviet Union. Might this be a factor?

HA: It just might be a factor, possibly, but I don't know how strong it might be. I know too little about them.

BU: You don't know or you don't ~~want to~~ want to discuss it?

HA: No, I really don't know.

BU: Well, you must be curious about it, aren't you?

HA: No. I think it's, I'm curious about it, but I think it's, it's not particularly important. I don't regard the, it isn't only the American Left, it's the Left in Europe to a certain extent as well, although people like Sarte for instance are much more understanding

BU: Like who?

HA: Like Sarte. Just because a coincidence that he happened to visit Israel, several, just a few weeks before the war

BU: And had made pro-Israel statements, ~~xxxxx~~ yeah.  
Khebutzem (?)

HA: And he visited ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ and he had discussions with the Israel, and he became convinced



BU: But he backed off from them, as I remember, a few weeks later, when he found that the Soviet Union's interests were ~~xxxx~~ thoroughly staked out there.

HA: But he rather kept quiet than moving off, I think he stopped making pro-Israel statements shortly after the war, although he understood the war when it happened, apparently, by what he said.

BU: Well, do you believe that some Americans or, if you like, some everybody, that the Left fraternity throughout the world views Israel in terms of whether or not it is a net asset or liability to the march of the world socialist revolution?  
aren't

HA: Well, ~~xxx~~/you generalizing too much when you say the Left? Not the Labor Party in England,

BU: Oh, on the contrary

HA: or not the Socialists in France, or in Belgium or in Holland, not the Socialists in Scandinavia, aren't those also Left?

BU: Well, that's why I said the hard Left. Some of the Socialists in Germany are highly ~~bourgeois~~ bourgeois, as you know, but notoriously the hard Left in England was ~~notorious~~ anti-Israel in 1967, so much so as to cause a very considerable embarrassment to the Socialist Party, and I'm asking your opinion that how come that was and is it as simple as that they considered Israel good or bad depending on whether Israel forwards or does not forward the imperialist interests of the Soviet Union?

HA: Well, I think, as I said before, I think a major component

is the fact that quite a number of them are Jewish, that they feel uncomfortable about Jewish nationalism, that they feel that this compromises ~~themselves~~ whether they own up to it or not, that this compromises their own position as international, and, although this is a bad wordxxx in the Left, cosmopolitan people and not and that any kind of Jewish nationalism might really query (?) their own position to some extent and I think it has a psychological effect at least on the Jewish members of that fraternity.

BU: Well, but did they consider this Jewish nationalism

HA: Israelis? Certainly.

BU: Well, in 1967, I understood it as being primarily a ~~preemptive~~ preemptive (?) for self-defense.

HA: But they haven't been

BU: Why was that Jewish nationalism?

HA: But they haven't been pro-Israel anytime. They have been against Zionism, long before , oh, always, always, the Communistxx Party always was against

BU: The Communist Party, yes.

HA: The Communist Parties all over the world were always against Zionism. You had quite a number of people resigned from the Communist Party because they felt that their stand on Israel was against what they call Leninist principles, and rather an outcome of Stalinist interpretation of the Communist Party line.

BU: How did this spill over into sort of an emotional anti-Jewish, and I say anti-Jewish intentionally, an emotional anti-Jewish attitude among ~~xxx~~ for instance certain black militants in New York City? What was it that all of a sudden triggered that ~~xx~~ as far as you know?

HA: ~~xy~~ But ~~wh~~ wasn't there some anti-Jewish news ~~among~~ in amongst the militant Negroes in (BOTH TALKING SIMULTANEOUSLY) before?

BU: Well, on a ~~xxxxx~~ sort of an ad hoc level, but nothing that identified the Israelis as part of an international Jewish repressing class. This seemed to be at least to judge from reading the militant press, something that ~~xx~~ grew out, in part, of the ~~xxxxxx~~ experience of June of 1967. Do you know how to account for that?

HA: Well, I'm thinking about it for the first time. But you ~~xxxx~~ had the local Muslims, didn't you? The Negro Muslims, very little to do with Mohammedanism, and you had a bridge here. You, maybe you ~~had~~, had been one component, and another component ~~xx~~ a certain amount of stories about Jewish slum landlords, and various other things that have been maybe effects in the past, but still live in Negro folklore to a very great extent, here, to the extent that I can make it out from a distance. But you would know much more about this than I, because really I follow this at best by ~~xxxxxx~~ reading an occasional article without any chance of talking



to anybody directly.

BREAK

~~HHX~~

BU: Mayor Kalleck, there are students here from Beaver College, and we have, in addition, four questioners. We'll start ~~xx~~ with Mr. Greenfield.

GR: Mr. Kalleck, I was ~~xxxx~~ puzzled by your use of Canada, French Canada, as a your ultimate goal, considering the increasing rash of ~~xx~~ violent and more militant pro-French growing separatism ~~growing~~ ~~xxxxxx~~there. And it reflects to me a problem I have in much of what you said. Granting that you've been probably the most benevolent of conquerors, you have stressed the fact that ~~xx~~ you were going to stay ~~xxxx~~the capital of Israel ~~xxxxxx~~ insofar as you can defend that position, that is, by force. And I wonder

HA: Or by negotiations.

GR: All right. Now that's what I wanta know. In view of the fact that many powers who are conquered, regardless of the beneficence of their oppressors, still feel conquered and will never accept that relationship, what do you see as the long term future of a country in which a significant minority identify their interests with people outside the border of Israel with whom you ~~xxx~~ have substantial difficulty? What's the long-term way that you see to resolve that tension?

HA: Eventually, there must be negotiations between the Arabs and us, and I don't for a moment deceive myself that we can solve the problems ~~with~~ in Jerusalem without solving the problems of the country as a whole. I'm trying to restate that all I think can ~~be~~ be achieved at the moment, at this time, is that Arabs as well as Jews, because ~~they~~ <sup>there</sup> are ~~the~~ with problems ~~of~~/Jews as well, can feel that they could live together in one fashion or the other, ~~as~~ I'm speaking now about the personal basis, about an individual basis, within one city, or within two countries next to each other without being hostile to each other. That all the hostility and all the picture that has been painted of the Israelis in Arab countries and all the anxiety that was created on the Israel side will disappear. This is not a political solution, but this will mean that the basis has been created in order to find a political solution. And this is as far as I would go. Now, again, I know that there are tensions in Canada, after 150 years, but again the tensions are not so great that Canada will not continue to live as one country, and in fact probably today in Jerusalem you have less violence than you have over there. But on the whole, the vast majority, and there the Canadians ~~are~~ of course are far advanced to us, the vast majority of the French, I think, ~~are~~ with all the wish for independence in the cultural field, and other fields, are good Canadians and want to remain good Canadians. The

Arabs have not yet made up their mind to remain good Israelis.

So, therefore, I have still something to look forward to if you wish for that.

GR: Wouldn't it be easier to start with Jerusalem, to defuse that, to internationalize it under with the use of a peace-keeping force, which the U.N. can and has done, rather than to wait for that tension spot to be settled after this Messianic

HA: It couldn't be, it couldn't be, I'm not thinking about something Messianic, I think your ~~hope for the~~ U.N. is a very Messianic one and not a very realistic one, much more than what I hope for.

BU: Miss Williams.

WI: Yes, Mr. Buckley, I'd like to know why you think the Israelis have any particular reason to trust either the U.N. or the big powers as protection. You seem to have been pushing in that direction.

BU: Oh, well, I do. I don't think anybody has reason to trust the United Nations. Not only because they don't have an army but because if they had it they would almost certainly use it unwisely, but I do find that a lot

HA: Thank you for your help.  
that

BU: I do find a lot of people who are pro-Israel are also pro-U.N., and I'm not so much a Christian as to want to avoid an opportunity to bring this out. Mr. Gaynor?



Yx GA: Yes. Mayor ~~Hakikx~~ Kalleck, do you actually foresee an Arab mayor, or to phrase my question differently, do you think that we will allow Arabs to gain any sort of political control in Jerusalem, political power?

HA: Well, under our law, any Arab living in the city can vote. In fact, more so than before. There were only 5,000 voters on the last register of Arab Jerusalem, and because only Israelis

BU: Excuse me, ~~wikx~~ of the exclusion of ~~wikikx~~ women, you mean.

HA: Because only males over 21, who own property, were allowed to vote, and with ~~xx~~ us men and women over 18 who have meant residence, this is not ~~xxxx~~ for the Arabs. If you would have, if you would live in Jerusalem, have a permanent residence there, you would be an American, you would not be allowed to vote for Parliament, but you could vote for the Municipal Council. And this is how it should be, because ~~we~~ you should have an influence ~~xx~~ of a city in which you live. Now, under those circumstances, I can foresee in another year an Arab vice-mayor, I can foresee possibly Arab boroughs, like the borough of Manhattan, or the borough of Long Island, or whatever it is, or Brooklyn, And I can very well eventually foresee an Arab mayor. It will take a long time.

GA: Quite a long time.

HA: Today, our interests are certainly different. We want more people to come to Jerusalem, we want to build a university,

we want to build to build an airport, and we want to have all kinds of progress, and they ~~xx~~ quite rightly say, well I don't mind having no progress, as long as this remains Arab. So, there is a difference of opinion. And if I would be an Arab, I would probably say the same thing. But eventually I hope we'll find (UNINTELLIGIBLE)

GA: Does this include wanting more people?

BU: Excuse me.

BREAK

BU: Mr. Gaynor.

GA: Yes. Mr. Kalleck, I was gonna ask you, you said that you wanted more people to come into Jerusalem. Does this include Arabs?

HA: Well, I would of course prefer ~~xxxx~~ many more Jews to come than Arabs. But there have quite a number of Arabs come to ~~xxxxx~~ Jerusalem that didn't live there before, because of the economic affluence of the city today. So, we have today maybe 5,000 more Jews, more Arabs in Jerusalem than there were at the time of the war a year ~~xxx~~ and a half ago.

BU: Miss Klonsky.

KL: Mayor Kalleck, in order that we do not assign Mr. Buckley's tone (time?) irrationally, will you please tell us precisely wherein lies your justification for power? Is it ~~xxx~~ Machiavellian, or is it Biblical?

HA: Well, I'm

BU: She works for National Review.

HA: Well, I'm not a prophet, so I can't say that I'm Biblical in any sense, and I don't grow a beard, but I believe that the fact that Jews have prayed for 2,000 years for Jerusalem and have suffered for many thousands of years for coming back to Jerusalem, and actually have returned, ~~xx~~ is a unique example in history, which no other people have done, this perseverance has been unknown, no similar exists, and I ~~gx~~ think it gives us some rights.

KL: Well, let me ask you this, then. Would you be willing to recognize a reconquest of Jerusalem which favored the Arabs and justifying that on the grounds that you as a threat would make the city unstable?

HA: Well, they'll probably try if they could.

KL: Well, would you recognize it if they did?

HA: Well, you couldn't ask me to do that, could you?

KL: But you're asking them to do that aren't you?

HA: Well, of course, there ~~axx~~ are clashes in history. This is it.

KL: Thank you.

~~HA~~ BU: Well, are you sort of disappointed in Arabs for not waging guerrilla warfare against you in the same sense ~~xx~~ I understand you in answer to Miss Klonsky's question that you would wage guerrilla warfare against them under reverse circumstances?

HA: Well

BU: Is this a reflection on their manhood?



HA: I think Arabs are good patriots, and the leadership of the Arabs in Jerusalem is a wise and mature leadership. They have ~~xxx~~ suffered greatly in history ~~xxx~~ by Arab countries. All the various changes in the Arab world have been carried out on their back, with the ~~xxxxxxx~~ argument on the Palestinian lips of ~~xxxx~~ Arab leaders without the Palestinian Arabs or the Jerusalem Arabs ever benefitting from that. Whether it, from Algeria~~xxx~~to Iraq, Palestine is the great slogan. The only ones who suffered ~~withxxxx~~ were the Palestinian Arabs, no Arab country ever did anything for them. And they are therefore in a very, very difficult ~~xxxxx~~ situation. They are trying to find their own personality, somehow, and it will take them sometime to find it. ~~Hx~~ I hope that they'll find it in a constructive way, which will ~~make~~ enable us finally to live together. And I think that eventually one will find a way, I am very hopeful about this, although, I couldn't presume to give the precise form in which this will happen.

BU: Mr. Greenfield.

GR: Of course, Miss Klonsky~~xxx~~ may have put her finger on what Mr. Buckley was unable to almost forcibly extract from you, namely that much of the ~~xxx~~ Left, the non-Stalinist Left, the non-Marxist Left, opposed Israel not because you were hurting the Soviet Union, but because to many it appeared as though you were a white, pro-Western, largely European country imposing by force your political mandate over a colore

Mid-Eastern group

HA: May I say, may I say~~xx~~that the vast majority of Jews today living in Israel are refugees from Arab countries who, for thousands of years, have lived in Arab countries, who are as Middle Eastern as anyone, who were driven out of Iraq although they had lived in Iraq long before any Arab ever came there, since the Babylonian exile, so therefore to describe ~~xxxxxx~~ us as particularly white, particularly European, and particularly non-Middle Eastern is really not speaking with any knowledge of the facts.

GR: Your political leadership, your spokesmen in the U.N. to, I say to Americans particularly, all the people who have come here and spoken for you, have in fact been white and European, but the point is again your only justification for what you are doing, and particularly your beckoning ~~xxx~~to others to come, looks quite like, granted benevolence, a colonial outpost in the Middle East. Now, I don't understand how you are expressing ~~kx xxx~~ your hope in negotiations

HA: We are not expressing, we are not representing another empire.

GR: Well, my point is it looks like your living together is based on your brute force.

BU: ~~xxxxxx~~He's/talking about appearances, now?

~~GR~~ HA: Yeah, I understand that. And your reaction?

GR: How do you~~xxx~~ask them to live with you when they may well perceive you as a colonial conquering power. How do you

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do that?

BU: You have ten seconds.

HA: I can only say that I am very flattered at the great height of the questions and of the interrogation that I have been put to.

BU: Thank you very much. Thank youall very much

THEME

~~xx~~ END OF TAPE