



## THE REPORTER'S NOTES

### The Open-Ended Wars

During the month of June, the limited war of unlimited duration our country has been fighting in Vietnam was overshadowed by the dazzling triumph of Israel over its Arab neighbors. There was a classic quality in the conflict of arms that occurred in a small area where so many supernatural events had made history. The victory of the Israelis over the Arabs was bloody and decisive—a victory to man's measure, free from complexities that only computers can tackle. People all over the world took the Israelis to their hearts out of a sense of moral commitment, for the thought of their extermination was unbearable.

Victory, however, is not likely to bring peace to the Israelis any more than America's self-imposed limitations on victory are likely to bring peace to Vietnam. Since the end of the last war, a country once divided never has regained its unity. The same has happened to cities: Berlin proves that the chasm, if anything, has deepened and widened.

After the end of the war, wherever conflicts have erupted, no healing, no resumption of normal, predictable interhuman relationships has followed a cease-fire or a precarious armistice. Israel knows this better than any other nation: having conquered its independence after the United Nations came into existence, it is still considered by its Arab neighbors as an outlaw. Even its admission to the world body, even its original recognition by the Soviet Union, has not given it a legitimacy the Arabs could become reconciled to.

The latest Israeli-Arab war, however, has happened in different conditions from those of the preceding one. During the last decade, the Soviet Union has assumed the role of the strictest interpreter of the U.N. Charter. No change is to be allowed in the boundaries of any member

nation, no use of force is to be tolerated—except the force used by the Communist countries to foster “wars of national liberation.” In his press conference, Premier Kosygin plainly restated the Soviet support for this kind of war. Such a restatement was scarcely needed, but it was good to have it said once more by Mr. Kosygin for the benefit of the chatters about détente.

On Vietnam and on Israel, he was equally candid and repetitious: we must withdraw entirely and unconditionally our troops from Vietnam; the Israelis must abandon all the Arab territory they have seized. Israel should be walled within its own boundaries, and obviously when the Arabs decide to try again, the Soviet Union is bound to be at their side.

**I**SRAEL, when the fighting was going on, had no ally but the conscience of mankind. Our country might have intervened at the beginning when the question of the Gulf of Aqaba was first raised by the Egyptians, and indeed, our vain attempt to put together an international fleet was considered by Kosygin as an evidence of anti-Arab collusion between certain Anglo-American and Israeli “circles.” During the fighting, we managed to remain neutral in everything but thought and words—except for high officials, who remained mute. As to deeds, the Israeli government told us please not to bother.

The time has come now for our government to take action not only in favor of Israel but also of those Arab states where there are people patriotic and humane enough to realize how wretched their lives are bound to remain as long as they are led by adventurers of the Nasser type. Peace on earth was proclaimed more than once in the lands where the Israelis and Arabs live. There, where Christ was born, the United States can show how to bring its

practical talents to the service of its beliefs.

—MAX ASCOLI

### UNEF: U Thant's Report

On June 27, Secretary General U Thant released a twelve-thousand-word report on the withdrawal of the United Nations Emergency Force from the United Arab Republic. It was the Secretary General's fifth such official explanation of his actions prior to the withdrawal of the troops, not counting several public statements he authorized a spokesman to make and his own speech to the General Assembly in response to Abba Eban's criticism. It was also Thant's most compendious report, incorporating much material from his earlier accounts of the disputed episode. Despite its greater length, however, this latest and possibly final report did not contain any new information. On the contrary, it was notable for what the Secretary General chose to omit.

As a result, an important point may have been obscured. It concerns the Secretary General's own activities in the period between the first demands made on the U.N. commander to move some of his troops on May 16 and Thant's acquiescence two days later in the U.A.R.'s request for a complete troop withdrawal, which had arrived that same day. Under a subhead, “The Question of Consultations,” Thant now reports as follows: “The Secretary General consulted the Advisory Committee before replying to the letter of 18 May 1967 from the United Arab Republic requesting withdrawal. This consultation took place within a few hours after the receipt of the United Arab Republic request, and the Advisory Committee was thus quickly informed of the decision which the Secretary General *had in mind to convey in his reply.* . . .” [emphasis supplied].

It is not clear what Thant means

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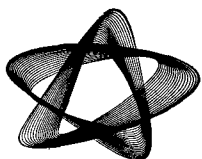
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by "consultation" in this context. Two days before he convened the Advisory Committee, he had already conveyed his answer to Cairo—well in advance, in fact, of Cairo's having put the question to him: "Since . . . the basis for the presence of UNEF was an agreement made directly between President Nasser and Dag Hammarskjöld as Secretary General of the United Nations," he told the Cairo government, "any request for the withdrawal of UNEF must come directly to the Secretary General from the Government of the United Arab Republic. On receipt of such a request, the Secretary General *would order the withdrawal of all UNEF troops from Gaza and Sinai, simultaneously informing the General Assembly of what he was doing and why*" [emphasis supplied].

This declaration was made around 6:45 on the evening of May 16, and it has been mentioned in this magazine before. We call attention to it only by way of keeping the record straight: it was eliminated from the report of June 27.

### Hobson v. Hansen

When Circuit Judge J. Skelly Wright ruled for the Negro plaintiffs in the Washington school-desegregation case not long ago, his decision was hailed (and deplored) in the press as a precedent-making one, a decision that might even be accepted for review by the Supreme Court, which has thus far declined to review all the "de facto" cases brought before it. What made Judge Wright's decision seem so momentous when it came down was the fact that Washington is the first of the nation's big cities with a predominantly Negro student population to lose a de facto case in Federal court. The judge fashioned his decree, of necessity, to the peculiar circumstances of the case.

From beginning to end, almost every feature of the Washington case was unique, and some features were bizarre. The suit, which is the only important one of its kind in which the NAACP did not participate (it wasn't invited), was brought originally by a Negro research analyst for the Social Security Administration, Julius Hobson, who pre-

sides over a militant local civil-rights organization called ACT. Since Hobson at first set out to achieve a ruling against the system whereby Federal district-court judges appoint school-board members in Washington, all those district-court judges were disqualified from hearing the case, and the Court of Appeals appointed Judge Wright to hear it. Meanwhile, Hobson retained the services of an equally militant lawyer, William Kunstler, and his suit became a veritable grab bag of complaints.

At some point in the course of all this, attorneys for the school board and Superintendent of Schools Carl F. Hansen belatedly became aware that Judge Wright was the author of an article in the *New York University Law Review* on Northern school segregation in which he had gone beyond most of his colleagues in condemning as unconstitutional the practices of which Washington had been accused. Much too late, they asked him to disqualify himself. He refused. Thus, a little less than a year ago, the elements in the case had emerged as these: a way-out civil-rights organization with the help of a canny lawyer was demanding the desegregation of a predominantly Negro urban school system in the court of an extremely sympathetic judge.

There were, however, restraining factors at work, most of them related to Washington's odd form of government and its geography, with its suburbs in two states. The principal restraint on "integration" in any ordinary sense was the fact that ninety-two per cent of the children in the District's public elementary schools are Negroes. Judge Wright, who has in the past expressed the view that boundaries between city and suburb should not be regarded as sacrosanct in these matters, could nonetheless hardly decree that the states of Maryland and Virginia (not parties to the case) receive Washington children in their schools. And there is a limit to what any Washington school board or school official can achieve, whatever a Federal court might decree: Congress controls the District's budget, and several members of the House have already expressed their displeasure at the outcome of the suit.

What Judge Wright finally decreed was that the school board and its superintendent (1) provide transportation to bring Negro children who "volunteer" from the District's overcrowded Negro schools to its relatively empty white ones, a plan that can involve at most around one per cent of the District's 145,000 schoolchildren; (2) terminate its optional-transfer plan providing a way for white children to escape Negro schools; (3) make "substantial" progress in faculty integration by next October; (4) present him also in October with a plan for improving facilities minimizing the harmful effects of racial separation; and (5) abandon its system of dividing classes into ability groups. This last point is the only one on which Judge Wright broke new ground, and even here he did not rule that ability groupings violate the law by segregating children by race, but rather that as it was operated, Washington's system was not based on ability but on race.

Judge Wright's actual recommendations make a curious contrast with his hyperbolic statements. He asserted it as a "finding of fact," for example, that "racially and socially homogeneous schools damage the minds and spirit of all children who attend them." He declared that the lazy authorities in the District had in fact shown "criminally" little concern with the resources available to Negro children, and later struck this word from his printed opinion, since it has a very precise meaning in courts of law.

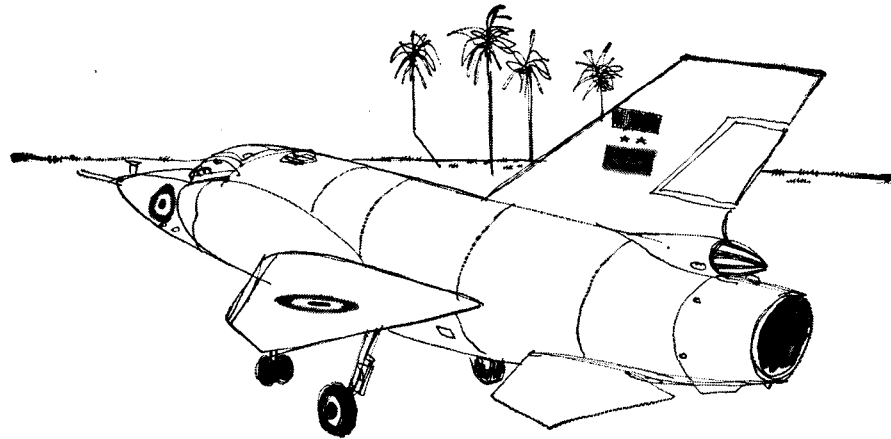
But apart from verbal adventuring of this kind, in effect he only told the defendants that they must take measures (which they have been slow to do) to reduce the isolation, if possible, of Negro schoolchildren in Washington, and to improve the quality of the schooling they get. Thus his decision may serve not as a legal precedent but rather as a warning to school officials in other big cities in the North that the Federal courts will not accept a failure to act at all on the ground that so little can be achieved. It may even serve as a goad to Washington's much put-upon and somewhat defeatist school administrators—provided Congress will let them act.

If this were an ordinary gin, we would have put it in an ordinary gin bottle.



PRONOUNCE IT  
"TANKER-RAY"





# The Economics of Triumph

ALVIN ROSENFELD

**T**EL AVIV THERE HAVE BEEN no victory parades on the streets of Tel Aviv or Jerusalem, nor are there likely to be. The reasons are varied but self-evident: there has been no time. Victory has been followed by a flood of immediate and practical challenges ranging from maintaining internal security in conquered areas to restoring electricity in Old Jerusalem. An embattled small nation nearly all of one faith and culture is perhaps more closely knit than a city of the same size—the individual losses of life are felt not only by the family involved but by a much larger circle. The newspapers are dotted with death notices, and each one pains many citizens not related in any way to the fallen soldier. Then too, every thinking Israeli knows his country carries and will indefinitely continue to carry heavy burdens.

The war is over at least temporarily, but the diplomatic struggle has only begun. It seems bound to

be protracted, complex, and unpredictable. Israel is victorious but its conquered territories contain over one million Arabs and with them a host of economic, political, and security headaches. The danger of renewed guerrilla fighting or even conventional warfare cannot be ignored, and consequently the Tel Aviv municipality has instructed its constituents not to dismantle the sandbagged walls around apartment-house doorways or strip the shelters of beds and blankets.

Israel must live patiently with the knowledge that the Arabs face a painful and possibly long readjustment—psychological, political, economic, and diplomatic—to a humiliating reality, a readjustment rendered more difficult by the fact that the Arabs as a people are given to self-delusion and to dreams. And Israel, a modern western nation, must try to find ways to communicate with men of a different culture, with other standards, other thought patterns, and another language.

Obviously, then, the Israelis know there can only be a long waiting period, and the nation that is able to wait long enough and sustain its strength long enough may in the end gain the day.

## A Question of Endurance

Israel has one high card—the occupied territories with their strategic and emotional value. But this card has two faces. The pressures on Israel by the maritime powers, including even the friendly Scandinavians, to withdraw so that the Suez may be reopened can be expected to grow. The pressures to withdraw from the holy places will come from many sides. The pressures to prevent the “aggressor” from keeping the fruits of victory will intensify. The possibility of sanctions cannot be discounted.

In their present mood—and there are no indications that the mood will change for months to come—the Israelis are willing to withstand all these pressures. They feel that