

January 9, 1961

Mr. Norman Podhoretz, Editor
COMMENTARY
165 East 56th St.
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Podhoretz:

Thanks for your note inviting me to reply to Joseph Barry's article on France and Algeria. I've written what I consider to be a minimal reply, including a criticism of Mr. Ray Alan's article as well. Since both articles are more or less cut from the same cloth, it would have made no sense to criticize Joseph Barry and not Mr. Alan.

I am sure that you will detect from the tone of my article that I consider this question to be of the most urgent importance to Jews everywhere. There is so much more than meets the eye on this Algerian business, that anything, less than a full view of all of the ramifications involved would represent a tragic failure of Jewish intelligence.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel L. Blumenfeld
Editor

SLB:cb

C O M M E N T A R Y

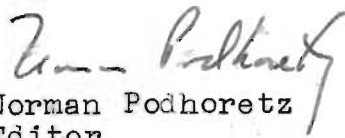
January 24, 1961

Mr. Samuel L. Blumenfeld, Editor
Grosset & Dunlap, Inc.
1107 Broadway
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Blumenfeld:

We have no objection whatever to publishing a severe criticism of articles that have appeared in Commentary, but we do have the strongest objection to a critic's affixing the Communist label to ideas or positions with which he disagrees. If you are willing to eliminate all such references and stick to concrete points of disagreement with the articles by Mr. Alan and Mr. Barry, then we in turn will make every effort to find space for your letter. Just to avoid any misunderstanding, I want to say clearly that you have every right to raise the question of Communist involvement in the Algerian war and of the role of Nasser. What I object to is your statement that Alan and Barry are "purveying" the Communist line. Mme. Labin's analysis of the techniques of Communist infiltration is utterly irrelevant, since there is no evidence anywhere that Alan and Barry were writing under the influence of such techniques.

Sincerely,


Norman Podhoretz
Editor

NP:bb
enc.

February 7, 1961

Mr. Norman Podhoretz
COMMENTARY
165 East 56th St.
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Podhoretz:

Thanks for your letter of January 24, 1961. I understand your point of view very well and have eliminated the references which you find objectionable.

I had hoped, of course, to be able to express my views as freely as possible. It was not without serious thought that I brought Mme. Labin's work into the argument. It is virtually impossible to understand the Algerian war without recognizing how large a role the Communist subversion apparatus has played in it. In this regard, I do not understand why Commentary permits the former French Ambassador to Israel to be identified with fascists, but objects to a serious critic labeling one of its writer's views as communist. I have followed Mr. Barry's column in the Post for a long time, and his views speak for themselves. Since my opinions are expressed as a "letter to the editor," Commentary is not required to accept responsibility for them.

I am aware that you object to my statement that Commentary has become the conveyor of the Communist line on Algeria, but unfortunately that happens to be the case. Mr. Alan, while not a communist I am sure, uses their techniques in discrediting the opposition. He dispises Soustelle who, as I said, is one of the Jewish people's best and most reliable friends. Mr. Soustelle has, more than any other Frenchman, called attention to the plight of the Jews in North Africa and has tried to awaken public opinion. But Mr. Alan does not hesitate to slander this man when it suits him.

As for Mr. Barry, his article in Commentary was a masterpiece of crypto-communist propaganda. If you knew the other side of the story, you too would be convinced of this without any trouble. There are unmistakable identification marks in Mr. Barry's article -- the vocabulary, the moral standard used, the omissions, the heroic

February 7, 1961

tone, the "kosher" non-communist seal of approval — all this is standard practice. What amazes me is that Mr. Barry can be so bold. But this is simply a measure of how little is actually known by the public of the complex Algerian problem and how easy it is for some unscrupulous and dishonest journalist to get away with almost anything in the name of "liberalism."

It is my strong belief that the primary responsibility of Jewish journalism is to inform the Jewish community of the facts of a situation — particularly where it concerns their survival. In a geopolitical sense, there is no question of greater concern to Jews than Algeria which is engaged in the very same struggle with Arab nationalism and world communism as is Israel.

In this respect the Jewish press has dismally failed to extract the truth and inform the people.

Sincerely,

Samuel L. Blumenfeld
Editor

SLB:cb

Commentary

165 EAST 56th STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-4000

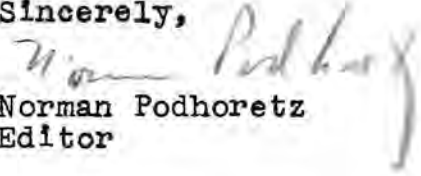
February 21, 1961

Mr. Samuel L. Blumenfeld
Grosset & Dunlap, Inc.
1107 Broadway
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Blumenfeld:

I enclose an edited version of your letter on Ray Alan and Joseph Barry. Partly we cut it down in order to save space, but we also feel that your case comes out much more strongly in this form. As soon as I have your approval--which I hope you can send me immediately--I'll air-mail copies of the letter to Alan and Barry with instructions that they address themselves in their replies strictly to the issues you raise. We are particularly eager to have the questions of Communist involvement in the Algerian war and the role of Nasser discussed seriously in our pages, and it would be a pity if the discussion got stuck in motive-hunting on one side or the other.

Sincerely,


Norman Podhoretz
Editor

NP/jm

enclosure

February 24, 1961

Mr. Norman Podhoretz
COMMENTARY
165 East 56th St.
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Podhoretz:

I am returning, with my approval for publication, your edited version of my letter. I agree with you that it does read much better in this shortened form.

My one objection, however, is that you edited a little too much out of my remarks on Joseph Barry's article. I felt that Barry's tone and style were particularly important, also his pointed reference to the lack of Communist participation in the Manifesto. However, you needn't bother to make any further revision of the letter and I accept your version as probably the one more likely to evoke serious discussion in the pages of Commentary.

Thank you for being so very temperate and patient with my letter. I look forward to seeing it in Commentary along with the replies from Messrs. Allen and Barry.

Sincerely,

Samuel L. Blumenfeld
Editor

SLB:cb

DEAR EDITOR -

JUNE 29, 1961

May I intrude in the controbersy between Mr. Alan and Mr. Barry on one side and Mr. Blumenfeld on the other concerning "Algeria and the French Republic" long enough to make a few pertinent comments.

I have read attentively th̄rough belatedly the two original articles by MM. Alan & Berry and must say that both gentlemen have set down their personal likes and dislikes in guise of commentary and report on the situation in Algeria & France. I shall do likewise.

I have known Algeria since before World War II and my contacts there have been and still are both business and social; my knowledge of France, Frenchmen and the French political situation goes back still further. (Let me note here that I was for many years the correspondent in France for the New Leader) With the facts as I know them, I came to the conclusion long ago that it would be best for France, Algeria, and the western world that France remain in Algeria and that Algerians remain French.

As for the fighting which continues in Algeria, people forget that it is the rebels who started it with an attempted indiscriminate massacre of the European population of Philippe-ville, in November 1954; that in a war, no holds are barred. Or to put it as the French say, "a la guerre comme a la guerre;" that if that is what the FLN wanted, they have it. Which brings me to the subject of torture.

In Paris, June 1960, late one pleasant evening, I made the acquaintance of a young Frenchman who turned out to be a paratrooper on leave from his battalion somewhere in Algeria. I deliberately brought up the question of torture, a subject then very much a la mode in France. His answer was brief and to the point:

"When we fight an enemy in the battlefield, that is one thing.

Each recognizes the other as the adversary. With terrorists it is different. They refuse to declare themselves. We are obliged

consequently to tear the mask from their faces. It is a matter of self-defense."

Is there any possible rebuttal to this simple, clear logic?

There was a time when American correspondants abroad referred to the non-Moslem population of Algeria as "colons," until it was pointed out to them time and again that only a minute percentage were large land-owners. Now the reference is to "settlers," which description is equally false, as I shall show.

In January of this year, 1961, in Blida, a rapidly growing town to the west of Algiers, I sat down to the mid-day meal in the home of a family of French origin and at table were the third, fourth, and fifth generation both in Algeria. Again, in Philippeville, a few days later, at table with another family, third and fourth generations born in Algeria.

Are these "settlers?"

Now, on that troubling question of anti-semitism, I would say there is no more anti-semitism in France and Algeria, probably much less, than here in the good old USA. And just as anti-Jewish feelings know no political boundaries in our country, so it does not elsewhere. If Mr. Alan or Mr. Barry knew Paris before World War II, they may have heard some highly-placed partisans of the

refer to the "Bretons" "pour ne pas dire 'des juifs'", as a friend explained to me.

Now for the other side of the coin. June 1953, in the region of Oran, well before the start of the rebellion, I dined as the guest of three businessmen, A Moslem, a Jew, and a Catholic, three close friends from early childhood, devout followers of their particular religion and each with a national respect for the belief of the others. In the restaurant, the Moslem specified he

wanted no hors-d'oeuvres made from pork and no wine , the same for his chauffeur seated at a nearby table; the Jew ruled out pork for himself; and the Catholic, as it was a Friday, would have no meat at all. They saw nothing strange in all of this, nor did the waiter. I tell of this incident, one among many, because it is, perhaps the most striking I know of.

It may be said that one incident proves nothing. That is true, But it seems to me that both Mr. Alan and Mr. Barry are so wound up in their emotional "intellectualism" that nothing they do not want to believe could be proven to them.

BENJAMIN PROTTER

301 West 108 St.
New York 25, N.Y.

The two articles which appeared in January's Commentary on France and the Algerian situation need extremely careful and detailed analyses in order that they may be considered in their proper light. ^{Left} As on the Israeli-Arab question, there are several points of view from which the ~~Algerian~~ ^{so it is with the Algerian matter. The difference between Mendes} problem can be observed, ~~(An Egyptian's analysis of the Arab Israeli dispute is as different from a Zionist's as day is from night.)~~ Both believe themselves to be ~~absolutely~~ right, and those caught in the middle try to see "both sides of the picture." An intellectually honest individual, unless he had special interests with ^{either side} ~~the Arabs or the Jews~~, would make every effort to look at the dispute from all sides, weighing all the facts, omitting none of importance, before coming to a conclusion as to who was right and who was wrong or how the impasse was to be resolved.

France's
Sartre's
position
on
Algeria
is as
radically
opposed
as is
Nasser's
Ben Houn
on
the
question
of
Israel.

So it is ^{also} with the Algerian conflict. Both Ray Alan and Joseph Barry are guilty of strictly partisan viewpoints and grave errors of omission. That much they have in common. The difference between the two, however, is that Mr. Alan writes like the so-called "liberal" while Mr. Barry writes ^{more} ~~exactly~~ like the crypto-communist. Mr. Barry's article follows the party line on Algeria all the way without the slightest deviation.

When Commentary becomes the conveyor of the communist line on a question, such as Algeria, which is of crucial interest to Jews, one begins to wonder whether or not the magazine has become another ~~more~~ unwitting tool of those who would put the Jews to sleep for good.

Suzanne Labin, in her excellent study on the techniques of Soviet ^{which was presented to U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary} propaganda, revealed how the communist line often gets into the non-communist press:

"There are in the world few organs of the press, even when 'bourgeois' in which the Soviet apparatus has no intelligence. The main task of auxiliaries in the press is to manipulate the editor, or if that is not feasible, the reporters, without the editor's knowledge. General notions like 'this paper is conservative' or 'Catholic' are not at all sufficient any longer to recognize the policy it follows toward Moscow. Sometimes the managers themselves are unaware that their newspaper is 'permeated.'

"The most thoroughly infiltrated areas are international pages and book and film reviews."

I shall draw ^{again} from Mme. Labin's interesting study later in this article.

Mr. Alan's analysis of the political crisis in France tried to be neither objective nor fair. It's main purpose is to discredit anything remotely pro-French Algerian. Its primary sources of information are leftist Mendes-France circles around L'Express, ^{+ Le Monde} and France Observateur. In France, Mendes-France, for his role in "settling" the Indo-China conflict, in contributing to the catastrophic departures from Morocco and Tunisia, and for his appeasement attitude toward the FLN terrorists is considered one of the ^{"vedettes"} stars of the defeatist camp. Therefore, when Mr. Alan writes about France and Algeria he ^{writes as} is a partisan of the "defeatist" Mendes position, uses their vocabulary, repeats their prejudices, believes their myths, and desires their goals. To write that De Gaulle was brought to power by "right-wing plotters and demagogues" is to reduce ~~xx~~ to a totally incomprehensible and simple cliché the Revolution of May 13, the most significant regenerative event in French history since the 1940 defeat. To constantly refer to the second and third generation Europeans of Algeria as "settlers" is as unjust as calling their immigrant counterparts in America "settlers." To constantly refer to the Europeans of Algeria as

right-wingers is as unjust as labeling all Zionists "right-wingers" because they do not follow the communist-liberal line on Arab nationalism. Nor is "Algerie Francaise" any more a "settler slogan" as Mr. Alan labels it, than is ~~Shema Yisroel~~ ^{ENETZ} ^{a Zionist slogan} ~~Algerie Francaise~~ happens to mean "life" to millions of people threatened with ultimate destruction.

Perhaps the most perfidious portion of Mr. Alan's generally perfidious article is his footnote on anti-Semitism. He writes: "Israel is still fairly popular with the moderate right which dislikes Jews but welcomes any stick with which to scare the Arab; she has lost friends during the last year in liberal circles which criticize Ben Gurion for his intransigent Arabophobia (understandable, surely) and his friendship with men like M. Soustelle and M. Gilbert (a former French ambassador to Israel whom the fascist-minded Jeunesses Socialistes Patriotes claim as a supporter)." It is hard to understand how a magazine sponsored by the American Jewish Committee could ^{permit} ~~allow~~ such slanderous rubbish to appear in its pages. For the last two years I have followed the French press, particularly the publications of the so-called "moderate right" quite closely and I have found nothing but sincere friendship for Israel and genuine concern for the fate of the Jews in Algeria. Soustelle ^{is well known as} ~~has been~~ a long and faithful friend of the Jewish people and is one of the strongest advocates of a French-Israeli alliance, ^{which would give Israel the better part of the security bargain.} ~~which would give Israel the better part of the security bargain.~~ M. Gilbert, who served long ^{Israel's} ~~the Jewish people's~~ and well as France's envoy to Israel is one of ^{in France} ~~the Jewish people's~~ staunchest friends. To ~~imply~~ ^{to} imply that he has fascist leanings of any sort is a base attempt ^{to} ~~at~~ ^{defamation} ~~of character.~~ ^{him in the} ~~before~~ ^{a Jewish audience.}

4.

softening up
inconquering the enemy

It is interesting to note that ~~the~~ typical communist tactic/is to spread
dissension among friends. Mr. Alan's deliberate attempt to defame Ambassador
Gilbert ~~in Commentary~~ ^{in Commentary} ~~before anti-Semitism~~ cannot be too severely ~~criticized~~ ^{condemned}.

~~It was the first time that Mr. Alan has attempted to brand the French right~~
~~as anti-Semitic the partisans of French Algeria as anti-Semitic.~~ ^{Mr. Alan} If ~~he~~ is

looking for anti-Semitism in the Algerian conflict, he'll find his full of
it in the ranks of the FLN, who ^{in Algeria on December} ~~have been responsible~~ ^{staged} for one of the worst
pogroms since World War II. ~~Now the~~ ^{The} ~~Moscow~~ Cairo-Moscow-Peiping-supported
FLN ^{has} ~~made~~ ^{is} ~~secret~~ about what the fate of the Jews will be in Algeria once
it ~~takes over~~ ^{seizes} power.

What is really amazing is not how much anti-Semitism there is in France
but how ~~little~~ ^{some of} considering that/the strongest advocates of appeasement,
negotiation with the FLN, desertion from the army and other defeatist attitudes
are influential Jews such as Mendes France, Servan Schreiber and Daniel
Mayer. What these men hope to gain for themselves, France, Israel or their
fellow Jews in Algeria ~~is~~ by devoting their energies to a cause labeled
defeatist and traitorous ~~is~~ ^{by} millions of Frenchmen is beyond me.

One can only ^{call} ~~label~~ it suicidal, for should France lose Algeria, and should ^{a major}
~~a catastrophe befall the nation~~ ^{the French nation}, anti-Semitism will increase most assuredly.

There are other elements in Mr. Alan's article which bring a stench
to the nostrils. His implication that most French officers want to keep
Algeria French because of advantageous ~~army~~ ^{army} allowances and pay is an insult
so villainous to the thousands who have died for France and the West that
I consider it a calamity to find it in a/magazine of this ~~kind~~ ^{responsible} kind.

One only has to read Massu's testimony at the Barricades trial to understand ^{the intense}
magnificent work the much-maligned French Army has achieved in Algeria ^{fighting}

J.

terrorism and protecting a whole population from the extortion and blackmail of the FLN, It is also significant that of all the literature in France for Commentary's audience on Algeria, the one Mr. Alan chose to quote/~~was an excerpt from~~ ^{not} Jules Roy's ^{except} La guerre d'Algerie. This particular ~~passage~~ ^{Concluded}, in which Mr. Roy, by some dubious ~~independent~~ calculation arrived at the conclusion that the French Army had decimated ~~the village~~ a village, has been strongly contested in France in any number of newspapers. Mr. Roy, it should be known, is one of the writers ~~Express~~ for L'Express, and makes no bones about his pro-FIN stand.

One could find much more to criticize in Mr. Alan's article. The things he says are bad enough. But what of all the sins of omission? ~~From Mr. Alan's article one would gather that the Algerian conflict is simply between a reluctant~~ What about the FIN and its recent ^{then} espousal of the communist bloc? What ~~of~~ ^{role} about Nasser's ~~stake~~ in the Algerian war? What ~~of the~~ about the problem of NATO which so troubles military circles in ~~Algeria~~ ^{Algeria}? What about Algeria and the struggle between East and West? What about the role of Communist subversion? All of this is best unsaid, I imagine, for Mr. Alan might have to get down to some hard thinking and some difficult questions. It is all very well to describe Mr. Soustelle scurrying about hatching plots; it might have been better to let the readers know why there is a war in the ^{Algerian} first place.

It is difficult to write a more biased article than Mr. Alan's, but Joseph Barry has succeeded, and the reason for this success is not difficult to discover ^{problem} from the ~~communist~~ ^{extreme left} to ~~see~~. Barry merely sees the "Moral Crisis in France" / ^{another position} and with that ~~orientation~~ ^{and with that orientation}, all the "facts" fall into place point of view, ~~entirely~~. After having followed Mr. Barry's column in the New York Post there is no doubt as to where his sympathies lie and for whom he is rooting. ^{without much difficulty - effort.}

alpm 140 such crypto-communist organizations have been counted, each one with its offices, its staff, its publications. 11. The managing organs of these satellite organizations contain, roughly speaking, a quarter ~~xxxxxxx~~ of avowed communists, a quarter of "fellow travelers", whose allegiance is camouflaged, a quarter recruited in that well-known social category of "political half-virgins", more or less innocent but naive people whose complaisance is remunerated with appearances on platforms and luster, and a quarter of constitutionally incurable virgins, whom no experience of political fraud will ever be able to deflower. Thanks to this mixture, these committees are, on the outside, as in the song: "independent although with a few communists--why not, since we are free," and on the inside as the composer wants them: under the strict control of Moscow."....

"Apart from the permanent subsidiaries that the Kremlin colonizes underhandedly, temporary movements are organized: fronts, solidarity days, rallies on topical questions such as 'for freeing the Rosenbergs', 'against EDC,' 'for stopping nuclear tests,' 'against German rearmament,' all of them hidden behind a screen of political neutrality."

81

deceive

Who is Mr. Barry trying to ~~fake~~, therefore, when he writes:

"It is worth noting, at this point, that no Communists signed the manifesto, that Communists do not participate in demonstrations of passive resistance, and that no Communist is urged by his party to serve, but, on the contrary, is told to go. Consequently, one of the unusual facts of the current French intellectual revolt is the absence of Communists."

An unusual fact indeed.

Mr. Barry makes a big to-do about one Jerome Lindon who has ~~gotten~~ ^{tried ever so} ~~hard~~ ^{nowhere} trying to get the police to indict him for signing the manifesto. Lindon it appears is the publisher of La Question, the famous torture book by ^{the} well-known communist Marc Alleg, and La Gangrene, another torture book which turned out to be a fraud. If Lindon is not a communist, then surely it must be merely the party card that he is lacking.

Again, the usual omissions. Much ado about army tortures but no mention of FLN terror, cutthroating, blackmail etc. which has been going on during this period at ~~an~~ ~~increased~~ a stepped-up pace with considerable casualties. No mention of ~~FLN~~ Ferhat Abbas' final solution to the Algerian Jewish question. Nothing but the glorification of 121 traitors to their country whose intellectual dishonesty is only too evident in the wording of the Manifesto itself. The Manifesto ^{ready} ~~says~~:

"We respect and consider justified the conduct of Frenchmen who deem it their duty to help and protect Algerians oppressed in the name of the French people." What I would like to know is which ^{oppressed} Algerians does the Manifesto ~~talking~~ refer to, the 100,000 or so serving loyally in the French Army, the 1,200,000 European Algerians who have as much right to ^{call themselves} ~~be in~~ Algeria ^{as anyone else}, the ~~xxx~~ Algerian Moslems who ^{are equal with their fellow} ~~split~~ in the National ^{French} Assembly in Paris?

9

The truth of the matter is that the oppressed Algerians, ^{which} the 121 are ^{signers} and their leaders in Tunis so concerned about are the cutthroats/who spare neither women nor children, who have inflicted more casualties on the Moslem population than the European, ~~and whose ultimate aim is to~~ who have staged pogroms against innocent Jews living among moslems, and ~~whose ultimate aim~~ ^{aim} ~~is to~~ is to push the Europeans into the sea and destroy ~~the~~ the hundreds of thousands of Moslems who for seven years have served ~~the~~ ~~the~~ the French Republic, their country.

The despicable hypocrisy of the 121 signers ~~is~~ defies adequate condemnation. These sick individuals, in the name of "liberalism", ^{ultimate} are willing to put the death seal on millions for the/benefit of a totalitarian mob who get their instructions from Moscow, Cairo and Peiping. Mr. Barry's attempt to eulogize this bizarre group of political masochists has only the basest and most ^{destructive of} ~~repulsive~~ motives.

Anyone who has more than a superficial knowledge of the tactics & goals of world Communism and their Arab nationalist allies ~~the~~ will understand what the Algerian war is all about. For Jews this is of particular significance, for whether they realize it or not, the ultimate fate of Israel hinges on the eventual outcome of the Algerian conflict. The Russian goal, of course, is to outflank NATO by setting up tactical bases on the North African coast. These bases are the price Ferhat Abbas ^{will pay} ~~is paying~~ for Soviet support. The Arab nationalist goal, of course, is the consolidation of the Arab "homeland" from the Persian Gulf to the Atlantic. This can only be accomplished by expelling France from Algeria. At the same time Nasser is anxious to ~~control~~ ^{deprive France of} the Saharan oil ~~fields~~, for it is this oil which has ~~given France~~ made France free of Middle East ~~oil & Nasser's~~ blackmail. Once France is defeated in North Africa, the Arab world will ^{then} turn its ^{entire} attention to its primary enemy, Israel. At this point

Israel will be in an almost defenseless position. The "liberals" in France, having appeased Arab nationalism with Algeria will certainly ~~aided by the communists will agitate~~ - when ~~agitated~~ he will despair to appeasing the Arabs one more by depriving Israel of military aid. It should be noted that it was France's aid which made the Sinai campaign possible + it is French aid today which ~~is~~ is enabling Israel to develop an atomic potential. Mr. Ray Clavin ^{with Israel} has already reported dissatisfaction among French "liberals" because of Ben Gurion's friendships with Soutelle and his "Arabophobia." ~~The idiot chickens.~~ These same "liberals" and the 121 signers, who are ^{so} ~~safer~~ ~~to~~ ~~avoid~~ ~~ignore~~ ~~any~~ ~~knowledge~~ ~~of~~ ~~Arab~~ ~~terrorism~~, ~~will~~ ~~then~~ ~~be~~ ready to sacrifice ~~several~~ millions of Algerian Frenchmen, to appease Arab nationalism, will certainly not spare the two million Israeli "settlers" or "ultras" with their "slogan" Eretz Israel. Zionism is already synonymous with ~~Capitalist~~ Western Colonialism + imperialism in leftist circles,

And certainly Messrs. Mendes-France, Levan-
 Schirer & the rest will exert pressure on
 Israel to accept the "liberal" solution to
 the Arab-Israel question - that is a return
 to the original UN partition ^{boundaries} ~~plan~~ & the
 readmission of the one million Arab refugees
 who ~~have~~ will have waited ^{so long}, but not in vain.
 And how will Israel be able to resist ~~this~~
 pressure from the Arab & Communist coalition,
 pressure from French "liberals," pressure from
 the "neutralists" and, finally, pressure from
 the Kennedy administration - ~~who by~~
 which by then will have admitted Red
 China to the United Nations?

This is the future as it is now developing
 with ~~astonishing~~ terrifying speed, thanks to De Gaulle's
 "vision, courage, liberalism, etc." Mr. Ben Gurion
 or his successor will be expected to ~~have the~~
 show the same kind of courage and liberalism
 by employing the Israeli Army to force the
 Israelis to accept extermination, as De Gaulle
 is now doing with the French army in Algeria
 toward the Europeans.

And what is Mr. Barry's role in all of this. I imagine his ~~for~~ assignment ~~has~~ is ^{help} to brainwash Jewish liberals and lead them into the camp of suicide. With a column in ^{the} N.Y. Post & ~~for many years~~ ~~in the pages of~~ access to the ~~frontier~~ pages of Commentary, he is well on his way to preaching in his own success.

May God protect the Jewish people from the next "final solution."

THE "LIBERALS" AND THE NEXT "FINAL SOLUTION"

by Samuel L. Blumenfeld

The two articles which appeared in January's *Commentary* on France and the Algerian situation need extremely careful and detailed analyses in order that they may be considered in their proper light. Just as on the Israeli-Arab question, there are several points of view from which the problem can be observed, so it is with the Algerian matter. The difference between Mendes-France's and Soustelle's positions on Algeria is as radical as is Nasser's and Ben Gurion's on the question of Israel. Both believe themselves to be right, and those caught in the middle try to see "both sides of the picture." An intellectually honest individual, unless he had special interests with either side, would make every effort to look at the dispute from all sides, weighing all the facts, omitting none of importance, before coming to a conclusion as to who was right and who was wrong or how the impasse was to be resolved.

So it is with the Algerian conflict. But both Ray Alan and Joseph Barry are neither intellectually honest or impartial observers. Both are guilty of strictly partisan viewpoints and grave errors of omission. That much they have in common. The difference between the two, however, is that Mr. Alan writes like the so-called "liberal" while Mr. Barry writes more as one of the extreme-left.

When Commentary becomes the conveyor of the ideology of the extreme left line on a question, such as Algeria, which is of crucial interest to Jews, one begins to wonder whether or not the magazine is fulfilling its rightful function as an intelligent informant for the Jewish community.

Mr. Alan's analysis of the political crisis in France for example tries to be neither objective nor fair. Its main purpose is to discredit anything remotely pro-French Algerian. Its primary sources of information are leftist Mendes-France circles around L'Express, France-Observateur, and Le Monde. In France, Mendes-France, for his role in "settling" the Indo-China conflict, in contributing to the catastrophic departures from Morocco and Tunisia, and for his appeasement attitude toward the FLN terrorists is considered one of the "vedettes" of the defeatist camp. Therefore, when Mr. Alan writes about France and Algeria, he writes as a partisan of the "defeatist" Mendes position, uses their vocabulary, repeats their prejudices, believes their myths, and desires their goals. To write that De Gaulle was brought to power by "right-wing plotters and demagogues" is to reduce to a totally incomprehensible and simple cliché the Revolution of May 13, the most significant regenerative event in French history since the 1940 defeat. To constantly refer to the second and third generation Europeans of Algeria as "settlers" is as unjust as calling their immigrant counterparts in America anything less than Americans. To constantly refer to the Europeans of Algeria as "right-wingers" is as unjust as labeling all Zionists "right-wingers" because they do not follow the communist-liberal line on Arab nationalism. Nor is "Algerie Francaise" anymore a "settler slogan," as Mr. Alan labels it, than is Shma Yisroel a Zionist slogan. Algerie Francaise happens to mean "life" to millions of people threatened with ultimate destruction.

Perhaps the most perfidious portion of Mr. Alan's generally perfidious article is his footnote on anti-Semitism. He writes: "Israel is still fairly popular with the moderate right which dislikes Jews but welcomes any stick with which to scare the Arab; she has lost friends during the last year in liberal circles which criticize Ben Gurion for his intransigent Arabophobia (understandable, surely) and his friendship with men like M. Soustelle and M. Gilbert (a former French ambassador to Israel whom the fascist-minded Jeunesses Socialistes Patriotes claim as a supporter)." It is hard to understand how a magazine sponsored by the American Jewish Committee could permit such slanderous rubbish to appear in its pages. For the last two years I have followed the French press, particularly the publications of the so-called "moderate right", quite closely and I have found nothing but sincere friendship for Israel and genuine concern for the fate of the Jews in Algeria. Soustelle is well-known as a long and faithful friend of the Jewish people and is one of the strongest advocates of a Franco-Israeli alliance of which Israel would be the primary benefactor. Mr. Gilbert, who served long and well as

France's envoy to Israel is one of Israel's staunchest friends in France. To imply that he has fascist leanings of any sort is a base attempt to defame him before a Jewish audience. If Mr. Alan is looking for anti-Semitism in the Algerian conflict, he'll find his full of it in the ranks of the FLN, who in Algiers in December staged one of the worst pogroms since World War II. The Cairo-Moscow-Peiping-supported FLN has made no secret as to what the fate of the Jews will be in Algeria and elsewhere once it seizes power.

What is really amazing is not how much anti-Semitism there is in France but how little considering that some of the strongest advocates of appeasement, negotiation with the FLN, desertion from the army and other defeatist attitudes are influential Jews such as Mendes-France, Servan-Schreiber and Daniel Mayer. What these men hope to gain for themselves, France, Israel or their fellow Jews in Algeria by devoting their energies to a cause labeled defeatist and traitorous by millions of Frenchmen is beyond me. One can only call it suicidal, for should France lose Algeria, and should as a result, a major catastrophe befall the French nation, anti-Semitism will most assuredly increase.

There are other elements in Mr. Alan's article which bring a stench to the nostrils. His implication that most French officers want to keep Algeria French because of advantageous army allowances and pay is an insult so villainous to the thousands who have died for France and the West that I consider it a calamity to find it in a responsible magazine of this kind. One has only to read Massu's testimony at the Barricades

trial to understand the intense and magnificent work the much-maligned French Army has achieved in Algeria combatting terrorism and protecting a whole population from the extortion and blackmail of the FLN. It is also significant that of all the literature in France on Algeria, the one Mr. Alan chose to quote for Commentary's audience was Jules Roy's La guerre d'Algérie. This particular excerpt, in which Mr. Roy, by some dubious calculation concluded that the French Army had decimated a village, has been strongly contested in France in any number of newspapers. Mr. Roy, it should be known, is one of the writers for L'Express, and makes no bones about his pro-FLN stand.

One could find much more to criticize in Mr. Alan's article. The things he says are bad enough. But what of all the sins of omission? What about the FLN and its recent open espousal of the communist bloc? What about Nasser's role in the Algerian war? What about the problem of NATO which so troubles military circles in the west? What about Algeria and the struggle between East and West? What about the role of Communist subversion? All of this is best unsaid, I imagine, for Mr. Alan might have to get down to some hard thinking and some difficult questions. It is all very well to describe Mr. Soustelle scurrying about hatching plots, which unfortunately he is not doing; it might have been better to let the readers know why there is a war in Algeria in the first place.

It is difficult to write a more biased article than Mr. Alan's, but Joseph Barry has succeeded, and the reason for this success is not difficult to discover. Barry merely sees the problem from the "extreme left" point of view, and with that orientation, all the "facts" fall into place without effort. One recognizes a familiar vocabulary, a kind of exuberant style in which French traitors are painted in the lovely hues of heroism, reminiscent of Soviet Realism, and the same old dead horses of French

Army tortures are played once more and anybody who thinks Algeria is French turns out to be a fascist. Here the sins of omission are cunning and calculated. Mr. Barry's article is mainly devoted to eulogizing the glamorous 121 left-wing intellectuals who signed the now-famous manifesto sanctioning desertion from the French army. To American intellectuals this Manifesto may seem like a perfectly wonderful and heroic gesture in defiance of militarism, colonialism and all other evils. In France, however, the consensus was quite different. One hundred twenty-one intellectuals, no matter how famous, do not represent a nation. Treason is treason, even if the traitor is Jean-Paul Sartre or Simone Signoret. As much as I admire Mme. Signoret as an actress, I do not admire her as a political thinker. She and many other of the signers have long been identified with Communist causes. These are basically the same people who tried so hard to save the Rosenbergs when that was the red cause of the hour. Mr. Barry makes a big point of mentioning that no communists signed the manifesto. That, of course, makes it kosher. But it should be observed that it is the absence of the above-board communists that make this "manifesto" suspect.

Who is Mr. Barry trying to deceive, therefore, when he writes:

"It is worth noting, at this point, that no Communists signed the manifesto, that Communists do not participate in demonstrations of passive resistance, and that no Communist is urged by his party to serve, but on the contrary, is told to go. Consequently, one of the unusual facts of the current French intellectual revolt is the absence of Communists."

An unusual fact indeed.

Mr. Barry makes a big to-d- about one Jerome Lindon who has tried ever so hard to get the police to indict him for signing the manifesto. Lindon it appears is the publisher of La Question, the famous torture book by the well-known communist Marc Alleg, and La Gangrene, another torture

book which turned out to be a fraud. If Lindon is not a communist, then surely it must be merely the party card that he is lacking.

Again, the usual omissions. Much ado about army tortures but no mention of FLN terror, cutthroating, blackmail, etc. which has been going on during this period at a stepped-up pace with considerable casualties. No mention of Ferhat Abbas' final solution to the Algerian Jewish question. Nothing but the glorification of 121 traitors to their country whose intellectual dishonesty is only too evident in the wording of the Manifesto itself. The Manifesto reads:

"We respect and consider justified the conduct of Frenchmen who deem it their duty to help and protect Algerians oppressed in the name of the French people."

What I would like to know is which oppressed Algerians does the Manifesto refer to, the 200,000 or so serving loyally in the French Army, the 1,200,000 European Algerians who have as much right to call themselves Algerians as anyone else, the Algerian Moslems who sit as equals with their fellow Frenchmen in the National Assembly in Paris? The truth of the matter is that the oppressed Algerians which the 121 signers are so concerned about are the cutthroats and their leaders in Cairo and Tunis who spare neither women nor children, who have inflicted more casualties on the Moslem population than the European, who have staged pogroms against innocent Jews living among Moslems, and whose ultimate aim is to push the Europeans into the sea and destroy the hundreds of thousands of Moslems who for seven years have loyally served their country, the French Republic.

The hypocrisy of the 121 signers defies adequate condemnation. In the name of "liberalism," these sick individuals are willing to put the death seal on millions for the untimate benefit of a totalitarian mob who get their instructions from Moscow, Cairo, and Peiping.

imperialism in leftist circles, and certainly Messrs. Mendes-France, Servan-Schreiber and the rest will exert pressure on Israel to accept the "liberal" solution to the Arab-Israel question - that is a return to the original UN partition boundaries and the admission of the one million Arab refugees who will have waited so long, but not in vain. And how will Israel be able to resist pressure from the Arab and communist coalition, pressure from French "liberals," pressure from the "neutralists" and, finally, pressure from the Kennedy administration.

This is the future as it is now developing with terrifying speed, thanks to De Gaulle's "vision, courage, liberalism, etc." Mr. Ben Gurion or his successor will be expected to show the same kind of courage and liberalism by employing the Israeli army to force the Israelis to accept extermination, as De Gaulle is now doing with the French army in Algeria toward the Europeans.

And what is Mr. Barry's role in all of this? I imagine his mission is to help brainwash Jewish liberals and lead them into the camp of suicide. With a column in the New York Post and access to the pages of Commentary, he is well on his way to success.

May God protect the Jewish people from the next "final solution."

THE "LIBERALS" AND THE NEXT "FINAL SOLUTION"

by Samuel L. Blumenfeld

The two articles which appeared in January's Commentary on France and the Algerian situation need extremely careful and detailed analyses in order that they may be considered in their proper light. Just as on the Israeli-Arab question, there are several points of view from which the problem can be observed, so it is with the Algerian matter. The difference between Mendès-France's and Soustelle's position⁴ on Algeria is as radically ~~opposed~~ as is Wasser's and Ben Gurion's on the question of Israel. Both believe themselves to be right, and those caught in the middle try to see "both sides of the picture." An intellectually honest individual, unless he had special interests with either side, would make every effort to look at the dispute from all sides, weighing all the facts, omitting none of importance, before coming to a conclusion as to who was right and who was wrong or how the impasse was to be resolved.

So it is ~~also~~ with the Algerian conflict. ^{But} Both Ray Alan and Joseph Barry ^{are neither intellectually honest or impartial observers.} are guilty of strictly partisan viewpoints and grave errors of omission.

Both That much they have in common. The difference between the two, however, is that Mr. Alan writes like the so-called "liberal" while Mr. Barry writes more ^{as one} like ^{someone of the extreme-left.} (the crypto-communist). ~~Mr. Barry's article follows the party line on~~ Algeria all the way without the slightest deviation.

When Commentary becomes the conveyor of the ^{ideology of the extreme left} ~~communist~~ line on a question, such as Algeria, which is of crucial interest to Jews, one begins to wonder whether or not the magazine ^{is fulfilling its rightful function} ~~has become another unwitting tool of~~ ^{as an informant for the Jewish community.} ~~these who would put the Jews to sleep for good.~~

intelligent Suzanne Labin, in her excellent study on the techniques of Soviet propaganda, which was presented to ^{the} U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary,

revealed how the communist line often gets into the non-communist press:

"There are in the world few organs of the press, even when 'bourgeois,' in which the Soviet apparatus has no intelligence. The main task of auxiliaries in the press is to manipulate the editor, or if that is not feasible, the reporters, without the editor's knowledge. General notions like 'this paper is conservative' or 'Catholic' are not at all sufficient any longer to recognize the policy it follows toward Moscow. Sometimes the managers themselves are unaware that their newspaper is 'permeated.'

"The most thoroughly infiltrated areas are international pages and book and film reviews."

I shall draw again from Mme. Labin's interesting study later in this article.

Mr. Alan's analysis of the political crisis in France ^{for example} tried^A to be neither objective nor fair. It's main purpose is to discredit anything remotely pro-French Algerian. Its primary sources of information are leftist Mendès-France circles around L'Express, France-Observateur, and Le Monde. In France, Mendès-France, for his role in "settling" the Indo-China conflict, in contributing to the catastrophic departures from Morocco and Tunisia, and for his appeasement² attitude toward the FLN terrorists is considered one of the "vedettes" of the defeatist camp. Therefore, when Mr. Alan writes about France and Algeria, he writes as a partisan of the "defeatist" Mendès position, uses their vocabulary, repeats their prejudices, believes their myths, and desires their goals. To write that De Gaulle was brought to power by "right-wing plotters and demagogues" is to reduce to a totally incomprehensible and simple cliché

the Revolution of May 13, the most significant ^{re}generative event in French history since the 1940 defeat. To constantly refer to the second and third generation Europeans of Algeria as "settlers" is as unjust as calling their immigrant counterparts in America ^{anything less than Americans} "settlers." To constantly refer to the Europeans of Algeria as "right-wingers" is as unjust as labeling all Zionists "right-wingers" because they do not follow the communist-liberal line on Arab nationalism. Nor is "Algérie Française" any more a "settler slogan," as Mr. Alan labels it, than is ^{Shema} ~~Yisroel~~ Yisroel a Zionist slogan. Algérie Française happens to mean "life" to millions of people threatened with ultimate destruction.

France's envoy to Israel is one of Israel's staunchest friends in France. To imply that he has fascist leanings of any sort is a base attempt to defame him before a Jewish audience. ~~(It is interesting to note that a typical communist tactic in softening up the enemy is to spread dissension among friends. Mr. Alan's deliberate attempt to defame Ambassador Gilbert in Commentary cannot be too severely condemned.)~~ If Mr. Alan is looking for anti-Semitism in the Algerian conflict, he'll find his full of it in the ranks of the FLN, who in Algiers in December staged one of the worst pogroms since World War II. The Cairo-Moscow-Peiping-supported FLN has made no secret ^{as to} ~~about~~ what the fate of the Jews will be in Algeria ^(and elsewhere) once it seizes power.

What is really amazing is not how much anti-Semitism there is in France but how little considering that some of the strongest advocates of appeasement, negotiation with the FLN, desertion from the army and other defeatist attitudes are influential Jews such as Mendès-France, Servan-Schreiber and Daniel Mayer. What these men hope to gain for themselves, France, Israel or their fellow Jews in Algeria by devoting their energies to a cause labeled defeatist and traitorous by millions of Frenchmen is beyond me. One can only call it suicidal, for should France lose Algeria, ^{as a result,} and should a major catastrophe befall the French nation, anti-Semitism will most assuredly increase.

There are other elements in Mr. Alan's article which bring a stench to the nostrils. His implication that most French officers want to keep Algeria French because of advantageous army allowances and pay is an insult so villainous to the thousands who have died for France and the West that I consider it a calamity to find it in a responsible magazine of this kind. One has only to read Massu's testimony at the Barricades

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"In all spheres of life, whether political, cultural like the cinema, technical like biology, or neutral like sports or eugenics, organizations are set up or colonized so as to make citizens work for the Communist Party who would never have been its followers if openly canvassed by it...In France alone 140 such crypto-communist organizations have been counted, each one with its offices, its staff, its publications. ...The managing organs of these satellite organizations contain, roughly speaking, a quarter of avowed communists, a quarter of 'fellow

travelers[?], whose allegiance is camouflaged, a quarter recruited in that well-known social category of 'political half-virgins,' more or less innocent but naive people whose complaisance is remunerated with appearances on platforms and luster, and a quarter of constitutionally incurable virgins, whom no experience of political fraud will ever be able to deflower. Thanks to this mixture, these committees are, on the outside, as in the song: 'independent although with a few communists--why not, since we are free,' and on the inside as the composer wants them: under the strict control of Moscow.*....

"Apart from the permanent subsidiaries that the Kremlin colonizes underhandedly, temporary movements are organized: fronts, solidarity days, rallies on topical questions such as 'for freeing the Rosenbergs,' 'against EDC,' 'for stopping nuclear tests,' 'against German rearmament,' all of them hidden behind a screen of political neutrality."

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This is the future as it is now developing with terrifying speed, thanks to De Gaulle's "vision, courage, liberalism, etc." Mr. Ben Gurion or his successor will be expected to show the same kind of courage and liberalism by employing the Israeli army to force the Israelis to accept extermination, as De Gaulle is now doing with the French army in Algeria toward the Europeans.

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May God protect the Jewish people from the next "final solution."

(617) 268-6903

January 18, 1983

Mr. Norman Podhoretz
Editor
COMMENTARY
165 East 56th Street
New York, N. Y. 10022

Dear Norman:

You probably don't remember me, but I was involved in the Algerian controversy with Ray Alan and Joseph Barry that took place in the pages of COMMENTARY back in 1961. I like to think that my conversation with you at the time may have helped you start your long journey to the right.

In any case, since then I have continued to write -- five books and numerous articles -- and am as consistently conservative, anti-communist, and pro-Israel as ever. Which brings me to the reason for this letter.

Would you be interested in an article to be entitled "The PLO in Lebanon" -- a sort of documentation of the PLO's invasion of Lebanon in the 70s, its atrocities and consolidation of power as a state within a state until its recent expulsion from Beirut and southern Lebanon by Israel?

Memories being short, people are forgetting very rapidly what took place in Lebanon during those horrible years. One should gather this information while it is still fresh in the minds of the people who lived through it. In addition, the Israeli army captured loads of PLO documents and records which should be looked through.

The world is now so preoccupied with "imperial Israel" and the Beirut massacre, that the entire brutal, savage reign of terror of the PLO in Lebanon has been forgotten, if not forgiven. Arafat's reception by the Pope and ABC's recent documentary on the Beirut massacre made the Palestinians look like the poor victims of blood-thirsty Christians and Jews, even though the PLO is still engaged in bloody warfare in northern Lebanon.

Naturally, we do not see the mangled bodies on the nightly news. Apparently, because there are no Israeli planes around, the wounded children of Tripoli are not quite as interesting as those of Beirut. Besides, the TV cameras are now all on the West Bank filming Jewish settlements and Arab protestors.

Mr. Norman Podhoretz

Page 2

January 18, 1933

I hope you agree that there is an urgent need for a "lest we forget" review of the PLO's seven-year rule by terrorism in Lebanon. If we don't document the facts, who will? Certainly not ABC, CBS, or NBC.

Sincerely yours,

Commentary

165 East 56 Street
New York, New York 10022
PLaza 1-4000



Norman Podhoretz, Editor

January 20, 1983

Mr. Samuel L. Blumenfeld
171 W. Seventh Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02127

Dear Sam:

I do remember you, and I was glad to hear from you again.

The article you propose to write on "The PLO in Lebanon" might very well work for Commentary, but unfortunately I can't give you any advance guarantee. What I can give you is the promise of a sympathetic and hospitable reading of the manuscript. If you aren't willing to go ahead on that basis, I will of course understand. If, on the other hand, this seems to you a reasonable arrangement, please let me know.

Yours,


Norman Podhoretz

NP/rk