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The Arab Boycott - The American Reaction, 1977.

The Arab Boycott - The American Reaction

Daniel Jeremy Silver

April 17, 1977

It seems a shame to have to introduce the jangle of noise which is the marketplace and the disharmony which is international politics into the beauty of song, but I suspect it tells us why melody and song are so central to the religious enterprise. They give to us some intimation of the order that lies behind all of the visible disorder and the beauty which our souls seek against the tawdriness of the everyday. With that, dear friends, I have to turn to the Arab boycott, and to the American reaction to it, the real world, to a world in which sinners are often the most powerful, callousness is often the rule of life.

Let me begin by introducing you to a gentleman by the name of Sir Charles Cunningham Boycott. Captain Boycott was a retired officer of the English Army who upon his retirement from the force hired himself out as agent to the Duke of Erne whose ancestral lands were in County Mayo in Ireland sometime during the 1880's. The Earl of Erne is a British absentee landlord at a time of rising Irish nationalism. At one point late in the 1880's the tenants of the town's estates decided they're not going to pay their rents and their tolls any longer, they'll determine what they should pay to this absentee colonial lord and so they bring a token and the captain, Captain Boycott, refuses to accept it and he is the visible presence of English misrule to these Irish peasants. Angry at his balking of their proposals, they escalate the pressures against him. They adopt what is a new tactic in Irish nationalism, that is, they set up barricades along the road which leads to the estate and they preclude any visitor from coming in and any goods from going out. Count Boycott is not able to go to the marketplace to buy the supplies he needs and he is not able to send out to the marketplace the harvest of the Count's estates. His servants are pressured to leave. He is cut off from the larger world and this boycott, the word originates obviously from this incident, was reported in the London Press at

The Arab boycott actually began in 1836 long before there was an Israeli State. In that year the Arab League and the Grand Muhti of Jerusalem, he was then the spiritual leader of Palestinian Arabs and a good friend of Adolf Hitler, decided that they would bring added pressure against the English government to preclude further immigration of Jews from Europe into Palestine; and they determined at the same time to take their vengeance on the unwanted Jewish intruders by instituting a boycott, by requesting all of the Arabs of Palestine and ^{the} surrounding countries not to do business with Jewish businesses, Zionist businesses as they were called and not to hire themselves out to Jewish manufacturers and farmers to help them in building up their resource or in putting out their manufactured item. Now interestingly, as so often with an economic weapon, the results are paradoxical and historians now believe that this first attempt at an Arab boycott of the Jews of Palestine was counterproductive, that is, it forced Jews to depend upon themselves, to return to some of the fundamental principles ^{to} which early Zionist philosophy had been dedicated. One of these was called ,which is essentially "we'll do our own work, we'll not be dependent upon anyone else, we'll not hire the that , we'll use our that , we'll use our own manufactured produce, we will produce what we need, we will not be economically dependent on the Turks or on the British or on the Arabs, we will be as independent,

The Arab boycott actually began in 1836 long before there was an Israeli State. In that year the Arab League and the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, he was then the spiritual leader of Palestinian Arabs and a good friend of Adolf Hitler, decided that they would bring added pressure against the English government to preclude further immigration of Jews from Europe into Palestine; and they determined at the same time to take their vengeance on the unwanted Jewish intruders by instituting a boycott, by requesting all of the Arabs of Palestine and ^{the} surrounding countries not to do business with Jewish businesses, Zionist businesses as they were called and not to hire themselves out to Jewish manufacturers and farmers to help them in building up their resource or in putting out their manufactured item. Now interestingly, as so often with an economic weapon, the results are paradoxical and historians now believe that this first attempt at an Arab boycott of the Jews of Palestine was counterproductive, that is, it forced Jews to depend upon themselves, to return to some of the fundamental principles ^{to} which early Zionist philosophy had been dedicated. One of these was called _____, which is essentially "we'll do our own work, we'll not be dependent upon anyone else, we'll not hire the ^{that} _{filahain}, we'll work the fields ourselves." And another was _____, we'll use our own manufactured produce, we will produce what we need, we will not be economically dependent on the Turks or on the British or on the Arabs, we will be as independent,

economically, as we can. "

In the 1920's and the 1930's the pioneers had begun to hire Arab workmen for the field and to depend on Arab workmen in their factories. The Arab boycott had the unexpected byproduct from the Arab point of view of increasing the economic viability and self-sufficiency of the yishuv which allowed it, really, to emerge as a self-sufficient State in 1948, so in a strange way we have the Arab boycott to thank for some of the strength shown by the new Israeli State after independence. Very little was done in the way of boycott over the war years, but in 1945, at the end of the war, what we now call the confrontation states, the Arab states near Israel decided to increase the activity of the boycott, which they did: general strikes against Jewish businesses; refusing to hire themselves out to work on the kibbutzim and the moshavot on the farms; an attempt to pressure other governments not to buy Jaffa oranges or other Israeli natural resources or manufactured items. And in 1951 after the establishment of the State a central boycott office was established in Damascus to coordinate this basic boycott of the Israeli .

Now this boycott was to have two phases. Its first phase, which is called the primary boycott, was to preclude any Arab state from dealing or trading with Israel. And the second concern of the boycott was to try and weaken the Israeli economy by quarantining it from all foreign trade, and to that purpose in 1954, in December of 1954, the central boycott office published the first of a list of items, the list would be later much enlarged, which determined the requirements that businesses would have to meet in order to be able to trade with the Arab world. Failing to meet these requirements, these businesses would be blacklisted and the countries involved could simply take this Central Boycott Office blacklist and publish it to their chambers of commerce and industrial groups that they might not deal with the companies so named. Now how did a company get on to the Arab boycott blacklist?

Presumably, according to the rules set out in 1954, a company was registered on the black list if it had a branch manufacturing plant in Israel; if it had an assembly plant in Israel; if it entered into partnership in Israel with any Israeli commercial enterprise; if it lent technical or administrative skills to any Israeli company, if it entered into partnership with an Israeli company for some kind of undertaking any place else in the world; if it acted as the factor or agent for Israeli manufacturers to sell their products any place else in the world; if it acted as a major underwriter of bond issues of the Israeli government; and, finally, if a company refused to fill out the forms which were demanded of it by the Central Boycott Office. Now this last provision was in many ways^{the} most pernicious because the documents which could be requested might not only involve demands as to certificates of origin, that a particular manufactured item had not been in fact manufactured in the United States or in Japan, but had been manufactured let's say in Israel which item would be boycotted, but it might include the demands that the company reveal that nowhere in the world was it dealing with any organization which had dealings with Israel, and in fact often did demand the religion of the principles of the company and something about the charitable contributions of the principles of the company, an obvious move from being simply anti-Israeli to being anti-Jewish or anti-semitic. The attempt to know about Jewish concerns was obviously an attempt to know about involvement in United Jewish Appeal and in activities of that kind.

Now in 1954 there was really very little trade between United States and most of the countries of the west and the Arab world. The Arab bureaucracy was not very well organized and for a dozen years or so the boycott sputtered along, was erratically imposed. Some companies which had branch offices or branch manufacturing plants in Israel were not on the boycott list. Some companies were on the boycott list for reasons which no one ever understood. Some companies were put on the boycott list

simply because the boycott office wanted to hold them for blackmail, here was a way for paying the freight, paying the cost of maintaining the office. But as the pace of trade with the Arab world increased the boycott activities became of greater concern to other companies and to the major industrial states in the world.

In 1964 there was only about two hundred million dollars' worth of export trade between the United States and the Arab world, but it was clear that that figure was going to rise year by year and the request, the demands for boycott information that were coming down from the Arab world were more and more pushing American companies into the position where they were in fact acting as policemen, as administrators of the boycott itself. They were being asked information not only about their own trade with Israel, but they were being asked for information about the trade of their suppliers and of their agents and of their overseas subsidiaries. Banks were told that they would have to demand negative certificates of origin and other boycott compliance documents before they could process letters of credit. Insurance agents, freight groups and the like were told that they would have to provide certificates of origin and other boycott documents before they would be allowed to deal with the Arab states and Arab companies. Now this was of great concern throughout the world because now the Arab world was not only within its own frame by trying to restrain the strengthening of the Israeli economy, but was trying to turn those companies which wanted to deal with it into agents who would use their own leverage to increase the pressure against Israel, to deny Israel trade, business opportunity and the like.

In 1965 the United States government was sufficiently concerned to add an amendment to the Export Administration Act which is the act which governs our basic trade policy vis a vis export which said in effect that the Department of Commerce should establish a monitoring agency. It required that businesses, contracting firms and

the like, though not banks and other kinds of insurance organizations, would have to report to the Department of Commerce any requests that had been made of them for boycott information and that the Department of Commerce would have to have this material available to the government when it wished to go through it. There were no sanctions imposed for compliance. In fact, it was not specifically said that compliance was against the law. The United States simply wanted to know what was happening to be able to determine whether or not the Arab boycott was having a negative effect on our trade and was intruding into the legitimate, purely legitimate domestic concerns of the United States. What's important about this first piece of so-called anti-boycott legislation is that included in this act which was simply an act to survey the situation with a clear statement of United States government policy, a statement which remains our policy to the moment. It says:

It is the policy of the United States to oppose restrictive trade practices or boycotts fostered or imposed by foreign countries against other countries friendly to the United States and to encourage and request domestic concerns engaged in the export of articles, materials, supplies or information, to refuse to take any action, including the furnishing of information or the signing of agreements, which has the effect of furthering or supporting restrictive trade practices or boycotts fostered or imposed by any foreign countries against another country friendly to the United States.

This was our stated policy. As the rate of trade, of export and import trade, with the Arab countries increased, it increased to 1,800,000,000 dollars by 1971 to 5.6 billion dollars in 1975 to nearly 8 billion dollars in 1976. The intrusion of the Arab boycott into the ordinary day by day practice of American business became more and more visible ^{of} and greater and greater concern. And more and more companies found themselves in the position of unilaterally or in compliance with the boycott ruling out from bidding subcontractors and suppliers with whom they had long dealt, and of having to process

for the Arab world demands for information which they would not normally give out in the course of their commercial undertakings; more than this, being involved in what was potentially a series of anti-semitic activities because a number of the countries, particularly Saudi Arabia and Libya, demanded baptismal certificates and other proof of religion of the principles in the companies involved and of those who were being sent by the companies to carry out contracting work, engineering work or the like in their countries.

In 1975 the Ford Administration was the first to take some kind of direct attention to curb the intrusion of the Arab boycott into American industrial undertakings. President Ford, by executive action, ruled that no American company might supply to any foreign government information about the race, religion, nationality, sex, or other kinds of labels of this kind about its principles or employees, these items ^{not} being available normally in the course of business in the United States. He ruled further that banks and insurance companies must now report to the Department of Commerce any requests that had been made of them to monitor the boycott for the Arab countries to require certificates of origin and the like; ^{he} and further mandated that ^{the} materials which had been rather sloppily kept at the Department of Commerce should be more rigidly monitored and kept, and that when necessary these materials should be available to those who are the representatives of the people, the Congress of the United States. He didn't go much further. Senator Ribicoff in that year introduced an amendment to our tax laws which denied overseas tax credits of various kinds to companies who were for one reason or another in compliance with the Arab boycott activities. These rules did not penalize the major oil companies who were the major violators in this respect because they were held to be totally owned tools or instruments of the countries in which they operated and, therefore, not free to operate otherwise, an interesting statement about so-called American businesses, but more than this, they tended to operate against the large construction

and engineering companies who were involved in Saudi Arabia and Libya, Egypt, places like that, and to penalize them for becoming agents in effect of Arab economic policies which were inimicable to the stated policies of our national interest, that is, the economic viability and the survival and the strength of the State of Israel. There was great human cry against this tax provision. A number of the companies did not comply. Finally, the Justice Department brought a suit against the Bechtel Corporation, the largest of the multi-national construction companies in the world, one which is centered in the United States, and Bechtel Corporation was accused of sending out to all of its agents throughout the world information requiring that they not buy materials, supplies, from any company which was on the Arab blacklist, not only for their activities in the Arab world, but any place else in the world, in the United States or ⁱⁿ Europe or in South America and further, that it was requiring the same policy of all of its sub-contractors and suppliers, that they not only be cleared from the Arab boycott list if they wanted to operate in the Arab world, but that they prove to the Bechtel Corporation that they had in fact not dealt with companies on the black list any place else in the world in the course of their normal business. In January of this year a consent decree was entered into between the Justice Department and the Bechtel Corporation in which they did not admit what was obviously the case, they had engaged in such practices and agreed to cease and desist from them. And it's precisely this kind of activity, the current anti-boycott legislation, is designed to prevent and to preclude.

The Ford Administration then took the first steps towards curbing the impact of the Arab boycott in American industry by setting up divisions between American businessmen and other American businessmen, between American businessmen who are

not Jewish and those who are Jewish, but it was unwilling to go further, and when both in the Senate and the House of Representatives amendments were introduced to the Export Administration Act which was up for renewal at the end of the last Congress, in September of last year, and when some rather stiff provisions were entered into those amendments and passed by both houses the Ford Administration, under the pressure of large oil companies, large banks and American industry, brought sufficient pressure on the Conference Committee to have the bill killed in Conference and no bill passed the 94th Congress. When this Congress came into being in January of this year it was clear that there would have to be an Export Administration Act and that some kind of boycott legislation would have to be part of that act and that legislation now has been making its way through the Congress. It's very difficult legislation. It's difficult legislation because it requires the policing of all of the industries of the United States and as we know American industry is both shy of giving out a great deal of information on its activities and quite willing, as we can see, from the daily revelations in the American press, of doing all kinds of under the table things when in fact wants to do it. It's quite difficult then to find ways of establishing a set of rules which would be effective, but in some ways it is more important that the record be clear and the purpose of the American government be clearly stated than it is to find a fool-proof system of regulating anti-boycott legislation.

It seems clear that the legislation which will pass this Congress, and some legislation will, that this legislation will preclude American businesses from revealing information as to the religion of its principles or employees. It seems clear that this legislation will, on paper at least, tell American industry that it may not refuse to deal with Israel simply because it is selling to the Arab world and may not comply with boycott provisions in that respect. It seems clear that this provision will require the

publishing of boycott requests received by the various companies and the opening to the public of the responses made by the various companies. It seems clear that there will be an attempt made to see that the certificates of origin which are required will stipulate simply that these goods are manufactured in the United States and will not be what they call a negative certificate of origin which says that these goods are not manufactured in Israel. The attempt here is to take out the concern, ^{which is} really the larger concern on all of this, that American industry has been sensitized to Israel and sensitized to the Jews among them, they are now no longer operating in a religiously indifferent or Near Eastern indifferent structure and they must begin to consider whether or not they will deal and how they will deal with these complicated issues. And the problem here is not only will they comply with the boycott but will they go beyond the boycott to avoid embarrassment. One thing a lot of banks and a lot of insurance companies and a lot of big businesses want is not to be put in the position where a great deal of static is raised upon their operation, so it's easier to not hire a Jew than to hire a Jew, so it becomes easier not to deal with Israel than to go out and seek trade with Israel. You're asking for trouble, why bother. This is not to say that they do it, but this is simply to say that this is inevitably the way they will look at the problems which come across their desk. And it's clear to that extent the Arab boycott has succeeded.

I saw in some papers the other day the record of an engineer with 25 years of experience, a graduate of M. I. T., who had worked with the major companies around the world, a Jewish engineer, who set out deliberately to be interviewed by the eight major construction companies centered in the United States who do large amounts of business with the Arab world and he answered the ads which appeared in the New York Times on Sunday. When he wrote and sent in his resume four of the six companies that responded asked and send back a letter saying we received your resume and it

seems very appropriate to the job; we have several more questions we want to ask you. Question number one, what is your religion? Of the two companies which invited him in for an interview, one company asked right at the beginning of the interview, what is your religion and when he told them the interview was adjourned within ten minutes. The last company involved interviewed him, failed to ask him about his religion, offered him a job, but then two weeks later he was called up and told that upon further investigation we find we cannot offer this place to you.

Now this is one of the major concerns and one of the reasons that the American Jewish community is so involved in this anti-boycott legislation, because it has intruded the factor of Jewishness into the capacity of young men and young women to advance within the business community and within the banking community, and even within government itself for I would remind you that up till three years ago, up to an executive order of President Ford's, the Corps of Engineers of the United States and the State Department of the United States refused to send employees, soldiers, who were Jews, to assignment in certain of the Arab countries. They were in effect carrying out the demands of the Arab companies by their own assignment policies. That is now prohibited under executive action, but it was an effective policy. And one of our concerns is that many businesses will act ahead of time to make this possible. It would seem to me to be to the advantage of American businesses to have a ^{very} clear set of guidelines under which to operate. One of the problems here is that no one else in the world wants to establish these guidelines. American business represents between thirteen and sixteen percent of the export business to the Arab world. None of the countries which govern the other 84-85 percent of that trade have any single law on their books which will require even the monitoring of requests for boycott information, none of the countries of the so-called free world, England, France, Germany, Canada, none of them have

laws which preclude companies from in any way doing anything that is necessary to comply with the boycott demands of the Arab countries. In this sense we can be very proud of the United States. It has begun to move ahead. The question is how far can it go and how far will it go. It's very clear that in an attempt to pull the teeth of much of this anti-boycott legislation, those businesses which have strong ties to the Arab world have begun to mount major public relations and political pressure campaigns, particularly in the journals and the newspapers which appeal to the world of industry. The reasons for this? Well, there are many.

Some of them are really captive of their single largest customer. Some of the companies have dealt so long in the Arab world that they can see only the Arab side of the coin. Some of the companies in a sense have tried to establish them in the Arab world by talking about their ability to make the American people, the American government, do it their way, their good name in that sense is on the line. And the line that they have been trying to face before the American people is that if America passes strong anti-boycott legislation we will stand to lose tens of thousands or perhaps hundreds of thousands of jobs. We will lose what little trade we now have with the Arab world, the sixteen percent, and more importantly in their fullsome concerns, America will lose its ability to move the Middle East to peace because we will lose what leverage we now have with the Arab world as a country that they can depend upon and know to be fair-minded.

When the legislation that was before the last Congress, various departments of government were asked to estimate the loss of businesses that might accrue to the United States because of anti-boycott legislation. And though obviously no government agency of the United States can determine what will be the policy of the Arab states, it's erratic at best, the best answer that could be given to this question is that most of the business which we now do in the Arab world is highly technical in nature, and we are,

in a sense, the only place in the world where these services and supplies are available, that though we might lose some business it would not be of a great order. Whether we would lose some new business which might be available no one could in fact say, but, at the same time, it must be clear that we would not gain leverage with the Arab world to achieve peace because all we would be telling the Arab world in effect was that we cannot stand up against them, that whatever they want, given their new oil dollar power, they will get. If we give in to the boycott we'll have to give in then on whatever we propose at Geneva; if we have given in whatever we propose in Geneva we'll have to give in again further down the line. Leverage power is useful only when it can be used and the fact that our tourists and our diplomats are now welcome at Riad or in Cairo or Damascus is no proof that we in fact have leverage with these governments to encourage them to do what we want them to do or to accept a peace in the Middle East which seems reasonable to us. Not at all. What is at test here is a test of will, whether in fact the Arab countries dictate to the world, to the United States, how we will conduct our business, how we will manage our trade, what standards we will accept as appropriate standards between nations, as appropriate standards between commercial undertakings within the nations.

Now it's hard to know how all this will work out. I suspect it will work out as most things get done, with partial solutions and partial answers and getting along. Israel has not been hurt particularly by the Arab boycott. Israel has found ways to make up with its own resources and from other sources what it could not get here or there when some company or some country boycotted trade with Israel. The real impact of the Arab boycott is internal, domestic. It has to do with the way in which business will be conducted here in the United States, whether religion will suddenly become an issue within the business world; whether the business world can be turned into a group

who will police the boycott for the Arab states or not. There are obviously limits as to how far the boycott can be allowed to intrude within our economy. What those limits are will be established by law and will be tested in the courts. Let's hope that they are strict and that American business shows a social concern beyond that which some of its parts have not shown heretofore.

And for us as Jews, well, we're Jews, we've been here before. For us as Jews there is a concern here because what we're seeing in operation is the power of the weapon which is the dollar, the power of oil, the power of commerce. It explains why we now are concerned about so-called evenhandedness. What does it mean? How far will any government give in to the demands of those who have the dollars, whose dollars we want? Clearly, the nations of western Europe have been unwilling even to face up to the possibility of establishing anti-boycott regulations. Canada may, but no other country has moved in that direction.

Clearly, we're learning something about how the world really operates and what the diplomats really mean when they talk of peace and negotiations and Geneva. The problem at Geneva will not be whenever it meets Israel's intransigence. The question at Geneva will be how eager is the western world to forget its principles and to get the dollar, the dollar which is born out of the earth, out of the oil out of the Arab states.



It is the policy of the United States to oppose restrictive trade practices or boycotts fostered or imposed by foreign countries against other countries friendly to the United States and to encourage and request domestic concerns engaged in the export of articles, materials, supplies or information, to refuse to take any action, including the furnishing of information or the signing of agreements, which has the effect of furthering or supporting restrictive trade practices or boycotts fostered or imposed by any foreign countries against another country friendly to the United States.

The Temple Choir presents a two-part program in commemoration of Jewish Music Month during this Sunday's Service.

The first part consists of 18th Century liturgical works from the repertoire of the Jewish Portuguese Community of Amsterdam, composed by C.G. Lidarti.

NORAH KLOHIM

...a setting of the last verse of Psalm 68, taken from the liturgy for Shavuot.

BOI B'SEALOM

Carol Musante, alto

HAMESIACH

Patricia Genchi and Sheila Shrader, sopranos

KOL HANESHAMAH

Bernita Bricker Smith, soprano

...three compositions written for the Amsterdam Community's special celebrations of Shabbat Nachamu.

B'FI Y'SHARIM

...a selection from the music for Sabbath Morning, for full choir and accompaniment.



The second part consists of three diverse compositions, representing Warsaw, Cleveland, and Mantua.

YAALIEH

Gershon Shaposhnik, adapted by David Gooding

Charles Smith, cantorial tenor

...a great hymn from the Evening Service for Yom Kippur, originally written for unaccompanied cantor, adapted and arranged for full choir, cantor, and organ.

ADONAI ROI

Patricia Genchi

James Shrader, tenor

...a recently composed setting of Psalm 23, written by The Temple's Assistant Music Director.

TOV L'HODOT

Salamone Rossi

Charles Smith, cantorial tenor

...a majestic setting of portions of Psalm 92, written in the 17th Century for use in the Synagogue in Mantua.

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Awarded to students after an interval of 5 years of study

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Throughout most of the 50's and 60's the Central Registry
Office of the Central Board of American Rabbis in the several
states - compiled ^{supplied} lists of blacklisted companies

required companies certificates of origin which
declared each particular imported item

was manufactured in foreign countries

[called a positive certificate of origin]

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National Certificate

was issued by the C.B.O. a division in Washington

which had to decide whether or not the item was imported from

the blacklisted countries or not from other countries

more recently more not provided with such certificates

by year the Theory of the Boycott was revised in 1954

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in Dec of 1954 the following items were added

among the items of a boycott was the boycott

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- 3) had planted in Israel company a manufacturing
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Company

- 5) had supplied technical advice to an Israeli co.
- 6) had acted as broker or agent for Israeli
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- 7) had refused to
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Company was told to reply Reichelt

let that the members of the committee were not doing - and that
the majority of the committee, the bulk of the members were
and that they had long since abandoned their former position
matters
Takes of great interest

There were only 300 in the committee and they were
to be called in 1964 - and that
the group was very small

Committee's first major work - the fact of an agreement
with the Export Administration Act of 1965 - a requirement
was added to the Act that

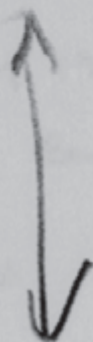
1. That the U.S. government report to the
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Export leads to the local market by

2024 - 1964

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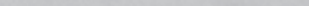
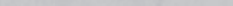
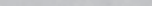
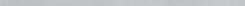
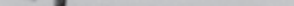
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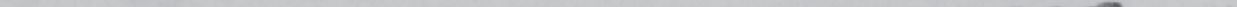
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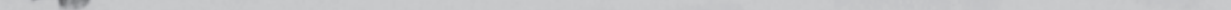
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