
OUTPOST

FEBRUARY 1995

PUBLISHED BY AMERICANS FOR A SAFE ISRAEL

JERUSALEM IS ON THE TABLE

Herbert Zweibon

For all of Yitzhak Rabin's assurances that Jerusalem is non-negotiable, the bitter reality is that Jerusalem is not only negotiable but is already being negotiated. Rabin's actions speak louder than his words, and his latest actions with regard to Jerusalem make it all too clear that the holy city is in grave danger.

Consider Rabin's January 19 pledge to Yasser Arafat that he will prevent the construction of "new settlements" in Judea and Samaria, and restrict construction in existing settlements. Significantly, Rabin did not say that settlements near Jerusalem, such as those in the Gush Etzion region, will be excluded from his pledge to Arafat.

This dovetails with what Rabin has been saying behind the scenes for some time now. In conversations with journalists in recent weeks, the Prime Minister has let it be known that he has adopted a new, restricted vision of Jerusalem. "Significantly, Mr. Rabin has also begun disavowing talk of 'Greater Jerusalem,' a reference to the West Bank settlements that ring the city," Clyde Haberman of the *New York Times* recently reported. "Jerusalem, the Prime Minister now says, does not include its heavily settled West Bank neighbors."

Evidently the Prime Minister has decided that his commitments to the PLO take precedence over his commitments to the people of Israel.

From the PLO's point of view, of course, there is no difference between areas far from Jerusalem, such as Shilo, areas close to Jerusalem, such as Gush Etzion, and areas that are in Jerusalem itself. All of them are part of the "occupied territories" and should be evacuated so that a PLO state can be set up there. (The rest of "Palestine" can wait until Phase 2 of the PLO's longstanding "Strategy of Phases.")

The overwhelming majority of Israelis regard communities like Gush Etzion as part of "Greater Jerusalem" and believe they should be permitted to engage in unrestricted development and expansion. The Labor

Party is likewise on record in favor of construction in "Greater Jerusalem."

But neither Israeli public opinion nor his own party's platform seem to matter much to Mr. Rabin. Like so many of his pre-election positions --no talks with the PLO, no surrender of the Golan Heights, et cetera-- Rabin is well on the way to sacrificing Jerusalem's environs. And that, of course, is just the beginning.

If Rabin can give up on Gush Etzion, which is not far from the southern edges of the Jerusalem municipal boundary, there are many other areas that will follow. Soon Rabin will tell us that the mostly-Arab neighborhoods on the eastern and northeastern edges of Jerusalem are "not really part of Jerusalem" and should be part of the PLO self-rule areas.

After that, perhaps he will declare that other mostly-Arab parts of the city can be part of a self-governing "borough." Then he'll say that "it doesn't really matter if they want to fly the PLO flag there." Next he'll say, "if they want to call it their capital, why should it bother us?"

The Rabin government's promise to include Jerusalem in the 1997 "final status" negotiations was bad enough. But now things have gone far beyond that. The process of surrendering Jerusalem is already underway.◊

Herbert Zweibon is chairman of Americans For a Safe Israel.

IN THIS ISSUE:

<i>The Real Rabin</i>	..3
<i>What is the Alternative?</i>	...7
<i>Israel's Future: An Open Letter</i>	...7
<i>Rabin's Palace Revolt</i>	...8
<i>The Last Optimists</i>	...11
<i>Arafat's Jewish Helpers</i>	...12

From the Editor
Ruth King

U.S. FUNDS FOR DIVIDING JERUSALEM?

Not too many years ago, Jerome Segal was just another obscure Jewish radical, best known as one of the editors of the *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, an anti-Israel journal that publishes articles by avowed anti-Zionists (including Alfred Lilienthal, longtime leader of the anti-Zionist "American Council for Judaism.")

Then Yasser Arafat had an idea. During a meeting with Segal and other American Jewish leftists in Tunis in 1987, Arafat declared that the U.S. Jewish left should "have a counter-AIPAC lobby." Segal took the suggestion to heart, and shortly thereafter established the Jewish Peace Lobby. Segal's active lobbying for a PLO state, and his authorship of several blueprints for PLO statehood, soon resulted in his being dubbed by the media "Jewish father of the Palestinian state."

Despite his extremist credentials, Segal was recently awarded \$35,000 by the United States Institute of Peace, a government agency, to "research Israeli public opinion on the negotiability of the status of Jerusalem" and to "survey public attitudes on the various options put forth for resolution of the conflict in final-status negotiations." Since Segal is a proponent of the PLO agenda, and would like Jerusalem to become the capital of a PLO state, it is not hard to guess what his 'research' will 'discover' concerning Jerusalem. The grant to Segal represents a grotesque misuse of American taxpayers' money.◊

LESSONS FROM THE CHINA LOBBY

"Hill's New Faces Pose Challenge for Jewish Bigs," declared a headline in the *Forward* of January 6. It seems that Jewish groups anticipate battles over school prayer, repeal of the ban on assault weapons, and plans to cut welfare assistance. Almost as an aside, some groups are also worried about a cut in foreign aid.

It is immensely destructive to imply that abortion, school prayers, assault weapons or other liberal shibboleths are Jewish issues, or that there is a monolithic Jewish view on them. The only Jewish issue that should be monolithic is the survival of Israel with the economic and military capacity to fend for itself. An open discussion of foreign aid and its pernicious effect on Israel's socialist economy would be welcome. Committing U.S. troops to defend Israel would be a grave mistake.

The lesson of the China lobby should be sobering to the Jewish community. An ally of Taiwan, at one time it was the strongest ethnic political force in America. Presidents and legislators did not dare to confront it, and

the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate was dubbed the Formosa Committee. But the lobby lost its focus on Taiwan to lobby on unrelated domestic and foreign policy issues. It used its influence to support Senator Joseph McCarthy and when McCarthy was discredited the media turned away from the lobby and it began its decline, eventually to disappear into political oblivion.

A brief fourteen years after the China lobby was at its apogee, Nixon opened the door to Communist China. A few years later, President Jimmy Carter removed the U.S. embassy from Taipei to Peking (now called Beijing). Thus a nation that was recognized by seven American administrations found its American embassy reduced to the consular level, its capital delegitimized and its sovereignty treated as dubious.

Jewish "biggs" would do well to contemplate the fate of the China lobby. They are alienating the majority in both Houses of Congress with their insistence that Judaism equals the platform of the left wing of the Democratic Party. Should there be term limits and PAC financing reform, the clout of an interest group lobby will be sharply reduced. The handwriting is on the wall. Jewish biggs may find themselves getting a lot smaller.◊

ARAFAT'S SILENCE

As he always does after the murder of Jews, Yasser Arafat was silent after the Beit Lid bus stop bombing in January, which left 20 Israelis dead and 67 maimed. Dr. Ahmed Tibi, an Israeli Arab who advises Arafat, issued a statement saying Arafat condemned the attack, but from Arafat himself, publicly, not one word. (Tibi, incidentally, appeared in last month's *Outpost*, for his role in taunting the families of victims of Arab terror when they protested in Oslo against the "peace" prize going to Arafat, angering one Israeli who had been widowed by a terrorist to the point that she spit on him.) Previous Arab terror attacks have been followed by concessions from Rabin, and, unfortunately, Arafat has no reason to believe that Rabin's response to Beit Lid will be any different.◊

Outpost

is published by
Americans For a Safe Israel

147 East 76 St.

New York, NY 10021

tel (212) 628-9400 / fax (212) 988-4065

Editor: Ruth King

Editorial Board: Erich Isaac, Rael Jean Isaac, Herbert Zweibon. *Outpost* is distributed free of charge to members of Americans For a Safe Israel. Annual membership: \$50.

THE REAL RABIN

Erich Isaac

Despite widespread disquiet concerning the results to date of the "peace process," i.e. greater insecurity for Jews both in Israel and the Diaspora, mainstream Jewish organizations and leaders in the United States have continued to affirm their support for Rabin's policies. Even in Israel, where disillusion with the so-called peace process is much more widespread, opposition is muted and half-hearted. In good part the reason lies in trust in Yitzhak Rabin as a military leader. This attitude was typified in an advertisement published in a number of American Jewish papers in August 1994 with the heading "When it Comes to Israel's Security, Nobody Knows More Than Yitzhak Rabin. *Nobody*." The ad's theme was that Rabin, as the man who captured the territories won by Israel in 1967, would never make territorial concessions that would endanger the state.

For all those lulled by Rabin's supposed military distinction as intrepid battle leader in pre-state days and victorious general in the defense of the Land, Dr. Uri Milstein's forthcoming book on Rabin, *The Rabin File*, should serve as a wake-up call. Perhaps the question "Suppose Milstein's book had appeared several years earlier: could that have swayed the small number of votes needed to prevent the Labor victory?" will one day join the "it might have been" scenarios that could have changed history.

Milstein, an eminent military historian, provides material from his book in an article entitled "Yitzhak Rabin: Mired in a Permanent Strategic-Emotional Crisis" in the November 1994 issue of *Nativ*. His thesis is that Rabin was known to be both militarily inept and emotionally unstable, and that despite his terrible record, he rose to become chief of staff and eventually prime minister because the Israeli left, in furtherance of its own ideological agenda and pursuit of power, kept covering up for him. The son of "Red Rosa," Rabin as a youth became part of the elite Palmach military organization, which was led by the left wing of Labor, and it was this that proved his salvation. He was considered sufficiently reliable ideologically to be put in charge of the attack on the Altalena, the ship bringing badly needed arms under the auspices of the Irgun during Israel's War of Independence (see "A New Season," *Outpost*, November 1994).

Rabin's unsuitability for command became apparent to his superiors even before the War of Independence. Rabin was then commander of the Palmach's 2nd battalion. (The four battalions of the Palmach brigade were at that time the only ready force of the Hagana, the defense forces of the organized Jewish community, and a battalion commander assumed functions which in traditional armies are expected of generals in command of divisions). Rabin led an unsuccessful small operation

against Fajja, the village base of a gang operating near Petah Tikva. Milstein discovered that Rabin, true to what would become his hallmark, was nowhere near the operation. Milstein writes that Fajja "foreshadowed the abandonment of his fighting men and his flight from the battlefield in the following year."

In October 1947, more than a month before the outbreak of the War of Independence, Yigal Allon, the commander of the Palmach, removed Rabin from the command of the Palmach's 2nd battalion. In long and detailed interviews which Allon granted Milstein, he made it clear that he considered Rabin unsuitable to lead a regular battalion in the impending conflict. His solution, unfortunately, was to "kick Rabin upstairs" by appointing him operations officer of the Palmach! Milstein considers the decision to promote this flawed battalion leader Allon's original sin, for it put Rabin, "the sum total of whose qualifications consisted of parents belonging to the cadre of the correct [i.e. far left] ideological camp, and of political loyalty," on the road to his present high position.

Milstein quotes Lt. Col. Arie Amit (ret.) about Rabin's removal from his second battalion command: "...he never for an entire year met with his platoon commanders, either individually or in a group...thus if he personally never took part in combat, nor acquired knowledge from commanders that directed combat operations,

how would he learn what a battle was? It is clear that the battlefield did not interest him. To my mind he came to the War of Independence not knowing what combat is really like."

Why did Allon and his political associates continue to cover up for Rabin's inadequacies? Milstein explains that in order to secure their political dominance in the state, these Palmach officers were eager to convince Ben-Gurion that he should abandon his concept of a national army led by Jewish officers trained in the British army. They wanted the Palmach, which they regarded as their ideological strike force, to be the frame for the expanded Jewish forces. In fact, they hoped Ben-Gurion could ultimately be sidetracked from security affairs. Yigal Allon hoped to be the first chief of staff of the new Israel

(Continued on p.4)

THE REAL RABIN

(Continued from p.3)

army and Yisrael Galili, minister of defense--both Palmach members. (In fact, Yaakov Dori, who had been head of the Haganah command, would become first chief of staff and Ben-Gurion kept the defense ministry for himself.) Intent on assuring Palmach supremacy, they could not allow any public disclosures that would place the military capabilities of the Palmach and its commanders in an unfavorable light.

Rabin abandoned his troops on the battlefield when the brigade was ambushed on the way to Jerusalem.

Once appointed operations officer of the Palmach, Rabin was directly involved in the preparation of the Yishuv for the coming conflict. Milstein points out that while Rabin acknowledged "There is no escaping the sad conclusion...we were not properly prepared," he took no responsibility for this situation. Yet, as Milstein sees it, he and his Palmach cohorts bore enormous responsibility "in that they acted as a pressure group against a national and professionally organized army." In March 1946, Col. David (Mickey) Marcus told Ben-Gurion: "There is not one full battalion that one can move and send into battle, and not only because of equipment shortage. There is not one commander that knows how to move a regiment, or even a battalion...The Palmach has excellent human material, brave, but their commanders know how to move a squad and a platoon--they cannot organize 250 men."

After the UN resolution of November 29, 1947, Rabin was placed in command of Palmach forces in the Jerusalem sector. Ironically, Milstein notes, the intention was to shunt him into a reasonably failure-proof command, since the city was to be under direct U.N. rule and no major battles were expected on the approaches to Jerusalem. But from the first weeks of the war, the Arabs fought for control of the roads, with the chief assault directed against the approaches to Jerusalem.

Rabin was thus in charge of the main front in the first four months of the war. In this position, according to Yigal Yadin, who would replace Dori as chief of staff in 1949 and was then head of operations, Rabin refused and evaded orders from his superior in the General Staff (M. Shacham), for, true to his ideology, he was intent on preserving the independence of his Palmach forces. The

Palmach was badly bloodied in the battle for the roads. As Prime Minister, Rabin published an essay "The Battle for Jerusalem," in which he described the defeat, but, as Milstein puts it, "without understanding it, and without, as is his habit, accepting any responsibility."

Among the consequences of this bloody debacle was the withdrawal of American support for the Jewish state. On March 18, 1948, the chiefs of staff of the U.S. army estimated that in view of the military weakness of the Jewish side, it would be necessary to send between 80,000 to 160,000 men to Palestine, to establish a Jewish state. On the 19th of March, U.S. Ambassador Austin informed the Security Council that the U.S. withdrew its support for the establishment of the Jewish state.

Ben-Gurion and Yadin decided to replace Rabin. However, a series of unfortunate events prevented his designated successor from taking up his post (Shaul Yaffe was wounded in the battle of Hulda), and Rabin, now appointed commander of the "Harel" Palmach brigade, was given another chance. Milstein feels his low spirits after being removed from command probably contributed to his poor performance as Harel's commander. On April 20, Rabin abandoned his troops on the battlefield when the brigade, in a convoy of 350 vehicles, was ambushed in the narrow defiles from Bab el-Wad east on the way to Jerusalem. He never was in direct command in the crucial battles of the brigade, including the battle for Nebi Samuel where the brigade suffered significant losses without reaching its objective.

Milstein reports: "After three weeks, in the midst of the engagements, his senior commanders went down to Tel Aviv and complained. Yigal Yadin told Milstein that Yosef Tabenkin, at the time deputy commander of the Harel brigade (and its commander after Rabin's "reassignment") came to him and told him that leaving Rabin in charge of the "Harel" brigade "endangered the Jewish hold on Jerusalem." For the third time, Rabin was removed from a command.

To throw light on Rabin's behavior in stressful command situations, Milstein reports verbatim Tabenkin's testimony as to what occurred to impel him to intervene with Yadin.

"Rabin (appearing at Tabenkin's base at Maale Hachamisha): Something terrible has happened, the convoy was attacked...it's terrible and awful...one has to rush in help.

"Tabenkin: The units will return [from a night operation against Bidu and Beit Suris] within the hour, and I'll be able to send help. You can return to the road with my armored cars.

"Rabin: Yoselle, I am tired and want to sleep. I am going to Jerusalem."

Tabenkin continued: "When I heard this I was so shocked that I couldn't talk. I almost told him: 'People who can't take it in battle should not assume command.

(Continued on p.5)

THE REAL RABIN

(Continued from p.4)

People have infiltrated into the high echelons of command who are not suitable, who proclaim that they are tired and want to sleep, which is a sign that they are broken. Real commanders keep their cool, do not get tired, remain alert under pressure. Even when they are wounded they maintain command.' I realized then that Allon had appointed to a senior post someone who was unable to take the pressures of the battle. I just left him and went to organize the reinforcements. "

After Israel's War of Independence, Rabin served as head of Operations Branch at General Headquarters and in 1956 became commander of the northern forces. Since the war of that year was in the Sinai, Rabin was not put to the test. In 1964, he became chief of staff.

It was as chief of staff that Rabin next faced a crisis situation. On May 23, 1967, in the nerve-wracking period before the outbreak of the Six Day War, Milstein reports another deception from above designed to preserve Rabin's public image. Rabin suffered an emotional collapse. Many years later, in his book, *Yours is Heaven and Yours is the Earth*, Ezer Weizman, now President of Israel, in 1967 head of Operations Branch, wrote candidly about what happened. "I felt [in mid-May 1967] that the condition and stability of the chief of staff, Yitzhak Rabin, had increasingly worsened. This was manifest in the changing of decisions, in the expression of fear of what was to come, and in the inability to decide. Rabin communicated a lack of confidence to those around him. This was obvious in the meetings with the Prime Minister, as well as in the sessions of the general staff."

At the time Weizman, in cooperation with Dr. Gilon, chief army surgeon, concocted a fable that Rabin suffered from severe nicotine poisoning, and that after routine treatment and brief rest would fully recover. According to Weizman, Gilon told him that Rabin suffered from "extreme anxiety." In interviews with Milstein, both Haim Bar-Lev, who had been deputy commander under Rabin, and Ezer Weizman confirmed that Rabin did not completely recover and took no part in three of the most important decisions of the war: the conquest of East Jerusalem, the seizure of the Suez Canal and the taking of the Golan Heights.

Milstein believes the reason for Rabin's breakdown was the collapse of his strategic conceptions. Rabin had adopted the evaluation of the chief of military intelligence, Aharon Yariv, that a military contest between Israel and the Arabs was not to be expected until the 1970s, because until then "there is no reasonable chance for the Arabs to achieve the ability to mount a serious military strike with a realistic possibility of victory." Milstein stresses that Rabin was deeply involved in the formulation of the "national intelligence estimate" which

expressed the conviction that no war was imminent and was then accepted by the government. When the crisis came to a boil, Prime Minister Eshkol and his government were deeply shaken. Eshkol and the Minister of Education and Culture, Zalman Aranne, accused Rabin of misleading the government which was under relentless attack from the opposition, especially from Ben-Gurion's Rafi Party.

In the midst of this turmoil, Rabin sought support from Ben-Gurion. He did not get it. Ben-Gurion blamed Rabin for the developments: "One does not act like this in times of ominous tension...you people brought the state into the most serious straits and you people bear the responsibility." More than this was not needed, says Milstein, to break the spirit of a collapsing chief of staff whose strategic concepts had proved unreal, and whose contingency war plans were totally irrelevant. Moshe Dayan, who had by then replaced Eshkol as minister of defense, records his observation of Rabin: "...[H]e is also confused, lacks self-confidence, is nervous...and most definitely is not eager to face battle."

Rabin was deeply involved in the formulation of the "national intelligence estimate" which expressed the conviction that no war was imminent (in early 1967).

Milstein proceeds to recount what one can only describe as a reenactment of a tragedy's fatal theme. In the *intifada*, once again, all Rabin's assumptions collapsed. Milstein places almost the entire blame for the defeat of the Israel Defense Forces in the *intifada* on Rabin. But once again, the current avatars of the Israeli left shielded Rabin. Milstein writes: "...[W]orry about his replacement by Ariel Sharon inspired a media manipulation which splendidly managed to hide from the public the ongoing failure of Rabin. This was accomplished by redefining the rioting in Judea, Samaria and Gaza as "the war of liberation of the Palestinian people from the oppression of Israeli colonialism."

After the election victory of 1992, Rabin, who appointed himself minister of defense and "super chief of staff," finally grasped the need to squash the *intifada*. Milstein describes in detail how unprofessional, uncertain and riddled with unpardonable failures were the measures that he took. Face-saving measures ordered by Rabin reached ever higher levels of fatuousness, e.g. the bumbling expulsion of Hamas activists who, encamped at the Lebanese border, became a major propaganda asset for the Arabs and were readmitted with

(Continued on p.6)

MIDDLE EAST UPDATE

...North Korea recently test-fired its medium-range Nodong I missile and will soon be offering it for sale to its allies in the Mideast, including Syria, according to a new report by the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. The missile, which has a range of 1,000 to 1,300 kilometers, is just one of numerous deadly weapons that Pyongyang has been supplying to Damascus and Teheran.

Beginning in 1990, according to the Washington Institute, "a series of interrelated programs and agreements based around North Korea were established to provide Syria with an indigenous ballistic missile production capability." China agreed to provide "increased technical assistance to Iran's ballistic missile program," and Iran, in turn, "would fund and provide technical support for the construction of a Syrian facility to produce the North Korean modified Scud-C." In addition, according to the report, North Korea would give Syria "long-term technical assistance with the facility and supply a small number of modified Scud-C missiles and launchers until Syria established indigenous production. China would then provide technical assistance for the new Syrian ballistic missile program. In addition to the Iranian backing, financing was provided from Libya and Saudi Arabia. With the money received from these programs, North Korea would continue its Nodong I development program,

access to which would be provided to Iran, Syria, and Libya." There is "a reasonably strong possibility," the Institute says, that Syria "will seek to acquire and/or produce North Korea's Nodong I missile when it enters production." Syria's efforts to acquire and develop such missiles "are not consonant with Syria's participation in the peace process," the Institute acknowledges...

...Palestinian Arab Christians are continuing to emigrate from Israel and Judea/Samaria in significant numbers, the pro-PLO newspaper *Jerusalem Times* recently complained. The newspaper attempted to blame "the occupation" for the emigration trend, but also acknowledged that "Muslim fundamentalism now preoccupies the Palestinian Christian community and endangers the good relationship between Christians and Muslims, creating an atmosphere of tension." The paper did not mention that in recent months, there have been numerous violent assaults upon Christian Arabs in Jerusalem and elsewhere by Muslim extremists...

...Sympathy for the Hamas and Islamic Jihad terrorist groups is widespread in the PLO police force, according to the Lebanese newspaper *Al-Shara'a*. "Dozens of Hamas members already belong" to the PLO police, it recently reported. "Moreover, many Palestinian policemen have sold their arms to members of Hamas." Those caught doing so have been sentenced only to "short prison terms"...

THE REAL RABIN

(Continued from p.5)

extensive new terrorist training.

To restore the spirit of badly demoralized troops, who saw comrades' lives frittered away by incomprehensible restraints in the skirmishes in Lebanon, "Operation Accountability (*Din Ve-Cheshbon*)" was launched in July 1993, in which artillery shelled hundreds of Lebanese villages. The effects of this "grand pyrotechnical display" were, as was to be expected, nil. August 19, when nine soldiers fell in Lebanon, became another black day for Rabin. As Milstein notes, the national trauma was given voice by a former chief of staff, Rafael Eitan: "The Chief of Staff should have been replaced the day before yesterday."

Milstein reports: "On that very day the twentieth meeting of the Peres-Beilin team in Oslo took place. Rabin, all of whose military conceptions were shattered and all of whose undertakings had failed, concluded that the defense establishment was incapable of supporting desirable political outcomes. He yielded to Foreign Minister Peres' importuning, and gave a green light to the Oslo agreement."

Furthermore, says Milstein, Rabin "ceased to believe in Israel's ability to emerge from military contests and went into a frenzy of shedding all his former conceptions...it is not that he is led by the "peace" chimera of the radical left, even though he mouths, as if under satanic compulsion, Shimon Peres' rhetoric of the 'New Middle East.' " But, contends Milstein, "all this only camouflages the real underlying emotional drive, namely the inability to confront the disintegration of his conceptual structures, and to admit his failures."

Uri Milstein sees in Rabin's history ground for the most serious worry concerning the future. "For just as in the past, Rabin completely fails to grasp Middle Eastern and international developments. It is needless to point out what calamitous end this man can bring upon Israel on a day of wrath."◇

Erich Isaac is professor emeritus of geography at the City University of New York.

BUT WHAT IS THE ALTERNATIVE?

Rael Jean Isaac

When the Israeli government's policies of appeasement and surrender are criticized as suicidal, people often say "But what is the alternative?" This question seems to have the power to mesmerize the uneasy, contributing to the extraordinary apathy that is found, even among opponents.

What then *is* the alternative to the so-called peace process? In an earlier, more self-confident period, Israelis had a slogan that served the country well: it was "Ein Breira," meaning there *is* no alternative. What that really meant was that Israel had only one viable alternative, deterrence of Arab aggression. That remains as true today as it was when Ben-Gurion was prime minister, and the slogan was on everyone's lips.

In fact, it is the Rabin government that lacks any alternative to the traditional policy of deterrence--any alternative, that is, which will preserve Israel's *raison d'etre* as a Jewish state. Rabin's policy spells the demise of Zionism, a fact recognized on the Israeli left, even if the general public remains in a frozen state of denial.

Amnon Linn, formerly a Member of Knesset for the Labor party, in a letter to the deputy speaker of the Knesset, protested some of the manifestations of that recognition by the left. At both Tel Aviv and Haifa Universities, Linn noted, there had been "study days" in which Jewish and Arab professors laid out the conditions for Israel's "survival." These included replacing the Declaration of Independence with a substitute (or adjunct) "Pact between Israeli Arabs and the State of Israel." This Pact would nullify the Law of Return; call for returning Arab refugees from both outside Israel and from other parts of Israel to the lands and villages they had abandoned; replace the Israeli flag with another that does not have a Magen David; substitute for the Hatikiva a national anthem that also expresses the aspiration of the Arabs;

cancel the definition of Israel as the "state of the Jewish nation" and define it instead as a state of Israeli citizens; and pay compensation to Palestinian Arabs for "the robbing of their property and state and the emotional suffering that was caused to them during these 47 years since the state was established."

Extreme? Unthinkable? The far-out notions of a fringe? On the contrary. Many of these proposals are considered reasonable by Meretz, in terms of numbers Labor's junior partner, but when it comes to ideology, the dominant force in the governing coalition. And these are the inevitable demands with which a government of Israel will be confronted in the "next stage" of the unfolding peace process. For what happens when Israel returns to the borders of 1949, with Syria on the Golan, dominating Galilee and its large Arab population (of loyal Israeli citizens?) and the PLO/Hamas in military control of Judea and Samaria? In what Abba Eban in a saner period called "the Auschwitz borders," Israel will be dependent on Arab goodwill for its survival, and the price for that "goodwill" will climb steadily.

Even such an ostensibly mainstream Labor party leader as Shimon Peres, in his book *The New Middle East*, set out as his goal the integration of Israel into the Middle East. The professors at Tel Aviv and Haifa Universities were simply spelling out what integration means in greater detail.

Even their demands, shocking as they may sound today, will only be interim exactions. (A mere eighteen months ago, the notion of Israel's recognizing Arafat as the legitimate ruler of the Palestinian Arabs and its leaders sharing a Nobel prize with him would have seemed the stuff of nightmares.) The PLO Covenant remains the underlying strategy of the Arab world--not only replacement of Israel by an Arab state of Palestine, but elimination of her Jewish inhabitants.

Rabin's "alternative" is death--to the state and most of its Jewish inhabitants. There is a one word answer to the question with which we began: But what is the alternative? Survival.◊

Rael Jean Isaac is a member of the executive committee of Americans For a Safe Israel.

ISRAEL'S FUTURE: AN OPEN LETTER

H. David Kirk

Another massacre; another suicide bomber; another one of Arafat's "regrets"; perhaps another assurance by the Rabin/Peres axis that Israel will not be swayed from the path of peace. What path, what peace? The Jews of Israel are by rights frightened, not only because of the sworn enemies in their midst. They should be frightened, for this "government" has legitimated the enemy, thereby "normalizing" its crimes against the Jewish people and the Jewish State.

Letters to the editor are not reliable indicators of public opinion, but they can be important straws in the

wind. Note the one below from the December 10, 1994 International Edition of the *Jerusalem Post*:

Sir,

As a parent of soldiers, I would hope that my sons would not risk their lives to repel an enemy who will be considered a friend tomorrow, or to hold on to territory which tomorrow will be returned.

If soldiers are punished by jail sentences --so be it. I would rather visit them in jail than in a cemetery. I am sure that most parents agree with me and have so advised their sons.

The patriotic spirit of "it's good to die for one's country" has been erased by

(Continued on p.8)

RABIN'S PALACE REVOLT

J. S. Sorkin

Ironically, in the same week Prime Minister Rabin and Foreign Minister Peres and their partner, Yasser Arafat, the chairman of the world's largest terrorist organization, were in Oslo, dangerous signs of a rebellion in Israel's government emerged. That ghastly charade of a ceremony in Norway notwithstanding, there was no peace, and the public was swinging sharply away from the government. The members of the ruling coalition of Labor and Meretz--otherwise known as the Jewish wing of the PLO--knew this and were beginning to fear for the future of their schemes.

Even as the *farce macabre* unfolded in Oslo, Rabin was putting the brakes on the so-called "peace process" because "Gaza-Jericho First" had proven to be a failure. Fearful of more casualties, Rabin was calling a halt. Everyone could clearly see that all he and Peres and Beilin had accomplished was to recreate the wild and woolly terrorist state-within-a-state of south Lebanon, circa 1970-1982, and relocate it just down the road from Tel Aviv and some 30 minutes from Jerusalem. The security situation had deteriorated and everyone knew it.

Rabin admitted as much when he announced that the next stage of the Oslo process would not proceed. Stage Two called for more *military* withdrawal but on a much grander scale, as a prelude to Arab elections, but Rabin rightly had no faith that people's lives would *not* be

imperilled by a further retreat by the IDF.

And because of his hesitancy, the left became anxious. Some of them had come to believe they had in Rabin a perfect "Manchurian candidate," an Othello to leftwing ideologue Yossi Sarid's Iago (Rabin's principal adviser on the PLO). In him, they had an Israeli general most famous for his collapse in 1967, which followed his timidity in battle in 1948 and was followed by his retreat from Lebanon in 1985. This borderline alcoholic, known for a lifetime of psychological and military retreats, was actually putting the brakes on handing over Judea and Samaria to the PLO. This made the leftists edgy. Here was Rabin in retreat again, this time from the Oslo process itself.

Indeed, the man's performance of late has been giving the left much concern. It is one thing for rightwing journalist Uri Dan to note Rabin's "confused monologues" (*Israel Shelanu*, January 6, 1995) and agitated performances after the murder of Nachshon Waxman and 22 people in a bus in Tel Aviv, calling them worrisome signs of a possible "short circuit between this man's brain and his mouth," and quite another for a Gideon Samet, a paragon of left-liberal pieties, the deputy editor of the staid *Ha'aretz*, to shock the nation (December 23, 1994) by calling for Rabin's resignation.

Writing in his own paper, which is a political and cultural clone of the *New York Times*, Samet judged Rabin a spent force. Although portraying himself as one of Yitzhak's earliest supporters, Samet said the time had come to signal "the beginning of the end of Rabin the Navigator." Samet sees "hard decisions ahead,

(Continued on p.10)

ISRAEL'S FUTURE

(Continued from p.7)

the appeasement policies of the Rabin government.

Jacoba Cartin
Jerusalem

Reading Ms. Cartin's letter, ask yourself what it implies. Does it not point to unintended results of allegiance to "peace at any price"? That dogma, rigidly maintained in face of enemy attacks, may be eroding Israel's will to survive. In that case, the PLO Covenant would not need to be altered, for Israel would disappear. To say it is not a scenario of defeatism but of hope: hope that Israelis, supported by Jews in the Diaspora, will even at this late date come to their senses and put an end to the one-sided "peace process" farce.

Thirty years ago I began to introduce material on the Holocaust into my university courses. What stood out in the earliest records (e.g. Bernard Goldstein's *The Stars Bear Witness*, 1949, and *Scroll of Agony: The Warsaw Diary of Chaim A. Kaplan*, 1965) was the power of lies and false hopes spread among their victims by the

Nazi torturers. But even more striking was the self-delusion rife in the ghetto. So great was the tortured peoples' need to believe, that it was dangerous for a Jew to suggest that all their agony was but the prelude to universal slaughter.

Half a century later, in Israel, ghetto walls are being erected by Jews against themselves, and here too Jews who point to false hopes as a mirage are "enemies of peace." Lest we forget: the World War II "Palestinians" who fought and died for freedom were Jews. What can we do? See Jacoba Cartin's letter: at the risk of being called "disloyal," question financial support for Israel and even *aliyah* as long as its government weakens Israel. And remember that among the enemies of the Jewish people are not only blatant Nazis and "humanitarian" advocates of "Palestine," but also Jews for whom militant Zionism is an embarrassment, who want to be undisturbed in the hedonistic enjoyment of their "peace of mind." It would be comforting to end with the ancient greeting *shalom*. But not yet; perhaps one day we can say it again without self-deception.◊

H. David Kirk is Emeritus Professor of Sociology at the University of Waterloo, and Visiting Scholar in Sociology, University of Victoria.

SPOTLIGHT ON THE EXTREMISTS

...Members of the "Campaign to Free Mordechai Vanunu" recently staged a sit-in at the Israeli Consulate in Boston, to demand Vanunu's release from prison. When they refused to leave the Consulate premises, they were arrested for trespassing. Vanunu is serving a jail term for selling Israeli nuclear secrets to a British newspaper...

...The Earthstewards Network, a radical U.S. environmental group, is sending a delegation to Israel in March 1995 "to help Palestinians hold onto their native lands." They plan to "join forces" with the Union of Palestinian Agricultural Workers for land reclamation and tree planting projects in northern West Bank villages." The delegation also plans "meetings with Israeli peacemakers and trips to ancient sites in the area"--which could prove sticky, since there is no such thing as a Palestinian Arab "ancient site"...

...The drafters of the new Israeli Army "moral code" chose to omit an item that appeared in the earlier version of the code: *Ahavat ha'aretz*, or "love of the Land." Critics of the change were told that the concept of "love of the Land" is "obvious" and therefore does not need to be put in writing...

...*The Gaza Strip: The Political Economy of Development* is the title of a new book by **Sara Roy**, which attempts to blame Israel for all of Gaza's problems. Unsuspecting readers will assume that Roy is a neutral scholar who reached her conclusions on the basis of objective research--they will have no way of knowing that her signature has in the past appeared on newspaper ads attacking Israel...

...**Michael Lerner**, editor of *Tikkun*, is "not a particularly good speaker," but that is only one of his shortcomings, according to **Ralph Seliger**, editor of the leftwing journal *Israel Horizons*. Lerner's proposals for "compulsory measures," such as requiring high school students and government employees to visit the sick for two hours each week, "aim to brainwash young people into 'goodness' and force adults into good health and to do good deeds. Whatever happened to volunteerism? For that matter, whatever happened to freedom?" Seliger also criticized Lerner's "elitist tendencies," his penchant for "cultivating snob appeal," and his "pretentious" use of the term 'salons' to describe *Tikkun* meetings. As for Lerner's peculiar theory about "the foundations of anti-Semitism," Seliger added, "they have nothing to do with tyrants' fears of the Jewish liberation from bondage as related in Exodus and the Passover *Haggadah*..."

NOW AVAILABLE FROM AFSI:

Videos

After the Handshake: A Town Meeting with Marvin Kalb
116 Minutes - \$19.95 (non-members: \$21.95)

NBC in Lebanon: A Study in Media Misrepresentation
58 minutes - Purchase \$50; rental \$25

Books

With Friends Like These...: The Jewish Critics of Israel
by Edward Alexander (ed.) - \$10.95

Oleg in Peaceland: Cartoons by Oleg Schwartzburg
\$9.95 (non-members: \$10.95)

Eye on the Media: A Look at News Coverage of Israel
by David Bar-Illan - \$14.95 (non-members: \$15.95)

Politics, Lies and Videotape
by Yitschak Ben Gad - \$15.95 (non-members: \$18.95)

The Hollow Peace
by Shmuel Katz - \$16.95 (non-members: \$17.95)

Monographs

Should America "Guarantee" Israel's Safety?
by Dr. Irving Moskowitz - \$3.95 (non-members: \$4.95)

The New Jewish Agenda
by Rael Jean Isaac - \$2.00 (non-members: \$3.95)

The New Israel Fund: A New Fund for Israel's Enemies
by Joseph Puder - \$2.00 (non-members: \$3.95)

The Hidden Alliances of Noam Chomsky
by Werner Cohn - \$1.00 (non-members: \$2.95)

Order from Americans For a Safe Israel
147 East 76 St. - New York, NY 10021

...Returning from a recent visit to Damascus, **Mark Rosenblum** of Americans For Peace Now told the *Los Angeles Jewish Journal* that "billboards along the road to Damascus depicted a smiling Assad and the slogan: 'We were conquerors in war and we'll be conquerors in peace.'" Rosenblum evidently didn't pause to consider whom the Syrians are intending to "conquer." His comment on the billboards: "such messages [are] a sign Assad is ready to deal." Asked about his meeting with Yasser Arafat in December, Rosenblum said he urged the PLO leader to end its "receiptless donor system" and allow accountants to keep the books. Arafat's reply was "unsatisfactory," Rosenblum said. Arafat "has been an early and persistent disappointment," he said. Yet Rosenblum blamed Israeli settlements for the absence of peace in the region...

PALACE REVOLT

(Continued from p.8)

such as grasping the 'burning iron brand' of uprooting settlements and speaking plainly and publicly about the coming Palestinian state."

(This last sentence bears a second look in fear and trembling. Surely yours truly is not alone in never ceasing to be amazed and chilled by the depth to which the once anathema, conventional, worldwide wisdom of the 1970s and 1980s ("The- road-to-peace-is-a-state-west-of-the-Jordan-for-the-ancient-Palestinian-people") has penetrated the minds of Israel's best and brightest, a la "Invasion of the Bodysnatchers." In the above paragraph the vice editor of Israel's *New York Times* was actually calling for the creation of a PLO state in Israel's backyard, and doing so as the height of wisdom, practically and morally. How frightening it is that so many of Israel's best and brightest have assimilated this non-Jewish wisdom.)

Samet is worried. He rightly observes that the Israeli street is not blind and that three recent displays of weakness by Rabin--in the matter of the land dispute of Efrat, a stock market tax and cabinet appointments--have made him a liability.

Indeed, five days earlier, Samet had likened Rabin to Nixon, who also took to traveling abroad when in trouble at home. The Prime Minister's recent trip to Oman had been much touted by his backers as another step out of the ghetto--though in fact the foray triggered a reaction. Convening as a mini-summit in Alexandria, Syrians, Saudis and Egyptians resolved to throw a monkey wrench into Israel's plans, and Oman, after first saying it would open an office in Israel, reneged under the fraternal advice of her Arab brethren in Cairo, Damascus and Riyadh, who are determined to halt the ghettoization of the Jews.

Writing in *Yediot Ahronot* (January 6, 1995), Shalom Yerushalmi also commented on the domestic crises and the burgeoning palace revolt. He noted the cabinet's newfound resistance to their chief's *diktat*; many have been complaining they would no longer rubber-stamp Rabin's decisions. (Why are self-described "proletarian socialists" like Rabin, famous for preaching rule by committee and calling everyone "comrade," the least collegial, most Stalinist when they come to power?) Rabin's ministers criticize him shamelessly, said Yerushalmi, and are no longer, as they were at the beginning of this government, interested in currying favor with the boss or preening themselves among their peers as Friends of Yitzhak.

Rabin is alone and increasingly under fire. Uzi Baram, tourism minister and former member of Israel's CP, also reacted to Rabin's helmsmanship by saying, "Those two weeks of (the cabinet appointment), of Eli Dayan's (budget revolt) and Efrat could be a fatal combination...I am worried about the decline in Rabin's power. The time has come to change directions...This is our only chance to struggle with Bibi Netanyahu [before the elections]."

On the surface, then, Rabin's erstwhile acolytes were complaining of his tendency to shoot from the hip, his clumsy verbal blasts at enemies, his failing strength obvious in the land dispute at Efrat. Samet harped on Rabin's age and doubted he would have the youthful vigor necessary for the "hard decisions" (uprooting Jews from their homes).

But in the end one suspects that these are not the real reasons the left is turning on him. Deeper inside these Israelis, like Samet, who have assimilated the mindset of a James Baker and his court Jew Richard Haas, is the unspoken fear that Rabin has shown himself still faithful to the Allon plan of 1967 and is not a true believer. No "Manchurian candidate" at all, Rabin recently asserted himself and shocked his backers by stating his plan to retain the Jordan River as an Israeli border in a final settlement, with the implication of handing over only 80% of Judea and Samaria to the PLO. (*Israel Shelanu*, January 13, 1995)

Far more than his erratic vulgarisms and weakness, this is what terrifies the left most--people who insist the Arabs must have all of Judea and Samaria, the heart of the Land of Israel and religious heart of the Jewish people, and that all the Jews living in these areas be driven from their homes.

These progressives--although the Arab world is 44% larger than the United States of America, and Israel is the size of Massachusetts--feel the Arabs don't have enough land and the Jews too much.

Whatever Rabin's personal fate, his legacy to date remains freighted with accusations of reluctance to engage the enemy in '48, his self-confessed psychological collapse in '67, his retreat in Lebanon in '85, his retreat from Gaza and Jericho in '94 and Heaven knows where else in the weeks ahead. It is also a legacy of firing on fellow-Jews in '48 and killing more than a dozen in the Altalena incident.

Much Jewish blood has already been spilled in the name of his peace, and although one has faith this madness can never succeed, the question remains how much more blood--a half-century after the Holocaust--Jews must continue to spill until this pathetic man goes home.◇

J.S. Sorkin, before the word went out to applaud the Handshake, used to publish in a variety of publications.

RESERVE THE DATE

*Americans For a Safe Israel
Annual Conference*

**Sheraton New York
Sunday, March 19, 1995**

ISRAEL'S LAST OPTIMISTS

Optimism and faith in ultimate triumph, in spite of seemingly insurmountable obstacles, are the hallmarks of major liberation movements. Great leaders recognize this. Winston Churchill's first statement to the House of Commons, on May 13, 1940, was "I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears, and sweat." But it was his vision of victory that energized the Allied defeat of Germany. The prayer for "next year in Jerusalem" sustained imprisoned and beleaguered Soviet Jews. The Civil Rights movement in America rallied to the promise "We shall overcome."

Zionism is the greatest liberation movement of the century, and its anthem is "Hatikvah"--the hope. It is this hope that made the early Labor Zionists endure harsh and dangerous circumstances in their dazzling reclamation of the Land of Israel. It was this hope which nursed the wretched survivors of the Holocaust. This hope helped Jews from the four corners of the world accept dislocation, new customs, a new language, new vocations. The Zionists did not minimize the dangers or the sacrifices or the unrelenting hatred of the Arabs. What they offered was faith in the state and its future--a faith that created world class social, intellectual and scientific institutions, and a mighty citizen army.

Israel's present leaders have given up hope and faith. Behind their utopian, pacifist rhetoric there is only despair and surrender--a belief that Arabs will never come to terms with Israel, so one might as well give them what they want. Their gloomy assessment is an admission that Israel is not viable, that Zionism is a failure. Their motto is "We've been overcome." This terminal pessimism has a trickle down effect so that the entire population becomes dispirited and demoralized. Thus, a great undertaking simply runs out of steam.

The only optimists left in Israel are the settlers and their supporters. They continue to build, to bear children and demand recognition of their legitimate and historical rights. They face terrorism, stoning, and the unforgivable hostility of Israel's government, with faith and conviction. They are the last bastion of Zionism, and the inspiration for Zionists in the diaspora.

Friends of a safe Israel must continue to reject the government's policy of "cut and run"--cut the best deal you can and give your leftist supporters time to run to the West. There was a time in America when pacifists insisted that Russia had won the cold war, that we would be "better red than dead," and only appeasement would bring peace and coexistence. There was a growing sense that capitalism and religious values and meritocracy were dead and that there was nothing that young people would

die for in America. One decade later, and mainly thanks to the vision and hope of Ronald Reagan, Americans enlisted in droves to fight in the Gulf War. The recent election gives further proof that bad trends and bad policies can be overturned, and bad leaders can be thwarted and run out of office. Will this happen in Israel?

In December, during the height of holiday preparations, a deadly bomb exploded in a New York City subway, injuring and burning dozens of passengers. The response of New York's legislators, the media, and the public was appropriate and unambiguous. There were, mercifully, no self-indulgent "laments" for a society that breeds this violence. Instead, there were calls for swift justice for the perpetrator and more security for frightened subway riders.

I wondered, that day, as I listened to interviews with horrified New Yorkers, how many people realized that Israeli citizens live with this kind of fear every day. In fact, terrorism against Israelis has drastically increased since the infamous handshake on the White House lawn.

I also wondered what New Yorkers would think if our mayor, or our governor, reacted to the bombing by

Their motto is "We've been overcome."

advising people not to ride in the subways. Or, what if lunatics such as the bomber were called guerrillas and freedom fighters. Worse yet--what if the legislators gave them arms and uniforms and made them "policemen." Impossible, you say. Wrong.

Arab terrorists have always recruited violent and psychotic adherents, fed their delusions, and ultimately trained them for suicidal missions against Israeli civilians. Many were apprehended by the Israeli army. But Rabin releases them from jail, permits them to be armed, and when they wreak havoc on innocent civilians, he calls the victims "casualties of peace." Arabs are free to roam all over Israel with the protection of the government, the army and the police. But a Jew who is murdered in Hebron is guilty of being in the wrong place. A soldier who is beset by a bloodthirsty mob and almost killed, is guilty of having made a wrong turn.

This cursed attitude even prevails when hundreds of Jews are killed or maimed by a bomb in Buenos Aires. To Rabin, they are "the price we pay for dealing so harshly with Hezbollah." So, we are left to infer, are the victims of Lockerbie or the Achille Lauro, or Jewish victims everywhere. And, he and Beilin and Peres, and all the cynical and perverse politicians who support them, blithely go on trying to cut deals with the arch-terrorists of the Arab world.

And, putative friends of Israel, among them some terrified subway riders, don't stop and think and warn each other and Israel.◇

Ruth King is editor of Outpost.

One Minute to Midnight
Dr. Irving Moskowitz

ARAFAT'S AMERICAN JEWISH HELPERS

Last fall, a delegation from the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council (NJCRAC) paid a visit to Yasser Arafat in Gaza. They were the first leaders of a major American Jewish organization to meet with the PLO chairman in the self-rule zones, and reporters were eager to learn what transpired in the meeting. That week's newspapers were full of quotes from NJCRAC officials praising Arafat and claiming that the PLO leader had promised to pursue peaceful coexistence with Israel. It was a wonderful public relations boost for Arafat, courtesy of the American Jewish establishment.

Months passed, and the NJCRAC moved onto other matters, except that the group's staff, in New York, still had the responsibility of preparing an official report to its constituents about the delegation to Arafat. The constituents are the dozens of American Jewish organizations that are affiliated with the NJCRAC. These organizations regularly receive all sorts of reports and memoranda from the NJCRAC, most of which they probably throw out without even reading. But the report on the Arafat meeting deserves their careful scrutiny, because

it includes important information that the NJCRAC leadership did not tell the media at the time--such as:

* Arafat claimed that Arabs and Jews "are cousins. We lived together for many centuries. We were even kicked out of Spain together." Of course, the Arabs were not kicked out of Spain with the Jews, and the "living together" of which he speaks consisted of Jews being oppressed in Arab countries. The NJCRAC delegation did not question Arafat's lies.

* When the NJCRAC officials complained about Arab terrorism, Arafat insisted that "both sides are facing this challenge." The NJCRAC group did not pursue the subject.

* Arafat compared himself to Moses trying to "defeat Pharaoh." The NJCRAC leaders did not challenge his grotesque inversion of Jewish history.

* Arafat accused Israel of having "destroyed" all "the drinking water and sewage...the roads, housing, schools and telecommunications" in Gaza. The NJCRAC officials did not challenge this absurd and vicious anti-Israel allegation.

The full NJCRAC report of its meeting with Arafat is a tragic document. It reveals the truth about Arafat's extremist and deceptive behavior. And it paints a portrait of Jewish leaders cowering in fear and awe, so flattered to meet with the PLO chairman that they sat in silence while he smeared Israel and distorted Jewish history for his propaganda purposes.◇

Americans For a Safe Israel
147 East 76 Street
New York, NY 10021

Non-Profit
Organization
U.S. Postage
PAID
New York, N.Y.
Permit No. 9418