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ISRAELI ARABS FLEX THEIR MUSCLES

Herbert Zweibon

The Rabin government's capitulation to Arab blackmail on Jerusalem has brought into full public view one of the most dangerous phenomena threatening Israel's future: the growing ability of extremist Israeli Arab parties in the Knesset to manipulate government policies in order to assist the PLO.

Because Rabin does not have a majority in the Knesset--just as he does not have a majority of the public on his side--he has chosen to rely on two tiny Arab extremist parties in order to remain in power. These two parties, the Arab Democratic Front and the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, which have just five Knesset seats between them, openly boast that they serve the PLO's interests. Indeed, during the last election campaign, they competed for Arab votes by trying to out-do one another in demonstrating their fierce loyalty to Yasser Arafat.

What these Israeli Arab parties now know is that any time one of Rabin's policies rub them the wrong way, they can threaten a no-confidence motion and expect Rabin to surrender. What the PLO and the rest of the Arab world have learned is that a couple of threats to "renew the *intifada*" and a United Nations resolution or two are sufficient to intimidate Rabin into reversing whatever position he has just taken.

In the past, Israel has had its share of government crises sparked by small Orthodox parties using their leverage to gain particular concessions or favors. American Jewish liberals would wax indignant about the Orthodox engaging in "blackmail" or "coercion," and they would call for reforming the Israeli electoral system in order to keep small parties out of the Knesset. Whatever one may think of the small Orthodox parties, at least they were devoted to the well being of the Jewish people and were not trying to hand over large sections of the country to the control of terrorists devoted to Israel's destruction. Curiously, those same liberals have nothing to say on the topic of pro-PLO Arabs blackmailing and coercing the Israeli government to do Arafat's bidding.

A few months ago, there was a brief uproar when a top PLO official, Abu Mazen, revealed in his memoirs

that the PLO and Israeli Arab militants had collaborated with Labor Party leaders to solicit Israeli Arab support for Labor in the 1992 elections. Bereft of support among Israeli Jews, Rabin and his colleagues sought Arab help to gain power, and indeed large numbers of Israeli Arabs did cast their votes for Labor, or for Labor's leftwing ally, Meretz. Others cast their votes for the two Arab parties which, in exchange for government funds and other behind-the-scenes concessions, became Rabin's silent partners in the coalition.

They were silent partners for a reason--Rabin knew that the Israeli public would be horrified if he openly took them into the governing coalition, made their leaders cabinet ministers, and gave them access to sensitive government information. Most Israelis understand that the Arab parties are ultimately loyal to Arafat, not Israel, and they do not want them in the halls of power. So Rabin kept them at arm's length.

But the Arab parties are silent no longer, and now they have a powerful ally in Osama El-Baz, senior aide to Egyptian dictator Hosni Mubarak. El-Baz has been travelling back and forth between Cairo, Tunis and Tel Aviv, consulting alternately with PLO officials and Israeli Arab leaders, to help manipulate the Israeli Arabs as a political weapon against Israel--from the inside. The Rabin government is permitting--indeed, encouraging--this frightening and dangerous development because a larger Israeli Arab bloc in the Knesset is Labor's only hope of ensuring that a Labor-Meretz-Arab coalition can keep Likud out of power. It will serve Labor's short-term political interests--but what will it do to Israel's future in the long run, when the fate of the Jewish State will be in the hands of those who are loyal to Yasser Arafat?◇

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IN THIS ISSUE:

<i>The Golan in Jewish History</i>	...3
<i>Rabin and Jerusalem</i>	...7
<i>From France, No Surprises</i>	...8

From the Editor

MOST AMERICANS OPPOSE AIDING PLO

What do most Americans think about the Clinton administration's plan to send \$500-million to the PLO? That's what the Luntz Research Company, a prestigious polling firm, set out to find in May, on the eve of a Congressional decision concerning U.S. aid to the PLO.

The results were unequivocal. 78% said they agreed that "in order for the PLO to receive U.S. funds, the PLO should be held accountable to its commitments and comply with the peace accords"; 12% disagreed. 78% agreed that "U.S. funds should be suspended until the PLO removes terrorist groups such as Hamas operating from PLO-controlled Gaza and Jericho"; 11% disagreed. And 73% expressed agreement with the statement that "in order for the PLO to receive U.S. funds, the PLO must eliminate the clauses in its charter calling for the destruction of the State of Israel"; 15% disagreed.

The American people have spoken. Is Congress listening?

THE GOLAN AS A POLITICAL WEAPON

In a recent interview with the *Forward*, Ariel Sharon, former defense minister of Israel, suggested that Prime Minister Rabin, while professing eagerness to come to an agreement with Syria, may in fact be consciously delaying the conclusion of a deal already brokered.

As Sharon sees it, Rabin's motives are three-fold. First, he hopes to obtain the maximum political benefit for his re-election campaign, by announcing an Israeli-Syrian agreement as close as possible to the 1996 Israeli elections. Second, although Rabin has promised to hold a public referendum on a Golan withdrawal, Sharon believes that Rabin "prefers to conduct general elections in which the Golan would be only one of several issues, because he thinks his chances of winning would be better. Israelis like the Golan; they like its beauty, its wide open spaces, its snow-covered mountains. He would rather they didn't vote on it alone." Third, Rabin wants to delay the actual withdrawal from the Golan until after the elections "so as not to expose the public to traumatic scenes, similar to those that took place during the pullout from Sinai in 1982, of Israeli villages uprooted, Israeli troops blowing up and abandoning positions and Syrians celebrating their return to the Golan."

Publicly feigning impatience with the slow pace of the negotiations, Rabin secretly holds them up, not out of genuine concern for the danger to the nation, but to improve the chances of his remaining prime minister, a cold calculation for extracting political profit from Israel's

Outpost

retreat. This is typical Rabin, ignoring the security concerns of his country for the narrowest self-interest.◇

AN AMICABLE EXCHANGE

The Rabin government recently set free 258 Arab terrorist prisoners who had been jailed for terrorist activities. They were released as a goodwill gesture in advance of the Muslim feast of *Eid al-Adha*. In a reciprocal gesture, PLO chairman Yasser Arafat announced that he would release a number of prisoners described as "opponents of the peace accord with Israel."

Thus, in another episode of the ludicrous "peace process," Israel releases terrorists, and Arafat responds by saying, in effect, "Okay, you released the people who murder you--now I'll release the people who murder you."◇

THE PROFUNDITY OF PEACE

It is noteworthy that when the subject is "peace," even the most absurd comments pass as great profundity. Not long ago, Foreign Minister Shimon Peres made the following Solomonic remark during a BBC interview with Peter Ustinov: "The young generation was born in an age of an old generation." Astonishing.

The interview, which also included PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, was too much even for the left-leaning *London Jewish Chronicle*. An excerpt from its report: "The truly funny material involved Ustinov with Arafat, with both men appearing to adopt the personae of Bedouin fortune tellers. 'Now the wind is beginning to blow in your sails from the right direction, at last,' Sir Peter the Bedouin cooed. 'The peace of the braves,' responded Arafat. 'I believe in God. I believe God will bless our footsteps. The peace of the braves. There is no other choice.' 'Wonderful. The peace of the braves,' echoed Sir Peter, for want of something to say. Wonderful."◇

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THE GOLAN IN JEWISH HISTORY

Erich Isaac

Israel's Labor government has already relinquished the Golan Heights to Syria: all that remains unresolved at this writing are the conditions under which the Syrian dictator is willing to accept it.

Like Gaza, the Golan has historically been of great strategic importance. In his exhaustive study *The Golan: Gateway to Palestine from the North-East - A Military Geography in Historical Perspective*, Lt. Col. (ret.) Mordechai Gichon, professor of military history at Tel Aviv University writes: "Rule over this area guaranteed the effective blocking of the enemy, approaching from the north-east, precisely as rule of the Gaza Strip was at all times the key to the defense of the country against threats from the south-west."

But if the Golan and Gaza are both of strategic importance, the attitude of the average Israeli toward the two areas is strikingly different. The withdrawal from Gaza, with its huge restive and impoverished Arab population, was popular. The relinquishment of the Golan, virtually empty of Arabs (there are a few Druze villages), is not popular among Israelis who are acutely conscious

of the region's strategic importance. Prior to 1967, it was only with great cost and effort that Israel was able to take the Heights; and in 1973 the country narrowly avoided being cut in two when Syria drove through outnumbered Israeli forces in some sectors of the Golan and almost reached the Jordan.

The strategic importance of the area historically is driven home by Gamla, the fortress city built on a ridge, inaccessible on three sides. Virtually every Israeli has visited Gamla, which was excavated following the 1973 war, and has been impressed by the site, from which Jews defended the Golan during the Great War against the Romans. The battle was vividly described by Josephus (*Antiq.* IV, 1-83). And while few may know this, in the course of recorded history more than 60 assaults on the Land of Israel west of the Jordan were launched from, or through, the Golan. In fact, throughout history, control of an area much larger than what is generally called "Golan" today was a vital concern of those entrusted with the defense of the land west of the Jordan.

The Golan also differs from the Gaza region in that Jewish ties to the area were stronger and more enduring. In its early history, the Golan (including an area much larger than that taken by the Israeli army even in its deepest penetration of Syria in 1973) was not

(Continued on p.4)

THE GOLAN

(Continued from p.3)

considered a distinct region at all. What later became known as the region of Golan was only part of the western Bashan. The Bashan (including the Golan of today), Hauran and the rest of the land east of the Jordan were parts of the Promised Land divided among Gad, Reuben and the half-tribe of Menasseh. Golan was the name of a town in the Bashan (today Sahm el Jaulan) which was to become one of the cities of refuge (*Deut. 4:43; Josh. 20:8*).

Many of the people in what later became known as the Golan, especially the part we call the Golan Heights today, were not displaced in the original conquest. The Bible reports that "the Israelites did not dispossess the Geshurites and the Maachathites, and Geshur and Ma'achath remain among Israel to this day" (*Josh. 14:14*). In the days of the early Judean kingship, Geshur and Ma'achah (which included the Golan Heights) were assimilated partly through royal marriage (*II Sam. 3:3*).

Historically, the area of the Bashan (including the Golan) and Hauran of the Bible were bounded by Mt. Hermon in the north, the Jordan rift valley in the west and the Yarmuk river and Gilead on the south. The Biblical zone of the lava fields of Argob (the Greek Trachonitis, today's Arabic al-Laja) marks the eastern boundary. It is an area roughly 70 miles by 40 miles in contrast to the Israeli held Jordan Heights which at its widest is roughly 17 miles by 40 miles.

Throughout the Biblical period, the Bashan and adjoining Hauran, also an open area of volcanic soils, were the granaries of Israel, with wheat predominating the central Bashan and barley in the drier east. Nor were these the only products of this remarkably fertile area. It was renowned for its cattle and sheep husbandry, its olive oil production, its plants for incense and cosmetic unguents. (The name Bashan is etymologically derived from "Bosem"-fragrance, cf. "the Balm of Gilead.")

Bashan and Hauran were celebrated in Moses' great song (*Deut. 32:13-14*): "He set him atop the Highlands / To feast on the yield of the earth / He nursed him with honey from the rock and oil from the fire-flint / Curd of kine and milk of Flocks / With the finest of lambs and rams / Bulls of Bashan and he-goats / With the most selected wheat."

The classical prophets stressed the superior quality of Bashan cattle, especially the fighting prowess of its bulls (*Ez. 39:18; Ps. 22:13*). The geographer Menashe Harel believes that the famous scatological description of the women of Samaria by the prophet Amos: "...you cows of Bashan on the hills of Shomron" is testimony to the export of Bashan stock to Samaria.

(Amos' non-PC insult may also reflect his background as a sheep raiser. The animus of sheepmen to cattlemen has been notorious in history, leading to shooting wars in the American West.)

The fame of Bashan cattle and grain persisted for many centuries. Josephus mentions the wheat field of Philip (Herod's son) who was made tetrarch of Gaulanitis (Golan), Trachonitis (Argob) and Paneas (Banias), and the wealth that accrued to Agrippa I from his grain harvest in the Bashan. Rabbi Yehuda Hanasi (The Prince) had long standing property rights to his wheat fields in Bashan confirmed by Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (*T.Y. Sheviit 6,5*). R. Yehuda also raised cattle there. In his lifelong friendship with this Caesar, R. Yehuda Hanasi supplied him with pedigree stock to improve the caesar's cattle. The region continued throughout Roman times to be one of the main granaries of that empire.

Sheep-raising in the drier lands of the Bashan and Hauran was as important as cattle further west. It plays a role in the prophecies of restoration: "Israel are scattered Sheep...I will return Israel to its pastures and it will graze in Carmel and Bashan" (*Jer. 50:19*). In the days of the prophet Micha, the farming population had abandoned its fields and sheep pastures to invaders, and retreated to the forested areas of the Golan and Hermon. Micha implores God: "Shepherd Your people...Your very own flock / May they who dwell cut off / In Woods bordered by abandoned fields of sprouting wheat / Graze again Bashan and Gilead..." (*Mi. 7:14*)

In Ezekiel's day, these same woods which had given refuge exported timber to the shipyards of Tyre. "From the cypresses of Senir (Mt. Hermon) / They fashioned your planks...From Oaks of Bashan they made your oars..." (*Ez. 27:5-6*)

By the time of the Second Temple, Golan had become a regional name, taking in the hinterland of the ancient town of Golan as well as the old Geshur and Ma'achah. As a name for a quasi-subdivision of the Bashan it was used by Josephus; similarly, the 4th-century church father Eusebius notes that "today [it is] a very large village named Golan in the Bashan and the district is also named after the village."

Apart from periodic water shortages, by far the most serious limitation on the economy of these areas throughout history was the chronic threat posed by desert nomads, and/or oppressive government policies. The eastern Hauran, and its margins along the Argob zone were always a special security problem for the Jewish lands east of the Jordan rift valley. The open plains of the Hauran invited incursion by mobile nomadic raiders from Arabia, and the Argob's maze of lava caves and hollows provided safe refuge for lawless bandits.

As in similar historical situations, the solution proved to be well trained cavalry based on fortified

(Continued on p.5)

THE GOLAN

(Continued from p.4)

frontier towns peopled by inhabitants capable of forming an auxiliary fighting force. To protect the Bashan/Hauran and its vital commercial links to international routes, as well as the pilgrimage routes to Jerusalem from Babylonia and Arabia, Herod induced a clan of Jewish warrior horsemen from Babylon to establish strongholds there. Josephus reports that Zamaris and his 500 riders, "all of whom could shoot their arrows as they rode on horseback," established themselves in the Bashan, "built in it fortresses and a village and named it Bathyra." For Josephus, Zamaris (Heb. Zimra) and his people (Bnei Zimra) deserve great credit for "this man became a safeguard to the inhabitants against the Trachonites, and preserved those Jews who came out of Babylon to offer their sacrifices at Jerusalem from being hurt by the Trachonite robbers."

Thus what had been a thin, declining population of the Bashan/Hauran frontier grew again by massive immigration from Mesopotamia and from "all those parts where the ancient Jewish law was observed" (*Antiq.*xvii,2,2). It was during the late Second Temple period that the population density of the Golan, Bashan, and Hauran reached its highest level. The region is almost littered with remains of synagogues, cemeteries, architectural fragments with Hebrew or Jewish-Aramaic inscriptions and/or religious symbols. Though this had been known in a general way, researchers engaged in the initial field surveys in the Golan after 1967 were nonetheless amazed by the profusion of archaeological finds. There is no doubt that similar results could be expected should the retrieval of such remains become possible in the Syrian-held Bashan and Hauran.

In the Roman period, the area had become quintessential frontier horse country. In his *Wars* (II,17,4), Josephus mentions that Agrippa II "sent 3,000 horsemen to the assistance of the people (of Jerusalem) out of Auranitis (Hauran) and Batanea (Bashan) and Trachonitis (Argob)..." The name of the river Yarmuk (whose first historical mention is in the *Mishnah - Parah* 8,10) means apparently "horses' river." It is noteworthy that the above-mentioned Bnei Zimra continued as a riding border force, attached to the legions of the Roman *limes* of Auranitis and Batanea, defending these areas into the late 4th century. The name Susita (Hippus)--a leading city of the Golan--also reflects the importance of horses in the economy of the period. Similarly the name of Ahmadiyah, a site circa 1.5 miles north-east of present-day Katzrin, is a corruption of a Persian term for "land of horses."

The piety of the population, to which Josephus refers, was doubtless a factor in the rise of noted masters of the *halacha* in the Bashan. The sages known as

Bene Bathyra or Zikne Bathyra, one of the towns founded by Zimra/Zamaris (today Basir, circa 30 miles south of Damascus), stood out. Among them was R. Jochanan of Bathyra, a teacher of R. Yehuda Hanasi. Others of renown were R. Judah of Bathyra, who became a leading sage of Yavneh, as did his brother, R. Joshua of Bathyra. Until the days of Hillel, Bathyra was the home town of a number of heads of the Sanhedrin.

After a period of sharp decline as a result of wars, heavy provincial and imperial taxation and periodic tribute impositions, as well as incessant nomadic deprivations, the population of the Bashan and Golan rose to a second peak in the Talmudic period, notably in the fourth to fifth centuries. In Talmudic literature, it is

The rabbis reiterated that all the commandments specific to the Land of Israel apply also to all the land of the Golan...

stressed that the sanctity of the area is equal, or perhaps even greater, than that of Canaan (cf. *Tosef. Sotah* 9:1, *Gittin* 1,1). For example, in rulings on the disposal of grain in the seventh year, on marriage law, in matters of land and property disputes, these areas are listed *before* Galilee (cf. *Shebi'it* 9:2; *Ketuboth* 13:10; *B.Batra* 3:2). The rabbis reiterated that all the commandments specific to the Land of Israel apply also to all the land from the Golan in the west to Argob in the east.

While it is not known whether the modern Israeli wineries of the Golan had precursors in Biblical days, by the Talmudic period "Old Hauran Wine" was rated highly. The 6th-century physician Asaf Harofe listed Hermon wine on his short list of the very best.

Responsa and Midrashim testify to the continued presence of small to medium-sized communities through the bad times of late Byzantine rule, Arab expansion and the Crusades, and in the relative good times of Ayubid, Mamluk and early Ottoman rule. Benjamin of Tudela, the 12th-century traveller, and Estori Hafarhi, a historical geographer and traveller in the 14th century, describe the Jewish communities they found in Golan and Bashan, including a community in the remote town of Har Bashan--today's Jebel ed-Druze.

At the height of their power, the Ottoman Turks, more than preceding Muslim rulers, were able to ward off Arab nomadic threats to the region and according to Ottoman 16th-century tax rolls, some districts in Bashan had a high standard of living. The 16th century was the Indian summer of Golan, Bashan and Hauran. In the course of the 17th century, the Ottoman hold on their Arab frontier weakened and travel and commerce became

(Continued on p. 6)

THE GOLAN

(Continued from p.5)

hazardous. Ottoman governors restricted their efforts to the protection of the annual Mecca pilgrimage through bestowing high-sounding titles and lavish gold payments to the tribal sheikhs. The latter, however, as often as not pocketed the bribes, paraded their fantasy titles and proceeded to plunder the pilgrim caravans anyway.

Jewish life in the region, along with that of any sedentary people between the Jordan and Argob, approached a vanishing point with the invasion of the Anazah tribes and their camel herds, which had been pushed out of their winter range by the Wahabis of central Arabia. They plundered and destroyed villages that could not fulfill repeated demands for payment for protection. By 1830, the desolation was near total. Even the small town of Kuneitra which had lingered on for some decades with its Turkish garrison, was completely abandoned.

There was a brief respite from nomadic deprecation in the years 1831-1840, when the area, together with the land west of the Jordan, was seized by Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt, who repopulated Kuneitra, and settled some 200 Sudanese as well as other landless fellahin families in the Golan and Bashan. But with the withdrawal of Ibrahim Pasha's forces, anarchy returned,

and Golan and Bashan languished in desolation for 40 years.

The chaotic situation allowed some outside groups to infiltrate the region and defeat the Bedouin in the areas they seized. Druze who fled from the Lebanon settled in the mountains of Bashan and made it into a defensible retreat in Jebel ed-Druze. Some Christians from northern Syria moved into the Golan hills overlooking Lake Huleh. In 1878, there was a substantial influx of Circassian Muslims from the Caucasus, who chose to leave their ancestral homes rather than remain under the rule of a victorious Russia. The Cherkess (Circassians) were tough fighters and crack shots; they were more than a match for the Bedouin. (Cherkess, incidentally, at that time also founded the small village of Aman, which became in time the capital of the British-created Kingdom of Jordan on land detached by Britain from the Jewish National Home.)

In spite of a definite improvement in Turkish administration beginning at the end of the 19th century, the

entire region remained undeveloped. Periodic fighting between neighboring groups continued, as did the seasonal Bedouin deprecations, though less severe than in the past.

After the First World War, British and French mandates and spheres of influence replaced the Ottoman system and, at the peace conference which began in Paris on January 1, 1919, the northern border which would separate the French sphere of control and the British Mandate for Palestine became a subject of negotiation.

While Jewish experts submitted memoranda calling for the Golan (albeit not Bashan and Hauran) to be included within northern Eretz Yisrael, the basis for their claim was that the development of Jewish Palestine required its water resources and climatically favored areas. In a meticulously detailed study of the border's history, *The Political Delimitation of the Golan Heights During the Mandate Period, 1918-1948*, Dr. Gideon Birger points to the astonishing failure to make an historical claim for this area, although history is traditionally a powerful basis for territorial claims and Biblical and post-Biblical Jewish history might have been a particularly telling argument in these negotiations. Birger notes: "In all the negotiations that took place about Ramat HaGolan...was not one historical argument raised by the Zionist Organization (neither arguments based on the nearer nor on the remote past). In internal [Zionist] debate, such arguments were raised from time to time...but they were never put forth officially..." Dr. Birger concludes: "...the Jewish history of the Golan was not presented in negotiations and it was never claimed [by the Zionist representatives to the Peace Conference] to be a part of the 'Land of the Fathers.' "

While "political realists" may be inclined to shrug off such an omission on the part of the Zionist and other Jewish delegations, Birger points out that in contrast to the Jews, the British and French, in their complicated discussions of the borders of Palestine, were intensely concerned with the location of the historical boundaries of Palestine, albeit not in the Golan sector. The only historical concern of Britain and France in that area was in locating Dan, both sides being fixated on the Biblical phrase "from Dan to Beersheba." A more historically conscious and politically sophisticated Jewish delegation might have made the difference in the demarcation of the Golan border.

Whatever the reasons for the ineptness of official Jewish delegates, early Zionists had sufficient Jewish memory to attempt to settle the Golan when it had been under Turkish rule. In 1891, land was acquired in the south of the Hauran, in the west central Bashan and at the foot of Mt. Hermon. But while villages were established, most had to be abandoned under Turkish pressure, because of disease, especially malaria, and a

(Continued on p.11)

RABIN AND JERUSALEM

Sol Modell

It has become evident that the Orient House, located in the eastern part of Jerusalem, the City of David, has been converted, despite the Rabin government's denials, into an unofficial "Palestinian Authority" foreign ministry. Foreign officials, including leading members of their governments, have visited and conducted negotiations with PLO spokesmen appointed by, and responsible to, Yasser Arafat. There is no doubt that the terrorist leader, by establishing "facts on the ground," intends to make good his claim to at least this part of the Israeli capital city.

Why not? After all, the Oslo Pact, co-signed by Yitzhak Rabin, provides that the future of Jerusalem is to be negotiated. The Prime Minister of Israel will sit with the terrorist Arab leader and negotiate the fate of the city that has been the capital of the Jewish nation, and *never* of any other nation, for three thousand years. In fact, until 1949, no reigning Arab ruler *ever* visited the city.

The Christian Bible does refer to Jerusalem, but only to those parts associated with the life and death of Jesus. The Moslem holy book, the Koran, does not contain any reference to the city. The word "Jerusalem" is nowhere to be found in it. Yet, the terrorists and their Islamic advocates spuriously continue to insist that Jerusalem is the "third holiest city in the Moslem world, after Mecca and Medina." And tragically, Israel's leaders have never bothered to expose this fraud. In the Jewish Bible, Jerusalem is mentioned more than 650 times.

In 1996, a great celebration will be held in Jerusalem. It will commemorate the 3000th year of its establishment, by King David, as the capital of the Jewish State. Invitations to attend will be sent to the heads of friendly governments. But already, the devious and unprincipled British have let it be known that they have no intention of making an appearance, and Pope John Paul II has intimated that he looks upon Israel's plans with a jaundiced eye.

It is all quite remarkable, but, in this mad world, comprehensible. President Clinton stated, and repeated, before his election, that he recognizes Jerusalem as the unified capital of the State of Israel. Since his assumption of the presidency, however, his Secretary of State has clearly suggested that the future of Jerusalem is negotiable. Furthermore, it should be noted that the United States now maintains diplomatic relations with the governments of 184 countries, some ruled by tyrants, some by mass murderers, some by lunatics, and some by two-faced "democrats." But in every case, with the single exception of Israel, America has established its embassy in the capital city designated by these governments. Only in Israel has the United States declared, in effect, with unacceptable arrogance, that *it* has the right to decide which city in Israel should be recognized as capital of the country. And its example has been followed by most

others.

Let no one conclude, however, that there is no American Embassy in Jerusalem. There is one! It is only that it is called a consulate. But it functions as an embassy, established to conduct American diplomatic relations with the terrorist PLO. The simplest proof of the truth of the above statement is the fact that the American consul-general does *not* report to the embassy in Tel Aviv. In all other American consulates, everywhere in the world, the consulates report to their respective embassies. But the consulate in Jerusalem sends its reports directly to

The word "Jerusalem" is nowhere to be found in the Koran.

the State Department in Washington. So--our embassy in Jerusalem is assigned to the PLO, not the Israeli government.

This situation is not of recent vintage; it has existed for several decades. And it can be understood only if one takes into account the composition of the U.S. State Department, which is filled with people who had served for years in one or more of the 21 embassies maintained by the United States in the Arab world. These officials are in the main ardently pro-Arab and have been sold on the idea that the Arab powers are of central importance to the United States, but that there is no vital American interest in the existence of Israel.

There is another matter of interest and importance, and a consideration of it--at its stupidity--is enough to make one laugh and cry at the same time. The Rabin government is doing all it can to persuade and pressure the Clinton administration against transferring the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Even in a nightmare, one would find it beyond comprehension to imagine that an Israeli government, given the fact that ever since 1967 Israel has striven, in every way, to convince the United States to make the move, would now reject it. The reason? According to Rabin, it would make the Arabs unhappy and hinder the further development of the fraudulent "peace process." Likud Party leader Benjamin Netanyahu, in response to this, has equated Rabin and his associates with the morons of Chelm.

Yet another matter of interest. For some years, Israel worked at winning the Vatican's approval of the establishment of diplomatic relations. Finally, at long last, Pope John Paul II was won over. An Israeli Embassy will be established in Rome, but the Papal Embassy will not be established in Jerusalem. Not even in Tel Aviv. It is to be located in the Arab section of Jaffa. Yet Rabin and Peres are proud of their "achievement." They demonstrate neither dignity nor honor.

What is also sad is the fact that some of the so-called leaders of the "mainstream" Jewish organizations, having become patsies for Messrs. Rabin and Peres, are following their 'diktat' and are working to prevent the American embassy from being moved to Jerusalem. But

(Continued on p.11)

FROM FRANCE, NO SURPRISES

Ruth King

Observers of the recent elections in France were appalled to learn that Jean Marie Le Pen, a racist and anti-Semite, garnered more than 15% of the general vote. Why is anyone surprised? From the Dreyfus Affair, through the wartime Vichy collaboration with the Nazis, successive governments in France have been only mildly tolerant of Jews, openly hostile to Israel, and derisive of the United States.

One of the most egregious examples of French government anti-Semitism was the statement of Giscard D'Estaing's Foreign Minister, Raymond Barre, following the Arab terrorist bombing of a synagogue in Paris some years ago. "Why, even innocent people were killed!" he exclaimed. By "innocent," he meant non-Jews.

Skeptics, familiar with France's history regarding Jews, can choose to forget that outrageous reaction by a former French official. However, Israel's present government has shown the same callous indifference to

Jewish victims of terrorism. The attitude of Rabin and company is that victims in Judea, Samaria and Gaza were "in the wrong place, at the wrong time." Somehow, they are not as "innocent" as those who are ambushed and killed in Tel Aviv. Settlers who are murdered are seen as obstacles to policy and not as innocent civilians. In France, that attitude to Jews is repulsive--in Israel, it is unspeakable.

Yitzhak Rabin, for whom some Jews are more worthy of protection than others, recently visited the Flatows, family of the young American Jewish student murdered in Gaza. Rabin never visited Rabbi Menachem Felix, whose daughter was brutally killed by terrorists en route to visit her father in Kiryat Arba. Rabin has studiously avoided the funerals of victims of Arab terrorism in Israel. In America, where he comes not as a statesman but as a beggar, he couldn't miss a photo opportunity with the Flatow family. The news photos of his visit with the grieving family were as morally nauseating to me as the vision of French officials wearing *kippot* at a memorial for victims of the French synagogue bombing.◊

Ruth King is a member of the Executive Committee of Americans For a Safe Israel.

Yitzhak Rabin, on a PLO State

Although Labor and the Likud differ in their view on the solution to the Palestinian question, we both oppose in the strongest terms the creation of a Palestinian "mini-state" in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, first and foremost because it cannot solve anything. It certainly will not be able to absorb the almost million and a half Palestinians who currently reside beyond these two areas; and just as surely it will be ruled by the most extreme faction in the Palestinian political spectrum--the PLO. Such "internal" Palestinian politics might not be any of Israel's business were it not for the fact that the leaders of the PLO have declared--and I believe them--that they view

such a "mini-state" as but the first phase in the achievement of their so-called secular, democratic Palestine, to be built on the ruins of the State of Israel once all the Jews who arrived after 1917 (or, with slight modification, after 1948) have been expelled. Given that scenario, there is little wonder that the overwhelming majority of Israelis are so strongly opposed to this "option." And though attitudes have changed before and may well change again in the next few years, I doubt that my countrymen are likely to mellow toward the prospect of their own destruction.

*--from Yitzhak Rabin's 1979 book,
The Rabin Memoirs, p.334*

SPOTLIGHT ON THE EXTREMISTS

...**Walter Reich**, a veteran critic of Israel, has been appointed director of the U.S. Holocaust Museum. In the past, Reich has written that "the Zionist idea of creating a Jewish State might have been flawed in its very conception"; has called for Israeli Arabs to be granted "self-governance"; and has accused Israel of responding to Palestinian Arab rioters with "brutality"...Reich will feel right at home at the museum, considering that its most recent featured speaker was radical-left philosopher **Marc Ellis**, who said, among other things, that Jews should "stop using the Holocaust as a shield to deflect criticism of Israel's treatment of the Palestinians...Jews cannot be healed of the trauma of the Holocaust unless Palestinians are healed of their trauma of displacement...Jewish life today is lived after Auschwitz and after the Palestinian uprising--that is, after suffering and inflicting suffering, after innocence"...

...A fourteen member delegation from the radical environmentalist group Earthstewards recently decided to explore "the heart of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict," by living for two weeks in the Arab village of Bourin, in Samaria. They did volunteer work in Bourin, and thoroughly absorbed the Arab perspective on the conflict. Delegation leader **Leah Green**, recounting her experience on the op-ed page of the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, described how she and her colleagues met briefly with local Jewish settlers, and found them all to be violent racist thugs. Her lengthy article did not once mention Arab attitudes toward Jews or Arab violence against the Jewish settlers. Green's article was accompanied by a drawing of a large Jewish star made out of bullet holes, with the caption "Scar of David"...

...Although the New Israel Fund claims to be non-partisan, the director of its Jerusalem office, **Avinoam Arnoni**, makes no bones about his bias. On a recent visit to San Francisco, Arnoni told the *Northern California Jewish Bulletin* that he "hopes Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin retains his [position]" and hopes that "the two-state solution will win out"...

...**Mark Bruzonsky**, leader of the Israel-bashing Jewish Committee on the Middle East, was ejected from the Washington, D.C. convention of the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee in May, after he tried to distribute leaflets which complained that Arab-American groups were not sufficiently devoted to the Arab cause...

...Criticizing a leftwing Israeli poet can be hazardous to one's health. Literary critic Menachem Ben recently authored an unfavorable review of **Yitzhak Laor's** first novel, and Laor responded by assaulting Ben in front of a popular cafe on Tel Aviv's Shenkin Street, the city's version of Greenwich Village. Laor is best known in Israel for a 1983 poem in which he declared that "Jews

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are dipping their Passover matzohs in the blood of Palestinian children"...

MA'ALOT REMEMBERED

George Rubin

May 15 marked the 21st anniversary of the massacre of 21 elementary schoolchildren by the PLO in the west Galilee town of Ma'alot.

In addition to those killed, 60 children were wounded by the three PLO gunmen who concentrated their fire at the heads and faces of the children. All of the terrorists were killed by the Israeli soldiers who stormed the school building and prevented an even more terrible massacre.

One of the survivors, Arie Buznah, was in Washington in May as a member of a delegation of Israeli terror victims and army officers who joined with Christian and Jewish groups to lobby Congress against the "peace process." Buznah said that many of the survivors were permanently traumatized and are still under psychiatric care. Dr. Peter Herman, a neurosurgeon, treated many of the wounded and is now in private practice in New

York. He wrote in a letter printed in the *New York Post*: "I was a doctor in an Israeli hospital in the 1970s when a dozen [*sic*] children were kidnapped and kept hostage by the Arafat gang in the city of Ma'alot. Later the children were shot at point blank. They arrived at the hospital with heads blown open, brains oozing, bullet wounds in the eyes and faces. It was a brutal and horrifying re-enactment of the Holocaust."

In July of last year, Yasser Arafat attached to his entourage four of the terrorists involved in the Ma'alot massacre, including the attack's mastermind, Marduch Nowfel. In typical fashion, Rabin first expelled these killers but later allowed them to enter the PLO-controlled areas. This is what the "peace process" has brought, a secure refuge for the murderers of Jewish children, set up by a "Jewish" government.

The feckless, faithless, and feeble men that rule Israel have destroyed not only the nation's security but its sense of morality and justice, providing protection to those guilty of the most heinous crimes against it. These leaders, who flaunt their "higher morality," have sunk to the lowest depths of immorality. The blood of the children of Ma'alot still cries out for justice.◇

George Rubin is a member of the editorial board of Outpost.

SPOTLIGHT ON THE RABIN GOVERNMENT

...In his capacity as Minister of Defense, Yitzhak Rabin has ordered the Air Force Commander to halt all advertising of the Air Force Museum on Channel 7 Radio, because the station's directors are said to hold rightwing opinions...

...Rabin's colleague, Labor Party Knesset Member Yael Dayan, was the leader of a recent Israeli delegation to Germany. During the visit, Dayan told reporters that "The entire Palestinian people have suffered just like the suffering of the Jews of the Holocaust," and urged the German government "to assist in reparations to the Palestinian people for the suffering they have endured under Israeli occupation." Likud MK Assad Assad, a Druze, who was also a member of the delegation, said he was "speechless at hearing such insensitive words." Rabin has not reprimanded Dayan...

...The Rabin government's Ministry of Education has prepared a new curriculum in which the Palestine Liberation Organization is not included among the list of "terrorist organizations" as far back as 1973...

...Rabin's agreement with the Vatican, which was supposed to usher in a new era of goodwill

between the Church and the Jewish State, does not seem to be living up to expectations. The Vatican's new ambassador to Israel, Msgr. DiMontazmulo, arrived in the Holy Land in May and promptly told the Israeli daily *Yediot Ahronot* that "The Israelis cannot ask the Church to condemn anti-Semitism as long as they do nothing to battle the anti-Catholic feelings in their state...The problem is related to the educational system and the values inculcated into Israeli society. We must fight against the lack of tolerance for anyone that is not a Jew. These feelings are more and more prominent in Israeli society"...

...When Rabin's standing in the polls was high, the Israeli left lobbied successfully to reform Israel's electoral system so as to require the direct election of the prime minister. Now that Rabin's popularity rating is down to about 30%, prominent Israeli leftwing activists, led by Deputy Foreign Minister Yossi Beilin, have been campaigning to revoke direct election. A group of 11 professors, headed by Labor veteran Prof. Shlomo Avineri, signed a recent ad in the Israeli press declaring that in their "professional judgment," direct election of a prime minister is a mistake...

...Rabin's unofficial Arab coalition partners, the Arab Democratic Party and the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, fresh from their victory in the Jerusalem expropriation controversy, are pressuring the Histadrut to stop holding meetings in Jerusalem and to refrain from moving its offices from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, which it has been considering...

JERUSALEM

(Continued from p.7)

they represent neither the views of American Jews nor of America's leadership. America's position regarding Jerusalem was expressed by Bill Clinton after his election victory, when he said: "I do recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital, and Jerusalem ought to remain an undivided city." Unfortunately, he has so far done nothing about the embassy.

But others have acted. Some 93 United States Senators have signed a letter calling for the embassy to be moved to Jerusalem. Sen. Bob Dole (R-KS), along with Sen. Daniel Inouye (HI) and Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-GA) have introduced a bill in the Senate and House to begin construction of an embassy in Jerusalem next year.

Perhaps most impressive are the words of U.S. Senator Phil Gramm (R-TX): "To help achieve the end of making Israel stronger and more secure, I strongly advocate moving the U.S. Embassy to Jerusalem and recognizing Israel's sovereignty over undivided Jerusalem. Unless the U.S. takes that simple step--and takes it soon--pressure to redivide Jerusalem will build quickly. Moving the embassy would be consistent with American practice throughout the world. The U.S. has diplomatic relations with 184 countries, and in every country--except Israel--locates its embassy in the capital designated by the host nation. The Clinton administration argues that moving the embassy to Jerusalem will destroy the peace

process. In fact, the peace process can continue only if Israelis believe that their nation's vital interests will not be compromised. Moving the embassy will strengthen that conviction. It is clear to me that Jerusalem is more than the heart and soul of the Jewish people; it is their life blood, their vitality, and their voice to the world. Jerusalem must never be redivided. Moving the American Embassy to Jerusalem would send an unmistakable signal that the unity of Jerusalem is irreversible, and that it will remain, now and forever, the capital of Israel."

This from Phil Gramm, a senator from Texas, heartily disliked by most American Jews. Especially noteworthy is this statement when it is contrasted with those made by leading members of Rabin's cabinet and leaders of Peace Now, both in Israel and America, who have clearly intimated that they are prepared to support some kind of division of Jerusalem between Israel and a PLO terrorist state.

It would appear that the time has come for Jews to re-examine their value structure and rethink what is most important in their lives as members of the Jewish people. Is it not possible that the time has come for us to rearrange our list of priorities? And, if we do, that we might change our attitude, as wrenchingly difficult as it may be, toward certain public figures.◇

Sol Modell is a retired professor of Jewish studies, history, and political science who writes extensively on Mideast issues.

GOLAN

(Continued from p.6)

variety of economic difficulties. The final curtain fell when Bnei Yehuda, the most successful of the villages, had to be abandoned in 1920, its remaining settlers killed by Arabs, with one survivor remaining.

As finally demarcated, the borders between Palestine and Syria (1923), and between Syria and Transjordan (1931) detached the entire north-east of the Promised Land from Eretz Yisrael. Except for a tiny strip along the eastern shore of Lake Kinneret, the French Syrian mandate came to include all of the Golan, the Bashan and the Hauran. In August 1920, Britain detached Gilead in the south and the rest of Transjordan from the territory promised to Jews in the Balfour Declaration and confirmed by the League of Nations Palestine Mandate, limiting the Jewish National Home to the land west of the Jordan River.

Following the 1967 war, Israel transformed the Golan. It established villages and kibbutzim, the city of Katzrin, industries, orchards, vineyards, nature preserves, archaeological parks and tourist facilities, not to mention elaborate defense arrangements. The remnants of trenches from which the Syrians had rained destruction

on the kibbutzim of the valley and of tanks and guns from the 1967 war served as a reminder of what it had meant to have Syria in control of the Heights and the price that was paid for dislodging it.

Following the 1973 war, as a result of Kissinger's diplomacy, Israel made the first withdrawal from the Golan, withdrawing not only from land taken in that war but from part of the Heights taken in 1967. Thus Israel withdrew from the highest peak of the Hermon and from the town of Kuneitra.

Now Shimon Peres announces that Israel has "always" recognized Syria's sovereignty over the Golan.

Never mind that the Knesset formally annexed the Golan into Israel in December 1981! Desperate to achieve yet another "true peace" with its neighbors, Israel's political nomenclature regards the greatly increased military and political vulnerability which will follow withdrawal from the Golan with frivolous lightheadedness.

Disregarding Jewish historical rights, legal rights, defense and military needs, Israel's government proceeds in its step by step destruction of the Zionist dream.◇

Dr. Erich Isaac is a member of the Executive Committee of Americans For a Safe Israel.

One Minute to Midnight
Dr. Irving Moskowitz

A HISTORY OF COLLAPSING

For anyone who is familiar with Yitzhak Rabin's record when under political pressure, his collapse on the Jerusalem expropriation controversy was not really all that surprising.

Under the pressure of impending war in the spring of 1967, Rabin suffered a breakdown and could not perform his military duties. At that crucial moment in Israel's history, when the very survival of the Jewish State was on the line, Rabin let his country down.

Under Henry Kissinger's pressure in 1975, Rabin collapsed again. At first he resisted Kissinger's demands that Israel make one-sided concessions to Egypt, and the entire nation rallied behind him. But then Kissinger announced that the U.S. was "reassessing" its relationship with Israel, and within months Rabin had given in to all of Egypt's demands. Strategic Sinai territory, vital air bases, oil fields that provided a substantial portion of Israel's energy needs--all surrendered to the Arabs because Rabin could not withstand the pressure.

It happened again, in 1989-1990, when Rabin was Defense Minister and the *intifada* riots erupted.

Within weeks after the violence began, Rabin announced that "there is no military solution, only a political solution" to the problem. "Political solution" was, of course, a Labor Party euphemism for surrendering to the PLO's demands. And as soon as Rabin became prime minister again, in 1992, he did just that.

Perhaps the best known collapse during Rabin's current term of office--until the Jerusalem controversy--was in the Hamas deportation affair. In December 1992, Rabin responded to an upsurge in Hamas terrorism by deporting four hundred Hamas leaders to southern Lebanon. But as soon as the international criticism began, Rabin began to retreat, declaring that the deportations were only temporary. But even that was not enough to satisfy the Arabs or the Clinton administration, and when Secretary of State Christopher pressured Rabin for an early return of the deportees, Rabin collapsed again.

So now we must add, to the long and shameful list of Rabin's collapses, his total surrender on the Jerusalem land dispute. This is not the Sinai or southern Lebanon, but the very heart of Israel. The Prime Minister's readiness to surrender on Jerusalem suggests that the entire future of the State of Israel is in jeopardy. Is such a man fit to serve as Israel's premier? Perhaps the time has come for the citizens of Israel to decide--through new national elections, to be held before any more concessions are made.◇

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