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A Cloud Called Hezbollah

William Mehlman

Hezbollah, with an estimated 130,000-150,000 short, medium and long-range rockets steered by cutting-edge guidance systems, attack and suicide drones and the most advanced air defense hardware coming out of Russia, constitutes “the most serious conventional threat” Israel has faced since the major wars of 1967 and 1973.

That’s the message coming out of the highly esteemed Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) in Tel Aviv. It’s an arsenal which exceeds the combined total of all 27 NATO nations, rated as capable of hitting Israeli targets, civilian and military, with 260 missiles every six hours, 1,200 a day. That they have not been unleashed has little to do with either the dwindling constraints of the Lebanese government which hosts this terrorist phenomenon on its southern border or the zero constraints of UNIFIL. UNIFIL is the alleged peace-keeping force that opted out, before the ink was dry, of its obligation under UN Security Council Resolution 1701 to prevent the rearming of Hezbollah following the termination of the 2006 Second Lebanon War.



Two factors have kept the lid on a third Hezbollah strike against Israel, both of them linked to the terrorist organization’s financial and operational master, the Islamic Republic of Iran. The German daily *Die Welt*, citing Western sources, reported in April that Hezbollah is seriously overdrawn on its account with Tehran, the source of 75 percent of its weapons and the working capital critical to the support of 20,000 fighters and another 20,000 reservists. To put it bluntly, the “Party of Allah,” is flirting with bankruptcy, the direct result of its Iranian-ordered engagement in a war to defend and secure Bashar Hafez Assad’s power base in Syria. The generous remunerations to the families of the estimated 1,500-1,800 fighters who have been killed, the more than 6,000 wounded and the “hazardous duty” bonus allocations to the 8,000 on the front lines of this

noble enterprise appear to have at least temporarily stalled plans for a major move against Israel.

The hidden danger to Israel lurking behind Hezbollah’s current financial straits is complacency. Major General Jim Molan, who served as Australia’s chief of operations in Iraq, writing in *The Australian*, contends that the current calm along Lebanon’s southern border with Israel may be as much a case of deception as necessity – an attempt to put Jerusalem off its guard. “It’s quiet,” he submits, “because Hezbollah wants it that way at present.” And that, of course, means Iran wants it that way until stagnant oil demand gets an expected summer boost and the till for a major operation against Israel is refreshed.

Indeed, any suggestion of permanency to the current quiet should have been dispelled by a Hezbollah sponsored “media tour” in April of the thin line separating Israel from its terrorist adversary. Conducted by a Hezbollah honcho in combat fatigues, it described in depth to the assembled journalists the IDF’s positions on the other side of the line, including a string of barricades designed to stall any breakthrough by infantry forces. *Al Manar*, Hezbollah’s official publication, quoted the tour leader as having told the journalists that the organization had developed “special tactics to deal with these

structures” and boasted that it had compelled the “Zionist army for the first time in history to move to a defensive position.”

What was the real purpose of this “media tour”? Tony Badran, research fellow at the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies, calls it a showcase of the “power dynamic” in Lebanon, a function of Europe’s and America’s acquiescence to the terrorist takeover of a sovereign nation. “Hezbollah laid it out for all to see, its position at the head of the table,” Badran argues. In a display of further chutzpa, he notes, they timed their dog and pony show to coincide with a meeting of Lebanese parliamentarians and officials in Washington with the World Bank and the IMF “to plead against harsher sanctions and to rattle the can for more aid.”

“Hezbollah is Lebanon is Hezbollah, part and parcel of the Lebanese government, with 12 seats in the parliament and two ministers in the cabinet” declares Education Minister and “inner security cabinet” member Naftali Bennett in a bylined article in *The Times of Israel*. He appealed to the Lebanese people to get Hezbollah’s rocket launchers out of their backyards and “stop them from using your schools as command centers. If we are forced to fight,” he warned, “we will view any place used as a rocket launch site, any village hosting munitions storages, any building used to attack Israel as a valid military target for us to strike. Unlike the last time [the 2006 war], we will not use tweezers to search for a needle in the haystack. We will neutralize the haystack.”

Echoes of the “Hezbollah is Lebanon is Hezbollah” theme have been bouncing off the walls in Israel. “Nothing happens in Lebanon without Hezbollah’s approval, informs former military affairs analyst and current editor of the *Jerusalem Post* Yaakov Katz. “The organization effectively controls the country,” declares former Israeli Counter Terrorism chief Brigadier General Nitzan Nuriel. “Lebanon’s army will fight alongside Hezbollah in any war against Israel.” No argument on any of this from Lebanese President Michel Aoun. He has openly declared that he no longer views the terrorist organization as “an alternative, but as part of the government and its strategy.” Hezbollah, he states, “is a signature component of the Lebanese people,” adding, cryptically, “when the attacker [presumably Israel] comes, it will, of course, be decided by Hezbollah.”

Israel’s first response to that scenario is a reported contingency plan to evacuate up to 250,000 residents of vulnerable border communities within hours of the first Hezbollah rocket launch. Code-named “Safe Distance,” elements of the plan, including housing of the evacuees in hotels, schools, kibbutz guest houses and private homes, were disclosed in an AP interview with a top-ranked member of the IDF’s Homefront Command. Alluding to a warning from Hezbollah boss Hassan Nasrallah that his missile strikes will be abetted by a ground offensive on Israel’s soil, Homefront CO Itzik Bar opined that the battlefield experience Hezbollah gained in Syria has given new meaning to Nasrallah’s threat.

While the Iron Dome interceptor system has proven remarkably effective against a handful of short-range rockets emanating from Gaza, the prospect of a rainstorm of hundreds of missiles a day descending on Israeli towns and cities is another matter. The IDF Air Defense Command is warning of the “impossibility of protecting everything and everyone at all times.” Even if such protection could be effected, the cost would be beyond reach. The estimated tab for putting a single Iron Dome interceptor in the air is \$100,000. Launching price for a medium-range “David’s Sling” is upwards of \$1 million. A single long-range “Arrow” launching runs to \$3 million. Beyond cost, there is IDF Chief of Staff Gadi Eisenkot’s instruction that the protection of the nation’s strategic assets – literally, its ability to fight – must be given precedence in the employment of these gold-plated defensive weapons.

Unable to store 8 million Israelis underground or to provide them with an alternative hermetic umbrella, what is to be done in the face of a massive Hezbollah rocket onslaught? Israel has two choices – “deterrence or preemption” -- asserts former defense minister Moshe Arens, the last of the founding generation’s “wise men,” writing in *Ha’aretz*. Deterrence under normal circumstances would be his first choice. “Let them know that our response would be so devastating that they’d better not even think about attacking Israel. It’s what kept the Cold War from becoming a hot war.” He concedes, however,

that deterring an Islamist entity like Hezbollah is a whole other ball game. “They think in millennial terms, prepared to disregard casualties, confident of ultimate victory.”

Former Intelligence Minister Dan Meridor, on the other hand, thinks a deterrence laced with the latest in Israeli cyberwarfare technology could give even Hezbollah’s Iranian patrons second thoughts about an attack on the Jewish state. He stresses a focus on the “200 to 500 Hezbollah sites in Lebanon that, if hit, would disturb and disrupt their entire offense apparatus. We need real-time information on these targets,” he adds, “and to prepare the ability to hit them in the first hours of the war.”

What about preemption – massively attacking Hezbollah’s rockets at their launching sites? Arens sees two problems with that strategy. First of all, he observes, “Hezbollah’s rockets and missiles are all embedded among civilians and a preemptive Israeli attack would inevitably involve civilian casualties.” Secondly, he points out that “an initial strike could not be expected to neutralize the entire Hezbollah arsenal, leaving a residual arsenal that would be launched against Israel. Israeli interceptor systems might or might not be able to handle the additional rockets.”

Whether the ultimate solution lies in some combination of the most feasible deterrent and preemptive strategies, it had better not be long in coming. “The third Lebanon war is looming on the horizon,” Yaakov Katz cautions, and that’s not a minority view.

William Mehlman represents AFSI in Israel.

From the Editor

Migrant Crime Wave in Germany

According to Germany’s annual crime report, compiled by the Federal Crime Bureau, migrant crime rose over 50% in the last year to comprise more than a quarter of all crimes. Germany based journalist Vijeta Uniyal reports that the figures are the more alarming because of the narrow definition the German government uses of “criminal migrant,” excluding “foreigners who have been living and working in Germany for some time.” The new migrants make up less than 2% of the population but 9% of the criminal population. Moreover they are not merely engaged in petty crime but dominate serious and violent crime in Germany with nearly 15% of all those charged with serious bodily harm coming from this group. The German government’s response is to find ways to minimize not only reporting but actual arrests. For example Uniyal reports that the Berlin government prohibits law enforcement agencies from using video surveillance on the grounds it violates “civil rights.” The result is rampant but unreported lawlessness, especially in the city’s “no-go zones.” Meanwhile officials blithely spin and lie: “Refugees aren’t more criminal than Germans” and “migrants hardly committed any sexual assaults” declared a senior official of the Ministry of the Interior last summer.

It was impossible to hush up last year’s Christmas market attack in which a Tunisian migrant murdered 12 people and injured dozens more by driving a truck loaded with steel beams into a busy Christmas market. But it was telling, as Uniyal observes, that the Merkel government categorized those killed and injured as victims of a “traffic accident.”

Dismembering Israel, Peace by Peace

Since Israel’s creation, the only way the “world community” has been able to conceive of achieving peace is by dismembering Israel. It is generally forgotten that before 1967 (while Israel was within the armistice borders of 1949) the Eisenhower administration proposed that Israel give up part of the Negev for “peace.” Since 1967, the peace proposals advanced by successive U.S. governments have all involved Israel’s returning to the old green line (at best with “minor” adjustments thrown in). It

doesn't matter if the administration is friendly to Israel (e.g. Reagan, George W. Bush) or hostile (none more so than Obama), the prescription is always the same.

Now it looks as if the current friendly administration of Donald Trump is going to go back to thumping the old, endlessly failed program. Since September 1993, when Israel made the colossal mistake of transforming Arafat and his terrorist PLO from irrelevant exiles in Tunisia to "peace partners" Israel has been living off control of territory (most recently Gaza) only to produce vastly more terror. The "peace partner" is now Abbas to whom Trump is making friendly approaches.

But Abbas has rejected all proposed peace deals that do not include the right of return (i.e. the end of the Jewish state). As Caroline Glick points out "any hypothetical deal a hypothetical Palestinian leader would accept, would endanger Israel's very existence. So in the unlikely event that he [Trump] reaches 'the deal,' his achievement would imperil Israel, rather than protect it."

With the Middle East in chaos, the Arab-Israel conflict should go to the back burner where it belongs. That seems to have been Trump's first instinct and the right one.

Kaiser Wilhelm to "My Beloved Jews"

The following (translated by Erich Isaac) is from Sammy Gronemann's Hawdoloh und Zapfenshtreich published In 1924. Gronemann, a well-known Jewish writer, served as a translator of documents—into Yiddish—in the German army during the First World War on the eastern front. Given the transformation of attitudes barely a decade later, all one can say is "No Comment."

This satiric flyer was dropped by the High Command of the German Army over Jewish populations making fun of the Tsarist professions of friendship to the Jews.



To my Dear Jews
The Tsar at the Kishinev Cemetery

"In the first years of the war there was pure jubilation with the discovery of the Jews of Eastern Europe as the guardians of German nature and speech. There were enthusiastic songs of praise concerning their loyalty. And a collection of German literati (not confined to Jews) proved in profound discourses that the Eastern European Jews are actually genuine, true Germans--stubborn, tough and loyal bearers of German culture, committed defenders of German peoplehood through centuries of Slavic oppression. In the imperial headquarters a beautifully bound manifesto on this matter was accepted with enthusiasm. Emperor Wilhelm's first impulse was to free all Eastern European Jews who were prisoners of war.

Fortunately this decision was countermanded for it would have cost the life of thousands of Russian Jewish soldiers [whom the

Russians would have considered traitors]. Such names as Silberfarb and Mandelstamm, which used to be the subject of ironic marks by Reichs-Chancellor Bulow, now became symbols of Jewish-German loyalty and the word "Ostjude" was highly esteemed in the eyes of German nationalist patriots. It became a real political effort. Field Marshal Hindenburg and His Excellency Ludendorff distributed (including by plane) leaflets in Yiddish to the Jews of Lithuania and Poland which proclaimed the liberation of oppressed Russian Jews from the Tsarist yoke by the freedom and Jew-friendly German armies and the tight relationship and spiritual connection of Germans and Jews. Briefly it looked as if Kaiser Wilhelm had mobilized his army especially to save his much loved Eastern European Jews."

Deborah Lipstadt Slips Up



Deborah Lipstadt has performed a huge service to Jews by standing up against Holocaust denial in the inhospitable venue of a British court. With the movie *Denial* her achievement has reached a wide audience. It is thus unfortunate that she muddles her important message—all is not relative for there are truths and facts and they are currently under assault—by inserting current climate change orthodoxy as one of those inescapable truths and facts. Dangerous manmade climate change is a fashionable opinion, not a proven scientific truth and to treat “denial” of it as equivalent to holocaust denial is not only to play into the hands of the apocalyptic cultists but, by insisting highly dubious propositions are unchallengeable truths, to undercut her message.

Penis-Caused Climate Change

In a demonstration that no absurdity is too great for the climate change (and gender studies) faithful, an “academic” paper written as a hoax was duly “peer reviewed” (the reviewers gave it highest marks) and published by a journal called *Cogent Social Sciences*. Among other things, the paper, entitled “The Conceptual Penis as a Social Structure” claimed the penis caused global warming. The authors, philosophy professor Peter Boghossian at Portland State University and James Lindsay, who has a doctorate in math, were careful to load the paper with phrases showing anti-male bias, on the assumption that “gender studies is crippled academically by an overriding almost-religious belief that maleness is the root of all evil.” (Among those evils climate change of course looms large.) Rick Moran, writing about the hoax in *American Thinker*, notes that the authors stuffed the paper with jargon and nonsense (e.g. arguing that hypermasculine men are both inside and outside of certain discourses at the same time) and red-flag phrases (like “pre-post-patriarchal society”). The authors say: “After completing the paper, we read it carefully to ensure it didn’t say anything meaningful, and as neither one of us could determine what it is actually about, we deemed it a success.”

Boghossian’s conclusion? “The academy is overrun by left wing zealots preaching dangerous nonsense.” Now there’s an understatement!

New Zealand Regrets

Now they’re sorry. New Zealand Prime Minister Bill English and new Foreign Minister Gerry Brownlee have said they want to repair the relationship with Israel following New Zealand’s co-sponsorship of the Obama-inspired infamous anti-Israel UN Security Council Resolution 2334.

At the same time Denmark, one of Europe’s chief moral preeners, is releasing \$8.3 million to the Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law Secretariat. (Nowadays “human rights” in a name is shorthand for “hate Israel.”) And that’s certainly the case here. The Secretariat, which is based at Bir Zeit University, and funded by the Danish, Swedish, Swiss, Norwegian and Dutch governments, passes the money to Palestinian NGOs.

The hypocrisy is rank. Although all the funding countries claim to oppose the Boycott, Divest and Sanction movement, NGO Monitor reports that 65% of Secretariat funding goes to NGOs that are BDS leaders. Secretary of State Kerry was widely ridiculed for saying “I was for the Iraq war before I was against it.” European countries do him one better—they are against BDS while they simultaneously fund it. And unlike New Zealand’s leadership, which expresses regret for what it did, no one should hold their breath waiting for these shameless countries to change their ways.

Comparing Mideast Refugees with Holocaust Victims What Are the Similarities?

Rabbi Aryeh Spero

Editor's note: Valerie Greenfield, author of Backyard Caliphate writes: "Recently almost 2000 rabbis wrote a letter to President Trump and Congressional officials to 'ensure that our refugee program be maintained and strengthened, not halted, paused or restricted.'" To AFSI one rabbi with a brain like Rabbi Spero is of more value than 2,000 rabbinical lemmings self-righteously leading their flock over the cliff.

President Trump has been under relentless attack from those on the Left against his efforts to limit immigration from terrorist-producing areas and his call for comprehensive vetting and background checks. Beyond doubt, it is the first and most important duty of a President to protect the lives of a country's citizens, especially where a possibility exists of terrorists being embedded within a particular immigration flow. As the President previously stated, to not strictly enforce our immigration laws is "not compassion but recklessness".

Some groups are exploiting the Holocaust to promote unrestricted Syrian and other Mideast immigration into this country. However, it is incorrect to draw a parallel between the Jews who fled Europe in the 1930s, who were, as Jews, specific targets for genocide and Nazi concentration camps, and those today wishing to escape the civil war in their Mideast countries. The Syrians, for example, are not being targeted because they are Muslims, and there is no Final Solution planned against them. Their civil wars have placed them in very difficult circumstances, but it is not comparable to the deliberate and planned Final Extermination which was specifically directed at Jews as Jews during the unparalleled Holocaust. It's a different category altogether.

Furthermore, comparisons to the Holocaust situation are improper, for (2) there were no Nazi agents embedded within the fleeing Jews; (3) the Jews did not harbor a cultural or religious ideology wishing to sow physical destruction on the American people; and (4) there were no rabbis in the 1930s sending forth commands worldwide to destroy the "infidels". Indeed, (5) the completely innocent Jews of Europe had nowhere to go, no country to take them in — there was not yet a State of Israel— whereas there are 57 Islamic states, many exceedingly wealthy, who could be providing safe haven to their Islamic brothers.

If there is a genocide parallel it involves the Christians of the Middle East who have for decades



been targets of the Muslim genocide against them simply for being Christian. And yet, the Left has been silent regarding the plight of Christians. During the Obama years, Christian immigration here from Islamic territories was, based on population percentages, 90% less than what it should have been. Mr. Obama moralized about "not using a religious litmus test" to over-weight Muslim immigration, while severely undercutting and ignoring thousands of Christian refugees begging to be rescued from the Islamic jihad against them.

Thus, one can't be blamed for wondering if specific concern by the Left for Muslim migrants and lack of concern or outrage regarding oppressed Christian refugees has more to do with transforming our demographics and historic culture, our voting patterns and outcomes, and diminishing the historic Judeo-Christian outlook in our civic life.

The Jewish community need be mindful that it has become the nation's highest victim of attacks precisely because of, as reported in 2014 and 2015, assaults coming from members of the Muslim community. Such is the case for Jews not only here but even more so in Europe. In addition, anti-Israel Muslim groups on campus are harassing, physically attacking, and harming Jewish college students all across America. There are far too many postings and rally signs coming from members of other Islamic groups calling for "throwing Jews into the ovens" or "wishing Hitler had finished the job".

Some involved in this violence are themselves young immigrants from Islamic countries, while others are the offspring of immigrants. This is all the more reason for comprehensive and serious background checking. Tough and thorough vetting is good for America and can prevent the importation and implementation of anti-Semitism, something morally desirable. The onus of proof should be on those seeking entry here, not the U.S. government.

While we all agree that not all immigrants from these countries are on a jihadist or shariah mission, way too many are. To those bullied and shoved on campus, or those killed in an explosion in Fort Lauderdale, Boston, Columbus, San Bernardino, or Nashville, it's little comfort or solace that their life or limb was taken only from the bad percentage.

Mr. Trump has repeatedly called for and is working toward establishing safe-havens in Mideast territories closer to the locations of those wishing to leave war torn areas. Saving the lives of fellow Americans is a religious, historic and civic duty. President Trump's goals and tenacity represent moral and genuine leadership.

Rabbi Aryeh Spero, a pulpit rabbi for almost 40 years, is author of Push Back: Reclaiming our American Judeo-Christian Spirit. This article appeared on frontpagemag on May 2.

Reflections on Daniel Gordis's *Israel: A Concise History of a Nation Reborn*

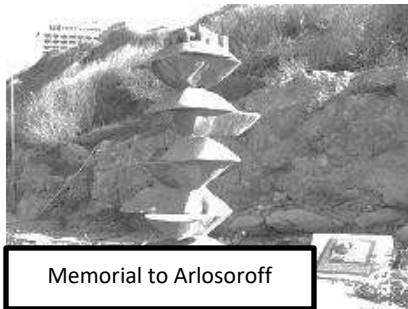
Roger A. Gerber

Daniel Gordis's widely praised *Israel: A Concise History of a Nation Reborn*, chosen as the 2016 book of the year by the National Jewish Book Council, is a highly readable popular history that covers the history of the State of Israel in a mere 425 pages of text, plus 27 pages of appendices that include helpful reference material, plus maps.

Gordis's history has earned accolades from a wide range of luminaries including Ari Shavit, Dennis Ross, Michael Oren, Deborah Lipstadt and Yossi Klein Halevi, blurbs from all of whom adorn the back cover.

The book, taken as a whole, is a good popular primer but since it has received nothing but praise (with the exception of a generally favorable review by David Isaac in *Washington Free Beacon* that pointed out flaws), I will take this opportunity to point out some of the problematic sections in this account of Israel's history.

Gordis does not profess to be a trained historian and his felicitous style masks the superficial treatment of several controversial topics of major import in Israel's history, including the Altalena episode and the murder of Haim Arlosoroff, both of which roiled Israel's society and politics from the early 1930's (in the case of Arlosoroff's murder) to the present. After noting that the conviction of Jewish suspects was overturned by the British Court of Appeals, Rabbi Gordis concludes darkly that the murder "would not be the last time Jews killed Jews over political disagreements in the Jewish State". This is despite the fact that it was never established that the murder of Arlosoroff was committed "over political disagreements", nor that the killers were Jews. While Gordis writes that "Arlosoroff's



Memorial to Arlosoroff

assassination remains a mystery,” he fails to indicate why this is so. Space precludes a discussion of the various speculations regarding the murder, including a possible connection to Arlosoroff’s alleged affair, while a student in Germany, with a close friend of his sister who subsequently became the wife of Joseph Goebbels. The thirty-four year old Arlosoroff was killed two days after he returned from negotiations in Germany arranged through Goebbels’ wife. The most plausible theory is that the killers were the two Arabs who actually confessed to the murder.

What is important to note is that the Arlosoroff murder left such an enduring scar on the Israeli body politic that in 1982, almost half a century after the crime, Prime Minister Menachem Begin, with cabinet approval, established an official commission of inquiry headed by David Bechor, a respected retired judge of Israel’s Supreme Court. In June 1985, after Begin’s retirement, the three man Bechor commission submitted a 202 page report unanimously exonerating the Revisionist suspects but failing to identify the perpetrators or to adduce new evidence in the case. Rabbi Gordis’s account gives no indication of the enduring impact on Israeli society of the Arlosoroff murder.

In discussing the ship named *Altalena*, whose destruction was the most divisive and dramatic episode in the birth of the State, Rabbi Gordis writes: “Suddenly, Palmach fighters ...fired on the *Altalena*.” He fails to say that they did so on Ben-Gurion’s order or to mention his subsequent statement: “Blessed is the cannon that fired on the *Altalena*.” Sixteen Jews were killed, many others wounded, and large quantities of badly needed arms for the War of Independence destroyed. Gordis does write that among the Palmach commanders on the beach was Yitzhak Rabin, but without indicating that it was Rabin who commanded the group that first fired on the *Altalena*. In *The Revolt*, Menachem Begin devotes 22 pages to the discussion of the *Altalena* affair and it remains one of the most painful and controversial topics in Israel 69 years later.

In discussing the death of Avraham (“Yair”) Stern, the leader of Lechi (the underground group subsequently headed by future prime minister Yitzhak Shamir), Gordis asserts definitively that “Stern was killed in February 1942 in a shoot-out with British forces after a massive manhunt” (page 138). This is despite the fact that one of the three British officers alone with Stern admitted in an interview forty years later that the unarmed Stern was murdered in cold blood by a British officer. Even if Rabbi Gordis did not know this—and he should have—the official British story was considered highly suspect within the Jewish community from the beginning.

While noting that “Judea and Samaria [is] the biblical name by which many Israelis refer to it” (page 414), Dr. Gordis consistently refers to the area as “the West Bank.” This is an inexplicable distortion given the fact that the territory was universally called Judea and Samaria until 1950. In that year the Hashemite Kingdom of Transjordan annexed the land west of the Jordan River which it had seized in Israel’s War of Independence and began to refer to it as the “west bank” of the renamed Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Not only are the terms “Judea and Samaria” venerable names for the areas in question but they were precisely the names used by the League of Nations, by the British Mandatory authority,, and even by the United Nation General Assembly in its famous resolution 181. That U.N. Resolution, describing the projected boundary lines in the area now commonly called the “west bank”, used only the terms “Judea and Samaria”. To imply that those names were confined to ancient times is simply wrong.

Gordis describes the Gaza “disengagement” of 2005 as “a remarkable display of Israeli democracy at work” (page 335). Yet two pages later he contradicts himself, writing that “Sharon had run for office promising not to evacuate Gaza, and then never called for a plebiscite on the disengagement; the entire process struck many Israelis as fundamentally undemocratic.” Just so. While Gordis correctly states that Sharon never called for a plebiscite, he did call for, and pledged to

abide by, a vote of the Likud party membership. When that vote went against him by a 3-2 margin Sharon simply repudiated his pledge. Moshe Arens stated that the disengagement would be “inconceivable in any democratic society in this day and age” and Yoel Marcus, a prominent liberal columnist who supported the “disengagement” wrote that the government’s methods engendered “this gnawing feeling of disgust inside me”. The high-handed undemocratic manner in which the retreat and destruction of Jewish settlements was handled divided Israel, to quote Daniel Pipes, “in ways that may poison the body politic for decades.” Some “remarkable display of Israeli democracy at work”!

Other portions of Gordis’s history deserve critical comment:



Mahmoud Darwish

Writing of Palestinian Arab poet Mahmoud Darwish, Gordis asserts that Darwish “was the voice of a people seeking independence and freedom.” It is more plausible to hear Darwish’s voice (“If I become hungry, the usurper’s flesh will be my food”) as one calling for the destruction of Israel.

Gordis inserts his own political preferences in his conclusory statement that “It might take years or decades, but for increasing numbers of Israelis, there was now little doubt that Israel would have to leave most of the West Bank sooner or later” (Page 357). In fact, many in Israel’s governing coalition would strongly contest this perception of “little doubt.”

Gordis writes that after the Madrid Conference, with peace “now clearly on the Israeli public agenda, in 1992, Israelis elected the man they believed could make that peace happen - Yitzhak Rabin.” The reader is not told that Rabin was forced to cobble together a coalition with a majority of a single seat, and even then was only able to do so thanks to the increase in the threshold for Knesset seats which had the effect of “wasting” the votes of three small right wing parties. Under the previous election rules they would have won two seats. Moreover, Rabin campaigned as “Mr. Security”-- stating, for example, that no one should even consider relinquishing the Golan Heights--and many Israelis cast their vote for him on the grounds of security, not the promise of a peace deal.

Gordis titles one chapter “The Burden of Occupation” which detracts from the book’s objectivity. There is a significant segment of Israeli opinion that would contest the use of both words: “burden” and “occupation.” This language is used again in the concluding chapter in which Rabbi Gordis asserts: “The occupation in all its manifestations remains one of the most pained dimensions of contemporary Israeli life” (page 420).

Dr. Gordis points out that the Palestinian Arabs living in the disputed areas (the “west bank”) enjoy a higher standard of living and expanded educational opportunities under Israeli governance. Still, he writes, “the most salient factor for Palestinians was that they were now living not under Jordanian Muslims but Israeli Jews” (Page 297). Gordis fails to mention that among the reasons that it is unacceptable to live under Israeli Jews is the congeries of Islamic tenets that preclude infidels from permanent rule over land that was once governed by Islam and that militate against Muslims living under infidel rule in such lands.

Daniel Gordis is enamored of the term “nuance.” in fact, his column in *The Jerusalem Post* is entitled “A Dose of Nuance” and his articles over many years frequently use that term. And he does not disappoint in this history, writing that the two opposing visions for the Jewish future that he attributes to Theodor Herzl and Ahad Ha’am were melded together and created a new “more nuanced” Jew than either by itself (page 416). This editorializing is not objectionable but manifests the outlook of the

author; it is important that the reader of this history understand that Gordis’s “nuanced” political outlook permeates his history of Israel.

On the whole, despite the reservations expressed above, Daniel Gordis’s book is a worthwhile addition to histories of the country designed for a general audience and can indeed be of great service to readers who seek an overview of the fascinating and inspiring saga of Israel.

Roger A. Gerber is an attorney and real estate consultant who served for many years on the Board of Jewish Education for Greater New York. He compiled (with Rael Jean Isaac) What Shimon Says, a collection of the foolish sayings of Shimon Peres.

“Eight to Ten Million Migrants Are Still on the Way”

Soeren Kern

At a press conference in Brussels on May 2, the EU Commissioner in charge of migration, Dimitris Avramopoulos, called on Austria, Denmark, Germany, Norway and Sweden—among the wealthiest and most sought after destinations in Europe for migrants—to phase out the temporary controls currently in place at their internal Schengen borders over the next six months.

The so-called Schengen Agreement, which took effect in March 1995, abolished many of the EU’s internal borders, enabling passport-free movement across most of the bloc. The Schengen Agreement, along with the single European currency, are fundamental pillars of the European Union and essential building-blocks for constructing a United States of Europe. With the long-term sustainability of the single currency and open borders in question, advocates of European federalism are keen to preserve both.



Avramopoulos, who argued that border controls are “not in the European spirit of solidarity and cooperation,” said: “The time has come to take the last concrete steps to gradually return to a normal functioning of the Schengen Area. This is our goal, and it remains unchanged. A fully functioning Schengen area, free from internal border controls. Schengen is one of the greatest achievements of the European project. We must do everything to protect it.”

The temporary border controls were established in September 2015, after hundreds of thousands of migrants arrived in Europe, and when EU member states, led by Germany, gave special permission to some EU countries to impose emergency controls for up to two years. Since then, the European Union has approved six-month extensions of controls at the German-Austrian border, at Austria’s frontiers with Hungary and Slovenia and at Danish, Swedish and Norwegian borders. (Norway is a member of Schengen but not the EU.) Since then, several countries have argued that they need border controls to combat the threat of Islamic militancy.

On May 2, Sweden, which claims to conduct the most border checks among the EU countries, announced that it will lift controls at its border with Denmark. Sweden received 81,000 asylum seekers in 2014; 163,000 in 2015; 29,000 in 2016, and the same is expected for 2017.

On April 26, Austria called for an indefinite extension of border controls. “In terms of public order and internal security, I simply need to know who is coming to our country,” Austrian Interior

Minister Wolfgang Sobotka said. Austria, which accepted some 90,000 migrants in 2015, also called for a “postponement” of the EU refugee distribution program, which requires EU member states to accept a mandatory and proportional distribution of asylum-seekers who arrive in other member nations.

On March 9, Norway extended border controls for another three months.

On January 26, Denmark extended border controls for another four months. Integration Minister Inger Støjberg said that his government would extend its border controls “until European borders are under control.”

On January 19, Germany and Austria announced that border controls between their countries would continue indefinitely, “as long as the EU external border is not adequately protected.”

Meanwhile, the number of migrants making their way to Europe is once again trending higher. Of the 30,465 migrants who reached Europe during the first quarter of 2017, 24,292 (80%) arrived in Italy, 4,407 arrived in Greece, 1,510 arrived in Spain and 256 arrived in Bulgaria, according to the International Office for Migration (IOM).

By way of comparison, the number of arrivals to Europe during each of the first three months of 2017 exceeded those who arrived during the same time period in 2015, the year in which migration to Europe reached unprecedented levels.

The trend is expected to continue throughout 2017. Better weather is already bringing about a surge of migrants crossing the Mediterranean Sea from Libya to Europe. During just one week in April, for example, a total of 9,661 migrants reached the shores of Italy.

The migrants arriving there are overwhelmingly economic migrants seeking a better life in Europe. Only a very small number appear to be legitimate asylum seekers or refugees fleeing warzones. According to the IOM, the migrants who reached Italy during the first three months of 2017 are, in descending order, from Guinea, Nigeria, Bangladesh, Ivory Coast, Gambia, Senegal, Morocco, Mali, Somalia and Eritrea.

In February, Italy reached a deal with the UN-backed government in Tripoli to hold migrants in camps in Libya in exchange for money to fight human traffickers. The agreement was endorsed by both the European Union and Germany. On May 2, however, German Foreign Minister Sigmar Gabriel reversed course by saying the deal ignored the “catastrophic conditions” in Libya and would not curb migration. He said that Germany now favored tackling migration by fighting instability in Africa: “What we are trying instead is to help stabilize the countries on the continent. But that is difficult. We will have to show staying power, stamina and patience. This is in the interest of Africans but also in the interest of Europeans.”

Gabriel’s long-term solution—which in the best of circumstances could take decades to bear fruit—implies that mass migration from Africa to Europe will continue unabated for many years to come.

Italy has emerged as Europe’s main point of entry for migrants largely because of an agreement the European Union signed with Turkey in March 2016 to stem migration from Turkey to Greece. In recent weeks, however, Turkish authorities have threatened to back out of the deal because, according to them, the EU has failed to honor its end of the bargain.

Under the agreement, the EU pledged to pay Turkey €3 billion (\$3.4 billion), as well as grant visa-free travel to Europe for Turkey’s 78 million citizens, and to restart accession talks for Turkey to join the bloc. In exchange, Turkey agreed to take back all migrants and refugees who reach Greece via Turkey.

After the deal was reached, the number of migrants reaching Greece dropped sharply, although not completely. According to data supplied by the European Union on April 12, a total of 30,565 migrants have reached Greece since the migrant deal took effect. Only 944 of those migrants have been returned to Turkey. Still, this is in sharp contrast to the hundreds of thousands of migrants who entered

Greece at the height of the migration crisis. Turkey's continued cooperation is essential to keep the migration floodgates closed.



Omar Celik

On April 22, Turkey's Minister for EU Affairs, Ömer Çelik, issued an ultimatum, warning the European Union that if it does not grant Turkish citizens visa-free travel by the end of May, Turkey would suspend the migrant deal and flood Europe with migrants.

On March 17, Turkey's Interior Minister Süleyman Soylu warned that his country would "blow the mind" of Europe and renege on the deal by sending 15,000 Syrian refugees a month to Europe.

A month earlier Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan had already threatened to send millions of migrants to Europe. "We can open the doors to Greece and Bulgaria anytime and we can put the refugees on buses," he told European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker.

European officials say that to qualify for the visa waiver, Turkey must meet 72 conditions, including the most important one: relaxing its stringent anti-terrorism laws, which are being used to silence critics of Erdogan, especially since the failed coup in July 2016. Turkey has vowed not to comply with the EU's demands.

Critics of visa liberalization fear that millions of Turkish nationals may end up migrating to Europe. The Austrian newsmagazine *Wochenblick*, recently reported that 11 million Turks are living in poverty and "many of them are dreaming of moving to central Europe."

Other analysts believe Erdogan views the visa waiver as an opportunity to "export" Turkey's "Kurdish Problem" to Germany. According to Bavarian Finance Minister Markus Söder, millions of Kurds are poised to take advantage of the visa waiver to flee to Germany to escape persecution at the hands of Erdogan: "We are importing an internal Turkish conflict," he warned. "In the end, fewer migrants may arrive by boat, but more will arrive by airplane."

The European Union now finds itself in a Catch-22 situation. Turkey appears determined to flood Europe with migrants either way: with Europe's permission by means of visa-free travel, or without Europe's permission, as retribution for failing to provide visa-free travel.

The director of the United Nations office in Geneva, Michael Møller, has warned that Europe must prepare for the arrival of millions more migrants from Africa, Asia and the Middle East. In an interview with *The Times*, Møller, a Dane, said:

"What we have been seeing is one of the biggest human migrations in history. And it's just going to accelerate. Young people all have cellphones and they can see what's happening in other parts of the world, and that acts as a magnet."

German Development Minister Gerd Müller has echoed that warning:

"The biggest migration movements are still ahead: Africa's population will double in the next decades. A country like Egypt will grow to 100 million people, Nigeria to 400 million. In our digital age with the internet and mobile phones, everyone knows about our prosperity and lifestyle."

Müller added that only 10% of those currently on the move have reached Europe: "Eight to ten million migrants are still on the way."

Soeren Kern is a Senior Fellow at the New York-based Gatestone Institute. This appeared on May 5 at gatestoneinstitute.org

Coddling Hamas on Campus While Trampling the First Amendment

Sara Dogan

Editor's note: UCLA and the University of Chicago are the latest schools to join David Horowitz's Freedom Center's list of the "Top Ten College Administrations Most Friendly to Terrorists and Hostile to the First Amendment." These campuses provide financial and institutional support to terrorist-linked campus organizations such as the Hamas-funded hate-group Students for Justice in Palestine while actively suppressing speech critical of Israel's terrorist adversaries and their allies in the United States.

At the beginning of May, the Freedom Center placed posters exposing the links between Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) and Hamas terrorists on the UCLA campus. UCLA administrators such as Vice Chancellor for Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion Jerry Kang have previously labeled similar Freedom Center posters "ethnic slander" and an effort to "trigger racially-tinged fear." These posters pose a challenge to the UCLA administration to abandon these attacks on speech that exposes the truth about SJP and its ties to terrorism, and to fulfill its constitutional obligation to uphold the First Amendment on campus.

Vice Chancellor Kang has undergone extreme intellectual and political contortions in defending the UCLA chapter of Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) as "an officially recognized student organization, based on political commitments, that is also in good standing" despite SJP's constant manifestation of Jew hatred on the Los Angeles campus.

In one widely noted expression of the group's anti-Semitism, SJP members illegally questioned student government candidate Rachel Beyda about whether her status as a Jew would bias her decisions on campus matters. It also attempted to create a litmus test for student government candidates by introducing an initiative that would require them to sign a pledge to not take trips to Israel sponsored by pro-Israel organizations.

Such incidents violate UCLA's Principles of Community which state, in part, "We are committed to ensuring freedom of expression and dialogue, in a respectful and civil manner, on the spectrum of views held by our varied and diverse campus communities."

Despite his title as the UCLA administrator in charge of Equity, Diversity & Inclusion, Vice Chancellor Kang has ignored SJP's continual violation of these Principles of Community, disregarding the harassment of Jewish students forced to endure SJP's mock "apartheid walls" plastered with Hamas propaganda and its rallies decrying the founding of the Jewish state as "Al-nakba" or "the catastrophe." But when the David Horowitz Freedom Center hung posters on campus exposing SJP's ties to anti-Israel terror group Hamas, and naming campus activists who



had worked to bring about the destruction of the Jewish state, both Kang and UCLA Chancellor Gene Block were quick to condemn them. In an email to the entire 50,000 member UCLA community, Kang said the posters were "designed to shock and terrify," and accused the Freedom Center of using "the tactic of guilt by association, of using blacklists, of ethnic slander, and sensationalized images engineered to trigger racially-tinged fear." In a second diatribe, he claimed the posters caused "chilling psychological harm" and "focused, personalized intimidation."

University Chancellor Gene Block also reacted to the posters by stating "Islamophobic posters appeared on campus, in complete disregard of our Principles of Community and the dignity of our

Muslim students. But we can, and we will, do our best to hold ourselves to the standards of integrity, inclusion, fairness and compassion that are the hallmarks of a healthy community.”

Quick to defend SJP and its violent rhetoric, Kang and Block have been missing in action when Jewish students faced intimidation and harassment from anti-Semitic speakers and Hamas propaganda plastered across campus.

In addition to the incidents listed above, UCLA SJP holds an annual “Palestine Awareness Week” on campus featuring speakers who endorse the genocidal BDS movement against Israel. SJP’s 2016 event featured journalist Max Blumenthal, who stated during his address that suicide bombing against Jews is justified by “the occupation” and described Palestinian terrorists as “young men who took up arms to fight their occupier.” He also compared Israel to the Islamic state, calling it “‘JSIL,’ the Jewish State in Israel and the Levant.” Another speaker, Miko Peled, also defended Palestinian terrorism, renaming it “a struggle for freedom and justice and equality,” and describing terrorists as “very brave Palestinians who are engaged in fighting this brutal occupation.” Peled also described Jews as analogous to Hitler, calling Jewish soldiers “young little Jewish gestapos,” and further accused Israel of “massive, violent, brutal oppression,” “genocide,” “ethnic cleansing,” and of being “a colonialist, apartheid, racist system.”

Nor is such hate speech directed at Israel and Jews restricted to SJP events. In 2015, UCLA’s Center for Near Eastern Studies held a conference on “Palestine and Pedagogy” during which speakers compared Israel to the Nazis, praised anti-Israel terrorism and supported the BDS movement against Israel. UC Irvine Professor and Director of the UC Institute for Humanities Research Theo Goldberg accused Israel of practicing “eliminationist racism” similar to the Nazis and claimed Israelis view Palestinians as “vermin, cockroaches, rats, snakes...that take boots on the ground to get rid of.” Goldberg further charged that Israelis make “snuff films” featuring the deaths of innocent Palestinians which go viral resulting in “an orgasm” for Israelis. Meanwhile UC Riverside Professor David Lloyd called Israel “a colonial Zionist project that has become a...nightmare, ever more rigid and oppressive” and endorsed the right of Palestinians to take up arms against Israel.

This hate speech was ignored by Kang and Block and other appeasement-minded UCLA administrators.

Kang’s support for SJP and its pro-terrorism agenda was also evident in his lack of support for second year law student Milan Chatterjee, president of the Graduate Student Association (GSA) at UCLA. When he attempted to keep the GSA out of the Boycott, Divest, and Sanction controversy on campus, Chatterjee was subjected to such severe harassment by SJP and Kang that he resigned. He later announced he was leaving UCLA to continue his law degree elsewhere because of the “hostile and unsafe campus climate” created by groups supporting the BDS movement on campus in concert with the UCLA administration.

Chatterjee wrote in a letter to UCLA Chancellor Gene Block: “It is unfortunate, indeed, that your administration has not only allowed BDS organizations and student activists to freely engage in intimidation of students who do not support the BDS agenda, but has decided to affirmatively engage in discriminatory practices of its own against those same students. Whether you choose to acknowledge it or not, the fact is that the UCLA campus has become a hostile and unsafe environment for students, Jewish students and non-Jewish, who choose not to support the BDS movement, let alone support the state of Israel.”

In comments made to the media, Chatterjee also stated, “I filed a complaint with the office of Vice Chancellor for Equity, Diversity and Inclusion Jerry Kang, who took zero action and refused to investigate... This is very disturbing behavior and shows a double standard at play at UCLA. If SJP files a complaint, they will bend over backwards. If it’s anyone else, they don’t care.”

In their zeal to defend pro-terrorist campus organizations like SJP, both Kang and Block have not hesitated to violate the First Amendment rights of their critics. The taxpayers of the state of California would be well advised to take note of their actions.

This appeared on frontpagemag.com on May 2.

Capital Losses

Ruth King

Promises! Promises! One cannot count the number of times that our leaders, from the White House to Congress, have issued the call to move the American Embassy from Tel Aviv to Israel's capital city Jerusalem. Those empty words fill the air during election cycles. Nonetheless the American Embassy remains in Tel Aviv.

What is an American Embassy on foreign soil? Here is how the State Department describes it:

"The mission of the United States Embassy is to advance the interests of the United States, and to serve and protect U.S. citizens. An embassy is the nerve center for a country's diplomatic affairs within the borders of another nation, serving as the headquarters of the chief of mission, staff and other agencies. ...

"Embassy staff interact with host governments, local business and nongovernmental organizations, the media and educational institutions, and private citizens to create positive responses to U.S. policy and the U.S. in general."

There is absolutely nothing here that precludes placing the American embassy in Israel's capital. Moreover, an embassy implies recognition of a country's sovereignty and its status as a nation.

The United States currently does not have embassies in North Korea, Iran, and Bhutan. In Taiwan, there is no longer an embassy, but, rather, an "American Institute in Taiwan" located in the capital Taipei. Here hangs a cautionary tale for Israel, demonstrating how an embassy's location impacts a host nation's legitimacy.

In order to appease China's tyrants, heeding Henry Kissinger's advice, Nixon visited China in 1972, accepted mass murderer Mao's "one China" policy and opened the door to more diplomatic ties. These were fully implemented in 1979 when President Jimmy Carter broke diplomatic relations with Taiwan and moved our embassy in Taipei to Beijing. In short order Taiwan lost its seat on the Security Council and was ousted from the United Nations. Its security and sovereignty have thus been weakened.

Out of the 192 UN member states, 161 currently recognize Israel. Thirty-one Arab/Moslem nations have no diplomatic exchanges with Israel.

There are currently over 86 embassies in Tel Aviv (not including honorary consulates). Due to America's implied pressure, of the thirteen nations (Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Netherlands, Panama, Uruguay, Venezuela) that had earlier established embassies in Jerusalem, none remain.

As justification, the U.S. State Department claims that Jerusalem is "disputed territory." This is balderdash, and the fully staffed United States embassy in Kosovo proves the hypocrisy of this argument.

In Kosovo, although 114 nations offered recognition in 2008, there are only 21 embassies in Pristina, the U.S. among them. Many nations question the legitimacy of Kosovo which was historically part of Serbia, and is considered "disputed territory." Accordingly, Kosovo is not a member of the United Nations.

Why does the U.S. have an embassy in Pristina and not in Jerusalem? This upside-down diplomacy can only be explained by a stubborn anti-Israel bias that has always existed in the State Department swamps.

President Trump made lavish promises to move the American Embassy to Jerusalem. Will he do it?

Compared to difficult foreign policy issues-- North Korea, Russia, Iran, Syria-- this is small potatoes. And contrary to the hand wringers there will be no serious repercussions.

Maybe Mugabe, the tyrant who despoiled a once thriving country, will issue a protest to the United States embassy at 172 Herbert Chitepo Ave in what is left of Harare, Zimbabwe's capital. Most other countries have other, more pressing concerns.

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