

JANUARY 1993

PUBLISHED BY AMERICANS FOR A SAFE ISRAEL

ARE THE ARABS RELIABLE PARTNERS FOR PEACE?

Herbert Zweibon

Three recent developments raise disturbing new questions about the wisdom of Israel signing peace treaties with Arab dictators.

The Israeli daily *Hadashot* reports that United Nations investigators have documented numerous Syrian violations of the 1974 Syrian-Israeli disengagement agreement: Syrian commando units have been stationed in the town of Kuneitra, near the Syrian-Israel border; a battalion of eighteen 122-mm. cannons is located, illegally, within 20 kilometers of the Israeli border; and 21 ground-to-air missiles (along with eight missile launchers) have been placed, illegally, within 25 kilometers of the border with Israel.

The Los Angeles Times, quoting an investigation by the U.S. General Accounting Office, reports that Jordan transferred U.S. military technology and intelligence information (which had been given to the U.S. by Israel) to Iraq in late 1990, long after the Jordanians had promised the U.S. that they would observe the international embargo against Saddam Hussein.

Finally, the Israeli daily *Ha'aretz* has revealed that the Egyptian government is quietly pressuring Israel and the U.S. to agree to the removal of United Nations forces that are stationed along the Israel-Egypt border. They were stationed there as part of the 1979 peace treaty, to provide protection for Israel from a surprise Egyptian attack.

Should Israel stake its survival on treaties signed with such regimes?

If Syria refuses to abide by the treaty it already has with Israel, what guarantee is there that it will be more faithful to a second treaty with Israel?

If Jordan will not even keep its word to its primary

foreign benefactor, the United States, can it be trusted to keep its word to a country upon which it has repeatedly waged war?

If the Egypt-Israel treaty is the peace agreement that is to be regarded as the precedent for treaties between Israel and the other Arabs, can it be expected that Syrian, Jordanian, or PLO promises to respect the stationing of international forces will be discarded a few years later, as Egypt is now doing?

The "land for peace" concept is rooted in the reliability of Arab promises. Israel is the only party that is being pressed to make physical concessions, that is, the surrender of vital territory. The Arabs are expected to make verbal concessions, in the form of promises to be peaceful. For Israel to tie its future to such promises, the Arab world would have to be able to point to a solid record of promises made and promises kept.

Unfortunately, the Arabs can do no such thing. Their record of adhering to international agreements is a joke. They can offer Israel no reliable evidence that they will abide by whatever they sign. And that, ultimately, must be the decisive factor for Israeli policymakers.

Herbert Zweibon is chairman of Americans For A Safe Israel.

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DARK SHADOWS OVER EUROPE

The steely jackboot of fascism is marching across Europe once again. In Germany, Italy, Hungary, and elsewhere, synagogues have been defaced, Jewish cemetaries have been vandalized, and Jews have been beaten. Less than fifty years after the Holocaust, neo-Nazis are paving the road to the next Auschwitz. One of the editors of a leading U.S. Jewish newspaper got a little taste of all this during his recent visit to Germany, when he was pounced upon and roughed up by a Nazi gang. Reflecting on the experience in his weekly column, the editor expressed his longing for Israeli military action against the Germans. Israel, in other words, is still the 911 for Jews everywhere. When the former Soviet Union was wracked by ethnic strife, when Yugoslavia crumbled, when civil strife tore apart Albania, the Jews in those lands went to the one place they could call home--Israel. Governments may come and go, but a concept like Zionism is eternal. There must always be a sovereign Jewish homeland--with enough room, enough military strength, and enough independence to withstand all challenges to its sacred mission of absorbing Jewish refugees from the four corners of the globe.◊

WHY CHRISTIANS ARE LEAVING ISRAEL

Arab propagandists periodically attempt to whip up anti-Israel sentiment abroad by claiming that Arab Christian emigration from Israel is due to "Israeli persecution." That lie has now been decisively refuted by Father Georges Abou-Khazen, a parish priest in Bethlehem. Writing in the November-December issue of the Italianlanguage journal Terra Santa, published by the Franciscan church, Father Abou-Khazen declared that the emigration of Arab Christians is the result of a campaign by local Moslems to "Islamicize" the region. Huge sums contributed by Moslem countries have been used to purchase stores in Jerusalem's "Christian Quarter." Moslems have paid "astronomical" amounts of money to buy Christian homes in Bethlehem. Father Abou-Khazen cited a family in his own parish that preferred to sell to fellow-Christians; within days, local Moslems torched the home. Two Christian shops in Jerusalem were firebombed for the same reason. Has the Moslem intimidation campaign succeeded? After Father Abou-Khazen's article was quoted in the Israeli press, he announced that he was not the author and had "no idea" how his name got on the article. Evidently he doesn't want to become the next victim of the Moslem hit squads.0

KUDOS TO THE U. OF NEW HAVEN

In February 1993, the University of New Haven (Connecticut) intends, in association with the Biotechnical Institute in Tel Aviv, to open an extension program in the Israeli city of Elkana, in Samaria. Many American universtities have branches or programs in Israel, but the University of New Haven appears to be the first to establish a division beyond the 1967 borders. Naturally, the University's administrators have pledged that Arabs as well as Jews will be eligible for admission to the Elkana branch, just as Arabs and Jews are eligible for admission to all Israeli universities.

But that's not good enough for some Israeli extremists, like the Peace Now movement, which has appealed to the Israeli government to block the University of New Haven from proceeding. What could be the grounds for objecting to this project? Peace Now spokesman Amiram Goldblum says the problem is that Arab students might not be admitted to the Elkana university, and therefore the school will be guilty of "apartheid." How he can possibly know, in advance, who will be admitted, is unclear. But it is a reminder of the ironic fact that it is Peace Now, not the residents of Elkana, that favors apartheid. Goldblum and his cohorts want to prevent Jews, and only Jews, from living anywhere in Judea and Samaria. If that's not apartheid, what is?

Israel desperately needs projects like the New Haven-Elkana university. It needs foreign investment, and it especially needs more institutions of higher education to service new immigrants who cannot gain entry to Israel's overcrowded existing universities. One can only hope that American friends of Israel will make it clear to the University of New Haven and its president, Lawrence Denardis, how much they appreciate its actions.◊

Outpost

is published by Americans For a Safe Israel 147 East 76 St. New York, NY 10021 (212) 628-9400

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

DEMILITARIZATION HAS NEVER WORKED Bernard Smith

Over the years, diplomats, military men, and academics have offered their versions of Israel's path to peace with the Arab countries: surrendering Judea, Samaria and Gaza--and lately, parts of the Golan.

Since the ceding of these geostrategic areas would seriously endanger Israel's security and very survival, proponents of retreat need to explain how such a vulnerable Israel can protect itself. Enter the concept of demilitarization: Israel, they say, will be safe as long as it cannot be attacked from what would become Arab territory.

Despite its superficial appeal, demilitarization has, in fact, been a miserable failure throughout the past century. Although this fact does not seem to deter its advocates, it should cause Israelis to demand that the advocates of demilitarization come to grips with one simple, cruel fact: demilitarized territory has always been remilitarized sooner or later.

In 1922, when Japan accepted the League of Nations mandates for the Micronesian Islands--the Marshalls, Marianas and Carolines--it agreed to their

demilitarization, a condition of all "Class C" mandates. When relations with the U.S. reached a critical point and World War II became imminent, Japan remilitarized islands such as Truk, the Palaus, Saipan and Kwajalein-specks in the Pacific which would become saturated with American and Japanese blood. The League of Nations was the guarantor of the demilitarization--but, by 1941, when Japan went to war, the League and its guarantees were both defunct. Changing events affecting national interests had removed demilitarization as an option.

The Straits Convention of 1923 is an example of the use of demilitarization by great powers to further national interests. The Convention demilitarized the Turkish-controlled entrance to the Black Sea, preventing Turkey from closing the Straits to the Royal Navy, a matter of strategic importance to the British. With the rise of German and Italian fascism, Turkey demanded the right to remilitarize the Straits, and Britain, fearful of throwing Turkey into the arms of Germany, agreed. Events changed national priorities: demilitarization became an obstacle and, for political motives, was terminated in 1936.

Also in 1923, the Allies and Turkey agreed to demilitarize the frontier between Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria, to ensure security for Turkey while giving Greece land in western Thrace. That demilitarization lasted 15 years, until the Balkan Entente, including Greece and Turkey, allowed the zone to be remilitarized as part of an effort to secure Bulgarian friendship and eliminate the threat of Bulgarian irredentism.

(Furthermore, it is inconceivable that any demilitarized frontier would have prevented the occupation of Greece by German and Bulgarian forces in 1941.)

Demilitarization's most conspicuous failure as a guarantor of a nation's security occured in 1936, when the German Army entered the Rhineland, which had been demilitarized only 17 years before. In 1919, the French had wanted the Rhineland detached from Germany and made into a buffer state to ensure their security. In addition, they called for its lengthy occupation. But at Versailles, the French were forced to accept only a demilitarized zone and Great Power guarantees, which proved worthless. These tranquilizers calmed French fears, because nobody foresaw the total collapse of British and French resolve and national paralysis when faced with renewed German aggression in 1936.

Three examples of demilitarization that have been incorrectly termed successful are the Aland Islands agreements, violated by the Russians and British during World War I and by the Finns in 1939 and 1940; the demilitarization of 200 miles of the Norwegian-Swedish frontier under the 1905 Convention of Karlsbad, which was neither a success nor a failure (there was no imminence of war after Norway dissolved the union between the two countries); and Sinai, where it is too early to judge the outcome of the current demilitarization.

Demilitarization in Sinai cannot be labeled a success until relations between Israel and Egypt--or any other Arab country--are so well normalized and friendship so well established that there is no longer a need for even the thought of soldiers near the border. Egyptian voices have already been heard referring to the idea of modifying the demilitarization agreeement.

It is likely that very few advocates of demilitarizing the Golan, and Judea, Samaria and Gaza, are aware of demilitarization's record of failure in this century. Israelis should look upon the concept with great pessimism. Theose who reject it have history on their side.

Bernard Smith is a member of the board of directors of the Jerusalem Institute for Western Defense,. and a member of the Advisory Board of Americans For a Safe Israel. A different version of this essay was published in the Jerusalem Post.

MIDDLE EAST UPDATE

... Michel Cohen, a resident of the Israeli town of Kiryat Arba, near Hebron, has been given a large fine and a suspended jail sentence for having shot in selfdefense at Arab rock-throwers. The incident took place in 1989, when Cohen was attacked by an Arab mob as he drove past the Arab village of Halhoul. He fired his legallyregistered weapon in the air to disperse the attackers, and then chased them a short distance, firing in the air a second time to make sure they did not return. He was put on trial on the charge of "firing a weapon in a built-up area," a statute leftover from the British Mandate period. "I was attacked," Cohen told the court. " I behaved as an exemplary citizen, chased the attackers so that they would not endanger others coming after me. I went to the police to report the stone-throwing, which according to law is attempted murder. The policeman, without my knowledge, instead of writing down my complaint, wrote down a confession"...

...A Palestinian Arab leader has admitted that many of the Arabs who have been murdered by PLO death squads in **Judea**, **Samaria**, and **Gaza**, were not "collaborators," as the killers have claimed. Faisal Husseini told the Israeli daily Ma'ariv on August 7, "We know that some of them were killed for reasons unconnected to our struggle--family disputes, legal disputes, criminal disputes, and the mafia." Meanwhile, Zuheir Daba'ai, a leading pro-PLO activist in the territories, was quoted in the November 29 issue of *New Republic* as conceding that 60% of the Arabs murdered by the Arab death squads were innocent. Also quoted in that journal was a Jerusalem Arab journalist who says that he and his colleagues were brought together in August by Hanan Ashrawi, leader of the Palestinian Arab negotiators, and warned not to publish anything diverging from the PLO line...

...Sadeq Malallah, age 23, was publicly beheaded in the **Saudi Arabian** town of Qatif on September 3, after being convicted of apostasy. The Saudi Interior Ministry declared that Malallah was found guilty of having "insulted Allah, the holy Koran, and Mohammed the prophet." Meanwhile, Douglas Graham, an American journalist who lived in Saudi Arabia from 1983 until 1989, has written a book entitled *Saudi Arabia Unveiled*, which reveals many previously-unknown details about the Saudi government's persecution of Christian temporary laborers. Graham also describes the pervasive sexual abuse of foreign maids working in Saudi Arabia, including the case of a Sri Lankan woman who died after being violently raped by her Saudi employer...

...Although Israeli law prohibits political parties from conducting activities on high school campuses, the Labor Party is doing just that, according to Likud Knesset Member Limor Livnat. MK Livnat told the Knesset Education Committee on November 9 that Labor's **Yigal Allon Youth College** carries out such activity under the guise of

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<u>One Minute to Midnight</u> Dr. Irving Moskowitz

RABBI RISKIN AND THE ARABS

Rabbi Shlomo Riskin, formerly of New York's Upper West Side and now the rabbi of the Israeli town of Efrat, writes a learned column for a number of Jewish newspapers about the weeky Torah portion. Rabbi Riskin cannot be faulted for occasionally attempting to interpret Torah passages in the light of contemporary political events--too many rabbis would rather bury their heads in the sand than discuss political issues. The problem with Rabbi Riskin's political commentaries, however, is that he sometimes tries, naively, to apply Western concepts to Middle Eastern situations. In a recent column, he predicted that "when peace finally comes and the Palestinians tell their tales, they will have to acknowledge that in the overall picture, even during the worst moments of the intifada, Israeli doctors were attending thier sick, their maimed and their poor."

Don't hold your breath, Rabbi Riskin. Appreciation and reconciliation are not the ways of the Arab world. One could fill volumes with grim anecdotes--like the one about the Arab militant whose life was saved by the transplant of a kidney from an Israeli, yet still wore a PLO t-shirt in her hospital room; or the one about the Jerusalem Arab newspaper that refused an ad from a liberal Israeli organization --an ad offering aid to Arabs-- because the organization had the word "Israel" in its name; or the one about Rabbi Riskin's own Arabic-language tutor, who was arrested in connection with the planting of a terrorist bomb.

Israeli benevolence will never result in Arab gratitude. Israeli concessions will never satisfy the Arab appetite. Israel's very existence--no matter what its size, no matter how generous its policies-- is something that the Arab world can never tolerate.◊

Dr. Irving Moskowitz is a member of the Board of Governors of Americans For a Safe Israel.

THE ARABS DISAPPOINT ANOTHER ISRAELI DOVE

Dedi Zucker, Knesset Member from the leftwing Meretz party, thought that he would finally be able to tell his Arab friends what they wanted to hear. As he rose to address an audience of 200 in the Arab village of Beit Sahur in November, Zucker was brimming with hope. He could boast of how the new Labor-Meretz government coalition had declared its readiness to surrender most of Judea, Samaria, Gaza, and the Golan. He could point to the hundreds of "intifada" convicts who have been released from prison, the capitulation of the Rabin government to the demands of the hunger-striking terrorists who are still in prison, and the failure of the government to take meaningful action in response to Arab terrorist attacks from southern Lebanon. In short, the new government in which Zucker was a partner carried a resume filled with concessions and compromises. Surely, the crowd in Beit Sahur would appreciate this difference between the new government and its predecessor.

Zucker was to be disappointed.

"The biggest change that has occurred since the last time I spoke to you," Zucker began, "is that I am now a member of the government." The audience was not impressed. They peppered Zucker with hostile questions which suggested that from the Arab point of view, there is no difference between the Israeli right and the Israeli left.

When Zucker referred to the government's

readiness to surrender parts of the Golan, Khader Musleh, professor of pscyhology at nearby Bethlehem University, criticized Israeli doves for not staging a counter-demonstration after the huge rally in Tel Aviv by opponents of surrendering the Golan.

When Zucker pointed to the absence of demonstrations against the restrictions on Jewish settlement activity in Judea and Samaria, Arabs in the audience claimed that the absence of such demonstrations "only proves that the settlers do not take the restrictions seriously."

When Zucker mildly criticized George Habash, leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, for opposing the Arab-Israeli negotiations, there was booing. Indeed, at the conclusion of the meeting, a speaker rose to offer an effusive tribute to Habash. The audience cheered wildly.

The myth that Israeli doves have sought to popularize in recent years is that the Palestinian Arabs are essentially reasonable, rational people who are ready to compromise if Israel will just show some flexibility, and who will live in peace next to Israel, if Israel will just give them some land.

The reality, however, is rather different. The Arabs do not accept Western concepts like compromise and tolerance. They cannot tolerate a sovereign Jewish presence in any part of "occupied Palestine," and therefore any Israel, whether large or small, is unacceptable. That's why Dedi Zucker was no more successful at satisfying the Arabs of Beit Sahur than Ariel Sharon would have been.◊

Aryeh Shomron , a former New Yorker, reports for Outpost from Jerusalem.

<u>Document</u>

SYRIANS AMASSING "A DRUG FORTUNE"

The House Judiciary Committee's subcommittee on crime and criminal justice has released a shocking new report about the involvment of senior Syrian government officials in the global trade. The report, entitled "Syria, President Bush, and Drugs--the Administration's Next Iraqgate," was released by Rep. Charles Schumer (D-New York). Among its revelations:

* "The White House has virtually ignored the important fact that the Syrian government and the Syrian military, as institutions, directly benefit from their associations with drug traffickers. Without Syrian military participation, the present system of growing, producing and transporting drugs in Lebanon today would simply collapse."

* "Whether by extorting protection payments, collecting bribes, or even becoming active partners with the Lebanese traffickers, most individual Syrian officers and troops directly profit from the drug trade. Individual officers reportedly earn as much as \$30,000 a year from drug-related bribes."

* General Ali Dubah, chief of Syrian military intelligence, "coordinates Syrian extortion efforts to ensure that sufficient drug profits are leftover from personal corruption" so that the Syrian regime gets its fair share of the drug profits. General Ghazi Kenaan, chief of Syrian military intelligence in Lebanon, regularly intervenes on behalf of drug traffickers and offers them protection. For a sizeable fee, Kenaan will mediate disputes between the Hezbollah terrorist group and the various drug-trafficking gangs in Lebanon.◊

LETTERS

December 2, 1992

To the Editor:

While I am alarmed at the thought of James Baker ever again playing a role in America's Middle East policies, it occurred to me that if he ever does find himself in that part of the world once more, he may want to pay a visit to what is probably the single largest concentration of his fellow-Princeton University graduates in the Middle East, in the Samarian town of Eli, just north of Jerusalem, among the students and faculty of the Israel Academy of Liberal Arts (the programs of which were described in the October *Outpost*).

If, for example, Baker is still puzzled at the fact that so many Jews voted for the Democratic candidate in the recent presidential election (indeed, it was the highest percentage of the Jewish vote for a Democratic presidential nominee since 1944), the Princeton graduates in Eli may be able to clarify for him the relationship between the attitudes of Jewish voters and the pre-election disclosures about Baker's own senior thesis at Princeton (1952), in which he argued that America should have opposed the creation of Israel in 1948.

> J.Z.K. Princeton '87

> > December 1, 1992

To the Editor:

Your review (November) of *Dangerous Liaison: The Inside Story of the U.S.-Israeli Covert Relationship*, by Leslie and Andrew Cockburn, was right on the mark, but was unfortunately too brief to mention two of the most interesting items mentioned by the Cockburns. I refer to their anecdotes about James Baker and Jimmy Carter, both of whom have been mentioned in the press as candidates for the job of special U.S. envoy to the MIddle East.

The Cockburns report that Baker was once asked by "a friend" whether he had "noticed that 'every administration leaves office having conceived an intense dislike of the Israelis.' Baker laughed and replied, 'what do you do about someone who comes into office feeling that way?'" (This dovetails, by the way, with an item mentioned in an earlier *Outpost* about how Baker once said he regarded Israel as being akin to a turkey, with him as the hunter, determined to corner it and make it do as he pleases.)

As for Carter, the Cockburns report that he told his senior political advisers in the spring of 1980, "If I get back

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in [by getting re-elected], I'm going to (bleep) the Jews." Israel-bashers like Leslie and Andrew Cockburns were clearly pleased by the remarks of Baker and Carter, and see them as reasons why either, or both, should serve in future U.S. administrations. The rest of us, however, should regard those episodes with alarm and redouble

should regard those episodes with alarm and redouble our efforts to make sure that neither Baker nor Carter ever again have a role in U.S. foreign policy.

> Linda Gorstein Boston

> > December 4, 1992

To the Editor:

The anti-Israel remarks made by Col N.K. Ludvigsen, of the Norwegian force in southern Lebanon, were reprehensible, and your editorial condemning them (December issue) was appreciated.

Readers of *Outpost* might be interested to know that this is not the first time that prominent Norwegians have attacked Israel. In 1988, the Norwegian ambassador to Israel, Torleiv Anda, denounced the Israeli Army's treatment of Arabs, claiming that "soldiers walk in the streets, breaking residents' limbs and taking children from their homes." Anda then had the gall to say that the behavior of Israel was even worse than the behavior of the Nazi occupation forces in Norway during World War II. "I cannot recall seeing German soldiers beating people in the streets," he asserted.

Israel would be crazy to surrender Judea and Samaria, if by doing so its security will be entrusted to a multinational force consisting, in part, of soldiers who are commanded by Col. N.K. Ludvigsen, and influenced by Ambassador Anda.

> Harold Kiel Queens, N.Y.

THINKING ABOUT THE GOLAN

AVI IN WONDERLAND Laurence Weinbaum

As if awakened from some antediluvian hibernation, Avi Hoffman ("Skiiing on the Syrian Hermon," Jerusalem Report, October 22) emerges to pontificate about the need for Israel to divest itself of the Golan Heights; of "a real and binding peace-agreement" with "cast-iron guarantees" to be given by the United States and Russia (!) in exchange.

Cast-Iron Guarantees? One wonders where Mr. Hoffman has been during most of the tide of modern history. Under normal circumstances, he could be counseled to attend high school level remedial history classes. But the efficacy of that prescription could be questioned in these times of existential danger to the nation.

Mr. Hoffman's quest for "peace" at any price is sadly symptomatic of the psychology of self-delusion that has characterized the Jewish response to many a crisis over the long centuries of our often gloomy history. During the Holocaust, too, there were those who tried to convince themselves and their neighbors --even in the face of overwhelming evidence-- that the Germans intended nothing more than to use the Jews as forced labor. What is especially disturbing in the present context is the fact that more than 40 years after the rebirth of the Jewish State, some Jews still display such tendencies. Today we intention (or in some other way given evidence of a desire) to eradicate the "Syrian entity"; or "to liberate "Damascus"? Have we sponsored the destruction of Syrian airlines or Syrian legations? Have we imposed a boycott on firms doing business with the Assad regime?

No, it is time for our Arab neighbors to give peace a chance. But let the Arab chance not be predicated on surrender of the Golan.

One prefers to think that Mr. Hoffman is a "fool" rather than a "liar" --to apply the terminology he egregiously affixes to those who disagree with his Alice-inwonderland like fantasies. It is his manifest stupidity --not sincerity-- that deserves rejection. It is frightening to think that Mr. Hoffman (and apparently others, as well) really believes that "on the eve of the Yom Kippur war Israel held even more of the Golan than it holds at present and this did not prevent that bloody war." What does Mr. Hoffman presume the outcome of that conflict would have been had Syria been poised on the Golan Heights, overlooking the whole of northern Israel? Apparently, from 1949-1967 the kibbutzim enjoyed nothing less than an idyll--the Syrians pelting them with tomatoes, not artillery shells.

As to Mr. Hoffman's conviction that the majority of Golan settlers do not oppose abandoning their homes --"transfer," as it were-- I would suggest that he drive up to the area and raise the question with those whose lives and livelihoods are at stake. To say nothing of the majority of Israelis --throughout the country-- who have time and again expressed their opposition to concessions on the Heights.

Mr. Hoffman's blind faith in American intervention is especially puerile. Even if that faith were warranted and the United States were to embark on the liberation of an occupied Israel, Kuwait-style, one cannot but ponder how many of us would be left to wave the stars and stripes and greet our liberators.◊

Laurence Weinbaum is the acting director of the Nativ Center for Policy Research, in Tel Aviv.

Hafez Assad

should be dealing from a position of strength, not genuine Holocaust-era helplessness. But then it was once said that it is far easier to remove the Jews from the Exile than the Exile from the Jew.

It is time to "give peace a chance," counsels Hoffman, echoing the refrain from the popular and beautiful Beatles ballad. Unfortunately, what we are discussing is the future security of this country, not 60s-era pop culture. Does Mr. Hoffman really believe that we have not given peace a chance? Has Israel ever announced its

AN ISRAELI RADICAL TRIES TO DIVIDE U.S. JEWS FROM ISRAEL Michael Goldblatt

"...Instead of giving their money to Israel, American Jews should give it to American charities...American Jews should be more involved in issues such as civil rights, poverty, and the homeless...Israel would be better off without AIPAC and Jewish money...AIPAC is a negative force..."

These are the kinds of statements one would expect to hear from an ultra-assimilated, anti-Zionist American Jew. The shocking reality, however, is that they were made by Avraham Burg, a high-ranking Knesset Member from the ruling Labor Party, during his speech in Pittsburgh in November.

As members of the Zionist Organization of America and the local Community Relations Council --Burg's sponsors-- listened in stunned silence, Burg did everything he could to undermine American Jewry's support for Israel. He called American Jewish donations to Israel "wasteful" and suggested that they be given to other causes --even while many Russian Jewish immigrants are known to be poverty-stricken. He denounced those American Jews who lobby for Israel, specifically targeting AIPAC, an organization that was helping Israel obtain crucial U.S. assistance since before Burg was even born. Burg also portrayed Israel as being chiefly responsible for the absence of peace in the Mideast.

As Dr. Bradley Levinson, the local ZOA leader, put it, "Listening to Mr. Burg, you would think that Israel was an evil nation, bent on exterminating the Palestinian Arabs. In fact, if you didn't know the situation in the Middle East, hearing Mr. Burg, you would have thought the Arab states were located in North America and couldn't possibly be a danger to an extremely 'secure' Israel."

It is no secret that a tiny handful of Israeli extremists want to undercut American Jewish support for Israel. These extremists are furious that most American Jews support Israel's democratically-elected governments, instead of joining the international pressure campaign for more Israeli concessions. So they come to these shores from time to time, looking for ways to blacken Israel's image.

Indeed, Michal Schwartz, of the radical "Matzpen" gang, was here just a few months ago, urging that support for Israel be reduced. Apparently, the only kind of American Jewish money that these radicals want to see in Israel is the kind that goes into their own pockets--Schwartz, for example, is happy to have the New York-based Abraham Fund helping her raise funds in the U.S., just as Avraham Burg had no compunctions about accepting a generous fellowship from the New York-based New Israel Fund a few years ago.

The crucial difference between Burg and Schwartz is that Burg is a Knesset Member and a major force in the ruling Labor Party; he was number three on Labor's list in the last Knesset elections, right behind Yitzhak Rabin and

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AFSI CONFERENCE: A RESOUNDING SUCCESS

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A standing room-only audience at the annual Americans For a Safe Israel conference, on December 6, heard a variety of distinguished speakers address the critical issues facing Israel today. A detailed report of the conference will appear in the February issue of Outpost. Below are the resolutions that were adopted:

1. Be it resolved, that AFSI members will increase their efforts on behalf of the nationalist movement of Israel. It is our conviction that Judea, Samaria, Gaza and the Golan are indivisible parts of Israel and that this reality transcends all political affiliations.

2. Be it resolved, that AFSI categorically rejects the formula of "territory for peace."

3. Be it resolved, that an undivided Jerusalem is the eternal capitol of the Jewish people and the State of Israel, and all embassies should be in its capitol.

4. Be it resolved, that AFSI supports the efforts of those in Israel who are striving for economic independence and a free market society.

5. Be it resolved, that travel to all countries whose governments tolerate anti-Semitism should be strongly discouraged.

6. Be it resolved, that every effort should be made to have Jonathan Pollard's sentence commuted to time served. AFSI does not condone actions on the part of any citizen against the United States, but we believe his punishment is excessive and not consistent with other sentences.

7. Be it resolved, that every effort be made by AFSI members to help in effecting the release of Ron Arad and other missing Israeli soldiers.

SPOTLIGHT ON THE EXTREMISTS

...While the **New Israel Fund** continues to finance the **Association for Recognition of the Forty**, which wants the Israeli government to recognize and aid forty illegal Arab villages, there has been no such assistance for the disputed Jewish village of Kutar, south of Safed. In November, twenty men from the village staged a hunger-strike at the office of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, in Jerusalem, while their wives and children held a protest rally on the highway near their homes. No roads have been paved, and no water pipes have been laid at Kutar, despite the fact that the twenty families have been living there for more than a year...

...Middle East Witness, a project created by anti-Israel pacifists in the U.S. to send delegations to meet with "peace activists in Israel and Palestine" and visit families of Arab terrorists, has closed down for lack of funds. The War Resisters League, which sponsored Middle East Witness, is urging its supporters to join the Campaign to Free Vanunu, a group that assists Mordechai Vanunu, the Israeli radical convicted of stealing and selling Israeli nuclear secrets. A Vanunu backer, Yael Lotan, toured the U.S. in November...

...Writing in the Jerusalem Poston November 9, Susan Hattis Rolef, a veteran Labor Party activist, declared that all criticism of Knesset Member Abed el-Wahab Darawshe is inherently "racist," because he is an Arab. MKs who disapprove of Darawshe's recent meetings with Yasser Arafat now risk being labeled "racists" if they voice their misgivings...

...Israel's High Court of Justice has criticized the Labor government's Minister of Justice, David Liba'i, for ordering an unprecedented review of the case of five Arab terrorists who confessed to the brutal sexual abusemurder of Danny Katz, a young Israeli boy, in 1983. Two courts have already upheld the conviction, but a pressure campaign by attorney Avigdor Feldman, of the Association for Civil Rights in Israel, persuaded Libai to order a fresh review of the evidence. Libai's choice to handle the review was deputy-attorney general Yehudit Karp, best known for her 1982-1983 crusade against Jewish settlers who shot back at Arab attackers. Feldman, in the meantime, is using every means at his disposal to have the killers set free. In early November, he formally petitioned President Chaim Herzog to pardon the five terrorists...

...Knesset Member **Avraham Burg**, the leading dove in the Labor Party, is urging young Israeli leftists to enlist in army units that serve in Judea and Samaria, in order to influence the army's policies there. While expressing understanding for those Israeli radicals who go to jail rather than serve beyond the 1967 borders, Burg writes (in the Israeli daily, *Hadashot*) that it is "preferable" to have army units in the territories filled with the kind of soldier who "hesitates seven times before he pulls the trigger"...

...Jesse Zel Lurie, leftwing columnist for the (Florida) *Jewish Journal*, is slugging it out with the leaders of Hadassah, the women's Zlonist organization. Lurie, a former editor of *Hadassah Magazine*, had been writing book reviews for that journal until recently, when readers' complaints about his extremist tone prompted the editors to drop him. Lurie, who claims to be a champion of women's rights, responded with a bitter column attacking "the little women on 58th Street" (Hadassah headquarters)...

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LETTERS THEY REFUSED TO PUBLISH

December 3, 1992

Letters to the Editor New York Times

To the Editor;

In his recent letter, Gad Ya'acobi, the Israeli ambassador to the United Nations suggests that if direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab regimes fail to produce peace agreements, then American "assistance" might be necessary to secure that objective. The precedent he cites is the Camp David Accords. The problem, of course, is that the Camp David Accords were achieved by the Carter administration pressuring Israel to surrender every inch of territory that was in dispute between Israel and Egypt. If this is the model for Arab-Israeli agreements, who needs negotiations at all? Why waste time and energy on an arduous negotiating process if in the end it will produce a total capitulation by one side to the demands of the other? Israel might as well surrender to every Arab demand immediately, sign peace treaties, and start praying that the promises contained therein prove more reliable than those contained in the various inter-Arab peace treaties that have turned out to be so fragile.

> Herbert Zweibon Chairman Americans For a Safe Israel

ISRAELI RADICAL

(Continued from Page 8)

Shimon Peres. When he spoke in Pittsburgh on November 11, Burg went out of his way to emphasize that he was speaking on behalf of the Israeli government. The damage that his misguided pronouncements could do is therefore incalculable.

In an interview with the Israeli daily *Ma'ariv*, in 1986, Burg remarked, "There are many people who still do not realize how far to the left I am." After his disgraceful appearance in Pittsburgh, I would venture to say that there are fewer and fewer people who do not realize how far to the left Avraham Burg is --and how much damage he is capable of doing to relations between Israel and American Jewry.

Michael Goldblatt, Ph.D., is vice president of the Zionist Organization of America, Philadelphia region.

MIDDLE EAST UPDATE

(Continued from Page 4)

its "educational project," Mission Democracy. Livnat read the Knesset Committee an internal strategy memo from the College which asserted that "the objective of the College is to circumvent the ban on party activities inside school premises. Hence College programs make no mention of the Labor Party but refer to the 'basic values of the labor movement'." Labor MK Avraham Burg, in his reply, acknowledged the accuracy of Livnat's charge but defended it on the grounds that "students should be exposed to different political ideas"...

...A recent article in National Geographic portraved the Palestinian Arabs as the descendants of the Canaanite nations that lived in the ancient Land of Israel. That claim elicited considerable criticism in the Jewish community, but in fact, writes Brian Shapiro, of Santa Barbara, Calfornia, in a recent letter to the Jerusalem Post, the editors of National Geographic "did a service to Jews and others in the world to identify the Jordanian Arabs who live in Israel as 'ancient descendants of Canaanites and others' who lived there even before the Jews." How so? Explains Shapiro: "At archaeological sites at Gezer, Taanach and Megiddo, altars with bones of scores of skeletal remains of infants have been found. The tribes inhabiting the land before the Jews practised human sacrifice of their children by fire. These are the ancestors of the people who send their children to attack Israeli soldiers"...

...Last year's edition of Let's Go Israel and Egypt, the popular travel guide prepared by Harvard Student Agencies Inc., included an assortment of anti-Israel slanders. It called Arab citizens of Israel "disenfranchised people," blamed Israel for allegedly having "created" the Palestinian Arab refugee problem, depicted Israel as having started the 1967 war, and explicitly labeled Israel "the aggressors" in the 1982 Lebanon war." After protests by Philadelphia Zionist leader Morton Klein, the authors corrected those passages-but then added a variety of new anti-Israel blasts. Thus the 1992 edition of Let's Go Israel and Egypt claims that the history of "Palestine" begins "with the story of Abraham," dismisses the Zionist movement's willingness to accept the 1947 U.N. partition plan by claiming that "the Jews had nothing to lose," minimizes pre-1967 Arab terrorism against Israel by calling it "ineffectual," alleges that Israel took "one-half of Jordan's land" during the 1967 war, and describes the U.S. loan guarantees as "\$10-billion in new American aid," as if it was a grant ...

BOOK REVIEWS

Robert I. Friedman, Zealots for Zion: Inside Israel's West Bank Settlement Movement (Random House, 1992, \$23.00).

Considering Robert Friedman's legal history, this is a daring book. A recent libel suit ended with Friedman admitting that his accusations against a Baltimore Jewish activist were false, and he is now embroiled in a second suit, this one by an Israeli woman who was depicted as a racist in one of Friedman's articles. With this 249-page diatribe against Israel's Jewish settlers, Friedman could be opening himself up to a whole new round of lawsuits --for example, from the settler whom Friedman dubs "a beer-guzzling redneck...no different from the Ku Klux Klan," from Rabbi Moshe Levinger, who Friedman claims is planning to lead a mass suicide to prevent Israeli withdrawal from Judea and Samaria, or from the many others whom Friedman depicts as violent, racist thugs.

This is a book with many quotations and no footnotes. Settlers are quoted saying all sorts of extreme

and irrational things, but, not surprisingly, the most extreme or irrational are attributed to nameless individuals. "One settler" supposedly tells Friedman that the leading Arab hotel in Jerusalem pipes subliminal PLO propaganda messages into the rooms of foreign journalists. "Several settlers" allegedly confide to Friedman that they terrorize other Jewish settlers in the hope of provoking them to retalitate against Arabs.

The idea that it is the Jews who provoke the Arabs, and not the other way around, is one of the themes of *Zealots for Zion*. Even the Arab pogroms in Palestine in 1929 were somehow provoked by the Jews, according to Friedman. In Friedman's twisted version of those attacks, the Arab violence was followed by a round of anti-

Arab attacks by "armed Jews, killing about an equal number of Arabs." Friedman's math is as weak as his history; 133 Jews were murdered by Arabs, while six Arabs were killed by Jews in a single act of retaliation. Contemporary Arab terrorist violence is likewise portrayed by Friedman as an understandable response to Israel's occupation, oppression, and colonization.

The way to stop the violence, Friedman counsels, is for Israel to dismantle the settlements and surrender the territories of 1967. Friedman evidently forgot that in June, 1967, there were no settlements and the territories were in Arab hands--but the Arabs attacked Israel anyway. Inconvenient historical facts like that are simply brushed aside in Friedman's feverish effort to portray the settlers, the Likud, and even the Labor Party (which is dovish, but not dovish enough for his taste) as the source of all evil in the Middle East.

If Friedman really wanted to go "inside Israel's West Bank Settlement Movement," as the subtitle of his book boasts, one would have expected him to disguise himself as a settler, take up residence in one of the settlements, interact with the settlers on a daily, personal basis, and then report his observations. The problem with such an approach is that it would not furnish the results Friedman was seeking. It would force Friedman to admit that the vast majority of the Jews who live in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza are not gun-waving religious zealots. They're young Israeli families, of varying degrees of religiosity, who are seeking a higher quality of life than is presently attainable in the more crowded urban centers. They don't oppress Arabs, they don't dream of conquering all the land from the Nile to the Euphrates, and so they don't quite fit into the book that Friedman set out to write.

Some reviewers of Zealots for Zion have raised interesting questions about Friedman's financial backing. The Miami Jewish Tribune, for example, noted that in the acknowledgments section, Friedman thanks "the Foundation for Middle East Peace and its founder, Merle Thorpe Jr.," for their "support." The Foundation "is devoted to establishing a PLO state," the Tribune reports, "and Thorpe is a senior partner in a law firm that has been a registered agent for the government of Saudi Arabia. " The Tribune concludes: "Perhaps one of these days, a bona fide investigative journalist will take a look at the activities, connections, and sources of financial support of Friedman and other leading Israel-bashers. Now that would make an interesting book. " Indeed it would, and Friedman should be pressed to disclose the precise nature of his relationship with Thorpe and the Foundation.

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to think that Friedman needed a financial incentive to write this book. From the many anti-Israel articles he has written over the years, from the anti-Israel bias that permeated his previous book, and from the foaming-at-the-mouth nature of *Zealots for Zion*, it is clear that Friedman had plenty of motivation, Thorpe or no Thorpe.◊

BALDERDASH

"Is the regime of Saddam Hussein brutal? Yes, but the average life span has increased from 39 years to 59 years. Saddam has brought education, housing, communications."

> --David McReynolds, staff member of the War Resisters League, in the November-December 1992 issue of *The Nonviolent Activist*

"From the beginning, we were trying to have an unarmed, peaceful uprising. But as I have said before, patience has limits..."

--PLO chairman Yasser Arafat, in an interview with the *Jerusalem Report*, December 3, 1992

"Polls indicate that 99% of Americans do not believe in God. The 1% who do believe are Jews."

--Prof. Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, a leftwing Israeli radical who teaches at Haifa University, speaking at the November 1992 convention of the Middle East Justice Network, in Boston (quoted in the *Boston Jewish Times*, November 26, 1992).

"There are more Israeli tourists to Egypt [than Egyptian tourists to Israel] because there is more to see in Egypt than Israel; we have the Cairo Museum . . . also, the environment in Israel is not appealing to Egyptians. Our people might see Israeli soldiers roughing up Palestinians on the West Bank . It's too humiliating."

> --Remarks made recently by Egyptian officials to a group of visiting American Jews, quoted in *Tikkun*, November-December 1992