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# OUTPOST

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## **THE SHAME OF THE JEWS**

*Herbert Zweibon*

In the summer of 1883, in the wake of yet another malaria epidemic, Baron de Rothschild dispatched his agent, one Emile Meyerson, to the struggling Jewish settlement of Yesod Hama'ala, in the Huleh Valley. Meyerson explained to the settlers that while the baron was deeply committed to the cause of resettling the Holy Land, he now believed the health problems afflicting Yesod Hama'ala were too severe to overcome. The baron proposed that the settlers leave. "Some of you will be able to settle in other villages in this country," Meyerson assured them. "As for the rest, those who want compensation will receive it, and those who want to remain in farming will be sent at the expense of the Jewish Colonization Association to Argentina, where they will be given excellent conditions."

David Ben-Gurion, who related this episode in his memoirs, described the "deathly silence" that filled the room. The faces of the settlers were "as white as ghosts." Finally a settler named Fischel Salomon stepped forward. "My dear Mr. Meyerson, we came here before the baron, and did so in response to God's command," Salomon declared. "The baron has given us much assistance, and in so doing fulfilled his sacred duty to his people and his land. If he wants to continue, he should by all means do so. If he doesn't want to, so be it. But we will not be moved, not by the Jewish Colonization Association nor by the baron, but only by God Himself who brought us here. No human being will move us from this place."

The faith and determination of Fischel Salomon, so simple yet so moving, represented the essence of Zionism. The sacred goal of rebuilding the Land of Israel was being implemented in the Huleh Valley, and no earthly force could stop it--not malaria, not poverty, not Arab terrorism. Fortunately for Fischel Salomon and his comrades, the one force that would have done the most effective job of undermining Yesod Hama'ala did not yet exist--that is, an Israeli government led by Yitzhak Rabin.

For the past year, Rabin has quietly but efficiently implemented his policy of "drying up" Jewish settlements in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza. Now, with those communities weakened and desperate, Rabin has

administered the next blow--he has given control of the region--Gaza and Jericho today, the rest in nine months--to Yasser Arafat, a man who symbolizes the Arab goal of obliterating Zionism, a man whose hands are drenched with the blood of thousands of innocent Jews.

Israel's leaders should be calling for Arafat's trial as a war criminal. Instead, unbelievably, sacrilegiously, they are investing him with legitimate authority over the Land of Israel, forfeiting the age-old rights of the Jewish people to the mass murderer of Jews. Elijah thundered to Ahab: "Has thou murdered and also inherited?" What would Elijah say to the present rulers of Israel who hand over the inheritance of the Jewish people to the world's master of murder?

Only a few have raised their voices against the mindless euphoria, and they have spoken of the strategic mistake Israel is making. But for Jews who care about their people the prime emotion must be shame. September 13, when Israel's leaders signed an agreement with Arafat, while American Jewish leaders eagerly danced attendance, is a date which will live in infamy. A great people prostrated itself before a bankrupt thug. A people priding itself on its moral sensitivity committed an act of ultimate immorality, deliberately bestowing legitimacy on a mass murderer. As long as the Jewish people lives, this shame will adhere to them.

The nineteenth century residents of Yesod Hama'ala refused to budge. Only God Himself could force them out, they vowed. No one forced Yitzhak Rabin out. "Given to strong delusion, wholly believing a lie," he forfeits the patrimony of the Jewish people for an imaginary peace. Jeremiah said of those who say "'Peace, peace,' when there is no peace / They shall be put to shame because they have committed abomination."◇

*Herbert Zweibon is chairman of Americans For a Safe Israel.*

### IN THIS ISSUE:

<i>Israel in the Borders of 1949</i>	...3
<i>Thinking About Jericho</i>	...6
<i>Demonizing SDI</i>	...8

## **FUNDRAISING FOR THE PLO**

The Clinton administration is so anxious to start giving funds to the new PLO "homeland" that it has arranged to send Yasser Arafat \$250-million from programs already in the U.S. budget. That maneuver will help avoid a fight in Congress over the question of aid to the PLO. But with the PLO sure to demand more funds, and with other Arab dictators lining up for U.S. donations, Clinton won't be able to duck Congress indefinitely.

Speaking on the Philadelphia television program "Issues and Answers" on September 19, Senator Arlen Specter (R-Pa.) raised important questions about the propriety of American taxpayers bankrolling a terrorist chieftain who has supported America's bitterest enemies and who has, on more than one occasion, sent his gangsters to murder American citizens.

One might take that a step further, and ask why American money should be used to prop up any Arab dictator. Jordan has announced that it wants \$1-billion in foreign (read: U.S.) aid next year, and Syria has made it clear that it wants plenty of American military and economic aid in exchange for signing a treaty with Israel. Egypt is hoping to improve on the \$2.1-billion it already receives from the United States. Those who reject democracy and abuse human rights don't deserve U.S. aid. If they don't share American values, they shouldn't expect American help.◊

## **GENERAL OR POLITICIAN?**

Labor Party strategists have worked overtime to perpetuate the notion that Yitzhak Rabin can be trusted not to endanger Israel's security, since as a former general he is keenly attuned to Israel's security needs. But new information that has come to light about Israel's conflict with the Hezbollah terrorists reveals that Israel is being run by Rabin the politician, not Rabin the general.

A "senior Defense Ministry official," commenting on the relationship between Rabin and Lt.-Gen. Ehud Barak, chief of staff of the Israeli Army, had this to say to the *Jerusalem Post*: "Ehud reads Rabin like a seismograph. We could have used an extra week or two for Operation Accountability, and perhaps ensured that...southern Lebanon would be off-limits for katyushas. However, Rabin wanted a ceasefire before Christopher arrived in Jerusalem. Ehud did not press."

So: Israel's strategy in its battle with Hezbollah was determined not by Israeli security needs, but by Rabin's desire to impress Warren Christopher. The army needed "another week or two" to deal with the terrorists. Instead, thanks to Christopher's interference and Rabin's

political fears, Hezbollah was spared and katyushas will return to southern Lebanon. Lt.-Gen. Barak has taken other steps to make sure that Israel's military behavior suits Rabin's political tastes. According to the *Post* report, Barak "is sensitive to Rabin's desire not to disrupt the peace talks." Thus Barak overruled Defense Ministry officials who wanted to force Syria to restrain Hezbollah by warning that if the terrorism did not cease, "Israel would send jets to overfly Damascus as a warning of what is to come." Rabin the general has given way to Rabin the politician, and it looks like Barak, who has been mentioned as Rabin's possible successor, is following in his mentor's footsteps.◊

## **PEACE NOW IS ON ON THE MARCH AGAIN**

Americans for Peace Now has launched an all-out propaganda offensive intended to win American Jewish support for PLO control of Judea, Samaria and Gaza. The campaign has been dubbed "Operation Peace With Security," an Orwellian title if there ever was one, since Peace Now's idea of "security" includes forcing Israel back to the 'Auschwitz lines' of 1967 and setting up a PLO state with Jerusalem as its capitol. The six-month long campaign will, according to its sponsors, "finance speaker tours, publications, and public opinion polls, among other things, to demonstrate broad support for the agreements." Leave it to the dishonest Jewish left to plan public opinion polls whose results have been determined in advance. The most disturbing news, however, is that Peace Now has already received \$300,000 in donations for the campaign, and expects to bring in \$1-million in all. If Jews who are so devoted to the PLO's agenda can raise millions of dollars, then Jews who are devoted to Israel's well-being must do no less. Now is the time for friends of Israel to redouble their efforts on behalf of the Jewish State--before the left triumphs and Israel goes up in flames.◊

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# **ISRAEL IN THE BORDERS OF 1949: THEN AND NOW**

*Rael Jean Isaac*

Many of those who are appalled by the actions of the Labor government seek consolation by telling themselves: "After all, what will be different from the situation prior to 1967? Israel survived in those borders, and, when necessary, conquered the territories she now relinquishes: she can do the same thing again if she must, and will thus be no worse off than she was thirty years ago."

Unfortunately this is not true: Israel today, in the pre-1967 lines (or close to them), will be far worse off, politically, militarily, and perhaps most important of all, psychologically.

1. **The political situation.** Hard as it may be to remember, prior to 1967 there was no "Palestinian people"; Israel confronted a coalition of Arab states committed to a pan-Arab ideology that denied Israel's right to exist in any borders. Judea and Samaria were occupied by Jordan, whose rights to that territory were recognized by only two states: Pakistan and England. Gaza was of course occupied by Egypt.

The political situation in the 1990s will be completely different. Judea, Samaria and Gaza will make up a Palestinian state. If in a new war, Israel were to conquer Judea, Samaria and Gaza she would no longer be taking "the west bank" of one state and a peripheral (and unwanted) appendage of another (in the case of Gaza); she would be committing what Abba Eban has called "politicide," the destruction of an existing nation-state. International reaction to Israel's conquest of territory has been harsh in the best of times: can one imagine the reaction to this?

The altered political landscape will inescapably lead to new territorial demands upon Israel. Gaza will now be part of the same political entity as Judea and Samaria. There will have to be some way for the parts of the new state to link up with one another: it cannot be long before corridors through what is now Israeli territory are demanded by Arafat (or whoever heads the new Palestinian state).

In the Galilee, Arabs constitute a majority of the population. How long will it be before a movement forms there to link up the region with the new state of Palestine? And what will the media reaction be around the world? Indignation at the very idea of any further truncation of Israel? Or, especially as the demand is taken up by the entire Arab world, enthusiasm for a legitimate movement of national self-determination? Can anyone genuinely be in doubt what the reaction will be?

2. **The military situation.** In the last thirty years there has been a significant shift in the regional balance of forces against Israel, as Iran, a friendly state under the

Shah, has become a vicious enemy. Furthermore, the weaponry of the states dedicated to Israel's destruction has become qualitatively and quantitatively much more dangerous, with every indication that it will grow more so, as nuclear and long-range chemical weapons are added to the store.

Ironically, so-called peace agreements will almost certainly have the effect of worsening the situation. Israel's peace treaty with Egypt (virtually every paragraph of which has been violated by Egypt, as successive Israeli governments have pretended not to notice) paved the way for Egypt to receive over \$20 billion worth of American weapons. A peace agreement with Syria, which will give it the kosher stamp as "moderate," is likely to lead to American arms sales to that country.

Weaponry has also become much more sophisticated in the last thirty years, with especially important improvements in relatively short-range weaponry; extremely destructive artillery can be handled and moved about by a few people, even a single individual. Israel in the 1949 borders becomes an ever more vulnerable target for attack by individuals or small groups of terrorists. From the PLO-controlled territory overlooking Israel's major cities, terrorists can wreak havoc on Israeli civilians. The heads of the PLO state will then shrug sadly

and lament the difficulty they have in stopping hotheads among them. Anticipating a variant of this scenario, a questioner on U.S. television asked Shimon Peres what would happen if a terrorist stabbed an Israeli and then fled to "Palestine"--could Israeli troops go after the culprit? Peres replied that there would be no problem of terrorism because its root causes would have been eliminated. It looks as if Mr. Peres would be a good candidate for buying

*(Continued on p.4)*

# THE BORDERS OF 1949

(Continued from p. 3)

the Brooklyn Bridge.

As terror escalates, Israel will have the option of doing nothing, i.e. making "protests" to Palestine's rulers or the "world community," or engaging in retaliatory actions--one can imagine what will happen to "peace" under those circumstances.

3. **The psychological situation.** This is the most serious, because an Israel which is divided, demoralized, and has deliberately forfeited the legitimacy of its claim to the Land of Israel will not be able to muster the internal strength and will to defend itself against ever more powerful and determined enemies (psychologically reinvigorated by the moral and political weakness Israel manifests).

True, Israel did not possess the core religious-historical areas of its ancient homeland prior to 1967. Nor would it have initiated war to obtain them. But the sense of historic entitlement remained, not just within the Herut Party (the claim was an integral part of its electoral platform from the outset of the state) but also in sections of Labor (notably the Ahdut Ha'avoda movement) and the religious parties. From now on Israel will have forfeited its historic claim, severing its connection to the Land of Israel. This will necessarily have a profoundly demoralizing effect, undermining Israel's sense of the validity of its claim to territorial sovereignty. If Jews have no claim to the highlands of ancient Israel, to Hebron, Shiloh, and the Old City of Jerusalem, why should they claim the Philistine coast? For Israelis, the question "By what right do we exert sovereignty on this land?" will become more, not less, difficult to answer.

Removing settlements or turning them, or the roads to them, over to Arab rule (the same thing) will foster in Jews on the "wrong" side of the Green Line the sense that government leaders have committed treason and are thus illegitimate. This sense will grow in the best elements of Israeli society, the pioneers who sacrificed and endured dangers because of the force of their Zionist commitment. Even if every settler obediently and quietly follows government orders, the sense of betrayal will remain. Nor will this sense be confined to settlers whose lives are most obviously disrupted. All those who believe that returning to the 1967 borders is a recipe for disaster will share the sense of betrayal and despair.

Also of great significance, Israel's support abroad will decline precipitously. Momentarily (as at the time of Camp David) Israel has a good press, but this media approval is superficial and ephemeral. By its unilateral retreat on all issues and fronts, Israeli leaders have endorsed the Arab argument that Israel is responsible for the conflict and Israeli concessions are what is required for justice to be done. As the Arabs make more demands,

the media will once again look to Israel to satisfy them.

At the same time, Israel will have lost the friends upon whom it could count both in good times and in bad. It will have forfeited the support of many Christian fundamentalists, an important constituency for Israel in the United States, who believe in Israel's right to Judea and Samaria, and will lose interest now that Israel herself has abandoned her claim. And while American Jews are not likely to abandon Israel altogether, their support, already frayed, will become even thinner. The process of world Jewry psychologically distancing itself from the fate of the Jewish State will accelerate, this time on both left and right.

What makes the Labor government's actions potentially most psychologically devastating is that there has been no transformation of Arab attitudes toward Israel since 1967. The contrast in this respect to the sea-change in Soviet-U.S. relations is striking; this was made possible by alterations in the Soviet Union so profound that its entire political structure has been altered. But in the Middle East, with the growth of Islamic fundamentalism, hatred of Israel has only become more virulent. (Lest anyone cite Egypt as a supposed exception, only Iran can rival it as the center of anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic

propaganda in the world. Egypt spearheaded the unsuccessful effort to prevent the Zionism equals racism resolution from being rescinded by the United Nations.)

Nothing has changed in the Arab world since 1974 when Yasser Arafat decided that rather than insisting that Israel had to be eliminated in one blow (a view to which Hamas still clings), the PLO should pursue a phased plan for Israel's destruction. Following this strategy, the PLO would accept whatever land it could get and use it as a dagger against what was left of Israel. The plan was first urged upon the Arabs by Tunisia's President Bourguiba in the 1950s and at the time he was denounced for his pains. In the Arab way, Arafat has been perfectly open about his strategy and remains so today.

Thus the only change has been *in Israel*, whose leaders have abandoned all the tenets central to former

(Continued on p. 5)

# THE BORDERS OF 1949

(Continued from p. 4)

governments, including Labor governments. But if nothing has changed except in Israel, Israel is making peace with itself. This is how the men of Chelm would go about making peace.

Psychologically, by its policy of preemptive surrender, the government conveys the sense that Israel is weak. The state which defeated great armies thus succumbs to its own fears, in the process heightening the fears of the public and fostering the perception of Israeli weakness in its enemies. This is the more so, because Israel has not caved in to the PLO at the height of that organization's powers, when it was backed by the Soviet Union and celebrated by most of the world. It has surrendered to an almost defunct organization, abandoned even by its Arab brethren as a result of its performance in the Gulf War.

Substitute "the people of Israel" for "the British people" and Winston Churchill's words could be written

today:

*There is no worse mistake in public leadership than to hold out false hopes soon to be swept away. The British people can face peril or misfortune with fortitude and buoyancy, but they bitterly resent being deceived or finding that those responsible for their affairs are themselves dwelling in a fool's paradise.*

The awakening will be devastating. Under Churchill, England survived. Can Israel?◇

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## BEHIND THE NEWSMAKERS

...One way to assess the Middle East coverage of leading American newspapers is to see what pro-Arab groups think of them. The July issue of the *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, one of the most virulently anti-Israel journals in the U.S., contained lavish praise for the Israel correspondents of the *Washington Post* and the *Los Angeles Times*: "We're happy to report that now that he's been in Israel for a while, *Washington Post* correspondent **David Hoffman** seems to be reporting more carefully, accurately and informatively, as has *Los Angeles Times* correspondent **Michael Parks** for some time"...

...**David Shipler**, the former Jerusalem bureau chief of the *New York Times*, has been chosen by the New Israel Fund to lead its next tour to Israel. Participants will meet with local Arab leaders, leftwing Knesset Members and journalists, and a token rightwinger or two. As a reporter in Israel, Shipler was blatantly pro-Arab; his most grotesque article was a May 2, 1982 dispatch comparing Israeli treatment of Arabs to the Nazis' treatment of Jews. Since leaving the Middle East, Shipler has continued to bash Israel. He has championed U.S. recognition of the PLO, called on American Jews to publicly condemn Israel, and authored *Arab and Jew: Wounded in Spirits in a Promised Land*, a book which blamed Israel for the absence of peace in the Middle East...

...Boston Jewish activists are up in arms over a statement by a local Jewish leader praising an Israel-bashing journalist. After *Boston Globe* correspondent **Ethan Bronner** authored yet another article accusing Israel of human rights violations, **Nancy Kaufman**, of the Boston Jewish Community Relations Council, wrote a letter to the *Globe* mildly criticizing Bronner's article, but at the same time praising him as "a careful and objective reporter of the Arab-Israeli conflict." In a letter to the *Boston Jewish Advocate*, local activist Alan Bernson urged Kaufman to "exercise some self-respect, stop treating these foes nicely and courteously and start treating them like enemies"...

...An article in the *New York Times* about an Arab terrorist attack earlier this year began, "A knife-wielding Arab man from an East Jerusalem slum burst into a high-school yard in a nearby Jewish neighborhood, stabbing and wounding five students and their principal..." Even that gratuitous reference to an Arab "slum" was not sufficiently pro-Arab for the *Montreal Gazette*, which published the identical article from the *Times*, but inserted as its lead paragraph the opening from a Reuters story that began, "Israeli soldiers shot and killed four Palestinians, two of them children, in the occupied Gaza Strip yesterday after an Arab stabbed and wounded six Israelis in a Jerusalem schoolyard..." The headline that the *Times* chose, "Arab Stabs 6 in Jewish Schoolyard, Stirring Reprisals," was replaced in the *Gazette* by "Stabbings Create New Political Risks for Rabin"...

# THINKING ABOUT JERICHO

Erich Isaac

The imminent withdrawal of Israel from Jericho (along with the Gaza Strip) will make Jericho the first land in Judea to be "liberated," i.e. internationally recognized as part of a PLO-controlled sovereign Arab "Palestine." The irony is enormous, for Jericho, which now serves as the bridgehead in the progressive territorial dismemberment of Israel--a process that will not stop at the misnamed 1949 "borders"--was the first portion of the Promised Land to be taken by the tribes under Joshua. Less well known, the first attempt by *modern* Jews to reclaim their ancient homeland was also at Jericho.

In the ahistorical mental map of the present government, Jericho is merely a small Arab town, overshadowed by the large Jordanian-built and now abandoned refugee camps. Despite his military background, Yitzhak Rabin apparently is oblivious to Jericho's geographical significance astride transport and invasion routes across and along the Jordan Rift valley. Yet the Hussein (Allenby) Bridge is a reminder that the best entries into Judea from the east descend through the gaps between the steep, west-facing escarpments of Moab and Ammon into the steppes of Moab and across the Jordan into the plains of Jericho. These plains, which occupy the widest part of the Jordan valley, provide ample room for maneuver and served throughout history as the staging area for invading armies.

The Jews of an earlier period understood Jericho's strategic importance. In the view of the Sages, "Jericho is the bolt that secures the gate to the Land of Israel." According to the Midrash, "When Jericho is conquered, immediately the rest of all of the Land of Israel is conquered..." (*Bamidbar Rabba* 15:12). In modern times, during World War I, the British armies under General Allenby pushed through Jericho to secure the routes to Transjordan and to protect Jerusalem from a Turkish counteroffensive. And in the Six Day War, the conquest of Jericho, in the words of the well-known geographer Menashe Harel, "meant the complete liberation of Jerusalem from foreign domination." Harel observed: "Even today, Jericho functions as the outlying bastion of Jerusalem on the gate to Amman."

Jericho has also had great religious significance in Jewish tradition. Jericho's fall is so imbued with divine manifestations (*Joshua* 6-7) that unlike other conquests described in the Bible, there is no account of the military actions at Jericho: the city's fall is attributed entirely to divinely prescribed ceremonials (*Joshua* 6). The demolished town site must remain sacred to God, not to be rebuilt (*Joshua* 6:26). Its desolation astride the strategic invasion routes from the steppes of Moab warned

covetous invaders of the awesome retribution that will be exacted by the Lord who guards His Land.

While the actual site of the town Joshua conquered was to be shunned (terrible punishment befell its rebuilder, *I Kings* 16:34), the surrounding oasis was settled early on (*II Samuel* 10:5) by a population evidently attracted by its numinous aura. It became a center for the disciples of the prophets (*II Kings* :4-5). After the Babylonian exile, 345 people from Jericho returned with Zerubabel (*Ezra* 2:34), and volunteers from Jericho helped Nehemia fortify Jerusalem (*Nehemia* 3:2).

During the period of the second Temple, Jericho developed into a major population center, famous for its fruit orchards, date plantations, incense, spice and medicinal plants. Only dates from Jericho were acceptable among the "first fruit offerings" in the Temple. During the period of the Hasmonean kings, it became a winter resort for the well-to-do and the aristocracy. But playground though it was, it retained its special status, serving as the seat for a Sanhedrin. It was in Jericho that the sages recognized the greatness of Hillel the Elder (*Tosefta Sotah* 13:3). They continued to assemble in Jericho even after the destruction of the Temple (*Tosefta Berahot* 4:6).

From Talmudic sources we know that Jericho was one of a number of towns entirely, or almost entirely, inhabited by priests. Because of the strict laws of ritual purity, such towns continued for centuries after the destruction of the Temple.

Not until the fourth century did Byzantine persecution and chicanery succeed in converting Jericho into a non-Jewish town in which basilicas replaced synagogues, as Christian sacred history assimilated and transformed its Jewish sanctity. Many of the Jews of Jericho made their way to Arabia, where these mainly priestly date-

(Continued on p. 7)

# THINKING ABOUT JERICH0

(Continued from p. 6)

growers carried on their earlier occupations. Moslem historians describe the Jewish inhabitants of Medina as *Kohanim* (priests). Apparently Medina, which means 'town' in Aramaic, was so called by its Jewish settlers, in contrast to the nearby villages, which were also inhabited by (non-priestly) Jews.

The historic tie to Jericho was such that when, in the seventh century, the descendants of Medina's Jewish founders were chased out by a new daughter religion, they returned to it. Repopulated Jewish Jericho was destroyed in the Crusades and the town remained desolate until the mid-19th century when a ragged assortment of detribalized Bedouin and Egyptian and Sudanese *fellahin*, the latter deserters from Ibrahim Pasha's army, settled on the ruins of medieval Jericho, approximately a mile from the biblical *tel*. It is only towards the end of the century that pilgrims and seasonal resort visitors gave Arab Jericho a promising economic base.

There is an interesting parallel between the role of Jericho as the first land to be possessed by the tribes of Israel and its role in the modern return. In 1871, the Ottoman Sultan offered extensive areas of the Jordan valley for sale. In Jerusalem, Joshua Yellin formed a company to purchase the lands of Jericho. It was named "Gate of Hope" (*Petah Tikvah*) after *Hosea 2:17*, "And I will give her...the valley of Achor [in the plains of Jericho] as a gate of hope." The purchase went through, but in the end was disallowed by the Sultan, who was persuaded by Jerusalem's Pasha not to turn his lands over to foreign citizens.

A subsequent attempt to revive the plan (circa 1885), initially approved again by the Sultan, was also foiled by the Ottoman Pasha of Jerusalem. While Yellin

was left with "a broken heart and an afflicted spirit," in subsequent years Jews did work some of the lands in the Jericho area, even though their achievements were a far cry from the extensive development plans of Petah Tikvah's original partners (these included development of mineral resources of the Dead Sea). In the end, Petah Tikvah did not rise in the plains of Jericho, but in the coastal plain near Jaffa.

A Jewish legend relates that in the End of Days, Gog and his armies will be destroyed in the plains of Jericho (*Sifri, Devarim 357*). Perhaps then, moving out of the way of such a final convulsion makes good sense. On the other hand, one can be sure that it is not a *midrash* that leads Rabin to hand over the Land of Israel to the mass murderer of Israeli women and children. It is, rather, modern mythologies of "conflict resolution" that blind him to reality.

For others, who are sensitive to the burdens of history, there is a more ominous progression: The Promised Land was originally taken into possession at Jericho. The first modern attempt to redeem the Land was undertaken at Jericho. The first step to divest the nation of the burden of the promise is being taken now.◊

*Dr. Erich Isaac, a member of the executive committee of Americans For a Safe Israel, is professor emeritus of geography at the City University of New York.*

## Should America "Guarantee" Israel's Safety?

A TIMELY AND REVEALING ANALYSIS  
by Dr. Irving Moskowitz  
with an introduction by Sen. Alfonse D'Amato

TO ORDER, SEE PAGE 9

**The Annual Conference of  
Americans For a Safe Israel  
will be held on  
December 12, 1993**

**- Details to Follow-**

## POINT OF VIEW

# DEMONIZING SDI

*Lt. Gen. Daniel O. Graham, USA*

On 18 August the *New York Times* carried a front-page story alleging that officials of the Reagan administration had faked the results of 'Star Wars' tests and lied to bilk money out of Congress. The sources for the accusation were all anonymous. The story was technologically absurd to anyone reasonably familiar with testing of space systems.

On 19 August, the *Times* followed up with a scathing lead editorial copiously quoting the faceless, nameless sources, and the *Washington Post* joined the frenzy. Sen. David Pryor (D-Arkansas) and Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-Colorado), long time SDI-bashers, weighed in.

The reaction of the former Secretary of Defense, Caspar Weinberger, was: "It's absurd." The man who headed up the SDI effort, Lt. Gen. Jim Abrahamson said: "Preposterous." In fact, all of us who had followed closely the Homin Overlay Experiment (HOE) that was alleged to have been faked, found the accusation ridiculous. If indeed the nameless sources had said what the *New York Times* article reported, they could not have known much about the HOE test specifically or about the nature of space system testing generally. Further, any reasonably conscientious reporter could easily have checked out such technical ignorance.

The essence of the "fakery" charge was that after three "failures" to intercept the target with the HOE interceptors, a radio beacon was attached to the fourth target warhead for the interceptor to guide on and ensure "success." Baloney. The first three tests were not

failures. Each provided data needed to make the interceptor more accurate. *Each* of the targets carried a C-Band beacon necessary for test personnel on the ground to evaluate the tests. The interceptors also had radio beacons for the same purpose. The interceptor was designed to guide itself to the target by responding to *optical* sensors, not radio signals.

If one wanted to make the interceptor respond to radio signals, you would have to emplace a different guidance system. To ensure "success," you would have to expect this different weapon to operate perfectly on its *first* test. The contractor who built the HOE, Lockheed, would have to involve many engineers in this presumed fakery.

The article goes on to spin a tale of a high-level deception scheme to convince the Soviets that we could, in fact, create effective defenses against their missiles and "drive them into bankruptcy" trying to counter. This is also nonsense. It was perfectly obvious long before the 1984 HOE test. Their frenzied efforts to stop SDI were proof enough. And there was no need to fool Congress either. The program was being well-funded. Opposition to SDI was not based on the notion that it couldn't be done; it was based on ideological and bureaucratic arguments that it shouldn't be done.

The notion that the Reagan administration would risk the entire SDI effort through fakery and lies in the May 1984 HOE experiment is, in fact, preposterous. Any reasonable observer would arrive at that conclusion. Why then do pundits, editors and politicians throw reason to the wind when faceless individuals make vicious and patently absurd accusations against those who worked to provide us with defenses against nuclear missiles?

It makes no sense to oppose the basic proposition that the nation should have defenses against the awesome destructive power of ballistic missiles. It can be argued reasonably that other requirements have higher priority. But it is hard to explain the rabid hostility to such defenses that we have seen. Not content to slow down, de-fund and de-emphasize defense against ballistic missiles, politicians like Senator Pryor and much of the media throw common sense and common decency to the winds in their passion to villify and punish all who have supported SDI.

Neither the obvious need for defense against missiles demonstrated in the Gulf War, nor the voluminous testimony that SDI was instrumental in the collapse of the Soviet empire seem to soften this irrational hostility. Meanwhile, both the United States and its allies stand vulnerable to attack by existing and proliferating ballistic missiles.◇

*Lt. Gen. Daniel O. Graham, USA (Ret.) is Director of High Frontier, an agency specializing in research on military and strategic issues.*



# ***In Memoriam:*** ***Dr. Petr Beckmann*** ***Erich and Rael Jean Isaac***

*How are the mighty fallen,  
In the midst of the battle  
(II Samuel 1:25)*

The cause of freedom--including that of Israel and the Jewish people--has lost a great champion with the passing of Dr. Petr Beckmann, a rare authentic genius of our time. Americans For a Safe Israel has lost a loyal member and benefactor. And we who write this have lost a friend, the friend we most admired.

It was AFSI's privilege to give an award both to Dr. Beckmann and Dr. Edward Teller at its national conference two years ago. They had much in common, men of great intellect, energy and courage, born and raised in Central Europe, strong friends of Israel. This year they were linked again when Dixie Lee Ray, former governor of Washington and chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, dedicated her book *Environmental Overkill* "to Petr Beckmann and Edward Teller." This was something that gave enormous pleasure to Petr; in his modesty he was also embarrassed--he told us, "She should not have put my name before Edward Teller's."

Ruth King made the award to Petr at AFSI's conference, and this is what she said:

"Petr Beckmann publishes *Access to Energy*, a newsletter which he has put out singlehandedly for 19 years. Its theme is that freedom depends on access to energy and those who try to deprive the West of energy are engaged in a cultural war. The enemies in that war are also the enemies of Israel.

"Petr Beckmann is an engineer and a scientist. He has made major contributions to linguistics, theoretical physics and the history of mathematics. In his spare time, he has written a charming book, *Musical Musings*.. Above all, he continues to puncture the hypocrisy of the enemies of freedom and of Israel."

Dying in August, Petr missed the spectacle of an Israeli government installing as ruler the evil terrorist who symbolized everything that Petr--and he thought Israel--fought to eradicate from the earth. Petr took pride in seeing in his lifetime the twin tyrannies of Nazism and Communism crumble. He had firsthand knowledge of both. The son of dedicated Czech Communists who took refuge in England during World War II and returned to help create a Communist Czechoslovakia, Petr defected in 1963 and as professor of engineering at the University of Colorado waged his battle for clarity as well as freedom of thought. He would have been sickened and horrified to see the Jewish State breathe life into yet another tyranny bent on the destruction of Jews.

For most of all Petr was a fighter. He relentlessly

exposed the phony science that underlies much so-called environmentalism. He vigorously called to account the business, educational and government leaders who sought to co-opt the enemies of freedom--economic, political or cultural freedom--or collapsed before them, because that was the easier way.

Petr never gave up, not even when he was dying of cancer. Told he had only months to live, he fought on for years, continuing to produce not only *Access to Energy*, but a new journal, *Galilean Electrodynamics* devoted to showing the flaws in Einstein's theory of relativity. This aspect of Beckmann's work is controversial and even some of Petr's admirers, like Edward Teller, believe he was wrong on this. But if he was right--and Beckmann himself believed his vindication would take twenty years--he will then take a recognized place in the history of physics.

Months earlier, Petr announced that the August 1993 issue of *Access to Energy* would be his last and with superhuman effort he wrote that issue. He wrote it on his hospital bed, describing the process with the openness he always had toward his readers: "Now I can lift a Kleenex, no more...I am writing this on the loafer's schedule: a paragraph or two of writing, two hours of recuperation stupor." But the spirit was untouched. His last editorial, entitled "Goodbye, dear readers," began: "I wish I knew how to impress it on you so deeply that you will never forget it: *It is the torch, not the torchbearer, that matters*. The torch, the Truth, shines on; the old torchbearer recedes into the darkness."

Perhaps. But there have been few torchbearers like Petr Beckmann.◇

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## ON SECOND THOUGHT...

...Kibbutz Yahel, Reform Judaism's first kibbutz, has always been a stronghold of dovish sentiment--until Jordan began demanding that Israel agree to "minor border adjustments" which would involve giving Jordan tracts of land along the border that belongs to Yahel. According to the Summer 1993 issue of *ARZA Report*, the journal of the Association of Reform Zionists, many Yahel residents are becoming hawks now that their own land is in danger. "Over my dead body," declared Ron Bernstein, administrator of Yahel's pomelo grove, when asked about Yahel having to surrender all four hundred acres of its land for the sake of a peace treaty with Amman. "Relinquishing land would place the border right on our doorstep," Bernstein complained. "Right now it's quiet, but who knows what it will be like when the king goes." Yahel's economic manager, Jon Cohen, called the Jordanian demand for territory illogical. "They have nothing to gain from land," he said. "They have millions of acres of arable land waiting for them." Pini Ekhoiz, chief of security for the kibbutz, emphasizes that he is "not anti-peace," but is convinced that the Israeli-Jordanian border should stay right where it is. "It's a quiet border, Ekhoiz noted. "Let's keep it that way."

\* \* \*

...In a recent article in the Israeli daily *Ha'aretz*, former Knesset Member Yoash Tsiddon made a passing reference to the book *The Fall of the Third Republic* by William Shirer. Leftwing activist David Shoham, the long time leader of the International Center for Peace in the Middle East, responded with a bitter, scornful article in the daily *Yediot Ahronot*, entitled "He Read a Book." According to Shoham, the correct title of the book to which Tsiddon referred was *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*. Shoham cited Tsiddon's alleged error as proof that Israeli rightwingers are ignorant, in contrast to the well-read intellectuals of the Israeli left. The problem, however, was that it was Shoham, not Tsiddon, who had erred. Writing in the daily *Hadashot*, Amnon Danker, himself a leftwing polemicist, pointed out that Shirer had in fact authored both books--the better-known volume about the Nazis, and the lesser-known one about the fall of the Third French Republic. Shoham's column was entitled, "Sometimes Leftists Are Hated--And With Good Reason."

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Israel-bashing on the American left has become too much even for leftwing activist Bob Siegel to stomach. "As one who is both a Jewish and progressive activist, it

(Continued on

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### One Minute to Midnight

Dr. Irving Moskowitz

## ABBA EBAN AND THE "GUARANTEES" PROBLEM

Israelis who witnessed the wars of 1956 and 1967 must find it startling to hear Abba Eban vigorously championing the policies of the present Rabin government. For every time one of Rabin's aides mentions the idea of giving up the Golan Heights in exchange for "American security guarantees," one cannot help but remember Eban's bitter experiences in 1967 when he sought U.S. implementation of the "guarantee" that a previous U.S. government had provided to Israel ten years earlier.

In November-December 1956, Israel responded to Egypt's blockade of the Straits of Tiran, and to Egyptian-sponsored terrorist attacks by capturing Gaza and Sinai, where the terror bases had been located. In order to coax the Israelis to withdraw, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles provided Israel with a written guarantee --in the form of a memo that he handed to Eban-- that the U.S. would "secure" Israel's right to free passage through the Straits. In 1963, President John F. Kennedy reiterated that commitment.

Outpost

p.11) But when Egypt again blocked the Straits of Tiran, in 1967, suddenly the U.S. was reluctant to act. Stung by the failure of America's allies to support American policy in Vietnam, President Lyndon Johnson would not act unilaterally. He urged Israel to wait patiently while he consulted with various members of the United Nations. With Egypt mobilizing its troops, Israel didn't have that kind of time. Foreign Minister Eban rushed to Washington to seek U.S. implementation of the promise of 1957. He found, to his "great alarm," that U.S. officials were treating the Egyptian moves in a "leisurely manner." He spoke with the Defense Secretary and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who did not believe the Egyptians would attack. Finally he went to President Johnson himself, only to be told that the administration would not do anything until it had the support of the Congress, the United Nations, and U.S. public opinion. Israel couldn't wait that long, because Egypt would not wait that long.

Eban returned to Jerusalem empty-handed. The guarantee was nothing more than a scrap of paper. Why should anybody believe that another guarantee, signed by a different president, will be any more reliable?◇

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

# THE JEWS OF SILENCE

David Isaac

Sadly, Americans For a Safe Israel is almost alone in condemning the agreement between Israel and the PLO. AFSI has warned that the transfer of Gaza and Jericho to Arab hands is the first step in what will be an inexorable movement toward the demise of the Jewish State.

"It's a moment of optimism in the Jewish community," declared Abraham Foxman of the Anti-Defamation League. "Whether or not it's optimism tinged with skepticism or skepticism tinged with optimism depends on what kind of political eyeglasses you wear." Mr. Foxman needs a new prescription.

From World Jewish Congress president Edgar Bronfman's open letter to world Jewry, it becomes clear that he shares the same optician. "At this decisive moment, the people of the State of Israel must know that the Jewish world stands behind them," Bronfman asserted. "Just as we gave our full support to Israel in time of war, the Jewish communities of the Diaspora with equal vigor are one with Israel as it decides on the necessary steps toward peace. The world should know of our confidence and faith in the prime minister of Israel."

Not to be outdone by the visually impaired Mr. Foxman and the politically disabled Mr. Bronfman, the leaders of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations were swift to parrot the same piffle. Their statement read: "Once again, Israel is demonstrating in tangible ways its commitment and determination to achieve a real peace with its Arab neighbors while assuring security for its citizens. We take pride in Israel's pledge that it will never refuse to say 'yes' to an opportunity for real peace."

Steve Grossman, president of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), has also come out in favor of the agreement. Of the sudden acceptance of the PLO, Grossman admits: "That this vocabulary can change overnight is profoundly disorienting." What is

more disorienting is how quickly Mr. Grossman accepts it. Not only has he accepted the PLO, he is eager to go out and teach the "new reality that's been created in the region." He described how his briefing by Prime Minister Rabin, Foreign Minister Peres, and Deputy Foreign Minister Beilin was "designed to bring us to the point where we could go out and teach and explain to the American Jewish community--and our own constituencies and the Congress of the U.S.--what this new vocabulary means, what this process is all about."

Henry Siegman, director of the American Jewish Congress, was also 'briefed'--in Egypt, by both Egyptian and PLO leaders. After the vocabulary-enhancement this meeting no doubt produced, Siegman must be a walking dictionary.

Even the Zionist Organization of America, which showed some unease at installing the world's premier terrorist organization on the hills overlooking Israel's cities, "recognizes that an Israeli government has once again shown its willingness to take extraordinary risks for peace." Instead of pointing out the shamefulness of dealing with a terrorist group bent on Israel's destruction, the ZOA "hopes that the current round of talk will move a step closer toward a permanent peace that guarantees Israel's security and survival as a viable Jewish state with recognized and defensible borders."

From other mainstream Jewish organizations--ranging from Hadassah to most of the Orthodox groups--silence.

What is perhaps most disturbing are the revealing statements by the U.S. Jewish leaders which indicate that they do not really care what the Israeli government does, just so long as they are 'briefed'. Conference of Presidents executive director Malcolm Hoenlein said: "They [the Labor government] were showing they had the confidence in us to give us a briefing like this in advance...They recognize the Conference is a vehicle to educate and brief the Jewish community." For Hoenlein, the focus is not on Israel's security, but on his exaggerated feeling of self-importance coming from an advance briefing.

Steve Grossman's statement, too, had that familiar flattered tone--"We really felt we were brought into their confidence in ways that, at least for AIPAC, can work out very productively on [Capitol] Hill." But perhaps most telling of all is Abraham Foxman, of 'political eyeglasses' fame, who declared: "As long as there is continued communication of what [Israel is] doing, and why they're doing it, there will be continued support."

It is clear that many American Jewish leaders are preoccupied more with their personal status than the survival of Israel. As a result of their petty concerns, they betray the true interests of Israel, its non-Jewish American friends, and the American Jews themselves, whom they claim to represent.◇

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## ON SECOND THOUGHT

(Continued from p. 10)

has been virtually impossible not to notice a certain mechanistic pro-Palestinian/Arab and anti-Israel/Zionist response system in a fair-sized section of the Left," wrote Siegel in the September-October edition of *The Non-Violent Activist*, published by the radical-left War Resisters League. "In this view, the Arab world is the personification of aggrieved, victimized virtue while Israel is the embodiment of savage, racist reaction."◇

# BALDERDASH

*"[The Israel-PLO agreement] will not only signify the beginning of the healing of the Arab-Israeli conflict, but, in some ways, it could also signify the first signs of recovery of the Israeli people from the trauma of the Holocaust."*

--Thomas L. Friedman in the *New York Times*, September 10, 1993

*"But then in June 1992 came a real turning point. Yitzhak Rabin replaced Shamir in Israel. We had bent over backward to stay neutral in the election, but we were relieved by the outcome."*

--Brent Scowcroft, National Security Advisor to President George Bush, in *Newsweek*, Sept. 13, 1993

*"June 5, 1967: Israel attacks and defeats Egypt, Syria and Jordan, seizing the Golan Heights, Sinai Peninsula, Gaza Strip, West Bank, and East Jerusalem."*

--*Time's* version of the 1967 war, in its issue of September 13, 1993

*"Israelis will have to show they can deal fairly with the PLO they have demonized so long and remain generous of spirit even as fellow Jews accuse them of betrayal."*

--correspondent Bruce W. Nelan in *Time*, September 13, 1993

*"The Jewish world is swept up in believing that the only way to guarantee Jewish sites [in Jerusalem] is to cling to a maximalist policy for a united city. This taboo needs to be broken because it undermines Israel's ability to wage peace."*

--Yosef I. Abramowitz, former chairman of the World Union of Jewish Students, in the *Washington Jewish Week*, Sept. 9, 1993

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