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The Yamit Legacy

William Mehlman

The ruins of the homes they were forced to abandon 30 years ago still lie stacked up in the desert near the Keren Shalom crossing into Gaza, withered memorials to "an idyllic dreamland of turquoise waters and white dunes, marching to its own tranquil rhythm," as one observer put it, snuffed out in the April 1982 finale to Israel's handover of the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt.

They tell an unforgettable story, these bits and pieces of Yamit, the pearl in the diadem of 16 Jewish communities that once extended from northeast to central Sinai and their pioneering populace. First and foremost, it is a story of the missed opportunity for lasting regional security, cum hegemony, that began knocking on Israel's door after June 1967. When in reply, 12 years later, it exchanged the territorial base on which that opportunity rested for a promissory note from the very nation that had twice employed it as a springboard for Israel's intended annihilation, the Jewish State's certainty that no regional power or combination of powers could ever again threaten its existence vanished. That act of self-imposed jeopardy became the template for an unbroken string of retreats stretching from south Lebanon to the Gaza Strip, with pit stops at Hebron, Bethlehem, Amona and Migron.

Yamit's remnants also relate a signature Israeli morality tale, repeated all too often, of broken promises, broken hearts, broken homes and the lasting depression evoked by a sense of betrayal. Some of the most embittered of the young idealists sent off to the Sinai with the encouragement of three governments left Israel never to return after witnessing their investment in Zionism wiped off the books with a stroke of Menachem Begin's pen at Camp David. Some soldiered on only to wind up as two-time losers when Ariel Sharon put the torch to their homes in Gush Katif 23 years later.

Israel got its "peace" with Egypt, if that soulless 30-year relationship with the world's premier generator of anti-Semitic filth can be called peace, but with Hosni Mubarak in the dock and the Islamist winter sequel to Cairo's Arab spring looming large upon the stage, the lease may be up. Tepid expressions of allegiance to the Camp David Accord by Egyptian transitional leader Field Marshal Mohammed Tantawi notwithstanding, the Egyptian street is clearly of a passionate anti-Israel mindset, one unlikely to be swayed by Tantawi's concern for the fate of the \$2 billion annual American bribe that has cemented the Accord since its inception.

Nothing more sharply reflects that mindset than the remarkable second place showing in the Egyptian presidential opinion polls that was being posted by 50 year- old Salafist lawyer-preacher Hazen Abu Ismail up to the April 15th disqualification of his candidacy (along with those of several other aspirants) by Egypt's High Presidential Election Committee. Abu Ismail makes the Moslem Brothers look like a bunch of lace panty liberals with his idolization of Osama bin Laden as a sainted "martyr," his repeated demands for the release of terrorist mastermind Omar Abdel Rahman (the "Blind Sheikh") from a U.S. prison, his characterization of 9/11 as an American "fabrication" and his unmitigated hatred of the "false state" of Israel. With the black banner of Al-Qaida prominently on display at his rallies, Abu Ismail is fond of telling his growing claque that "there is nothing called Israel. Only Palestine from the river to the sea. It's not just me," he adds, " it's all the Egyptians. Nobody wants Israel to get anything."

Abu Ismail's army of sometimes violent supporters is threatening non-stop protests unless his candidacy is reinstated. Reinstated or not, his radical agenda, including the immediate nullification of the Camp David Treaty, Islamic affairs analyst Steve Emerson observes, "appear[s] to be striking a chord in Egypt." With the presidential election barely a month off, that can hardly be regarded as good news for Israel.

While Israel would be within the boundaries of international law in recouping the Sinai were Egypt to walk away from the 1979 treaty on which its handover was predicated, it would be returning to

a peninsula with little resemblance to the one it left three decades ago. Three times the size of the Jewish State, the Sinai of 2012 has become what Aryeh O'Sullivan writing in *The Media Line* dubbed a "terrorist incubator," a lawless transit point for the smuggling of grad rockets and anti-tank missiles into Gaza and everything from heroin and cocaine to brutalized refugees from black Africa's killing grounds into Israel. The relatively gentle Bedouin whose children cavorted along the shores of the Red Sea with the children of Yamit 30 years ago have departed the scene. Serially abused by the Egyptians, radicalized by Hamas and Islamic Jihad, they have morphed into the violent gangs, armed and directed by Hezbollah, Al-Qaida and the Iranian Revolutionary Guard cells active in the area that run a smuggling operation extending from Libya and Somalia to the borders of Gaza.

Egyptian military control of this lawless empire disappeared with the first Cairo street demonstrations more than a year ago. It has yet to resurface. Hamas is so confident it won't anytime soon that it is in the process of transferring its rocket production lines and vast cache of other weapons to the peninsula, out of bounds to Israeli air strikes. Egypt has been notably reluctant or unable to do anything about Hamas' growing Sinai-based military complex and, in flagrant violation of the Camp David Accords, has suspended further construction on a barrier to terrorist infiltration of the Philadelphia Corridor between Gaza and Israel For its part, Israel has balked at intervention, even after the recent launching of a grad rocket from the peninsula into Eilat, for fear of giving Egypt a pretext for disowning the peace treaty. Meanwhile, Bedouin gangs have turned the kidnapping of foreign tourists into a weekly sport and, equipped with the latest in modern weaponry, have now twice laid siege to the Multinational Sinai Force in charge of implementing the treaty.

"No more wars, no more wars," Menachem Begin intoned as he joyously clasped hands with Anwar Sadat and Jimmy Carter at Camp David 33 years ago. In light of what proceeded from that famed meeting ground, it is to be hoped that an Israeli generation in closer touch with reality will find "No more Yamits, no more Yamits" a more judicious guide to its national decision-making.

Bill Mehlman leads AFSI in Israel.

From the Editor

Mocking the Flytilla

It's not often that Israel reacts well in response to those who hate her, so it was especially welcome when the Israeli government undercut an attempted publicity stunt by anti-Israel activists efficiently and, more surprising, wittily.

Israel compiled a list of 1500 European activists who were likely to board flights to Israel for scheduled anti-Israel demonstrations. It gave the list to airlines, warning that if allowed to board they would be put back on the flights on which they arrived and sent back at the airlines' expense. Given this prospect, the airlines cancelled the reservations of most would-be participants, but 40 managed to slip through. These were detained at Ben Gurion airport and sent back with a note including the following jabs at their hypocrisy: "Dear Activists, We appreciate your choosing to make Israel the object of your humanitarian concerns. We know there were many other worthy choices. You could have chosen to protest the Syrian regime's daily savagery against its own people, which has claimed thousands of lives. You could have chosen to protest the Iranian regime's brutal crackdown on dissent and its support of terrorism throughout the world." The letter concludes with suggesting these human rights enthusiasts "solve the real problems of the region first and then come back and share your experiences with us. Have a nice flight."

"We Have Gone Mad"

Unfortunately within days of this demonstration of feistiness, Israel was back in its all-too-customary mode of self-flagellation. The Israeli press repeated endlessly a brief video in which Lt. Col. Shalom Eisner pushed the magazine of his gun against the face of Andreas Ayas, a Danish anarchist from the International Solidarity Movement (ISM). Ayas was attempting to close a road, along with a coterie of fellow, get this, "cyclists", as the media described them. The legal analyst for the Israel Broadcasting Authority went on air to say the matter was "exceedingly grave" and Eisner should be put on criminal trial. IDF Chief of Staff Benny Gantz joined the chorus of indignation as did Prime Minister Netanyahu, who declared such conduct had "no place in the IDF and the State of Israel." Eisner, a hero of the 2006 war with Hezbollah in Lebanon, was promptly suspended from the IDF. Never mind that these same peaceful "cyclists" had (in a segment not filmed by ISM or shown by the media) beaten him with sticks, broken his finger and damaged his wrist.

Maariv's Dror Yemini, that rare bird, a patriotic leftist, wrote a column under the above headline, lamenting "Dear readers--we have gone mad. We have simply gone mad." He noted "Israel is apparently the only country in the world that grants freedom of action to those who openly seek to destroy it."

Lee Kaplan went underground for eight years (posing as a volunteer) to report the inner workings of the ISM. In training sessions, he was told the ISM coordinates with Hamas, Islamic Jihad and the PFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine), who were constantly apprised of their location in Arab villages. Talk of nonviolent resistance was solely for media consumption, says Kaplan, since the ISM promotes armed revolutionary 'resistance' against Israel by serving as human shields for terrorists. Kaplan reports that in the two hours leading up to the edited video showing Eisner striking Ayas (who, by the way suffered no more than a cut lip), the ISM "used their bicycles, bodies, and even physical assaults to obstruct the IDF in a closed military zone and prevent anti-terror operations."

Kaplan notes that in their training, ISM activists are told not to fear IDF soldiers because they are under orders not to hurt them or arrest them, and if ordered to disperse, should refuse. Writes Kaplan: "This elaborate tutelage has essentially turned interference with the IDF into a titillating game for college anarchists in America and Europe who are recruited for "'summer vacations in Palestine' to mess with IDF soldiers....Andreas Ayas wannabes are recruited every week on US and UK campuses, and Colonel Eisner was merely another pawn--and victim--in the ISM's game plan."

Nor are ISM's activities limited to harassment of Israel's security forces. Kaplan reports they are behind boycotts of Israel, allied with neo-Nazis in the U.S., with Arab fronts for terrorists, especially Hamas, in the U.S., and with Iranian interests. The ISM's purpose "is to destroy Israel's sovereignty as a nation by any means necessary."

Col. Eisner deserves a medal. The shame belongs to the Israeli government, from the Prime Minister on down, which has allowed the ISM free rein out of cowardly fear of "international criticism." The shame belongs to the Israeli media herd, which puts a patriotic officer who had come under attack, rather than the ISM, in the dock.

The Mount of Olives

The Mount of Olives is a mountain ridge in East Jerusalem that has been a Jewish cemetery for over three thousand years. Yet the Israel government is doing nothing to stop its desecration and physical attacks on those who visit it. In *Frontpage*, David Hornick writes that *The Jerusalem Post* has taken note of this scandal in a recent editorial. Last month a young bridegroom, who wanted to say a prayer at his mother's tomb, was driven up by his friend Dror Klein. As they grew near to the tomb, 30 to 40 young Arabs crashed a bucket of white paint into the front windshield, hurled large rocks and cement blocks at the vehicle and dragged the bridegroom from the car, smashed his head with a

boulder and beat him to the cry of Alahu Akhbar. Somehow Klein managed to drive the car at the attackers who momentarily fled and he and the bridegroom, who were convinced they were threatened with death, got away by the skin of their teeth. (As far as the police were concerned, they had only "light injuries.") The editorial noted that the incident was not unusual. An Arab boy's school is along the road leading to the cemetery and the majority of incidents originate there, with the attacked preparing ambushes well in advance.

It seems to occur to no one, including *The Jerusalem Post*, that school authorities should be put on notice that either they keep their students under control or, at the very next "incident," the school will have to relocate.

The cemetery itself is attacked daily. Headstones are hammered, graves daubed with paint and tar, smeared with feces, covered in garbage and defaced with hate inscriptions. *The Jerusalem Post* asks angrily why a police station promised by the government has not been set up on the Mount. The real problem is that Israel allows attacks on her people and institutions to become a game (as in the case of the ISM) without serious penalty.

Hollywood Haters

It used to be that they were outliers--people like Vanessa Redgrave who have attacked Israel for decades. Now they are mainstream. Giulio Meotti reports that seven time Oscar nominee Mike Leigh and two time Oscar winner Emma Thompson are among three dozen actors and directors who signed a letter calling for the boycott of Israel's national theater, Habima, which has been included in a Shakespeare festival in England. More than 150 American Hollywood filmmakers signed a letter in support of the boycott of Ariel's culture center in Samaria. A number of prominent actors boycotted the Toronto International Film Festival to protest a week of screening of Israeli films. Oscar winner Jean-Luc Godard has called Israel "a cancer on the map of the Middle East."

But the award for lowest of the low goes to "The Death of Klinghoffer" by composer John Adams and librettist Alice Goodman (and the English National Opera and the Brooklyn Academy of Music, both of which staged the opera). Meotti notes that the opera romanticizes the murderers of Klinghoffer, a wheelchair-bound Jewish passenger, shot in cold blood in the forehead and chest, and then dumped into the sea. Klinghoffer's daughters, who attended anonymously, provided this understatement: "It's a production that appears to us to be anti-Semitic."

The First AFSI Apate Award for 2012 To Peter Beinart



In 2011 AFSI Instituted the Apate Award for the most egregious "Calumnists against Israel."

Calumny is defined as a false and malicious statement designed to injure the reputation of someone or something. Its synonyms are slander, defamation, libel, misrepresentation, vituperation, smear.

With that in mind we call the professors, reporters, columnists and commentators who have vilified, libeled and slandered Israel "The

Calumnists" and AFSI awards the worst of them. We have named the award the "Apate" after the goddess of calumny, guile and deception in Greek mythology.

Despite facing stiff competition, Peter Beinart receives the highest Platinum Apate for exemplifying calumny, guile and deception in his hatred for Israel.

An Unsung Hero of the Holocaust

Yale Kramer

1942 was one of the grimmest years of the war for America and its Allies. Only weeks before, this country had lost much of its naval power at Pearl Harbor and lost the Philippines as well as control of the western Pacific. Europe was dominated by the Nazi military machine--the most powerful army and air force existing at the time. Virtually all of the land mass from the Atlantic to the Volga was occupied by the Wehrmacht and had submitted to Nazi regulations governing the treatment of Jews and other targets of the Nazi culture.

At that time, as grim as the outlook was for the Allies, the Germans were at the zenith of their morale. It seemed to them they couldn't lose. It was the moment of the greatest belief in the future of the Thousand Year Reich for Hitler and his followers.

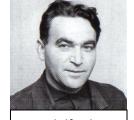
It was in this context of military success and confidence that Reinhard Heydrich conveyed, in January 1942, his plans for the extermination of Europe's Jews to a group of fourteen highly intelligent, conscientious officials of the Third Reich. Minutes of the meeting were kept by Heydrich's assistant, SS Obersturmbannfuhrer Adolf Eichmann and copies were sent by Eichmann to all the participants after the meeting with the warning that they were to be destroyed after reading. And indeed they were. All but one copy, which was discovered in 1947 by Robert Kempner, prosecutor before the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg.

The official meeting at Wannsee took less than two hours, after which the finest cognac and cigars were served by Heydrich and Eichmann and the conversation about Jews and extermination became more joke-ridden and less stilted and euphemistic.

A few months later, Auschwitz-Birkenau became operational as one of five extermination camps-including Chelmno, Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka-- of which it was the largest and most efficient. There between one and two million people were murdered over a two-year period from the summer of 1942 until November of 1944.

At the beginning of this period, on June 30, 1942, a seventeen-year-old Czech Jew named Rudolf Vrba arrived at Auschwitz. He had been arrested while trying to escape from Czechoslovakia to join the

Free Czech Army in England and wound up instead at Auschwitz as a slave laborer.



Rudolf Vrba

Vrba's story is one of the most astonishing to come out of the war and the Holocaust. Most of those who arrived at Auschwitz--the old and infirm, women and their children-- virtually everyone but the young and strong were dead within hours of their arrival. The others, those thought to be useful for slave labor in the factories located in the area of Auschwitz, lasted several weeks before dying of malnourishment, maltreatment and/or typhus. The probability of living longer than a month or two was very low and yet Vrba survived for two and a half years.

How he managed to accomplish that feat is a fascinating lesson in survival psychology.

What is even more astonishing is that he was one of the few people who ever succeeded in escaping from Auschwitz, along with another young Czechoslovakian, Alfred Wetzler. After two weeks of hiding by day, traveling by night, fighting hunger, cold and fatigue, not knowing if their next encounter would result in help or betrayal, the two reached safety and freedom.

Rudolf Vrba was important in the history of World War II for two reasons: because of his efforts to warn Hungarian Jews of the fate awaiting them and because the Vrba-Wetzler report describing the systematic industrialized slaughter of the Jews and others was the first full-scale, detailed description of the processes going on in Auschwitz--the largest and most important of the death camps. And the details were what made the story powerfully credible to the outside world. All previous reports which

had reached the west about the horrors of the death camps were fragmented second-, third-, or fourth-hand reports, too easily dismissed as incredible.

No longer could the rumors of the systematic extermination of the European Jews be dismissed as hysterical Jewish propaganda. Not with what Vrba and Wetzler were telling the world. Their report was cool, factual, pragmatic and could not easily be discarded. This horrendous criminal activity was actually happening.

Vrba's incredible story is to be found in his memoir, *I Cannot Forgive*, which he wrote in collaboration with British journalist Alan Bestic while he was living in England, twenty years after his escape, in the shadow of the Eichmann trial. It was published in both Great Britain and the United States but never widely noticed or reviewed, partly because Vrba, a scientist, was not active in the world of letters and journalism, and partly because, as will become clear, he ran into the powerful headwind of political Zionism. Yet *I Cannot Forgive* deserves to be a classic in the literature of the Holocaust as well as the literature of coming-of-age adventures. The narrative is a horrific page-turner describing his capture, imprisonment, survival, and final escape to the Czech underground.

Vrba was a bright, good-looking teenager when he decided to run away from occupied Slovakia under the threat of forced conscription and transport to a labor camp in eastern Europe. And so one day early in March 1942 Vrba set out from Trnava, his little Slovakian town, with his mother's blessing, thirty or forty dollars worth of zlotys, total inexperience of the outside world, and the high hope of reaching the Hungarian border, twenty miles away.

After a few weeks of desperate and muddled travel he was arrested as a spy and several weeks later found himself as part of a voluntary work detail in Auschwitz--not understanding where he was or what awaited him. He learned soon enough.

One of the most interesting aspects of this extraordinary memoir is how Vrba learned, little by little, how to survive on the constant edge of danger and death.

By the end of the narrative the reader cannot help forming the opinion that Vrba's character and outlook were crucial factors in his survival. From the day he arrived, young, healthy, and clever, he determined that he would survive and eventually escape. And all of his mental and physical capacities were attuned to that goal. He was observant and even at that young age a shrewd judge of other people. He was also open, friendly, likable, and must have had enough charm to win the favor of his fellow prisoners and the *kapos* who ran things. This brought him luck day by day in the form of assignments that allowed him to stay at least minimally nourished and relatively healthy.

Through intuition and observation he learned how to relate to the different ranks of sadistic authorities so that he would behave neither too assertively nor too submissively, both of which only provoked brutality.

Throughout his two years in the various sections of Auschwitz he made careful observations on everything pertaining to the extermination process. These observations became a mental notebook which he was able to refer to later after his escape.

Gradually the motivation for his escape changed from the selfish one of survival and personal freedom to a more altruistic one. He gradually inferred from various hints and clues left by many of the guards and officials that the entire population of Hungarian Jews was about to be deported to Auschwitz and murdered. Hungary had been left unoccupied by the Nazis until March of 1944. Now, according to Hitler, Himmler and Eichmann, it was their turn.

Vrba became obsessed with the idea of escaping and warning the Hungarian Jews about the meaning of their deportation.

He was one of the earliest survivors of the death camps who grasped the reason that made the Nazi plan for the Final Solution so relatively easy to accomplish, so relatively free of resistance from the victims. After talking to deportees from hundreds of towns and cities from all over Europe, he realized that they had been completely deceived about their fate and future and that the real purpose of their

deportation had been kept secret from them. They had been told fairy tales about where they were headed.

Vrba came to believe that if the Jews knew where they were going, many, many of them would try to escape or resist the Nazis.

So on April 7, 1944, when Vrba and his friend Wetzler began their perilous escape attempt from Auschwitz it was with the idea that they would provoke unrest among the Hungarian Jews by telling them what actually awaited them at the end of the line. Perhaps some would flee or die in the attempt. They had nothing to lose.

I Cannot Forgive tells the story of their escape and trek through perilous countryside as the SS hunted for them, and their final run into Czechoslovakia. Contacting the Jewish underground, they had to prove to their rescuers the truth of their unbelievable story, and only then were they allowed to dictate from memory the detailed description of what came to be known as the Vrba-Wetzler Report. When it was complete Vrba demanded that the leaders of the Jewish community in Budapest see the report as quickly as possible because the Nazis with their grotesque determination to complete the Final Solution, even though they were under heavy military pressure from the Allies and the Russians, began the deportations of the Hungarian Jews in May and by the end of June had already killed almost half of them.

It was Vrba's idea that once the Hungarian leaders read the Vrba-Wetzler report they would understand the fate that awaited the rest of the Jews in Budapest and immediately share this information with the community so that each one could be the author of his own fate.

What actually happened is described in Vrba's own words in a letter he wrote to the London *Observer* on September 22, 1963 during the Eichmann trials:

"....With my friend Fred Wetzler from Slovakia, I managed to escape from Auschwitz on April 7, 1944, and we headed straight for the Zionist leaders. In April 1944 we handed to a high representative of the Zionist movement, Dr. Oskar Neumann, a sixty page detailed report on the fact that extermination of 1,760,000 Jews had taken place in Auschwitz and that preparations were complete for the annihilation of one million Jewish Hungarians during the very next weeks. Did the Judenrat...[Jewish advisory council] in Hungary tell their Jews what was awaiting them? No, they remained silent and for this silence some of their leaders--for instance Dr. R. Kasztner--bartered their own lives and the lives of 1684 other "prominent" Jews directly from Eichmann. They were not "helpless and benumbed hostages" but clever diplomats who knew what their silence was worth. The 1684 Jews whom they bought from Eichmann included not only various prominent Zionists, not only relatives of Kasztner, etc., but also such Jews who were able to pay with millions, like the family of Manfred Weiss. At the same time they silently watched as more than 400,000 Hungarian Jews, unaware of their fate, were tricked into Auschwitz, where thousands of their children were not even gassed but merely thrown into the pyre alive."

Kasztner finally settled in Israel, where he was initially celebrated as a hero and saviour of Jews. But he did not outrun his fate after all. It was settled by an assassin--a member of one of the families he had betrayed.

Vrba, because of his penchant for telling the full truth, was not welcomed by the politically powerful Zionists in Israel and was virtually written out of the Hebrew histories of the Holocaust until just before his death. Eventually he emigrated to British Columbia, where he became an Associate Professor in the Medical School there. He died in 2006, a hero thwarted, but with a clear conscience.

Professor Yale Kramer is a psychoanalyst, former Clinical Professor at the Robert Wood Johnson Medical School and author of Talking Back to Liberal Power.

The German Robbed Cossack

Sarah Honig

In 1903 Shalom Aleichem, the giant of Yiddish literature, wrote a letter to Leo Tolstoy, the giant of Russian literature. It was shortly after the gruesome Kishinev pogrom. Shalom Aleichem planned to publish a modest compilation about the atrocity, to which he asked Tolstoy to contribute a short message to "Russia's millions of distraught and disoriented Jews, who more than anything need a word of comfort." Tolstoy never so much as bothered to reply.

The famed novelist, feted as the conscience of Russia, received dozens such letters urging him to speak out against the slaughters – then a seminal trauma in Jewish annals. The Holocaust was decades away. Nobody 109 years ago could imagine anything more bloodcurdling than the horrors of Kishinev.

But not everyone was moved – not even a renowned humanitarian like Tolstoy.

Not only did he not speak out, but he resented the entreaties.

He replied to one Jewish correspondent only, Emanuel Grigorievich Linietzky, to whom he caustically complained about being pestered. Tolstoy then blamed the Czar's government, absolving the masses who bashed the skulls of babies, gouged children's eyes, raped their mothers and sisters, eviscerated them, beheaded men and boys, quartered and mutilated them and looted all they could carry.

We hear much the same throughout Europe at each memorial to the Holocaust.

The upgraded, systemized, gargantuan-scale German sequel to Kishinev was by all accounts committed by unidentified extraterrestrials called Nazis. All the others, Germans included, were their victims.

But Tolstoy foreshadowed an even more sinister inclination that would fully and hideously burst upon our scene a century and more after the Kishinev devastation. The great author and icon of compassion exhorted Russia's shaken Jews to behave better.

The implication was that the Jews were somehow guilty, needed to improve themselves and achieve higher virtue in order to merit better treatment.

And so Tolstoy wrote to Emanuel Grigorievich: "The Jews must, for their own good, conduct themselves by the universal principle of 'do onto others as you would have them do to you.' They must resist the government nonviolently...by living lives of grace, which precludes not only violence against others, but also the partaking in acts of violence."

Given the background of Eastern Europe's downtrodden Jewry, such 'turn-the-other-cheek' sermons appear chillingly pitiless (to say the least) because all the Jews had been doing was turning the other cheek. Taken in a broader context, Tolstoy argued against Jewish self-defense before any self-defense was actually attempted. Jews, Tolstoy in effect said, share culpability for their tribulations, must suffer quietly and cannot rise to protect themselves.

Sound familiar? It ought to. It's exactly what we keep hearing today from current preachers of goodwill, literary or otherwise. The more things change the more they sickeningly stay the same.

Enter Günter Grass. Germany's Nobel laureate for literature has just warned the world about the danger which the Jewish state poses to global peace and warned that little Israel is out to no less than exterminate the Iranian people, all 80 million of them.

The last thing on any Israeli's mind is annihilating Iranians. We only want to make sure that they don't nuke our tiny uber-vulnerable national home.

Too much to ask? When it comes to Jews, anything is apparently too much.

This is particularly pertinent for us in the springtime of the year, when we collectively remember the six million who perished in the very Holocaust in which

Grass, by his own candid admission, was an enthusiastic accomplice.

But his stained personal history clearly constitutes no incentive to discreet reticence on his part. Like many Europeans, Grass has lost all shame and the disappearance of shame is the new bon ton among like-minded genteel Jew-haters.

It's politically incorrect to even accuse Grass of thinly disguised anti-Semitism. That instantly turns him into the muzzled good-guy and us into loathsome Jews seeking to silence yet another legitimate critic of Israel with their doomsday weapon—charges of anti-Semitism.

It's a foolproof arrangement. Jew-revulsion now masquerades behind acutely inflammatory anti-Israel and pro-Arab propaganda, whose disseminators inevitably deny anti-Semitic motives. Their favorite ploy is to present Israel-bashing as just deserts for the Jewish state's policies.

Post-Holocaust circumspection has bred cleverly camouflaged anti-Semitism--not less dangerous or less in-your-face but more cunning and deceptive.

Most contemporary anti-Semites are remarkably practiced in accompanying their invective with instant disclaimers—by now an expected part of the pattern.

Grass is extraordinarily true to form.

Indeed, he already gets star-billing on a host of Judeophobic websites, which celebrate him as yet another upstanding and righteous critic of Israel, an honorable observer pilloried as an anti-Semite in order to suppress his heartfelt outcry.

Thus Grass becomes the ultimate robbed Cossack in a rationalized German adaptation of the infamous Russian tradition. Anti-Semites—whether they specialized in mere pogroms or outright Holocausts—habitually portrayed themselves as the aggrieved side.

Robbed Cossack Grass actually volunteered for the barbarous Waffen-SS. But what of it?

He has put it all behind him, wiped his own slate clean and now feels empowered to launch anti-Jewish diatribes at will. Professing to have propelled himself to a loftier leftist plane, he can reproach the Jews and, like Tolstoy before him, demand they do nothing to defend themselves.

If they do, they become, in Grass's idiom, "the greatest danger to the world." It's Israel that threatens Iran and not vice versa. By his criteria, our forebears threatened Egypt's pharaohs, the Amalekites, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, Haman's Persians, Greeks, Romans, Crusader marauders, Muslim conquistadors, Spanish inquisitors, Chmielnicki's Ukrainian mass-murderers, Russian pogromchiks, to say nothing of the Germans, whose fuehrer always screamed hysterically about the danger posed to the world by "the forces of International Judaism," compelling him to formulate a "final solution" to their problem.

With mounting disbelief we witness world callousness toward the Jewish state that arose against all odds from the ashes of that great Holocaust conflagration. It's beyond our grasp that we are vilified while supposed advocates of justice and seekers of peace cosset Arab/Muslim torchbearers of Nazi genocide.

We can't comprehend the hypocrisy. We can't understand how assorted glitterati and literati perennially postulate that those who strive to continue what the Nazis failed to finish are actually the "victims' victims." Europe loves to regard Israelis as victimizers and sympathize with "victimized" Arabs/Iranians/Muslims.

It's nothing less than mind-blowing that the children of murderers, sadists, collaborators, bureaucrats, robbers, those who didn't see, those who didn't want to know, those who saw and knew but didn't act – all now profess to occupy the moral high ground. They now preach to the children of the slain, gassed, burned, shot, buried-alive, starved, tortured, degraded, dehumanized, enslaved, dispossessed, bereaved and orphaned.

How can the moral onus be shifted onto the victims' progeny? Easily – if the Holocaust is viewed as a crime without perpetrators. No occupied country colluded in rounding up and deporting its Jews. None produced greedy plunderers and collaborators. The occupiers themselves were a mythical extinct

band of no distinct ethnicity, known generically as Nazis, who methodically hunted hidden Jewish babies.

A German friend, Josef H, notes that official reactions in his country to Grass's diatribe "were 99% negative." Nevertheless, he writes, "I admit that I very rarely meet people who feel that they have to stand up for Israel when Israeli-Palestinian problems are mentioned. So I normally abstain from using the word 'Israel' in any conversation in order not to set fire to explosive material."

Josef asked a member of his own extended family what he thought of the Grass imbroglio. The relative, Josef relates, "a really decent, reliable, honest man, generally following Christian principles... answered, without thinking twice about it: 'Grass is right.'"

Such is the climate of opinion around him that Josef requested I not reveal his surname.

Grass isn't the only Nobel literature laureate of such a mind-set. Some, like Britain's Rudyard Kipling, didn't even wax indignant pro forma when accused of anti-Semitism. Kipling unflinchingly blamed the 1917 Bolshevik revolution on an "international Jewish plot." In 1919 he backed the publication in the UK of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

In 1920, Kipling agreed only conditionally to read proofs of the memoirs of T.E. Lawrence (Lawrence of Arabia) prepublication, vowing to return them if he finds them "pro-Yid."

Kipling dismissed Einstein's general theory of relativity as a component of a comprehensive Jewish conspiracy to destabilize world order.

It didn't matter that it wasn't so. It doesn't matter that every Jew knows there's no Jewish world-domination conspiracy. What matters is that the Kiplings and their ilk expressed the *zeitgeist* of their day, just as Grass now does—regardless of whether his country's establishment sanctions his opinion.

The fashionable, respectable anti-Semitism of European intellectual salons in the early 20th century made the Nazi persecutions of Jews palatable. The fashionable, respectable anti-Israelism of European intellectual salons in the early 21st century makes Ahmedinejad's calls for our extinction palatable.

And above all hovers Tolstoy's sanctimonious spirit which hints that our misconduct is the root cause of our misfortune.

Sarah Honiq is an Israeli journalist. This appeared on SarahHoniq.com on April 12.

Christians for Palestine

Lee Smith

(Editor's note: There has long been a segment of anti-Israel evangelical Christians, for example those centered around the "progressive" journal Sojourners. This article suggests such views are dangerously gaining in strength in the broader evangelical community.)

For most American Jews and Israelis, evangelical Christians are synonymous with zealous, biblically inspired support of the Jewish state—so zealous, in fact, that it makes some Jews uneasy. But the days when Israel could count on unconditional support from evangelicals may be coming to an end.

Last month, a conference convened in Bethlehem by Palestinian activists and Christian clergy long at odds with the Jewish state managed to bring a number of leading lights from the evangelical community in North America and Europe to the Holy Land. Many of the speeches at the conference touched on themes that one would commonly hear at a BDS teach-in, like blaming the entire Middle East conflict on Israel's occupation and the settlements.



Indeed, the name of the conference, Christ at the Checkpoint, is indicative of the different direction this segment of the evangelical movement is heading toward. The idea is that evangelicals should rethink their support for a state that occupies another people and oppresses them. Once they get the full story, conference organizers hope, Western evangelicals may find they have more in common with the downtrodden Palestinians than with the Israelis.

To pro-Israel evangelicals and Zionists who were paying attention, Christ at the Checkpoint was a wake-up call. The larger trend, which for want of a better phrase might be called the pro-Palestinian evangelical movement and is indeed spearheaded by Palestinian Christians, is already changing minds. Giving them momentum are money raised in the United States, theology, and perhaps most important of all, a movie. The documentary film *With God on Our Side* is leaving many former pro-Israel evangelicals wondering why they never heard the Palestinian side of the story.

Many friends of Israel, as well as Israelis, have long been concerned that evangelical support is premised largely on self-interest of an especially macabre nature. Israel, in this reading, is ground zero for the apocalypse: Before Christ can return to Earth, the Jews must return to Israel and the Temple must be restored, ushering in first a time of tribulation and then a reign of peace.

Of course, the apocalypse and Christ's return is not the only justification for Christian support of Israel. Indeed, this end-time scenario embarrasses some evangelicals whose support is premised on the idea that God keeps his promises, not only to Christians but also to Jews, to whom God pledged the land of Israel. This conviction is further buttressed by a sense of historical responsibility, specifically to stand with the Jews and atone for the failure of Christians during the Holocaust to save the nation that gave them their savior.

Though the vast majority of evangelicals still maintain that support, for the first time since the establishment of Israel in 1948, there is an increasingly heated debate in the evangelical community that may augur a shift in the political winds. And if the Christ at the Checkpoint camp wins out, the pro-Israel Jewish community that once looked warily upon evangelical support may come to regard that movement with nostalgia.



David Brog

"The debate in the Jewish community should not be about whether or not to be comfortable with Christian support for Israel," David Brog, executive director of Christians United for Israel, told me last week. "Christians are going to be involved in the issue whether we are comfortable or not. The question is whether they're going to be on Israel's side or not."

Christians United for Israel is the United States' largest and best-known Christian Zionist organization. Founded in 2006 by John Hagee, pastor of the CornerStone Church in San Antonio, Texas, CUFI boasts over a million members. Hagee has found himself in the middle of political controversy in the past—most recently during John McCain's unsuccessful

2008 presidential campaign when his statements regarding the Holocaust were misinterpreted and McCain rejected his support. (Hagee declined to comment for this article.)

Hagee and other figures base support for the Jewish state on biblical foundations, specifically on Genesis 12:3, where God tells Abraham, "I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee." The message is clear: Those who support Israel will be rewarded by God. But pro-Israel evangelicals have sent their flock out into the field vulnerable—that is, without an account of the conflict that besets the citizens of the present-day homeland of the Jews. Armed only with a biblical defense of the Jewish state, evangelicals are unprepared to justify it on political grounds.

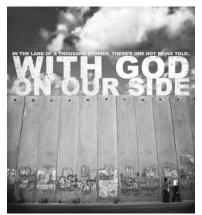
This gap has made room for people across the cultural and ideological spectrum—whose motivations run the gamut from genuine compassion for Palestinians to anti-Semitism—to fill the space with their own interpretations of contemporary Middle East history. Not surprisingly, many of these

narratives tend to be drawn from precincts of the left, like the BDS [Boycott, Divest, and Sanction] movement, that are known for their hostility to the Jewish state. What is peculiar is that these accounts are being entertained and sometimes embraced in evangelical churches, Bible schools, and Christian colleges that are not typically known for their progressive politics.

It wasn't difficult for these Christian critics of Israel to find a weak link in the Christian Zionist narrative—it's the ethical morass inherent in the formulation of Genesis 12:3. The children of the Bible, Christians as well as Jews, believe that all people are created in God's image and are therefore born with individual dignity. But if people of faith are supposed to bless Israel because they'll be blessed in return, then they are treating others, Jews and Arabs, not as individuals but rather as instruments in their own spiritual drama.

You can't treat people as chess pieces, says Porter Speakman Jr., the 40-year-old director of With God on Our Side. This 82-minute-long documentary, which premiered in 2010 and is now being shown at churches and college campuses, has had a major role in tilting evangelical opinion, especially among young people, against Israel. Speakman told me in a phone interview that isn't aim isn't to "delegitimize Israel, but to be critical of policies that are having an effect on real people's lives."

"I grew up in a Christian home in the south, where not to support Israel was to go against God," Speakman told me. He said he made the film in order to explore a question that he thinks has been missing from the conversation in the evangelical community. That is: "What are the consequences of my beliefs and my theology for real people living on the ground?"



With God on Our Side follows the intellectual odyssey of Christopher Harrell, a twenty-something recent film-school graduate, who is trying to come to grips with the reality of the Arab-Israeli conflict. This is a very different story from the Bible-based injunctions that formed his spiritual life as a child. The film's narrative trajectory starts with Harrell's parents, who he recalls once celebrated Passover—"I'm not sure why we did that. We're not Jewish. We're just this normal American Midwestern family"—and who support Israel because that's "just what everyone did." The film moves then to a series of interviews with figures in the evangelical community known for their animus toward Zionism, like Gary Burge and Stephen Sizer, and writers outside the evangelical milieu whose reputation rests on

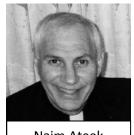
their hostility to Israel, like Ilan Pappé and Norman Finkelstein.

These interviews challenge the mainstream evangelical narrative with well-worn accusations typical of BDSers. For instance, the Israeli occupation, says one South African evangelical, is "apartheid on steroids."

"Growing up," Speakman said of his childhood, "there was never a choice, you were supposed to love and support Israel. That meant following Genesis 12 as well as a fulfillment of endtime prophecies. But does supporting Israel mean supporting all of Israel's geopolitical decisions?"

Speakman, who lived in Israel with his wife from 1998 until 2003, said that he thinks the role of Christians is to support both Jews and Arabs in their search for a solution. But some critics of his documentary think that the film goes much further. They see it as making the case that evangelicals have taken the wrong side—favoring a nation inhabited by those who rejected Jesus as their savior rather than the Christian communities that have existed in the Holy Land since the time of Christ. The issue is that key segments of the Palestinian Christian community have a vested political interest in delegitimizing Zionism—a fact that Speakman and other Western activists in the evangelical community may or may not be aware of.

Among the Palestinian outfits leading the campaign critical of Israel is the Bethlehem Bible College, which organized Christ at the Checkpoint, for which Speakman served as a media coordinator.



Naim Ateek

step backward in the development of Judaism."

The most prominent and active organization is the Jerusalem-based Sabeel, headed by a Palestinian Anglican priest, Rev. Naim Ateek. Its American branch, Friends of Sabeel North America, is based in Portland, Ore., and raises money for its Jerusalem affiliate.

"Sabeel is nakedly hostile to Israel," Dexter Van Zile, Christian media analyst for CAMERA, told me in an interview. In an article on Sabeel and Ateek published last week, Van Zile quotes the clergyman at length, including this peculiar admission: "From my perspective as a Palestinian Christian, Zionism is a

According to Randy Neal, Western Regional Coordinator of CUFI, the ideological foundations of the pro-Palestinian Christian movement are grounded in both liberation theology and replacement theology. The first is a politicized doctrine that requires a continual mindset of victimhood, in order to solicit political sympathy and action on behalf of the "oppressed" against the "oppressors." The latter holds that the church has replaced Jews as God's chosen and become the real Israel.

"It's not just that church has replaced Israel," said Neal, but for many of the Palestinian Christian clergy and their activist sympathizers, "the Palestinian church is the real church. Jesus, on this reading, was an underdog, who came to champion the underdog. He was oppressed by the Romans, so if you are Christ-like, you are also oppressed, like the Palestinians. This increasingly includes the idea that Jesus was a Palestinian. It's an adopted narrative that is believed to have started with Yasser Arafat, but to some people it's become a gospel fact."

In other words, it's a narrative that denies Jesus' Jewish identity. "It is a very ugly expression of Christian anti-Semitism," Neal said.

But Brog, Neal's colleague, disagrees: "anti-Semitism is not the driving force." Rather, he said, the impetus comes from a combination of two ideological streams. "There's the anti-Israel perspective, which comes from the Palestinian Christians, who are using theology to preach a politically anti-Israel message. And then there are the Christians based in North America and Europe who are allowing liberal politics to trump Christian beliefs."

The unpleasant reality is that Christian anti-Semitism has as much, if not more, theological justification as Christian support for Israel. Compared to two millennia of Christian anti-Semitism culminating with the Holocaust, one biblical verse is a pretty thin thread on which to hang support of the Jewish state.

Neal says that he believes Christian love of Israel is premised on Genesis 12:3 and on Joel 3:2: "I will also gather all nations, and will bring them down into the valley of Jehoshaphat, and will enter into judgement with them there for my people, my heritage Israel."

"We are supposed to love what God loves," Neal said. "We consider ourselves ambassadors of Christ. For centuries, Christians abused and abandoned the apple of God's eye, and we are not going to let that happen again on our watch."

But as CUFI pushes Genesis and Joel, the Christ at the Checkpoint crowd is focused exclusively on Palestinians' distress and apparently ignoring history. CAMERA's Van Zile, who attended last month's conference, noted that nowhere in the pro-Palestinian evangelical narrative is there any account of Jewish persecution. "I've heard moving testimony about Palestinian suffering. But they don't acknowledge Muslim anti-Semitism. They don't talk about Palestinian leadership, or how it's abused the Palestinian community. There's no account of Hamas in their story about Israel."

Lee Smith is a fellow at the Hudson Institute and author of The Strong Horse. This article appeared on tabletmag.com on April 18.

Philo-Semites And Anti-Semites...Never The Twain Shall Meet

Ruth King

Mark Twain (Samuel Clemens) is often quoted by Israel's protagonists for his descriptions of Israel published in 1867 in *Innocents Abroad*.

His comments expose the faux history of Arab Palestine as the land of milk and halal:

".... A desolate country whose soil is rich enough, but is given over wholly to weeds... a silent mournful expanse.... a desolation.... we never saw a human being on the whole route.... hardly a tree or shrub anywhere. Even the olive tree and the cactus, those fast friends of a worthless soil, had almost deserted the country."

Less has been written about Twain's affection and admiration for the Jewish people and the trajectory that took him from the stereotypical anti-Semitism of his early years to become an eloquent and impassioned defender of Jews.

It is hard to pinpoint the moment or event that changed his thinking. Twain was in Paris on Saturday, January 5, 1895, when Captain Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish Army officer who had been falsely convicted of treason, was surrounded by 5,000 troops as his buttons were torn, his military tunic cut, the stripes of his trousers and the insignia on his cap and his sleeve removed, and his sword broken in two. He was marched off amid calls for his death and death to all Jews. Theodor Herzl, an Austrian journalist, watched the horrifying spectacle, and the rest is history.

Twain was stirred by the display of anti-Semitism and outraged that in spite of evidence pointing elsewhere, a Jew could not be absolved, because Jews were deemed evil and incapable of loyalty. Dreyfus' most famous champion, the author of "J'Accuse," French novelist Emile Zola only escaped arrest (for allegedly defaming the judges who had found Esterhazy, the real culprit, not guilty) by fleeing to England. The Dreyfus scandal heightened Twain's esteem for Jews and he wrote letters and published columns on Zola and Dreyfus and his lingering disdain for the French.

In 1899, he wrote in "My First Lie and How I Got out of It": "From the beginning of the Dreyfus case to the end of it all France, except a dozen moral paladins, lay under the smother of the silent assertion-lie that no wrong was being done to a persecuted and unoffending man."

In a splendid book *The Lady in Gold: The Extraordinary Tale of Gustav Klimt's Masterpiece, Portrait of Adele Bloch-Bauer*, Anne-Marie O'Connor notes how the blatant anti-Semitism of fin de siècle Vienna shocked Twain, who had settled there in late 1896.

Although Austrian Jews contributed in outsize numbers to the economy and were prominent sponsors of the theater, art and music that made Vienna a cultural jewel of Europe, they were socially marginalized, ridiculed in the press and even subjected to physical attacks. Twain reacted with a combination of outrage and humor in a letter to his friend Reverend Joseph Twichell...."the difference between the brain of the average Christian and that of the average Jew--certainly in Europe--is about the difference between a tadpole's and the Archbishop's." He continued:" It's a marvelous race-by long odds the most marvelous the world has ever produced, I suppose." For his defense of Jews, the malicious press of Vienna dubbed him "The Jew Mark Twain."

Twain responded in a biting article "Stirring Times in Austria" published in *Harper's Magazine* in 1898 in which he describes a raucus Parliamentary meeting seething with anger and invectives including "brotheldaddy" and "you Jew." At the end of the debates the entire government collapses. Twain writes: "It was an odious spectacle--odious and awful. For one moment it was an unbelievable thing--a thing beyond all credibility; it must be a delusion, a dream, a nightmare. But no, it was real--pitifully real, shamefully real, hideously real. These sixty policemen had been soldiers, and they went at their work with the cold unsentimentality of their trade. They ascended the steps of the tribune, laid their hands upon the inviolable persons of the representatives of a nation, and dragged and tugged and hauled them

down the steps and out at the door; then ranged themselves in stately military array in front of the ministerial estrade, and so stood."

Twain concludes: "Some of the results of this wild freak followed instantly. The Badeni government came down with a crash; there was a popular outbreak or two in Vienna; there were three or four days of furious rioting in Prague, followed by the establishing there of martial law; the Jews and Germans were harried and plundered, and their houses destroyed; in other Bohemian towns there was rioting--in some cases the Germans being the rioters, in others the Czechs--and in all cases the Jew had to roast, no matter which side he was on."

Although mention of Jews came at the end of a long article, "Stirring Times in Austria" elicited many letters from American Jews concerned about their coreligionists. In response Twain wrote "Concerning the Jews" also published by Harper's that same year. In it he wrote: "The Jew is not a disturber of the peace of any country. Even his enemies will concede that. He is not a loafer, he is not a sot, he is not noisy, he is not a brawler nor a rioter, he is not quarrelsome. In the statistics of crime his presence is conspicuously rare -- in all countries. With murder and other crimes of violence he has but little to do: he is a stranger to the hangman. In the police court's daily long roll of "assaults" and "drunk and disorderlies" his name seldom appears."

Mark Twain also catalogues many disreputable practices of which Jews were accused such as greed, fraudulent insurance claims, and cunning evasions of the strict letter of the law. However, he appraises the issue as follows: "This, I think: that, the merits and demerits being fairly weighed and measured on both sides, the Christian can claim no superiority over the Jew in the matter of good citizenship. Yet in all countries, from the dawn of history, the Jew has been persistently and implacably hated, and with frequency persecuted."

Ironically, Twain's defense of Jews was met with criticism by many Jews who corrected his imputation the Jews did "not stand by the flag." He urged as a salve against Jew hatred: "Get up volunteer regiments composed of Jews solely, and, when the drum beats, fall in and go to the front, so as to remove the reproach that you have few Massenas among you, and that you feed on a country but don't like to fight for it. Next, in politics, organize your strength, band together, and deliver the casting vote where you can, and, where you can't, compel as good terms as possible."

In 1904, he amended this essay with a postscript titled "The Jew as Soldier," stating that Jews did indeed serve the flag in the American Revolution, the War of 1812 and the Mexican War concluding "the Jew's patriotism was not merely level with the Christian's but overpassed it."

Would that Mark Twain could have known that Jews in Palestine many years after his death did "get up volunteer regiments composed of Jews only" for the British during both World War I and II and served nobly. Their rewards were broken promises and perfidy.

Although Twain was acquainted with Theodor Herzl, he was not a particular friend of Zionism as shown in the following rather nasty paragraph: "Have you heard of his [Herzl's] plan? He wishes to gather the Jews of the world together in Palestine, with a government of their own - under the suzerainty of the Sultan, I suppose. At the Convention of Berne, last year, there were delegates from everywhere, and the proposal was received with decided favor. I am not the Sultan, and I am not objecting; but if that concentration of the cunningest brains in the world were going to be made in a free country (bar Scotland), I think it would be politic to stop it. It will not be well to let the race find out its strength. If the horses knew theirs, we should not ride any more. "

Twain's reaction to Zionism is surprising given that long before the Dreyfus Affair George Eliot had written the Zionist novel "Daniel Deronda" and a significant sector of American and English literary and religious society was sympathetic to the restoration of the Jews.

On the other hand, Twain concluded "Concerning the Jews" with this lovely tribute: "If the statistics are right, the Jews constitute but one per cent. of the human race. It suggests a nebulous dim puff of star-dust lost in the blaze of the Milky Way. Properly the Jew ought hardly to be heard of; but he

is heard of, has always been heard of. He is as prominent on the planet as any other people, and his commercial importance is extravagantly out of proportion to the smallness of his bulk. His contributions to the world's list of great names in literature, science, art, music, finance, medicine, and abstruse learning are also away out of proportion to the weakness of his numbers.

He has made a marvelous fight in this world, in all the ages; and has done it with his hands tied behind him. He could be vain of himself, and be excused for it. The Egyptian, the Babylonian, and the Persian rose, filled the planet with sound and splendor, then faded to dream-stuff and passed away; the Greek and the Roman followed, and made a vast noise, and they are gone; other peoples have sprung up and held their torch high for a time, but it burned out, and they sit in twilight now, or have vanished."

The last paragraph is particularly bittersweet when we contemplate the present danger to the future of Israel and, by default, the Jewish people:

"The Jew saw them all, beat them all, and is now what he always was, exhibiting no decadence, no infirmities of age, no weakening of his parts, no slowing of his energies, no dulling of his alert and aggressive mind. All things are mortal but the Jew; all other forces pass, but he remains. What is the secret of his immortality?"

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