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The Pollard Logjam

William Mehlman

Among the constants of Jewish life in Israel and the U.S.—the American Jewish electorate’s unalterable attachment to Democratic party nominees, from the White House to City Hall, the annual emanations of a triumphal return by former prime minister Ehud Barak to the Israeli political scene, to cite just two—nothing is more constant than the seemingly endless suffering of Jonathan Pollard.

The most recent issue of *Torah Tidbits*, a weekly compendium of religious events in Jerusalem—lectures, Bible studies, tours, concerts—published by the New York based Orthodox Union’s “Israel Center,” featured an ad reading “Jonathan Pollard 10,956+755 days imprisoned.” The larger figure represents the sum in days of the 30 years the now 62-year-old former U.S. Naval Intelligence analyst spent behind prison bars for espionage, specifically for having provided Israel with strategic information he deemed vital to its security. The additional 755 days relates to the punishment Pollard had, to date, endured under a 2015 parole regimen that requires him to wear a GPS-monitoring device at all times, including Shabbat, when it conflicts with his observance as an Orthodox Jew to the prohibition against carrying. He is additionally restricted from wandering beyond the door of his Manhattan apartment before 7 a.m. and after 7 p.m. and must, on demand, submit any computer he uses, including one supplied by an employer, for police or FBI inspection.



Jonathan Pollard

Could all of this be entirely predicated on the notion, however absurd, that the 30-year-old “secrets” Pollard may allegedly be harboring would be of serious interest to any participant in the black bag trade, or is there something else involved here? The average U.S. prison sentence for espionage on behalf of a friendly or non-belligerent power has been 4-5 years. The 750,000 classified documents, videos, diplomatic cables and battlefield accounts former Private First Class Bradley (now Chelsea Elizabeth) Manning in his capacity as a military intelligence analyst gifted to WikiLeaks and its fugitive founder Julian Assange did not go to “friendly” powers.

As opposed to Manning’s unexplained release in May from the U.S. Disciplinary Barracks at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas after serving a mere seven years of a 35-years sentence (commuted by President Obama) for what Reuters correspondent Karen Dillon described as the “largest breach of classified information in American history,” Jonathan Pollard’s ticket to Israel should have been a slam-dunk from the get-go of Donald Trump’s accession of the White House. Yet, 11 months into Israel’s “friendliest ever” U.S. Administration, that act of justice and compassion remains in limbo.

“This was supposed to be a no-brainer for the Trump team,” asserts Dr. Aaron Lerner, director of IMRA, the U.S.-based Independent Media Review and Analysis study group. The President’s people, he informs, were armed with a “huge folder of endorsements of the move [to Israel] from government legal experts and officials with an intimate knowledge of the case.” They included, among others, Bud McFarlane, a former national security adviser, and former head of Senate Intelligence Dennis DeConcini, both of whom submitted affidavits stating that Pollard did not in any way represent a security threat. McFarlane recently characterized Pollard’s “life sentence” as the product of “unbalanced reasoning” in respect to Israel on the part of the late Casper Weinberger, who served as Ronald Reagan’s Defense Secretary at the time Pollard was arrested.

“The Trump people don’t seem in any particular hurry to relieve an aging Pollard of his suffering,” observes David Israel writing in the New York-based *Jewish Press*. Indeed, in a decision seemingly timed to collide with the president’s May visit to Israel, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit in Manhattan appeared to have set a “speed record,” Lerner avers, in rejecting a plea by Pollard attorney Eliot Lauer for an amelioration of some of the “bizarre” conditions of his parole regimen. “A decision that usually takes months, was rushed to coincide with Trump’s trip.”

So what, exactly, is going on here?

While giving voice to his conviction that Pollard “has suffered enough,” America’s new ambassador to Israel David Friedman, confessed to a reporter for *Yisrael Hayom* at the time of Trump’s visit that he had yet to discuss the “Pollard issue” with the president. Whether that task has since been undertaken remains a question. As for Mr. Netanyahu, his office informed Israel’s Channel 2 News that the prime minister “raises the topic of Pollard’s immigration to Israel in every meeting with U.S. Government officials.”

Maybe. Also, maybe with an investment of political capital patently insufficient to achieve the desired result. Pollard, through his wife, was quoted as pleading “don’t forget me” with Netanyahu and Trump as they sat down together in Jerusalem in May. Gil Hoffman, The *Jerusalem Post*’s chief political correspondent, was referenced by David Israel as suggesting that Trump could have lit up Pollard’s New York court appeal for a lightening of his draconian parole restrictions by announcing that he would “intervene in the Jonathan Pollard case and allow the Israeli spy to move to Israel.” There was no intervention and, alas, no evidence that Pollard’s name ever came up during the Trump-Netanyahu summit.

Aaron Lerner argues the president has a “costless” route to putting paid to the “mockery of justice” Pollard has endured.

“No legislation required.

“No judicial review.

“Just the stroke of his pen.”

It’s a stroke long overdue.

William Mehlman represents AFSI in Israel.

From the Editor

Israel Bars BDS Activists

In the December 2017 *Outpost*, we congratulated Israel for refusing to grant entry permits to a delegation of 20 members of the EU and French Parliaments who supported a boycott of Israel and planned to meet with convicted terrorist Marwan Barghout in prison. Israel, and specifically her Strategic Affairs Minister Gilad Erdan, was finally refusing to accept its hitherto passive role as a punching bag for phony “human rights” outfits (for more on them see the article “Human Rights Groups: The World’s Most Potent Evil Doers” in this issue).

Now the *Algemeiner* reports that Erdan has followed up with a list of twenty groups (20 seems to be a magic number) whose entry will be barred by the Interior Ministry. American groups on the list include the American Friends Service Committee (on which over twenty years ago AFSI published a pamphlet by sociologist David Kirk whose subtitle said it all—Good People and Dirty Work). Also on the list are Students for Justice in Palestine and Jewish Voice for Peace, a viciously anti-Israel group funded in part by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. Several of the European banned groups, like The Association France Palestine Solidarité, receive taxpayer support. The European Coordination of Committees and

Associations for Palestine coordinates over 40 BDS groups in Europe so the list really goes substantially beyond the official “twenty.”

The most over the top reaction has come from Rebecca Vilkomerson, who leads Jewish Voice for Peace in the U.S. In a version of the story of the man who murders his parents and claims victimhood as an orphan, Vilkomerson declares she is “personally feeling the pain of exclusion for the first time from a place that I am bound to by deep ties.”

It Happened Before

When feeling discouraged by the plethora of specifically Jewish groups undermining Israel, from Jewish Voice for Peace to the marginally less hostile J Street and New Israel Fund, it is well to remember that Jews have encountered this sort of thing before in the upbuilding of Palestine.

This hostility came dramatically to the fore in the wake of the Arab riots of 1929 in Palestine. While most Jews throughout the world were horrified, *History of the Haganah* (in Hebrew) reports that the declining Eastern European Jewish Bund, traditionally a foe of the Zionist enterprise, reacted with a joyful “I told you so” to the murder of Jews. “Hundreds of deaths, thousands of wounded” declared Prof. L. Hirsch, the theoretician of the Bund: “Moshavot went up in fire. Buildings raised in hope are in ruins...There isn’t any chance of an ingathering of the exiles and a Jewish state in Eretz Israel. Now after the events in Palestine, even the blind can see that.” The Central Committee of the Bund announced “The Zionists are guilty. They build their enterprise on a volcano....We Bundists warned that the Zionist enterprise will fail. We said ‘How can we join the English to oppress the Arabs?’”

Jewish Communists also celebrated. Immediately after the riots the communist Anti-Imperialist League of Berlin (with a large Jewish membership) issued a manifesto declaring “the Arab population in Palestine sees justly that the Zionist movement is the principal tool of British imperialistic exploitation of their land. With the help of the capitalistic and fascistic Zionist organization they expropriate Arab property and methodically impoverish the Arabs.” In New York, the Jewish Communist newspaper *Morgen Freiheit* initially reacted truthfully, calling the Arabs the aggressors. It was quickly forced to retract and with the blood of the pious Jews of Hebron and Jerusalem still fresh on the ground, *Freiheit’s* editor Joseph Olgin wrote “The editor of the morning issue was mistaken.” To atone, the paper started a vicious attack on the “Zionist imperialists and the crooked types of the Worker’s movement” that had joined the Second International “to organize systematically the pogrom of the Arabs in Palestine.” Topping it off, the Jewish Communists organized a major assembly and in its framework decided to establish a fund for the Arabs “hurt by the pogrom.”



“Provocative” Jews

On December 8, an anti-Israel rally was held near the American embassy in Vienna to protest President Trump’s recognition of Jerusalem as Israel’s capital. No surprise, the crowd chanted anti-Semitic slogans, prompting several Jewish students to hold up an Israeli flag in protest. They now face a 100 euro fine or two days in jail for “provocation.”

Merkel Mayhem

Angela Merkel is shaping up to be hands down the worst German Chancellor since the end of World War II. Her immigration policy has paved the way for the rapid Islamization of Europe.

Less remarked has been her energy policies described by Rupert Darwall in *NationalReview.com*. In the effort to meet Germany’s self-imposed target of cutting greenhouse gas emissions by 40% by 2020

(compared with 1990) she has poured money into expensive wind and solar with the result that Germany's retail electricity rates are close to three times the rates in the U.S. Apart from the cost, Darwall notes the policy is literally insane in terms of realizing its goal of cutting emissions. He reports that Sir John Beddington, former chief scientific adviser to the British government, lifted the lid on the scandal when he revealed that wood, much of it from North America, has provided around half the expansion of so-called renewable energy in Europe. Burning wood releases four times as much carbon dioxide as natural gas and fifty percent more than coal. Moreover, EU policies, Sir John argues, give a green light to developing countries for vastly greater forest removals risking "the incredibly valuable tropical forests that are not only a valuable source of biodiversity, but also form vast carbon sinks which are one of our best tools of defense against climate change." So renewables—given the emphasis on wood—means increasing emissions, precisely what renewables were supposed to prevent. (Beddington points out that to supply even one third of the additional energy to meet Europe's new 2030 target will require an amount of wood roughly equivalent to the combined harvest in the U.S. and Canada.)

Merkel (blaming economic growth) has now admitted that Germany cannot meet its 2020 goal and in the protracted talks to form a new government coalition, the major parties have dropped it despite the warning by environment ministry bureaucrats that missing the target would be a "disaster for Germany's international reputation as a climate leader." Merkel's ill-judged decision to shut down Germany's nuclear power plants and replace them with coal has been another obstacle to reducing emissions.

The world continually stampedes into bad ideas with counter-productive consequences. The international consensus on catastrophic climate change and the insane policies that flow from it are reminiscent of the equally false consensus that the Arab-Israel conflict is the center of the Middle East's vast array of problems and the non-existent "peace process" between Israel and Palestinian Arabs is the way to solve them.

Human Rights NGOs—The World's Most Lethal Evil-Doers

Rael Jean Isaac

The world's most lethal evil-doers are the NGOs that fly under a false flag, claiming to be champions of human rights. Their potency comes from the fact that unlike other of the world's worst actors—think Kim Jung Un—they are not feared and despised but admired and treated as moral arbiters. A billion dollar a year industry, these NGOs reinforce their moral with financial muscle. Gerald Steinberg, founder and director of NGO Monitor, has been alone in following these outfits for the last fifteen years. He observes that human rights NGOs show "that soft power can sometimes be more dangerous than hard power."

And while Israel is their most obvious target, they have bigger game in their sights—the transformation of Western societies and culture through mass immigration.

Human rights NGOs bear a major responsibility for the demonizing of Israel in the West. In *Catch the Jew* Tuvia Tenenbom, masquerading as Tobi the German, focuses on the hundreds of so-called human rights NGOs that infest Israel and the Palestinian-controlled territories in search of Israeli misdeeds—and fabricate them (sometimes stage them) as they come up short. Many of these NGOs are basically front groups for terrorists and assorted destroy-Israel groups. In 1917 Steinberg finally was able to persuade the Danish government to stop funding the Human Rights International Humanitarian Law Secretariat, an NGO framework established in 2013 at Bir Zeit University in Ramallah with an annual budget of millions of euros paid for by the governments of Sweden, Holland, Denmark and Switzerland. In an interview with journalist Ruthie Blum, Steinberg says that his research has shown that of the 24 core NGOs funded by

the Secretariat, six had ties to the Marxist-Leninist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (on the EU's official list of terrorist organizations) and 15 were involved in world-wide campaigns to destroy Israel by economic means.



Steinberg has found it an uphill task to persuade EU governments to pay attention to where their money goes. He observes that “all a group has to say to garner the support of many European politicians is that its mission is to promote human rights.” They are then seen automatically “as credible and above criticism or investigation.” He explains that the annual reports by NGO funding networks “are extremely short and vague”, something like “We help NGOs in the following 45 countries in the pursuit of opportunities and fairness.” Governments do not have the inclination to follow-up—

and most are not happy when NGO Monitor forces them to see what they would prefer to ignore. Germany and the European Union are especially recalcitrant, says Steinberg. Confronted with information on NGO terror links and antisemitism they declare “Ah, that’s a right-wing fiction.” Any criticism is labeled “Islamophobic.”

It’s not just relatively obscure NGO networks that devote their resources to attacking Israel. The best known and highly regarded NGOs like Oxfam, Christian Aid, Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch do the same. Robert Bernstein, the publisher who founded Human Rights Watch and served as its chairman for 20 years, publicly disassociated himself from the organization in a 2009 op-ed in *The New York Times*. What he writes of Human Rights Watch applies equally well to the others.

“At Human Rights Watch, we always recognized that open, democratic societies have faults and commit abuses. But we saw that they have the ability to correct them—through vigorous public debate, an adversarial press and many other mechanisms that encourage reform. That is why we sought to draw a sharp line between the democratic and nondemocratic world....Now the organization, with increasing frequency, casts aside its important distinction between open and closed societies. Nowhere is this more evident than in its work in the Middle East. The region is populated by authoritarian regimes with appalling human rights records...The plight of their citizens who would most benefit from the kind of attention a large and well-financed international human rights organization can provide is being ignored as Human Rights Watch’s Middle East division prepared report after report on Israel.”

Since then the assaults on Israel have only grown more blatant, with Human Rights Watch accusing Israel of war crimes. Recently its executive director Kenneth Roth tweeted a link to an article by Nadia Ellia, a Palestinian activist in the BDS movement, which declared that “white supremacy and Zionism are two of a kind.” Israeli Foreign Affairs spokesman Emmanuel Nachshon has called Human Rights Watch a “blatantly hostile anti-Israeli organization whose reports have the sole purpose of harming Israel with no consideration whatsoever for the truth or reality.” Human Rights Watch’s most recent initiative (with financial support from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund) is to encourage punitive measures against banks that provide services to Israelis living in communities beyond the Green Line (the armistice lines of 1949). It comes as no surprise that anti-Israel George Soros has donated \$100 million to Human Rights Watch.

Amnesty International, the other big fish in the human rights pond, assails Israel year after year. It became especially indignant when Israel finally had enough of incessant rocket attacks and invaded Gaza. Its one-sided reports ignore the years of unprovoked attacks on Israeli civilians by Hamas, the use by Hamas of human shields and Israeli efforts to spare civilian casualties to blithely accuse Israel for breaching the laws of war “by carrying out direct attacks on civilians.” In an interview with Voice of Israel radio Steinberg said of Amnesty: “Almost all of the reports are hearsay from Palestinian sources. All of this is a game. There is no ethical basis to their research.” Not to be outdone by Human Rights Watch’s

most recent initiative on banks, Amnesty has now declared “We’ll consider whether the situation in Israel and the occupied Palestinian Territories meets the international definition of apartheid” a process that “will require thorough research and a rigorous legal review of the evidence.” Given what passes for research at Amnesty and the ability to use as “evidence” the wildly distorted reports that pour from UN agencies, it’s not difficult to predict Amnesty’s conclusion. And given that “practices of apartheid” are listed as grave breaches of international humanitarian law, Amnesty will feel free to demand the most punitive international measures against Israel.

Although the appalling record of the UN Human Rights Council as an attack dog on Israel (one, moreover, impervious to genuine assaults on human rights elsewhere) is widely known, few are aware of the extent to which human rights NGOs shape the Council’s actions. Says Steinberg: “In the Human Rights Council, the NGOs do everything but vote. They participate in meetings. They circulate documents. They work closely with the people who write reports. This is why you hear the same phrases used in documents and speeches....It is the NGO position that reinforces the Palestinian narrative of victimization and other myths that are so rampant at the UN.”

So pervasive is the image of human rights NGOs as made up of people working tirelessly to improve society that even critics of one or another policy position almost invariably stipulate that their “intentions are good.” No, they are not. The attempts of human rights NGOs to destroy the legitimacy of the Jewish state (and ultimately the state itself) bear witness to the fact that they are malign actors flirting with genocide.

But Israel is a small country and in the last decade human rights NGOs, while by no means neglecting Israel, have cast their net wider. Remarkably, they are biting the hands that feed them so lavishly—the countries of Europe. They are using human rights—in this case their sweeping definition of the rights of refugees—to deny Europeans the right to borders. The same romanticism of third world peoples and hostility toward the supposedly forever-guilty colonialist West that partly informs the animus against Israel pervades the effort to throw Europe open to all who would come there, whether in flight from civil unrest or in search of economic opportunity. Ironically while, under the spotlight, human rights NGOs have been no more than a major nuisance to Israel, under the radar, they have done far greater damage to the European countries that fund them. They are transforming Europe’s demography and along with changing its population, undermining Europe’s culture, values and religious traditions.

Human rights NGOs not only seize the moral high ground to shame Europe’s political elites into accepting huge numbers of uninvited migrants, but box in EU member countries through legal challenges and by deploying their own “rescue” ships at sea. Rounding out these pressures, they use the courts to make it difficult, if not impossible, for European countries to deport migrants—even those found guilty of terrorism.

The extent to which human rights NGOs have recently mobilized to physically transfer migrants to Europe’s shores is not widely appreciated. In 2014, according to the Italian coastguard, rescue boats operated by NGOs brought in less than one percent of all migrants. Thus far, in 2017, the Italian coastguard reports NGOs have picked up more than a third of all migrants. (Frontex, the EU border protection agency, provides an even larger estimate of 40%.) The NGOs are aided by a legal ruling in 2012 by the European Commission on Human Rights (ECHR) in *Hirsi Jamaa and Others v. Italy*, known familiarly as the Hirsi ruling (in which Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and two other NGOs participated as “third parties” and were liberally quoted). The suit was on behalf of 24 migrants from Somalia and Eritrea, part of a group of 200 who had been rescued from drowning at sea by ships of the Italian Revenue Police which transferred them to an Italian military ship.

The lawsuit challenged the Italian policy that had sent the migrants back to their point of departure in Libya with the cooperation of the Libyan government (then headed by Moammar Gaddafi). The 17-man ECHR court ruled unanimously that migrants were on Italian soil as soon as they stepped on an Italian ship and each individual had the right to “independent and rigorous scrutiny” of his asylum

claims plus a right to appeal the initial decision. The court awarded 15,000 euros (plus legal costs) to each of the migrants, a princely sum in their countries of origin. Not surprisingly Amnesty hailed the ruling as “historic.” As Belgian author Drieu Godefridi has pointed out, in Africa everyone now understood that if they could reach the Mediterranean Europe’s navies would be obliged to ferry them directly to Europe. The objective was no longer to reach Europe but to be intercepted.

Traffickers no longer bothered to fill the tanks on the unseaworthy boats and rafts they crammed with humanity—they just had to make it beyond territorial waters. In the last four years, more than 600,000 migrants, mainly from sub-Saharan Africa (Nigeria is the largest single source), have reached Italy. In the first six months of 2017 85,000 arrived, 9% above the number in 2016, with 10,000 in the last week of June alone. In July an increasingly desperate Italy, now that the rest of Europe blocked the path of the migrants northward, pushed back, demanding the human rights NGOs operating in the Mediterranean (among them *Medecin sans Frontieres*, *Jugend Rettet*, *Save the Children*, *SOS Mediterranee* and *Sea Watch*) agree to a code of conduct. The code is designed to stop the NGOs from in effect partnering with human smuggling rings.



Thus, to take a few items, the code prohibits the NGOs’ ships from turning off their tracking devices (with the devices turned off they can go undetected into Libyan territorial waters), bans light-signal communications used to signal traffickers a good moment to launch their boats, requires NGO boats that pick up refugees to take them to ports in Italy (not unload them onto larger ships and immediately engage in further close-to-Libya “rescues”), and requires NGOs to allow Italian police on board their vessels (ostensibly to check for the

presence of smugglers aboard the refugee boats but whose effect would also be to impede violations of the code). Predictably Amnesty and Human Rights Watch mounted their virtuous high horse, declaring that “attempts to restrict NGO search and rescue operations risk endangering thousands of lives.” Four of the eight NGOs active in the Mediterranean refused to sign on to the code. But Italy showed it meant business by impounding the ship *Iuventa*, operated by one of the refusers, the German *Jugend Rettet* (Rescue the Youth), on the grounds, according to public prosecutor Ambrogio Cartosio, that “there were contacts, meetings, understandings” between the boat and the traffickers, and migrants were “handed over” to the *Iuventa* by smugglers rather than being “rescued.”

The number of migrants trafficked out of Libya has fallen dramatically since this summer. The Italian code of conduct plays a role, but the chief factor is probably Italy’s renewed cooperation with Libya, this time in the form of technical and operational assistance to its coastguard. Half of the over \$103 million the EU has allotted for the refugee crisis on the Mediterranean route is going to provide the Libyan coast guard with weapons and training. Three of the eight NGOs devoted to rescuing migrants at sea—*Medecins sans Frontieres*, *Save the Children* and *Germany’s Sea Eye*—have suspended operations in response to explicit threats by the Libyan coast guard to shoot at their ships.

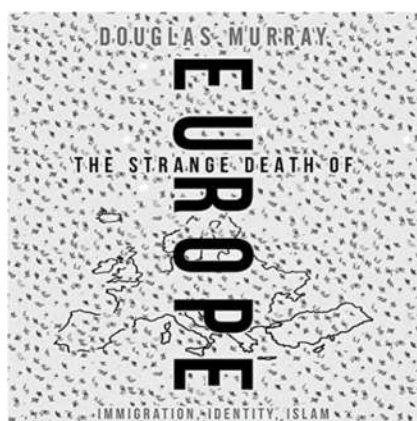
Frustrated human rights NGOs plan more lawsuits. Claiming that migrants are subject to “systematic abuse” in Libyan detention centers, Amnesty International declares that “by actively supporting the Libyan authorities in stopping sea crossings and containing people in Libya, they [European leaders] are complicit in these crimes.” Amnesty says it now has sufficient evidence to take leaders of EU states to international courts over failure to live up to their obligations under human rights conventions. If Amnesty is successful (and it has a strong record in these courts) profit-hungry traffickers are in the wings as are migrants eager for their services. Gatestone Institute Fellow Soeren Kern reports that

according to a (leaked) classified German government report more than six million migrants are waiting in countries around the Mediterranean to cross into Europe. The report says one million are waiting in Libya, another million in Egypt, 720,000 in Jordan, 430,000 in Algeria, 160,000 in Tunisia and 50,000 in Morocco. More than three million waiting in Turkey are currently prevented from crossing over to Europe by Erdogan in accordance with the deal he struck with the EU. If Erdogan's relations with the EU deteriorate further, he could open the spigot at any time.

European leaders appear barren of new ideas. An African Union-European Union summit that brought 55 African and 28 European leaders to the Ivory Coast on Nov. 29-30, 2017 to come up with longer-term measures to stem the refugee flow came up empty, the only concrete decision to evacuate 3,800 migrants stranded in Libya.

While seeking to ease the entry of migrants via the courts, human rights NGOs also exploit the courts to make it as difficult as possible to deport migrants. That even includes those suspected or found guilty of terrorist activities, precisely the individuals one would think there would be universal agreement did not merit asylum. The NGO rationale here is that the countries from which these people came have dubious human rights records which are not adequate to prevent the possibility of torture if they return. In one of the best-known cases, Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch (along with a group called JUSTICE) sued to prevent the return to Jordan of Omar Othman (otherwise known as Abu Qatada) who had been sentenced in absentia in Jordan to life in prison in two separate trials for terrorist activities. When the highest English court (after a bumpy ride through appeals courts) ruled Qatada could be sent back to Jordan, Amnesty and the others took the case to the European Court of Human Rights which ruled Othman could not be deported on the grounds that any trial in Jordan would probably involve the use of testimony from other people who had been tortured amounting to a "flagrant denial" of his right to a fair trial. Despite winning the case, Amnesty was dissatisfied because the court also ruled that deportations based on diplomatic assurances of humane treatment negotiated between the Jordanian and UK governments were in principle permissible. As far as the human rights NGOs were concerned, any assurances, even if they included monitoring by Britain, were inherently unreliable.

There is hypocrisy aplenty here. Human rights NGOs are in the forefront of multiculturalism, with its equal valuing of all cultures, yet their suits against deportations are based on the assumption that European cultures operate on a much higher plane than those of the Middle East and Africa whose leaders torture their citizens with impunity and whose word cannot be trusted.



There have been thoughtful proposals to control the refugee flow, as for example in Douglas Murray's *The Strange Death of Europe*. But little will be achieved unless Europe's decision makers and opinion shapers change their attitude to human rights NGOs. For many of Europe's political, academic and journalistic elite, human rights have taken the place of Christianity as the wellspring of morality. As Steinberg puts it, the NGOs have "become holy in Europe." The first step is for European leaders to recognize that far from being directed by holy humanitarians, these NGOs operate according to an ideology that has scant concern for the rights of citizens of European countries to maintain what is most important to them—their legal and political systems, their cultures and traditions. In the perspective of the human rights NGOs, citizens

have no better claim to their country than foreigners who demand to enter, whether genuine refugees (although major NGOs have shown little concern for Yazidis and Christians, truly in need of refuge) or people fleeing conflict zones or escaping poverty. Add them all up and the vast majority of the peoples of Africa and the Middle East have valid claims to a life in Europe.

There are layers of irony here. The NGOs draw upon Europe's feelings of guilt for its colonial past and above all for the Holocaust. Indeed the laws and rulings invoked by the various EU courts on behalf of the refugees are for the most part based on rulings made to assure that Europe would not again close its doors to those fleeing for their lives, as it closed them to the Jews. Germany, as the perpetrator of mass murder, obviously bears the chief guilt and as a result Angela Merkel has been in the forefront in welcoming the newcomers— "we can do this." Yet it is precisely the huge wave of Moslems, the vast majority of migrants, with their entrenched anti-Semitism, that will ensure that Jews are forced to flee a hostile Europe.

If only for self-preservation, European elites would do well to examine human rights NGOs more critically. At present European governments cower when attacked by them. When Amnesty sent out its news release accusing EU leaders of being "complicit in torture of refugees and migrants" it was faithfully reported by almost every news outlet. There was no pushback by the targets of the release. Yet the views of these NGOs are very far from all but a small group on the far left in European societies. The "solution" of European elites has been to tar all those opposed to the basic premises of the NGOs as Islamophobic or neo-Nazis and this has worked up to a point: anti-immigration parties have been contained in France, Germany and Holland. But sweeping dissent under the rug is no long-term answer. Immigration issues were a major factor in Brexit. In Austria a right-wing coalition is now actually in power. A wave of populism could well sweep away elites who refuse to listen.

Do human rights NGOs like Amnesty do some good? Yes, in documenting as best can be done the human rights abuses in places like Iran, Venezuela and Syria. These NGOS have to be sent back to their original mission, to the principles by which they claim to operate, but from which they have strayed very far.

Amnesty and Human Rights Watch say they do not accept government money. But European countries have financial clout when it comes to most NGOs. They can insist that they will provide funds only to those that live up to certain principles—that abide by a code of behavior like the one Italy fashioned for the NGO ships on the Mediterranean. Some human rights NGOs may decide to reform under financial pressure and might actually confine themselves to genuine human rights advocacy. Those who are unwilling to change their ways will have to rely on private donations. In the worst case, with millions, they will do less damage than with the billions they presently command. Even more important, human rights NGOs would be subject to much needed moral challenge, which they escape now.

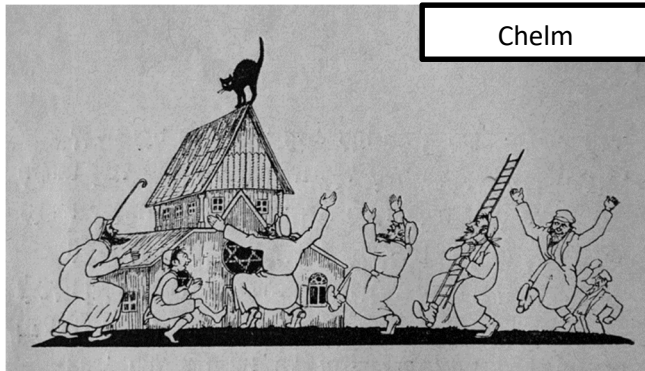
Foolish and Dangerous Jews

Eileen F. Toplansky

In Eastern European folklore, the city of Chelm functions as an imaginary city of fools, similar to that of the Greek Abdera, the English Gotham, and the German Schilda. In fact, the Chelm tales describe outlandish naiveté and futility. Ruth von Bermuth argues that "Chelm...functioned for more than three centuries as an ironic model of Jewish society, both utopia and dystopia, an imaginary place onto which changing questions about Jewish identity, community, and history repeatedly have been projected."

When reading these stories, one is amazed at the characters who seem so unaware of their folly. The tales showcase how common sense is often absent as so-called wise men cite unusual solutions that never work. They are stubbornly foolish and show contempt for logical problem-solving.

It is important to note that these stories reveal a backdrop of the centuries-old pariah status of Jews in a majority of countries. They could not endure if they lacked two essential survival mechanisms. The first is the necessity of always looking over one's shoulder anticipating the Cossack, the inquisitor, the Nazi, or any of the diabolical characters whose aim was to demean or destroy the Jews. The second factor



Chelm

was black humor, which sustained Jews through the pogroms, the concentration camps, and the Gulag. These were necessary because one of the [d]efining characteristics of Jewish culture and identity is the awareness of historical and modern anti-Semitism. Jews could never become too comfortable.

Despite the fact that safety is a Jewish religious concern, there are currently far too many liberal rabbis in America who seem content to ignore the avowed enemies of the Jewish

people. Consequently, on July 25, 2017, in what appeared to be an unprecedented event in American Jewish history, a group that came into existence as a front for a terrorist organization that murders Jews was invited to solicit donations at a synagogue.

Rabbi Howard Jaffe of Temple Isaiah in Lexington, Mass., hosted three Muslim leaders, whom he presented to his congregation as friends of the Jewish community. It was billed as an interfaith bridge-building affair. In actuality, it was “a political rally where Islamist extremists pretending to be moderates sought to enlist Jews in their campaign to undermine U.S. government counter-terrorism efforts, while raising funds for a Hamas-connected group—all in the name of ‘social justice’ and interfaith harmony.

The Muslim guests were Nadeem Mazen, New England director of the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) Stephanie Marzouk, founder of the Muslim Justice League (MJL) and Samer Nasereddin, director of youth programming at the Islamic Society of Boston Cultural Center (ISBCC), which is New England’s largest mosque.

This occurred despite the fact that CAIR promotes a radical Islamic vision, as ... its co-founder Omar Ahmad asserted that “Islam isn’t in America to be equal to any other faith, but to become dominant. The Koran ... should be the highest authority in America, and Islam the only accepted religion on Earth.” In a similar spirit, co-founder Ibrahim Hooper told a reporter in 1993: “I wouldn’t want to create the impression that I wouldn’t like the government of the United States to be Islamic sometime in the future.” In 2003 Hooper stated that ‘if Muslims ever become a majority in the United States, they will likely seek to replace the U.S. Constitution with Islamic law, which they deem superior to man-made law.’ In the late 1980s, Ihsan Bagby, who would later become a CAIR [b]oard member, stated that Muslims “can never be full citizens of this country,” referring to the United States, “because there is no way we can be fully committed to the institutions and ideologies of this country.”

In addition, a coalition led by the Muslim Justice League, the ACLU of Massachusetts, the Council on American-Islamic Relations Massachusetts, Digital Fourth, the Islamic Society of Boston Cultural Center, and Jewish Voice for Peace, demanded that the Boston Police Department “end [its] participation in countering violent extremism programs ... and cease collaboration with the FBI’s Joint Terrorism Task Force[.]”

Likewise, [t]he Islamic Society of Boston (ISB) was established in 1981 in Cambridge, Massachusetts by Abdurahman Alamoudi, a supporter of Hamas and Hezb[‘a]llah who is currently serving a 23-year prison sentence on terrorism charges. One of ISB’s original trustees ... was Yusuf al-Qaradawi, spiritual leader of the Muslim Brotherhood. ISB’s Cambridge mosque is operated by the Muslim American Society, which federal prosecutors have identified as a U.S. front for the Muslim Brotherhood. In 2009, ISB members founded a sister mosque, known as the Islamic Society of Boston Cultural Center (ISBCC) [emphasis added], in Boston’s Roxbury section. Saudi funding sources supplied more than half of the \$15.5 million that was used to create the new facility.

Yet, Rabbi Jaffe presented his guests as people who are allied with the progressive values of his congregation. His congregants did not, however, learn that ... the ISBCC and its sister mosque in

Cambridge, [Mass.], where Nadeem Mazen is a prominent member, have been home to at least 13 convicted, killed[, or fugitive terrorists, including the Boston Marathon bombers.

Many of these terrorists are still considered heroes by a significant fraction of the ISBCC's membership. A few years ago, the ISBCC held a pep rally in support of almost two[] dozen convicted terrorists from around the country. During the rally, an ISBCC imam called America "the land of the coward, the home of the slave" and threatened that "this nation, by God, will be brought to its knees."

It is reasonable to ask if Rabbi Jaffe was cognizant of the above. Indubitably, he was. Dr. Charles Jacobs, research director of Americans for Peace and Tolerance as well as the president of the American Anti-Slavery Group, and Ilya Feoktistov assert that Jaffe cannot claim ignorance about the nefarious nature of these groups.

Rabbi Jaffe cannot claim he didn't know about it because we had previously shared the information with him.

Finally, as the program came to a close, the Islamists asked the Lexington Jews for money. "My project this year is ... to raise a million dollars," Mazen announced. "Don't send clothes. Send money. I'm not afraid to say it anymore."

"Go out and donate to any Muslim organization, ISBCC, CAIR, Jetpac, Muslim Justice League, come on, donate to us," urged Marzouk.

Is this blindness an anomaly within the Jewish community? Consider the following:

- In November 2016, the American Jewish Committee chose the Islamic Society of North American (ISNA) to launch a Muslim-Jewish Advisory Council. ISNA has longstanding ties to Islamic terrorists and has never disavowed calls for jihad.

- Rabbi Eric Yoffie, a Reform clergyman, spoke at an ISNA convention and claimed the Torah causes terrorism. Yoffie denounced Dennis Prager for criticizing the Koran.

- Isi Liebler writes that "[l]iberal-inclined Diaspora Jews—especially those lacking an authentic Jewish education—... consider that the well-being of the world and politically correct standards of social values must be their priority—with disregard to the harm this inflicts on them as a community."

- Many national Jewish advocacy groups like the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), the Jewish Federation, and many campus Hillel chapters remain mute in the face of pro-Palestinian groups like Students for Justice in Palestine and the Muslim Student Association. These Jewish groups would rather stand with their Muslim 'allies' ... than acknowledge that Jew[-]hatred is deeply ingrained in the teachings and the texts of Islam.

- The once mainstream Jewish group the National Council of Jewish Women has no qualms about backing Linda Sarsour, a staunch supporter of the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanction (BDS) movement.

- In the past, the ADL pointed out that the Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP) was the largest and most influential Jewish anti-Zionist group in the United States and a supporter of the BDS movement. But under the direction of its new head, Jonathan Greenblatt, the ADL comes to the defense of Linda Sarsour.

As James Kirchick explains, "the twisted, anti-Semitic logic of the new left is that to be a good progressive, one must stand against Jewish self-assertion and national aspirations."

It appears that, having broken through the literal ghetto, far too many Jews have embraced the liberal ghetto.

In 1993, Don Feder wrote a paper for the Heritage Foundation attempting to make sense of Jewish liberalism. Twenty-five years later, his assessments are still potent. Despite the fact that the "politics of Jewish liberalism undermine the manifest self-interest of American Jewry, there seems to be no diminution of the Jewish community marching in liberal lockstep." Feder wrote that "[i]ndeed, American Jews are fervent proselytizers for every 'ism'—feminism, environmentalism, pacifism, redistributionism—save Judaism."

Ironically, unlike the Jews of Chelm, American Jews have found a relative paradise on American shores—a land where they were not pariahs, where opportunity was limitless. But liberalism has become the ersatz religion of secular, assimilated Jews. Thus, it would appear that the elimination of religious freedom, clearly an aim of the Muslim groups cited above, does not raise a scintilla of concern for these liberal Jews.

As Charles Jacobs asserts, “solidarity with terror and its enablers isn’t social justice.” Is Jewish identity so weak that Jews can no longer stand up for themselves and, instead, foolishly support those who despise Jewish aspirations and the Jewish people?

To rationalize terror or ignore it completely rather than highlight and confront it is beyond foolishness. It is suicidal, and it is time to call these myopic people out. Clearly, they have forgotten the true meaning of Hillel’s dictum. “If I am not for me, who will be for me? And when I am for myself alone, what am I? And if not now, then when?” (Ethics of the Fathers 1:14).

Eileen Toplansky is currently an adjunct college instructor of English composition and literature. This article appeared in AmericanThinker.com on January 19.

Palestinians: No Difference Between Fatah and Hamas

Bassam Tawil

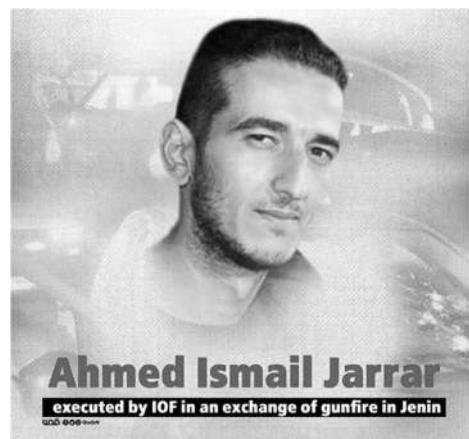
Is there any difference between the “moderate” Fatah faction headed by Mahmoud Abbas and Hamas?

In recent weeks, Fatah, which is often described by Westerners as the “moderate” and “pragmatic” Palestinian faction, has escalated its rhetorical attacks against Israel and the US to a point where one can no longer distinguish between its rhetoric and that of Hamas.

Like Hamas, Abbas’s Fatah regularly glorifies terrorists and encourages Palestinians to take them as role models. This is the very Fatah that is supposed to be Israel’s peace partner and whose leader, Abbas, claims that he is still committed to the “two-state solution.”

The latest example of Fatah’s glorification of terrorists came last week, when the Israel Defense Forces killed Ahmed Ismail Jarrar, of Jenin, in the northern West Bank. Jarrar belonged to a terror cell whose members murdered Rabbi Raziel Shevach two weeks ago.

Although Jarrar is believed to be a member of Hamas, Fatah was quick to publish posters depicting him as one of its “martyrs.” In one of the posters, Fatah described the slain terrorist as a “hero” and “martyr of Jerusalem.” Fatah’s student faction at Al-Quds University also confirmed that Jarrar was one of its members. In a statement published hours after the terrorist was killed, the Fatah Shabiba [Youth] Movement at Al-Quds University boasted that he was “one of our prominent leaders and a member of our administrative body.”



Palestinian activists in Jenin claimed that Jarrar had served as an officer with the Fatah-dominated Palestinian Authority (PA) security forces in the West Bank. However, a Palestinian security official denied the claim. The denial is seen as an attempt by the Palestinian Authority to distance itself from the involvement of one of its members in terrorism. The Palestinian Authority has good reason to be worried: its security forces are funded and trained by American and European experts.

By heaping praise on the terrorist and endorsing him as one of its “heroes” and “martyrs,” Abbas’s Fatah is sending a message to Palestinians that murdering a rabbi and father of six is a noble act. By describing the terrorist as a “martyr of Jerusalem,” Fatah is also implying that Rabbi Shevach was murdered in response to President Donald Trump’s announcement from last December in which he recognized Jerusalem as Israel’s capital.

Since Trump’s announcement, Fatah has been spearheading a new Palestinian campaign of incitement against Israel and the U.S. Fatah leaders, who often appear in Western media outlets as “moderate” and “pragmatic” figures, have since been urging Palestinians to take to the streets to protest against Israel and the U.S. The Fatah leaders employ the same rhetoric used by their colleagues in Hamas to such an extent, that sometimes it seems as if Fatah and Hamas are competing to show which party hates Israel and the U.S. more.

Consider, for example, the following remarks by Fatah official Samer Abu Khalil, who accused Trump of giving Israel a “license” to kill Palestinians:

“President Trump’s announcement on Jerusalem gave Israel a license to kill Palestinians. Trump has committed a crime against the Palestinians, who will never give up their lands and holy sites.”

Referring to Trump’s purported plan for peace in the Middle East, the senior Fatah official added: “The Palestinians won’t allow this conspiracy to pass. The era of peace is over. Now, the era of resistance has begun”. “Resistance” is a Palestinian euphemism for terrorism against Israel.

Similarly, here is what senior Hamas official Salah Arouri had to say about Trump’s announcement on Jerusalem: “This is a criminal and bad announcement. Trump is in collusion with the Zionist entity.”

In addition to glorifying terrorism, Fatah and Hamas appear to agree on the need to “escalate” the violence against Israel in response to Trump’s announcement.

Hardly a day passes without a call by both Fatah and Hamas for another “day of rage” against Israel.

Abdel Jaber Fukaha, a senior Hamas official, recently called for escalating Palestinian and Arab protests against Trump’s announcement by staging violent demonstrations in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Fukaha also repeated calls by some Fatah leaders to the Arab countries to cut off their ties with the US and any country that recognizes Jerusalem as Israel’s capital.

Fatah issued a similar call on January 19. In a statement published in Ramallah, Fatah called on Palestinians to “escalate the popular and comprehensive resistance” against Israel. Fatah also called on Palestinians to “turn the lives of Jewish settlers into hell.” This call is a clear message to Palestinians to launch more terror attacks like the one that resulted in the murder of Rabbi Shevach. This, in fact, is the real “license to kill” that Fatah has been talking about. It’s not Trump who gave Israel a “license to kill.” The real license is being issued here by Abbas’s Fatah.

Moreover, there are growing signs that Fatah and Hamas were coordinating their policies regarding Vice President Mike Pence’s visit to the Middle East. Hours before Pence’s arrival in Israel, Fatah and Hamas issued separate statements calling on Palestinians to boycott the vice president. Again, the language used by the two Palestinian groups is strikingly identical.

Hamas spokesman Fawzi Barhoum said that Pence was “unwelcome in Palestine,” adding that there was no “justification for any Palestinian official to meet with Pence and called on Palestinians to “thwart Israeli-American schemes directed against the Palestinians and their rights.”

In Ramallah, Fatah spokesman Osama Qawassmeh echoed the Hamas position verbatim (although he also used harsher language): “Pence is unwelcome. Fatah and the Palestinian people reject Pence’s visit and we call on our Arab brothers to boycott him.” The Fatah official, who is closely associated with Abbas, went on to accuse Pence of being a “racist” and “extremist.”

Such examples, which showcase how hard it has become to distinguish between Fatah and Hamas, can easily be multiplied. Abbas himself is also beginning to sound like a Hamas leader. His recent

speech, in which he described Israel as a “colonial project that has nothing to do with Jews,” sounds as if it were taken directly from the mouth of Hamas leader Mahmoud Zahar.

Make no mistake about it, however; neither Fatah nor Abbas woke up one morning and decided to change its position towards Israel and the US.

For those who have been following the rhetoric and actions of Abbas and his Fatah faction, the extremist anti-Israel and anti-US views and remarks do not come as a surprise. The glorification of terrorists and the denial of Jewish rights and history have always been a main pillar of the ideology of Abbas and Fatah. Abbas and Fatah have worked hard over the past two decades to create the false impression that they differ from Hamas. It now appears that the jig is up: their true colors are showing for all to see.

Indeed, Trump’s announcement helped to expose the true sentiments of Abbas and Fatah. It is all out in the open — Fatah and Hamas belong to the same school of thought: both advocate violence; both propagate the same hostility towards Israel and the US, and both seek the destruction of Israel and the murder of Jews — as many as possible.

Bassam Tawil is a Muslim based in the Middle East. This appeared on January 22 at gatestoneinstitute.org

Israel at the United Nations

Ruth King

Nikki Haley has received great and deserved praise for defying UN standards to defend Israel. Well done indeed!

The United Nations conceived with such hope, has lost its way to bias, ignorance and endless attacks on Israel. The irony here is that the finest speeches delivered there have been by Israel’s defenders.

In 1949, Abba Eban urged the United Nations, still housed in Lake Success, to accept Israel’s membership. His speech lasted more than two hours. He chided the U.N. for holding up Israel’s application with the lame excuse that the “refugee and resettlement” issue had to be investigated. He noted many nations which expelled and dislocated hundreds of thousands were swiftly accepted. He scolded Jerusalem’s Arab authorities for flouting the UN’s resolution declaring Jerusalem an “international city” with access to people of all faiths. He described the desecration of shrines, churches and synagogues. And he addressed the problem of refugees with data and possibilities for resettlement in other Arab nations.

Abba Eban succeeded: United Nations General Assembly Resolution 273 was adopted on May 11, 1949 admitting the State of Israel to membership in the United Nations. It was passed following the approval of UN Security Council Resolution 69 on March 4.

Abba Eban served as Israel’s representative to the U.N. from 1948 until 1959 and as Israel’s Ambassador to the United States. He became Israel’s most effective speaker in the Diaspora. With a courtly manner and perfect diction, rarely checking notes, he defended his nation with zeal and rhetorical genius. The response of the Arab states was laughable. As soon as Eban stood, the Arab representatives walked out.

When he returned to Israel in 1959 he joined the Labor party. In June 1967 Eban, then Foreign Minister, returned to the United Nations to address the Security Council following the Six Day War.

Here are excerpts from his magnificent [speech](#) which should be read in full by anyone who falsely uses the word “occupation.”

I thank you, Mr. President, for giving me this opportunity to address the Council. I have just come from Jerusalem to tell the Security Council that Israel, by its independent effort and sacrifice, has passed from serious danger to successful resistance.



Abba Eban

Two days ago Israel's condition caused much concern across the humane and friendly world. Israel had reached a sombre hour. Let me try to evoke the point at which our fortunes stood.

An army, greater than any force ever assembled in history in Sinai, had massed against Israel's southern frontier. Egypt had dismissed the United Nations forces which symbolized the international interest in the maintenance of peace in our region. Nasser had provocatively brought five

infantry divisions and two armored divisions up to our very gates; 80,000 men and 900 tanks were poised to move.

A special striking force, comprising an armored division with at least 200 tanks, was concentrated against Eilat at the Negev's southern tip. Here was a clear design to cut the southern Negev off from the main body of our State. For Egypt had openly proclaimed that Eilat did not form part of Israel and had predicted that Israel itself would soon expire. The proclamation was empty; the prediction now lies in ruin. While the main brunt of the hostile threat was focused on the southern front, an alarming plan of encirclement was under way. With Egypt's initiative and guidance, Israel was already being strangled in its maritime approaches to the whole eastern half of the world. For sixteen years, Israel had been illicitly denied passage in the Suez Canal, despite the Security Council's decision of 1 September 1951 [Resolution 95 (1951)]. And now the creative enterprise of ten patient years which had opened an international route across the Strait of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba had been suddenly and arbitrarily choked. Israel was and is breathing only with a single lung.

Jordan had been intimidated, against its better interest, into joining a defense pact. It is not a defense pact at all: it is an aggressive pact, of which I saw the consequences with my own eyes yesterday in the shells falling upon institutions of health and culture in the City of Jerusalem. Every house and street in Jerusalem now came into the range of fire as a result of Jordan's adherence to this pact; so also did the crowded and pathetically narrow coastal strip in which so much of Israel's life and population is concentrated.

Iraqi troops reinforced Jordanian units in areas immediately facing vital and vulnerable Israel communication centers. Expeditionary forces from Algeria and Kuwait had reached Egyptian territory. Nearly all the Egyptian forces which had been attempting the conquest of the Yemen had been transferred to the coming assault upon Israel. Syrian units, including artillery, overlooked the Israel villages in the Jordan Valley. Terrorist troops came regularly into our territory to kill, plunder and set off explosions; the most recent occasion was five days ago.

In short, there was peril for Israel wherever it looked. Its manpower had been hastily mobilized. Its economy and commerce were beating with feeble pulses. Its streets were dark and empty. There was an apocalyptic air of approaching peril. And Israel faced this danger alone.

We were buoyed up by an unforgettable surge of public sympathy across the world. The friendly Governments expressed the rather ominous hope that Israel would manage to live, but the dominant theme of our condition was danger and solitude.

Now there could be no doubt about what was intended for us. With my very ears I heard President Nasser's speech on 26 May. He said:

"We intend to open a general assault against Israel. This will be total war. Our basic aim will be to destroy Israel."

On 2 June, the Egyptian Commander in Sinai, General Mortagi, published his Order of the Day, calling on his troops to wage a war of 'destruction against Israel. Here, then, was a systematic, overt, proclaimed design at politicide, the murder of a State.

The policy, the arms, the men had all been brought together, and the State thus threatened with collective assault was itself the last sanctuary of a people which had seen six million of its sons exterminated by a more powerful dictator two decades before.

.....
The problem of the future role of a United Nations presence in conflicts such as these is being much debated. But we must ask ourselves a question that has arisen as a result of this experience. People in our country and in many countries, ask: What is the use of a United Nations presence if it is in effect an umbrella which is taken away as soon as it begins to rain? Surely, then, future arrangements for peace-keeping must depend more on the agreement and the implementation of the parties themselves than on machinery which is totally at the mercy of the host country, so totally at its mercy as to be the instrument of its policies, whatever those policies may be.

.....
Experience in many parts of the world, not least in our own, demonstrates that massive armies in close proximity to each other, against a background of a doctrine of belligerency and accompanying threats by one army to annihilate the other, constitute an inflammatory situation.

We were puzzled in Israel by the relative lack of preoccupation on the part of friendly Governments and international agencies with this intense concentration which found its reflection in precautionary concentrations on our side. My Government proposed, I think at least two weeks ago, the concept of a parallel and reciprocal reduction of forces on both sides of the frontier. We elicited no response, and certainly no action.

To these grave sources of tension—the sabotage and terrorist movement, emanating mostly from Syria, and the heavy troop concentrations accompanied by dire, apocalyptic threats in Sinai—there was added in the third week of May the most electric shock of all, namely the closure of the international waterway consisting of the Strait of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba. It is not difficult, I think, to understand why this incident had a more drastic impact than any other. In 1957 the maritime nations, within the framework of the United Nations General Assembly, correctly enunciated the doctrine of free and innocent passage through the Strait.

Now, when that doctrine was proclaimed—and incidentally, not challenged by the Egyptian representative at that time—it was little more than an abstract principle for the maritime world. For Israel it was a great but still unfulfilled prospect; it was not yet a reality. But during the ten years in which we and the other States of the maritime community have relied upon that doctrine and upon established usage, the principle has become a reality consecrated by hundreds of sailings under dozens of flags and the establishment of a whole complex of commerce and industry and communication. A new dimension has been added to the map of the world's communications, and on that dimension, we have, constructed Israel's bridge towards the friendly States of Asia and Africa, a network of relationships which is the chief pride of Israel in the second decade of its independence.

All this, then, had grown up as an effective usage under the United Nations flag. Does Mr. Nasser really think that he can come upon the scene in ten minutes and cancel the established legal usage and interests of ten years?

There was in this wanton act a quality of malice. For surely the closing of the Strait of Tiran gave no benefit whatever to Egypt except the perverse joy of inflicting injury on others. It was an anarchic act, because it showed a total disregard for the law of nations, the application of which in this specific case had not been challenged for ten years. ...

When we examine, then, the implications of this act, we have no cause to wonder that the international shock was great. There was another reason too for that shock. Blockades have traditionally

been regarded, in the pre-Charter parlance, as acts of war. To blockade, after all, is to attempt strangulation; and sovereign States are entitled not to have their trade strangled. To understand how the State of Israel felt, one has merely to look around this table and imagine, for example, a foreign Power forcibly closing New York or Montreal, Boston or Marseille, Toulon or Copenhagen, Rio or Tokyo or Bombay harbor. How would your Governments react? What would you do? How long would you wait?

But Israel waited because of its confidence that the other maritime Powers and countries interested in this new trading pattern would concert their influence in order to re-establish a legal situation and to liquidate this blockade. We concerted action with them not because Israel's national interest was here abdicated. There will not be, there cannot be, an Israel without Eilat. We cannot be expected to return to a dwarfed stature, with our face to the Mediterranean alone. In law and in history, peace and blockades have never co-existed. How could it be expected that the blockade of Eilat and a relaxation of tension in the Middle East could ever be brought into harmony?

.....
I have said that the situation to be constructed after the cease-fire must depend on certain principles. The first of these principles surely must be the acceptance of Israel's statehood and the total elimination of the fiction of its non-existence. It would seem to me that after 3,000 years the time has arrived to accept Israel's nationhood as a fact, for here is the only State in the international community which has the same territory, speaks the same language and upholds the same faith as it did 3,000 years ago.

And if, as everybody knows to be the fact, the universal conscience was in the last week or two most violently shaken at the prospect of danger to Israel, it was not only because there seemed to be a danger to a State, but also, I think, because the State was Israel, with all that this ancient name evokes, teaches, symbolizes and inspires. How grotesque would be an international community which found room for 122 sovereign units and which did not acknowledge the sovereignty of that people which had given nationhood its deepest significance and its most enduring grace.

No wonder, then, that when danger threatened we could hear a roar of indignation sweep across the world, that men in progressive movements and members of the scientific and humanistic cultures joined together in sounding an alarm bell about an issue that vitally affected the human conscience. And no wonder, correspondingly, that a deep and universal sense of satisfaction and relief has accompanied the news of Israel's gallant and successful resistance.

But the central point remains the need to secure an authentic intellectual recognition by our neighbors of Israel's deep roots in the Middle Eastern reality. There is an intellectual tragedy in the failure of Arab leaders to come to grips, however reluctantly, with the depth and authenticity of Israel's roots in the life, the history, the spiritual experience and the culture of the Middle East....

The second principle must be that of the peaceful settlement of disputes. The Resolution thus adopted falls within the concept of the peaceful settlement of disputes. I have already said that much could be done if the Governments of the area would embark much more on direct contacts. They must find their way to each other. After all, when there is conflict between them they come together face to face. Why should they not come together face to face to solve the conflict?

When the Council discusses what is to happen after the cease-fire, we hear many formulas-back to 1956, back to 1948 - I understand our neighbors would wish to turn the clock back to 1947. The fact is, however, that most clocks move forward and not backward, and this, I think, should be the case with the clock of Middle Eastern peace-not backward to belligerency, but forward to peace.

.....
I would say in conclusion that these are, of course, still grave times. And yet they may perhaps have a fortunate issue. This could be the case if those who for some reason decided so violently, three weeks ago, to disrupt the status quo would ask themselves what the results and benefits have been. As he looks around him at the arena of battle, at the wreckage of planes and tanks, at the collapse of

intoxicated hopes, might not an Egyptian ruler ponder whether anything was achieved by that disruption? What has it brought but strife, conflict with other powerful interests, and the stem criticism of progressive men throughout the world?

I think that Israel has in recent days proved its steadfastness and vigour. It is now willing to demonstrate its instinct for peace. Let us build a new system of relationships from the wreckage of the old. Let us discern across the darkness the vision of a better and a brighter dawn.

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Editor: Rael Jean Isaac

**Editorial Board: Ruth King, Rita
Kramer**

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Americans for a Safe Israel

1751 Second Ave. (at 91st Street)

New York, NY 10128

Tel (212) 828-2424 / fax (212) 828-1717