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THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

COO74

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: JULY 15, 1988

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: MISS FAITH T. ZEADEY

SUBJECT: URGES THE PRESIDENT TO INSIST UPON THE
APPLICATION OF THE TERMS OF THE FOURTH
GENEVA CONVENTION BY THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL
IN ITS ADMINISTRATION OF THE TERRITORIES

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY (STAFF NAME)	ACTION		DISPOSITION	
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COMMENTS:

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 20, 1988

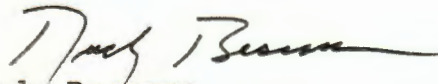
Dear Miss Zeadey:

On behalf of the President, thank you for your correspondence of July 11, 1988, concerning the restoration of rights to operate for the In'ash Al-Usrah.

As has been his standard during his tenure, the President is committed to fighting for human rights all over the world. While we here in America are celebrating our bicentennial of the Constitution, others in different parts of the world are not as fortunate. Your dedication to the ideals upon which this nation was founded have indeed been very encouraging. President Reagan applauds your efforts.

Thank you for your time in writing to us of your views, and good luck in your future endeavors.

Sincerely,



Rudy Beserra
Associate Director
Office of Public Liaison

Miss Faith T. Zeadey
556 Trapelo Road
Belmont, MA 02178

584670



Association of Arab-American University Graduates, Inc.

556 Trapelo Road, Belmont, MA 02178, U.S.A. (617) 484-5483 Telex: 9102408368 AAUG

Incorporated in 1967

July 11, 1988

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Dear Mr. President:

Events in the territories occupied by Israel have become of ever increasing concern. The recent closing of the In'ash Al-Usrah Society by the Israeli authorities is particularly alarming. This Society was founded in 1965 and, unquestionably, served humanitarian and cultural needs of the Palestinian community. We strongly urge you to use your good offices and your personal influence with the government of Israel to restore to In'ash Al-Usrah the right to operate and to serve a community desperately in need.

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For many of us who have been nurtured on the writings of the early American patriots and fathers of the evolution of the American Constitution, it is extremely difficult to celebrate the bicentennial of this magnificent document while viewing the on-going brutality perpetrated by our 'special' ally against a civilian population which has been subjected to occupation for twenty years. The freedoms and rights which we hold so dear and which give us occasion to celebrate are denied daily to Palestinians.

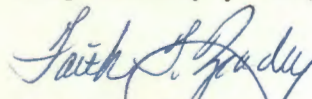
A careful reading of the Declaration of Independence would leave no doubt that our forefathers were well aware of the inevitable conflict between individual rights and the perceived security needs of the state. One would also find in this masterpiece a clear resolution of that conflict. No other document in the history of mankind speaks so eloquently and unequivocally on the primacy of human rights. Everything that has been written since on this subject is in imitation of it.

The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution are documents of which we, as Americans, are rightfully proud. Our pride, however, should not obliterate our responsibility and our sacred trust to uphold and to perpetuate their intent. They are universal in both substance and design, and, thus, have universal application. So it is that while we commemorate the two hundred years or so of their existence, we financially underwrite and physically equip nations that violate the very precepts which enkindled these documents. We are obligated to render their precepts more than lip service and to extend our vision of their application to all, not some, societies and peoples.

As we rightfully protest the human rights abuses perpetrated by the Soviet Union against its Jewish and other minorities, should we not also protest the innumerable human rights abuses perpetrated by Israel against the Palestinians in the occupied territories? No student of the principles of American democracy can be unmoved by the indiscriminate brutality and harshness of the Israeli forces in quelling Palestinian demands for the rights which Israelis claim for themselves, and which we, likewise, claim for ourselves. No American can support, in conscience, the continued beatings of Palestinian civilians without regard for age, sex or physical condition; the imprisonment, without trial, and torture of untold numbers of Palestinians, including children of all ages; the illegal deportation of the indigenous population; the indiscriminate use of tear gas, poisonous gases and other creative methods of human contamination; the arbitrary and malicious demolition of homes; the destruction of crops; and the systematic interference with medical relief services and hospital care. This litany of Israeli abuses directed against the Palestinian population deserves reiteration precisely because it lays waste the fundamental principles which we Americans hold sacred and which we enshrined, over two hundred years ago, in the Declaration of Independence and to which we swore our allegiance in the American Constitution.

It is, therefore, incumbent upon you, as the leader of this great nation, to insist, by every means at your disposal, upon the application of the terms of the Fourth Geneva Convention by the government of Israel in its administration of the territories. In celebration of the bicentennial of the Constitution, it is appropriate and fitting that you should actively and aggressively urge upon our friends and foes alike the minimal requirements of civil rights as articulated in this document.

Respectfully yours,



Faith T. Zeadey,
AAUG President

As we have already stated, the Commission is not a political body. It is a body of experts and scholars who are appointed by the President of the United States. Its members are chosen for their knowledge and experience in the field of human rights. The Commission's mandate is to investigate and report on human rights violations in the United States and abroad. It is not a court of law and does not have the power to punish or award damages. Its role is to provide a forum for the expression of public opinion and to recommend appropriate actions to the Executive and Legislative branches of the Government. The Commission's reports are made public and are an important part of the national dialogue on human rights. It is the Commission's duty to ensure that the Government is held accountable for its actions and that the rights of all individuals are protected.

It is, therefore, incumbent upon you, as the leader of this great nation, to heed the Commission's findings and to take the necessary steps to address the concerns raised. The Commission's report is a call to action and a challenge to the Government to uphold its commitment to human rights. We urge you to take prompt and effective action to address the issues identified in the report. We believe that the Commission's findings are well-founded and that the Government has a responsibility to act on them. We trust that you will take the necessary steps to ensure that the rights of all individuals are protected and that the Government is held accountable for its actions.

Very truly yours,
 [Signature]
 [Name]
 [Title]

1967

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

COO 74

INCOMING

RECEIVED *SS*

DATE RECEIVED: JULY 18, 1988

RECEIVED AUG 5 1988
SCHEDULING OFFICE

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: MR. PAUL FLACKS

AUG 9 1988
SCHEDULING OFFICE

SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR THE PRESIDENT TO SHARE HIS THOUGHTS REGARDING THE AMERICAN-ISRAEL RELATIONSHIP, FOLLOWING THE PRESIDENCY, TO BE PUBLISHED IN "THE AMERICAN ZIONIST" -- ~

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY	(STAFF NAME)	ACTION ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	DISPOSITION TYPE RESP	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
MATT ZACHARI		ORG	88/07/18	ZR	A 88/08/10
<i>SC Paul</i>					
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COMMENTS: ~ ENCLOSES COPY OF THE JUN/JUL 88 ISSUE OF "THE AMERICAN ZIONIST"

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584739

Paul Flacks
EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

M. Zachari

July 13, 1988

The Hon. Ronald Reagan
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear President Reagan:

The Zionist Organization of America is celebrating its 90th Anniversary year. We have just concluded our 87th National Convention in Israel which was enthusiastically enjoyed by several hundred delegates from coast to coast.

The American Zionist magazine is the official publication of the ZOA. It, too, has existed over 90 years, and is the foremost intellectual organ representing a Zionist point of view in the American Jewish community.

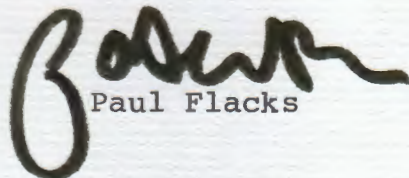
I believe it would be highly significant if you would share your thoughts regarding the American-Israel relationship **following your presidency**; perhaps, reflections as to how you believe this will or should continue in the days ahead.

I know that you are very heavily involved in the important obligations you have pertaining to the forthcoming Convention of the Republican Party. Nevertheless, may I respectfully ask that you give this matter your careful consideration. I assure you that your views published in The American Zionist will be most meaningful.

We look forward with a great deal of anticipation to your favorable response.

With all good wishes and best personal regards.

Cordially yours,


Paul Flacks

PF:f
enclosure

August 10, 1988

Dear Mr. Flacks:

On behalf of the President, thank you for your recent letter and request to interview him for The American Zionist magazine following the end of the administration.

We certainly appreciate your extending this opportunity to the President. At this time, we are unable to give you an answer as to his acceptance since we have not begun to develop the schedule for the period following the end of the administration. Please be assured, however, that we will keep your letter on file and contact you at a later date with a more definite response.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR.
Director of Presidential Appointments
and Scheduling
Director of Private Sector Initiatives

Mr. Paul Flacks
Executive Vice-President
Zionist Organization of America
4 East 34th Street
New York, New York 10016

cc: ✓ Kevin Kruke, FYI
and incmg to M. Rawlins for 1989 pending

Sandy —

We discussed this
ON FRIDAY (or THURSDAY)

I thought we
agreed you folks
would handle because
it is a Post-Presidency
REQUEST.

KEVIN

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 8/5/09

TO: Kevin Krueke

FROM: SANDY WARFIELD
Deputy Director
Presidential Appointments
and Scheduling

Information

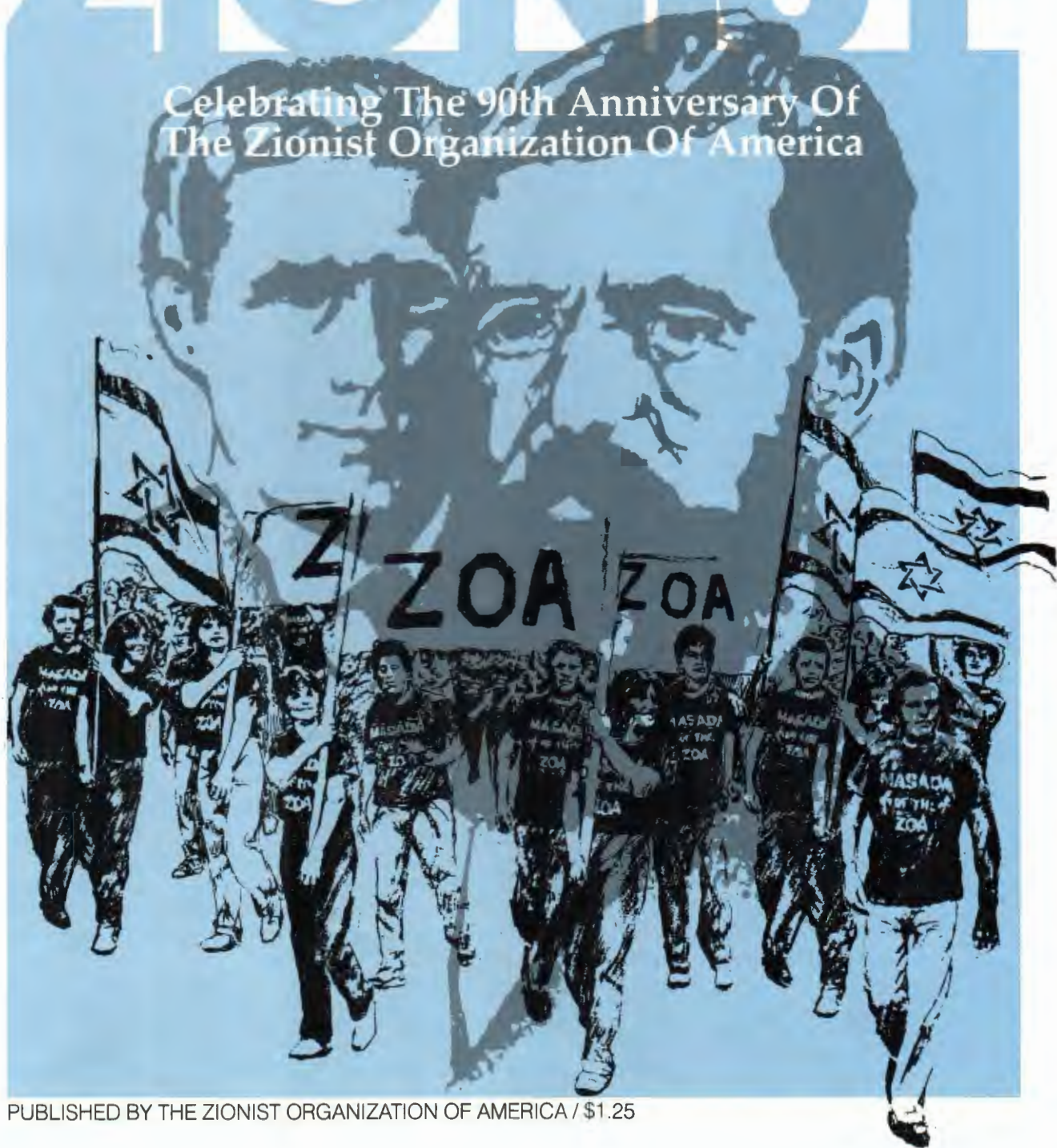
Action

Let's Discuss

JUNE-JULY, 1988 / TAMMUZ-AV, 5748. VOLUME LXXV, NO. 1

THE AMERICAN ZIONIST

Celebrating The 90th Anniversary Of
The Zionist Organization Of America



PUBLISHED BY THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA / \$1.25

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 11, 1988

Greetings and congratulations to everyone celebrating the 90th anniversary of the Zionist Organization of America and the 40th anniversary of statehood for Israel.

These two anniversaries are clearly and inseparably linked. You can be proud that through the decades you and those who have gone before you have envisioned, and labored to bring about, a Jewish state and friendship between that state in the Middle East and the United States of America. Since the founding of Israel, the relationship between the two countries has grown progressively stronger. I have no doubt that this process will continue over the next 40 years. I also have no doubt that you will play a key role in bringing this about.

Again, congratulations on these milestones. You have my good wishes.

Ronald Reagan

Zionism Reexamined After 90 Years

To ensure continued relevancy, the ZOA recently instituted an introspective review of our mission. The purpose was to examine the need for Zionism today, 90 years after the formation of ZOA and 40 years after the creation of the State of Israel. This excursion into the many facets of Zionism involved a review of our many programs and the status of Zionism today. Our conclusion, after intense and profound searching, was that the need for Zionism is as great as ever.

The purpose clauses of ZOA's constitution are as valid today as the day they were written. In essence, they convey the need to strengthen the concept of Jewish renaissance through the birth of Israel and the nurturing of the Jewish state as the spiritual and cultural center of Jewish life.

The mandate to foster the ideals of Judaism among Jewish youth continues to be carried out by Masada, ZOA's youth movement, which is the mechanism by which each summer hundreds of Jewish boys and girls experience Israel and reinforce their solidarity with their Jewish homeland.

ZOA continues to be the most outspoken advocate of Israel's right to defend its security through its democratic processes, as we continue to educate Americans about Zionism and its significance to Jewish self-definition.

As ZOA celebrates its 90th year and the 40 years of existence of Israel, it is important to keep in mind some historical facts. All of the Arab states (except Egypt) are still at war with Israel. Israel is at war with no one. During these 40 years, despite involvement in six costly wars, Israel has created a society based on democratic principles and the prophetic vision of justice and Judaism. The recent disturbances have caused some anguish, and a number of American Jewish leaders have reacted by attacking Israel publicly. We must understand that Israel is in a struggle for survival. As part of our Zionist commitment, we have been determined to eliminate the public criticism which aids and abets our enemies.

To further demonstrate our Zionist commitment, we have scheduled ZOA's 90th Anniversary Convention in Jerusalem, July 3-7, 1988. I extend an invitation to each of you to join us in support of Israel. That will give us all the opportunity to share in the satisfaction and pride in Israel's accomplishments over the past 40 years. Heed your Zionist zeal, and join us in Israel. This year in Jerusalem!



Milton S. Shapiro

Milton S. Shapiro
President
Zionist Organization of America

The First 90 Years

Twenty years before the Balfour Declaration, the ZOA was already leading the political battle in the United States for a Jewish state. Fifty years before the United Nations recognized the establishment of Israel, the ZOA was working to mobilize world public opinion to support the concept of a Jewish state. Since 1898, ZOA has held high the banner of Zionism, and ZOA leaders have led the successful struggle to fulfill the aspirations of those who believe in Zion restored.

We knew the task was not completed with the founding of the State of Israel. The democracy of Israel required the eternal vigilance of those who cared most deeply for its welfare. Today, as in the early days of our movement, there are those who question the relationship between Israel and the diaspora.

How do we respond to those critics who denigrate Israel's leaders, thereby causing disunity among Jews and creating confusion in the minds of the non-Jewish world? ZOA's answer is what it has been for 90 years: pride in the Zionist movement, confidence in the Jewish state and faith in the Jewish people.

After 40 years of wars, terrorism, economic hardship, anti-Zionist resolutions and unfriendly media reports, Israel once again is being tested. But so are all the Jewish people. We have every reason to be proud of a Jewish nation which has made such great strides in its brief history. Those who live in the historic land of the Jewish people deserve the respect of the world and the confidence of their brothers and sisters in the diaspora.

The ZOA is, once again, thrust into a unique role as Israel's advocate on the American scene. As the proponents of a democratic society, as General Zionists who believe in free enterprise, as a broad-based membership organization which appeals to all religious and political affiliations, we speak on behalf of Jewish self-confidence, Jewish pride and Jewish unity.

We can be proud of the first 90 years of ZOA's extraordinary accomplishments. Those who have personally committed themselves to our movement and our organization have contributed to the continuity of the Jewish people from generation to generation. In the days ahead, let us work harder and more skillfully, joined together as proud Americans and as Jews, committed to fulfill our Zionist aspirations in the diaspora and in the State of Israel.

With pride in the past and faith in the future, together we will meet this challenge.



Paul Flacks

Paul Flacks
Executive Vice President
Zionist Organization of America

THE AMERICAN ZIONIST

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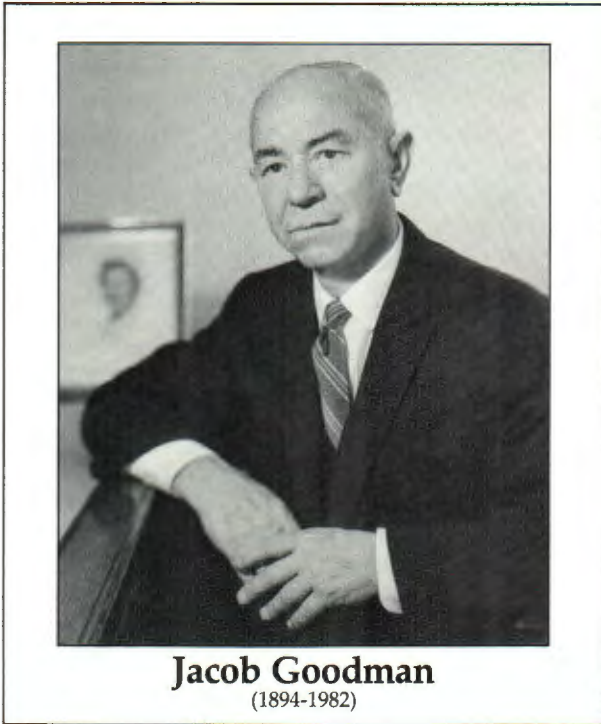
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Jacob Goodman
 (1894-1982)

This special anniversary issue of *The American Zionist* commemorates the 90th anniversary of the Zionist Organization of America and the 40th anniversary of the State of Israel. Therefore, it is especially appropriate that this issue is dedicated to the memory of Jacob Goodman, who fought for the establishment of the Jewish state and played a crucial role in advancing the cause of Zionism in America, through his dedicated support of ZOA.

Born into a Zionist family in Europe, Jacob Goodman's Zionism molded the activism of both his youth and his maturity. During his long, fruitful years as a ZOA leader and benefactor, he was revered for his intelligence, courage and dedication.

Jacob Goodman strongly advocated the need for the Zionist Organization of America to spearhead study and action within the Zionist movement which would forge the bonds of friendship between the people and leaders of the United States and Israel. The Zionist Organization of America will continue to dedicate itself to this noble cause.

The cover of our magazine bears the likeness of the founder of Zionism, Theodor Herzl, and of Justice Louis D. Brandeis, former President of ZOA, whose memories loom large on this 90th anniversary of the Zionist Organization of America. Representing the continuing appeal of Zionism to American Jewish youth are the young people of Masada, the youth movement of ZOA. It is they who propel Herzl's vision into the future.

Editor: Paul Flacks
Editorial Associates: Elaine Cooper
 Edna Dyme
Technical Associate: Barbara Reade
Business Manager: Albert R. Held

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Israel at 40: Looking Back, Looking Ahead

One of Israel's leading poets wrote recently that the State of Israel is the realization of the greatest collective effort of the Jewish people since Moses led the Hebrews out of Egypt. In the forty years since the leadership of a small community of 600,000 souls proclaimed the establishment of the state, this effort has shown dramatic results indeed.



On the very first day of Israel's existence, we were invaded by the armies of seven countries... A full one percent of Israel's population was killed.

On the very first day of Israel's existence, we were invaded by the armies of seven countries, whose combined populations outnumbered ours by more than a hundred to one. A full one percent of Israel's population was killed in our war of independence—in American terms today that would mean the loss of two-and-a-half million people.

In relation to its size, the country's borders were longer than any other country's, and virtually indefensible. Its infrastructure was embryonic, and its economy based mostly on agriculture and light industry. Yet in its first years Israel successfully repelled the military onslaught, defended itself against a continuous terrorist campaign, and absorbed and integrated 1.2 million Jews, twice the number of its original Jewish population.

Contrary to common perceptions, most of these immigrants were not the surviving remnants of the Holocaust, but Jews from Arab countries, indigenous to the region, whose lives had become intolerable after World War II, and who were often in danger of annihilation. Almost 800,000 of them came to Israel, and now more than half of Israel's population is of Middle Eastern and North African origin.

Other immigrants, white, brown and black, arrived from over a hundred countries, speaking almost as many languages and dialects. They came from areas of unimaginable poverty and from the most prosperous lands on earth, from totalitarian dictatorships, medieval tyrannies and the most enlightened democracies. Afflicted by differences, irritations and incompatibilities, they have nevertheless become one nation, all pulling—albeit often contentiously—in the same direction. And despite

the natural volatility of such a mix, they have created a sound and secure society. Violent crime in Israel, for instance, including terrorist acts, is among the lowest in the industrial democracies—and one-tenth of that in the United States.

That people from such varied backgrounds became one nation in such a short time demonstrates the unique historical, religious and cultural bonds that tie the Jewish people together and to the Land of Israel. This unity and the traditional Jewish commitment to freedom and democracy buttressed the capacity of the fledgling state to withstand the initial assault by its neighbors and has enabled it to survive continuous hostility and a condition of quasi-war ever since, with its commitment to Western values intact.

Israel's citizens—Jews, Muslims, Druze and Christian—are equal before the law. Its judiciary is totally independent and beyond reproach; its elections, in which 70 to 80 percent of the electorate vote, are exemplary; its parties, from the extreme left to the extreme right, are all represented in parliament; and its numerous newspapers, in Hebrew, Arabic, English and other languages, reflect an incredible diversity of opinions. The Arab citizens of Israel are the only Arabs in the Middle East who can vote freely for a representative democratic government and who enjoy freedom of speech, assembly and movement.

Israel's declaration of independence, which proclaimed the rebirth of the Jewish state in its historical home, set down three main objectives. The first was to provide a haven for every Jew who needed and wanted it. The second was to make Israel a spiritual fountainhead and emotional magnet for the Jews of the world, so that those among them who wished to fulfill their lives as Jews would settle in it.

The third objective deemed important enough to be included in the declaration was peace with our neighbors. We wanted the state to be the fulfillment not only of our prayer, "Next Year in Jerusalem," but of the prayer "He who makes peace in His high places, may He make peace for us."

There was no Palestinian problem as such at that time. The only people who called themselves Palestinians then were the Jews of Palestine. Our English-language newspaper was *The Palestine Post*, our orchestra, the Palestine Symphony, and our fundraising organization, the United Palestine Appeal. The Arabs living in Pales-

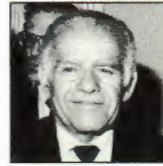
tine insisted that they were part of the Arab nation and shunned the appellation "Palestinians." It is a common misconception today that Israel replaced some kind of Palestinian entity. In fact, in the 3,000-year history of the country, which we know as the Land of Israel and the world calls Palestine, the only independent national sovereignty ever to exist there has been Jewish.

There was little we were not ready to do to achieve peace. Attesting to that was the very fact that we accepted the U.N. General Assembly resolution on the establishment of a Jewish state in ten percent of the area originally allotted to a national Jewish homeland by the mandate of the League of Nations. But the Arabs around us found unacceptable the existence of an independent non-Arab state in any area, however small, of what had once been part of the Arab empire, and they continued to war against us. In 1967, as a consequence of one of these wars, we brought Judea, Samaria and Gaza, as much parts of the Land of Israel as any other, under Israel's control. Today, a little less than one-quarter of the area of the original Palestine mandate is in our hands. The other three-quarters, now called the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, is in Arab hands. Jordan, whose population consists of people from both sides of the Jordan River is, therefore, a Palestinian Arab state in every respect except in name.

When King Hussein's grandfather proclaimed his independence from Britain, he wanted to call his country Palestine. The British Foreign Office dissuaded him. King Hussein himself, and all other Palestinian leaders, have stated that the Arabs on both sides of the river are one nation. And indeed, two-thirds of Jordan's population is from western Palestine, as are most of the members of its parliament and the best-known prime ministers and members of the government. Stating these facts does not, of course, imply opposition on our part to King Hussein's rule in Jordan. But, clearly, another Palestinian state between Jordan and Israel, in the 2,000 square miles of Judea and Samaria—an area the size of a large county in the western United States—makes no sense politically, cannot be viable economically and can only serve as a terrorist, irredentist base from which both Israel and Jordan will be threatened.

What does make sense is continuing the peace process via the one and only route with a proven track record: direct negotiations between the parties to the conflict. I believe peace with Jordan is a realistic, eminently attainable goal. *A de facto* peace between our countries has existed for quite some time. Movement of Arabs from both sides of the Jordan River is free. Trade between Jordan and Judea and Samaria flourishes, and Palestinian Arabs in Judea and Samaria carry Jordanian passports and can vote in elections for Jordan's parliament. From the present conditions to a close cooperation with Jordan in a large variety of spheres is but a relatively small step, one which could lay the foundation for a formal peace treaty.

I have declared time and again that I am ready to meet King Hussein anywhere, anytime, without preconditions, to discuss peace. Direct negotiations with Jordan can start tomorrow, in Amman, in Jerusalem or on "neutral" ground such as Camp David, with the full blessing and unreserved backing of every member of the Israeli government.



I have declared time and again that I am ready to meet King Hussein anywhere, anytime, without preconditions, to discuss peace.

A formula for negotiations was worked out at Camp David between Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Prime Minister Menachem Begin. The centerpiece of the Camp David Accords is the autonomy plan for the Palestinian Arabs, which includes a five-year transition period—a vital test of coexistence between Jews and Arabs. It leaves open for later deliberation the sensitive issue of sovereignty. And although it falls far short of our demands, it embodies a realistic attempt to move forward a political solution.

But the Jordanian monarch has maintained that he will only talk with us if we accept the Soviet proposal for an international conference to be held under the auspices of the United Nations. There is support for this idea in Israel, too, and clearly, as long as it exists, neither Hussein nor anyone else is going to come to direct talks.

We are told that King Hussein needs an international "umbrella" to protect himself from the radical forces in the Arab world. But a country that cannot defy the radicals on matters of procedure cannot be expected to defy them on matters of substance. Indeed, there cannot be any doubt that an international conference would be reduced to the lowest radical denominator, and present a united front against Israel. Its express purpose would be to effect total Israeli withdrawal to the 1949 armistice lines. Nor can there be any doubt that the notion of a purely ceremonial international conference, which would merely provide a cover for bilateral talks, is a chimera. The Soviets, who begat the idea of the conference, have made clear their intention to participate actively in its decision-making process. And European leaders, as well as the American secretary of state, have also declared that they would promote their own plans at such a conference.

The complex and sensitive nature of the issues between Israel and Jordan are such that only direct, independent, open-ended, face-to-face negotiations can provide the unpressured atmosphere that is absolutely vital for reaching an agreement. In these negotiations, representatives of the Arab residents of Judea and Samaria—not members of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, and not terrorists—should, of course, participate. It is,

after all, *their* autonomy that will be discussed. And while the exact nature of the autonomy should be left to the negotiating table, Israel's record of response to genuine peaceful intent speaks for itself.

Unfortunately, Palestinian Arabs in the past have too often entrusted their fate to other Arab governments and extreme elements such as the PLO. Terrorist organizations have used threats and assassination against those Arabs who showed an inclination to negotiate with us. That is why victory over terrorism is an essential prerequisite for the achievement of peace, and not, as some would have it, the other way around.

It is also necessary for Egypt and Jordan to join in the process and give the necessary backing to those Palestinian Arabs who will opt for negotiations and coexistence with Israel.

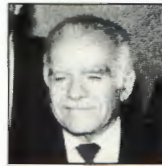
I am often asked why we do not simply ignore PLO terrorism and negotiate with this organization, recognized by the Arab League as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. It is an astonishing question. No country has ever been asked to negotiate with an organization that denies its right to exist. The PLO is not a Palestinian creation, nor has its existence anything to do with the so-called occupation of Judea and Samaria (the "West Bank"). It was organized by Egypt and Syria three years before the 1967 war to conduct terrorist warfare against Israel, and it is dedicated not to liberating this or that territory, but to the annihilation of Israel. That a terrorist organization, established less than 20 years after the Holocaust and committed by its constitution to the destruction of Israel, enjoys observer status at the United Nations and diplomatic standing in many capitals, is a sad commentary on the state of international morality.

In the ten years since President Sadat, responding to Menachem Begin's overtures, came to Jerusalem, the international community seems to have forgotten the unprecedented lengths to which Israel went to secure a peace treaty with Egypt. By relinquishing the Sinai Peninsula, Israel forfeited not only strategic depth in that sector, but 91 percent of all the land it had gained in the defensive war of 1967. Israel gave up sixteen thriving towns and villages, rich oil wells it had developed, vast treasures of mineral wealth, and sophisticated air and naval bases. The total cost of the withdrawal has been estimated at a staggering \$20 billion—practically the equivalent of Israel's foreign debt.

I abstained in the vote in the Knesset on the Camp David Accords for two reasons. First, I was opposed in principle to the evacuation of Israeli towns and villages as stipulated in the agreement. Second, I objected to the precedent set by our withdrawal to the June 1967 armistice lines.

But democratic governments are bound by treaties concluded by their predecessors, and the Camp David Accords do represent the highest degree of agreement on a comprehensive peace plan that has ever been reached between Israel and an Arab country. We must work with it and ensure its fulfillment.

Since the signing of the Camp David Accords and the peace treaty with Egypt, we have witnessed Egypt's growing tendency to distance itself from these agreements. We have been particularly disappointed by Egypt's reluctance to normalize relations with us. I have written to President Hosni Mubarak several times and tried to impress on him the crucial importance of demonstrating that Egypt's peace with Israel is workable, beneficial and can serve as a solid base for the expansion of the peace process. I continue to hope that Egypt's courage in piercing the barrier of hatred around Israel will be matched by a readiness to engage in an effort to revive the peace process. This could be achieved by renewing the talks on the ways and means of implementing the autonomy agreement, and taking up our proposal that President Mubarak invite King Hussein and us to peace talks under his sponsorship.



... it is quite unthinkable that we should allow Judea and Samaria, the cradle of our nation and culture, to revert to being *Judenrein*.

The Camp David Accords recognized the intrinsic difference between our treaty with Egypt and any agreement we could conclude with our eastern neighbors. While we were willing to dismantle the towns and villages we built in the Sinai desert and to relinquish every inch of the Sinai, it is quite unthinkable that we should allow Judea and Samaria, the cradle of our nation and culture, to revert to being *Judenrein*, forbidden to Jews, which was the case during the Jordanian occupation of 1948-'67. Our legal right to the land was internationally recognized by the League of Nations when it awarded Great Britain the mandate of Palestine for the express purpose of establishing a Jewish homeland in it. But regardless of how the question of sovereignty over Judea and Samaria is resolved, we cannot be barred from Shiloh, Bethel and Hebron, any more than we can be excluded from Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa.

The security problem, too, is quite different on our eastern border. In the case of Egypt, the 300 miles of desert separating the population centers of the two countries make agreements on demilitarization, separation of forces, multinational peace-keeping forces, listening posts and warning systems viable substitutes for strategic depth. But the borders of Judea and Samaria are within rifle range of pedestrians in the streets of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. The Judea-Samaria mountain range dominates Israel's population centers, main industrial zones, its rail and road arteries and international airport. Relinquishing Israeli control over these ridges can only turn the clock back to the pre-June 1967 days when the Arab regimes felt that destroying Israel was a feasible option. For, lest we forget, peace with Egypt and the

growing trend among some Arab regimes toward accepting Israel is a direct result of Israel's 1967 victory. A dwarfed, vulnerable Israel can only present a temptation that will inexorably reverse this trend and trigger another war.

With uncommon solicitude, we are told by some of our friends and all of our foes that we must forfeit control of Judea and Samaria because otherwise the high Arab birthrate will cause us to become a minority in our own country within a generation; that with the growing numbers of Arabs in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, the country can be either democratic or Jewish but not both, i.e., it can only retain Jewish control by depriving Arabs of the vote. Even if this threat were real, it would be unthinkable for Israel, as it would be for any nation, to relinquish its own territory, or its claims of sovereignty and the right to security because of demographic prognostications—particularly since history shows that these are highly speculative and inaccurate.

In 1967 we were warned that within 20 years the Arabs in the area between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean would outnumber us. In fact, the ratio of Jews to Arabs west of the Jordan has remained virtually the same, two-thirds Jewish and one-third Arab.

Population growth depends not only on birthrates but on many factors: economic cycles, immigration and emigration and unexpected influences on the birthrate curve. Our presence in Judea and Samaria has made the place more attractive; we established five universities where none existed before, employment is abundant, and the Arabs of the area enjoy, for the first time in their history, freedom of movement, speech and peaceful assembly and the right of *habeas corpus*. As a result, fewer Arabs leave it now than under the Jordanian occupation. In addition, 100,000 Arabs have entered the area under the family reunification plan.

People vote with their feet, and the Arab inhabitants have been voting for, rather than against, living under our "occupation." These facts should be borne in mind by those who are quick to condemn our presence in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, and particularly our anti-terrorist measures there. They should also remember that the Arabs who refer to us as occupiers of Judea, Samaria and Gaza also consider us occupiers of Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa.

But Judea and Samaria are, to a large extent, barren lands, and many of their residents seek their fortunes elsewhere, while the birthrate of those who remain is dropping as progress and modernity influence their lifestyles.

Moreover, Jewish immigration, which has always been a factor in the demographic equation of Israel, will continue to be so. No one would have believed two decades ago that almost 200,000 Soviet Jews would come to Israel, nor that 12,000 Ethiopian Jews would. If only a quarter of the Jews who want to leave the Soviet Union

choose Israel, 100,000 would come, and there are many in Iran, Syria and Ethiopia who must also be rescued.



... Israel must continue to give top priority to attracting Jews from all over the world. That is the essence of the Zionist dream.

Regardless of demographic considerations, Israel must continue to give top priority to attracting Jews from all over the world. That is the essence of the Zionist dream.

Ultimately, the ability of Arabs and Jews to live together, and not population ratios or even peace treaties, will determine the prospects for peace. Learning to do so is a long process, with no easy solutions, for which patience and perseverance are essential. We must resist the temptation of a quick fix and beware the proclivity of democratic societies to negotiate with themselves. Under the constant pressure of domestic and international public opinion and growing impatience among the population in the face of harassment and uncertainty, such societies tend to make pre-emptive concessions. In Israel's case this could prove fatal.

Dictatorships suffer no such pressures. With no parliaments or free press to account to, they can persist with impunity in positions of intransigence. I believe the Arab people want to mingle with us as neighbors, tourists, tradesmen and sportsmen, not to confront us on the battlefield or at a road ambush. The evidence for this is plentiful. Some 100,000 Arabs from Judea, Samaria and Gaza work every day in Israel with virtually no incident. Arabs from countries whose governments call for our destruction come to our cities as tourists and to our hospitals as patients; they transact business with us—albeit furtively; they write fan letters to our radio disc jockeys, and they listen to and watch our news broadcasts. When their governments begin to respond to their wishes, peace—permanent, stable and durable peace—will come to our region. There is a direct relationship between Egypt's progress toward democracy and its willingness to make peace with us. The obverse is also true: the more tyrannical the regime, the less likely it is to negotiate and compromise. Those who derive hope for the Arab-Israeli conflict from the German-French *rapprochement* must remember that France and Germany were able to bury their age-old enmity only when they were both ruled by democratic governments.

Differences in political philosophy have also plagued Israel's relationship with the Soviet Union. The U.S.S.R. initially supported the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, and extended diplomatic recognition to it immediately. But when the Soviets realized that Israel was not going to be part of the socialist camp, they moved toward a pro-Arab policy, which over the years developed into alliances with the

most virulent radical regimes, governments that are acknowledged sponsors of international terrorism and openly committed to the destruction of Israel.

Before 1967 the Soviet Union armed Egypt and Syria to the teeth, enabling them to provoke the Six-Day War. After Israel's victory the Soviets and their satellites severed diplomatic relations with Israel and massively rearmed Egypt, Syria and Iraq. When, following the October 1973 war, Egypt turned to the West, the U.S.S.R. continued to arm the rejectionist regimes of Syria, Libya, Iraq and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, this time concluding friendship treaties with them and accompanying the weapons systems with thousands of "advisers."

Syria, a confrontation state which makes no secret of its hope to destroy Israel, now has 8,000 Soviet advisers in its army and an anti-aircraft missile system manned by Soviet officers and connected with Moscow command and control. It has acquired the Soviet Union's most sophisticated weapons, including MiG-29s, the most advanced Soviet tanks, long-range surface missiles that can hit Israel's interior, and a chemical warfare capability.

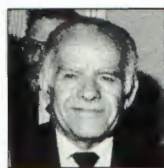
The Soviet Union helped initiate and pass the 1975 U.N. resolution equating Zionism with racism and has voted consistently—most recently last September—to expel Israel from the United Nations. Its policy on the emigration of Jews, more dependent on its relations with the United States than its involvement with the Arab-Israeli dispute, has gone from allowing almost 300,000 Jews to leave in the 1970s to permitting only a thousand a year in the 1980s. In 1987 the number rose to 8,000, and some of the more celebrated prisoners and refuseniks have been released. But there has been no change in the Soviet refusal to abide by international human rights agreements, which postulate the right of people everywhere to leave their country. Nor has there been any indication of willingness to allow the repatriation of the Jewish people who, unlike other ethnic groups in the Soviet Union, have no home there, to their homeland in Israel.

There have been some limited changes on the diplomatic level. Poland has reinstated diplomatic relations, albeit at a low level, and the Soviet Union has sent a temporary consular mission to Tel Aviv, as yet unreciprocated by the presence of an equivalent Israeli mission in Moscow. But Soviet support for the PLO and Syria, and its general anti-Camp David, rejectionist stance show no sign of diminishing. Last spring the Soviets sponsored a reconciliation of PLO factions on a platform calling for continued terrorism—euphemistically known as "armed struggle" and the dismantling of Israel. Let us hope that *glasnost*, internal reform and the signing of nuclear arms agreements with the United States will affect Soviet policy on Jewish emigration and change Soviet conduct in regional conflicts.

While Soviet policies toward Israel are governed by ideological and geopolitical considerations and reflect the general friction between totalitarian regimes and the

free world, European attitudes have been dictated by economic considerations and energy policies. The European dependence on Arab oil, particularly during the 1970s, led to a pro-Arab stance. It took the form of huge arms sales to Arab countries and an embargo on sales to Israel, of diplomatic accommodation with the PLO and turning a blind eye to terrorist activities. With the collapse of oil prices and the growing realization that the use of the oil weapon against the West had more to do with economic factors than with the Arab-Israeli conflict, European relations with Israel improved. But the damage to Israel from the meteoric rise in oil prices was not confined to temporary diplomatic and political setbacks.

The transfer of hundreds of billions of dollars to the coffers of the Arab oil-producing states enabled them to become the largest purchasers of arms in the world—not only for themselves, but for countries such as Syria and Jordan which depend on their largesse. Since 1973 approximately \$100 billion in sophisticated weapons have poured into Arab arsenals. Over \$30 billion worth has been purchased by the Saudis alone. Such staggering military buildups can only exacerbate the volatility of an already highly inflamed area, particularly since the Arab regimes receiving these weapons repeatedly assure their allies that, regardless of what the U.S. Congress is told about the purpose of the purchases, the arms will ultimately be used against Israel.



The U.S. role was indispensable in concluding the interim agreements between Israel and Egypt... as well the Camp David Accords.

Throughout the 1970s the United States resisted the economic and political pressures of the oil crises and retained the confidence of both sides in the Arab-Israeli conflict. The U.S. role was indispensable in concluding the interim agreements between Israel and Egypt and between Israel and Syria, as well as the Camp David Accords. Now, too, America's relationship with both sides makes it a natural "honest broker" for future negotiations. Clearly, its closeness to Israel has only contributed to its credibility and ability to maneuver.

The change in America's relationship with Israel from sympathy and support to a strategic alliance was a gradual process in response to Middle Eastern realities and to Israel's emergence as a major geopolitical actor in the region. In 1970, when Syria, using the PLO cadres in Jordan as a fifth column, threatened to invade Jordan, it was Israel's warning, coordinated with the United States, that aborted the move. A Syrian victory, assured by its overwhelming superiority, would have meant the stationing of Syrian forces, complete with Soviet "advisers," on the shore of the Red Sea, on the border of Saudi

Arabia. In time it became clear that Israel was not only a power to be reckoned with but a strategic ally fully identified with the free world. Moving from that to the strategic agreement and the formalization of the relationship by granting Israel the status of a major ally, was a natural development.

The relationship has proven strong enough to survive some painful incidents. The tensions during the Lebanon war were caused, I believe, by the chasm between the Israeli and American perceptions of the PLO. Despite its record of heinous crimes almost exclusively against civilians, the PLO was seen by some Americans at the time as a product of injustice and refugee camps, a guerrilla army fighting against the "occupation of the West Bank and Gaza."

Israel knew it to be a terrorist arm of Arab governments, an instrument of state-sponsored terrorism, which used victims of frustration and misery in the Arab world—by no means only in refugee camps—as its recruits for murder. Formed in 1964, it operated mostly from Jordan until chased out by King Hussein in the "Black September" clamp-down of 1970, in which thousands of PLO members were killed. The PLO then settled in Lebanon, again on the initiative of the Arab governments, and developed an infrastructure of a despot-ministate and a center of world terrorism.

There was almost no terrorist group in the world that did not receive training, logistical assistance, financial support and weapons from the PLO. It succeeded in assembling over 20,000 trained men who, unlike regular armies of sovereign states, could hide behind the shield of civilians no one wanted to hurt. It threatened to become a serious destabilizing force not only against Israel and Jewish targets in Europe but against the whole free world.



Israel saw in the PLO the embodiment of Arab rejection of Israel's right to exist... the PLO charter stipulates the destruction of Israel.

Beyond that, Israel saw in the PLO the embodiment of Arab rejection of Israel's right to exist. The greatest obstacle to peace in the Middle East still is the insistence of Arab governments that the organization whose charter stipulates the destruction of Israel is the sole representative of the Palestinian people.

Washington did not always see it our way. While conceding our right to security on our northern border, it opposed the destruction of the PLO and intervened to rescue Yasir Arafat and his organization twice during the Lebanon war: once from the Israeli siege of Beirut, and then from the Syrian-sponsored attack by his rival, Abu Musa, in Tripoli.

The second goal of the war was a peace treaty with Lebanon. An agreement was signed under American

sponsorship in May 1983, with the understanding that Syria would withdraw its forces from Lebanon. But the Syrian government reneged, and the Lebanese, who could not act independently as long as Syria occupied their land, scrapped the treaty. Syria now occupies 70 percent of Lebanon.

Israeli forces withdrew from Lebanon in 1985. Only a six-mile-wide security belt on our northern border is under Israeli control. Without it, the Galilee would be exposed to the same intolerable harassment—shelling and terrorist infiltration—to which it was subjected in the eight years preceding the Peace for the Galilee operation of 1982. But the partial reorganization of PLO elements in Lebanon and the introduction of hundreds of Iranian-sponsored Hezbollah terrorists into the area threaten to turn it again into a dangerous terrorist base. Until an independent, sovereign government is established in Lebanon and the Syrian occupation is removed, Israel will have to maintain a security belt and take the necessary measures to defend its northern region against terrorist incursions and shellings.

America's increasing understanding of Israel's problems with Lebanon-based terrorism contributed to cementing American-Israeli relations and to the calm atmosphere between the governments which followed the Lebanon war. By November 1983 Israel's relations with the United States had reached a stage of unprecedented cooperation and mutual understanding. It was given concrete expression in a statement by President Reagan, announcing the establishment of a joint political-military coordinating committee and the decision to establish duty-free trade between the two countries. President Reagan also noted that friendship and cooperation between the two countries would continue, in spite of occasional differences of view. "Disagreements between good friends do not alter the unique and sturdy foundation of our relationship," he said.

Another problem in U.S.-Israeli relations arose during the Arab demonstrations and riots in December. Pictures of riot-quelling by security forces are never pretty, and when taken out of context on television they can be ugly indeed. Perhaps Israel should be flattered that it is held to a higher standard and subjected to far greater and more prolonged scrutiny than other democracies that have had to combat similar disturbances in recent years. But the calumny heaped on Israel was wholly undeserved. In fact, the restraint shown by Israeli security forces in the face of attacks by youths wielding lethal explosives (known as Molotov cocktails), iron pipes, axes, knives and rocks was exemplary. Neither water cannons nor rubber bullets, so blithely recommended from a safe distance, could have been effective in all cases. Live ammunition was used only in extreme cases where lives were in danger. But terrorist organizations and extreme elements were bent on causing human casualties, which they considered helpful in their struggle against Israel.

Arab violence in our country goes back more than a hundred years, preceding not only the establishment of Israel but the advent of political Zionism. It is one of our era's great tragedies that the extremism and radicalism of the likes of the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, the Nazi ally of the 1930s and 1940s, and of today's Yasir Arafat win the day in the Arab street rather than the moderation of King Hussein's great uncle, King Faisal, who advocated Jewish settlement in the Land of Israel, and that of today's proponents of Arab-Israeli coexistence.

That the Arab refugee problem, which affects a few hundred thousand, has been allowed to fester over forty years, while over 70 million refugees around the world, including a million Jewish refugees from Arab countries, have been resettled since World War II, is nothing short of an outrage. Unfortunately, the Arab governments have long resisted proposals for permanent resettlement of the refugees. I have, therefore, appealed to the international community, through the president of Italy among others, to address this issue by convening an international conference that will consider and recommend solutions to this problem.

Another factor contributing to the volatility in Judea, Samaria and Gaza is the uncertainty about the future. That is why Jordan's stubborn rejection of an existing mechanism—the Camp David autonomy provisions—and its insistence on a nonstarter like the Soviet proposal for an international conference is so regrettable. It is an attitude that can only postpone the day of a political settlement.

These tremors seemed to affect neither the general sympathy for Israel among the general public in the United States nor the substance of U.S.-Israeli relations. In addition to a feeling of a moral commitment to the Jewish people and the influence of the Jewish community of America, a growing mutuality of interests has developed. The strategic, political and economic understanding has been institutionalized because both countries believed it served their interests. Secretary of State George Shultz recently said, "Our support for Israel has basically been very much in the interests of the United States."

In its relationship with the United States, Israel will strive for the greatest possible friendship and cooperation and the smallest possible economic dependence. The security requirements of the free world in general and Israel in particular make a reduction in the need for U.S. military assistance unlikely. The bulk of this assistance, however, is money spent in the United States for the production of weapon systems for use by the Israeli armed forces. Calculated within the equation of free world security it is a small amount, certainly a fraction of what the United States spends on NATO. It is reciprocated by military intelligence, battlefield experience and technical innovation for American arms. But Israel should wean itself from the nonmilitary economic aid, now amounting to \$1.2 billion annually and used almost

wholly for servicing Israel's debt, incurred by past purchases of military matériel.

Israel's defense budget takes a substantially larger bite out of its GNP than any other in the free world. The Israeli taxpayer pays for 70 percent of Israel's defense outlays, \$5 billion out of \$7 billion, a portion considerably higher than the percentage that NATO citizens spend on their own defense.

Israel is poor in natural resources. A prevalent Israeli joke is that it took the Hebrews no less than 40 years of wandering in the desert to find the only place in the Middle East without oil. Israel must rely on what *Fortune* magazine described as "the ultimate weapon in Israel's arsenal: the brainpower and entrepreneurial zeal of its work force." In many areas it has shown impressive results. Some of its production processes compete with those of the most sophisticated and powerful economies in the world, and many of its high-technology products are based on its own scientific creativity and technical innovation.

Part of this development is due to our demanding security situation. Having had all too often to rely on ourselves in facing the challenge of advanced Soviet weapons, we developed expertise in various defense technologies. Prominent among them are electronic countermeasures, electro-optics and avionics systems. But even more impressive is what Israel has to offer in the nonmilitary fields. It is a leader in microelectronics, computer hardware and software, biotechnology, chemicals, telecommunications, medical diagnostic and monitoring equipment, solar and other energy systems, and irrigation technologies. Israel leads the world in diamond-polishing, both in production and marketing; its banking operations are global; and its exports range from tomatoes to executive jets.

Not having the size and the scale to compete in conventional mass production, Israel must excel in new ideas, innovative breakthroughs in products and processes. Now that air travel and satellite communications have shrunk the world, Israel can provide world businesses with unsurpassed skills. Thus, for example, electronic companies assign research and development to Israel while locating production in other countries. Such ventures abound between innovative Israeli companies and established international producers in microelectronics, biotechnology, computers, special energy systems and office automation. These enterprises enjoy the extra benefit of Israel's free trade agreements with both the United States and the European Common Market. No other country can offer this access to the two major Western markets.

The dislocations of wars, the relinquishing of the Sinai, the oil shocks of the 1970s and their ripple effects, the economic slump in the West, the double-digit inflation in the United States in the late 1970s, the Lebanon war and a cumbersome wage and price indexing system all affected our economy and helped cause runaway

inflation. But due mostly to the willingness of Israelis in all walks of life to make personal sacrifices and lower their standard of living for the common good, we succeeded, in a much shorter time than we had a right to expect, in bringing inflation down from triple digits to below 17 percent a year. Our immediate goal is to reduce it to a single digit within the next two years. Having stabilized the economy, we intend now to stimulate growth by cutting taxes, liberalizing the capital market, selling off government-owned companies and reducing bureaucratic involvement in business.

But what we aspire to is not just economic independence and a better life. Perhaps the most unusual part of Israel's outlook is its belief that no matter what difficulties it has to confront, it must extend a helping hand to others. Since 1957 Israel has provided expert aid to scores of countries in such critical areas as agricultural technology, irrigation, food production, housing, communications, electrification, construction, water systems, health and regional planning. These countries include 31 Black African nations, as well as other lands of the Mediterranean littoral, Asia, Central America and South America. Israel's expertise derives from direct experience in developing a land which, a little over a century ago, was nothing but desert, rock and swamp. Now this expertise is being used in Egypt—still on a small scale—to the benefit of both countries. There is nothing Israel would rather do than contribute this expertise in science, technology, medicine and agriculture to all the other countries of the Middle East.

Our goals, not in any particular order, are as follows:

- *Solidifying Israel's friendship and cooperation with the United States.* This entails further deepening and institutionalizing of trade, strategic and political collaboration, and greater efforts in achieving economic independence and explaining our position to the American public.

- *Strengthening the peace with Egypt.* Our partner in peace should shoulder with us the responsibility for normalizing relations between our countries and for bringing our other neighbors to the negotiating table.

- *Attaining peace and coexistence with all our neighbors.* This entails projecting the message that violence will not bring a solution to the conflict; that terrorism must end; that the PLO cannot be a participant in any political process; that Arab refugees must be resettled; and that direct negotiations without preconditions are the only viable option for reaching peace.

- *Fulfilling the ideal of making Israel the home of the Jewish people and an Israeli society that is founded on the moral principles of the biblical prophets.*

The roots of Jewish and Arab heritage—in language, history, culture and religion—have much in common. Together the two peoples can usher in a renaissance chapter in the region. Our vision of peace is not limited to ending hostilities, or even to eliminating the threat of war. What we strive for is the fulfillment of the dream of the founder of Zionism, Theodor Herzl, who envisioned ninety years ago that a Jewish state would be a partner in bringing about an economic renaissance and unprecedented growth in the region, the realization of its unlimited potential, the flourishing of its culture, and a life of coexistence, amity and goodwill for all its people. □

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Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir addressing invited guests after receiving the Theodor Herzl Gold Medal Award from the Zionist Organization of America, November, 1987.

Seated at left is ZOA's National President, Milton S. Shapiro.

Seated on the right are Moshe Arad, Ambassador of Israel to the United States, and Benjamin Netanyahu, former Ambassador of Israel to the United Nations.

The Semantics of Human Rights

In the last few decades an international debate has raged over the various classifications of human rights. We have heard discussions of what have often been referred to as "civil and political rights," which have been either bracketed with or juxtaposed to what are called "economic, social and cultural rights." Some theoreticians in the field of human rights have also spoken of a first, second and third generation of human rights.

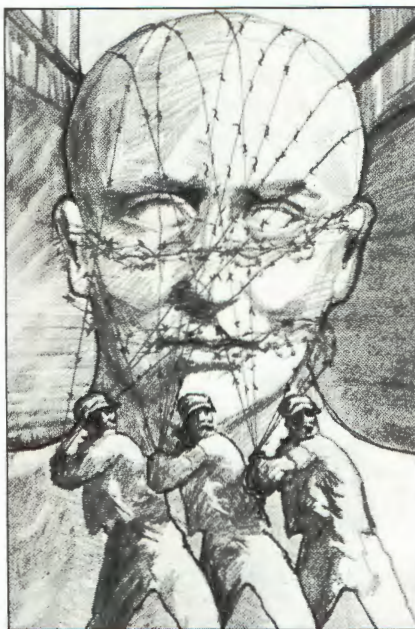
The first generation has generally been viewed as encompassing civil and political rights, the rights so clearly enunciated by the writers and thinkers of the Enlightenment in the eighteenth century.

The second generation of human rights is generally assumed to include the aforementioned "economic, social and cultural rights." In learned discussions of the subject it is said that these are the contributions of the Marxist-Leninist societies.

The third generation appears to be a concoction of issues developed during the last quarter century, including what has been referred to as the right to a clean environment, the right to die, and other relatively new matters of social concern.

Nuclear disarmament has also been injected into the debate under the rubric "right to life." (I might note that anti-abortionists who use the same term have evidently not attempted to advance their cause in the context of the international human rights debate.)

As a footnote to this introduction of the three so-called generations of rights, let me point out that the attribution of the second generation to Marxist-Leninist thinking is historically and substantively inaccurate. If



you take a good look at the rights spelled out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, you will find that they fit into the program of Franklin D. Roosevelt rather than Karl Marx or Lenin. And that should not be surprising. After all, it was Eleanor Roosevelt, President Roosevelt's widow, who, in her capacity as Chairman of the United Nations Human Rights Commission, played a very important role in the framing and ultimate adoption of the Universal Declaration, whose text served as a basis for the framing of the Covenants.

The point I would like to make to you today, and this is the theme of my talk, is that a good many of us have fallen into a semantic trap. Rather than getting to issues of substance, we often debate *ad nauseam* the question of what does

or does not constitute a human right. It is a debate which has become extraordinarily sterile.

I would suggest that we try to deal with these topics by using different terminology. The bundle of issues with which we are here concerned focuses on the relationship between government and the individual citizen. Let us divide that bundle between, on one hand, the limits imposed upon government to safeguard the integrity and dignity of the individual and, on the other hand, the affirmative programs and policies to be conducted by government to achieve the same ends. And let us say further that the fact that we are dealing with one large bundle of relationships between government and the individual does not mean that that entire bundle must at all times be discussed jointly, nor that the same persons are qualified to discuss every single issue that comes up in this context. In my country, at least, the typical expert on the right to freedom of expression is not normally an expert on the delivery of medical care to the elderly.

Nor is there value in debating the question of which set of relationships is more important than the other. Let us simply say that all are important. That point is well illustrated by a story I heard quite a number of years ago, which, I believe, is also applicable today. It is the story of two dogs meeting at the Czechoslovak-Polish border. One dog, seeking to cross from Czechoslovakia to Poland, is slightly on the fat side and well-groomed. The dog seeking to cross from Poland to Czechoslovakia is bedraggled and scraggly. The dog leaving Czechoslovakia asks the other one: "Why

are you going to Czechoslovakia?" The other dog answers: "To eat," and continues: "But why are you going to Poland?" The first dog answers: "To bark."

This story is not only political commentary on comparative conditions in Czechoslovakia and Poland. It is also a profound observation about the instinctual character of the drive to express oneself. The philosophers of the Enlightenment defined that instinct. They built an ideology around it. But they did not invent the human drive for freedom. They described a phenomenon, an essential aspect of human nature.

It follows that the desire to be free, to be able to express oneself, to write as one pleases, to worship God in accordance with one's conscience or not to worship God—all these are not the inventions of Western civilization. They reflect natural human aspirations, and that is indeed why an ideology based on them has worldwide appeal and has, understandably, served as an underpinning for such international standard-setting instruments as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

But then there are those who argue that persons who are starving are not concerned about freedom of speech. That may very well be true. But what we of the West say is that the choice before humanity is not one of starving in freedom and eating in slavery. On the contrary, as we look around the world, we can see that freedom and prosperity go hand in hand. The ideal solution is one in which we, unlike the Czech and Polish dogs in my anecdote, can both eat and bark.

What we frequently hear at international gatherings is that one of the principal differences between the two major options of governmental systems offered the world today is that one pays attention to the special concerns of a few individuals and the other cares about the welfare of the masses.

I submit to you that if one really cares about the masses, one must also care about each and every individual that makes up the mass. Oth-

erwise, as is often the case, "caring" becomes an abstraction, a vague promise that is not sought to be realized.

What we who profess the democratic ideology believe is that, as Thomas Jefferson put it when he wrote the United States Declaration of Independence, we are all endowed with certain inalienable rights, including the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. These rights, we believe, may not be subordinated to any allegedly higher objective, as determined either by a single potentate or a collective, self-perpetuating leadership group. In other words, we do not subscribe to what in Aesopian terms is called "democratic centralism."

**“. . . the choice
before humanity is
not one of starving in
freedom and eating
in slavery.”**

In the countries in which principles of individual freedom are now well established, the basic precepts of individual freedom are not even the subject of argument. Such debate as still continues deals with what we might consider marginal questions, such as what are allowable restrictions on pornography, how serious must be a person's mental illness before such a person can be involuntarily committed to a psychiatric institution, what may government do to restrict freedom of assembly if demonstrators interfere with access to a public building? But, as I have said, the basic precepts are not in doubt and not subject to argument.

We are then told that with all the attention paid to these freedoms to speak, publish or assemble, we neglect the unemployed, the homeless, the sick. "Is anyone paying attention to these issues of public poli-

cy?" is the challenging question posed to us in debates.

My response is that precisely because the issues of basic freedoms have become so noncontroversial, public debate and election campaigns in the democratic world do indeed revolve around questions of economic and social policy, not because anyone has called them "rights" or outlined them in a constitutional document, but because they are often in the forefront of the thinking of our ultimate decision-makers, the voters. Voters choose among candidates on the basis of who, in their opinion, advocates better solutions to the problems that we face in the economic and social sphere. It is in that context that the issue is not one of promise, of writing guarantees into constitutions and other basic documents, but one of delivering results.

Since the beginning of the century, one of the principal arguments in the political arena has indeed been the question of which system of government can deliver the best solution to the problems we confront in the economic and social sphere. By now, in the ninth decade of the century, it appears that the verdict is in. With all the problems that we in the democratic world still face, that we continue to grapple with day by day, the private incentive system has proved itself better capable of delivering the goods than the various collectivist experiments. As we all know so well, the country which operated the largest collectivist program in agriculture abandoned it totally about eight years ago and thereafter experienced an extraordinarily rapid growth in agricultural production. It is now trying to reintroduce private incentives into all other aspects of economic enterprise. And, more recently, in other Leninist countries, we hear talk of restructuring, the term that concedes that the collectivist command economy has proved to be a massive failure.

Let me now return to my point of departure. We need to gather at con-

ferences such as this one to gather those experts, practitioners and thinkers who are prepared to discuss the basic principles of human freedom and personal dignity and the limits which must be imposed upon the powers of government to assure respect for those principles internationally. And there is most assuredly nothing wrong with holding meetings for the purpose of discussing ways and means of dealing with the problems of unemployment, as well as vocational training, the advisability or inadvisability of subsidizing uneconomic enterprises, of the creation of "make-work" jobs, etc. We could also discuss differing approaches to the encouragement of the construction of quality housing, providing adequate, safe and sanitary dwellings for those who are now ill-housed, the furnishing of medical care of quality, and provisions to be made for the elderly. All this should be done by qualified ex-

perts in the fields in question and should not be injected into discussions on the limits of government, which deal with issues, as I noted earlier, in a wholly different area of expertise.

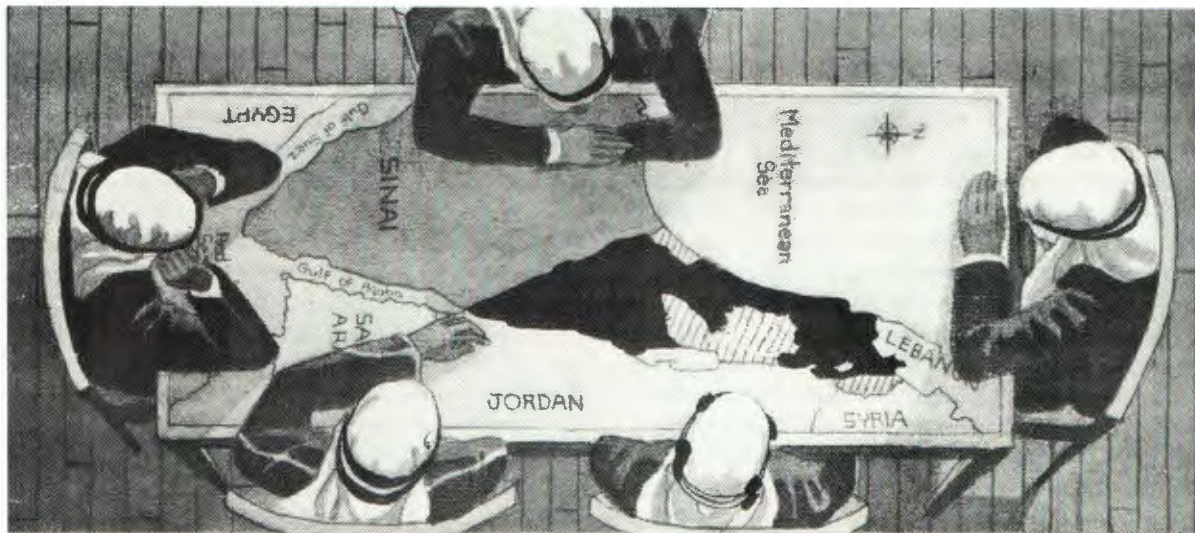
This conference, devoted to the themes which relate to the limits of government, should, therefore, appropriately deal with the major threats to individual dignity and freedom which are posed by the authority of the state. It is appropriate, I suggest, to go through the relevant Articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which were thereafter incorporated into the Helsinki Final Act and determine where shortfalls can be identified and how steps could be taken to encourage correction in these shortfalls.

For today, almost forty years after adoption of the Declaration and twelve years after the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, the limitations imposed on governments to protect

the individual's liberty, security of person, freedom of thought, conscience and religion, freedom of expression and similar freedoms, are in many places consistently and deliberately violated. These violations must not be ignored, for ignoring them means betraying the heroes and heroines throughout the world who take great risks and make major personal sacrifices, endangering their lives and personal security so that the cause of freedom may live. It is to them that we all owe a debt of gratitude. And we must continue to discharge that debt by speaking up on their behalf wherever and whenever we can. □

RICHARD SCHIFTER

Remarks by Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, Richard Schifter, to the Conference on Human Rights and Religious Freedom, sponsored by the Giorgio Cini Foundation, Venice, Italy, February 4, 1988.



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Christianity and Zionism: A Necessary Dialogue

In a plenary address to the 8th National Workshop on Christian-Jewish Relations held in St. Louis in 1984, I called upon the Christian churches to begin to turn their attention in a serious fashion to the various faces of Zionism. No Christian-Jewish dialogue can be complete without such an encounter. I strongly reaffirm that call before you this morning.

I believe that even at the highest levels of Christianity some breakthroughs are appearing in this regard, though the ice has been very slow to melt. The 1985 Vatican *Notes* on the proper presentation of Jews and Judaism in Christian education include Israel for the first time as a legitimate topic for *interreligious* conversation, rather than merely being relegated to the category of politics. But, unfortunately, many Christians, even those otherwise sensitive to the tragic history of anti-Semitism, still regard the term "Zionism" with uneasiness, if not outright hostility. While only a small number would be prepared to go as far as the infamous United Nations declaration on Zionism as racism, their basic inclination is to place Zionism on Judaism's "unenlightened" side. And they tend to assume automatically that any effort to include Zionism on the dialogue agenda will result in hard sell attempts by the Jewish participants to have Christians adopt a no-compromise, anti-Arab posture toward contemporary Middle East political negotiations.

My colleague Dr. Rosemary Ruether, of Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary, is one example of such a Christian scholar.

Even if one does not go along fully with her conclusions about the anti-Judaism endemic in Christian theology since the earliest period of the church, found in her ground-breaking volume *Faith & Fratricide*, it is clear she exhibits a remarkable sensitivity to the pain suffered by Jews throughout the centuries because of anti-Judaism, which she thoroughly repudiates. Yet, when it comes to the question of Zionism, a blind spot looms large. In a column in the September 1984 issue of the *National Catholic Reporter* she described her negative reaction to



receiving an invitation to participate in the first Zionist-Christian dialogue hosted by the ZOA in New York. She argued that such a dialogue would only obfuscate the real issues and prove counterproductive for communication between Christians and Jews. Such an effort was to be dismissed out of hand.

She then went on to say that while Zionism should not be branded as racism in the manner of the U.N. declaration, it does represent a form of narrow nationalism that is totally unacceptable by today's standards.

Though she does not herself use the term, it would appear she considers Zionism roughly equivalent to fascism. Until Israel completely abandons Zionism as a basis for state identity, its moral stature will remain very low indeed. After personal interventions by

some Israeli Zionist doves, Ruether modified her position somewhat in a subsequent *National Catholic Reporter* article (December 28, 1984).

This reaction by a scholar who has spoken out so strongly against anti-Semitism in all its other forms, shows how urgent is the need for a *serious, sustained* and *comprehensive* conversation between Zionists and Christians. I deliberately underscore these three characteristics of such a dialogue if it is to break open the old barriers on this subject. The dialogue must in no way give the impression that it is simply a tool of immediate Israeli governmental propaganda. And it must be ongoing and develop an agenda for dealing with the many issues involved. If the dialogue becomes repetitious and scattershot, Christian participants will quickly lose interest. Finally, it shall have to be comprehensive in the sense of bringing to the surface the full range of Zionist perspectives, left and right, religious and secular, as they have developed during this century and continue to interface at the present moment. To be clear on this point, while an organization such as yours may assume the principal responsibility for sponsoring such a dialogue, it will have to open up the endeavor to all shades of Zionist thought. Certainly, this situation prevailed in the initial dialogue in New York City.

“. . . do not be surprised if Christians with only minimal acquaintance with Zionist thought are frequently confused. The Jewish community is not communicating a clear definition of Zionism as yet.”

Particularly important in this regard is the inclusion of those in Israel today who are central to the debate about the future of Zionism. The Zionist-Christian dialogue cannot be an exclusively American phenomenon with no exposure to the Israeli scene. The American Christian participants must become conversant with the range of views on messianic postures in present-day Israel and their impact on West Bank policies, for example, that Menachem Kellner has summarized in the May 1986 issue of *Modern Judaism*.

It is also vitally important that those of you who might come to such a dialogue from the Zionist side be prepared for a learning and clarifying experience as well. If you assume the stance that the sole purpose of the dialogue is to teach Christians about Zionism, with little or nothing to learn from your side, the effort will rapidly reach a dead end. I do not claim any particular expertise on the question of Zionism; but I have tried to acquaint myself with a broad range of secular and religious writing on the question from the past and present. Without hesitation, I am prepared to say that many unanswered questions seem to remain within Jewish circles about the meaning of Zionism. So do not be surprised if Christians with only minimal acquaintance with Zionist thought are frequently confused. The Jewish community is not communicating an entirely clear message or even the basic definition of Zionism as yet.

Certainly the old ideological anti-Zionism found in the past in certain sectors of Reform Judaism is virtually dead. And I thought I was on fairly safe ground for a while in asserting that the basic meaning of Zionism, now accepted by all Jews except a handful of extremists, could be encapsulated in the statement: "Israel is central to the self-identity of the Jewish People," however varied in expression that self-identity might be from individual Jew to Jew. But intellectual encounters have left me no longer quite so certain that even this formula will work. In the course of an international conference on contemporary forms of anti-Semitism at Rutgers University some time ago, an Israeli professor from Hebrew University pounded on the table at one point in the discussion and said that "Zionism is racism." Now, he was not against the existence of the Israeli state. Far from it. Nor did he have any personal sympathy for the U.N. declaration. He just felt that Israel had to be a less ideologically-based state than most Zionists would have it. While I am fully aware that he by no means represents a majority, his viewpoint will need airing in any comprehensive dialogue on Zionism.

A somewhat related position was articulated in the Winter 1985 issue of *Dissent* magazine by Menachem

Brinker. While not as strident in tone and never employing racist analogies, Brinker believes that Zionism has outlived its usefulness. It has now become an obstacle to the solution of Israel's current dilemmas. He writes: "The Zionist movement had one simple goal: to bring a majority of the Jews to an independent state. Once this is done, the Zionist idea and the Zionist movement earn a place of honor in history. The continued existence of a Zionist movement is on the way to becoming not only superfluous but harmful. . . . The pressing issues of today are no longer issues for which Zionism has answers."

And Rabbi Joseph Glaser, who chaired the first Zionist-Christian dialogue in New York, described himself as being a non-Zionist, though not an anti-Zionist. I was intrigued with the distinction and decided to pursue it with him afterwards. His response was a somewhat cryptic one. "A non-Zionist is a person who neither makes aliyah to Israel nor has any remorse about not having done so!" This hardly resolved the lack of clarity in the term "non-Zionist." Does this remain a legitimate category? Glaser seems to think so, and the ZOA invited him to chair its dialogue. Obviously, this is the kind of issue that needs to be pursued at length.

I should also mention at this point the need eventually to incorporate the perspectives of Oriental Jewry into any ongoing dialogue. It is becoming clear that the Oriental Jewish communities will play an increasingly important role in defining the Israeli ethos (and hence, of Zionism), even though historically they have not been part of the Zionist movement by and large.

And even longtime advocates of Zionism who remain questionably committed to its basic tenets have warned that many outstanding issues remain. David Polish, for example, wrote in the Winter 1984 issue of the *Journal of Reform Judaism* that an imperative remains for Jews to continue to wrestle with the full implications of Israeli state sovereignty. The mere fact of such sovereignty has not answered all the relevant questions, especially in the religious sphere.

To complete the picture, a worthwhile goal for any Zionist-Christian dialogue would be the inclusion of some Arab representatives who are Israeli citizens. I am not suggesting this needs to be done immediately. But ultimately we cannot ignore the views of the indigenous Christians of Israel if we are to have a fully authentic Zionist-Christian dialogue. And when we get into broader issues of religious pluralism and state identification in Israel, as any dialogue about Zionism inevitably will at some point, the perspectives of Muslim citizens also require a hearing. For as Dr. Moshe Gabai, director

(Continued on page 20)

PRIDE IN THE PAST.

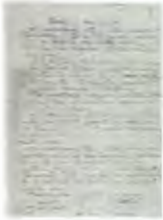
1898 -

ZOA Convention Reports 1898-1988 beginning with minutes of meeting on ZOA formation, 1897.

1914—ZOA leaders Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and Louis Lipsky at American Zionist Emergency Committee Meeting.



1967 — ZOA leaders Marcus Levinson and David Ben Gurion and Menachem Begin.



1897



1922—President Warren G. Harding greets ZOA delegation on the White House Lawn.



1901

1947—ZOA leaders Abba Hillel Silver & Emanuel Neumann witness UN vote establishing the State of Israel.



1957—President Harry S. Truman addresses Jubilee ZOA Convention.



1905



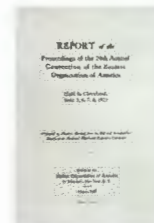
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FAITH IN THE FUTURE.

- 1988



Jacob Goodman bring together Israeli leaders



1987—Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir receives coveted Herzl Award from Milton Shapiro, President of ZOA (right) and Executive Vice President Paul Flacks (left).

1974—Students at Kfar Silver in Ashkelon.



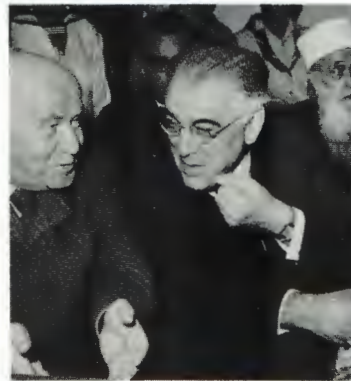
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1986



1953—Eleanor Roosevelt speaks at ZOA House in Tel Aviv.



1955—David Ben Gurion and Abba Hillel Silver at Kfar Silver.



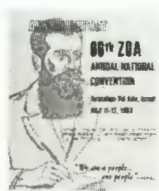
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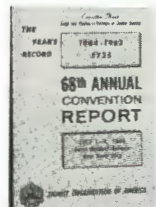
1976



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1963



1965



1967



1973



1975

**“As we examine Jewish tradition . . .
in the history of few other religious peoples has the land
been so intimately interwoven with the dreams,
faith and hope captured in the tradition.”**

of the Institute for Arabic Studies at Givat Haviva, has said in a piece which appeared in a special issue of *New Outlook* magazine (October/November 1984): “The cultural and social differentiation between Arabs and Jews has become institutionalized. To this very day there are no integrated or common frameworks. The basis of Arab identity, from the point of view of ethnic origin, language, religion and nationalism, guarantees a separate Arab existence—the concentration of Arab populations in specific territorial enclaves and separate institutions such as schools, media and voluntary organizations. All this hinders the creation of an overall Israeli culture and identity, and common social frameworks.” Now many of you may not agree with Dr. Gabai’s call for an “overall Israeli culture and identity, and common social frameworks.” But then we Christians must hear why. Without doubt his viewpoint has profound implications for Zionism and hence for any Christian-Zionist dialogue. This also holds true for some concrete steps taken in the last few years by the Israeli government to further the integration of Arab citizens. I think, for example, of the selection of an Arab citizen to kindle the official national lights for Independence Day, 1984. The overall significance of such a step for the meaning of Zionism and its relationship to the state has not been probed very much up till now.

One implication of what I have said thus far, and it may already be obvious to you, is that I would be strongly opposed to focusing the Zionist-Christian dialogue exclusively on theological and biblical areas, as important as these remain. Nor should the participants from the Christian side be only theologians and biblical scholars. We shall need to include social ethicists and Christians with expertise in political science and political philosophy. For the people taking the lead in the rethinking of Zionism today, particularly in Israel, are by and large not from the theological or biblical discipline but from the social sciences, broadly speaking. They will need Christian counterparts for the dialogue to succeed.

Thus far, admittedly, I have rather neglected the specifically religious dimensions of the dialogue. To repeat, I consider them crucial. I have refrained from focusing on them initially to emphasize the point that Zionist-Christian dialogue cannot zero in on them alone without distorting the actual state of the Zionist discussion in Jewish circles today.

As we examine Jewish tradition, we surely will discover that in the history of few other religious peoples has the land been so intimately interwoven with the dreams, faith and hope captured in the

tradition. The vision of the land, the dream of return, of the ingathering of the exiles, helped the Jewish people survive for 1900 years without a land of their own. This longing for the land was expressed each year in the closing prayer of the Passover Seder: “Next year in Jerusalem.” No person or group can survive long without hope. And Jewish hope found its strength in the quest for life again in *Eretz Israel*, a quest inspired by the faith outlook of Psalm 147: “The Lord rebuilds Jerusalem, dispersed of Israel he gathers. He heals the brokenhearted, he binds up their wounds.”

The work of the late Jewish master teacher Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel, *Israel: An Echo of Eternity*, sums up this feeling for the land, this almost mystical meaning that Israel and its heart, the city of Jerusalem, still hold for most of contemporary Jewry: “Jerusalem is more than a place in space . . . a memorial to the past. Jerusalem is a prelude, an anticipation of days to come. . . . It is not our memory, our past that ties us to the land. It is our future. . . . Spiritually, I am a native of Jerusalem. I have prayed here all my life. My hopes have their home in these hills. . . . Jerusalem is never at the end of the road. She is the city where waiting for God was born.” And the noted historian of religion, R.J. Zwi Werblowsky, underscores Heschel’s point about the virtual interchangeability of Zion and Jerusalem and the deep-seated place both occupy in the Jewish consciousness. He writes: “The meaning of Jerusalem as it subsequently determined Jewish self-understanding and historic consciousness, is spelled out in the prophets and in the book of Psalms. Jerusalem and Zion are synonymous, and they came to mean not only the city, but the land as a whole and the Jewish People (viz., its remnant) as a whole.” (“The Meaning of Jerusalem to Jews, Christians and Muslims,” *The Charles Strong Memorial Lecture (Australia)*, 1972, reprinted from *Jaarbericht Ex Orient Lux*.)

Christian appreciation of this deep Jewish attachment to the land of Israel as the basis of Zionism must be an early part of any Zionist-Christian dialogue. It is a basic realization which, if not present on the part of the Christian participants, will cause the dialogue to founder. On the other hand, it will also prove useful for the Jewish participants in such a dialogue to recognize that the role of the land may indeed be one of the fundamental differences between the self-definition of Christians and Jews. I have so argued in my volume, *Christ in the Light of the Christian-Jewish Dialogue*, though not all my Christian colleagues would agree with me on this point. As I see it, however, even though Christian faith must be deeply rooted in history (it is not anti-

land), and even though Christianity may consider Jerusalem and Israel of special significance, ultimately every land is a holy Jerusalem for the Christian in light of theology of the Incarnation.

Therefore, one cannot speak of a "diaspora Christianity" in the same way as one can speak of a "diaspora Judaism." Nevertheless, a useful, mutually-enriching discussion can result from an interchange between the Christian viewpoint and that mystical attachment to Jerusalem and Zion as a special place of salvation articulated by Heschel and Werblowsky.

An equally profitable discussion will result if the dialogue turns its attention to a comparison of Jewish attempts to relate the spiritual vision of Zion to the problems of a multiethnic state, with the way in which Western Christian churches have solved the problem under the strong influence of the spirit of the Enlightenment. The perspectives presented by the Second Vatican Council's Declaration of Religious Liberty, and especially by its master craftsman, Fr. John Courtney Murray, S.J., need to be compared with Zionist perspectives, both religious and secular. Many Christians in the West will no doubt feel uncomfortable with the seeming over-identification of state and religious vision in the writings of Heschel, Werblowsky and others like them. On the other hand, an encounter with Zionism will challenge many of the assumptions of those of us who basically identify the church-state separation model as the ideal for Catholic theology and not merely as pragmatic accommodation.

Moreover, in light of events such as the Holocaust, we in the West need to confront some serious questions about the role of religious symbols in our own general cultural ethos. There is danger that we may limit religion far too much to the sphere of the individual, allowing the public realm to be stripped bare of any sense of transcendence. And if that happens, can personal religious commitment survive? I suspect that in many ways Muslims are in principle much more sympathetic to the vision of religious Zionism than are most Western Christians. I doubt that either Israel or many of the Islamic states will ever adopt in full the Enlightenment answer to the dilemma of religion and the state that has found favor in the West and is espoused by such Israelis as Brinker.

Both Jacob Agus and Manfred Vogel interpret the theological meaning of Zionism primarily in terms of vocation and mission. Possession of the land enables the Jewish people to fulfill their divine vocation of bringing the knowledge and love of the one true God to the world. So Zion, though vital, is a secondary religious category for them. Their discussion will certainly open a discussion as to whether Christians need state sovereignty somewhere in order to fulfill their religious mission. It is a question we have not had to face since Constantine, but it may be on the horizon again. The Zionist-Christian dialogue will force the Christian participants to grapple seriously with the historical side of

their religious tradition as they come face-to-face with Judaism's sense of salvation in a communal and historical context.

Another question that will inevitably arise in the context of the Zionist-Christian dialogue is that of power. Irving Greenberg has devoted significant attention to this dimension of Judaism brought on by the re-emergence of the State of Israel. This is not a question, however, that Jews have had the opportunity to confront until the rise of the Zionist movement. Christians, with a far longer track record here, may be able to share some useful insights with their Jewish dialogue partners in this most central of issues.

Finally, the Zionist mystical tradition with regard to land will put Christians in touch with the Jewish sense of the sacramentality of the earth. This contact will help the churches overcome their frequently negative attitudes toward "the earthly city." As some scholars have shown, many of the insights of a person such as Rav Kook, one of the modern giants in Jewish mystical thought, stand in close similarity to those advanced by a Christian like Fr. Teilhard de Chardin, who devoted his life to trying to restore dignity to the realm of the earth.

From the above analysis, it should be clear that the exclusion of Zionism from the Jewish-Christian dialogue agenda seriously impoverishes the encounter. If Christians continue to insist on such an exclusion, they are in fact asking for dialogue with an emaciated form of Judaism and depriving themselves of a deeply enriching confrontation with their own faith perspective. Dr. Ruether, are you listening?

My profound gratitude to the officers of the Zionist Organization of America for giving me the opportunity to share these reflections. My blunt talk is merely the reflection of how important I consider the establishment of a serious, sustained and comprehensive Zionist-Christian dialogue to be. □

REV. JOHN T. PAWLIKOWSKI, OSM

Father John T. Pawlikowski is Professor of Social Ethics at the Catholic Theological Union in Chicago. The author of six books and of numerous articles dealing with Christian-Jewish relations, the Holocaust and Christian views of Israel, he was appointed by President Carter to the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, a post he continues to hold. Father Pawlikowski is a member of the Advisory Committee of the Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, a member of The National Council of Churches' Commission on Christian-Jewish Relations and a consultant to the International Council of Christians and Jews.

He is a member of the Executive Committee of the National Christian Leadership Conference for Israel and has visited Israel and the Middle East five times.

In 1986 Rev. Pawlikowski was the recipient of the Righteous Among the Nations Award from the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Detroit.

Christianity and Zionism

Rabbi Stephen Fuchs wisely has stressed the obligation of Jews to survive even in a hostile environment. That point is reinforced and takes on particular poignancy in a story, and it is not an apocryphal tale, of a Jew who had seen his wife and children murdered by the Nazis.

When he was placed in the hopeless environment of an extermination camp, he sought out a rabbi who would tell him that he had the moral right to commit suicide because his suffering was beyond human endurance. That Jew fully recognized the moral implications of suicide in the Jewish faith, and he felt that he could not resort to it without the support of a learned rabbi. He spoke to the rabbi, whom he found in the camp suffering alongside himself, about the fact that during the Middle Ages and the Khmelnitzky Rebellion, Jews had committed suicide when their suffering became so intense that life had become an unbearable burden. He spoke about the Jews of York who were besieged by a hostile Christian community, and who committed suicide rather than convert; apostasy was clearly the greater crime in the minds of those martyrs.

In response, the rabbi absolutely refused to agree that the Jew had the moral right to suicide, even though the suffering of all Jews was so intense as to be beyond belief, during the Holocaust. The rabbi pointed out that during the earlier persecutions it was the souls of the Jews that the persecutors wanted and that by conversion, the Jews would preserve their bodies but lose their souls. Under those circumstances, it was the duty of the Jews to resist forced conversion and apostasy even at the expense of their lives. During the Nazi persecution, however, it was the bodies and lives of the Jews that the persecutors hoped to destroy, and it was therefore the duty incumbent upon all Jews, regardless of their suffering, to frustrate their enemies and to survive. Suicide was therefore morally unforgivable in that context.

For any Jew, the very idea of Judaism without Jews or Jews without Judaism is a monumental travesty. Therefore, the connection made by Rabbi Fuchs that implies a



covenantal obligation for Jews to survive so that they can continue to perform God's will is central to Jewish thought. The Biblical phrase quoted by Rabbi Fuchs, *u'vacharta be'chaim* (and thou shalt choose life), implies precisely that obligation, and it cannot be minimized.

It is, however, perfectly clear that there is a rather imperfect perception of Zionism and the Zionist dream which has taken root within the Christian community. Many Christians who should know better simply do not comprehend the religious significance of Zionism. There are those within the Christian community to whom Father Pawlikowski referred who are positively opposed to Zionism, supposedly because it detracts from the possibility of fulfilling Arab national ambitions, and

because they feel that the role of Judaism and Jewry is best fulfilled by the communities of Jewry in the diaspora. That in itself involves a mistaken conception of Judaism and Jewry which presumes that the Jews have completed their role and mission, that they are simply a fossil survival of the past.

Zionists, however, believe that Jews still have a vital mission to perform in human history. Jews, as Jews, if they are to fulfill that mission and to contribute to mankind in a greater degree, must "choose life"; that is an obligation from which a Jew may not depart.

Much damage is done by the simplistic equation that balances Zionism against Arab nationalism. If that equation is to serve as the premise for an understanding of Zionism, we will arrive at completely erroneous conclusions, for it leads to the belief that the achievement of a Jewish state with internationally recognized sovereignty is the final goal of Zionism and that the moral elements of the Zionist dream may be cast aside.

For a committed Zionist, the very idea that Zionism achieved its final goal with the creation, or rather the resurrection, of a Jewish state is anathema. That is not said to belittle the importance of the achievement of a Jewish state that has empowered the previously powerless Jewish community that could not express its ideals. The concep-

“ . . . for many within the Christian community, even among those who would like to be sympathetic towards Zionism, there is an unfortunate gap in their acquaintance with the intellectual and conceptual framework of Zionism.”

tion of Zionism, however, involves the broader idea of a renaissance of the Jewish people. For all Zionists it is virtually an article of faith that the contributions of the Jewish people did not conclude in the past. Jews still have a great mission to perform and a contribution to make to mankind. That contribution, however, can be made only if there is a sovereign Jewish state that facilitates the development of the Jewish people.

What Father Pawlikowski has told us is that some Jews, and a great many non-Jews, do not understand the true dimensions of the Zionist dream, and they cannot appreciate the essential optimism that is at the heart of Zionism. The conception of a Jewish renaissance and the renewal of the Jewish mission and contribution to mankind is essentially an optimistic approach to the future. If there are some Jews, such as the Jewish professor (of whom Father Pawlikowski spoke) who came from the Hebrew University and pounded the table at the conclave at Rutgers University, who insist on the most anti-Zionist calumnies, it is because those Jews are pessimists who cannot believe in a Jewish renaissance which will benefit mankind. There are psychological explanations that are immediately apparent for such aberrations, if one is truly familiar with the case.

As a member of the Board of Governors of the Hebrew University, as well as a devoted Zionist, I am thoroughly familiar with the case that has been cited, and perhaps we ought to take a moment or two to explain the facts. The professor in question is a survivor of the Holocaust who witnessed the destruction of European Jewry, including his own family. In contemplating that experience, the professor was unable to discern any reason for such a horrible persecution, in which virtually all the non-Jews of Europe participated and during which there was virtually no helping hand extended to the tormented Jews. In his mind, the almost universal hatred and animosity towards Jews in particular must be explicable in terms of flaws within the Jew himself, rather than the result of distortions within gentile communities. Nevertheless, that individual survivor managed to come to Israel after the end of World War II, and there he studied chemistry and joined the faculty of the Hebrew University. Once again, however, fate intervened, and in a terrible accident in his laboratory he was horribly and permanently disfigured.

This final blow, for which the professor in question could discern no reason, confirmed for him the cruel fate in store for Jews because of the innate flaws that he claimed to detect within them. How else could that

professor, whose mind had been warped and twisted by the Holocaust, explain the cruel way in which he had been treated by fate? He, therefore, consoled himself with the belief that Jews deserved to be powerless, and that the State of Israel ran counter to the inevitable flow of history. He denied the concept of a Jewish renaissance and explained the future in terms of his pessimism. His problem is psychological, and it should not be taken as a point of departure for discussions between Zionists and Christians.

What is important, however, is the recognition that there are those within the Jewish community itself who are so-called minimalists in terms of Zionism. There is a long tradition for such minimalists, who are satisfied with less than total fulfillment of the entire Zionist program. In the decades before the Second World War many Zionist leaders had attempted to limit the Zionist dream to a cultural revival for Jewry, or to the creation of a new secular, collective society that was peopled by ethnic Jews, preferably irreligious. Many accepted the British interpretation that the Balfour Declaration actually promised a “homeland” that was not a sovereign Jewish state.

These Zionists believe that the creation of the State of Israel in 1948, with a Jewish majority settled on the land, in the Holy Land, witnessed the complete fulfillment of the Zionist program. For others who were more pragmatic, and we must include Ben-Gurion among them, the recognition of Israel as a sovereign state cast a glaring spotlight on the dichotomy between the new Israelis and the Jews of the diaspora who retained the citizenship of other lands.

The principal center of power among Jewry prior to the creation of Israel had been in the large, sometimes wealthy, Jewish communities in the diaspora which had supplied the “*Yishuv*” during the mandatory period; leaders of world Zionism had always come from the diaspora communities. After 1948, men like Ben-Gurion wanted to change that relationship, particularly with America—the last really great, free community of Jews that might compete with the Israeli leadership.

To accomplish that, Ben-Gurion, a thoroughgoing pragmatist, formally declared that the task of Zionism was at an end, and that it was incumbent upon all true Zionists to join the *Yishuv* immediately. At the same time, however, he arrived at an agreement with the non-Zionist American Jewish Committee whereby he virtually exempted American Jewry from any Zionist duties

and obligations and precluded encouraging aliyah from the U.S. That was purely a pragmatic, political move in the struggle for dominion in which Ben-Gurion was engaged with Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver and the American Zionist leadership.

The essential element that is clear from Father Pawlowski's address is that for many within the Christian community, even among those who would like to be sympathetic towards Zionism, there is an unfortunate gap in their acquaintance with the intellectual and conceptual framework of Zionism. Cut loose from that framework, they cannot comprehend the practical approaches of many Israeli leaders and other Zionists to the mundane problems of the modern world. Those who see Zionism as merely another forum of nationalism and identify all such expressions of nationalism, apart from those of the so-called Third World, as activist examples of anathematized, integral nationalism are in error on all counts. Zionism is a much greater and far different concept than integral nationalism, with its worship of the so-called *Volkisch* elements and appeal to the mythical ethnic ethos. If Zionism shares some roots with European nationalism, it is with the liberal nationalism of the Italian *risorgimento*, whose spiritual father was Mazzini. Even Ze'ev Jabotinsky, the spiritual forebear of the Likud and other parties in the Israeli political spectrum, spoke out in the most forceful manner against modern forms of integral nationalism, but he acknowl-

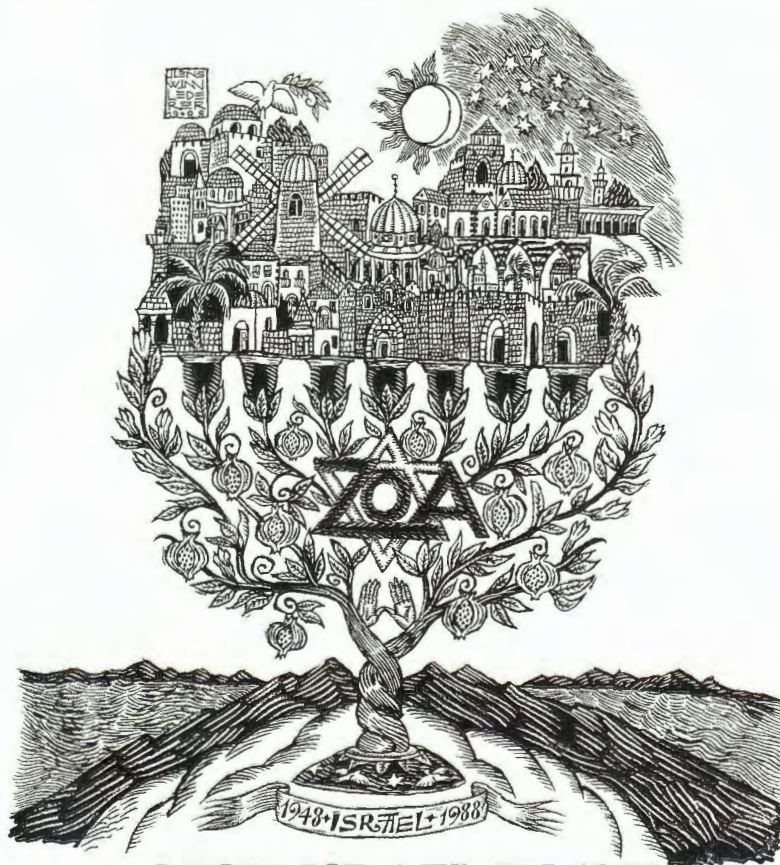
edged his debt to Mazzini and the liberal nationalists.

Nevertheless, liberal nationalism, as has been pointed out, is only a small part of the Zionist conception. The most important part of the Zionist conception is the belief in the progress of man's condition. Intellectually, Zionism has operated on a very high plane, and while it does not espouse a simplistic doctrine of the perfectability of mankind, it does argue that it is certainly within the power of men to improve the condition of mankind. That process of improvement, and the role of Jewry in the struggle for that improvement, is what is meant by Zionism. All of the vile canards to the opposite are simply false and slanderous. Zionism is optimistic, and it shares the highest moral imperatives of man. A Jewish sovereign state is the vehicle for that renewed Jewish mission. □

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VISIT ISRAEL IN 1988

No Suicide for Israel

It happens to everybody from time to time. We believe certain things about a matter of important controversy and we say them. But when we hear the same points made by others, we become queasy and know something is wrong or missing.

Many of us have been saying the same things about Israel: Israel cannot go on forever being an occupying power. Jews must not break bones. Israeli use of force against young Palestinians is costing her support around the world. Israel must enter negotiations on Gaza and the West Bank.

Right, right. But sometimes when I hear or read these points, which I have made myself, made over and over by others, I find myself deeply uneasy. It is not because there is no validity in them, but because so often they are presented empty of the historic realities that brought about the crisis and must be understood to find a way out. This is an attempt to set down the political, military and historic truths that raise fears about the road that many American intellectuals, journalists and senators are demanding Israel take.

Causes: The critics' implication is that the cause of the current crisis is Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's opposition to an international conference and his refusal to agree in advance to cede West Bank territory.

This is not true. The cause is 40 years of Arab refusal to accept the existence of Israel, 40 years of furious hostility and military attempts to destroy her.

You do not have to like Mr. Shamir to realize that if the Arabs had accepted Israel in the beginning or for 20 years thereafter, all of the West Bank and Gaza and other territory would today be part of a Palestinian state.

If you believe that the very existence of Israel is anathema, you are right to see her policies as the root cause of the Mideast ugliness. Otherwise not.

Occupation: Some critics also act as if it were Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza in 1967 that led to so many years of unrest and skirmishing there.

This too is a historic distortion. It was the Arab countries that seized Gaza and the West Bank, which were to be part of the Palestinian state under the 1947 U.N. partition plan, and occupied them for 20 years—not in peace but with constant harassment and attack against Israel.

Finally Israel struck back. Her unhappy occupation of the West Bank is a result, not the cause, of aggression—Arab aggression.

Negotiation: With whom and for what? The U.S.

proposes an international conference with the Big Five participating. Since Britain and France are cool to Israel and the Soviet Union and China are hostile, the chicken is being invited to negotiate under the sponsorship of four foxes and a lame dove. To think the major powers would not pressure Israel for Arab advantage is not only naïve but black comedy.

It is not the Big Five Israel must live with, but the Palestinians, and other Arabs. Which Arab states have promised to negotiate directly with Israel? None. Which Arab leaders are criticizing Palestinians sworn to the elimination of Israel? Where are the "moderate" Palestinians who can swerve the young men of Gaza and the West Bank away from seeking Israel's death?

Stakes: Israel is fighting for survival. The Arab states are fighting out of anti-Israel hatred and fear of the Palestinians. The young Palestinians are fighting for a new Palestinian state because they hate the ruler of a present state with a Palestinian majority: Jordan. They plan to eliminate King Hussein one day and swallow Jordan as part of their own single Palestine.

As things stand, any ceded West Bank territory will become a *de facto* state run by the P.L.O. and other Palestinians sworn to destroy Israel. Those young Palestinians would not be hurling stones from their territory but rockets.

Solutions: Open pressure on Israel to make concessions must be accompanied by open pressure on the Arabs. Palestinians must accept totally and clearly the right of Israel to live forever, secure and in peace. The U.S. and the Arab leaders can achieve this and guarantee it, if we have the will and they the courage.

Mr. Shamir may not promise in advance to cede "territory for peace." That is what direct talks are for.

But the definition of peace cannot mean Palestinians continuing war to the death. And they too must feel hard pressure to do some ceding, specifically of their demand for another Palestinian state in a region where one already exists, and to negotiate in peaceful stages for the eventual goal: a single Jordan-Palestine.

Americans have a right to criticize Israel. They have a right to suggest solutions—but not the suggestion of suicide. □

A.M. ROSENTHAL

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"Talking 'Terrorism'" at Stanford

How, at the end of the 1980s, would we expect a great American university to celebrate the centenary of its founding? More specifically, how would we expect such a university to honor its humanities faculty in a celebration of this sort? Is it conceivable that the university would welcome, as one of several honored lecturers, the legal counsel for the notorious Baader-Meinhof gang, and listen to a philosophical defense of its murderous activities? Is it conceivable that it would invite, as the keynote speaker, a PLO apologist like Edward Said to lecture on the perfidy of the United States and Israel? Or that it would call upon a radical journalist like Christopher Hitchens to discuss

American "propaganda" and the "terrorism" of the contras in Nicaragua? Is this what the study of the humanities has come to signify at Stanford?

As odd as it may seem, this is precisely how the humanities were represented when the university played host in February to "Talking 'Terrorism': Ideologies and Paradigms in a Postmodern World," one of a series of conferences the university has scheduled to mark its centenary in 1991. But then, this has not been a very good year for the humanities faculty at Stanford. It is currently embroiled in a furious debate over whether to change its undergraduate "core" reading list to include more non-Western, non-white, and non-male writers. The current list was introduced in 1980, twelve years after the faculty abolished a more coherent Western civilization requirement during the heyday of student unrest in the Sixties. This mini-history of abolition, timid restoration, and renewed attack perfectly encapsulates the ebb and flow of ideological battle in American higher education. What "Talking 'Terrorism'" revealed, among much else, was the extent to which that battle has already been lost, and what this defeat will mean to the future of the American university.

"Talking 'Terrorism'" was held from February 4 to 6 at Stanford's School of Education. But before entering the main auditorium, one was required to pass through a lobby filled with displays. Two banks of television



screens showed repeating sequences of films, including interviews with terrorism experts. The tendency of these interviews was clear from the fact that the experts spent much of their time urging viewers to read certain books, particularly Noam Chomsky's analyses of world affairs, such as *The Real Terror Network*. Between the banks of screens another large screen showed stills of rioting Palestinians, marching Sandinistas, Chinese Red Guards and other enemies of "Western imperialism." An occasional flash of Winston Churchill holding a gun helped to hammer home another message: that the real terrorists, as Chomsky argues, are the United States and other Western governments, and that

what we normally call terrorism is, in fact, a justified response to merciless and brutal repression—repression for which we, as citizens of the West, are supposedly responsible. The Churchill shot (dating from the British general strike of 1926 when, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, he advocated the use of force against illegal pickets) added the extra point that Western state terror is long-standing; indeed, that modern Western democratic capitalism is intrinsically terroristic, and attempts to destroy it are not merely understandable but worthy of support. There were also videotapes on offer in the lobby, providing what the organizers presumably considered a reasonable selection of information about the subject of terrorism. Of the five tapes listed in the brochure I saw, three were by the well-known anti-Israeli journalist, Monica Maurer, and contained the single message that Israeli occupation policy is uniquely violent and terroristic. Maurer, in fact, has made her own the Palestinian accusation that the Jews of Israel are doing to them what the Nazis did to the Jews. Another tape defended the Peruvian Shining Path, possibly the most brutal and ruthless political group in the world since the Khmer Rouge perpetrated their atrocities in Cambodia in the 1970s.

In this welter of exculpation one did miss one aspect: there were no tapes justifying terror by right wing groups; no pleas for an understanding of the Italian neo-

fascists who are supposed to have placed the bomb that killed eighty-four people in the Bologna train station in 1976, or of Argentinian or Salvadoran death squads. Can it be that these types of terrorists, whose subjective sense of wrong is presumably as great as that of their progressive fellows, do not have the sympathetic ear of the media? Here, surely, is a rich vein to mine for a future conference on "Talking 'Terrorism.' "

Given that the lobby displays were so overtly about political violence itself—and in defense of certain forms of such violence—it was remarkable that only one speaker during the conference directly addressed the matter. (This was Jaime Castro, a former Minister of Justice of Colombia, who concluded that force was no solution to the problems of his unhappy country.) Apparently the organizers intended the lobby displays only to set the scene, to provide a comfortable framework of ideas and notions within which to locate the more sophisticated offerings inside.

On the opening night, the provost of Stanford, James Rosse, offered a general welcome, congratulating the audience on foregoing two other major attractions on campus that night: a basketball game and a lecture by Anthony Lewis. Then the main organizer of the conference, Beverly Allen, a professor of Italian at Stanford, told us that terrorism, like literature, is a "cultural artifact," and that the purpose of the conference was to "study the effects of terrorism as a concept." To do so, we needed "calm thought." We also needed to "refuse to take part in extended systems of victimization." This, presumably, was an allusion to the work of the keynote speaker, Edward Said, who, with another of the speakers, Christopher Hitchens, recently published a furious attack on Israel and the Jews entitled *Blaming the Victim*. The meaning of the title is that the Jews have successfully put over on the gullible West the notion that the Arab Palestinians have only themselves and their fellow Arabs to blame for their predicament, whereas in reality the fault lies with the Jews, whose presence in the Middle East—that is, the State of Israel itself—is the fruit of imperialist aggression and violence. Why was the West so gullible? Because, Said and Hitchens claimed, it shared with the Jews of Israel an inveterate need to destroy and oppress others for its own profit and power.

Said and Hitchens might take some comfort in the fact that this analysis is clearly no longer relevant: starting on the Left in the early 1970s, European governments and public opinion have increasingly supported the Arabs and opposed the Jews, and with the latest conflict in the Israeli-occupied territories there is good reason for Said and Hitchens to hope that the same will happen in the United States. To admit victory, however, would deprive them of a certain notoriety. Indeed, Said's chief claim to fame is that he is a leading spokesman for a group of "victims," namely, the Palestinian Arabs; he takes pride in being a member of the governing body of the PLO, the Palestine National Council. His career, furthermore, marvelously demonstrates the potential

profits of victim status: an endowed chair at Columbia, six-figure job offers from Harvard and Stanford, and innumerable invitations to write, lecture and appear on television.

If Said had given a talk on how to become rich and powerful in the intellectual world by appearing as a victim, he would have provided a more authentic and possibly more entertaining "keynote" than the one he in fact did deliver, which was an attack on what he alleged was the typical propagandistic use of the word "terror" by Western governments. Still, his talk and indeed the entire conference, did throw an interesting light on current strategies of mobilization and indoctrination in the academy. These depend crucially on one's ability to occupy the role of victim and to denounce one's enemies as more powerful than oneself.

Said began his talk, entitled "Identity, Negation, and Violence," by ridiculing the notion that the United States was justified in bombing Libya in April, 1986. Of course, he maintained, Libya was not behind the bombing of the Berlin discotheque that offered the pretext for the raid: the United States used the popular identification of terrorism with Islam for its own anti-Arab purposes. There existed in America, he went on, an industry of terrorism, an apparatus of self-styled experts on the subject who claimed to be objective, but who in fact served "to shield the U.S. from any examination of its own routinely barbaric brutalities." Among such brutalities were Israeli actions which would cease immediately if the U.S. were to stop military aid; by maintaining such aid, he said, we abet Jewish state terrorism.

In general, according to Said, the effect of the U.S. in the world was almost wholly pernicious and an offense against decency and morality. "Our side," as Said sarcastically called it, was "generally more violent" than the rest. Therefore, it was *trahison des clercs* for any person with claims to intellectual integrity to work for the U.S. Government in any capacity whatsoever. The place of such a morally superior person was the university, which therefore had the noble mission of "housing oppositional clerics."

Having painted this picture of overwhelming U.S. power and viciousness, Said offered an explanation for it. The American media, he told us, were tame and loyal servants of U.S. propaganda (an assertion that might surprise, not to say offend, Dan Rather or Sam Donaldson). American government propaganda entered into an unholy symbiosis with the media, he claimed, generating spurious standards of good and evil in the world and systematically suppressing the arguments in favor of those who are depicted as evil.

How could one overcome this massive power? One way, Said explained, was to move forward in the academy along the path of "postmodernism," by which he appeared to mean a rejection of any notion that there is (or should be) agreement on what values are important or what traditions ought to be taught in universities. He

expressed much satisfaction at the progress that had been made so far: core curricula, for example, were finally on the way out. Unfortunately, he acknowledged, there were certain reactionaries abroad in the land who did not like these developments and were uncomfortably popular for denouncing them: Allan Bloom, E.D. Hirsch, and Secretary of Education William Bennett. Here, Said, to his audience's unconcealed delight, became sarcastic, alluding with artful pauses and throat-clearings to "Bennett's—ah—[suppressed giggle]—ah—expostulations [laughter and applause]."

Rarely can the status of victim have been a more satisfying one than at that moment, since attacking Bennett in that audience required possibly less courage or skill than spearing fish in a barrel. But Said's cleverness does raise again the question of the strategy behind all of this talk, and behind the attack on content in higher education. Said himself, you see, is an educated person; he, personally, will not suffer from curricular incoherence or from the new doctrine by which what were formerly called "great works" are now to be banished or else judged by the imputed value of the race or sex of their authors. He will not suffer, nor will other privileged people like him. Those who certainly will suffer, though, are the millions who naively believe that when a university offers an undergraduate education, it intends to educate, to provide a ballast of knowledge that can be used to make judgments in politics, in culture, in life. Without that ballast students are easy targets for indoctrination by the likes of Said, with his tales of American evil. And that, I suspect, is the purpose behind the enterprise to debunk standards and to revise the curriculum.

Said's fellow author and comrade-in-arms, Christopher Hitchens, picked up the thread the next day. Terrorism, Hitchens asserted, is a word without meaning, like "witchcraft;" it is an accusation impossible to defend against. Its only use is in a "state strategy of propaganda." Guess whose?

"I do not believe that one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter," Hitchens emphasized, insisting that he was merely an innocent bystander trying to figure out what all those government types really mean when they say "terrorism." He had asked, he said, a number of "terrorism experts" to define "terrorist" in a way which would be neither tautological nor vacuous nor a synonym for "swarthy opponent of U.S. foreign policy." In fact, he got a very good answer from several people: namely, that terrorists deliberately use murderous force to inspire fear. Hitchens nowhere addressed this definition, however, merely passing it by as yet another attempt at propagandistic obfuscation.

In 1986, he went on, all of America was seized by "terror phobia." Lest we should wrongly think that this phobia was caused by Libyan bombs in Berlin discotheques and the like, Hitchens assured us that in fact the "phobia" was deliberately engineered by that mysterious but apparently all-powerful entity, the U.S. govern-

ment propaganda machine. A year later, we saw that the "terror industry" had collapsed; this collapse showed that "its short-term political utility was at an end" so that "the concept [terrorism] was simply dropped from the state agenda of which it had once formed a part."

Hitchens then spent much energy denouncing the "appalling declension" of standards of public discourse which allowed and encouraged American propaganda to paint its enemies as "terrorists." For example, *The New Republic*, the "moral journal of record of the Reagan administration," had described a massacre in 1984 at a synagogue in Istanbul as "an example of the kind of action of which Jean-Paul Sartre would have approved." Unfortunately for Hitchens, *The New Republic* was right, since Sartre, in his notorious preface to Frantz Fanon's *The Damned of the Earth* (1961), advocated "progressive" violence against colonizers. The attack in Istanbul was on Jews, who Hitchens quite often appears to regard as intrinsically reactionary and hence, on Sartre's principles, fair game for violence.

The word terrorism, Hitchens concluded, was an impoverishment of language. "There are other words to describe the people who do the things terrorists are supposed to do," he said. For example, "one who slits the throat of an unarmed civilian prisoner and then buries him alive while inviting an American photographer to record the scene" was the definition of a contra. "One who wages war on a democratic government in the hope of making it less democratic: fascist, anarchist, Stalinist," but the latter "only in a specific historical period." It did not occur to Hitchens to include "Communist" in the list of types of people who "wage war on a democratic government" in order to turn it into a tyranny; yet no group in modern history has done this more often or with more success than Communists, starting with Lenin and his band in Russia in 1917. Hitchens was nice enough to add that his definition of "contra" was "mischievous" and intended merely as an attack "on the pervading self-righteousness." What, however, shall we say of the ineffable self-righteousness of Christopher Hitchens, a self-righteousness marked by aristocratic disdain for America and a fawning admiration of her enemies? His not-so-genteel "Arabophilia" and anti-Semitism, which he displayed to the full in his contribution to *Blaming the Victim*, is in the noble tradition of Harry St. John Philby and his famous son, Kim.

Hitchens granted one permissible use of the word terrorism, the use indicated by Chomsky ("a man I greatly revere") in *The Real Terror Network*. The point of that book was that the United States is the source of all evil, that its government and people are intrinsically terroristic, and that violent resistance to them is justified. Hitchens found it in himself to praise this and another work of Chomsky's as "great examples of the dethronement of hypocrisy."

In his peroration he ranged far, even managing to insult the victims of the revolutionary terror in France—the terror that, as the reader may recall, was not afraid to

speaking its name. "One aristocratic head under the knife," Hitchens asserted, "was real terror in a way that a thousand peasant bodies broken on the rack the year before were not. That was not terror, that was normality." Apart from being sarcastic at the expense of the memory of thousands of Frenchmen, aristocrats and otherwise, whom the revolutionaries killed merely because of their surname, their place of birth, or some chance remark they made, Hitchens' comment was also

“. . . the United States is the source of all evil . . . its government and people are intrinsically terroristic.”

an ignorant one. There were very few "peasant bodies broken on the rack" in the years before the Revolution; indeed, harsh penalties were causes for popular indignation and complaint. If the *ancien régime* had been as harsh as Hitchens thinks, there would not have been a revolution in France, but that's another story.

In order, perhaps, to bring the conference closer to the practice of terrorism, the organizers offered a third star speaker. This was Ulrich Preuss, a leader of what his introducer described as the West German equivalent of "Critical Legal Studies." The introducer was referring to the academic movement led by American radical lawyers who maintain that there is no such thing as justice—that the law is, and can only be, a political instrument to enforce the agenda of those who are in power. Like the American colleagues to whom the introducer compared him, Preuss holds a prestigious and well-paid position in the academic legal profession of his country.

What the introducer did not say was that Preuss had been, in the 1970s, among the legal counsel of the Baader-Meinhof gang, that group of high-spirited and impatient youth who, from 1968 to 1972, and with the logistical support of various Arab and East European regimes, committed numerous murders and other acts of violence against the citizenry of European countries before they were caught and clapped in prison. Due to a desire on the part of the West German authorities not to appear in any way to hamper the prisoners' civil and human rights—a desire ironically at odds with the gang's own denunciations of the West German state as no better than the Third Reich—the security at the prison was so lax that Baader, Meinhof, and friends continued to administer, from their cells, an extensive terror network which, between 1974 and 1977, committed a series of further murders. These murders failed to achieve the desired result, namely, the release of the prisoners, who accordingly committed suicide out of

what can only be described as petulant frustration in September 1977.

All that, Preuss assured us, was far away and long ago; while still sympathetic to the romantic impulses of Baader and his friends, Preuss could not "share their path" and so must now be content to travel the world first class to do what his predecessors in German legal philosophy did fifty years ago, which was to explain, with much metaphysical fanfare, why innocents had to die to satisfy the spiritual longings and political despair of German youth.

Preuss's talk was in some ways the most honest of them all; here, indeed, was a self-avowed friend of people most of us called terrorists, getting up to justify what they did in the guise of a philosophical explanation. His method was ingenious. He began by locating the essence of terrorism in "meanings and symbols," not in the mere amount of violence or the number of victims. In case we had forgotten what Said and Hitchens taught us, Preuss hastened to remind us that all moral implications of acts of terror were "imputed by official institutions" of one kind or another. Terrorism differed from violence in general by its "political quality," which was "the threat of the use of violence to create public fear that reaches the level of a challenge to the legitimacy of political authority." In the face of this challenge, the state usually adopted a double and only seemingly contradictory strategy: on the one hand, it criminalized acts of terror as simple acts of violence, punishable under the criminal law. That strategy told the people that the terrorists were no serious challenge. On the other hand, it often overdramatized the threat from terrorists to mobilize the people in support of repressive measures which might then be used indiscriminately against any perceived enemy.

Preuss at this point referred to one of his most illustrious, if also most notorious, predecessors in German legal thought, namely Carl Schmitt (1888-1985). Schmitt is the theorist of the "state of emergency" who is best known for his defense of Hitler's dictatorial measures after the Nazi takeover, which he said were justified by the extreme threat of civil war in Germany. Some years before those events, Schmitt had made a name for himself by his notion that the essence of "the political," that is, of political and state activity, was the distinction between friend and enemy—a distinction, Schmitt maintained, analogous to that in aesthetics between the beautiful and the ugly and in ethics between good and evil. He claimed that in traditional international relations, before the era of ideology which began in the nineteenth century, states waged war upon each other without the desire of mutual annihilation. The "enemy" in those days was simply "the other," who had to be defeated and restrained but not destroyed. Modern ideology, according to Schmitt, introduced a moralistic element, turning the morally neutral enemy into the morally evil "foe" whose eradication was a moral duty. Thanks to ideology, not only did wars become far more

terrible precisely because they now included this element of moralism, but so also did domestic conflicts, which tended to become civil wars.

So far, not only is Schmitt's analysis acceptable, it arguably contains the seeds of a masterly interpretation of modern history. The problem for Schmitt on the Right and for Preuss's former friends on the Left—although Preuss himself would never say so—was that they all adopted the new moralism for themselves; they turned themselves into parties in the universal civil war. And once they did so, they of course saw their own side as uniquely moral and the other—that of democratic governments—as uniquely evil.

After the allusion to Schmitt, Preuss waxed almost poetic and spoke of the "tragedy of terrorists," imprisoned by their own obligation to be what Marx called the "heart of a heartless world." They began with a simple belief that the working class must rise and conquer the world. When the working class failed to do so, despite their urgings, they were reduced to the tragedy of "making themselves into the messianic subject of history." Their terrorism, finally, was a kind of "political theology," reflecting "the unsupportable gulf between what the terrorists know to be the right order and the means to achieve it."

It is worth pausing a moment to reflect on Preuss's rhetorical strategy, which differed so strikingly from the sarcasm of Said and Hitchens, with its winks at the audience and general sense of collusion. Preuss achieved his purpose of arguing the moral superiority of left-wing terrorism by taking what appeared to be an objective, Olympian view, that of the philosopher of history who understands but does not condemn. It was sometimes hard, amidst all of this rhetoric, to hold fast to the two most important facts about the real subject under discussion: that terrorists kill innocents on purpose; and that they intend the destruction of Western democracy.

A useful antidote to the pernicious nonsense of "Talking 'Terrorism' " is to be found in a new book by Jean-François Revel entitled *Le Terrorisme Contre la Démocratie*. The title, in a way, says it all: that terrorists are the enemy of democracy, which is really all the normal citizen should need to know about them. But because of the deliberate and hypocritically partisan elucubrations of people like Said and Hitchens, the normal citizen may need more. He may need to be armed against the "persistent belief, notwithstanding the masses of information to the contrary, that in essence, despite some exceptions, it [terrorism] is the weapon of the weak against the strong, the final argument of the oppressed against the dictators." This, *pace* Said and company, is a lie. "Whatever may have been the case in the past, today terrorism in its quasi-totality has become a weapon turned against the democracies. It does not matter whether it has the clear aim of destroy-

ing them: the results are there, and the statistical reality speaks for itself." Most important, Revel adds:

The spread of terrorism from country to country is inversely related to each country's repressiveness. . . . The Peruvian Shining Path chose to go on the attack in 1980 the very day of the first democratic elections in that country in almost two decades. . . . In seven years, the Shining Path killed about 10,000 people out of a population of 19 million. . . . In Europe, the Basque country offers a striking example of terrorism progressing in direct proportion to the progress of democracy. . . . There is a technical reason to prefer practicing terrorism in the democracies: it's easy. And there is a political reason: more than other regimes, they are vulnerable to threats. . . . In addition, one should not underestimate the diffuse hatred of the democratic and developed world, precisely because it is democratic and developed, nor should one underestimate the dexterity with which the Soviet Union and its clients are able to attract this hatred and turn it toward their own geostrategic ends.

As if anticipating Said's and Hitchens's contention that terrorism is only a propagandistic label because our violence is much worse, Revel makes the concise point: "The distinction between legitimate and illegitimate violence does not hang on the personal opinions of the terrorist but on the nature of the regime he is attacking and of the society in which he operates." Revel concludes most devastatingly with a remark that even Hitchens, with his legendary ability to evade hard questions, might have trouble with: "How can one compare the resistance fighters of old who gave their lives to restore democracy to the violent of today who take the lives of others for its destruction?"

What lessons can one draw from an event like "Talking 'Terrorism' "? Three come to mind. The first surely is that the condition of our culture and in particular of our universities must be truly pathetic if one can take it completely for granted, *and be right*, that a university conference on terrorism arranged by professors of the humanities will exonerate progressive terror and condemn the policies of democratic states as themselves terroristic. The second is that the American academic Left has apparently shed the last vestiges of its liberal façade, its former commitment to at least the pretense of open debate. Its new approach, although arrogant, must conceal a fundamental insecurity if even in front of a tame audience the Left dares not take up the cudgels and have it out in public with a strong opponent like Revel. Sidney Hook, who is writing elsewhere about the Stanford event, asked the organizers why there was no one to represent a point of view different from that of Said, Hitchens, and Preuss. The answer he got was: "Well, you are welcome to ask questions."

It is as though the Left has lost the courage of its earlier convictions in direct proportion to the power it has gained in American academe. Now, when no one can seriously threaten its power, it refuses to enter the battle of ideologies. Twenty years ago, the Left prided itself on

being the party of ideas, the party of originality, and above all the party of good intellectual debate and fun. Now it is the party of stuffy orthodoxy, of paralyzed timidity of mind, and of desperate, puritanical seriousness. And this timidity goes along with a hardening of attitudes, a rapidly increasing intolerance, and an overt surrender of any notion that intellectuals are or should be part of the liberal tradition. The strategy is remarkably simple. By denying that the Western cultural tradition is either useful or valuable, you absolve yourself of any obligation to be either tolerant, fair, or logical in what you do, since an important part of that tradition is the respect for opposing viewpoints and for logic and rigor in argument.

The third lesson of "Talking 'Terrorism' " is that this anti-intellectualism in the humanities today, exemplified by activities such as the conference, will inevitably have—indeed, already has had—a terrible effect both on students and on the culture at large. Students learn that all scholarship is political, and that to study the humanities is to commit oneself to a particular ideology. They learn, also, that what is important is not the worth of an argument or the record of Western cultural history itself but rather the political position, the race or sex or the power of those who make the arguments. Students do not learn to make the most elementary political or philosophical distinctions, distinctions they need to be able to make whether their own preferences turn out to be radical, liberal or conservative. To make such distinctions takes, in the first place, knowledge; and it takes the powers of reasoned reflection and mature judgment that humanities departments formerly prided themselves on supplying. They no longer supply them, because to do so would be to deliver to students the intellectual tools that would lead to a questioning of radical orthodoxy.

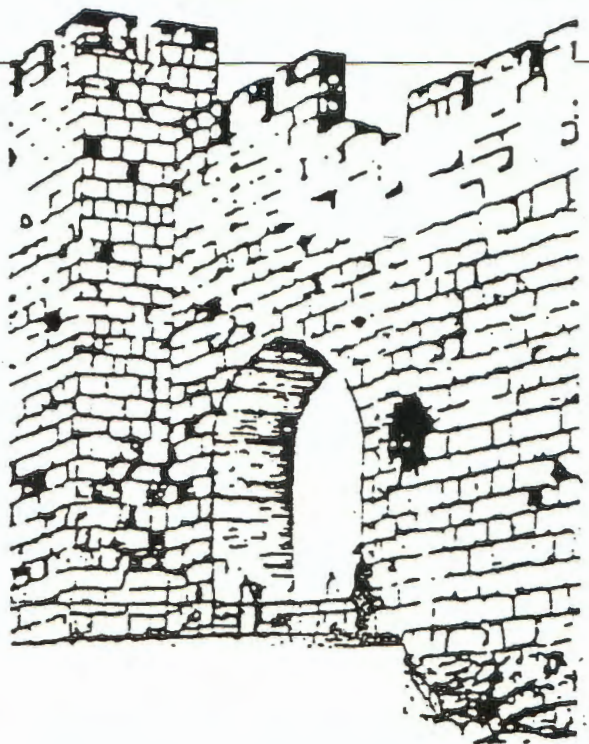
What we have in the humanities today is not pluralism but the threat of a dogmatic monopoly—a monopoly not of radicals genuinely committed to presenting viewpoints that otherwise might not be heard but of anti-intellectual radicals masquerading as what Said called "oppositional clerics." The irony is that Said was right; the universities do indeed have a duty to protect "oppositional clerics." But they are not doing so. Instead, their administrators, trustees and faculty are busy dismantling what little remains of humanistic higher education in America and replacing it with a one-dimensional view of man and of culture that tolerates no opposition.

The anti-intellectual hegemony is a fact. The question of what should be done in response remains. □

DAVID GRESS

David Gress is Senior Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University, Stanford, California.

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Books

The Yellow Wind

by David Grossman

Translated by Haim Watzman, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, New York, NY 1988, 216 pages, \$17.95.

Reviewed by Rabbi Jack Riemer

"An army can fight an army; an Army can't fight a people," says Shlomo Avneri, and this book, which was written before the riots began on the West Bank in December, gives grim testimony to the truth of his statement.

Had this book appeared in English translation before December, it would have prepared us to understand the riots that have been going on since then, for it enables us to enter the hearts of these young people who are now throwing stones. It enables us to peer inside their psyches and to learn what they think and feel. It is not a pleasant sight.

David Grossman is a thirty-four year-old Israeli journalist and novelist who was commissioned by an Israeli magazine to spend a season on the West Bank interviewing Arabs on the eve of the twentieth anniversary of the Six-Day-War. He went because he had a sense that he and most Israelis have very little comprehension of what life is like for these people who live just a few kilometers away. When his report came

out, that issue of the magazine sold out in just a few hours and it became the subject of fervent dispute and debate. What Grossman reported was that behind the *kefiyah* and behind the placid expression that they wore when they came to work, there was a burning hatred waiting to explode. Now it has.

Grossman tells of his visit to a nursery in which Arab children, who have never been inside Israel and whose parents have never seen the inside of Israel, are taught to fantasize about what it is like "back home." A two-year-old points a stick at him and says: "bang!" "Who do you want to shoot?" the teacher asks indulgently, and the child answers: "Jews." Grossman met school teachers who tell him that their students have nightmares in which the Jews appear to them as monsters, and then he met school teachers among the Jewish settlers on the West Bank who tell him the very same thing: that they have children who have nightmares in which the Arabs are the monsters.

To read this book is to feel both the agony of the Arabs who writhe under occupation and the anguish of the Israelis who are locked in an unending conflict with them, a conflict which is sapping the strength, the sanity and the moral character of them both.

This is a deeply moral book because its author is able to perform the hardest of all acts: He is able to put himself into another person's situation and to understand what the other is going through. He listens to these children who are being brought up on an unending diet of fantasy and on an eternal promise of eventual return, and he hears in their words an echo of the "Lishana Haba Biyirushalayim" which kept Jewish souls alive for so many centuries. He sees these refugees whom no one wants and no one knows what to do with, who have festered for so many years in these dreadful camps, and he sees in them parallels to his own grandparents who were once refugees with *peklach* on their backs, wandering around Europe

from one hostile land to another. He sees these people and the indignities that they go through, the body searches they must endure whenever they cross the Allenby Bridge and all the rest, and he feels for them. And he sees the young Israeli soldiers, hardly more than teenagers themselves, who have to stand guard over them, who have to search them and subdue them and his heart goes out to them as well, for this occupation takes its toll on them just as it does on the Arabs.

The one flaw in this book is that Grossman nowhere faces up to what may be the most realistic conclusion from his findings. If all there is on the other side is pure hatred, total hatred, endless hatred, and if there is in the Arab world no capacity to do what Grossman has done, namely, to imagine oneself in the situation of the other, if it is too late, and if the hatred by now is too deep to undo, and if the fantasy is really for a return to Tel Aviv and Haifa and not just to autonomy and independence side by side with Israel—I almost don't dare finish the sentence—then what hope is there for any kind of peace?

In the end, peace will not be made by determining borders or by legal protocols alone. Peace will only come when enough people on *both* sides are able to do what David Grossman has done and achieve an act of imagination and of empathy. We hope and pray that David Grossman's powerful book, which is surely one of the most vivid works about what life is really like in Israel that has come out in many a year, will help the Israelis realize and comprehend what life is like for the Arabs. And even more fervently do we hope and pray that there will soon emerge a book like this one from the other side, that there will soon be an Arab David Grossman, who will be able to comprehend and to convey to his people the dreams and the nightmares, the hopes and the fears, that the Israelis have. When a book as good as this appears within the Arab world, and when it is read and responded to as widely there as this

one has been in Israel, then there will be hope that Jews and Arabs will be able to begin the dangerous but necessary journey to empathy and reconciliation and peace.

Till then, we have this book: grim medicine that must be taken.

Pollard: The Spy's Story

by Bernard A. Henderson
Alpha Books, New York, NY 1988,
202 pages, \$19.95.

Reviewed by Rabbi Jack Riemer

The first reaction of most American Jews when they heard that an American Jew had been arrested on charges of spying for Israel was anger with Israel. How could they have done such a stupid thing? How could they have put us into such an embarrassing situation?

But now, two years later, a different mood is to be found in our community. There is no excusing what the Israeli bureaucrats did, but there is much more concern about what the American government is doing. The sentence, and the subsequent treatment of the Pollards, seem to be a ruthless vendetta, out of all proportion to what they did, or to what others who have done much worse than they did, have received.

A marine who shared military secrets with the Soviet Union while on duty at the American Embassy in Moscow got off with a light reproof. The Walker brothers who sold military secrets to the Soviet Union for

personal profit will become eligible for parole. Wives who were complacent cooperators with their husbands in subversive activities for many years were never arrested or even indicted. But the Pollards were and are being given the severest possible treatment for reasons that are very hard to understand.

Casper Weinberger personally intervened to urge the judge to give Jonathan Pollard the maximum sentence. Pollard and the Israeli government both cooperated fully with the investigation, and yet he was given no leniency in exchange for his cooperation. And now we hear reports that he is being pressured in prison to name leading American Jews as collaborators. He has been kept in solitary confinement and has had ten months in a psychiatric ward even though the head of the Social Service Department of the prison admits that he is not mentally ill. "There are other reasons," he says, "for keeping him there."

And most serious are the reports we keep hearing about the state of the health of Anne Pollard. We hear that she is suffering from biliary dyskinesia, a rare gastro-intestinal disorder that requires surgery and intensive care. Physicians have submitted evaluations that make clear that she cannot survive prison conditions much longer, but these evaluations are being ignored. We hear that she has lost more than sixty pounds and that she lives in constant untreated pain, that she can no longer walk or stand. Photos of her and interviews with her are forbidden; but other prisoners report that she is desperately ill. What is going on here? Is she being tortured in order to pressure her husband into confessing or into naming people who are not guilty? And is the American Jewish community being bludgeoned into disassociating from Israel or into accepting the administration's view on Israel?

This book, by Anne Pollard's father, is the first one out so far about this couple who are already being compared to Dreyfuss and to the Rosenbergs, not in what they did,

but in how they are being treated. At least two more books are on the way: one by Leonard Fein and one by Wolf Blitzer. All three of these books will raise the same questions, questions not only about what the Pollards did or what Israel did but about what the American government is doing and why. Putting political prisoners into psychiatric wards is something that we are accustomed to hearing about in the Soviet Union, not in America. Pressuring prisoners to confess and to name others is something that we associate with the Russian show trials and not with the American system of justice. It is becoming more and more clear that the Pollards have been singled out for especially cruel treatment for reasons that must be investigated. Anne Pollard should be released into the hands of those who can give her proper medical care. And there has to be an independent examination, with a new judge, to review the whole case—and soon. For it seems to be becoming ever more evident that it is the American system of justice, and not just American security, that has been compromised and violated in this case.

Years later, people who at the time were caught up in the frenzy of the Dreyfuss case, or the Rosenberg case, must have looked back with embarrassment at what had taken place. And so it is with this case. The Pollard case is not going to go away quickly, and therefore this book, with all of the documentation that it contains, has to be read and the questions that it raises must be faced up to—for America's sake as well as for theirs.

JACK RIEMER

Jack Riemer is the Rabbi of Beth David Congregation in Miami. He is the editor of Jewish Reflections on Death and the co-editor of Ethical Wills: A Modern Jewish Treasury, both published by Schocken Books.

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ZOA's 90th Anniversary National Convention In

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Convention Program Highlights

Sunday, July 3

Gala Opening Ceremony
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Masada Youth

President Chaim Herzog

U.S. Ambassador Thomas Pickering

Jerusalem Children's Choir

Simcha Dinitz, Chairman,
World Zionist Organization

Milton S. Shapiro, Presidential Report

Monday, July 4

Foreign Minister Shimon Peres

Jewish National Fund Tree Planting

Special Dedications at

Kfar Silver Campus

July 4th Celebration—

Barbecue and Fireworks

Tuesday, July 5

Trade Minister, Ariel Sharon

Savyon Country Club for Cookout

ZOA House, Tel Aviv—

Entertainment with famous Artist

Wednesday, July 6

Mayor Teddy Kollek of Jerusalem

Israel Defense Force Choir

Democratic and Republican

Party Representatives

Business Session

Jewish Unity Banquet

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir

Thursday, July 7

Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin

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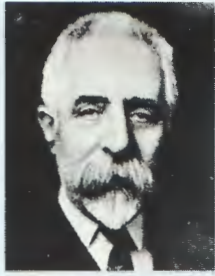
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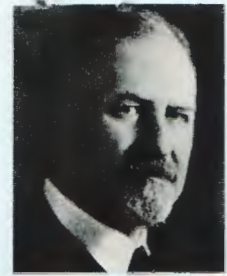
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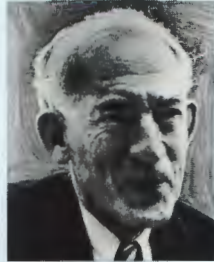
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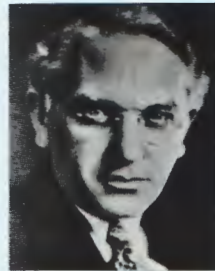
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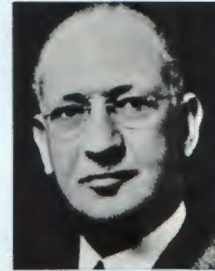
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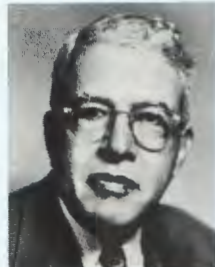
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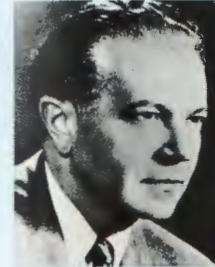
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JERUSALEM—JULY 3-7, 1988

Dear Friend:

Forty years ago, many of us were uplifted by the establishment of the State of Israel. All of our lives were changed. We can take great pride in our part in Jewish history. Today, foresighted, concerned Jews who participate in Israel's momentous events will be able to look back in later years and know that they helped. They earned a place in Jewish history.

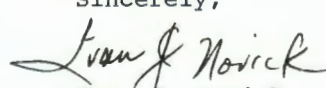
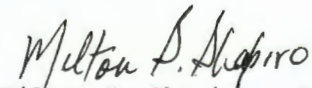
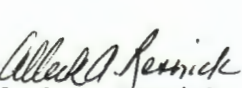
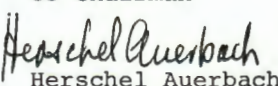
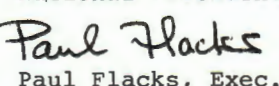
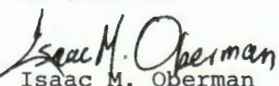
Israel needs your presence to feel reassured that American Jews continue to care and that Zionists, in particular, care even more today about the welfare of the State and her citizens.

We make this special personal appeal to you. The first thing for you to do as a concerned Jew and active Zionist is to go to Israel. Not only for its vacation value (that's a bonus) but for a much deeper reason. Israel needs your presence... NOW!

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Israel needs you! You need Israel!

Sincerely,

		
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MEMORANDUM FOR:

Mr. Paul Schott Stevens
National Security Council Staff

FG 006-12

SUBJECT:

Alerting NSCS on Presidential
Correspondence

Enclosed is the original of a letter to President Reagan from Israeli Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Shimon Perez which is transmitted for your information.

This correspondence was received in the Information Management Section of the Executive Secretariat on June 3, 1988. A copy has been assigned to the appropriate bureau for action.

Director, S/S-I
Information Management Section
Executive Secretariat
647-3836

Thank you for warm welcome to Washington

NSC # 8804137

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EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.

שגרירות ישראל
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A0/1149

June 2, 1988

Dear Mr. President:

I have been asked by Mr. Shimon Peres, Vice Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, to transmit to you the following message:

"Dear Mr. President,

I am writing to you out of a sense of deep appreciation for your warm welcome and for the meaningful discussion we had during my visit to Washington. In the course of our talks, I had yet another opportunity to witness your dedication to the cause of global peace, especially in the troubled region of the Middle East. Peace has been the theme of your administration, and you, Mr. President, will surely be recorded in the annals of history as one of the greatest builders of world peace and stability.

The peoples of the Middle East are turning their eyes to the summit meeting this week, with the belief that it will bring new hope for the solution of the long-standing conflict.

Hundreds of thousands of Jews in the Soviet Union also look upon you as their ray of hope, their torch of liberty. They, too, will follow with prayer your talks this week. The attainment of your goals may be the difference for them between continued darkness and the opportunity to fulfill their religious and cultural heritage.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

(sd)

Shimon Peres"

Sincerely,



Oded Eran
Charge d'Affaires ad interim

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

8817508

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ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 8804137

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RECORD ID: 8804137
RECEIVED: 06 JUN 88 11

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: PERES, SHIMON

DOC DATE: 02 JUN 88
SOURCE REF: 8817508

KEYWORDS: ISRAEL
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MIDDLE EAST

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: LTR TO PRES FM VICE PREMIER PERES RE APPRECIATION FOR WARM WELCOME
DURING RECENT US VISIT

ACTION: FOR RECORD PURPOSES

DUE DATE: 09 JUN 88

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RODMAN
ROSS
ROSTOW

COMMENTS:

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ W/ATTCH: YES NO

OPENED BY: NSEF CLOSED BY: NSEF DOC 1 OF 2

UNCLASSIFIED

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

CE 074

my
INCOMING

PY

8825322

DATE RECEIVED: AUGUST 08, 1988

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: MR. GEORGE R. MOSES

SUBJECT: EXPRESSES CONCERN ON THE DEATH OF AMERICAN
CITIZEN REBHI BARAKAT KAID, OF A HEART ATTACK
WHEN ORDERED BY ISRAELI SOLDIERS TO PAINT
OVER GRAFFITI ON A SCHOOL WALL

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY (STAFF NAME)	ACTION		DISPOSITION	
	ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
RUDY BESERRA	ORG	88/08/08		<u>C88/8/22</u>
<i>State</i> REFERRAL NOTE: _____	<u>A</u>	<u>88/08/25</u>	<u>TR</u>	<u>88/08/30</u> <i>MS</i>
REFERRAL NOTE: _____				
REFERRAL NOTE: _____				
REFERRAL NOTE: _____				
REFERRAL NOTE: _____				

COMMENTS: _____

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: _____

PL MAIL USER CODES: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

- *****
- | | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---|
| *ACTION CODES: | *DISPOSITION | *OUTGOING | * |
| * | * | *CORRESPONDENCE: | * |
| *A-APPROPRIATE ACTION | *A-ANSWERED | *TYPE RESP=INITIALS | * |
| *C-COMMENT/RECOM | *B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL | * OF SIGNER | * |
| *D-DRAFT RESPONSE | *C-COMPLETED | * CODE = A | * |
| *F-FURNISH FACT SHEET | *S-SUSPENDED | *COMPLETED = DATE OF | * |
| *I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC* | | * OUTGOING | * |
| *R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY * | | | * |
| *S-FOR-SIGNATURE * | | | * |
| *X-INTERIM REPLY * | | | * |
- *****

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT-2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT.

UNCLASSIFIED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8825322

Date August 31, 1988

FOR: Mr. Paul Schott Stevens
Executive Secretary
National Security Council
The White House

REFERENCE:

To: President Reagan

From: Mr. George R. Moses

Date: August 3, 1988

Subject: Expresses concern on the death of American citizen
Rebhi Barakat Kaif

WH Referral Dated: August 25, 1988
NSC ID# (if any): 587029

 The attached item was sent directly to the
Department of State.

ACTION TAKEN:

 A draft reply is attached. .:

 A draft reply will be forwarded.

 A translation is attached.

X X An information copy of a direct reply is attached.

 We believe no response is necessary for the reason
cited below.

 The Department of State has no objection to the
proposed travel.

 Other (see remarks).

REMARKS:

for *by Salpini*
Director
Secretariat Staff

UNCLASSIFIED

WHITE HOUSE

88 AUG 1 11:30

SITUATION ROOM

SECRET (See Remarks)

Approved: [Signature]

The following information is being furnished to you for your information:

On August 1, 1958, the following information was received from the [Source]:

[Source] advised that [Information]

[Source] advised that [Information]

[Source] advised that [Information]

EXHIBIT

Department of State:

The following information was received from [Source] on [Date]:

[Source] advised that [Information]

[Source] advised that [Information]

[Source] advised that [Information]

REFERENCE

The following information was received from [Source] on [Date]:

[Source] advised that [Information]

[Source] advised that [Information]

88 AUG 1 11:30

SECRET

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE
 DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 WASHINGTON, D.C.



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

August 30, 1988

Mr. George R. Moses
President
National Association of Arab-Americans
2033 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Mr. Moses *George*

I have been asked to answer your letter to the President about Rebbi Barakat Kayd, the Palestinian American who died on the West Bank last June in an incident involving Israeli soldiers.

We deeply regret the death of Mr. Kayd, and our Embassy in Tel Aviv has raised this tragic incident with the Israeli authorities. We have requested an investigation and a thorough explanation of what happened. Our consulate in Jerusalem has been in touch with Mr. Kayd's family and is assisting in every appropriate way. We have been seeking statements to help in the investigation from witnesses and from the family. We will continue to follow the case closely.

As you know, it is a matter of public record that we oppose Israeli practices in the occupied territories which violate international standards and are counterproductive to Palestinian-Israeli reconciliation. The Israeli Government is well aware of our views, and we will continue to make them known if the situation warrants.

Sincerely,

Edward S. Walker
Deputy Assistant Secretary
Bureau of Near Eastern
and South Asian Affairs

8825322

T H E W H I T E H O U S E O F F I C E

REFERRAL

AUGUST 25, 1988

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED:
APPROPRIATE ACTION

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 587029
MEDIA: LETTER, DATED AUGUST 3, 1988
TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN
FROM: MR. GEORGE R. MOSES
PRESIDENT
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF ARAB
AMERICANS
SUITE 300
2033 M STREET
WASHINGTON DC 20036

SUBJECT: EXPRESSES CONCERN ON THE DEATH OF AMERICAN
CITIZEN REBHI BARAKAT KAID, OF A HEART ATTACK
WHEN ORDERED BY ISRAELI SOLDIERS TO PAINT
OVER GRAFFITI ON A SCHOOL WALL

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE, 20500

SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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Rudy Beserra

587029



8825322

August 3, 1988

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Reagan:

The ugly death of an American citizen in the West Bank should be a source of public outrage from our elected officials, yet our government's all-too-familiar silence in the face of Israeli human rights violations has reached deafening proportions.

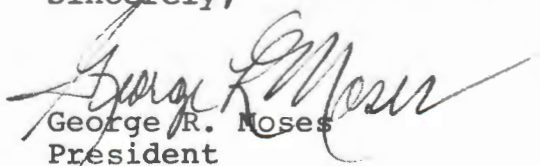
The Washington Post reported today that Rebhi Barakat Kaid, 67, a Palestinian American from Columbus, Ohio, died of a heart attack when Israeli soldiers ordered him and his grandson to paint over graffiti on a school wall near their home. Press accounts quote his son, Jamal Kaid of Columbus, as saying, "He told them he had a bad heart, that he needed medicine, that he was a US citizen. The soldiers said, 'No, we don't care if you are Ronald Reagan. It is us who command here and you will do what we tell you.'"

Forced to climb steps, and refused permission to take his medicine, Kaid collapsed and died. This is how Israeli occupiers have treated Arabs for more than twenty years. This is how they treat Americans. This is how they would treat you, Mr. President.

As Arab Americans, we are painfully aware of the double standard, maintained by Israel and supported by our government, which implies that an Arab's life is worth less than that of an Israeli, that isolated acts of Arab terrorism are to be condemned while institutionalized policies of Israeli terrorism are to be subsidized with US tax dollars; that the violent death of a Jewish American, Leon Klinghoffer, is to be mourned while the equally violent death of an Arab American is to be ignored.

We are outraged by the death of Rebhi Kaid. We urge you to publicly condemn this incident, and others like it, and Israel's repeated pattern of human rights abuses against Palestinians as well as Palestinian Americans. Your immediate response is necessary; the family of Mr. Kaid deserves to know that our elected officials value the lives and welfare of all American citizens.

Sincerely,


George R. Moses
President

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