



ISRAEL NEWS

A collection of the week's news from Israel
A service of the Bet El Twinning Committee of
Beth Avraham Yoseph of Toronto Congregation

Quote of the Week...

"Nearly ten years ago, we gathered here to express our opposition to the new-born Oslo Accords. We said that Arafat cannot be trusted, and that the PA would never fight terrorism, and that we must not trust the PLO to protect our lives. We warned that the PLO had not given up its plan to defeat Israel in 'stages,' and we pleaded with the government not to give them guns, and we warned that Jewish blood would flow in the Holy Land. What was the reaction? 'Rabbis, go back to your synagogues and yeshivas, and leave these issues to the people who really know - leave it to the military men, and the politicians, and the poets, and the talk-show hosts, and the other opinion-makers...' But we all now see the truth! We know now how right we were, and how wrong they were! I say to the press: Read all the garbage that you wrote in the last ten years, and realize that the rabbis were right!...Mr. President [Bush], you earned well-deserved admiration for your courageous and just actions in Iraq - but here in Israel, you have faltered. Deep down in your heart of hearts, you know that there is absolutely no difference between Bin Laden and Saddam Hussein and Yasser Arafat! Only all-out war can crush what you called the 'axis of evil.' We call on you: Don't become the George Washington of a terrorist state alongside Israel! Please, listen to the words of the rabbis. Don't repeat the same mistakes of the last ten years...Mr. Prime Minister [Sharon]: Don't do it! We're not occupiers - this is our very own land! Tell the world the Land is ours! Open up a Bible and read it to them - they'll respect you for it. No one has the right to give away this Land, as it is ours in the past, present, and future. Mr. Prime Minister: Don't travel that road!" - Rabbi Sholom Gold of HarNof, Jerusalem, speaking at the gathering of over 400 Rabbis on Tuesday. (IsraelNationalNews.com Jun 24)

This week's issue is sponsored in recognition of the final passing on Wednesday of the **Equity in Education Tax Credit**, establishing Ontario Government funding for non-Catholic denominational schools for the first time in history. Thanks are due to all of the communal leaders who worked so hard to bring this to fruition, and to the Progressive Conservative Party of Ontario, and especially Premier Ernie Eves, Associate Minister Tina Molinari (Thornhill) and Ministers David Young, Jim Flaherty, Tony Clement and Janet Ecker. Recognition should also go to MPP Monte Kwinter, who broke ranks with his Liberal caucus and supported the resolution.

and to his great credit he came up with one: His 6/24/02 speech was a dramatic paradigm shift. Speaking over Arafat's head directly to the Palestinian people, Bush said a choice must be made: You can have terrorism and the dream of destroying Israel, he said. Or you can have independence, security, freedom, and democracy. But you cannot have both. In the aftermath of 9/11, the United States will not help create another corrupt, terrorist-

sponsoring dictatorship.

Over the past year, however, Bush's clear statement of principle and purpose has been muddled by the so-called Quartet < the United Nations, the European Union and Russia collaborating with the US State Department. They came up with a so-called Road Map that is less a guide to achieving Bush's 6/24/02 vision than a detour back to Oslo, a return to the so-called peace processes that have so disastrously and lethally failed in the past.

Consider the President's key messages a year ago today, and compare with the reality:

"My vision is two states, living side by side in peace and security."

That vision is still not shared by any Palestinian leader in the West Bank and Gaza < not even Mahmoud Abbas, the new Palestinian Authority prime minister. None of them is yet willing to say he accepts the permanent existence of Israel as a Jewish state. If they did, they'd have to give up their demand that Israel absorb millions of Palestinians < the so-called Right of

Return which would make Jews a minority in the state whose very purpose was to be a Jewish homeland.

"There is simply no way to achieve that peace until all parties fight terror."

So far, Abbas has made no attempt to fight terror. At most, he's been willing to talk with terrorist groups about temporary ceasefires that would be to their advantage < it would give them time to regroup and reararm. *"Peace requires a new and different Palestinian leadership, so that a Palestinian state can be born."*

There really is no "new" Palestinian leadership. Mr. Abbas candidly admits that he answers to Mr. Arafat. He has no independent power.

"I call on the Palestinian people to elect new leaders, leaders not compromised by terror."

Mr. Arafat is, of course, deeply compromised by terror. And Mr. Abbas was

not actually elected by the Palestinian people.

"A Palestinian state will never be created by terror < it will be built through reform. And reform must be more than cosmetic change, or a veiled attempt to preserve the status quo. True reform will require entirely new political and economic institutions, based on democracy, market economics and action against terrorism."

There's been no real reform and, again, no action against terrorist. The status quo has been preserved. Within hours of President Bush's Middle East meeting with Messrs. Sharon and Abbas, the Al Aksa Martyrs Brigade took part in a lethal attack on Israelis. And Al Aksa is, of course, part of Mr. Arafat's Fatah organization, of which Mr. Abbas also is a senior leader.

"Today, Palestinian authorities are encouraging, not opposing, terrorism. This is unacceptable. And the United States will not support the establishment of a Palestinian state until its leaders engage in a sustained fight against the terrorists and dismantle their infrastructure."

Mr. Abbas does not publicly encourage terrorism. But, as noted, there has been no sustained fight against terrorist groups, let alone any attempt to dismantle terrorist infrastructures. And Mr. Arafat, continues not only to encourage but also to sponsor terrorism in open alliance with Hamas and

Commentary...

Unhappy Anniversary By Clifford May

One year later, the roadmap is leading not to peace but to the past.

If one definition of mental illness is doing the same thing over and over and expecting different results < e.g. "this time the door will break, other than my head" < than by 2002 American policy in the Middle East had become deeply neurotic.

Administration after administration, Republican and Democratic alike, had attempted to implement the same plan: Make the Israelis again agree to give up land and stop fighting terrorists, then hope the terrorism will stop and the Arab world will accept a Jewish state.

I never happened < not even when, at Camp David in 2000, then-Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak flat-out offered Yasser Arafat an independent state in the West Bank and Gaza. Arafat simply could not declare the war against Israel over; he could not accept the existence of a permanent homeland for the Jewish people in the Middle East.

A year ago today, President Bush recognized that it was time for a new idea

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Islamic Jihad. Incitement continues, too. The official television of the Palestinian Authority still broadcasts music videos encouraging Palestinian children to become suicide bombers. Just last Friday, clerics on the PA's payroll called for the destruction of the Jews and praised Palestinian mothers for raising their children to kill Jews < as they have most Fridays for years. Under these circumstances, the Quartet's support for the establishment of a Palestinian state both contradicts and defies President Bush's clearly articulated policy.

"As new Palestinian institutions and new leaders emerge, demonstrating real performance on security and reform, I expect Israel to respond and work toward a final status agreement."

Based on Israeli polls, it's clear that as those institutions and leaders emerge, Israelis will be eager to respond. Mr. Sharon has already shown his good will by releasing prisoners (including mass murderers of Israelis and, by the way, Americans < who have been welcomed as heroes by Mr. Arafat).

"All who are familiar with the history of the Middle East realize that there may be setbacks in this process. Trained and determined killers, as we have seen, want to stop it."

Surely, the way to eliminate those trained and determined killers is to $\$$ well, eliminate them. Yet every time the Israelis attempt to do that the State Department scolds them, arguing that removing terrorists determined to stop the peace process damages the peace process. By what possible logic?

A year ago today, President Bush saw a new way to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict. It was based not on moral equivalence or demands that Israel again trade its scarce land and precarious security for vague promises. It was based on an end to terrorism, on each side accepting the other's right to exist, and on achieving real freedom for the Palestinians through political and economic liberalization.

A year later, it's time for the president to insist that those whose paychecks he signs finally put aside the failed policies of the past and pursue his vision instead. (National Review Online June 24)

The writer, a former New York Times foreign correspondent, is president of the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies and an NRO contributor.

Palestinian Words since Aqaba More Telling than Deeds

By Itamar Marcus

"Planting fear among the enemy is the exalted and holy meaning of terror." This glorification of Palestinian terrorism by former minister Imad Faluji appeared in Al-Hayat al-Jadida, the official Palestinian Authority daily on June 9, just days after the Aqaba summit.

Faluji went on to explain that suicide bombings are justified. "We are not terrorists, if the meaning is unjustified killing..." therefore, every murder of Israelis is legitimate: "We do not regret what we have done"

The pattern developing in the Palestinian media since the road map is strikingly similar to the pattern that evolved under the Oslo process. During the years 1993-2000, when the PA was not actively involved in terror and, in English, was expressing the desire for peace, its leaders indoctrinated their people with horrific hatred of Jews and Israel.

The Oslo process demonstrated that both the PA's refraining from violence and its English- language peace promotion are valueless as indicators of PA ideology and intentions.

What the Palestinians have been saying to their people in Arabic, however, has proven a most accurate indicator of PA ideology and behavior, with impeccable predictive value.

As early as 1996 Nabil Shaath openly laid out the terms of this violent conflict when he said in Arabic that the PA would return to more effective violence "using the 30,000 rifles" they received as part of the Oslo Accords.

Today it is essential that Israel judge the Palestinians' compliance based on the only proven reliable indicator: their Arabic language media and education.

Significantly, the PA incitement to hatred has finally been officially recognized as an integral part of the problem. At Aqaba all three leaders expressed the necessity of ending incitement, with President George Bush saying, "Progress toward peace also requires an end to violence and the elimination of all forms of hatred and prejudice and official incitement."

Sharon worded it thus: "There can be no peace, however, without the abandonment and elimination of terrorism, violence, and incitement."

Even Abbas said, "We will also act vigorously against incitement to violence and hatred."

However, in practice, as Faluji's glorification of terror indicates, the incitement pattern is continuing under the road map. In his article Faluji went so far as to say that the Palestinians' success in "planting fear among the enemy" via their "holy terror" was not merely important politically but was a fulfillment of Allah's directive in the Koran "to frighten the enemies of Allah, and your enemies."

Defining Israel as the enemy of Allah is not just a nasty slur. It is a continuation of the dangerous PA anti-Semitism that has consistently stigmatized the Jews as the inherently evil enemies of God and therefore worthy of destruction. This definition, which caused Jews appalling suffering for thousands of years, transforms the killing of Jews from an immoral act into a religious obligation; it has been a consistent component of Palestinian incitement to murder.

ONE OF the most dangerous aspects of PA education has been the brainwashing of Palestinian children, which continues daily through a most insidious means: music videos.

While music videos around the world are used to entertain children, the PA has been using them to indoctrinate children to hatred, violence, and even the desire to die fighting Israel. Their literal message is that even for kids "Shahada (death for Allah) is sweet."

A new Palestinian video clip that has been broadcast regularly since January, and especially since Aqaba, includes a variety of abhorrent scenes acted out by Palestinian actors.

It opens with a girl laughing on a swing, which turns into a flaming inferno, which then engulfs a child's rocking horse as well. The message: Israelis firebomb children at play, leaving behind flaming swings and rocking horses. Children are then shown playing football, until a bomb hidden by Israel inside the ball explodes when a child kicks it. Then a father reads his young son a section from the Koran that calls for fighting enemies, and actually hands him a stone to throw. Actors then depict

Israeli soldiers murdering an elderly man by shooting him in the head; this is followed by a mother and her infant being blown up by Israeli soldiers.

All this and much more is depicted on one video, set to music for Palestinian children.

Even when an opinion appears in the media calling for an immediate halt to terrorism it never rejects terrorism as a legitimate tool. Ahmed Qurei (Abu Ala), a man seen by Israel as a legitimate, even moderate, PA leader, explained his call to stop suicide terrorism as a way of reaping the fruits of what he sees as a successful campaign: "I personally am in favor of stopping these actions [suicide bombings] and in favor of letting the peace process return to its natural course because I believe the present intifada has brought great achievements and we now have to take the benefits" (Al-Hayat al-Jadida, June 1, 2003).

The Friday sermon, for years a source of horrific incitement to hatred of Jews, continued with the same hate messages this past week: "Allah, take revenge against our enemies Take [destroy] the Jews and their helpers..." One sermon glorified the shahada (used by the PA to define suicide terrorism) and included a lengthy call specifically to mothers to send their sons to die for Allah: "Alkhansaa [a woman who converted to Islam at the time of Muhammad] gave her four sons encouraged them to go out to jihad, to fight the enemy, and told them: 'Go to battle so that God will honor me by you...' Alkhansaa got news of their death as shahids [martyrs] and said 'Praise to the Lord, who honored me with their being killed'

"By means of belief, the Palestinian nation succeeded in fighting this oppressive military mechanism for over 50 years The women of Palestine have succeeded in making the enemy anxious when news is received of the death as a Shahid of a mother's son, and she expresses the shrill sounds of joy" [PA TV June 13, 2002].

The continued glorification of the shahada gives ongoing reassurance to hesitant suicide bombers that their planned murder-suicide is worthy and heroic.

One of the primary reasons for the tragic results of the Oslo process was Israel's refusal to believe the Palestinian Authority's beliefs and goals even when they were stated openly. It was difficult for Israeli leaders and media to fathom that while we were educating our children to peace the PA was teaching children in their summer camps to shoot rifles, slit throats, and throw Jews into the sea.

Every outrageous PA statement that didn't fit into Israel's neat world view of the PA was justified, explained, rationalized, and ultimately dismissed. More than once Israel's lame political response was turned into ideology by Shimon Peres: "I don't care what the PA says. I care what it does."

Now we know that Peres had it backwards. What the PA "does" is often tactical like the hudna (cease-fire) being debated today. But what it says in Arabic it truly means.

Today, in Arabic, it does not yet recognize Israel as a Jewish state and continues to incite hatred, violence, and shahada even as it tries to arrange a cease-fire to "take the benefits" of the successful war that has planted "fear" in the hearts of Israelis.

We made the painful mistake of ignoring what the PA says once. Let us not make the same mistake again. (Jerusalem Post Jun 20)

The writer, director of Palestinian Media Watch, was Israel's representative to the Tri-Lateral [Israeli-Palestinian- American] Anti-Incitement Committee.

Israel Is Just Too Jewish, That's the Problem By Shmuley Boteach

This week marks the 40th anniversary of one of the great orations of the 20th century, president John F. Kennedy's Berliner speech, delivered before one million people on June 26, 1963.

For nearly 50 years, the world looked upon West Berlin as the front line of democratic struggle. The United States and its allies were prepared to fight a nuclear war to guarantee its freedom a point made repeatedly in Robert Dallek's new Kennedy biography, *An Unfinished Life*.

Why risk the incineration of what JFK's military chiefs told him could easily be 70 million Americans over a small territory 100 miles deep within communist-controlled East Germany? Because he knew that maintaining the free status of Berlin was the ultimate test of the West's ability to resist Soviet aggression.

But there is no substitute for the way JFK himself expressed it: "There are many people in the world who really don't understand what is the great issue between the free world and the communist world. Let them come to Berlin And there are some who say in Europe and elsewhere we can work with the communists Lass' sie nach Berlin kommen. Let them come to Berlin."

I visited Berlin last month as a speaker at the Ecumenischer Kirchentag (Ecumenical Churchday), a 200,000-strong biannual religious gathering sponsored by the German government, where I was pleasantly surprised to discover that God is not completely dead in Western Europe. As I walked in Berlin and explored Cold War relics like the Berlin Wall and Checkpoint Charlie, I could not help but think of Israel.

Doesn't everything that JFK said about Berlin in 1963 apply to Israel in 2003? Is Israel not the front line in the Western world's war against Arab tyranny and Islamic aggression? Indeed, the word Israel is easily substituted for Berlin throughout the speech. And there are those who say in Europe that we can work with Arab dictators. *Kdai lahem lavo la'aretz*. Let them come to Israel.

"I know of no town, no city, that has been besieged for 18 years that still lives with the vitality and the force, and the hope and the determination of the city of West Berlin You live in a defended island of freedom, but your life is part of the main."

Sound familiar? Israel has been an island of freedom in a swamp of Arab despotism for more than half a century. And whereas approximately 180 East Berliners were killed by the communists throughout the 45-year history of the Cold War trying to escape to the West, Israel tragically loses that number to Arab terrorists every few months.

Why is Israel's status as an island of freedom not obvious to the rest of the world? Why do most nations excoriate Israel for its heroic fight for liberty and survival against the growing Arab menace? This question is especially compounded when the Arab terrorists who once exclusively killed Israelis are now threatening Westerners wherever they can be found.

I believe that the Jewish people have fundamentally failed at framing the Arab-Israeli conflict in its proper context. Whoever came up with the term "Arab-Israeli conflict" in the first place? "Clash of civilizations" is far more appropriate. Like the Western democracies that stood up to communist totalitarianism, the Arab-Israeli conflict is a fight to the death between two systems. One is open, democratic, life-affirming and free. The other is closed, autocratic, filled with death and martyrdom, and imprisoned. And while it may sound sacrilegious in the wake of the Holocaust, in a modern historical context Israel is West Berlin and the Arab countries East Berlin.

The time has come for Israel to fundamentally reevaluate its prospects for survival. Obstructed in every way by other nations from defending itself, and pressured into ceding land vital to its security, Israel is slowly losing its battle with the Arabs. In more than half a century of Israel's existence, Arab hostility has vastly increased rather than subsided.

Israel's unparalleled humanity, transcending by far that of the Allies of World War II who simply flattened the cities of their enemies makes it impossible for Israel to fully stop Arab human bombs. And while Israel may assassinate some of the terrorist leaders, 1,000 like-minded killers quickly take their place.

Likewise, Israel is losing the public-relations battle but then, why would we expect a world that for 2,000 years has looked at Jews as a problem to suddenly grow sensitive to the taking of Jewish life?

Even on the American front the tide seems to be turning, with the strongly pro-Israel Bush Administration pressuring Israel to dismantle settlements and negotiate with a Palestinian authority that supports and shelters terrorists.

I BELIEVE that Israel's survival is dependent on the nations of the world taking a selfish interest in its future. Once Israel is destroyed, Turkey's democracy is next. And just wait until there is no more Israel, and Islamic radicals start scapegoating England and France for all their problems. It's the

domino theory brought up to date.

The reason the nations do not yet see Israel as the first line of defense, or as vital to their own survival, is that Israel is too Jewish.

Israel should help the world recognize its place as a global bastion of freedom by welcoming sizable numbers of non-Jews, particularly those facing political oppression and forced starvation in their native countries. To be sure, Israel must always preserve its Jewish majority; a vast increase in the Israeli birthrate, in addition to aliya, would be a great start.

Likewise, Israel must of course retain its undiluted Jewish character. But England, for example, is a Christian democracy whose head of state is also head of the Church of England. It has large and vibrant non-Christian communities. Why can't Israel be a Jewish democracy that has a sizable Somali or Rwandan population? I would love to see tens of thousands of Congolese, for example, four million of whom have died in their country's civil war over the past few years, join the brave settlers in building communities in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The Black Hebrews are a case in point. Arriving in Israel in 1969 out of a love for the land and a belief that they were God's chosen people, they at the same time sought to escape what they perceived as American unfairness to Blacks. Would that thousands more non-Jews would come to Israel to share the blessings of freedom with the Jewish people.

To be sure, some Black Hebrews arrived with criminal backgrounds, others entered illegally, and during tension with the government in the 1970s others engaged in anti-Israel activity and propaganda. But there are rotten eggs in every group, and the impression made here in the United States when Whitney Huston and Bobby Brown visited the Black Hebrews recently was of a community that fled American racial injustice and found a home in democratic Israel.

Israel regularly encourages large groups of Christian fundamentalists to visit the Holy Land. Why not encourage them to stay (with the understanding that they are there to live with their Hebrew brethren rather than proselytize)?

All of us are weary of the images of torn and mangled Jewish bodies blown to smithereens by Arab terrorists. But the world will not begin to show sympathy so long as it perceives the dead as usurper Jews who stole Arab land.

With Israel emerging as a bright beacon of universal emancipation, the nations of the world might begin to realize that just as every speck of light is needed to combat darkness, every inch of land is needed to safeguard liberty.

The writer's nationally syndicated radio show can be heard daily on the Talk America radio network. A best-selling author, his newest book is The Private Adam: Becoming a Hero in a Selfish Age. (Jerusalem Post Jun 26)

Shuffling the Deck By Joseph Fried

"As light is the opposite of darkness, so is peace the opposite of evil."

(Isaac Abarbanel)

"By three things the world is preserved by justice, by truth, and by peace and these three are one." (Jerusalem Talmud)

While the free world may be fortunate to have as its de facto leader a man who intuitively understands these fundamental maxims, they do not seem to be applied by him to Israel. President George W. Bush in his crusade to eradicate the scourge of terrorism recognizes that negotiation, compromise, ceasefires and appeasement not only do not deter the terrorist mindset but also in fact encourages it. Unlike the do gooders of this world whose belief system espouses empty slogans such as "peace now" and "make peace not war", the President embarked on a mission to eliminate the perpetrators of evil. Sadly Israel is prevented from doing likewise by President Bush.

The President demanded, several weeks after 9/11, the surrender of the terrorists by the nations that harbor them, stating, "These demands are not open to negotiation or discussion". Six months later, April 2002, the President's campaign continued undeterred: "Terror must be stopped. No nation can negotiate with terrorists. For there is no way to make peace with those whose only goal is death." Just last month Vice President Cheney echoed these sentiments "With such an enemy, no peace treaty is possible, no policy of containment or deterrent will prove effective...the only way to deal with this threat is to destroy it completely and utterly, and President Bush is absolutely determined to do just that." The President and his administration have remained steadfast and unshaken, since 9/11, in its war on terrorism.

The American operation against Iraq had a stated goal "regime change". It meant the eradication of the Baath infrastructure. Thousands upon thousands have lost their jobs, due to their affiliation with the Baath party.

Not only Saddam, but his henchmen, bureaucrats and party apparatchiks are no longer in positions of power, for Bush appreciated that for peace to prevail evil must be completely and irreversibly erased.

To those of us who think of Israel constantly the election of President Bush, we thought, would be a breath of fresh air. The replacement of the Clinton administration, which perfected the art of moral equivalency in its handling of the Israeli Arab conflict, with one that distinguished between justice and injustice, truth and falsehood and right and wrong gave us hope that the damage of the Oslo debacle would be mitigated. Candidate Bush in his debate with Gore decried the concept of timetables in peacemaking. Likewise the Prime Minister of Israel had long been an opponent of setting deadlines. Sharon in his book *The Warrior* explained: "Extremely complicated situations simply do not respond to deadlines". Sharon long espoused the positions so firmly embraced by President Bush in respect of terrorism. One could not have selected for Israel a better package than Bush as President with Sharon as Prime Minister. With these men in power we convinced ourselves that Oslo was dead, Arafat was irrelevant and that there was in fact a light at the end of the tunnel. If as result of Oslo our enemies had moved the yardsticks to the Israel thirty-yard line, with the ascendancy of the Dream Team we felt we had made a dramatic comeback.

Alas, as is so often with Israel what applies to every other people does not to Israel. The Road Map, as the Wye Accords, was imposed upon an unwilling Israel. Israel attempted to have changes made over a period of months to no avail. Israel was told in no uncertain terms no changes would be entertained.

The Road Map, contradicts in every aspect the clearly enunciated lofty goals set by President Bush necessary for the attainment of justice, truth and peace. Moral equivalency is given new meaning: "Palestinian leadership issues unequivocal statement ... calling for an ... end ... to ... all acts of violence against Israeli anywhere" and "Israeli leadership issues unequivocal statement ... calling for an immediate end to violence against Palestinians everywhere." Timetables therein are so unrealistic they have already been breached. At the outset of Phase I of the Road Map the PA was obligated to issue an unequivocal statement "reiterating Israel's right to exist." Abbas at the Aqaba summit refused, despite the entreaties of Bush. A bit inconvenient for the President but of little concern as even the continuing murder and incitement on the part of the Palestinians will not derail the Road Map.

Fundamentally the Israeli position of attempting to make Arafat irrelevant, instead of dealing with him as the Americans would with Hussein or Bin Laden, was flawed.

The western world has rescued a discredited PA, preventing the defeat and replacement of the PA terrorist entity. With the appointment of Abbas, all traces of the bloodshed and havoc wreaked by the PA have been whitewashed. Israel has agreed to negotiate with the PA whose stated goal is the disappearance of the State of Israel despite the PA's obfuscation on this issue. The Road Map rewards terrorist activity, which in turn will only breed more of the same. By the end of December, 2003 the establishment of an independent Palestinian State is mandated. In 2004, only after the establishment of the State the difficult, contentious and intractable issues of permanent borders, refugees and Jerusalem are to be tackled. Couple this with Israeli confidence building measures of releasing murders of women and children and what conclusions can the enemy derive except that terrorism pays. Under such circumstances is there any doubt that the PA will never forswear terrorism.

Just as the tactics of the PA and Hamas may vary so too the tactics of Arafat and Abbas may vary. But unfortunately the ultimate goal of all these parties and personalities are the same. If Israel would, as it should, issue a deck of cards with Palestinian war criminals undoubtedly Abbas and Dahlan would be prominently featured.

Upon a thorough study of the Road Map it is clear that this is a document far worse than Oslo. If as a result of Oslo the PA was at one point on the Israeli thirty-yard line it is now within its ten-yard line. The Road Map rewards them with a State and implicitly recognizes the right of return of the refugees by incorporating the Saudi Plan. It is hard to see how the Road Map will not result in greater travesties than Oslo.

What is required in the Palestinian entity is a regime change. Regime change in Iraq did not mean replacing Saddam with his son Uday or with Tariq Azziz or any of the others 55 most wanted faces on the deck of cards. Declaring Arafat irrelevant is a mockery as he is very much the key member of the PA. Alleged replacement of Arafat with Abbas in no way fulfills the prerequisite found in the Road Map of the Palestinian "practicing democracy based on tolerance and liberty". The Road Map declares that it is "performance based"; we all know that only means Israel must perform and Abbas will be excused time and time again for the lack of PA performance.

Justice cries for the need to try each and every member of the PA and the leaders of each Palestinian terrorist group for they are all culpable of crimes against humanity. Truth demands that President Bush allow Israel to treat Arafat, Abbas, Dahlan and the PA no differently than he did Hussein and the

Baath party. For peace to flourish justice and truth must prevail. Substituting Abbas for Arafat is not regime change but a mere shuffling of the deck. Unfortunately when it comes to Israel President Bush's moral clarity is impaired.

The writer, a Toronto lawyer, is chairman of the One Israel Fund.

To Israel's Jewish Critics Jerusalem Post Editorial

Israeli Jews alone... and not American Jews are authorized to decide whether the welfare of Israel requires a peace initiative.... Whether the peace initiative requires territorial concessions, and what their scope should be, we alone are entitled to decide. "Heroes at a Safe Distance," Ha'aretz editorial, 1993

In 1993, Norman Podhoretz penned an essay in *Commentary* in which he anguished that the peace process "will lead not to peace but to another military assault against a diminished and weakened Israel." Coming as it did after years during which Podhoretz had insisted that American Jews had "no moral right to criticize Israel's security policies," the essay provoked a good deal of gloating from pundits like Richard Cohen, who accused Podhoretz of "consummate gall" for crossing "the line he himself drew."

As for those groups on the Jewish-American left involved in various kinds of Israel advocacy, they have never, as far as we know, drawn any kind of line on criticism of Israel's security policies. Say what you will about Americans for Peace Now, the group can hardly be accused of hypocrisy. Ditto for the Jewish doves at the Israel Policy Forum, *Tikkun* magazine, and the Council on Foreign Relations.

Maybe this is to their credit. Israelis take no orders from the Diaspora; why should Diaspora Jews be silent when they disagree with this or that Israeli policy? At best, our cousins abroad provide Israelis with a broader view of the issues. That frequently they also provide aid and comfort to Israel's ill-wishers is not, strictly speaking, their fault.

Still, it behooves our Diaspora critics carefully to think through both what they say and how they say it. There is no need to insist either that Israelis are the best judges of their own policy or that Diaspora Jewry should have no part in the discussion of how the country is led. But there is a need to acknowledge that Israelis are generally better able than Diaspora Jews to assess the threats they face and the risks they might reasonably run.

At a minimum, then, the Diaspora owes Israelis the benefit of the doubt. Mainstream Jewish-American organizations such as AIPAC have always behaved honorably in this respect, supporting the Oslo Accords in the 1990s and the Sharon government in the present day. This is not because they are slavish, but rather because they have made a prudential judgment that Israel is best served when Israeli leaders of either party can count on AIPAC's support.

Americans for Peace Now and its fellow travelers have not been equally prudent. Again, there is no need to deny their right to criticize hard-line Israeli policy. But to paraphrase the Ha'aretz editorial, Israeli Jews are the ones best positioned to decide whether the welfare of Israel requires muscular military action in the territories.

We would add, too, that the overseas peace camp's influence would be considerably enhanced if it were to show some sign of awareness of the part it has played in bringing us nearly to ruin. This is not to say that the two-state solution long advocated by the Left and now by the Sharon government isn't theoretically in Israel's best interests. But it is to say that the policy of negotiating directly with and then empowering the PLO turned out to be the gravest diplomatic miscalculation in Israel's history. Until Americans for Peace Now and its fellow travelers openly acknowledge this, their views will carry about as much weight with the Israeli public as their former patrons in the Labor Party.

It is important to stress here that Diaspora Jews on the political right need to be equally careful.

Along with many of them, we have serious doubts about the road map, about the sincerity of the Saudi plan, and about the willingness of the Palestinian Authority to meet its responsibilities. But we also believe that this government needs to be given the broadest possible latitude not only to wage war but also negotiate agreements and, if necessary, carry out withdrawals.

For this, Israel's leadership will need not only the Diaspora's counsel, but also its confidence. Surely every Jew of good will, wherever he may live, will not begrudge it. (Jerusalem Post Jun 25)
