

On One Foot

New Edition

by MITCHELL BARD

A Middle-East guide for the perplexed,

or

How to respond on your way to class,
when your best friend joins an anti-Israel protest.

ON ONE FOOT™

Written by Mitchell G. Bard, Ph.D.
American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise

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INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE OF ON ONE FOOT

It can happen at coffee with friends, at a party or while walking to class: someone makes a seemingly logical statement about the conflict and suffering in the Middle East, which is, at the same time, a grave condemnation of the policy or behavior of the State of Israel. Suddenly, where once you felt assured of Israel as a moral democratic state, you feel doubt. Is it true? Is Israel, as sometimes claimed, the Goliathan oppressor of defenseless people who are locked with it in a struggle for their human rights?

How do you respond? Are you silent because of your confusion? Do you suddenly feel uncomfortable among those with whom you once thought you shared common values?

It often seems that the more outrageous the claim against the State of Israel, the more easily it is accepted as fact. No democracy is perfect. But, no other democracy in the world is regu-

larly condemned for its very right of existence.

The purpose of this book is to present quickly accessible and balanced information to help you respond to complex, and often, emotional claims against Israel. Although limited in size, it offers historical context and accurate details.

The name of the book is taken from the famous Talmudic story of Hillel The Elder (end of 1st century BCE), who is confronted by a man demanding to learn Torah. The man wants knowledge, wants it fast, and insists he get it while, “. . . standing on one foot.” Hillel responds, “What is hateful to you, do not do to your fellow man. This is the entire Torah, all of it; the rest is commentary. Go learn.”

In our hyper speed world, we too need to get some fast learning, often while we are on one foot, struggling for balance, seeking truth.

—Tom Barad

INTRODUCTION

HOW TO USE THIS BOOK

Two easy ways:

The book is organized under eight subject sections. First, you may scan the table of contents for the phrase that reflects the most frequently heard statements, accusations or claims within a subject. Refer to the corresponding page for three brief responses and an overview.

Second, *ON ONE FOOT* can be read through as a reference guide, to help you achieve an overall understanding of the confusing often mythologized rhetoric floating around campus, or wherever else you may travel.

Finally, we recognize that the complex issues relating to the Middle East cannot be comprehensively addressed in such a short volume. Further study is heartily recommended. A bibliography and a “web-ography” for further research has been provided. We especially recommend *Myths and Facts: A Guide to the Arab-Israeli Conflict* for more specific responses to common myths. See also the Jewish Virtual Library (www.JewishVirtualLibrary.org)

for a comprehensive encyclopedia of Jewish history and culture.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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ON ONE FOOT

ROOTS OF CONFLICT

Who is wise? One who learns from every other human being. . . .

Who is honorable? One who honors every other human being. . . .

Mishna Avot, Chapter 4

STATEMENT:

“Jews have no right to a state in ‘Palestine.’ ”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- A common misperception is that the Jews, after being forced into the Diaspora by the Romans in the year 70 C.E., suddenly, 1,800 years later, returned to Palestine demanding their country back. The Jewish people have maintained ties to their historic homeland for more than 3,700 years. Independent Jewish states existed for more than 400 years.
- An independent Jewish state would be 3,000 years old today if not for foreign conquerors. Even after most Jews were exiled, small Jewish communities remained in the Land of Israel. Jews have lived there continuously for the last 2,000 years. Modern Israel developed the land from a largely uninhabited wasteland filled with malarial swamps into a thriving high-tech Western society.

- Jews have fought and died to win independence in their homeland. They are connected to the Land of Israel by both faith and history. The international community granted political sovereignty in Palestine to the Jewish people. While the Zionists accepted the UN decision to divide their homeland in 1947, the Arabs rejected the partition plan that created an independent Palestinian state for the first time in history.

HISTORY:

Israel's international "birth certificate" was validated by Jewish statehood in the Land of Israel in Biblical times; an uninterrupted Jewish presence from at least the Roman period onward; the Balfour Declaration of 1917; the League of Nations Mandate, which incorporated the Balfour Declaration; the United Nations partition resolution of 1947; Israel's admission to the UN in 1949; the recognition of Israel by most other states; and, most of all, the society created by Israel's people in decades of thriving, dynamic national existence.

STATEMENT:

“Jews stole Arab land.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- The Jews bought land from Arabs who were happy to sell it, including the Arab mayors of Gaza, Jerusalem, and Jaffa. Analyses of land purchases from 1880 to 1948 show that 73% of Jewish plots were purchased from large landowners.
- In 1931, the British offered new plots to any Arabs who had been “dispossessed.” Out of more than 3,000 applications, British officials found that 80% were false claims and not landless Arabs. This left only about 600 landless Arabs, 100 of whom accepted the government land offer.
- In 1937, the British Peel Commission found that Arab complaints about Jewish land acquisition were baseless. It pointed out that “much of the land now carrying orange groves was sand dunes or swamp

and uncultivated when it was purchased.” To the extent there was a land shortage, the Commission found that it was “due less to the amount of land acquired by Jews than to the increase in the Arab population.”

HISTORY:

Jews avoided purchasing land in areas where Arabs might be displaced. They sought land that was largely uncultivated, swampy, cheap and, most important, without tenants. It was only after the Jews had bought all of the available uncultivated land that they began to purchase cultivated land. According to British statistics, more than 70% of the land in what would become Israel was not owned by Arab farmers, it belonged to the mandatory government. Those lands reverted to Israeli control after the departure of the British. Nearly 9% of the land was owned by Jews and about 3% by Arabs who became citizens of Israel. That means only about 18% belonged to Arabs who left the country before and after the Arab invasion of Israel in 1948.

STATEMENT:

“Palestine was always an Arab country.”

American Committee in 1946, he said: “There is no such thing as ‘Palestine’ in history.” Most Palestinian Arabs, including the original PLO chairman, Ahmed Shukeiry, believed Palestine was part of southern Syria.

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- The Twelve Tribes of Israel formed the first constitutional monarchy in the Land of Israel in about 1000 B.C.E. The second king, David, first made Jerusalem the nation’s capital. Although Israel eventually was split into two separate Israelite kingdoms, Jewish independence under the monarchy lasted for more than 400 years.
- The Arab connection to Palestine dates only to the Muslim invasions of the seventh century. Palestine was never an exclusively Arab country. No independent Arab or Palestinian state ever existed in Palestine.
- When the distinguished Arab-American historian, Princeton University Prof. Philip Hitti, testified against partition before the Anglo-

HISTORY:

The term “Palestine” is believed to be derived from the Philistines, an Aegean people who, in the 12th Century B.C.E., settled along the Mediterranean coastal plain of what is now Israel and the Gaza Strip. In the second century C.E., after crushing the last Jewish revolt, the Romans first applied the name Palaestina to Judea (the southern portion of what is now called the West Bank) in an attempt to minimize Jewish identification with the land of Israel. The Arabic word “Filastin” is derived from this Latin name.

STATEMENT:

“The Palestinians are descendants of the Canaanites and were in Palestine long before the Jews.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- The Canaanites disappeared from the face of the earth three millennia ago, and no one knows if any of their descendants survived or, if they did, who they would be. Palestinian claims to be related to them are a recent phenomenon and contrary to historical evidence.
- Over the last 2,000 years, there have been massive invasions (e.g., the Crusades) that killed off most of the local people, migrations, the plague, and other man-made or natural disasters. The entire local population was replaced many times over. During the British mandate alone, more than 100,000 Arabs emigrated from

neighboring countries and are today considered Palestinians.

- Even the Palestinians themselves have acknowledged that their association with the region came long after the Jews. In testimony before the Anglo-American Committee in 1946, for example, the Palestinian spokesmen claimed a connection of only 1,000 years, and even that assertion is dubious.

HISTORY:

The Jewish people have a connection to the Land of Israel that dates back more than 3,700 years. They created a monarchy that dominated parts of the area for more than 400 years. Even after the defeat of the monarchy and the end of Jewish independence, a Jewish presence remained in the Land of Israel throughout the centuries preceding the reestablishment of the Jewish state in 1948. While, at best, the Palestinians can claim a connection to the area following the conquest of Muhammad's followers in the 7th century, no serious historian questions the Jewish connection to the land or relation to the ancient Hebrews.

STATEMENT:

**“Zionism is racism;
anti-Zionism is
different from
anti-Semitism.”**

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- Zionism is the national liberation movement of the Jewish people, which holds that Jews, like any other nation, are entitled to a homeland. This has nothing whatsoever to do with race. Israel's Law of Return grants automatic citizenship to Jews, but non-Jews are also eligible to become citizens under normalization procedures similar to those in other countries.
- Israel's citizens include Jews from more than 100 countries, including dark-skinned Jews from Ethiopia, Yemen, and India. Palestinian Arabs and other non-Jews may also become citizens of Israel. In fact, Muslim and Christian Arabs, Druze, Baha'is, Circassians and other ethnic groups represent more than 20% of Israel's population.

- The UN repealed its infamous Zionism equals racism resolution in 1991. The 1975 UN resolution was part of the Soviet-Arab Cold War anti-Israel campaign. Almost all the former non-Arab supporters of the resolution have apologized and changed their positions.

HISTORY:

Zionism emerged in the 19th century as Theodor Herzl and other Jewish visionaries came to the conclusion that anti-Semitism could not be eradicated and that Jews could not escape persecution by assimilation. They believed the best solution was the creation of a state in the homeland of the Jewish people—the Land of Israel. This homeland ensures Jewish security, providing a safe haven to protect Jews from a future Inquisition or Holocaust. For all but a small minority, Zionism is an integral part of being Jewish. Martin Luther King Jr., one of the most vehement critics of racism, understood this, so when he was approached by a student who attacked Zionism during a 1968 appearance at Harvard, he responded that “when people criticize Zionists, they mean Jews. You're talking anti-Semitism.”

STATEMENT:

“Criticizing Israel doesn’t make you anti-Semitic.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- It is true that criticizing Israel doesn’t necessarily make you anti-Semitic. The question is the intent of the critic.
- Legitimate critics accept Israel’s right to exist whereas anti-Semites do not. Anti-Semites use double standards when they criticize Israel; for example, denying Israelis the right to pursue their legitimate claims to the land while encouraging the Palestinians to do so.
- Anti-Semites deny Israel the right to defend itself, and ignore Jewish victims of Arab terrorist attacks, while blaming Israel for pursuing their murderers.

HISTORY:

Criticism of Israeli policy is perfectly legitimate. In fact, the most vociferous critics of Israel are Israelis themselves who use their freedom of speech to express their concerns every day. You need only look at any Israeli newspaper and you will find the pages filled with articles denouncing particular government policies. Israelis want to improve their society; anti-Semites do not have the interests of Israel’s citizens—Jews or non-Jews—at heart. Anti-Semites are interested in first delegitimizing the state and then, ultimately, destroying Israel. There is nothing Israel could do to satisfy them. And don’t fall for the line that Arabs as “Semites” cannot possibly be anti-Semitic. This is a semantic distortion that ignores the reality of Arab discrimination and hostility toward Jews. Arabs, like any other people, can indeed be anti-Semitic, and the word has been accepted and understood to mean hatred of the Jewish people.

STATEMENT:

“Israeli policies cause anti-Semitism.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- Anti-Semitism has existed for centuries, well before the rise of the modern State of Israel.
- Rather than Israel being the cause of anti-Semitism, it is more likely that the distorted media coverage of Israeli policies is reinforcing latent anti-Semitic views.
- As writer Leon Wieseltier observed, “the notion that all Jews are responsible for whatever any Jews do is not a Zionist notion. It is an anti-Semitic notion.” Wieseltier adds that attacks on Jews in Europe have nothing whatsoever to do with Israel. To blame Jews for anti-Semitism is similar to saying blacks are responsible for racism.

HISTORY:

Many Jews may disagree with policies of a particular Israeli government, but this does not mean that Israel is bad for the Jews. As Wieseltier noted, “Israel is not bad for the Jews of Russia, who may need a haven; or for the Jews of Argentina, who may need a haven; or for any Jews who may need a haven.” Taking issue with Israeli policies is acceptable if you believe that a) Israel has the right to exist, and b) that changes will make Israel a better place. In fact, such criticism, by Israelis, can be found in the Israeli media every day. Criticism crosses the line, however, when it delegitimizes Israel and is intended to weaken rather than strengthen its institutions.

STATEMENT:

“Israel is a theocracy.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- Israel is not a theocracy; it is governed by the rule of law as drafted by a democratically elected parliament. Israel is informed by Jewish values and adheres to many Jewish religious customs (e.g., holidays), but this is similar to the United States and other nations shaped by the Judeo-Christian heritage that have expressly religious elements as well as Islamic societies such as Turkey.
- Israel has no state religion, and all faiths enjoy freedom of worship, yet it is attacked for its Jewish character, whereas the Arab states that all mandate Islam as their official religion are regarded as legitimate.
- In nearly every country, one community forms the majority and seeks to maintain that status. India and Pakistan were established at the same time as Israel through a vio-

lent partition, but no one believes these nations are illegitimate because one is predominantly Hindu and the other has a Muslim majority.

HISTORY:

The Jewish people are a nation with a shared origin, religion, culture, language, and history. Why shouldn't they have a state? No one suggests that Arabs are not entitled to a nation of their own (they have 21), or Swedes or Germans, or that Catholics are not entitled to a state (Vatican City) headed by a theocrat (the Pope). Arab citizens also understand that Israel is a Jewish state and choose to live there (nothing prevents Arabs from moving to any of the 180-odd non-Jewish states in the world). If Jews cease to be a majority in Israel, Israel will no longer have a Jewish character or serve as a haven for persecuted Jews.

STATEMENT:

“Israel should be replaced by a binational state where Jews and Palestinians live together.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- The idea of a binational state is not new; it was first proposed by prominent Jews such as Judah Magnes in the 1920s. It was unpopular then and remains so today.
- The utopian view is that Jews and Arabs should live together peacefully in one state. This idea negates the Jewish right to its historic homeland and assumes the Arabs are prepared to coexist in one state with the Jews. This was proven wrong through two decades of violence by Arabs against Jews in Palestine, and by the Arab rejection of the British White Paper

of 1939, which offered them just such an arrangement.

- As early as 1937, it was clear that the two peoples could not live together and needed to have states of their own. As a result, the Peel Commission proposed a partition in that year and the UN approved the same approach a decade later. Nothing has changed since that time to suggest any other solution can end the conflict.

HISTORY:

Since Palestinian Arabs already constitute almost 45 percent of the population living between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River, and their birth rate is double that of Israeli Jews, they would soon become the majority of the population in a binational state. The Jewish character of the nation would then erode and disappear, and Israeli Jews would lose political control over the one safe haven for Jews. Given the historical mistreatment of minorities, especially Jews, in Arab lands, this idea would be a recipe for the persecution of Jews (and Christians).

STATEMENT:

“Supporters of Israel only criticize Arabs and never Israelis.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- Israel is not perfect. Even the most committed friends of Israel acknowledge that the government sometimes makes mistakes, and that it has not solved all of its social problems.
- Supporters of Israel may not emphasize these faults, however, because there is no shortage of groups and individuals who are willing to do nothing but focus on Israel's imperfections. The public usually has much less access to Israel's side of the story about conflict with the Arabs, or the positive aspects of its society.
- Israelis are their own harshest critics. If you want to read criticism of Israeli behavior, you do not need to seek out anti-Israel sources, you can pick up any Israeli newspaper and

find no shortage of news and commentary critical of government policy. The rest of the world's media provides constant attention to Israel and the coverage is far more likely to be unfavorable than complimentary.

HISTORY:

Israel's supporters believe Israel has a right to exist and that close relations between Israel and other nations in the world is in everyone's best interest. When friends criticize Israel, it is because they want the country to be better. Israel's detractors do not have that goal; they are more interested in delegitimizing the country, placing a wedge between Israel and its allies, and working toward its destruction. Friends of Israel do not try to whitewash the truth, but they do try to put events in proper context.

STATEMENT:

“Criticism of Israel on campus is protected by academic freedom.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- The one place in America where anti-Semitism is still tolerated is in the university, where “academic freedom” is often used as a cover to sanction anti-Israel teachings and forums that are anti-Semitic.
- Faculty should resist the temptation to use the podium as an ideological platform, to indoctrinate a captive audience, to play favorites with the like-minded, and silence the others. Many faculty, however, exploit their position to promote their personal political agendas.
- Professors who insist they can say what they want often hypocritically denounce others who exercise their

right to criticize faculty. To suggest that a professor’s views are inappropriate, or their scholarship is faulty, is to risk being tarred with the charge of McCarthyism.

HISTORY:

Legality is not the issue in evaluating the anti-Israel, sometimes anti-Semitic speeches and teachings of faculty and speakers on campus. No one questions that freedom of speech allows individuals to express their views. The issue is whether this type of speech should be given the cover of “academic freedom,” and granted legitimacy by the university through funding, publicity or use of facilities. A university is supposed to be different from a street corner; it is supposed to be a place where discussion has some academic or scholarly component. Few people would claim that anti-black, anti-gay, or anti-woman sentiments are protected by academic freedom, and yet that is the shield used to permit attacks on the Jewish people.

PEACE

“Seek peace and pursue it.” (Psalms 34:15)

—*Jerusalem Talmud, Pe'ah 1:1.*

Jewish law does not order you to run after or pursue the other commandments, but only to fulfill them on the appropriate occasion. But peace you must seek in your own place and pursue it even to other places as well. (E.D.)

STATEMENT:

“The Palestinian Authority fulfilled its commitment to prevent violence by arresting terrorists and confiscating illegal weapons.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- No one other than the Palestinian police is permitted to have lethal weapons. Despite repeated promises, no effort has been made to collect the illegal weapons. On the contrary, the PA has been actively stockpiling them, as was evident when Israel captured the *Karine-A* ship filled with 50 tons of weapons and explosives for the PA. This is a serious violation of the agreements signed with Israel, one that provokes distrust and threatens Israeli security.
- According to the State Department, the Palestinians have reneged on their pledge not to use violence; have failed

to confiscate illegal weapons and protect holy sites; and have continued to incite the Palestinian public, including children, to use violence.

- The PA has failed to take adequate measures to prevent terrorism. While many terrorists have been apprehended, they are usually released shortly afterward, and many of them subsequently murdered Jewish men, women, and children. Furthermore, organizations directly under PA control have consistently engaged in terrorist attacks.

HISTORY:

Israel recognized the need for the Palestinians to have a police force to keep internal peace, but the agreement was very specific about the number of officers and the weapons they could possess. There are more police than allowed, more weapons than agreed to, and the police have been more active in attacks against Israelis than in preventing them. The PA pledged to end terror, a prerequisite to Israel's decision to negotiate with the Palestinians, but the authorities have not arrested the leaders of the terror groups or taken any serious measures to prevent the murder of Israelis.

STATEMENT:

“The Palestinians teach their children about Israel and encourage coexistence with Israeli Jews.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- The PA has violated its treaty commitments to abstain from incitement and hostile propaganda. The Palestinians indoctrinate their children with anti-Semitic stereotypes, anti-Israel propaganda and other materials designed to promote hostility and hatred. Summer camps teach Palestinian children how to resist the Israelis and that the greatest glory is to be a martyr.
- Palestinian textbooks make little or no mention of Jews or the centuries-old Jewish communities of Palestine. Israel is not mentioned and does not appear on maps. References to Jews are usually stereotypical and related in a negative way to their opposition

to Muhammad and refusal to convert to Islam.

- Palestinian television also encourages hatred for Jews and the perpetration of violence against them. In one song on a children's show, young children sing about wanting to become “suicide warriors” and taking up machine guns against Israelis. Another song has the refrain, “When I wander into Jerusalem, I will become a suicide bomber.” TV commercials and children's shows tell children to drop their toys, pick up rocks, and do battle with Israel.

HISTORY:

One of the keys to future peace in the region is the education of children. Unfortunately, the Palestinians have chosen to indoctrinate their youth with hatred of Jews, to encourage martyrdom, and glorify terrorism. The Palestinian authorities also try to convince children that Israel is out to kill them by all sorts of devious methods. For example, the Palestinian daily newspaper falsely claimed Israeli aircraft were dropping poison candy in the Gaza Strip. These teachings violate the letter and spirit of the peace agreements.

STATEMENT:

“Arafat rejected Barak’s proposals in 2000 because they did not offer the Palestinians a viable state.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- Israel offered to create a Palestinian state that was contiguous, and not a series of cantons. Prime Minister Ehud Barak offered to withdraw from 97% of the West Bank and 100% of the Gaza Strip, and to dismantle more than 100 settlements.
- Barak made previously unthinkable concessions on Jerusalem, agreeing that Arab neighborhoods of East Jerusalem would become the capital of the new state and the Palestinians would have “religious sovereignty” over the Temple Mount.
- The proposal guaranteed the right of Palestinian refugees to return to the Palestinian state and reparations from

a \$30 billion international fund for resettlement in other countries. Israel also agreed to allow the Palestinians access to water desalinated in its territory to ensure them adequate water.

HISTORY:

PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat was asked to accept Israeli sovereignty over the parts of the Western Wall religiously significant to Jews, and three early warning stations in the Jordan Valley, which Israel would withdraw from after six years. Most important, however, Arafat was expected to agree that the conflict was over at the end of the negotiations. This was the deal breaker. Arafat was not willing to end the conflict. The consensus of Mideast analysts—that Israel offered generous concessions and that Arafat rejected them to pursue a violent insurrection—was undisputed for more than a year before the Palestinians recognized they had to counter the widespread view that Arafat was the obstacle to peace. They subsequently manufactured excuses for why Arafat failed to say “yes” to a proposal that would have established a Palestinian state. Had the terms of the proposal really been the problem, all Arafat had to do was offer a counterproposal. He never did.

STATEMENT:

“The Golan Heights has no strategic significance for Israel.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- Syria—deterred by an IDF presence within artillery range of Damascus—has kept the Golan Heights quiet since 1974. But Syria provides a haven for and supports numerous terrorist groups that attack Israel from Lebanon and other countries. In addition, Syria still deploys hundreds of thousands of troops—as much as 75% of its army—on the Israeli front near the Heights.
- From the western Golan, it is only about 60 miles—without major terrain obstacles—to Haifa and Acre, Israel's industrial heartland. The Golan—rising from 400 to 1700 feet—overlooks the Hula Valley, Israel's richest agricultural area. In

the hands of a friendly neighbor, the escarpment has little military importance. If controlled by a hostile country, however, the Golan has the potential to again become a strategic nightmare for Israel.

- For Israel, relinquishing the Golan to a hostile Syria without adequate security arrangements could jeopardize its early-warning system against surprise attack. No withdrawal from the Golan Heights is possible without a credible guarantee of peace from Syria accompanied by security arrangements to insure the Heights do not become a threat to Israel.

HISTORY:

Between 1948 and 1967, Syria controlled the Golan Heights and used it as a military stronghold from which its troops sniped at Israeli civilians in the Hula Valley below, forcing children living on kibbutzim to sleep in bomb shelters. In addition, during this period, many roads in northern Israel could be crossed only after being cleared by mine-detection vehicles. Israel repeatedly, and unsuccessfully, protested the Syrian bombardments to the UN, but nothing was done to stop Syria's aggression.

STATEMENT:

“Israel has rejected Syrian offers to trade peace for the Golan Heights.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- Since attacking Israel in 1973 and losing the Golan Heights, Syria has insisted that Israel completely withdraw from the Golan Heights before discussing what Syria might do in return. Syria has never agreed to make peace with Israel, even if Israel returned the entire Golan. Israel has been equally adamant that it will not give up any territory without knowing what Syria is prepared to concede.
- Israel's willingness to trade some or all of the Golan is dependent on Syria signing an agreement that would bring about an end to the state of war Syria says exists between them.
- Besides military security, a key to peace with Syria is the normalization

of relations between the two countries. But this cannot happen as long as Syria sponsors terrorism and allows Damascus to serve as a haven for terrorist groups.

HISTORY:

Israel repeatedly tried to negotiate directly with then-Syrian President Hafez Assad, but Assad would never agree to meet with any Israeli leader. Although Israel long held that it would be too dangerous to give up the Golan Heights, Israeli prime ministers, beginning with Yitzhak Rabin, expressed a willingness to compromise. Assad would not budge, however, insisting that Israel give Syria access to the shore of the Kinneret (Israel's foremost water reservoir), and died without reaching any agreement with Israel. When Assad's son Bashar came to power, Israelis were hopeful that Syrian policy might change and that negotiations could be resumed. To date, however, the younger Assad has been unwilling to seriously discuss peace with Israel. Absent dramatic changes in Syria's policy, Israel's security will require the retention of military control over the Golan Heights.

STATEMENT:

“A Palestinian state will pose no danger to Israel.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- A Palestinian state could become dominated by Islamic extremists and serve as a staging area for terrorists. Hamas and Islamic Jihad say they will never accept the existence of Israel.
- A Palestinian state could serve as a forward base in a future war for Arab nations that have refused to make peace with Israel. The West Bank now represents a valuable defensive asset that deters Arab foes from attacking Israel along an eastern front.
- Palestinians say a West Bank state is only the first stage in their plan to destroy Israel. “Our ultimate goal is the liberation of all historic Palestine from the River to the Sea,” said the late “moderate” Faisal Husseini, “We

distinguish the strategic, long-term goals from the political phased goals” (*Al-Arabi*,—June 24, 2001).

HISTORY:

Though reconciled to the creation of a Palestinian state, and hopeful that it will coexist peacefully, Israelis still see such an entity as a threat to their security. Even after unilaterally evacuating much of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and allowing the Palestinians to govern themselves, terrorism against Israelis has continued. Consequently, Israelis are reluctant to give up additional territory for a Palestinian state. If the Palestinians were content to have a state in the West Bank and Gaza, the prospects for peace would be bright, since Prime Minister Barak offered just that in 2000; however, they have consistently held out for much more. Their actions and rhetoric suggests the dream of returning to their homes in Jaffa, Haifa and elsewhere has not died. A Palestinian state may be created beside Israel, but cannot replace Israel.

STATEMENT:

“The American government is unfairly biased toward Israel.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- Historically, the U.S. has long sought friendly relations with Arab leaders primarily because of the need to protect our oil supplies. The U.S. has sold billions of dollars worth of arms to Arab states, and poured billions of dollars of economic and military assistance into the region. Today, America considers Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Morocco, Egypt, and the Gulf sheikdoms close friends.
- American presidents have often criticized Israel and taken actions against Israel when they believed it was in the U.S. interest. Dwight Eisenhower threatened to withhold aid from Israel. Harry Truman embargoed arms to Israel in 1948 as did Lyndon Johnson in 1967. Ronald Reagan suspended a strategic cooperation agreement. Bill

Clinton and George W. Bush have used waivers to avoid moving the U.S. embassy to Jerusalem.

- The U.S. gives Israel the arms to maintain a qualitative edge, but the U.S. has also armed Arab nations, providing sophisticated missiles, tanks and aircraft to Jordan, Morocco, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states. The U.S. gives Israel a large amount of foreign aid, but also rewards Arab states that have made peace with Israel, giving money to Egypt, Jordan, and the Palestinians.

HISTORY:

Israel is a country surrounded by potential threats and with large numbers of immigrants to absorb. While Israel's enemies have numerous countries helping them, Israel relies primarily on the United States for assistance. Like the U.S., Israel is a democracy and a nation of immigrants, and the two nations share the same values; therefore, it makes sense that the U.S. supports Israel. However, the U.S. has always looked out first for its own interests and has not hesitated to both criticize Israel and help Arab nations when it deems it necessary.

STATEMENT:

“Media coverage of the Middle East is balanced.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- Press coverage is distorted in part because of the difference in the availability of information. Israel is a democracy with a free press, while the media in the Arab/Islamic world is strictly controlled by totalitarian governments.
- Few correspondents have a background in Middle East history or speak the regional languages. Journalists are more familiar with the largely Western Israeli culture than the culturally distant Muslim societies. News agencies often rely on biased locals, especially in the Palestinian Authority, to gather news for them.
- The price of access to dictators and terrorists in the Arab world is often to present their side of the story, usually without any objectivity. Report-

ers are sometimes intimidated or blackmailed. Journalists are usually escorted to see what the dictator wants them to see or they are followed. Case in point, an Associated Press cameraman's life was threatened to prevent AP from airing his film of Palestinians celebrating the September 11 terror attacks at a rally in Nablus.

HISTORY:

One reason Americans are so knowledgeable about Israel is the extent of coverage. American news organizations usually have more correspondents in Israel than in any country except Great Britain. The amount of attention Israel receives is also related to the fact that the largest Jewish population in the world is in the United States and that Israel greatly concerns American Jews. Non-Jews are also fascinated by the Holy Land and are concerned about the impact of the region's conflicts on U.S. interests. The biased casting of Israel as “Goliath” and the Palestinians as “David” inaccurately implies that Israelis are bullies and Palestinians are victims. Americans also tend to have a double standard about the Jews, expecting more from them than from other peoples.

STATEMENT:

**“Israel must help
Palestinian
President
Mahmoud Abbas.”**

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- Israel is being told to help Abbas consolidate his power; however, Israel owes him nothing. It is Abbas who must show that he has both the will and ability to reform the Palestinian Authority, to dismantle the terrorist networks, and to end the violence.
- Words are insufficient; Abbas must take action. The agreements signed by the Palestinians are unequivocal about what is required of them; they cannot evade their responsibilities with conciliatory statements to the press in English or cease-fires with groups such as Hamas that remain committed to Israel's destruction.
- The terrorists' identities and locations are known. The PA has a police

force and multiple security services. Abbas must use the resources at his command to disarm and arrest anyone who illegally possesses weapons and threatens or engages in violence.

HISTORY:

Abbas was involved in past negotiations and his election was welcomed by Israel. Though it has no obligation to do so, Israel has taken steps to show its goodwill, including facilitating the Palestinian elections, releasing prisoners, evacuating the Gaza Strip, and withdrawing troops from parts of the West Bank. Coexistence is impossible, however, unless Palestinian violence stops. There can be no attacks on Jews anywhere, no mortars or rockets fired into Israel, and no incitement to violence. This is not a case of giving extremists a veto over negotiations; Israel has not said that Abbas must stop 100 percent of the incidents before it will talk, but Israel does insist that he demonstrate a 100 percent effort to stop them.

STATEMENT:

“Israel’s security fence is just like the Berlin Wall.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- Unlike the Berlin Wall, the fence does not separate one people, Germans from Germans, and deny freedom to those on one side. Israel's security fence separates two peoples, Israelis and Palestinians, and offers freedom and security for both.
- While Israelis are fully prepared to live with Palestinians, and 20% of the Israeli population is already Arab, it is the Palestinians who say they do not want to live with any Jews, and insist that a Palestinian State in the West Bank be free of all Jews.
- The fence is not being constructed to prevent the citizens of one state from escaping; it is designed solely to keep terrorists out of Israel.

HISTORY:

Of the 458 miles scheduled to be constructed, less than 3% is actually a wall, and that is being built in three areas where it will prevent Palestinian snipers from shooting at cars as they have done in the past along one of Israel's main roads. It is also surrounding parts of Jerusalem where a fence would be impractical. Most of the barrier will be a chain-link type fence similar to those used all over the United States, combined with underground and long-range sensors, unmanned aerial vehicles, trenches, land mines and guard paths. It is not unusual to have a fence separating peoples; in fact, Israel has long had fences on its borders with Lebanon, Jordan and Syria. Still, Israel did not want to build this barrier, and resisted doing so for more than 35 years. If anyone is to blame for the construction, it is the Palestinian terrorists.

STATEMENT:

“Israel is offering only 22% of Palestine.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- The government of Israel has agreed to end the conflict with the Palestinians. Once Israel agreed to give the Palestinians the independence they say they want, they shifted their complaint to the size of the state they were being offered.
- Some Palestinians claim Israel is asking them to accept a state in only 22% of Palestine while Israel keeps 78%. They come up with this figure by saying all of what is now Israel and the disputed territories should be Palestine and the part of the West Bank and Gaza Israel has offered is only about one-fifth of this area. This is a very convincing point to show the unfairness of the Palestinians' plight unless you know the his-

tory of Palestine and recognize that the truth is exactly the reverse.

- Historic Palestine included Israel, the West Bank and all of modern Jordan. This was the area that the Zionists believed the British promised them in the Balfour Declaration. Therefore, it is Israel, including the disputed territories, that is only 22% of Palestine. If Israel were to withdraw completely from the West Bank, it would possess only about 18% of the land originally foreseen as the Jewish state.

HISTORY:

From Israel's perspective, it is the Zionists who have made the real sacrifice by giving up more than three-fourths of the Land of Israel. In fact, by accepting the UN's partition resolution, they were prepared to accept only about 12% of historic Israel before the Arab states attacked and tried to destroy the nascent State of Israel. Meanwhile, of the approximately 9 million Palestinians worldwide, three-fourths live today in historic Palestine.

STATEMENT:

“The PA is adhering to the road map for peace.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- The first point of the road map is that a two-state solution “will only be achieved through an end to violence and terrorism, when the Palestinian people have a leadership acting decisively against terror and willing and able to build a practicing democracy based on tolerance and liberty.” Terror must end for progress to be made.
- The Palestinian Authority (PA) refuses to fulfill its promise to dismantle terrorist organizations and confiscate illegal weapons. Palestinian terrorists rejected the road map and declared their intention to use violence to sabotage peace negotiations.
- The road map calls for the Arab world to recognize Israel. Egypt and

Jordan remain the only Arab nations to have done so. Moreover, the Arab states have failed to fulfill the plan’s requirement that they stop all funding and support of terrorist organizations.

HISTORY:

Israel has already met many of its road map obligations. Israel’s leaders have said they support the creation of a Palestinian state, and Israeli institutions have never been engaged in incitement against Palestinians. The IDF is to withdraw “as security performance moves forward,” and it has done so. Israel is asked to freeze all settlement activity, “consistent with the Mitchell Report,” but George Mitchell made clear that violence had to end before Israel was expected to implement this step. The goal of the road map can be achieved. If the violence stops, the people of Israel will take the risks necessary to allow the Palestinians to have an independent state. And if the Arab states are willing to normalize relations with Israel, the dream of a comprehensive peace can be realized.

STATEMENT:

“Israel is turning Gaza into a prison.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- Israel decided to completely evacuate its soldiers and civilians from Gaza to improve the lives of both Palestinians and Israelis. The Palestinian Authority (PA) can now exercise full control over the population in Gaza. No one there is “under occupation.” Gaza Palestinians can move freely, live and work where they choose, and pursue normal lives.
- Prior to disengagement, Israel established an economic development team to improve the economic circumstances in Gaza. Israel is preparing to provide assistance in building desalination facilities, sewage systems, hospitals, and a power station. Another team was created to facilitate trade with the Palestinians. Israel is accused of isolating Gaza by refus-

ing to allow the Palestinians use of a seaport or airport. Neither facility is ready for use now.

- The international community agreed with Israel that the Hamas terrorists, who seized power in a coup against their fellow Palestinians, should be isolated and this is the principal reason Gazans face hardships today.

HISTORY:

The Palestinians were unable and unwilling to negotiate a peace agreement in conjunction with Israel's disengagement from Gaza. Hamas and other terrorist groups explicitly say they plan to continue their war to destroy Israel and have fired more than 4,000 rockets into Israel since the disengagement. The PA also refuses to honor its road map obligations to disarm the terrorists and dismantle the infrastructure. Given these conditions, Israel cannot put its population at risk by allowing Palestinians to bring material in by air and sea without any verification or to go to and from the West Bank without scrutiny.

STATEMENT:

“Israel doesn’t need U.S. aid.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- Israel is the largest recipient of U.S. foreign aid. In 1998, Israel offered to voluntarily reduce its dependence on U.S. economic aid and it has now been phased out altogether. Today, it receives only military assistance.
- Israel has peace treaties with only two of its neighbors. The rest of the Arab/Islamic world says it is at war with Israel. Given the potential threats, Israel must maintain a strong defense. Israel cannot afford the expensive weapons required to maintain its qualitative edge, so continued military aid from the United States is vital to its security. Furthermore, Israel’s enemies have numerous suppliers, but Israel must rely almost entirely on the United States for its hardware.
- Only about 26 percent of Israel’s military aid can be spent in Israel.

The remainder must be spent in the United States to generate profits and jobs. In 2006 alone, U.S. companies in 45 states received more than \$1.2 billion for Israel-related military projects.

HISTORY:

Arab states also receive large amounts of aid from the United States. Egypt is the second largest recipient of foreign aid (\$1.7 billion in 2007). Jordan has also been the beneficiary of higher levels of aid since it signed a treaty with Israel. The multibillion dollar debts to the U.S. of both Arab nations were also forgiven. The U.S. is the largest contributor to the UN agency supporting Palestinian refugees (UNRWA)—\$150 million in 2008 and has allocated more than \$1 billion for development assistance programs in the West Bank and Gaza, the third largest amount provided by the U.S. Government for any foreign assistance program.

STATEMENT:

“Israel is obstructing progress toward a Palestinian state.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- Newspaper headlines in mid-January 2007 said it all: “Palestinian Opposes Provisional State” (*New York Times*, January 14) and “Abbas Rejects ‘Temporary Borders’ for Palestine” (*Washington Post*, January 15). Israel advanced ideas to allow the Palestinians to achieve independence before the thorniest issues were resolved. The Palestinians’ latest rejection of an offer for statehood can now be added to the long list of missed opportunities dating back to 1937.
- Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas instead declared his continued support for violence against Israel. Speaking at the 42nd anniversary of the founding of Fatah on January 11,

2007, in Ramallah, Abbas said, “Let a thousand flowers bloom, and let our rifles, all our rifles, all our rifles, be aimed at the Occupation.”

- Israel is prepared to withdraw from most of the West Bank and compromise on contentious issues. The Palestinian position, however, has not changed since the UN offered them a state in 1947. They want their demands satisfied without making any concessions. This is not how you negotiate peace.

HISTORY:

Abbas is mainly concerned about surviving the threats from his fellow Palestinians rather than pursuing peace or improving the lives of the Palestinian people. Since he is unwilling to confront his opponents militarily, he hopes to cajole them by asking for unity to fight against their common enemy—Israel. Simultaneously, he seeks the means to stay in power from the West by presenting himself as the only alternative to Hamas. And it is working because he is being armed and financed even as he continues to allow the attacks against Israel to continue.

STATEMENT:

“The Arab peace initiative reflects the Arab states’ acceptance of Israel.”

- If the Arab proponents of the plan were sincere, they should be prepared to sit down with Israel's leaders and discuss how to overcome the disagreements. Rather than accept an Israeli invitation to come to Jerusalem to negotiate or exploit the willingness of Israel's leaders to go to an Arab capital for talks, the Arabs have told Israel it must accept the plan or face the threat of war.

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- Imagine if one day someone who has always despised you let it be known through a third party that they were willing to be your friend. But first you had to meet some conditions and, if you didn't, your enemy would try to kill you. How seriously would you take your adversary's offer of friendship?
- This is similar to the position Israel finds itself in following the Arab League's reiteration of its “peace plan.” Israel is prepared to negotiate on the basis of the plan, but many of the demands, such as the withdrawal from all territory captured in 1967 and the acceptance of a “right of return” for Palestinian refugees, are unacceptable.

HISTORY:

Make peace on our terms or else. Is this the rhetoric you would expect from leaders who have moderated their views and want to seek accommodation with Israel? Peace plans are not worth the paper they are printed on if the proponents continue to talk about war and pursue policies such as supporting terrorists, arming radical Muslims, inciting their populations with anti-Semitic propaganda and enforcing boycotts that promote conflict. Progress toward peace requires the Arab states to show by words and deeds that they are committed to coexisting with Israel. The only ultimatum should be that if the first efforts to reach an understanding do not succeed, they will try, try again.

DISPUTED TERRITORIES & SETTLEMENTS

Jewish tradition teaches that we should all carry in our pockets two slips of paper: on one, the statement that we are but dust and to dust we shall return. On the other, that it was for our sake that the world was created. The first teaching instills within us the humility we need to bring peace to the world. The second teaching dares us to bring about its redemption.

(E.F.)

SUBJECT: DISPUTED TERRITORIES & SETTLEMENTS

STATEMENT:

“Israel illegally seized and occupied Palestinian land in 1948 and 1967.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- Nearly 80% of the historic land of Palestine, and the Jewish National Home as defined by the League of Nations, was severed by the British in 1922 to create Jordan. The UN partitioned the remaining 20% of Palestine into two states. The 1948 war began after the Arabs refused to accept partition and attacked Israel.
- The 1967 war was a response to Arab terrorist attacks and threats of war, the massing of Egyptian and Syrian troops near the Israeli border, and Egypt's illegal closure of the Straits of Tiran to Israeli ships. After the war, Israel offered to trade land for peace, and has withdrawn from 94% of the territories it won in the war, including all of the Sinai, all of

the Gaza Strip, more than 40% of the West Bank, and part of the Golan Heights.

- In 1967, Israel did not capture the West Bank from any legitimate sovereign because there was none. The territory had been conquered by Transjordan in 1948, and illegally occupied until 1967. It was never a Palestinian state.

HISTORY:

Jewish settlements were expressly recognized as legitimate in the League of Nations Mandate for Palestine, which provided for the establishment of a Jewish state in the Jewish people's ancient homeland. Some settlements, such as in Hebron, existed throughout the centuries of Ottoman rule, while others were established prior to the establishment of the State of Israel. Many present-day Israeli settlements were established on sites that were home to Jewish communities in previous generations, long before 1948. Israeli settlements were established under the supervision of Israel's Supreme Court to ensure that no communities were established on private Arab land, and that no Arab inhabitants were displaced.

SUBJECT: DISPUTED TERRITORIES & SETTLEMENTS

STATEMENT:

**“Israeli settlements
are illegal.”**

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- A country acting in self-defense may seize and control territory when necessary to protect itself, and may require, as a condition for its withdrawal, security measures to ensure that its citizens are not menaced again from that territory.
- UN Security Council Resolution 242 gives Israel a legal right to administer the territories it won in the 1967 war until peace is achieved.
- Palestinians may live in Israel; in fact, 20% of the Israeli population is non-Jewish. Immigration laws may place limits on who may live in a country, but are discriminatory if they do so on the basis of race or religion. If someone said that Jews should not be allowed to live in your hometown, they would be denounced as an anti-Semite and yet Palestinians insist

Jews have no right to live in the West Bank.

HISTORY:

While Israelis agree that Jews have the right to live anywhere, many question whether they should. Many Israelis have concerns about the expansion of settlements. Some consider them provocative. Others worry that the settlers are particularly vulnerable to Palestinian terrorist attacks. To defend the settlements, large numbers of soldiers are deployed who would otherwise be training and preparing for a possible future conflict with an Arab army. Some Israelis also object to the amount of money that goes to communities beyond the Green Line and special subsidies that have been provided to make housing there more affordable. Still others feel the settlers are providing a first line of defense and developing land that rightfully belongs to Israel.

SUBJECT: DISPUTED TERRITORIES & SETTLEMENTS

STATEMENT:

“Israeli settlements are an obstacle to peace.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- The impediment to peace is not the existence of settlements, it is the Palestinians’ unwillingness to accept a state next to Israel instead of one replacing Israel.
- Jews have lived in the West Bank and Gaza Strip since ancient times. The only time Jews have been prohibited from living in the territories in recent decades was during Jordan’s illegal rule from 1948 to 1967.
- When Egypt agreed to a peace treaty, Israel dismantled its settlements in the Sinai. Israel hoped razing the settlements in the Gaza Strip would be a step toward peace with the Palestinians, but they responded by firing more than 4,000 rockets into Israel.

HISTORY:

From 1948–67, when Jews were forbidden to live in the West Bank, the Arabs refused to make peace with Israel. From 1967–77, the Labor Party established only a few strategic settlements, and the Arabs remained at war. After his election in 1977, Prime Minister Menachem Begin increased the number of settlements, but Egypt still made peace with Israel. Later, Begin froze settlement building for three months, hoping the gesture would entice other Arabs to join the Camp David peace process. But none would. In 1994, Jordan signed a peace agreement with Israel, and settlements were not an issue. Yasser Arafat signed the Oslo agreements without any requirement that settlements be removed. In 2000, Prime Minister Barak offered to dismantle settlements to make peace with the Palestinians, but Arafat rejected the deal. The West Bank settlements remain a matter for negotiation as part of the final status talks that have been forestalled by Palestinian violence. Meanwhile, Israel’s evacuation from Gaza provided a test of Palestinian intentions. They failed.

SUBJECT: DISPUTED TERRITORIES & SETTLEMENTS

STATEMENT:

**“Israel ‘occupies’
the West Bank and
the violence can
only end when the
occupation ends.”**

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- Occupation is foreign control of an area that was under the previous sovereignty of another state. The West Bank was never Palestinian territory. By rejecting Arab demands that Israel be required to withdraw from all the territories won in 1967, UN Resolution 242 acknowledged that Israel was entitled to claim at least part of these lands for new defensible borders.
 - After the Oslo accords, Israel transferred virtually all civilian authority over Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza to the Palestinian Authority. Israel retained the power to control its own external security and that of its citizens, but 98% of the Palestinian population in these territories came under the PA's authority.
- The more accurate description of the territories in Judea and Samaria is “disputed” territories. Palestinian terrorists are not “resisting occupation,” they are committing what Amnesty International labels “crimes against humanity.”

HISTORY:

The PLO was formed to fight Israel in 1964, before Israel controlled the West Bank. “Occupation” could not have been the issue then. Moreover, when Israel announced the plan to evacuate the Gaza Strip, rather than cheer the unilateral end to the occupation, the Palestinians denounced disengagement. Israel has withdrawn from every inch of Gaza; not a single Israeli soldier or civilian remains. The evacuation came at great emotional and financial cost. And what has the end of “the occupation” brought Israel? Has it received peace in exchange for the land? No, the Palestinian response has been a barrage of more than 4,000 rockets that have killed and wounded dozens of Israeli men, women and children and put southern Israel on an almost constant state of alert. Is it any wonder Israelis are reluctant to give up further territory?

SUBJECT: DISPUTED TERRITORIES & SETTLEMENTS

STATEMENT:

“Israel refuses to dismantle settlements.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- Israel's leaders have acknowledged that not all the settlements that are today in Judea and Samaria will remain Israeli, and Israel proved during the Gaza disengagement it was prepared to dismantle Jewish communities in the hope for peace.
- Most peace plans assume that Israel will annex sufficient territory to incorporate most of the Jews currently living in the West Bank, and President Bush has said that given “new realities on the ground, including already existing major Israeli populations centers,” it is unrealistic to expect Israel to withdraw to the 1949 armistice lines.
- The disengagement from Gaza involved only 21 settlements and approximately 9,500 Jews; more than 100 settlements with a population of

roughly 270,000 are located in the West Bank. Approximately two-thirds of the Jews, however, live in five “blobs” that are all near the 1967 border. Most Israelis believe these blobs—Ma'ale Adumim, Modiin Illit, Ariel, Gush Etzion, and Givat Ze'ev—should become part of Israel when final borders are drawn.

HISTORY:

Any new evacuation from the West Bank will involve another gut-wrenching decision that most settlers and their supporters will oppose with even greater ferocity than the Gaza disengagement. Most Israelis, however, have no opposition to withdrawing from small and isolated communities. The blobs, however, are the equivalent of major American cities. The total area of these communities is only about 1.5% of the West Bank. Would the incorporation of settlement blobs prevent the creation of a contiguous Palestinian state? A look at a map shows that it would not. A kidney-shaped state linked to the Gaza Strip by a secure passage would be contiguous. This is why Palestinian negotiators have said that Israel could retain some settlement blobs.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Hillel the Elder (2nd century B.C.E.) revolutionized Judaism with his strong humanistic/individualistic approach:

A gentile approached Shammai and said, "I will become a Jew, on condition that you teach me the whole Torah while I stand on one foot." Shammai chased him off with a measuring stick. The gentile then approached Hillel, who told him, "What is hateful to you, do not to others! That is the whole Torah: The rest is only commentary—go learn it!"

(Talmud, Shabbat 31a)

(D.L.)

STATEMENT:

“Israel discriminates against its Arab citizens.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- Roughly 20% of the Israeli population are non-Jews. The sole legal distinction between Jewish and Arab citizens of Israel is that the latter are not required to serve in the Israeli army. This is to spare Arab citizens the need to take up arms against their brethren. Druze and Circassians do serve, and Bedouins and other Arabs have volunteered for military duty.
- Arabs in Israel have equal voting rights; in fact, it is one of the few places in the Middle East where Arab women may vote. Israeli Arabs have also held various government posts and are represented in Israel's parliament. Arabic, like Hebrew, is an official language in Israel.

- Palestinians are more welcome in Israel, where they enjoy full political rights and economic opportunity, than in most Arab countries, where they aren't granted citizenship. Jordan is the only Arab state that offers Palestinians citizenship.

HISTORY:

Israel committed itself in its declaration of independence to protect the rights of all its citizens and has been a model society in terms of tolerance toward people from all faiths and backgrounds. Still, it would be misleading to suggest that this promise has been completely fulfilled. As in all other countries in the world, discrimination does occur, and there are economic and social gaps between Israeli Jews and Arabs. Israelis are the first to admit their society is not perfect, and greater efforts have been made in recent years to redress the grievances of Israeli Arabs. Social ills cannot be solved in a mere 60 years. The United States continues to struggle with the same problem and it is more than 200 years old.

STATEMENT:

“Israel’s treatment of Palestinians resembles the treatment of blacks in apartheid South Africa.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- Under apartheid, black South Africans could not vote and were not citizens of the country in which they formed the overwhelming majority of the population. Within Israel, Jews are a majority, but the Arab minority are full citizens with voting rights and representation in the government.
- Israel’s parliament has several Arab members representing a number of different parties. There are no restrictions on them, even though they are often outspokenly critical of the government. Arabs have served in the Cabinet, in the foreign service, and on the Supreme Court. Black South Africans had no such opportunities.

- “We do not want to create a situation like that which exists in South Africa where the whites are the owners and rulers, and the blacks are the workers,” David Ben-Gurion told a Palestinian nationalist. “If we do not do all kinds of work, easy and hard, skilled and unskilled, if we become merely landlords, then this will not be our homeland.”

HISTORY:

The situation of Palestinians in the territories is different from those who are Israeli citizens. The security requirements of the nation, and a violent insurrection in the territories, forced Israel to impose restrictions on Arab residents of the West Bank and Gaza Strip that are not necessary inside Israel’s pre-1967 borders. If Israel were to give Palestinians in the territories full citizenship, it would mean the territories had been annexed. No Israeli government has been prepared to take that step, nor is that what the Palestinians want. Today, 98% of Palestinians in the territories are under the jurisdiction of the Palestinian Authority and they are entitled to vote in PA elections.

STATEMENT:

“Universities should divest from companies that do business in Israel to force an end to Israeli ‘occupation.’”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- The word “peace” does not appear in divestment petitions, which makes clear the intent is not to resolve the conflict but to delegitimize Israel. Petitioners blame Israel for the lack of peace and demand that it make unilateral concessions without requiring anything of the Palestinians, not even the cessation of terrorism.
- Divestment advocates ignore Israel’s efforts during the Oslo peace process, and at the summits with President Clinton, to reach historic compromises with the Palestinians that would have created a Palestinian state.
- Advocates call on Israel to negotiate on the basis of UN Security Council

Resolution 242. Israel has done so since 1967; it is the Palestinians who ignore the resolution’s clause that every state in the area has the “right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force.”

HISTORY:

Peace in the Middle East will come only from direct negotiations between the parties, and only after the Arab states recognize Israel’s right to exist, and the Palestinians and other Arabs cease their support of terror. American universities cannot help through misguided divestment campaigns that unfairly single out Israel as the source of conflict in the region. Proponents hope to tar Israel with an association with apartheid South Africa, an offensive comparison that ignores the fact that all Israeli citizens are equal under the law. The divestment campaign against South Africa was specifically directed at companies that were using that country’s racist laws to their advantage. In Israel no such racist laws exist; moreover, companies doing business there adhere to the same standards of equal working rights that are applied in the United States.

STATEMENT:

“Israel uses checkpoints to humiliate Palestinians and imposes curfews as collective punishment.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- Checkpoints were set up to ensure the safety of Israeli citizens in the territories, protecting them from terrorism on the roads. The passage of Palestinians from the territories into Israel was limited to prevent the spillover of violence and terrorism into Israeli cities. Commercial goods, food, medicine, ambulances, and medical crews continue to circulate freely, hampered only by continuing attacks.
- Curfews are imposed after repeated terrorist attacks force Israel to monitor the movements of prospective

terrorists and limit their ability to enter Israel. They are not designed to punish the Palestinian people; curfews are necessary security measures to defend Israeli citizens.

- Israel wants open borders with its Palestinian neighbors; however, the unrelenting terrorist attacks on its civilian population have forced Israel to defend itself. Israel is in a war and must sometimes take harsh measures, such as the imposition of curfews, but these steps are taken according to the laws of the state and are subject to judicial review.

HISTORY:

Although there have been abuses of human rights, as in any society, these are the exceptions, and not the rule. Incidents are investigated and, where warranted, condemned and the violators punished. Israeli law demands that Palestinians be treated humanely, even those suspected of terrorism or other crimes. Barriers such as checkpoints are set up to ensure the security of Israeli citizens. Once the Palestinians end their campaign of terror, Israel will not need checkpoints and other security measures.

STATEMENT:

“Israel is pursuing a policy of genocide toward the Palestinians that is comparable to the Nazis’ treatment of the Jews.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- The Nazis were engaged in the systematic extermination of every Jew in Europe. Israelis have no desire to harm the Palestinian people. Israel seeks peace with the Palestinians.
- More than one million Arabs live as free and equal citizens in Israel. Of the Palestinians in the territories, 98% live under the civil administration of the Palestinian Authority. The only people threatened by Israel are Palestinians who pursue terror against Israeli citizens.
- While Israel sometimes employs harsh measures against Palestinians

in the territories to protect Israeli citizens—Jews and non-Jews—from the incessant campaign of terror waged by the PA and Islamic radicals, there is no plan to persecute, exterminate, or expel the Palestinian people. Even during terror attacks, Israel has continually provided medical assistance and support to save Palestinian lives.

HISTORY:

This is perhaps the most odious claim made by Israel’s detractors. Hitler’s “Final Solution” was designed to exterminate every Jew. The extermination of the Jews had no justification and was considered an equal part of the German war effort. Israel has sought accommodation with the Palestinians for nearly a century, and repeatedly offered concessions for the sake of peace. The Palestinian population has increased exponentially, in part because of the benefits of living beside the Jews and under Israel’s prosperous democracy. If anyone warrants comparison with the Nazis, it is the Arabs, who use Nazi imagery in the press, have made *Mein Kampf* a bestseller, collaborated with Hitler, and have pursued their own campaign to destroy the Jewish people.

STATEMENT:

“Jews who lived in Islamic countries were well-treated by the Muslims.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- The Golden Age of equal rights was a myth. Jews were generally viewed with contempt by their Muslim neighbors; peaceful coexistence between the two groups involved the subordination and degradation of the Jews. In the ninth century, the Caliph in Baghdad designated a yellow badge for Jews, setting a precedent that would be followed centuries later in Nazi Germany.
- The negative Muslim attitude toward Jews is reflected in various verses throughout the Koran, the holy book of the Islamic faith. According to the Koran, the Jews try to introduce corruption, have always been disobedient, and are enemies of Allah, the Prophet and the angels.
- At times, Jews in Muslim lands lived in relative peace and thrived cultur-

ally and economically. When Jews were perceived as having achieved too comfortable a position in Islamic society, anti-Semitism would surface, often with devastating results. Mass murders of Jews in Arab lands occurred at various times and places throughout the history of the Muslim empire.

HISTORY:

The 1947 UN debate over the partition of Palestine highlighted the precarious position of Jews in Muslim lands. The Syrian delegate, Faris el-Khoury, warned: “Unless the Palestine problem is settled, we shall have difficulty in protecting and safe-guarding the Jews in the Arab world.” More than a thousand Jews were killed in anti-Jewish rioting during the 1940’s in Iraq, Libya, Egypt, Syria and Yemen. This helped trigger the mass exodus of Jews from Muslim countries. Little is heard about the Jewish refugees because they did not remain refugees for long. Of the 820,000 Jewish refugees, 586,000 were resettled in Israel at great expense, and without any offer of compensation from the Arab governments who confiscated their possessions.

STATEMENT:

“Arabs cannot be anti-Semitic as they are themselves Semites.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- The term “anti-Semite” was coined in Germany by Wilhelm Marr in 1879 to refer to the anti-Jewish manifestations of the period and to give Jew-hatred a more scientific sounding name.
- “Anti-Semitism” has been accepted and understood to mean hatred of the Jewish people. Dictionaries define the term as: “Theory, action, or practice directed against the Jews” and “Hostility towards Jews as a religious or racial minority group, often accompanied by social, economic and political discrimination.”
- The claim that Arabs, as “Semites,” cannot be anti-Semitic is a semantic distortion that ignores the reality of

Arab discrimination and hostility toward Jews. Arabs, like any other people, can indeed be anti-Semitic.

HISTORY:

While Jewish communities in Islamic countries fared better overall than those in Christian lands in Europe, Jews were no strangers to persecution and humiliation among the Arabs. Today, virulent anti-Semitism is common throughout the Arab world, evident by blood libels (where Jews are said to sacrifice gentile children and use their blood to make unleavened bread) and Nazi-like cartoons published in government-controlled newspapers, and the popularity of anti-Semitic tracts such as *Mein Kampf* and the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

STATEMENT:

“Palestinians share Americans’ liberal values.”

Palestinian Authority security services or vigilante attacks by relatives is a fate suffered by countless gays in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, where sodomy carries a jail term of three to 10 years. Gay Palestinians often flee to Israel for safety because it offers them asylum.

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- The values commonly associated with liberal society include freedom of religion, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly and freedom of speech. Only one country in the Middle East respects all of these rights—Israel.
- Palestinian women endure various forms of social prejudice and repression within their society. Spousal abuse, sexual abuse, and honor killings occur, but societal pressures prevent most incidents from being reported. Women who marry outside of their faith, particularly Christian women who marry Muslim men, are often disowned by their families and sometimes are harassed and threatened with death.
- Islam prescribes capital punishment for homosexual activity. Torture by

HISTORY:

People who identify themselves as liberals or progressives often sympathize with the Palestinians because they oppose Israeli policy and see Palestinians living in difficult circumstances. It is true that some of the hardships Palestinians experience are due to Israeli actions—many of which are necessitated by Palestinian terrorism—but much of the pain Palestinians suffer is inflicted by their leaders. Security forces torture and abuse detainees. No one is allowed to openly criticize PA leaders. Palestinian journalists who attempt to report objectively are harassed, detained and physically attacked. Christians are violently persecuted by the Muslim majority and hundreds flee the Palestinian territories each year.

ON ONE FOOT

REFUGEES

Whoever destroys a single soul is considered as if he had destroyed the whole world; and whoever saves one soul is considered as if he had saved the whole world.

Mishna Sanhedrin, Albeck edition

(D.L.)

STATEMENT:

“Israel expelled all the Palestinians in 1948.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- The Arab exodus began immediately following the announcement of the UN partition resolution when roughly 30,000 wealthy Arabs who anticipated the upcoming war fled to neighboring Arab countries to await its end.
- Arab leaders urged the Palestinian Arabs to leave their homes and convinced them their armies would destroy Israel and then they could return to their homes as well as those of the Jews.
- Contemporary press reports of major battles conspicuously fail to mention any forcible expulsion by the Jewish forces. The Arabs are usually described as “fleeing” or “evacuating” their homes. In a handful of extraordinary instances, small

numbers of Arabs were expelled. Most left to avoid being caught in the crossfire of the war.

HISTORY:

Had the Arabs accepted the 1947 UN resolution, not a single Palestinian would have become a refugee. An independent Arab state would now exist beside Israel. The refugee problem was due to a combination of flight due to fear of war, the orders of Arab leaders, and, in a handful of instances, expulsions by Israel; thus, the responsibility for the refugee problem lies primarily with the Arabs. The 150,000 Palestinian Arabs who chose to stay in their homes became full citizens of Israel. Ironically, today, thousands of Palestinians who are now under Palestinian Authority rule are fleeing the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

STATEMENT:

“The Palestinians were the only refugees from the Arab-Israeli conflict.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- The number of Jews fleeing Arab countries for Israel in the years following Israel's independence was roughly equal to the number of Arabs leaving Israel.
- The situation of Jews in Arab countries had long been precarious. During the 1947 UN debates, Arab leaders threatened them. For example, Egypt's delegate told the General Assembly: “The lives of one million Jews in Muslim countries would be jeopardized by partition.”
- Many Jews were allowed to take little more than the shirts on their backs. Little is heard about them because they did not remain refugees for long.

Of the 820,000 Jewish refugees, 586,000 were resettled in Israel at great expense, and without any offer of compensation from the Arab governments who confiscated their possessions. Any agreement to compensate the Palestinian refugees should also include Arab compensation for Jewish refugees.

HISTORY:

While the Jewish refugees were welcomed in Israel, the Arab governments put the Palestinian refugees in camps and, with the exception of Jordan, denied them citizenship. The contrast between the reception of Jewish and Palestinian refugees is even starker considering the difference in cultural and geographic dislocation experienced by the two groups. Most Jewish refugees traveled hundreds—and some traveled thousands—of miles to a tiny country whose inhabitants spoke a different language. Most Arab refugees never left Palestine at all; they traveled a few miles to the other side of the truce line, remaining inside the vast Arab nation that they were part of linguistically, culturally and ethnically.

STATEMENT:

“UN Resolution 194 requires Israel to repatriate all the Palestinian refugees.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- UN Resolution 194 (adopted December 1948) says that “refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so.” The Palestinians view the return of the refugees as a way of replacing Israel rather than living with it.
- Resolution 194 also calls for “the repatriation, resettlement and economic and social rehabilitation of refugees and payment of compensation. . . .” The UN mentioned resettlement because members recognized Israel could not repatriate a hostile population that might endanger its security.
- Previous refugee problems in world history have been resolved through

resettlement in new or neighboring countries. Israel considered the settlement of the refugee issue a negotiable part of an overall peace settlement and thought the Arab states would resettle the majority and some compromise on the remainder could be worked out in negotiations. The Arabs refused to compromise in 1949, just as they did in 1947. In fact, they unanimously rejected Resolution 194.

HISTORY:

The Arab states have prevented the resettlement of the Palestinian refugees. Jordan is the only Arab state that grants citizenship to Palestinians. The Palestinian Authority has received billions of dollars in aid, but has not moved the refugees out of camps under its control and into permanent housing. Meanwhile, Israel has allowed thousands of refugees to return and compensated thousands more. No Israeli government will allow more than four million Palestinians to move to Israel because it would mean Palestinians would likely outnumber Jews in the future given the higher birth rates of the Arab population, and the Jewish state would cease to exist.

JERUSALEM

He who cannot change the very fabric of his thought will never be able to change reality, and will never, therefore, make any progress.

—*Anwar Sadat*

For centuries, philosophers have debated whether reality exists outside our heads or within them. If the world is only our own private dream, we need not change others—for they are only the figments of our own imagination. But if we do in fact share a physical universe with other people, then we need to imagine ourselves into their dreams as well. (E.F.)

STATEMENT:

“Jerusalem is an Arab city and the rightful capital of a Palestinian state.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- Jews have been living in Jerusalem continuously for nearly two millennia. They have constituted the largest single group of inhabitants there since the 1840's. Ever since King David made Jerusalem the capital of Israel more than 3,000 years ago, the city has played a central role in Jewish existence.
- The fact that Jerusalem is disputed, or that it is of importance to people other than Israeli Jews, does not mean the city belongs to others.
- Jerusalem was never the capital of any Arab entity. In fact, it was a backwater for most of Arab history. Jerusalem never served as a provincial capital under Muslim rule, nor was it ever a Muslim cultural center.

During the 19 years Jordan ruled the Old City, no mention was ever made of making Jerusalem the capital of a Palestinian state.

HISTORY:

Jerusalem is mentioned more than 700 times in the Jewish Bible. It is not mentioned once in the Koran. The Western Wall in the Old City—the last remaining wall of the ancient Jewish Temple complex, the holiest site in Judaism—is the object of Jewish veneration and the focus of Jewish prayer. Three times a day, for thousands of years, Jews have prayed “To Jerusalem, your city, shall we return with joy,” and have repeated the Psalmist's oath: “If I forget you, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning.” For Jews, the entire city is sacred, but Muslims revere a site—the Dome of the Rock—not the city.

STATEMENT:

“Israel limits freedom of religion in Jerusalem and denies Muslims and Christians access to their holy sites.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- After the 1967 war, Israel abolished all the discriminatory laws promulgated by Jordan. “Whoever does anything that is likely to violate the freedom of access of the members of the various religions to the places sacred to them,” Israeli law stipulates, is “liable to imprisonment for a term of five years.”
- Israel entrusted administration of the holy places to their respective religious authorities. Thus, for example, the Muslim Waqf has responsibility for the mosque on the Temple Mount.

- Since 1967, hundreds of thousands of Muslims and Christians—many from Arab countries that remain in a state of war with Israel—have come to Jerusalem to see their holy places. Arab leaders are free to visit Jerusalem to pray if they wish, just as Egyptian President Anwar Sadat did at the al-Aksa mosque.

HISTORY:

Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter acknowledged that religious freedom has been enhanced under Israeli rule. There is “no doubt” that Israel did a better job safeguarding access to the city’s holy places than did Jordan. “There is unimpeded access today,” Carter noted. “There wasn’t from 1948–67.”

STATEMENT:

“The Temple Mount has always been a Muslim holy place and Judaism has no connection to the site.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- The Temple Mount is the site of both the First and Second Temples, which were the centers of Jewish religious and social life for more than a thousand years until the Second Temple's destruction by the Romans in 70 C.E.
 - When Rome destroyed the Temple, one outer wall, the Western Wall, remained standing. For the Jews, this remnant of what was the most sacred building in the Jewish world became the holiest spot in Jewish life.
- The supreme Muslim body in Jerusalem during the British Mandate published a book that said the Temple Mount's "identity with the site of Solomon's Temple is beyond dispute. This, too, is the spot, according to universal belief, on which David built there an altar unto the Lord, and offered burnt offerings and peace offerings."

HISTORY:

The Jewish connection to the Temple Mount dates back more than 3,000 years and is rooted in tradition and history. When Abraham bound his son Isaac upon an altar as a sacrifice to God, tradition says he did so atop Mount Moriah, today's Temple Mount. Solomon built his Temple on this spot and, after being destroyed by the Babylonians in 586 B.C.E., it was rebuilt. After the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E., control of the Temple Mount passed through several conquering powers. It was during the early period of Muslim control, in 691, that the Dome of the Rock was built on the site of the ancient Jewish Temples.

STATEMENT:

“Jerusalem should be an international city, not the Israeli capital.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- Ever since King David made Jerusalem the capital of Israel more than 3,000 years ago, the city has been central to Jewish existence. The Western Wall in the Old City—the last remaining wall of the mount on which the Jewish Temple stood—is the holiest Jewish site.
- Israel is the only government that has given people of all faiths access to their holy sites. From 1948 to 1967, Jordan denied Israelis access to the Western Wall and to the cemetery on the Mount of Olives. They desecrated Jewish cemeteries and synagogues, and passed discriminatory laws against Christians. Israel, in contrast, entrusted administration of the holy places to their

respective religious authorities and passed laws safeguarding every religion's holy sites.

- There is no precedent for an international city. The closest thing was postwar Berlin when the four powers shared control of the city, and that experiment was a disaster. Additionally, no international group could be entrusted to protect the freedoms Israel already guarantees.

HISTORY:

In 1995, Congress passed legislation declaring that Jerusalem should be recognized as the undivided, eternal capital of Israel and required that the U.S. embassy in Israel be established in Jerusalem, although presidential waivers have subsequently delayed the move.

VIOLENCE

Even though our enemies treat us with the utmost cruelty—they murder us, crucify us and burn us alive—we are still commanded, when we have the upper hand, to treat them with compassion.

Sifri Deuteronomy

This was written over two thousand years ago and it is just as relevant today. Note, however, how different this is from “turning the other cheek.” (D.L.)

STATEMENT:

“Palestinians resort to terror because they are desperate, impoverished and frustrated.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- Terrorism is not the only response available to the Palestinians' discontentment. Palestinians do have an option for improving their situation—it is called negotiations.
- Many peoples and leaders have found alternatives to violence to pursue their political goals. For example, the Palestinians could choose the nonviolent path taken by Martin Luther King or Mahatma Gandhi. Unfortunately, they have chosen to pursue a war of terror instead of a process for peace.
- Terrorism is not the product of freedom fighters, but rather of totalitarianism. Adolf Hitler, Josef Stalin,

Saddam Hussein, and other despots killed civilians in pursuit of a “cause.” Totalitarianism annihilates life, art, free speech, individual rights, and hope.

HISTORY:

Many Palestinians live in poverty, see the future as hopeless, and are frustrated. None of these are excuses for engaging in terrorism. Terrorism has little to do with poverty. In fact, many terrorists are not poor, desperate people at all. The world's most wanted terrorist, Osama bin Laden, for example, is a Saudi millionaire. Terrorism is not Israel's fault. It is not the result of “occupation.” The Palestinian leadership has made a conscious decision to eschew negotiations and pursue violence. Israel has proven time and again a willingness to trade land for peace, but it can never concede land for terror.

STATEMENT:

“Members of Islamic Jihad, Hamas and the PFLP are ‘freedom fighters’ and not terrorists.”

United Nations have repeatedly blocked the condemnation of terrorist attacks against Israel.

- Islamic Jihad, Hamas, and the PFLP are on the U.S. list of terrorist organizations because they engage in “the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- Nowhere else in the world is the murder of innocent men, women and children considered a “legitimate form of resistance.” The long list of heinous crimes by Palestinian terrorists includes snipers shooting infants; suicide bombers blowing up pizzerias; discos and a university cafeteria; hijackers taking and killing hostages; and infiltrators murdering sleeping families in their homes as well as Olympic athletes.
- The enemies of Israel rationalize any attacks as legitimate because they do not recognize the right of a Jewish state to exist. Consequently, the Arab bloc and its supporters at the

HISTORY:

Amnesty International rebutted the suggestion that Palestinian terrorists could be considered “freedom fighters.” Al said “attacks on civilians are not permitted under any internationally recognized standard of law, whether they are committed in the context of a struggle against military occupation or any other context. Not only are they considered murder under general principles of law in every national legal system, they are contrary to fundamental principles of humanity which are reflected in international humanitarian law. In the manner in which they are being committed in Israel and the Occupied Territories, they also amount to crimes against humanity.”

STATEMENT:

“Israel’s assassinations of Palestinian ‘activists’ are illegal and immoral.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- Assassinations of terrorists are not unprecedented. In 1986, after Libya directed a terrorist bombing that killed one American and injured 200 others, the U.S. tried to assassinate President Muammar Qaddafi. In 1998, the Clinton administration tried to assassinate Osama bin Laden for his role in bombing the U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya.
- Individuals who directly take part in hostilities cannot then claim immunity from attack or protection as innocent civilians. A terrorist who plans bombings and ambushes, is considered a combatant until hostilities come to an end, and is therefore a legitimate military target.

- Assassinations tell terrorists that if they target others, they will become targets themselves. They are preemptive strikes at people who would otherwise murder Jews. They throw the terrorists off balance and prevent attacks. By killing terrorist leaders, many lives are saved. Israel prefers to arrest terrorists, but if it can't, and the Palestinians won't, then Israelis have no other choice but to defend themselves.

HISTORY:

Israel is faced with a nearly impossible situation in attempting to protect its civilian population from Palestinians who are prepared to blow themselves up to murder innocents. Israel's preferred strategy for dealing with the problem has been the peace process, but the Palestinians have refused to make political concessions and chosen to use violence to force Israel to capitulate to their demands. Some critics argue that Israel's policy perpetuates a cycle of violence, but this assumes the terror would stop if Israel didn't respond. The people who blow themselves up to become martyrs, however, are already intent on “driving the Jews into the sea” and will not stop until their goal is achieved.

STATEMENT:

“Suicide bombers are morally equivalent to the IDF, both of which kill innocent civilians.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- The IDF acts with restraint, trying to minimize civilian casualties, while Palestinian suicide bombers murder indiscriminately with the goal of killing as many innocent people as possible.
- The IDF targets only terrorists planning acts of violence, and has done its utmost to prevent harm to innocent civilians. When tragic mistakes are made, Israel investigates and apologizes.
- Most Palestinian civilians are hurt participating in violent confrontations; few noncombatants are injured from Israeli attacks on terrorist tar-

gets. In contrast, Palestinian roadside bombs have, for example, killed and maimed children in school buses; Israeli children have been stoned to death while hiking, and an infant was shot by a sniper. Suicide bombers have targeted Israelis at malls, restaurants, discos, and even a university cafeteria. About 70% of the Israelis killed by terrorists are civilians.

HISTORY:

Palestinian terrorists first began targeting Jews in the early part of the 20th century, long before Israel captured the West Bank. Since 1967, the level of terrorism has escalated, and Islamic radicals have adopted the barbaric practice of suicide bombings. To fight against this new tactic, as well as the old proven methods of terrorism, Israel must take defensive measures that sometimes, inadvertently, lead to civilian casualties. There is no moral equivalency, however, between terrorists who knowingly target innocent men, women, and children, and the IDF, which aims for terrorists.

STATEMENT:

“American Jews goaded the U.S. to go to war against Iraq.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- President Bush decided that Iraq posed a threat to the United States, believing at the time Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction that could be used directly against Americans or could be transferred to terrorists. Initially, the war had the support of most Americans and the Congress.
- The war in Iraq liberated the Iraqi people from one of the world's most oppressive regimes. Even in the Arab world, where many people objected to the U.S. action, no Arab leader rose to Saddam Hussein's defense.
- Jews comprise less than 3% of the U.S. population and were hardly the most vocal advocates of the war. On the contrary, the Jewish community

had divisions similar to those in the country as a whole and most major Jewish organizations purposely avoided taking any position on the war.

HISTORY:

Israel will benefit from the elimination of a regime that launched 39 missiles against it in 1991, paid Palestinians to encourage them to attack Israelis, and led a coalition of Arab states committed to Israel's destruction. Many Arab states also benefitted from the removal of Saddam Hussein, in particular, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. This is why these nations allowed Allied forces to use their countries as bases for operations. The suggestion that American Jews are more loyal to Israel than to the United States, or that they have undue influence on U.S. Middle East policy, is an example of anti-Semitism. Unfortunately, some critics of the war on Iraq chose the age-old approach of blaming the Jews for a policy they disagreed with rather than addressing the substantive arguments in the debate.

STATEMENT:

“Most Palestinians oppose violence, but are helpless to stop terrorism.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- Public opinion polls taken by Palestinian researchers in the Palestinian Authority have consistently shown broad support for violence against Israelis. Majorities favored continuing attacks even after Israel disengaged from the Gaza Strip.
- Despite the suffering caused by the failure of their leaders, and Israel's necessary response to the terrorist atrocities committed against its citizens, the general Palestinian public has not called for an end to the violence. No equivalent to Israel's Peace Now movement has emerged.
- On an individual basis, it is possible for Palestinians to say no to terror. When the suicide bombing recruiter phoned the wife of Hamas leader

Abdel Aziz al-Rantisi to ask if her son was available for an operation, she turned him down.

HISTORY:

In other countries, including Israel (where they helped prompt a withdrawal from Lebanon), mothers have often helped stimulate positive change. When enough Palestinian mothers stand up to the terror recruiters, and to their political leaders, and say that they will no longer allow their children to be used as bombs and cannon fodder, the prospects for peace will improve. So long as they prefer their children to be martyrs rather than doctors, bombers rather than scholars, and murderers rather than lawyers, the violence will continue and young Palestinians will continue to die needlessly.

STATEMENT:

“Iran’s nuclear program is no reason for concern.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- Virtually the entire international community, including Europe, Russia, China, Israel, the United States and most Arab states oppose Iran’s pursuit of nuclear weapons. The UN has imposed sanctions on Iran, but they have had little impact and Iran has refused to comply with UN demands to stop enriching uranium that could be used for a bomb.
- Iran has made no secret of its antipathy for Israel and the United States. The surrounding Arab states have expressed their fear of a nuclear Iran, which they view as perhaps the most serious threat to stability in the Middle East.
- Intelligence assessments vary, but, at its present rate of development,

Iran is expected to have the capability to build a nuclear weapon within months, and could have a bomb as early as 2010. This is why some fear that if economic and diplomatic sanctions do not stop them, military measures may be required.

HISTORY:

Iran is believed to have the capability to produce a variety of biological and chemical weapons and could transfer its weapons to terrorists or use them in warheads to threaten American, Israeli, and other nations’ interests. The Iranian government’s radical leaders have threatened to destroy Israel and many people fear they might use a nuclear weapon if they have one. A nuclear Iran would change the entire strategic balance in the Middle East. Officials in Tehran have repeatedly said Iran will never scrap its nuclear program. In response, at least 12 Arab states, fearing a nuclear Iran, are now seeking their own nuclear capabilities, which will make the region and world more unstable.

STATEMENT:

“Israel is too dangerous to visit.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- Israel is far safer than most major cities. Security is Israel's highest priority and it is not unusual to see security guards at hotels, restaurants and museums. No Israeli tour operator is in the danger business. Everything is done to ensure the safety of visitors in Israel.
- The media has created the misperception that Israel is a dangerous place in constant turmoil. Israelis live their lives and seem no different than people in other countries and most visitors have no sense that Israel is engaged in a violent conflict with some of its neighbors.
- Israel is an ideal tourist destination due to its warm climate, natural beaches, breathtaking landscapes and incomparable religious and historical sites. Israel has gorgeous parks, cutting-edge skyscrapers and

affluent suburbs. It has 5-star hotels and youth hostels, fine restaurants and falafel stands, Hollywood and Israeli films, and world-class music, dance and art.

HISTORY:

Israel is a modern nation in a historic region that has welcomed travelers for centuries. Tel Aviv is a bustling city with great restaurants and exciting nightlife. Haifa is a jewel on a mountainside overlooking the sea and home to much of Israel's high-tech industry. The Galilee has beautiful vistas, great wine, nature trails, the Sea of Galilee and rivers. The Negev is a desert full of magnificent rock formations and ancient ruins. Jerusalem is a spiritual and historical sanctuary. The Dead Sea has rejuvenating properties and Eilat offers an undersea wonderland. The country is also a mosaic of peoples and cultures. Jews from more than 100 countries live beside Arab Christians and Muslims while Bedouins continue to roam the desert as they have for centuries and extend their hospitality to strangers. These are just a few of the highlights of a visit to Israel.

UNITED NATIONS

What creates fundamentalism? "(It) is never rooted in faith but in doubt. It is when we are not sure that we are doubly sure. Fundamentalism is, therefore, inevitable in an age which has destroyed so many certainties . . ."

—*Reinhold Neibuhr*

The extremist is not a knight of faith; the extremist is a coward in the face of doubt.

(D.W.)

STATEMENT:

“The United Nations unjustly partitioned Palestine.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- In 1947, the UN sent a delegation to Palestine that concluded what had long been apparent: the conflicting national aspirations of Jews and Arabs could not be reconciled. When they returned, the majority recommended the establishment of two separate states, Jewish and Arab, with Jerusalem an internationalized enclave.
- The UN General Assembly rejected the Arab demand for a unitary Arab state. The majority recommendation for partition was subsequently adopted 33–13 with 10 abstentions on November 29, 1947.
- The Jews of Palestine were not satisfied with the small territory allotted to them by the UN, nor were they

happy that Jerusalem was severed from the Jewish State; nevertheless, they welcomed the compromise. The Arabs rejected it.

HISTORY:

As World War II ended, the magnitude of the Holocaust became known. This accelerated demands for a resolution to the question of Palestine so the survivors of Hitler’s “Final Solution” might find sanctuary in a homeland of their own. The British tried to work out an agreement acceptable to both Arabs and Jews, but their insistence on the Arabs’ approval guaranteed failure because the Arabs would not make any concessions. They subsequently turned the issue over to the UN in February 1947. As the internationally recognized authority, the UN was empowered to make a decision on how to resolve the issue, as it also did in the partition decision for India and Pakistan the same year. The Arabs were willing to accept the UN decision so long as it was in their favor.

STATEMENT:

“UN Resolution 242 requires Israel to return all the land it won in 1967 to the Palestinians.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- The resolution calls for the “withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict.” The UN specifically rejected Arab demands that Israel be required to withdraw from “all the” territories because the Security Council recognized the 1967 borders were indefensible and would have to be adjusted.
- The resolution refers to the “inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war”; however, this only applies to an offensive war. Otherwise, if a defender had to return all the land it gained, this would encourage aggression, since the aggressor would have nothing to lose by going to war. The ultimate goal of 242 is a

“peaceful and accepted settlement.” This means a negotiated agreement based on the resolution’s principles.

- Israel accepted 242 and has withdrawn from roughly 93% of the territories it captured in 1967. It signed peace treaties with every Arab state that has truly recognized its right to exist, namely, Egypt and Jordan.

HISTORY:

Resolution 242 was written to establish principles to guide negotiations for an Arab-Israeli peace settlement. Israel has already proven itself and followed those principles in negotiations with other countries. The Palestinians are not mentioned and the resolution does not require that Palestinians be given any political rights or territory. The resolution does call for “termination of all claims or states of belligerency” and the recognition that “every State in the area” has the “right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force.”

STATEMENT:

“The UN has played a balanced role in Middle East affairs.”

ONE FOOT RESPONSES:

- Starting in the mid-1970s, an Arab-Soviet-Third World bloc joined to form what amounted to a pro-Palestinian lobby at the UN. A pro-PLO “Committee on the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People” was established in 1975, the same year the General Assembly branded Zionism as racism. While Israel’s actions are routinely condemned by the UN, no terrorist attack or other hostile action toward Israel ever merits a critical resolution.
- Israel is the object of more investigative committees and special representatives than any other state in the UN system. The Commission on Human Rights routinely adopts totally disproportionate resolutions concerning Israel while rogue states

such as Syria and Libya are never criticized.

- The Palestinians have been afforded special treatment at the UN since 1975 when the General Assembly awarded the PLO permanent representative status. In 1988, the PLO was designated as “Palestine” and, later, the Palestinians were given the unique status of non-voting member of the Assembly. In contrast, Israel was until 2002 the only UN member state ineligible to sit on the Security Council.

HISTORY:

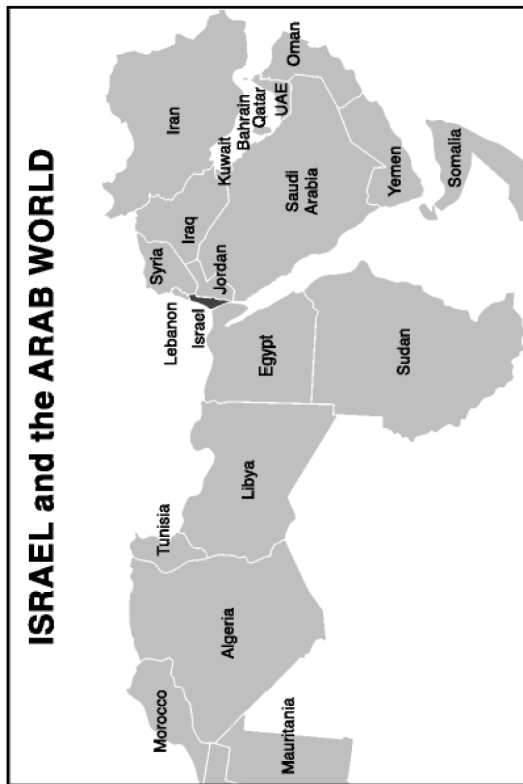
The United States does not automatically support Israel with its veto in the UN Security Council. The U.S. has often opposed Israel and has rarely used its veto. The Bush Administration announced it would veto any resolution that didn’t condemn Palestinian terror and name Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and the Al-Aksa Martyrs Brigade as the groups responsible for the attacks. The U.S. also said that resolutions must note that any Israeli withdrawal is linked to the security situation, and that both parties must be called upon to pursue a negotiated settlement.

MAPS

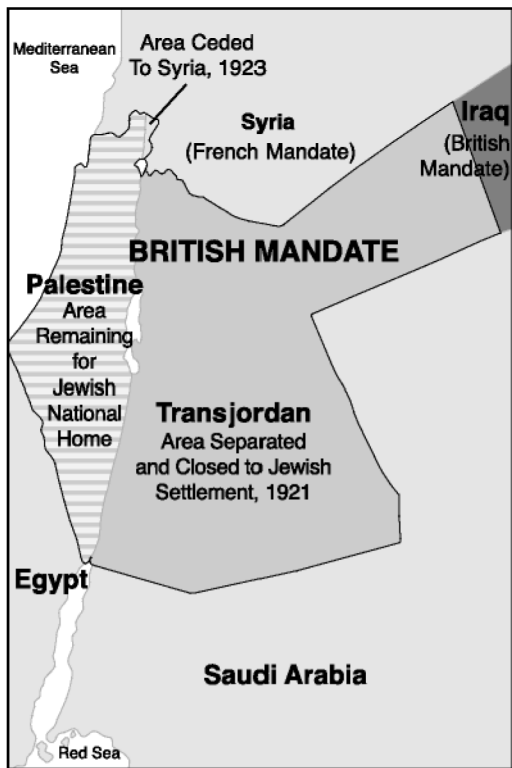
"The opposite of love is not hate but indifference; the opposite of life is not death but insensitivity."

—Elie Wiesel from *Somewhere a Master: Further Hasidic Portraits and Legends*.

Elie Wiesel, a survivor of Auschwitz who ever calls us to conscience, indicates that caring matters most of all. Apathy causes more harm than even hatred because the energy that comes from strong feelings can ultimately lead to reconciliation. But no improvements can come from indifference and insensitivity. (L.L.)



SUBJECT: MAPS



Great Britain's Division of the Mandated Area

SUBJECT: MAPS



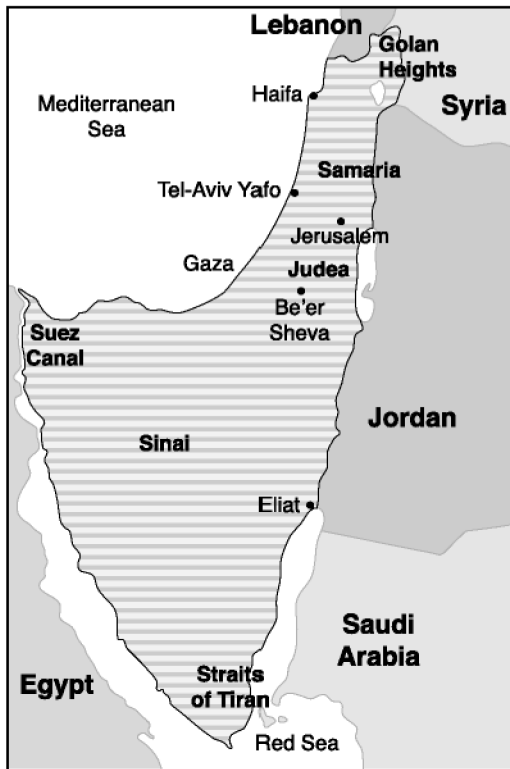
The 1947 UN Partition Plan

SUBJECT: MAPS



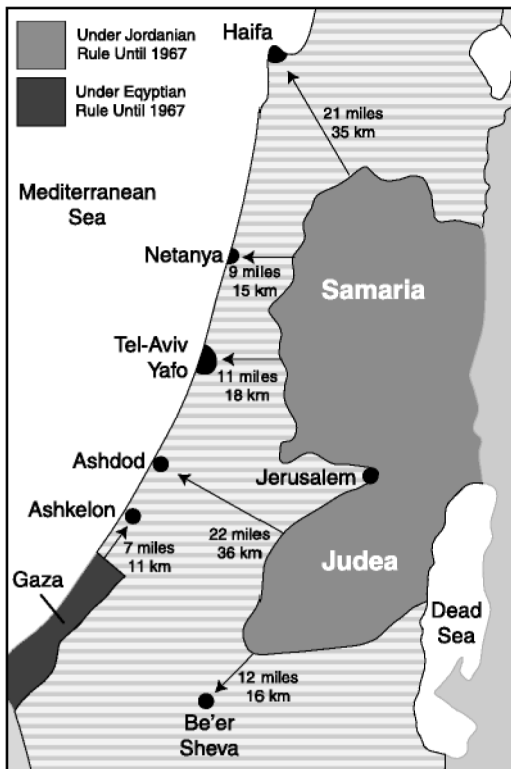
Israel Before June 1967

SUBJECT: MAPS



Cease-Fire Lines After the 1967 War

SUBJECT: MAPS



Distances Between Israeli Population Centers and Pre-1967 Armistice Lines.

SUBJECT: MAPS



The Future Borders of Palestine and Israel?

SUBJECT: MAPS



The Palestinian Authority's Map of Palestine

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On his deathbed, Reb Zusya began to cry. His disciples, gathered around, asked in astonishment: "Rabbi, why do you cry? You have been a great teacher and a pious man!" Reb Zusya replied, "When I come before God, I know he will not ask me—why have you not been faithful as Abraham. For I have not the towering strength of an Abraham. He will not ask me, "Why were you not a leader like Moses?" For I have not the spiritual stature of Moses. But when God says to me "Zusya, my child—why were you not Zusya?", then what shall I say? That is why I cry."

Chasidic Story

(D.W.)

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We live and act according to the image of humanity we cherish.

—*Abraham Joshua Heschel*

If we imagine that the human heart is bent solely on evil and that human nature is fundamentally corrupt, then we will find the devil wherever we look. If, on the other hand, we have more faith in our species, grant ourselves a basic instinct toward altruism and fairness, we might very well decide that decent people make up the majority of our race. It all depends upon whom we greet each morning in the mirror.

(E.F.)

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A man had been wandering in the forest for several days unable to find a way out. Finally he saw another man approaching. He asked him "Brother, will you please tell me the way out of the forest?" Said the other, "I do not know the way out either, for I too have been wandering here for many days. But this much I can tell you. The way that I have gone is not the way."

Rabbi Hayyim of Zans

So it is with us. We know that the way we have been going is not the way. Now let us join hands and look for the way together. (D.W.)