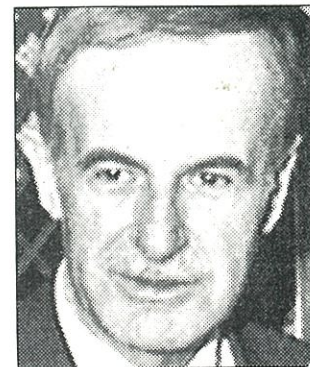
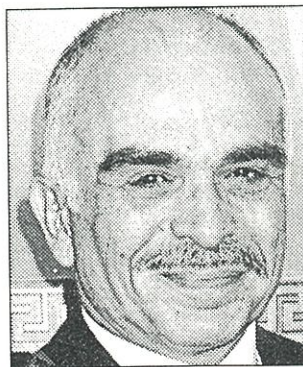
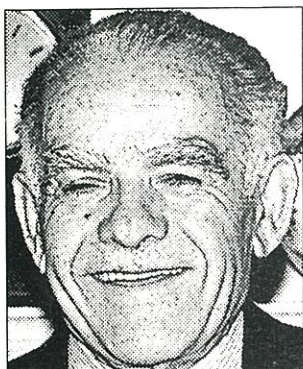


# *The Young Zionist*

*Winter 1991*



*Still a long way to go*

# Editorial

The first time that I sat down to produce a Young Zionist, Scuds fell over (and on to) Tel-Aviv, as I write now, a new Middle Eastern order could be forming in Madrid.

I promised you four, you got one !! I just hope that everybody's hard work that went in to this magazine is rewarded by your enjoyment of it.

The changes in the past year have been phenomenal. FZY itself has gone through some remarkable changes, and has now firmly established itself in the forefront of dynamic young Zionism. I hope this magazine reflects that.

Thank you to everybody that has helped me with this, both willingly and under duress !! (Yes, that means you, Ben !).

Enjoy reading the words and if you don't fancy that, then perhaps colour in the pictures !

B'hatzlacha,

Daniel Levy

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Telephone: 071 794 1991

# Different Name, Different Government, Same Hatred

Leningrad into St. Petersburg, USSR into Russia, Gorbachev into Yeltsin. SACSJ's *Simon Klarfield* returns from Russia to see that the more things change...

Meeting with Irina Levinsakya and Nina Katurly - non-Jewish academics who monitor anti-semitism in Leningrad, and currently defendants in a libel case (because they accused anti-semite Evgeny Krilov of being an anti-semite!); attending a monarchist demonstration in Palace Square (which proved to give popular support to the pogrom-initiating Black Hundreds); and walking down Nevsky Prospekt (Leningrad's main high street), you begin to understand why there is so much fear amongst Soviet Jews.

It is now very easy to buy Russian editions of "Mein Kampf" and "The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion" openly on the streets of now-St. Petersburg. The anti-Semitic cartoons dispersed throughout neo-Nazi literature-newspapers, hoardings etc. show the Jew as big-nosed, wearing skull-cap and more often than not with horns and blood emanating from his head. One cannot help asking the question "does anybody actually believe this nonsense spouted out by these fools?" Oh, but they do!

Several months before my visit to Leningrad, Konstantin Smirnoff-Otashvili (the man found guilty

and imprisoned for inciting racial hatred last year) was found hanged in his prison cell. One week before my arrival in Leningrad, the Jews were blamed for murdering him. This is simply the latest in a long list of "allegations" against Soviet Jews that range from the Armenian earthquake to the Chernobyl nuclear disaster to AIDS.

With the current social, economic and political instability within the USSR people are yet again looking for scapegoats, and once again they look for the Jews.

You might have thought that, as the Soviet Union was so opposed to Nazism during the "Great Patriotic War", that organisations such as Pamyat (now prominent in Moscow), the Russian Republican Party and the Russian National Front - who often sport swastikas - would be banned by the authorities, or at the very least, shunned by the populous. Neither of these are the case. On May 1st 1991 neo-Nazis were granted police permission to demonstrate in the Leningrad equivalent of Buckingham Palace gardens... they surely must have friends in high places.

And in answer to the ideological

dilemma of being a "Soviet neo-nazi" one needs only to look at the new preface to the Russian edition of Mein Kampf to see the answer:-

"The defeat of Germany in the Second World War gave the Jews an opportunity to fulfil their plan of enslaving the whole of mankind by the year 2000.... The tragedy of Hitler was that he, being blind adherent of the idea of racial purity of Arian blood, did not want to erect a bridge to the hearts of Slavs... And now when Nazi Germany is defeated the triumphant Jew got all the profit from it..."

It is quite surprising to see how resilient Soviet Jews have become regarding these anti-semitic incidents. They accept it as a way of life... a swastika daubed on your apartment, cries of "zhid" when you get on a bus, the near impossibility of a Jewish student attending Leningrad State University...

I must admit that, as a Jew in Leningrad, I felt slightly uneasy in the presence of anti-semites. But at least I am not a Soviet Jew - I could simply get on an aeroplane and leave.

# THE UNEQUAL EQUATION

The Madrid talks will see another battle in the campus war, but some old lies will always keep coming back. Mazkir, *Dan Goldstone* separates truth from propaganda. Are all Zionists really racist?

At school, algebra was always a hard topic. Learning to equate  $2x$  with  $3y$  and getting the answer of 7 was always a bit of a hit or miss affair and ever since then equations with letters in have held a sense of mystery as to their logic.

This mystery was continued when I first came across people talking about " $Z = R$ ". Like the algebra of my school days, logic disappeared and mystery set in. Apparently, according to this equation, anyone who is a Zionist is also a racist. Logical? I thought not.

Anti-Zionists greatest day was probably November 10th 1975 when the United Nations passed a resolution that equated Zionism with racism. The implications for Zionists and the State of Israel were, and still are, huge. Anything that is done in the name of Zionism can now be labelled racist, in the language of the UN. Anything the Zionist State of Israel does can be called racist by its opponents; even its very existence can "legitimately" be called into question when it is labelled "Zionist" and therefore "racist", in the same way as South

Africa suffered before the abolition of Apartheid. It is probably fair to say the reason why Israel has not suffered the sanctions South Africa has is because the civilised world knows the resolution was borne out of the political manipulations of Israel's Arab enemies in the wake of the Yom Kippur War, and the resolution is a



complete fabrication and a slur.

The political campaign to oust Israel began in early 1974 when resolutions attacking Israel, with no relevance to the work of the organisations concerned, were forced through several UN agencies. These included the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), the International Labour Organisation

(ILO) and the International Womens Conference. This sustained campaign, organised by the Soviet and Arab blocs and some Third World countries, led to the appearance of Yasser Arafat at the General Assembly of the UN on November 13th 1974. Wielding a gun and an olive branch, his speech set in motion a chance of political events which gave the

Arab countries sufficient confidence to put in the  $Zionism = Racism$  Motion.

The operative part of the resolution reads as follows:

"The General Assembly, recalling that in its Resolution 3151 G (XXVIII) of December 14,

1973, the General Assembly condemned..... the unholy alliance between South Africa racism and Zionism; ..... taking note also of Resolution 77 (XII) .... (of) the Organisation of African Unity ..... which considered that the racist regimes in occupied Palestine and .... in Rhodesia and South Africa have a common imperialist origin .... and taking note of the political declaration .... (of) the .... Foreign Ministers of non-aligned coun-

tries .... which most severely condemned Zionism as a threat to world peace ... determined that Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination."

The resolution was adopted by a vote of 75 to 35 with 32 abstentions. Romania and Spain were absent from the vote.

Now to the question of how Zionism be labelled racist. What arguments do they use? Is the logic twisted or valid?

Argument No. 1: Zionism has always been and always will be an imperialist, expansionist and inherently racist movement, intent on stealing the homeland of the Arabs. For example, the Law of Return gives special immigration rights to Jews only.

Argument No. 2: Anti-Zionists call Israelis' official policies towards the Palestinians racist. Therefore, if the official policies of the State are racist, so the argument goes, the State itself is therefore racist and can be justly delegitimised.

Argument No. 3: Israeli Arabs are treated as "second class citizens" when compared to the way the State treats Israeli Jews with regard to the provision of social services, education etc.

So why doesn't the equation balance? To call Zionism racism is a completely fabricated political tool used to attack the State of Israel and undermine its reputation and role in the political arena. No Movement of self-liberation and self-determination which had its origins in socialism and always intended on sharing the Biblical

homeland with the indigenous population, can be called racist. There can be no comparison between Israel and the apartheid of the old South Africa - Israel has no policy of suppression of either Israeli Arabs or of Palestinians of the Occupied Territories. Indeed, Israeli Arabs have prospered far more in Israel than their counterparts in Arab Countries - they have a democratic vote, they have education and social services far in advance of any other country in the Middle East and they have full citizenship as enshrined in the Declaration of Independence: "...will uphold the full social and political equality of all citizens, without distinction of race, creed or sex (and) will guarantee full freedom of conscience, worship, education and culture." No Arab country has such a statement, and before a country attacks another about its level of tolerance, it should check its own treatment of its own minorities, which in most Arab countries is atrocious.

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***" The resolution is  
a complete  
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slur. "***

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I would never claim Israel is a perfect democracy and treats its citizens ideally - far from it. Israel is full of social problems and its Arab citizens suffer them just as much as its Jewish citizens, and the IDF's behaviour in the Occupied Territories has many blemishes. However, Israel has the democratic infrastructure to correct its problems and the state respects the principle of freedom of speech which is blatantly ignored in other parts of the Middle

East.

However, we must examine the motives behind the 1975 motion. The idea was never to prove Israel was/is a racist country, but to get Israeli recognised by default as a racist country by getting the UN, who few people are prepared to argue with, to say so. "If the UN says its' true, then it must be." The aim was to delegitimise and attack Israel with the eventual aim of destroying it. Wars didn't work, so maybe the political method would. When the aim is to destroy the Jewish State - no other, just the Jewish State - then this action itself is anti-semitic and racist. Many anti-Semites use the cloak of anti-Zionism, which they claim is legitimate criticism, by pretending to attack Israel when their main aim is to attack Jews. This resolution, which is still in force, has given them the best ammunition of the past 16 years.

In recent months, Israel has been pressing for the recinding of the Z=R motion as a part of the conditions for a Middle East Conference. Here's hoping they succeed and that the power and position of the UN is not abused in such a conspirational way again.

# Judging Israel

**Is Israel dealt with fairly in the Press or are we witnessing a hypocritical double-standard? *Charles Krauthammer* investigates:**

**J**ews are news. It is an axiom, too, because it is otherwise impossible to explain why the deeds and misdeeds of a dot-on-the-map Israel get an absurdly disproportionate amount of news coverage around the world. If you are trying to guess how much coverage any middle-east event received, you are permitted to ask but one question, the best question you can ask about the event is: Were there any Jews in the vicinity? Whatever the reason, it is a fact that the world is interested in what happens to Jews.

How *should* Israel be judged? Specifically, should Israel be judged by the moral standards of its neighbourhood or by the standards of the West?

The answer, unequivocally, is: the standards of the West. But the issue is far more complicated than it appears

The first complication is that although the neighbourhood standard ought not to be Israel's, it cannot be ignored when judging Israel. Why? it is plain that compared with the way its neighbours treat protests, prisoners and opposition in general, Israel is a beacon of human rights. The salient words are Hama, the town where Syria dealt with an Islamic uprising by killing perhaps 20,000 people in two weeks and then

paving the dead over; and Black September (1970) where enlightened Jordan dealt with its *Intifada* by killing at least 2,500 Palestinians in ten days, a toll that the Israeli *Intifada* would need to run for ten years to match.,

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***" Critics openly expect a higher standard from the Jewish state than from other states. "***

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Any moral judgement must take into account the alternative. Israel cannot stand alone, and if it is abandoned by its friends for not meeting Western standards of morality it will die. What will replace it? The neighbours: Syria, Jordan, The P.L.O., Hamas, Islamic Jihad, Ahmed Jabril, Abu Nidal, Saddam Hussein ? This outcome would induce acute nostalgia for Israel's human rights record.

Any moral judgement that refuses to consider the alternative is irresponsible. That is why Israel's moral neighbourhood is important. It is not just the neighbourhood, it is the alternative and, if Israel perishes, the future.. It is morally absurd, therefore to reject Israel for failing to meet Western standards of human rights when

the consequence of that rejection is to co-sign the region to neighbours with considerably less regard for human rights.

Nevertheless, Israel cannot be judged by the moral standards of its neighbours; it is part of the West. It bases much of its appeal to Western support on shared values, amongst which is a respect for human rights. The standard for Israel must be Western standards.

But what exactly does, "Western Standards" mean? Here we come to complication number 2, there is not a single Western standard, there are two: what we demand of Western countries at peace and what we demand of Western countries at war. It strains not just fairness but also logic to ask Israel, which has only known war for its 43 year existence, to act like a Western country at peace.

The only fair standard is this one: How have Western countries reacted in similar conditions of war, crisis and insurrection? Look to the US during the Civil War, The British in Mandatory Palestine, to the French in Algeria. The record speaks for itself. French conduct during the Algerian war was noted for its indiscriminate violence and systematic use of torture. In comparison, Israeli behaviour has been positively re-

strained; and yet Israel faces a far greater threat. All the Algerians wanted, after all, was independence. They were not threatening the existence of France. If Israel has the same assurance as France that its existence was in no way threatened by its enemies, the whole Arab-Israeli conflict could have been resolved decades ago.

Milan Kundera once described a small nation as one "whose very existence may be put into question at any moment; a small nation can disappear and knows it." Czechoslovakia is a small nation. Judea was. Israel is. France, the U.S. and the U.K. are not.

No other country at war is judged by Western peacetime standards. No other country is subjected to regularly Nazi analogues. In no other country is the death or deportation of a single rioter the subject (as it was before the press grew intifada bored) of front page news, emergency UN debates, full-page ads in *The Guardian* pained articles about Israel's lost soul etc. etc.

Why is that so? Why is it that of Israel a standard of behaviour is demanded that is not just higher than its neighbours, not just equal to that of the West, but in fact far higher than of any Western country in similar circumstances? Why the double standard?

For most, the double standard is unconscious. Critics simply assume it safe to compare Israel with safe and secure Britain. They ignore the fact that there are two Western standards, and they ignore that fairness dictates subjecting Israel to the standards of a

Western country at war.

But critics openly expect a higher standard from the Jewish state than from other states. Why? The Jews, it is said, have a long history of oppression; thus, it is said, they have a special vocation to avoid oppressing others. This dictates a higher standard in dealing with others.

Note that the reasoning here is only applied to Jews. When other people suffer, Vietnamese, Algerians, Palestinians, The French Marquis, the Kuwaitis, they are usually allowed a grace period during which they are judged by a somewhat lower standard. The victims are, rightly or wrongly, morally indulged.

With Jews, that kind of reasoning is reversed. Jewish suffering does not entitle them to any more leeway, indeed it seems to entitle them to less. Their suffering requires them, uniquely, to bend over backwards in dealing with their enemies. It is perverse to argue that because a particular nation state is made up of people who have suffered the greatest crime in modern history that they have a special obligation to be delicate with those who seek to bring down on them another national catastrophe.

That is a double standard. What does a double standard mean? To call it a higher standard is simple euphemism. That makes it sound like a compliment, In fact it is a weapon. If I hold to you a higher standard of morality than others, I am saying that I am prepared to denounce you for things that I would never denounce others for.

If I were to make this kind of judgement about people of different colour- say, if I demanded that Black people must meet a higher standard when dealing with people, that would be called racism.

Let's invent an example. Imagine a journalistic series on cleanliness in neighbourhoods. A city newspaper studies a White neighbourhood and a Black neighbourhood and finds that while both are messy, the black neighbourhood is cleaner. But week-in week-out the paper front page stories comparing the rubbish and graffiti in the Black neighbourhood to the pristine cleanliness of Switzerland. Ian Black chips in an op-ed piece deploring, in sadness more than anger, the irony that the Black people, who for so long had degradation imposed on them, should now impose degradation on themselves.

Something is wrong here. To denounce Black people for misdemeanours that we overlook in White people- that is a double standard. That is not a compliment. That is racism.

The conscious deployment of a double standard directed at the Jewish State and at no other state in the world, the willingness to systematically condemn the Jewish state for things that others are not condemned for- this is not a higher standard. It is a discriminatory standard. And discrimination against Jews has a name too. The word for it is anti-Semitism.

*This article, adapted from the original, first appeared in TIME MAGAZINE in February 1990.*

# Poland 1991

Poland was once the centre of European and World Jewry, until forty years ago. *Daniel Levy* went to Poland to find out about the past and how history could repeat itself.

**“W**hy on earth do you want to go *there* ?” I

was asked. A week in a drab Eastern European country, with a history of poisonous anti-semitism is hardly summer tour. Depressing, morbid or otherwise, my reaction to anybody that asks is that we have to visit these places - to see what they are like ; we have to talk to survivors and listen to their stories. We are the last generation who are able to speak to the survivors one-to-one, when they are gone, we will be the ones telling our children. The Jewish people and the whole world must never forget the Shoah.

Warsaw is depressing. I was expecting it to be, but I think I would have found it depressing anyway. I saw the Umslagplatz, where the Jews of Warsaw were rounded up and sent to Treblinka death

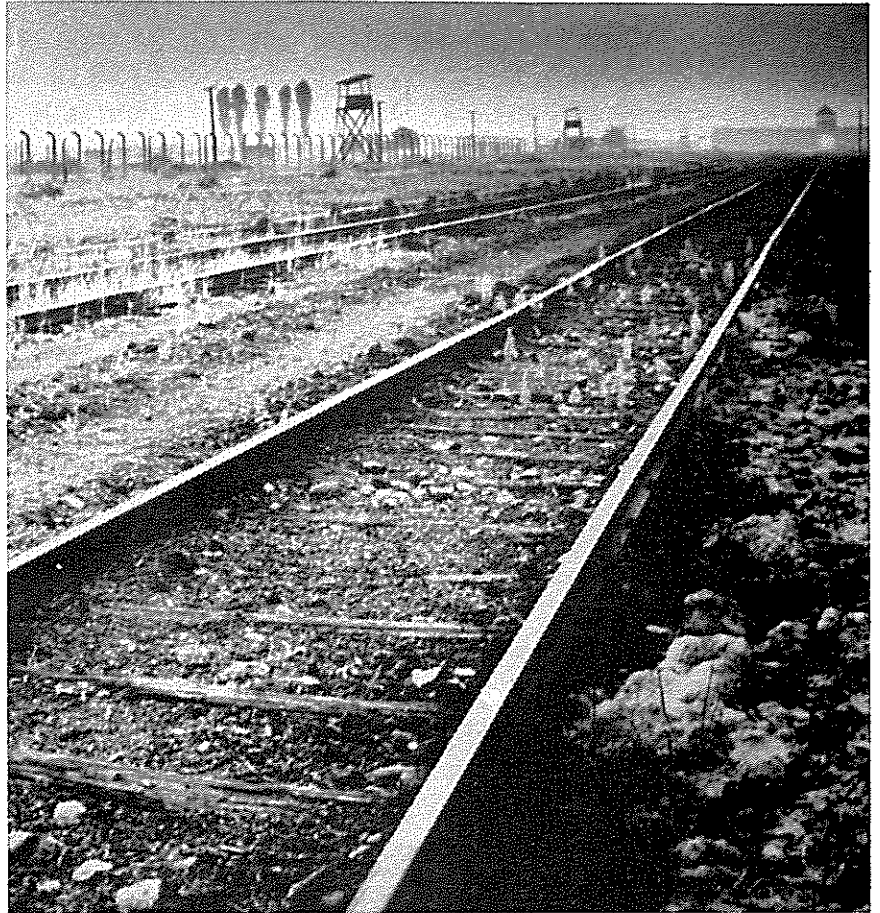
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***“ For most of us it was too much, it was the only time in the week that I cried. ”***

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camp and it was to there that we travelled.

Treblinka had only one purpose - death. Nobody lasted more than a few hours at the camp and only a



handful ever survived. The Germans built a mock railway station complete with a ticket office and waiting room to calm the nerves of the arriving Jews, many of whom believed that they were being re-housed. The survivor, Mark, that came with us told us a story of Treblinka. His home town of Rabka had its own town-song. The German officers rewrote the song to fit Treblinka and made the Jews sing, “*Treblinka, Treblinka you are our inspiration, our destiny. We love you Treblinka.*” On a silent cold Spring morning, an elderly man stood among the grave of 800,000

and sung a song to those who just for one second, could come some way to imagining just exactly what that place was like. For most of us it was too much, it was the only time in the week that I cried. Nothing at all remains of Treblinka , between July 1942 and August 1943 the Nazi machine destroyed a large proportion of European Jewry and then the buildings themselves. All that remains is a huge clearing in a wood. Past the large stone monument lies an ash pit, near which 40 years ago bodies burned. All around are small stones. Countless numbers, not for each person

that died; but one for each community wiped out. As I walked around, I was pointing to the rocks, thinking to myself 'Hendon, Golders Green, Stanmore, Alwoodley, Salford, Newton Mearns...' Then as I looked up, all could see were stones, everywhere for 360 degrees. Only occasionally is it possible to begin to comprehend the size of the Nazi operation.

We stayed the night in Lublin and then on to Majdanek Camp. My first impression of the camp was just how close it was to the town itself. From the top of the camp, you can see the houses and offices of the town; we all asked the question, "How can they say that they didn't know?" Unlike Treblinka, the buildings in Majdanek are still standing. The gas chambers are stained blue with Cyclon B Gas, the shower rooms are still in tack and the 'living' quarters can still be seen. Especially moving are the rooms full to overflowing with shoes, with glasses, with false limbs and with the suitcases of all those who also thought that they were being rehoused. We stood by an immense urn filled with human ashes, over from the crematoria and facing a ditch where on one day, hundreds on Jews lined up to be shot into the ditch that they themselves dug. "How can anybody, *anybody*, shoot a baby and throw it into a pit?" Obviously we couldn't answer this question. One way of coming close, was to understand the dehumanisation process that went on against the Jews in Nazi Europe. This was strikingly highlighted at the SS training camp in Mark's home town of Rabka.

The elite of the Nazi world were

taken to the small village of Rabka where they would be instilled with pure Nazi ideology. Local Jews, including Mark's family, were rounded up for the officers to 'practise' methods of torture and killing. They stayed in a stable, which was now home to the horses of the nuns that live on the site of the old SS university. Nobody ever visits Rabka. Mark, the survivor, was moved to tears on many times, not least because now, over 40 years later, people were commemorating the evil that went on in his own village.

We went finally to Auschwitz/ Birkenau, a huge complex comprising the most infamous prisoner-of-war camp, and the largest most evil death camp. Birkenau, with its famous arch

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### ***" We sung proud and defiant at the tops of our voices. "***

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over the railway track entrance is unimaginably huge- perhaps 50 Wembley Stadia - my words cannot convey how large this place of death is; as far as the eye can see are old barracks where people would wait to die there or in one of the crematoria, that were fitted with lifts to automate and speed up the movement of bodies from extermination to cremation.

By comparison, Auschwitz is a theme park. In fact it is almost what the Polish authorities have done to the place, complete with its film shows, gift shops, guided tours and cafeteria. Auschwitz was originally built as a base for the Austro-Hungarian army in the early 1900's and consists of rows

of brick house-like barracks. The camp held political prisoners and eminent Jews who were tortured or lined up against the death wall and shot. The infamous Mengele who experimented mercilessly and perversely on innocent victims: twins, pregnant women and pre-pubescent boys to name but a few examples. Although not appearing so, this camp was as bad as the others.

At each place that we visited, we conducted a ceremony that included readings, a *kaddish* for the dead and often, a singing of the *Hatikvah*. Each time we sung, we sung louder and from deeper down in the heart. The final time was as we were about to board our flight home. We stood on the steps of the 737, looking out at a Libyan Airways jet and at our last glance of Poland, we sung proud and defiant at the tops of our voices.

I went to Poland expecting to spend most of the week in tears, I did not, I spent much of it in anger. Perhaps just as upsetting as the atrocities, was the hatred that still remains. On our way to Shul in Warsaw in Friday night, a group of guys our own age, who were obviously not expecting us, threw cans at us and performed a Nazi march. The memorial to Mila 18 in the old Warsaw Ghetto was derided, as were most memorials, with "Jude go home." It made us think that we are lucky. We do have a home. Aliyah should be for positive reasons, but every Jew must know that a strong Israel is a home for all Jews running to Israel and from oppression. Only a strong Israel can add any substance to the phrase, 'never, ever, again.'

*Grateful thanks to Lisa Sekenofsky for her help with this article*

# Buchenwald

Just past the familiar advert for Coca Cola,  
Just past the dapper sports centre,  
Just past the motorbike mechanic,  
lies the camp.  
There are no signs to Buchenwald.  
The German soldier in the nearby base had never heard of it,  
so we followed the train lines.

It is a luscious forest  
with big open spaces in it so you can have a picnic,  
but no one was hungry,  
not this time.

☹ The massive, cool monument reaches up like a light unto the nation,  
“Here lie the victims of Facism” .....no mention  
“From over 30 different countries” .....still no mention  
“At the hands of the Nazis” .....IT WAS THE JEWS, THE JEWS  
“May their sacrifice not be forgotten” .....it already is

In the corner, where the barracks once stood,  
in the shadow of a memorial to the Russian soldiers,  
lies a plaque to the Jews.  
We huddle round for warmth, lay the flag of survival round her cold body,  
say Kaddish, just once, and sing the only prayer we know,  
Hatikvah, some hope.

David Pliener

# What Does It Mean For Me To Live In Israel?

**Shaliach, *Arieh Tsilik* gives a personal account of his Zionism:**

**I** was born in Haifa, Israel in March 1959 to my parents Clara and Zvi. They arrived in Israel in 1950 from Romania, where they were born and lived under the Romanian rules under antisemitic fears throughout the Nazi occupation during World War II and then the rulers of the communist dictators.

Both my parents and their best friends became involved in a Zionist Youth movement called "Gordonia - Young Maccabi" since they were 9 years old. During their time in Romania, from when it had a very large Jewish community of more than 1 million Jews to less than 400,000, after the Holocaust, they were prepared to leave Romania in order to return to their homeland - Israel.

When the goyim shouted at them "Jews go to Palestine - that is your home - not here" they were ready to leave but the ways to immigrate then were almost impossible beside there was not an independent state then to help them leave.

After the war finished my parents fought against the rules of the British Mandate in Palestine and helped thousands of Jews make illegal aliyah and to finally arrive in their land by poor battered ships.

From when my parents finally arrived until today, the Jewish State is still in a process to achieve the Zionist ideals to rebuild a new Jewish life in their old/new homeland (Eretz Israel) and still the people of Israel are facing security, economic and social-cultural problems caused by different factors but the main ones are the Israeli/Arab conflict and the mass aliyah. Hopefully Israel will achieve peace with it's neighbours in the region and also with the strong support of Jewish communities around the world will achieve the absorption of all the olim in Israel.

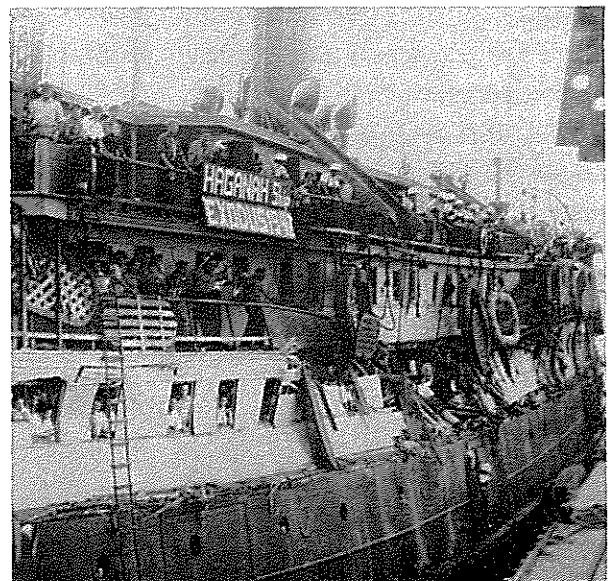
I am a Sabra Zionist Jew who feels that Israel is my home because I was educated as a Zionist.

The first thing I felt when I was awarded my first officer rank of the I.D.F. was never again being a minority living under other people's rules surrendering my Jewish culture and freedom. Never again worrying about what will happen to my children's future and if they will/will not be a part of the mass assimilation happen-

ing in Diaspora Jewry.

Also not worrying about how to keep my Jewish identity because Israel is a Jewish state.

My friends, life in Israel is not a garden of roses yet, but it is a land of milk and honey in Zionist terms,



- our future is where our past is.

Israel is the land where Jews from around the world can gather together, each one with his own beliefs, manners, culture and lifestyle and contribute from his own background.

In Israel I feel a part of a very large family - where some are Ashkenazi, Sephardi, secular kibbutzniks or religious - this is what we are! The only thing that bothers me as a "Young Zionist" is why the rest of my people, especially in the West, are not hurrying to join us.

# Ten Times For The *Lady*

**Veteran anti-semite, Lady Jane Birdwood, has recently been convicted for distributing Jew-hating literature, but is she alone in her views ? Sandra Barwick of 'TheSpectator' reports on her trial.**

**D**ressed in black, defending herself in a voice that was low and tremulous with age; fragile, fine boned, aristocratic a little old lady stood, vulnerable and dignified whilst against her arrayed all the force and pomp of the law.

That was one way of looking at it, anyway. It was certainly how about 30 sympathisers saw the trial of Lady Birdwood on 10 charges of possessing and distributing anti-Jewish leaflets in order to stir up racial hatred. They sat, intent, in silent rows, scrutinising the faces of the jurors.

"I think there is a lot of sympathy flying around down there," said a young man in a checked shirt as a group of ten waited outside the packed gallery for seats to become available.

"As far as Jane is concerned, the fact that we are here shows that she has a lot of support, I think she has behaved magnificently," said an old lady clutching one of Tolstoy's novels. "The Public Order Act was dreamt up by Jewish bureaucrats," said a smartly dressed woman in her late thirties. "Whatever happened to that awful Yid woman who was supposed to give evidence today?"

The accent with which this question was framed was educated,

middle class. These visible supporters of Lady Birdwood were a type very different from the booted young skinheads who march for the National Front. These wore pearls in their ears, head scarfs, Liberty shawls, tweed jackets, good suits. They had clean fingernails. You would have asked one of them the way home on a dark night without a qualm. They looked, like Lady Birdwood, so reasonable, so reassuring.

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***"The Holocaust was a 'holohoax'. The Talmud recommended paedophilia."***

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But there were the leaflets stamped with the name of Lady Birdwood's organisation, *Choice* the printed black type as clear as her sympathiser's highly polished shoes.

The Holocaust was a *holohoax*. The Talmud recommended paedophilia. Fanatical Jews were carrying out the ritual murder of non-Jewish children. Jack the Ripper was certainly Jewish and only a conspiracy of the highest had managed to suppress this fact

for the last Century.

The leaflets that this genteel old lady had distributed achieved a curious mixture: they were at the same time crude hate-filled and ludicrous. Just before lunch, the jury was sent out to consider them and their verdicts and, just after lunch they returned. The accused was put to her feet: "Put up Jane Birdwood!" a form of address that causes indigent mutterings in a galley tense with loyalty and apprehension: "Dowager Lady Birdwood! The Dowager!" they said.

"On count one, what is your verdict?"

"Guilty"

"Oh shame! Shame of British justice!" cried a woman.

"On count two, what is your verdict?"

"Guilty."

"What a blow against democracy!" said a frail, white-haired, old man. "Guilty. Guilty. Guilty." came the verdicts, on all ten counts. A woman with a silk scarf round her neck looked down at the jurors. "Good G-d," she said. "The Jews! There were Jews there. Jury!" she said, or "Jewry!" it

might have been.

The judge called for those who had interrupted from the gallery to be removed. "I said something, I'm proud to say something, it's disgusting," said one of them, walking out. "Our Lady," as one of them called her was then conditionally discharged, told to pay £500 towards costs and warned of the serious consequences if she did it again. The woman who had earlier talked of Yids refused to rise as the Judge left. "I'm not standing for Nazis for persecute old ladies," she said.

In the corridor outside, they seemed genuinely amazed that their opinions were not more widely shared. "I would have sworn that the jury was a cross-section of the English public," said one man. "They must have been got at by Mossad," said one woman. Outside the Old Bailey, I took down their expressions of indignation: "This is a religious issue, not a political one" - Mrs Cooper from Tooting. "Not one of the people on the jury was a quality person." - Christine Yianne, Formerly of the British National Party, now a Reverend in the Church of Creativity.

Then, Lady Birdwood appeared, to receive loving handshakes and

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**"They must have been got at by Mossad"**

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supporting words. She seemed unbowed, indeed she was supporting one weeping old lady. It

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**" Looking for all the world like a party of church wardens, she and her supporters walked up the street. "**

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was too soon, she said, for her to decide whether she would distribute such leaflets again. Looking for all the world like a party of church wardens, she and her supporters walked up the street.

I went elsewhere. The Anne Frank exhibition had been sent only one piece of hate literature since it opened in London in October. It took the form of four pages of abuse: scrawled below was a slogan, "Don't hang Lady

Birdwood." In the hall, mounted photographs show Nazi officials measuring ears to assess racial purity: pictures that achieve the same blend of the ludicrous and chilling as the pamphlets the Dowager distributed. I showed some of her creations to Leon Greenman, whose skin still bears the number 98288 from his three years at Auschwitz. He read them with a look that was one worse than disbelief. "When will they ever learn?" he said.



# Too Religious Or Not Too Religious. Is There A Question?

**Federation of religious youth?** *Colin Diamond* looks at current FZY policy on religious practise, should we all follow the example of the most religious person present or is it time for change?

**L**ast month a Great Uncle of mine died in America aged 80. His name was Rabbi Isaac Swift, to me Uncle Ike, and he was the last of three brothers, all Rabbis, to pass away. For my family, this is the end of an era, and the loss of a great character who held together a large family spread around the globe from Melbourne to New York and Johannesburg to Tel Aviv. I remember the last time Uncle Ike was in London, he and I were talking about FZY, and I was very surprised to learn that he had been a chairman of FZY in the 1930's. At that time, clearly FZY must have been a very different movement if it was prepared to accept a Rabbi as it's chairman,

and if a Rabbi was prepared to take that position. There is now a movement for any ideology that you can suggest. Leftwingers can join Habonim, right wingers join Tagar. The Reform join RSY, and the Liberals join ULPSNYC. Apparently people with no ideology join Hanoar Hatzioni, and of course religious people join Bnei Akiva. Or do they? More importantly should they have to?

When people attack FZY they attack it because it appears to have no ideology. They think of it as a ship without a rudder. However I have always thought that FZY's strength is that it does not tell you what to believe. It has the advantage of not being tied to

some outdated belief that went out of fashion or was discredited years ago. Because of this, the political and religious ideology of the movement changes when the views of the members change, so FZY can never be accused of forcing its beliefs on its members. It also means that we have the widest possible spectrum of people as members and certainly proves that variety is the spice of life!

Nevertheless the constitution of the movement appears to be outdated, and in many ways completely unworkable. For instance it is the policy of the movement that we will cater for the most religious person at any event or



seminar. This means that at one seminar Shabbat may be fully observed, whilst at another driving on Shabbat would be fully accepted and tolerated. Clearly the impression this gives to the world at large is that FZY is incapable of making up its mind, and appears to be sitting on the fence. This policy also means that if a Chasid from Stamford Hill chose to attend a seminar, then Glatt kosher meat would have to be ordered for everyone and the whole movement would have to observe the rigours of an orthodox Shabbat. This in turn raises the issue of democracy and whether it is correct for the majority of less observant people to be dictated to by a small religious minority.

The basic assumption that this religious policy is founded on, is that more observant members of the movement cannot compromise their religious beliefs in any way, whilst less religious people can become more observant when necessary. Is it not however possible, that in the same way as a

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***" Our role as a Jewish youth group is to strengthen people's Jewish identities. "***

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religious person would be offended by the lack of an orthodox Shabbat, a less religious person is offended by the imposition of Shabbat on him? I believe the answer has to be yes. For less

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***" Keeping an orthodox Shabbat at seminars does not in any way imply that orthodoxy is better than other branches of Judaism. "***

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religious members, it is clearly a nuisance having to observe religious rules that they would otherwise ignore. In many ways it is also un-democratic.

Nevertheless, it is FZY's duty to educate people about Judaism and Zionism, and most people would agree that the two are inextricably linked. Our role as a Jewish youth group is to strengthen peoples' Jewish identities so that they can make a positive decision about Aliyah, and not just allow life to pass them by without taking any positive decisions. Clearly religion is a very important part of Jewish life, and FZY must provide education on this as well as on Zionism and Israel. If this was decided on a purely democratic basis, then the vast majority of secular people within the movement would win, and religion could be reduced to an irrelevancy. Apart from being unfair to the religious members of the movement, there is clearly something wrong with a view that would allow the traditional side of Judaism to disappear from FZY altogether.

FZY is a Zionist youth group, and Zionism and a Jewish identity are the lowest common denominator in the movement. People within FZY have always been able to choose their own political and reli-

gious ideology, and have not been indoctrinated in the same way as members of other movements have. This freedom of choice within FZY is something that should be guarded jealously and at all costs, even to the point of sacrificing a defined ideology. We are unique amongst British youth groups, and should be proud of it. Keeping an orthodox Shabbat at seminars does not in any way imply that orthodoxy is better than other branches of Judaism, but it does recognise the reality that if orthodox people are to be part of the movement, then the environment they require must be provided. Yes it is un-democratic, but when people talk about changing the constitution to provide a cultural Shabbat which they claim is suitable for everyone, they are basically saying that there is no place in FZY for people from a mainstream orthodox background. They are not talking about excluding Chasids from Stamford Hill, but potentially 70% of the Jewish community who are members of the United Synagogue. Clearly this must be wrong, and any changes to the constitution will merely imply that instead of being able to tolerate each other, we have to force a small group of people within FZY to compromise their principles and become more like the majority.

# Time To Draw The Lines

**FZY's religious policy lacks conviction and direction according to *David Pliener* . Its time to lay down the law on the laying down of the law.**

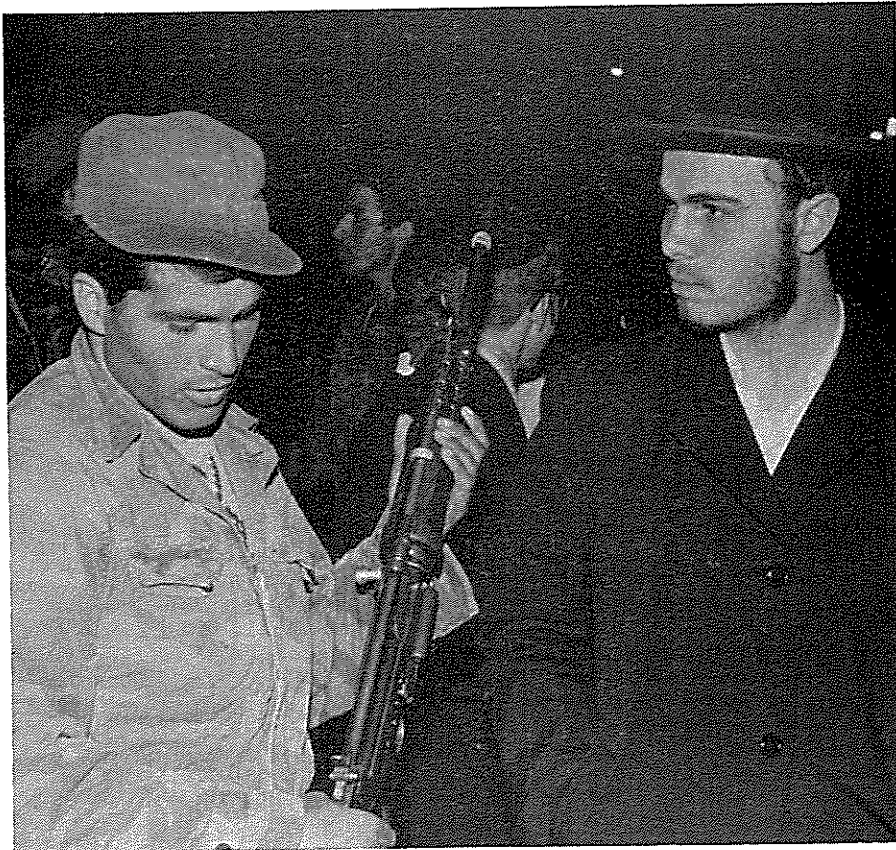
**I** believe in choice, choice in what we do and what we believe, and thus try to be open minded over the various paths that people take, because it is their choice to do so. Nobody has a monopoly on the truth and therefore I am very dubious of anyone who is dogmatic, self-righteous or 100% sure that they have the right answer. This is true for most issues, but is especially relevant when dealing with the concept of religion, as so little can be proved and most is a matter of opinion and faith. Therefore it is particularly important to respect everyone's level or type of religious observance.

It sickens me when Kibbutzniks stick a pig's head on a pole outside a synagogue, but when the religious sects decide to burn bus shelters because they have posters of girls in bikinis, this also should not be condoned. Religion should teach tolerance and mutual respect not bigotry and hatred.

The issue of religion in FZY came to the front again during the Manchester seminar over the issue of 'the three weeks'. In view of this I believe it is time to reconsider and clarify the movement's stance on religion. The situation as it stands is based on that much quoted phrase: "FZY is as religious as the most religious person

ture the scene; The excellent Friday night seminar on Jewish identity has just finished and everybody is mellowing out before hitting the sack. The madrich/a, remembering something they were once told in a hadracha class, realizes that a little shira on a guitar would be excellent for a bit of group feeling. In order to know whether FZY policy will allow

this, the madrich/a must ask everyone at the seminar whether playing guitar on shabbat would offend them. This system is ridiculous and offensive as it is often embarrassing for the more orthodox chanim to admit that they would rather shabbat was observed when the ma-



present". At first glance this appears to fit the criteria cited above, but in reality it is both impractical to implement and based on assumptions that I do not believe the movement should accept.

Firstly, on a practical level, pic-

tority would prefer a song.

There are also ideological questions as to whether the present policy does respect all religious observances. For instance, as the policy stands, if 150 members were watching television on

shabbat and one shomer shabbat member enters the room, the television should be switched off so as not to offend the newcomer. This action can only be fair if two initial assumptions are accepted, firstly, that the more observant Jew's interpretation of their Judaism is inherently more correct and valid than the others, and therefore that secondly, they have a right to be more offended if their level of observance is not upheld, than do the less observant Jews.

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## **" Religion should teach tolerance and mutual respect. "**

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One of the basic roles of FZY is to provide some common ground for Jews from all political and religious backgrounds. This means that the movement does not accept left wing views over right wing, nor does it see orthodox or observant Judaism as more valid than reform or secular Judaism. If FZY were 'as right wing as the most right wing person present', it would be fair to say that we were presenting right wing views as more acceptable. Similarly, the present policy on religion accepts observant orthodox Judaism as the most valid expression of Judaism and this is inconsistent with the principles on which FZY is founded.

It is very pleasant to be able to proclaim that no matter what your religious beliefs, FZY is the place for you, but it is time to realize that this is simply not true. An

ultra-Orthodox Jew will be offended that few of the girls observe the laws of modesty, and an ultra-secular Jew will be offended that shabbat is recognized in any way whatsoever. What FZY must provide is a meeting place for as wide a spectrum as possible, encouraging respect for all religious views. I acknowledge that the situation at the moment simply reflects the dominant Jewish society, in that Orthodoxy is viewed as the only true form of Judaism, but surely this means that we should be educating that this narrow-mindedness is unacceptable, not preaching it ourselves?

Therefore, what is the way forward?. In theory there should be some lines which we could draw which would be acceptable as a sincere compromise by all, however, I doubt this is the case. Most of our members are not observant

Orthodox Jews, but this does not mean that the movement should therefore become totally secular, Shabbat is, after all, a cultural as well as a religious tradition. I genuinely enjoy the fact that FZY has kept Shabbat (at seminars where one person wanting to keep Shabbat had been present of course!) and have in the past felt decidedly uncomfortable when other movements have so blatantly ignored the day of rest, but I believe that being expected to observe the three weeks was simply too much.

The movement should encourage that all levels of religious beliefs are valid and it can only do this by changing its current stance, let's start practicing what we preach! There are no easy answers, but by accepting that our current stance is impractical and unfair, we would be taking a very big step in the right direction.

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## **Arafat Backs Another Loser?**

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Young Zionist Reporter

It is often said the the Palestinian Leadership 'never miss an opportunity to miss an opportunity.' Not content with openly supporting both the oppressive Chinese regime and that of Sadaam Hussein, Italian sources quote Arafat's PLO as being one of the few supporters of August's failed coup in Russia. The Newspaper *Corriere Della Sera* reported that Arafat wished the coup leaders "complete success in the fight against reactionary forces that worked to this day in the USSR and against imperialism," and that he condemned the Gorbachev regime for its submissions to the West.

With the Madrid peace talks being co-US/ Soviet sponsored, Arafat is increasingly seeing himself and his organisation being pushed to the sidelines. A move towards fundamentalism on one side and genuine moderation on the other, is making it even more difficult more Arafat to patch up internal squabbling and keep his position secure. Despite his claims that all the Palestinian representatives at the conference are representatives of the PLO, many in Tunis are now questioning his future and Arafat's role in the Madrid talks will be closely examined by all sides as many Israelis and Palestinians are debating just how much longer the PLO leader will survive.

# The Purity Of The Weapon

**Warmongers or peaceniks? Sara Levine explains that Gadna does more than teach people how Israeli's kill:**

**T**his summer I took part in FZY's Hadracha B'Shemesh (Leadership Tour). Needless to say, it was an incredible holiday, but also more than that. We spent five days in Gadna (army training). This was a great experience for everyone, and it certainly affected my views on the Arab-Israeli conflict.

A major part of the course was learning to fire an M16 machine gun. Before the weapon lessons started, I was more than a little apprehensive about the idea of actually using a gun, but once it was put into my hands, and I was told what to do, I treated it as an anonymous piece of machinery. It seemed easier to push the buttons and pull the levers if I didn't give it much thought, even when we used real bullets.

Later in the week, our commander led us into a dark room with candles all around. In the centre of the room, almost like a shrine, was an M16 machine gun, laid out on an army uniform, with a red rose on top of it. She asked each of us for our immediate thoughts on the word, "Purity" and also the word, "Weapon". We all gave similar

answers, "Purity" being clean and spiritual, and "Weapon" being evil and dangerous. She then led us in a debate, during which she described various situations in war which resulted in death, and we had to decide which were "Murder" and which were "Killing," and how the meanings of these two words differed.

This lesson was to introduce us to the army's phrase, "The Purity of the Weapon." This phrase illustrates that a lethal weapon (perhaps the ultimate evil) can be used for good if in the right hands. However, in the wrong hands, the weapon's purpose would be considered evil. Therefore, if the soldier is fighting for a good cause, his weapon will be pure.

My reaction to this debate was that death is death. Whether you

that is all irrelevant, the end result is still the same. During the intifada many lives have been lost, and still there is no solution. Neither side has gained, only lost.

When the gun is in the hands of Israeli Soldiers, we may say it is pure, but is it? The Palestinians and Arabs would say that the weapon is pure when in their hands, and they believe just as strongly in their cause as we do in ours. Whose right is it to decide which side is good, and which is evil?

I am a Zionist, and I firmly believe in the State of Israel and what it stands for, and I used to believe that Judea, Samaria and Gaza are rightfully and unquestionably ours. Now my views are changing. We are not winning this fight, nobody is. The "Land for Peace" theory is not the perfect solution, and we must always be ready to defend ourselves and what we believe in, but, the priority must be to STOP the bloodshed, on both sides. We must find a workable solution, if only for the sake of life. Maybe, then we can really talk about purity.



call it "Murder" or "killing," and whether it is Jews or Palestinians,

# Year Course And Aliyah

What's the connection? *Matthew Plen*, just returned from year course thinks that brainwashing is the last thing that his year-off was:

**"H**ello. My name's Paul. Unfortunately I'm imaginary. I've just come back from FZY Year Course and now I want to make aliyah. I want to live in Israel."

Luckily for the non-existent Paul he's among friends. Every year FZY and several other organisations send groups on year programmes to Israel. And every year large numbers of participants return saying exactly what Paul says - they want to live in Israel. In fact around 60 percent of all year programme returnees end up going on Aliyah.

Maybe that doesn't sound so strange. But think. Before embarking on year course most participants haven't considered aliyah as an option. Not only that, but many of them haven't explored their Jewish identities and don't even consider themselves Zionists.

So what is it about a year in Israel that affects people in such a dramatic way?

Indoctrination? Year course gives the World Zionist Organisation (WZO) 12 months to work on the delicate minds of 18 year-olds. They use techniques of brainwashing so subtle that the victims are often completely unaware of what's being done to them.

Unfortunately I doubt that the WZO would be capable of such sophisticated procedures, and (hopefully) the idea of brainwashing is ridiculous.

However a question still remains: is the year course programme designed to manipulate participants' sympathies over the question of aliyah? Obviously the WZO wants people to go on Aliyah (so does FZY!), but to suggest that year course only shows a "good" side of Israel is far fetched. Year coursers spend far more time volunteering in deprived development towns and run-down moshavim than they do living in huge villas of any sort).

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***" Israel's a great place to be. "***

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So we've established that the link between year course and aliyah does not involve indoctrination. What, then, is the connection?

There's a very simple answer to that question. Israel's a great place to be. The climate's good, the people are friendly, the news is exciting. Many people who live there for a year find themselves in an atmosphere so comfortable and welcoming that they don't want to leave. They dis-

cover that the experience of an all-Jewish environment is something they prefer to their minority status in Britain.

Not only that, but year coursers also make Israeli friends. They establish strong personal bonds with Israelis which strengthen their ideological and emotional attachments to Israel as a whole.

In essence year course gives its participants huge incentives to return to Israel. These are not, however, manufactured to indoctrinate year coursers. Israel and aliyah are attractive in benefits and pleasures of living in a Jewish society - freedom from antisemitism, assimilation (particularly intermarriage) and a feeling of being at home. The flip side of the coin is that many year coursers come to see Jewish life in the Diaspora as irrelevant, and begin to feel hostile towards Britain, exactly because it lacks the essential features of the Jewish state.

That's what's so exciting about year course. It shows that Israel is the best place for committed Jews to be. It proves in a direct way that Zionism works. And that's why year course is an essential part of FZY - a Zionist youth movement whose first aim is aliyah.

# Time-Out In Soviet Aliyah

Even after the coup, things are a little less hectic from Russia to Israel. *Natan Sharansky* explains why:

**T**he dramatic surge in the Jewish exodus from the Soviet union during the final days of June drew intense media attention. The 8,706 arrivals in Israel in the last six days of the month (2,525 on June 30) are an impressive figure. But another statistic more accurately represents the position of soviet Jew in the summer of 1991: the 110,000 who are staying put now, although they have permission to leave.

In late June there were 170,000,000 persons holding unused exit permits from OVIR, the soviet visa office. Of these, 60,000 (including many who came to Israel in the last week of June) had been to the Israeli consulate in Moscow for visas to enter Israel. The other 110,000 had not applied. They are waiting until the time is right before leaving for Israel.

The consulate is no longer swamped by visa applicants. And there has been a 40% drop in the number of Jews seeking permits at OVIR. Soviet statistics- in recent years reliable- list 59,000 (about 14,000 monthly) exist permits applications from Jews during the first four months of 1991, compared with 312,000 (26,000 per month) in 1990.

The reason for the slow down is not, as widely reported, the fear

of being trapped by new Soviet passport regulations which went into effect July 1. Sara Frankel, an Israeli Government expert on soviet aliyah, puts it succinctly, "The key does not lie with the soviet authorities, but with the Jews."

There are also fewer Jews seeking invitations to Israel, the first step in the emigration process, that may take as long as a year. In 1990, 1,050,000 Jews asked for and received invitations. Invitation requests peaked at 200,000 in May 1990. The monthly rate is now 40,000-50,000. Activists are not alarmed; many Jews already have invitations or are in Israel.

It is not that Jews are suddenly saying that the Soviet Union is "a good place." But as the downward spiral slows, they are able to listen to the messages coming tens of thousands from friends and relatives in Israel: "Israel is a good place to be and we were foolish not to come before. But there are no jobs now. It wouldn't be a bad idea to wait a while, if you can, until employment opportunities get better." That is not to say that the Soviet economic situation has improved; it hasn't and continues to get worse. But economics is not what makes Jews decide when to leave.

The issuing of passports presents new opportunities for Soviet manipulation. According to Jewish sources, Soviet officials have already informed Latvian leaders that passport issuance, still in the hands of the central authorities, may be slower for citizens of separatist republics.

As far as Israel is concerned, the passport law raises two intriguing possibilities. It may mean the Soviet Jews, like their American counterparts, will be able to maintain dual citizenship. It may also open up to Soviet Jews, who have until now immediately become Israeli citizens under the Law of Return, the option of being "temporary residents" in Israel for three years.

The Soviet media have been devoting a great deal of attention to the absorption problems. Local Soviet Jewish papers have been filled with ads promoting emigration not to Israel but to Birobizhan, the area once designated as an autonomous Jewish republic. But despite the promises of better "absorption" in Birobizhan, Jews hesitating to depart for Israel are not headed there. Instead, aliyah activists and government officials agree, they know where they are headed- but are waiting until the time is ripe.

# Milk And Honey?

**Are all Israeli's mad? Colin Diamond asks whether you have to have lose some of your sanity to live in Israel, while he still has some of his left.**

If you were to look in an Israeli house, you may well discover one of those annoying little signs that read: "You don't have to be *meshuga* to live here.....but it helps." My short time in Israel is teaching me that far from being a quaint joke, this is becoming a way of life.

It all started on the plane. Having sampled *EL-AL's* cuisine, I was snuggling down to watch the in-flight movie, when an announcement was broadcast over the loudspeakers announcing Mincha at the rear of the plane. Feeling this to be worthy of investigation, I wandered to the back. Crammed into a tiny space behind the last row of seats were over thirty men, mostly wearing black coats, about to start the prayers. All was running far too smoothly, until a small man at the back interrupted to ensure that we were facing east, as is the custom. At that instant, the plane entered a turbulent patch, banked to the left and the stewardess asked that we return to our seats. It was too late. The men were now engaged in deep debate about which direction was East. As the dispute heated up, I tried in vain to assist by telling them that we merely had to face towards the front of the plane, as we were in fact flying towards Israel. But there were not interested and neither was I, so I rejoined my seat and vegetated in front of the film.

Once in Israel, the airport terminal was in a state of organised chaos. Three hundred Russians had arrived just before us and were waiting quietly in line. The English from my flight also formed neat, orderly queues and patiently waited for their passports to be stamped. They were organised. The chaos was created by the Israelis to whom the concept of the Great British queue was alien. As for the Russians, nothing short of an earth quake would have shifted them. They had not even left the airport and yet their own culture was already becoming part of Israel's. I hesitate to think of them in a bus

queue - they would stand in line for hours whilst everyone else pushed straight past them to get on the bus.

The first thing the Russians are confronted by as they leave the airport are advertisements in Russian for all the consumer goods never available to them before. Amongst these, the major banks all offer their services to the new immigrants. The Israeli service sector is however, in many ways a contradiction in terms, as anyone who has tried to cash a traveller's cheque will know. You get directed from one desk to another until one hour later you realise that you have met everyone



in the bank from the manager to the cleaner, and still do not have a single Israeli shekel to show for it. The greatest achievement though, must be to obtain some money from a cash machine. Of all the messages that appear in front of me, my favourite must be, "Sorry. Can do nothing now.....please come back later." The machine in its own little way is unable to decide about your card. In many ways, Israeli society seems as confused and indecisive as the machine it invents to distribute money.

Indecision is not a word that I would use about Israeli driving.

If an Israeli is one-hundred meters away from an amber traffic light, he does not even feel the need to consider his options. There is an automatic reflex action which causes his foot to push the accelerator to the floor and get past the traffic light at all costs. It

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***" Crossing the road is a game of skill, cunning and iron nerves. "***

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is startling to think that in a society where drink driving is not a major problem, almost twice as many people have been killed in car accidents than in all the wars. Sadly a zebra crossing here is not an "extension of the pavement," but merely a place where cars and people can become better acquainted. Crossing the road is a game of skill, cunning and iron nerves.

Israeli society appears one of the most confused on earth. During the Gulf War, announcements had to be made in six different languages - Russian, English, Hebrew, French, Arabic and Umharic. Thankfully television subtitles have yet reached that extreme. The society is not only culturally and linguistically diverse but religion is polarised too. One Israeli recently pointed out to me that the simplest way to get two seats on a bus if you are a girl, is to find a religious man and sit by him because the chances are he will stand up and move.

From the ultra-orthodox to the ultra-secular, from the intifada to inflation, from road-hogs to rabbis, I can understand why many Israelis are slightly cynical. There are over fifty different nationalities in Israel and over a dozen commonly used languages. Nevertheless despite enormous differences, religious people need secular people to run the country during Sabbaths, and secular people need the religious to keep Judaism going in the Jewish State. It is this interdependence and the feeling of Jewish nationhood that is one of the forces holding the organised chaos together; that and of course, being just that little bit *meshuga*.



# If Only They Would Be Victims Again...

**Is the world much happier to shed crocodile tears for Jewish tragedies than ever offer constructive help. *Meir Rosenne* thinks so...**

**T**he trouble with Israel is that it is a Jewish state. Like the Jews, it is a pain in the neck and the world would feel relieved without it. Or at least, if Israel insists on persisting, let it at least have the good grace, like the Jews historically, to be a victim.

If only some Jews had been killed in the recent tragic events in Jerusalem! Then we could be sure that the chancelleries of the world would have pulled from their files the letter they dispatched when

Yom Kippur War! Then the United Nations could have created a new refugee agency to relocate the Jewish survivors elsewhere.

In all the talk about investigating Israel's actions, no one has yet seen fit to call for a commission to investigate the Iraqi massacres and rapes in Kuwait- or the murder of over 300 Palestinian Arabs by PLO agent from the West Bank in the last 3 years; or the reign of

It is well known, of course that Jewish blood is tainted, that it is perhaps a different colour from that of the Arabs. But still...

No one asks why the United Nations has consistently refused specifically to condemn antisemitism in its convention against all forms of racial discrimination- but keeps on its books, despite whispers about an imminent change, the infamous 1975 resolution denouncing Zi-

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***" Tomorrow it will probably be discovered, that the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait was actually a Zionist plot. "***

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the Jews were murdered by various Arab terrorists, expressing their condolences.

If only Israel; had lost the 1967 War to Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Iraq. Then the memory of Israel might subsequently have been recalled in some places, and schoolchildren might have been taught about the courageous people who fought like tigers before being thrown into the sea.

If only Israel had lost the 1973

terror by the PLO in Lebanon in the 1970's and 1980's.

When Arabs kill fellow Arabs, it becomes a subject fit for cover-up. When Jews kill Arabs in self-defense, it becomes a cause celebre.

In all the security council debates, no one has ever thought to ask: Why has the council never convened to condemn the killing of a single Jew at the hand of an Arab terrorist?

onism as racism.

How can the Security Council presume to judge Israel when it has maintained a policy since Israel's establishment in 1948, of baring membership to Israel, while the Arab states and other Third World Countries hostile to Israel have been made Council members.

But of course Israel is to blame, by its very being, for everything. Today, Israel is being blamed for breaking up the coalition

against Iraqi aggression and most probably anything that goes wrong at Madrid, whosoever fault it is. Tomorrow, it will probably be discovered that the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait was actually a Zionist plot.

In the same even-handed spirit, the entire world, in and out of the UN, condemned Israel for the surgical strike that destroyed Saddam Hussein's nuclear reactor in 1981. The apologies for that condemnation are still awaited.

As a Jew and as an Israeli, I know that in the face of silence, indifference, hostility and hypocrisy, Israel continues as always, to stand ready to make peace with anyone who is genuinely prepared

to make a genuine peace with it, as Camp David has shown and G-d willing, Madrid will show. I know that despite very great hardship and conflict, Israel will keep its gates wide open for any Jew seeking refuge of desiring a full, free proud, Jewish life; whether white Russian, Black Ethiopian or from anywhere else.

Furthermore, as a Jew and as an Israeli, I will steadfastly reiterate what the world in its tired cynicism has brushed aside- that the modern-day rebirth of the ancient Jewish commonwealth after two millenia of Jewish exile, wondering and most harrowing persecution, is both a miracle and an act of historic justice.

*Meir Rosenne* is the former Israeli U.N. Ambassador and is chief executive officer of State of Israel Bonds.



# Beyond Madrid...

**Out of conflict, towards mutual recognition and peace in the Middle East. Just what exactly will it take to turn the cliché into reality? *David Pliener* writes:**

**T**here is an interesting moment in the bible where Job, having suffered great hardships without question, eventually implores Hashem to explain why a holy man like himself has been granted such a poor reward. Hashem's reply is essentially to say that there would be no point in explaining why, because Job could never even begin to comprehend the workings of the Almighty. Similarly, when questioned on the Arab-Israeli problems or the plight of the Palestinians, one is often happy to accept that there is no real way forward, as the answers lie, like the machinations of Hashem, amongst all the other great imponderables of our time.

I believe that to an extent this is true. There is certainly no immediate panacea, no one is going to wake up one spring morning yelling "Eureka!, all we have to do is.....". The more genuine the consideration given to the views and desires of all sides, the more one is led to a profound feeling of deadlock. There is precious little common ground, apart from the common ground! For example, as I write, the news of Israeli agreement to the Madrid peace conference has just broken. This has delighted many peaceniks on both sides, yet it is easy to remain sceptical. Israel wants peace, but only if it does not involve giving up one inch of land, or talking to

the P.L.O. The Syrians claim they want peace, but only in return for an independent Palestinian state and the return of Israel to at least their pre-'67 borders. This could prove to be a very brief conference!

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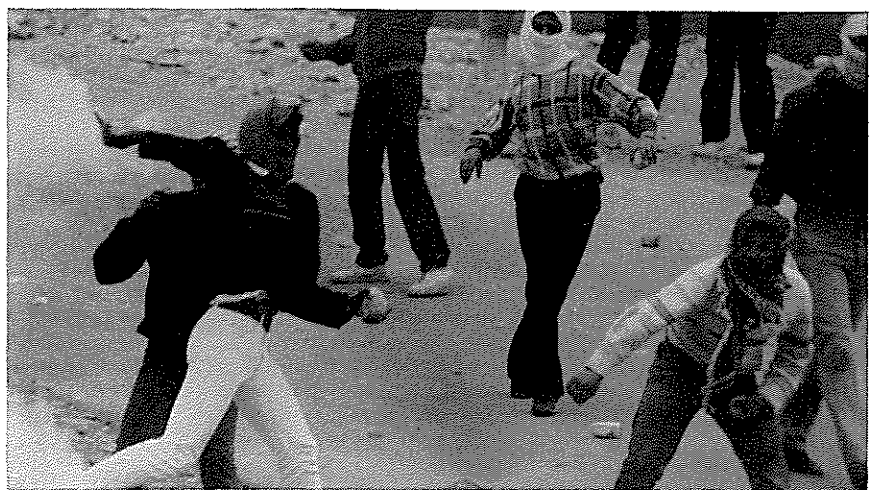
***" There is little precious common ground apart from the common ground. "***

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All is, however, not without some degree of hope. These stances are very probably the initial postulations of negotiating positions for the up and coming meetings. I sincerely hope that these recent statements will become rather

more flexible than they appear at first glance, once 'Real politik' takes over from rhetoric. Moreover, since the collapse of Communism and the emergence of Bush's hopes for a 'New World Order' (backed by a U.S. dominated United Nations), there is a real desire to see some sort of settlement in the Middle East, though admittedly this is due to typical state expediency, not some new found humane morality.

What then will be the outcome of these talks? What should be the way forward? From an Israeli perspective there are a number of vital questions that are at the core of determining this, the most central of which must be the issue of land for peace. To say that you are against land for peace cannot, I believe, be a question of security, as by definition, peace would be the ultimate security. Therefore the only defences of keeping the land ad infinitum are ideological, either religious or political. Let's



examine these one at a time. Undoubtedly, Hebron and much of the West Bank ( Judea and Samaria, Occupied Territories etc.) are steeped in Biblical significance and thus it may be difficult for some religious Jews to contemplate giving these up. However, and I admit that mine is a secular perspective, Hashem may have given us the land, but Allah gave it to the Muslims and I do not believe that it is up to us to settle land disputes between Deities. Moreover, if the Biblical lands are the basis for Israel today, then unfortunately, Tel-Aviv, Haifa and the rest of the coastline are not included, and I do not see many Israelis clamoring to see these areas lost from the state.

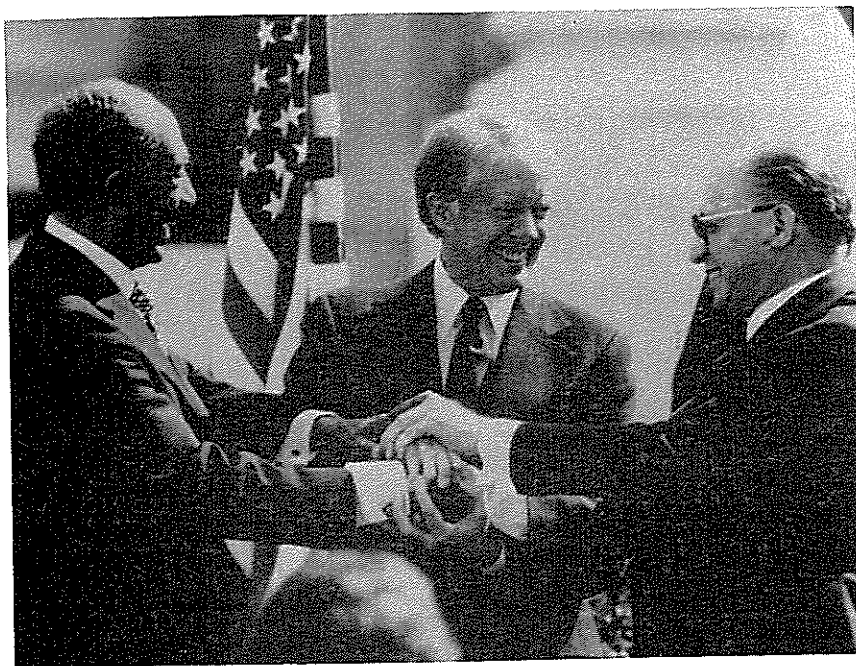
Politically the argument is also relatively straightforward. Israel won the land in a defensive war and therefore has the legal right to hold on to these territories. The Arab nations have no claim to the land and the Palestinians are not a people and thus have no right to self-determination (and even if

they did, Palestine is Jordan not Israel). These beliefs are very widespread amongst the Jews, and are of the same ilk as "We were given it all in the Balfour Declaration, and we've already given up 80%, that is enough". This is very much the line that the Israeli embassy expounds and is certainly excellent Hasbarra, but is it true? Well, fact is rather an elusive commodity in Middle-East history and I am far from being qualified enough to separate it from fiction, but some issues simply must be faced. Whether we like it or not, The Palestinians are a people. It is as ridiculous for us to negate their validity as it is for them to tell us (as they do in the P.L.O. charter) that we are not a people. It does not matter whether this nationhood came about after the Zionist revival, it is irrelevant that Jordan was once designated for a Jewish homeland and it is counterproductive to insist that historically, Jordan has already been partitioned as the Palestinian state. The Palestinians feel like they are a nation and they are

telling us that their homeland is Israel and that is what we are eventually going to have to deal with. As the saying goes, if it looks like a duck, sounds like a duck and thinks it's a duck, then it's a duck! It's time to face facts. In obtaining self determination for ourselves, we have prevented the self determination of others, and this is a wrong that must be put right. The Palestinians are no angels and a wider recognition of our right to live would be much appreciated, but none of this negates their right to a homeland. Therefore, in my opinion, the question is not, "Do we trade Land for Peace?", but rather, " how much Land for how much Peace?", and here the difficult part begins.

In essence this problem comes down to whether giving up land will ensure peace forever, or merely give the Arabs the upper hand in the next war. Will a Palestinian State satisfy their aspirations or is it, as the P.L.O. themselves have claimed, simply a first step in a staged plan to destroy all of Israel? Firstly, there is no point in deluding ourselves. The Palestinians want the whole of Israel as their homeland with Jerusalem as its eternal capital, and are quite willing to bide their time to get it. Moreover, the Arab nations will be only too pleased to obtain land that will bring them those few precious minutes closer to Tel-Aviv. Surely then in this situation, despite the Palestinian's right to the land, the Jews are in no position to concede, as it would mean their destruction?

However, the key phrase in that statement is "in this situation". Undoubtedly Israel cannot give



back land today. The Arabs have, despite many attempts to make it look otherwise, made their feelings and intentions clear. Even if (and I am very dubious) Arafat is sincere in his moderation, most of the factions within the P.L.O. have not endorsed his recognition of Israel and their continuation of terrorism has been well documented, (Besides, Arafat's definition of terrorism does not include the "struggle" against Zionism). Therefore something has to be done to facilitate a situation where it is feasible for Israel to give back land, and that process has to start with empathy.

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***"Moderation leads to moderation. Both peoples are tired of fighting."***

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Right now both sides are extreme. Shamir sees that the P.L.O. continue terrorism and therefore will not talk to them. The P.L.O. see that Shamir will not talk and therefore resort to other means to make their point. It is an increasing spiral of hate, mistrust and killing, and this is what must be broken for the peace process to really begin. Moderation leads to moderation. Both peoples are tired of fighting, but do not trust each other enough to make peace. So what does this mean in real terms? Both sides must show that they genuinely want peace and are willing to compromise, and this will not happen overnight. The idea of a five year gradual plan is

not new. Allow the Palestinians autonomy over the Territories, but make it clear that if organised terrorism ceases, the rhetoric of destruction is transformed into speeches on mutual existence, and the Arab nations make peace, then the Palestinians will get a state. If these demands are not met, then no State, if the Israelis do not give up the land, then no peace. Both sides are looking after their own interests, and will have five years of trust building negotiations to work with. Any Palestinian State that is born will have to be integrated politically, socially, and economically with Israel to survive effectively, and in order for this to be practical, the five years have to be spent changing preconceptions, fighting prejudice and lowering tension between the two peoples.

The Zionist dream was that the Jews would have a State of their own in Israel and live there in peace. There was no mention of specific boundaries then and I do not believe that these borders have become holy in under 50 years. There is no reason why the self determination of the Jews and Palestinians should be mutually exclusive, but it demands a tremendous shift in attitudes, and this must start happening now. Without this, the future of the Middle East will be decided in its traditional way, whoever has the most guns will win the war, everyone will lose the peace.

# Stop Wasting Our Time

**Surely, Dan Goldstone writes, the time has come to stop brushing round the edges and start addressing the real issues.**

October 1991. The Middle East 'peace' Conference. A time of nervous reassessment of who and what we are. Or so it should be.

Since June 1967, the question of the borders of the State of Israel have become virtually the sole argument and controversy between and amongst Zionists of all persuasions. Instead of the difficult but productive discussions about the essence of Zionism, civil justice, the meaning of our religion, all we have seen is endless haranguing over whether to trade 'land for peace,' whether to 'accept' taken (liberated?) territories into the State of Israel.

All other issues seem to have taken a second place to this. What is needed is a more fundamental discussion of what is contained within the State. We have to ask ourselves as Zionists, how we relate to our State. As a movement we must address these issues which are fundamental to Israel and not just educate about what Shamir says or what Peres says. FZY is not a bulletin board where members pick up snippets of information; it is not the glossary at the back of the book.

We can, and do warble on about this issue and that and spend hours in fruitless debate about the structure of the movement or some other nute point. We have to refocus our efforts and decide how best to educate for effectiveness, to get the desired result. Chinuch in FZY is woefully low and it is at the grass roots, the societies, where this significant change must happen. 16 year olds cannot effectively educate and direct the educational needs of a hachinuchi society. The sooner senior madrichim do this on a regular and formalised basis, the better. Perhaps this is how to spend our time effectively.