

The Link

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Shrine Under Siege

By Grace Halsell

Militant, right-wing evangelical American Christians are raising millions of dollars to aid fanatic Israeli Jews to destroy the shrine regarded by about a billion Muslims throughout the world as the third most holy sanctuary in Islam—and to build on the site a big Jewish temple.

Since seizing military control of Jerusalem in 1967, Jewish nationalists, including armed rabbis, religious students, Israeli officers and soldiers, have on more than 100 occasions stormed Haram al-Sharif, "the Sacred Place," that encompasses both the Al-Aqsa Mosque, a basilica, and the Dome of the Rock, a cupola building. Muslims consider Haram al-Sharif—with its two shrines, built on raised platform grounds that measure almost 40 acres and cover about one-fifth of the Old Walled City of Jerusalem—not only as one of their most holy sites, along with Mecca and Medina, but also as their last remaining area of sovereignty in a city holy to about 400 million Arab Muslims as well as an additional 600 million non-Arab Muslims in 60 countries around the world. These Muslims, who all revere Haram al-Sharif

as the site from whence the prophet Muhammad was carried by God into heaven, account for 14 percent of the world's population, and they have an increasingly strong voice in international issues, such as the Holy City of Jerusalem.

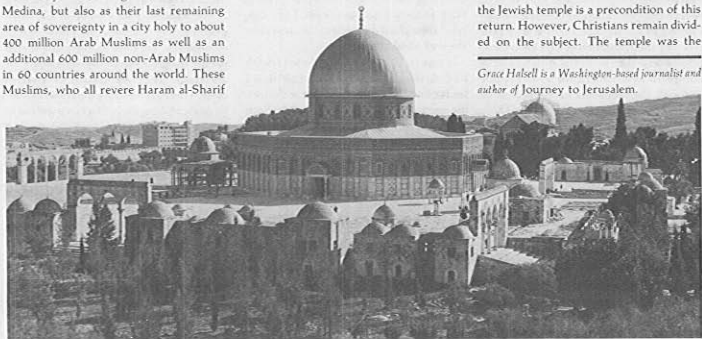
For 1,300 years, continuously from the seventh century to the present time, except for an 88-year Christian Crusader period—the Muslims have maintained the "Sacred Place" of Jerusalem, ruling it through the Supreme Muslim Council and its executive arm called the Waqf, which controls not only Haram al-Sharif but 35 other mosques, many cemeteries and other Islamic religious sites within the Old City.

Today, however, many American evangelicals, who follow not the peace, love and mercy teachings of Christ so much as a "cult worship" of Joshua-type warriors, plot to destroy the mosque, as well as to

eradicate the Arab presence in Jerusalem, not realizing that this is as impossible as eradicating the French presence in Paris. As Paris has for as long as memory serves been a predominately and overwhelmingly French city, so Jerusalem throughout its long history has been a predominately and overwhelmingly Arab city. Amorites came to the holy site 4,000 or 5,000 years ago, then Arabs from Canaan, who were called Canaanites. All of this early Arab history predates the arrival of the Hebrews by many centuries. Hebrews gained control for less than 400 years, and they were driven out over 2,000 years ago.

Why, I asked several of the militant American evangelicals, were they as Christians raising big money to support Israeli fanatics intent on destroying the mosque? And why as Christians did they want to fund money for a Jewish temple? They explain that they believe in the imminent return of Jesus, and feel the rebuilding of the Jewish temple is a precondition of this return. However, Christians remain divided on the subject. The temple was the

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About This Issue

As we go to press, 18 alleged Jewish terrorists stand trial in Israel charged with plotting to blow up the Dome of the Rock as part of a grandiose plan to rebuild the Third Temple in Jerusalem.

According to author Grace Halsell, efforts to rebuild the Jewish Temple on the site of the earliest remaining Islamic monument in the world are championed by a significant number of Christian Zionists in this country and by a well-organized group of Jewish Zionists in Israel, many of whom hold dual U.S.-Israeli citizenship. In this issue Halsell tells who they are, how they are financed, what their motives are and how they have already attempted to realize their aims. Most alarmingly, she

reports what reaction might be expected if the Dome of the Rock, esteemed as one of their holiest shrines by the world's one billion Muslims, is ever destroyed.

Grace Halsell has spent several years researching the phenomenon of Christian Zionism in America and is completing a book on the subject.

Our book review selection is *American Aid to Israel: Nature and Impact*, by Mohamed El-Khawass and Samir Abed-Rabbo. It is reviewed on page 14 by Allan Kellum, editor of *The Mideast Observer*. A listing of 21 books currently in stock is found on pages 14 and 15.

John F. Mahoney,
Executive Director

scene of Jesus' activity in Jerusalem. But he also prophesied that it would be destroyed and remain in ruins. This is the view of most mainstream Christians.

It is not the view, however, of "muscular" Christians, who in a dangerous mixture of religion with politics have formed a Jerusalem Temple Mount Foundation for the sole purpose of providing funds for Israelis—a large portion of them transplanted American Jews—to eradicate the mosque. They practice a variety of Protestant fundamentalism that prefers the Old Testament to the New, and they tend to believe this generation will see the Second Coming of Christ. The event will be preceded by the realization of Old Testament prophecies—the rise of the Anti-Christ in Europe (a new Hitler), for instance, but above all, the rebuilding of the Temple of Solomon. Then comes Armageddon. They, however, as "true Christians," will avoid suffering, for beforehand they will experience the Rapture; Christ will transport them bodily to heaven. They are unconcerned that by plotting to destroy a holy Islamic shrine they can easily provoke a religious war between Jews and Muslims and that a superpower confrontation could then ensue. This is partly because they, having been Raptured, will not be here when all that happens.

Meanwhile, many Christians, who see in Israel the fulfillment of biblical prophecy, are, as they will tell you, hastening

the Second Coming of the Messiah by funding Jewish fanatics who, armed with dynamite, have stormed Haram al-Sharif with intent to demolish the shrines. In May 1984, Israeli terrorists, led by high ranking rabbis and army officers, told investigators they planned to bomb the mosque from the air, using a helicopter piloted by a former air force officer. They said they conducted experiments on models of the Dome of the Rock and Al-Aqsa Mosque to determine the amount of explosives needed to destroy them without damaging the nearby Western or Wailing Wall, Judaism's holiest shrine. They canceled their plans only after it became clear the wall would be hit.

It was in 1979 that I first heard Jewish settlers illegally encamped on Palestinian lands quite openly discuss plans to destroy the mosque. (Usually one refers to both the Dome of the Rock and Al-Aqsa as one entity—the mosque.) While staying with Gush Emunim or Bloc of the Faithful settlers in their strange ghettos, protected by high barbed wire fences, search beams and armed sentries, I listened as they boasted of breaking laws and creating new "facts."

If destroying the mosque to build a temple creates a big war, "then so be it," the Gush settlers, about one-third of them immigrants from America, told me. As "pioneers" with army-issued weapons they seek excitement, adventure and a

new challenge. "In the beginning when we could practice guerrilla-type tactics to seize land and make our settlements it was exciting," Bobby Brown from Brooklyn explained. Shifting his Israeli army-issued sub-machine gun, he added:

"Now we are getting bored. We are fully armed. And we feel it is a stain on our land to have a mosque sitting in our midst. You look at any picture of Jerusalem and you see that mosque! That will have to go. One day we will build our Third Temple there. We must do this to show the Arabs, and all the world, that we Jews have sovereignty over all of Jerusalem, over all of the land of Israel."

Brown and I are sitting in a prefabricated home in a colony near Bethlehem called Tekoa, built on land Brown admits he and other recent immigrants confiscated by armed force from Palestinians. In that year of 1979, Brown tells me that he and other Gush settlers will be deeply involved in politics. "We will have our own party, called Tehiya. We will use members of this party to lobby, to press for a program to build our temple." Some time after this conversation, I learn that Knesset member Geula Cohen, together with the Liberals' Yehuda Persh and a wide-ranging group of members of parliament, do indeed begin lobbying for Jewish domination of Haram al-Sharif.

On several occasions, I stood near the Western Wall, where Jews, believing this wall a relic from the Jewish temples of King Solomon and King Herod, gather to pray. They call the sacred area the Temple Mount. I listen as an Israeli guide, pointing to the mosque, tells a group of Christian pilgrims: "We will build the Third Temple on that site. We have all the plans drawn for the temple. Even the building materials are ready. They are hidden in a secret place. There are several shops where Israelis work, making the artifacts we will use in the new temple. One Israeli for the last several years has been weaving the pure linen that will be needed to dress the priests of the temple." He adds that in a religious school called Yeshiva Ateret Cohanim (The Crown of the Priests), located in the Old City nearby where we are standing, "they are teaching young men how to make animal sacrifice."

One Christian woman in the group, startled to hear a plan to return to the rites of the old Davidic, sacrificial altar of the temple, asks:

"You are going back to animal sacrifice?"

Why animal sacrifice?"

"It was done in the First and Second Temple," the guide answers. "And we do not wish to change the practices. At several of our religious schools, students concentrate their studies entirely on the temple services, because our sages have taught us that neglecting to study the details of temple service is a sin."

On another day, I listen to an Israeli guide tell tourists that while Jews plan to build a temple on Haram al-Sharif, "we think there may be room to erect our new temple, without disturbing the edifices there."

"Then, in that case," a pilgrim asks, "you would not destroy the mosque?"

"We might be able to let it stand," the guide says. "We think we can build our temple without disturbing it. So, we are saying, Why not build a temple on this site, and then they could both exist, the mosque and the temple. However, we would prefer a cleared site, free of the mosque. And it is possible that an act of God will destroy the mosque. In this area," he adds, "there are 400 million Arabs and only 4 million Jews, so it is not so good that the Jews should do something to destroy the mosque. Rather, we are relying on an act of God to level the area. Perhaps an earthquake."

Gush Emunim settlers told me they are not waiting for an earthquake. They plan to take Haram al-Sharif the same way they took 80 percent of the West Bank—by force. "We first established the fact that Jews have the right to settle anywhere," Bobby Brown explained. "Now the government supports the moving in of 100,000 Jews and all the Arabs here must go elsewhere. Next, we will establish that Jews have the right to pray on the Temple Mount. After gaining access for prayers, we will proceed toward our ultimate goal, the removal of the mosque and the building of our temple."

To achieve their goal, these Zionists are working hand-in-glove with wealthy fundamentalists, such as Terry J. Reisenhoover, who raises money for Jewish West Bank militants through the Jerusalem Temple Mount Foundation, which he founded and heads as president. Reisenhoover, who is in his mid-40's, short, round, and balding, lives in California where he heads the Alaska Land Leasing Company and Sunbelt Homes. A "born-again" Christian, Reisenhoover is blessed with a fine tenor voice, and in White House functions of conservatives, which he has helped

organize, he is a featured soloist, accompanied on the violin by an associate in schemes for buying up West Bank land, the American-Israeli dual citizen, Shony Braun, survivor of the Auschwitz Nazi concentration camp.

Reisenhoover made his initial money in Oklahoma oil ventures and, aside from obvious financial reasons, he is said to be involved in the oil business because he is convinced that there is enough petroleum in the United States to dispense with Arab oil and thus, as he views it, aid the cause of Israel. He has formed an exploration company specifically to search for oil in the West Bank.

Reisenhoover says he views himself as "the new Nehemiah," and as Nehemiah of the Bible was dispatched to rebuild Jerusalem so he believes he is called to rebuild a temple even though he is a Protestant and most Jews and Christians as well as the Muslims would not likely approve of his program or his tactics.

To move money—tax free—from wealthy American donors to Israel, Reisenhoover helped organize and serves as chairman for the American Forum for Jewish-Christian Cooperation. And his right-hand man, Douglas Krieger, is executive director, while the president is an American rabbi, David Ben-Ami, closely linked with Ariel Sharon, former defense minister and present cabinet member.

As his international secretary in Jerusalem, Reisenhoover turned to a recognized terrorist and secular Jew, Stanley Goldfoot, who, while he admits he does not believe in God, is dedicated to building a temple for nationalistic and political reasons. Goldfoot, who emigrated to Palestine from South Africa in the 1930's, became a member of the notorious Stern Gang which shocked the world with its massacres of Arab men, women and children and led such figures as David Ben-Gurion to denounce the terrorists as Nazis and outlaw them. According to Israel's *Davar*, Goldfoot placed a bomb on July 22, 1946, in Jerusalem's King David Hotel that destroyed a wing of the hotel housing the secretariat and part of the military headquarters. The operation killed about 100 British and other officials and, as the Zionists planned, hastened the day the British left Palestine.

The Christians associated with Goldfoot look up to him with an awe that resembles a six-year old kid's admiration for the biggest bully on the block. "Goldfoot is a very

solid, legitimate terrorist," said Reisenhoover in describing Goldfoot's qualifications to work on building a temple. Another Christian, George Giacomakis, evinced this same type of admiration mixed with mock horror. Knowing he was well acquainted with Goldfoot, I made an appointment to visit in Jerusalem with Giacomakis, a handsome Greek-American who heads the Zionist-oriented Holy Land Institute, a long established American-run school for studies in archeology and theology. After Giacomakis and I had chatted for an hour, I asked if he might set up an interview for me with Goldfoot. In response, Giacomakis dropped his head in both hands, as one does on hearing a disaster.

"Oh, no. You don't want to meet him. He goes back to the Irgun!" Then raising his head and waving an arm toward the King David Hotel, he adds, "Stanley Goldfoot was in charge of that operation. He will not stop at anything. His idea is to rebuild the temple, and if that means violence then he will not hesitate to use violence." The charismatic Giacomakis pauses and assures me he himself does not believe in violence. But, "If they do destroy the mosque and the temple is there, that does not mean I will not support it."

Although Goldfoot is happy to accept Christian support, both moral and financial, he does not go so far as to talk of mutual understanding. As regards Jews who do not accept the divinity of Christ working in concert with Christians who await the Second Coming of Christ, Goldfoot told an Israeli reporter, "I tell them (the Christians) there is no dialogue. I make it clear that I can't accept their views and they can't accept mine. If they're prepared to help us openly, then we're prepared to accept it." However, he adds, "The Christians have not yet redeemed themselves for what they have done to the Jews. They have a lot to do before we can accept them."

The Rev. Ray Stedman of Palo Alto, California, is a committed supporter of Goldfoot's temple politics, as is the Rev. Chuck Smith of a Calvary Baptist Church in California who says he and Goldfoot have a common interest "in seeing the temple rebuilt." Smith's church donated \$25,000 to Reisenhoover's fund, and he says, "We will donate more in the future." Sponsored by Terry Reisenhoover, Goldfoot has made several trips to the United States, where he speaks on radio and TV

stations and in Protestant churches, asking Christians for donations but not mentioning that a mosque sits on the site where he contemplates a temple. At one gathering, a woman in the audience inquired, "And what about the mosque?" She was told, "That's inconsequential."

Goldfoot openly admits that he has received money from the International Christian Embassy, whose funding, many believe, comes from South Africa. The so-called "embassy" was established by Christian Zionists in 1980 when 13 embassies fled Jerusalem in protest of Israel's illegal annexation of the Holy City. Asked about the Goldfoot statement that he had received money from the Christian Embassy, Jan Willem van der Hoeven, Christian Embassy spokesman, denied that his organization is directly involved in the temple construction efforts. Rather, he explained, when supporters volunteer to give money for building the temple, he directs them to Goldfoot. The embassy has, however, made a cassette, which it sells for \$5.00, that features a taped message about plans to build a temple on Haram al-Sharif. Van der Hoeven is one of the speakers on the tape.

A Stern Gang member once close to Yitshak Shamir, who in 1983 became prime minister, Goldfoot heads a group numbering about 150 that is called the Faithful of the Temple Mount, *Ne' emanei Har Habayit*. It includes veterans of the Irgun and Stern Gang as well as Gush Emunim members. Acting on all fronts—political, legal, propagandistic—Goldfoot's group has set the following goals:

1. Obtaining a religious law and political announcement establishing the sacred mount as Israel's sole holy place.
2. Establishing synagogues on the holy mount.
3. Establishing by order of the Israeli Government a Temple Authority which will appoint supervisors to enact its regulations, including the stationing of a permanent honor guard on the borders of the mount.
4. Raising the Israeli flag over the holy mount.

"We are dedicated to enabling Jews to pray on the Temple Mount," Goldfoot says. "We will use all legal means to achieve these ends. Our activities are all open and aboveboard. The days of the underground are over."

I heard more about Goldfoot from one of his many Christian admirers, the Rev.



Johann Luckhoff, International Christian Embassy, Jerusalem, director (foreground), joins Menachem Begin, former Israeli prime minister, and George Giacomakis, Embassy Board of Trustees chairman, on opening night of the 1982 International Christian Celebration during the Feast of Tabernacles.

James E. DeLoach of Houston's Second Baptist Church. I first talked by telephone with the pastor one day in late 1983 when I happened to be in Houston. He is low-key, quiet-spoken, genial and like many Texans in no rush. He has that Dale Carnegie Public Speaking School technique of repeating one's first name often and pronouncing it in a way one likes to hear. We had never met and I knew nothing about him and he did not know anything about me, except what I had told him: that I was a writer. And also that I had talked with Terry Reisenhoover by phone—and that Reisenhoover had given me his name. A few weeks after our telephone visit, I was back home in Washington, D.C., and DeLoach arrived in town for a religious conference and he called. He was at the Sheraton Hotel. Explaining that I lived "next door," I invited him by for a visit.

Soon, a bell rings and I open the door to see a bald-headed man with a kind face—a man who does not appear a "fanatic" but rather someone who could be my brother, uncle or a helpful neighbor. We soon are seated, and he is telling me about Goldfoot:

"I know Stanley very very well. We're good friends. He's just real unusual... he's a loyalist, a Zionist, and a very strong person."

And, I ask, Goldfoot wants to see the mosque destroyed?

"Well now naturally every Jew that I know would like to see the mosque gone. But they tell me that they believe it will be destroyed by an act of God, by an earthquake or something—so that they won't have to do it."

Why, as a Christian, I ask, is he working to build a Jewish temple?

"My interest in the Temple Mount Foundation is not primarily an interest in the temple. My interest primarily is in religious freedom. The thing that troubles me more than anything else is that in all the land of Israel, one of the most sacred sites for Christians and Jews and Muslims is the Temple Mount area and the Muslims consistently have forbidden Christians to have worship services on the very hill and the very place where the church was born. Now, in America, we believe in Christian freedom, and that means that we believe in religious freedom. That means that any religious person or any person has a right to practice his or her religion under the full protection of the law—*anyone*, evangelical Christian, Jew, Roman Catholic, a Muslim—whatever. But in Jerusalem, at one of the most sacred places, Christians are not permitted to pray."

DeLoach talked for more than an hour, and he devoted about 15 minutes on a Christian's right to a "freedom" to pray—all of which he allowed me to tape record, and while none of it made much sense to me I heard him to the finish, with all the references to chapters and verses that he thought to include. I refrained from saying so at the time, but I could scarcely believe Pastor DeLoach along with Terry Reisenhoover, Doug Krieger and other evangelicals were raising \$100 million—their annual goal—to gain the right to pray at a certain shrine in Jerusalem. One may of course pray anywhere, and at no cost.

"Other than this freedom to pray, I have absolutely no interest in the temple," DeLoach insisted. Asked if Terry Reisenhoover's reason for building a temple was the same as his, he said, "I think that Terry maybe . . . Terry . . . I can't really speak on that, I can't really. Terry and I have discussed this on occasion, and I'm not really clear as to where, or what Terry really believes." When I mention that Reisenhoover is raising a lot of money for the temple project, DeLoach replies: "Well, Terry has been blessed by God with a gift for making money. And he is also a very generous person with his gifts." As an example of his "generosity," Reisenhoover produced the money, DeLoach said, used to pay lawyers who gained freedom for 29 Israeli militants who in 1983 stormed Al-Aqsa Mosque, were jailed and put on trial. "It cost us quite a lot of money to get their freedom," DeLoach told me.

The pastor also indicated that Reisenhoover's group is providing support for the Ateret Cohanim yeshiva that prepares students such as 27-year old Mattityahu Hacohen Dan—a *cohen* (priest)—for service in the Third Temple when it will arise. Twenty-five of the yeshiva's young scholars devote at least one hour every day, and an additional afternoon every week, to concentrated study of the laws of temple worship. Three other yeshivas as well teach their students how to burn incense, and other laws dealing with the temple practice, including how to offer animal sacrifices. Pastor DeLoach volunteered that two of the young Israelis who study animal sacrifices were guests in his home for several weeks.

In 1983, the Houston minister spent several weeks in Jerusalem at the same time a born-again Christian who is a top ranking scientist at Stanford Research Institute (SRI) was there, on a mission funded by

Reisenhoover and other donors to the Jerusalem Temple Foundation. Of his association with the SRI radar specialist, Lambert Dolphin, DeLoach said:

"You can learn a lot from Lambert. Well, first of all he comes out of the tradition of true American scholarship, which is, when you do something, you do it scientifically. And his ground search radar has a great deal of validity. The Israeli archeologists believe so too. At Stanford Research Institute, Lambert—being the radar specialist that he is—was able not only to use the radar systems for guidance and for many other kinds of navigational systems, but he began to think, Well, what about the use of the ground search radar sort of like as an X-ray machine. So he is the inventor or innovator of this in archeology."

In addition to promoting archeological work in Israel, attempting to persuade the authorities to allow him to use radar to X-ray the mosque area in search for possible lost temple treasures and passages, Dolphin also provides SRI clients with a concise synopsis of evangelical belief regarding the temple. He issues a pamphlet entitled *Geophysical Methods for Archeological Surveys in Israel*, which describes how an area can be explored archeologically without actually digging. He describes such techniques as aerial photography, thermal infrared imagery, ground penetration radar and seismic sounding. In many of the techniques described, he explains heavy equipment is required and that it would be necessary to obtain the cooperation of those in control of the area, in this case the Muslim Waqf. However, he points out that with airborne radar it is not necessary to inform them that the activity is taking place.

In another pamphlet, Dolphin notes that on the holy mount, where three religions lay claim to a sacred plot of land 100,000 square meters in extent—"digging is difficult and remote sensing is to be preferred." In asking for funds, Dolphin indicates that a single field season and follow-up program can cost from "low six figures to mid-seven figures," that is, anywhere from a couple of hundred thousand to several million dollars. He advises those interested in making contributions to contact Stanley Goldfoot.

Goldfoot is only one of an ever increasing number of nationalistic Jews who have applied unrelenting pressure on successive governments to assume sovereignty over the Haram al-Sharif. The Knesset as well as the Israeli Supreme Court, knowing

that the destruction of the mosque might lead to World War III, say that the decision does not fall under their jurisdiction, but rather that it is one to be decided by *halacha* or religious law. *Halacha* law is very clear: it states that mankind is "unclean" today. And because this "uncleanliness" will not be remedied until the coming of the Jewish Messiah, no Jew may enter the holy mount until that event. The noted 12th-century Spanish rabbi-philosopher Maimonides ruled that way, as did Israel's first chief rabbi, Avraham Yitzhak Hacohen Kook and his highly nationalist son, Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook. Although most Orthodox Jews rigorously adhere to this *halacha* ban—their law forbids them even to fly in a plane over the site, as its holiness extends into the heavens—many other Jews—orthodox and secular—do not.

One of the first to disobey the centuries old *halacha* ban, Chief Chaplain of the Armed Forces, Shlomo Goren (who later became Israel's chief rabbi), led 50 armed extremists onto Haram al-Sharif. He led the foray, he claimed, in order to conduct "a religious service" on the mount. That same month, August 1967, the Chief Rabbinate installed a "notice and warning" sign for Jews outside the Haram al-Sharif, stating: "Entrance to the area of the Temple Mount is forbidden to everyone by Jewish law owing to the sacredness of the place."

Soon after the sign was posted, however, even the chief rabbis ignored it by staging a march to Haram al-Sharif. After they were criticized, they, together with the chief rabbis of all the large Israeli cities, signed a statement forbidding Jews to visit the mount "because we are unclean." Many are convinced, however, that the chief rabbis put nationalistic goals above old religious laws. Two members of Reisenhoover's Temple Mount Foundation have said that "the chief rabbis support what we are doing." The Israeli writer Eti Ronel in *New Outlook* reports that members of the *El Har Adonai* society of religious students told her that "many rabbis, including members of the Council of the Chief Rabbinate, support . . . Jewish sovereignty" over Haram al-Sharif.

In 1981 a member of Goldfoot's group painted over the prohibitory sign forbidding Jews to enter Haram al-Sharif. Since then, no new sign has been posted. This fact apparently signifies the increasing readiness of many rabbis to cancel the existing prohibition of entering the holy

mount, indicating they may favor plans to eliminate the mosque. "We should not forget," said Rabbi Shlomo Chaim Harcohen Aviner "that the supreme purpose of the ingathering of exiles and the establishment of our state is the building of the temple. The temple is the very top of the pyramid."

For years, a so-called fringe "underground" group has made sabotage attempts on the mosque, and at no time have the chief Sephardi or Ashkenazi rabbis spoken out against these attempts. Writing of the Israeli terrorist acts against Arabs and their holy sites, an Israeli journalist notes, "The chief rabbis, who even receive their salaries from the state, haven't condemned at all the violence committed. This signals that it is not so terrible." One of Goldfoot's deputies, Yisrael Meidad, a member of the Tehiya party, declares, "It is all a matter of sovereignty. As the poet Uri Zvi Greenberg said, 'He who controls the Temple Mount, controls Jerusalem. And he who controls Jerusalem, controls the land of Israel.' Our slogan is: 'The land of Israel and not the land of Ishmael.' Even if we don't succeed in expelling the Arabs from the Temple Mount in this generation—it will be done in the next generation. King David bought the Temple Mount for good money and we have a *kashan* for it." (*Kashan*, an Arabic word, is a legal term of Turkish origin meaning a deed of land ownership on file in a *tabu*, an official land registration office. What Goldfoot's deputy is saying is that King David, some 3,000 years ago, bought a piece of land in Palestine; therefore, that sale now constitutes a deed of ownership, which renders all current legal deeds (*kashans*) null and void, even those which Palestinians have had on file in the official *tabu* for hundreds of years.)

For some years now, Muslim authorities have been fearful that armed Jewish militants who storm the mosque grounds and dig underneath Haram al-Sharif were intent on destroying the Islamic presence in Jerusalem. Speaking at a press conference in late 1983, Sheikh Muhammad Shakra, director of Al-Aqsa Mosque, said a tunnel that starts alongside the Western Wall is in "one of the most venerated holy places of Islam," and he added that the Israelis had found no indication a temple ever stood there. Recent Israeli archeological excavations under the mosque, he said, had only brought to light relics from the Omayyad Abbasid and Ottoman eras. After Israeli militants repeatedly sought to excavate underneath the mosque, Shakra called for

a holy struggle to liberate "territory occupied by Israel and Islamic holy places."

In Jerusalem, I sought out an American archeologist, Gordon Franz, who has spent two years on digs while a resident at the Holy Land Institute, and, with him as my guide, we visited in West Jerusalem a model of ancient Jerusalem in the era of Christ, or, as the Israelis say, at the time of the Second Temple. As we stand, looking at the model, which is the size of a large living room, I ask: Is there any evidence that the temple was located where the designer put it in this model? That is, on the site where the Dome of the Rock and Al-Aqsa stand today?

"There's no evidence either way, that it was there or that it was not there. Some people assume that the temple was there." Did he mean that Avi-Yonah, who designed the model, made that assumption?

"Yes. He made the assumption because most people want to believe the temple was there. And don't forget the Israelis were paying for the model. And Avi-Yonah himself was an Israeli."

Franz then explains that there are five "theories" about the temple. "The first one is that the temple is located where the Dome of the Rock is today. That is the traditional theory that most people hold to, either out of ignorance or because they think everyone believes it. And so these people say, 'Well that's got to go (the mosque)' and they say that it will go either by an act of God like an earthquake or somebody is going to put some dynamite there."

"So that is one idea. Now I have no idea how the destruction is going to happen. But it is going to happen. There's going to be another temple there. But how, who, when, where, don't ask me."

"The second idea belongs to former Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi Goren. He places the temple just slightly north of the Dome of the Rock. The third idea is put forth by those who suggest the temple was located on the northern side of the platform. They suggest that the holy of holies is over near the Dome of the Spirit. I have problems with that idea, archeologically."

"The fourth idea is that the temple is already built—in the form of a great synagogue on George V street. And those holding this theory quote from Isaiah, where the question is asked, 'Where is my house? and the people interpret it as it's not on the Temple Mount, it is somewhere else.'

"The fifth idea was recently presented

by a woman from Haifa who immigrated from New Jersey. And she says, 'The Temple will be rebuilt on Mt. Zion, but we do not know where is Mt. Zion and we are waiting for a sign from the Lord to tell us where is Mt. Zion before we rebuild it.' I don't know where she bases her information. I think we know where Mt. Zion is."

"But on the location of the temple, you can't say too much. It's a big controversy. When I go with a group on Haram al-Sharif, I like to show the Christians how Christ used a geographical location to convey spiritual truths. In John 8 he is talking to religious leaders and they speak about their father Abraham and Jesus says to them, 'You are of your father the devil.' He doesn't mince any words with them, he goes right to the heart of the matter."

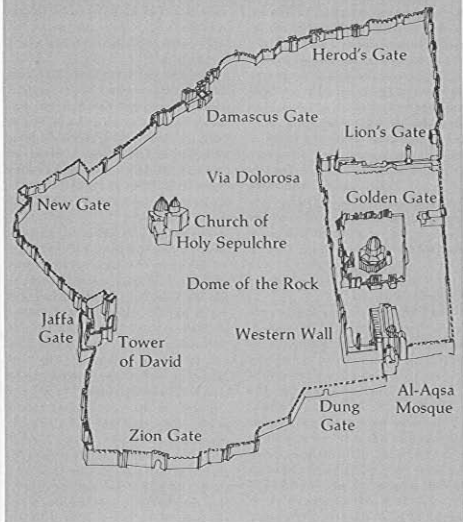
Of those who claim they are the one seed of Abraham, Franz says "They know without knowing."

One Israeli claims he knows for certain where the Jewish temples stood more than 2,000 years ago. He is Scottish immigrant Asher S. Kaufman who is not an archeologist, but rather a Hebrew University physics professor and author of a long article in the March-April 1983 issue of the *Biblical Archaeology Review* (BAR). In this article he states he is certain the temple was north of the Dome of the Rock—this is number three of the five theories Gordon Franz outlined. Quite unscientifically the physicist states that his research "precludes any other interpretation." The Israelis sponsored his research, the BAR article notes, with funds provided by the Ministerial Committee of Estates and Legacies for the Benefit of the State of Israel; P.E.F. Israel Endowment Funds, Inc.; the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture; the Israel Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Authority for Research and Development of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The Israel Survey Section and Pantomap Ltd., of Jerusalem prepared maps for his article.

For an interpretation of the meaning of the Kaufman article, I talked with an American archeologist, James E. Jennings, a long time resident of the Holy Land. I asked if he, as an archeologist and long-term student of Haram al-Sharif, agreed with the certitude of the Israeli physics professor.

"I feel strongly that the study is politically motivated (perhaps unconsciously) and that sober research could raise innumerable objections to it," Dr. Jennings said. "In essence my objections boil down to:

JERUSALEM (Old City)



sources, methodology and what might be called 'atmospherics' or the climate in which the work was undertaken. The most serious objection is methodological, which involves the use of biased selectivity, compounded assumptions, and arbitrariness. I believe that a new study might well produce a different conclusion. This Israeli physicist is interested in tying in the Dome of the Tablets, which marks a holy site, with the temple, and he talks about the threshing floor of the Jebucites mentioned in the story of David in the Old Testament and tries to tie that in. And then certain cuttings on the rock, which he can measure and establish a distance. So there are a couple positives that would seem to indicate that this might be the temple spot: one

is the general topography and the lay of the land which is very flat there, and you could expect the threshing floor to be there. Also the cuttings in the rock can be made to work out in a very precise way with the literary evidence. And there is a little tell or sort of rampart on the south side that's supposed to fit into it very well. Then there's a wall that was excavated by the Muslim authorities who administer the Haram al-Sharif, but after it was generally photographed and generally sketched in, it was covered up, so there is very thin evidence.

"In fact, while Kaufman may provide the kind of clues we're looking for, absolute certainty would only be possible with excavations and perhaps not even then. So in

general, since the religious prohibitions against digging there are so strong, and may never be violated, it is probable that the question of the exact location of the temple will never be established in an archeological or scientific sense. Kaufman has an interesting theory, but in general somewhat less than 50 percent probable."

What, I asked Jennings, might be the political advantage for the Israelis in supporting and highly publicizing a study that in effect tells the world: we don't need to destroy the mosque to build our temple on Haram al-Sharif. We'll put it right alongside the Dome of the Rock.

In the political sense, Dr. Jennings said, "the Israelis, through this study and article and others that will be forthcoming, have set the scene to have a fait accompli in the form of a declaration by the Chief Rabbinate of Israel at some point that indeed this is the place where the temple was located, this is the place where the Holy of Holies was located—according to all the most eminent authorities—and they need only one or two people to declare this, in which case they can then say, 'This is what the archeological scientists say.' And the analogy for this political interpretation is the declaration by the Pope that the bones of St. Peter were actually found a few years ago underneath St. Peter's basilica in Rome. I have studied the evidence that St. Peter was buried in that place, at least in a secondary burial—and the case is a good case, but less than a certainty. It is plausible but unproven—and it can never be proven. At that point then the intervention of an institution with certain vested interests and a declaration in the realm of faith takes place—and the Pope simply looked at the evidence and did not really look at the contrary evidence, as far as I know—and the Holy See declares that this is in fact the burial place and the bones of St. Peter. That's cutting off all discussion. The point is that the stage is set for a similar declaration by the Chief Rabbinate of Israel. They may well decide it is much more convenient to put a temple beside the mosque, and say to Jewish, Christian and Muslim pilgrims, 'Come to Jerusalem.' And I would say, if I had any guess, that this will be what will transpire."

And what about the Muslims, I asked Jennings. How might they feel about an Israeli plan to place "a big Jewish temple" alongside the mosque. Would that not cause problems?

"It will superficially but in terms of the

intrinsic structure of Islam—no problem whatsoever. There's nothing more appropriate to the spirit of Islam than that there be a Jewish place of worship beside the mosque. I should add, to one strain of Islam. There is another strain of Islam that is intolerant, but I would say that the true genius and spirit of Islam as manifested largely throughout the centuries would, after minor readjustment and thinking, find this perfectly compatible—no problem whatsoever. The spirit of Islam would say, 'If the Jews want to worship here, and feel this is their holy place, let them worship.' Dr. Jennings stressed that the Arabs, Muslims and Christians lived in peace with the Jews until the 1940's when the Zionists came to power. "Then the political movement of Zionism largely replaced the religion of Judaism."

To find out why followers of Christ raise millions of dollars for militant Zionists, I went to Jonathan Kuttub, a Palestinian Christian who gave up a successful law practice in the United States to return to his native land, where he now serves as attorney and director of Law in the Service of Man, a West Bank affiliate of the International Commission of Jurists. After introductions, I asked Kuttub how he interprets the hearts and minds of American Christians who travel to the land of Christ and see stone monuments, but fail to see the native people.

"There is a Christian folk religion, a mythology of Israel and prophecy and it has nothing to do with biblical Christianity. This folk religion is not demanding, nor a moral or highly ethical religion. It is a macho religion based on a 'worship' of the small, ultra-powerful Israel, which is not a sissy. Their God is a cross between Superman and Star Wars, who zaps here and there with fiery, swift sword and destroys all the enemies. And that is appealing. He is proof for those of weak faith that the Bible is still true and alive. It's almost as if Joshua is here in the daily newspaper.

"This Christian Zionism has nothing to do with morality, nothing to do with ethics or wrestling with the real, serious problem," Kuttub continues. "It has nothing to do with the humanity of the other side. The American right-wing Christians have a kind of God with whom the common man can identify. Their leaders tell them to support Israel. So, what is three billion dollars in the U.S. budget? The average American does not even know about it. And as a Christian Zionist, you are on the

right side, the 'good' side, the successful winning side. Their religion feeds into all the racism about Orientals generally, and all the stereotypes about Muslims and Arabs. So on a psychological level, it is a very understandable phenomenon. It has nothing to do with Christianity, of course. But it is a mythology."

How much of the Christian Zionism, I ask Kuttub, is tied in with big politics and big money? "Here in Jerusalem, the so-called Christian Embassy is very much tied in with big power, big money and the power structure. The decision to open the Christian Embassy in Jerusalem was made at the highest Israeli level—involving then Prime Minister Begin. The decision obviously was political. When the Christian Embassy was started, they announced seven goals, six clearly political. The seventh was to preach about Christ to the Jews. But under some pressure, they dropped the seventh one. And now they only have the six goals, all involving a closer political alliance with the Zionists. So to me this means that the Christian aspect, if they had any, was merely second to the political aspects.

"The Christians give the Israelis carte blanche," Kuttub continues. "They encourage them in their refusal to recognize the Palestinians, in their refusal to withdraw from the West Bank and make compromises, and become peacemakers. In fact, they provide them with an incentive to expand and take more and oppress more because God is on their side and Uncle Sam is willing to foot the bill. And so the Israelis know that good, solid blue-blooded Christians are with them all the way, regardless of what they do morally or ethically or regardless of what the rest of the world thinks. And regardless of how oppressive they become, they know the American Christians are with them and America is willing to pay; America is willing to give them weapons and America is willing to vote with them in the United Nations.

"So the Christians are part of the problem. And they are not doing Israel a favor, either. There is a lot of patronizing and a lot of anti-Semitism involved in this kind of support. The Christians are saying, quietly, to each other, 'And the Jews can go to Israel and stay there.' They believe that God is going to gather all the Jews in Palestine and then the unspoken end of the sentence is 'So they can all be killed in Armageddon' That is the part of the sentence that is not always emphasized.

So, despite their short-term support of Zionism, the Christians who come here often harbor a lot of anti-Semitism. In fact, precisely because of these Christians' anti-Semitism, they go all out for Israel. They do this because they are afraid of being charged with anti-Semitism. In his heart the evangelical or fundamentalist Christian may wish to eradicate Judaism by the conversion of all Jews. For his own short-term goal, he forgets this and 'loves' Israel—while at the same time he may not like the Jews."

For additional interpretation of how Christians may profess a "love" for Israel while harboring both anti-Arab and anti-Jewish feelings, I visited with a sociologist, Professor Gordon Welty of Wright State University in Ohio. How, I asked, can Christians consider it moral to negate the existence of Arabs and praiseworthy to donate millions of dollars for the destruction of a mosque?

"The evangelicals who raise money to destroy the mosque practice the same type of Christianity of many of our forefathers who thought it brave, moral and right 'to win the West,' to slaughter Indians and march forward with white civilization," Dr. Welty explains. "Since the 'frontier' of the American 'settler colony' is gone, they seek to recreate it elsewhere. The 'New Zion' of the settler's dream has become the plain old Zion of Palestine.

"Just as Christian settlers found it moral to kill Indians, they now find it moral to give money to Zionists who kill Palestinians. With a disdain of history and sociological laws, they make invisible those who stand in the path of their manifest destiny. Now that the West is won, the *Reisenhoovers* must fly over to Israel. One of the best descriptions I've seen of this type of power-makes-right is given by John Hobson in his book on *Imperialism*. He calls it 'muscular Christianity.' It translates into rough-and-ready, take-what-you-can brand of actions. The 'muscular Christians' supporting Zionism settle for short-term goals, and deal in strange inconsistencies. They compartmentalize: in one section of their brains they hold the conviction that the Jews are God's Chosen People, and in another compartment they believe God does not hear the prayers of the Jew. They have, to a marked degree, this ability to hold incompatible and often self-contradictory ideas and motives. They do not 'see' Palestinians, they do not 'see' the mosque—they only say 'they must go.' Yet, they talk

about 'freedom.'

The word "freedom" triggered in my mind the reason Pastor DeLoach had stressed he supported the building of a temple: Christians must have "freedom" to worship there.

"Yes, freedom is one of the 'masked words' the muscular Christians like most to use," Dr. Welty continues. "He does not equate the 'freedom' that he enjoys in Houston with the 'freedom' that is denied the Arabs under Israeli domination. Such Christians go to the land of Christ and they are quite capable of having their minds so compartmentalized that they actually do not see people, the people who have always lived there, or the reality of those who took the land of Palestine and made a Jewish state. Does he think for a moment he would have the 'freedom' to preach a sermon anywhere in the Jewish state? Does he think he would have the 'freedom' to speak about Christ to an Israeli Jew? Does he think he could have the 'freedom' as a Christian to immigrate to the Jewish state? No, since citizenship is reserved only for Jews, he would not have that 'freedom.'"

Since the Christian minister had said he was concerned only for freedom for Christians to pray at Haram al-Sharif, did Dr. Welty think Pastor DeLoach was being hypocritical?

"No, not in the least. If the minister is typical of the muscular Christians I have studied, then he is incapable of being hypocritical. Their power is to keep inconsistencies in airtight compartments, so that they themselves never recognize these inconsistencies. As far as the muscular Christians know (or accept), they act with high-minded, upright, self-sacrificing, generous, moral rectitude. In this context, if the money he donates buys the dynamite that destroys the mosque, the muscular Christian will say, simply: "It was an act of God."

An Israeli public opinion poll published in 1984 shows that 18.7 percent of the Israeli public support terrorist activities by extremist Jewish groups. The Israeli writer Yehoshua Sobol points out that in 1938, a representative sample of the Nazi Party members found that 63 percent of them objected to hurting Jews, 32 percent expressed apathy on the subject and only 5 percent were in favor of harming Jews.

Four years later, in 1942, when the annihilation of Jews was already speedily taking place, a representative sampling of the

Nazi Party members showed that those against attacking Jews decreased to 26 percent, while the number of apathetic increased to 69 percent. The number of Nazis in favor of attacking Jews remained the same: 5 percent.

"It is clear," Sobol notes, "that during the activation of the policy of genocide toward the Jewish people, only 5 percent of the Nazi Party members were prepared to identify with the policy... Now after 50 years, there is no justification anymore for ignoring a danger that is embodied in a fragmented-fanatic minority. A careful examination of the distribution of the views and positions in German society in the Nazi period has left no excuse for anyone today to claim that as long as racist ideas belong only to a small minority there is no basis on which to speak about the

facitization of the whole society.

"The opposite is true: the German experience proves that facitization of the society begins where racist ideas and extreme chauvinism belong to a small minority on the extreme right whose activities are carried out against the background of the majority's apathy."

In order to destroy Islam's most holy shrine in Jerusalem, an act that could easily trigger a worldwide war involving Russia and the United States, fanatics numbering no more than 5 percent who belong to the so-called crazy minority are required. But in order for this to happen the majority must be apathetic. The Israeli Jews and the American mainstream Christians may well represent that decisive apathetic majority.

Architectural Gems of Jerusalem

I well recall my first visit to the Dome of the Rock: I step onto a raised, terracelike platform that is surrounded by pillars with stairways on every side. I marvel at an octagonal masterpiece fashioned with blue and green tiles that shine in the Mediterranean light with fierce prismatic symmetry. I look above to an incredibly large yet graceful dome of gold. Most everyone, even the Muslims, refer to this as the Mosque of Omar, but Omar did not build it. Rather it was constructed by the order of Abdul-Malek Ibn Marwan, the Umayyah Caliph of Damascus. This was in 685.

At the entrance of the Dome of the Rock, I, along with dozens of other visitors from around the world, remove my shoes and, once inside, I walk on ancient, richly textured Oriental rugs. After a half-dozen steps I reach a guardrail that frames a large boulder. I am startled by the unexpected dimensions of the rock. I see a large mass of mineral matter from the earth's crust, a boulder like other boulders I have seen in countless regions of the earth. The rock, which rises above the ground to my shoulders and covers an area half the size of a tennis court, dominates the entire space within the shrine.

Visitors come here not specifically to pray, but to admire and revere the rock. The shrine—the most beautiful architectural gem in Jerusalem and one of the most beautiful religious edifices in the world (in its beauty, it is often compared with the Taj Mahal) was built for one sole purpose: to protect and enhance the huge rock. If I see mineral matter, Muslims, looking at the rock see eternity, a foundation stone of the universe, the center of the world. And the center of their faith.

As for the great rock, Muhammad believed it had its origins in Paradise. And it was from this sacred rock that Muhammad was transported by God to heaven.

While living in the Old City, I often stood on the terrace of the Ecce Homo convent. I watched about 5,000 Muslims move inside the Al-Aqsa Mosque and another 5,000 gather in the mosque's vast courtyard to pray. Seeing the multitude, I feel a tiny droplet in a sea of Arabness that opens into a greater sea of Islam.

The first time I entered the mosque, I noted the beauty of more than a hundred stained-glass windows fashioned in stylized, colorful arabesque designs. Here in this mosque, I recall, a crazed terrorist shot

and killed the grandfather of the present King of Jordan. As at the Dome of the Rock, I walk on luxurious handwoven carpets. Equally beautiful as the smaller Dome of the Rock, the mosque impresses me with its stately architecture and quiet dignity, unmarred by frantic tourist groups following a leader who in cathedrals in Jerusalem and Europe often shouts through an amplified mouthpiece. I see only individuals at prayer. I kneel, remain quiet and, at my convenience, leave.

Outside the mosque, I descend a series of steps from the raised Haram al-Sharif

and see Jews praying at what is called the Western or Wailing Wall. The wall actually is Muslim property. The Jews claim that the wall is a remnant of Solomon's Temple but while many archeologists have dug here, they have not come up with any remnants of Solomon's Temple. I am now in the Old Walled City which throughout its long history has been predominantly inhabited by Arabs. And today one sees its almost total Arabness—Arab markets, Arab homes and Arab religious sites make up about 90 percent of the Old City.

fanatics, "the mere existence of Islamic mosques (on Haram al-Sharif) is a desecration. The Dome of the Rock and related Islamic sites in the area must be destroyed as a sacrilege."

After Kach fanatics were arrested, Matityahu Peled, reserve Israeli general and leading dovish politician said: "The most active terrorists are the newcomers from the United States." They are the "disturbed individuals" who easily get into the Jewish state under the provision of the Law of Return, which permits automatic entry to the country for Jews. "They are extremists who come to play out legendary roles from western movies. As cowboys, they fight for a dream and have crazy ideas."

Another American, Alan Harry Goodman, became possessed with a "crazy idea" to play cowboy and "shoot it out" not at the OK corral but at Al-Aqsa Mosque. He left Baltimore to live in Israel where he served in the army before walking into the holy shrine on April 11, 1982. Firing an army-issued M-16 rifle, he killed two people and wounded four others. He claimed he wanted to "liberate" the area. When Palestinians protested the Zionist storming of Al-Aqsa, Israeli police shot and killed 11 of them. Both the American and Israeli governments played down the incident.

Four Americans, who in March 1984 opened fire on a bus carrying Palestinian workers from the Ramallah area to their jobs in Israel, wounding seven Palestinians, also are implicated in attacks on Haram al-Sharif. They are Meir Leibowitz, Hazan Levy, Yehuda Richter and Yekutiel Godinsky, all members of Kahane's Kach movement.

After all such attacks on holy shrines, the Israeli authorities have tended to dismiss each suspect as part of a "fringe element" or a "crazed" individual—"not to be taken seriously." This attitude on the part of the Israelis was exemplified on August 21, 1969, when an arsonist set fire to Al-Aqsa, extensively damaging the mosque and destroying many cherished and irreplaceable relics. The man claimed by Israel to have been the lone perpetrator of the outrage was later declared "insane" by Israeli legal authorities and safely sent back to his country of origin.

In protest of the attack on Al-Aqsa Mosque, Palestinians in Jerusalem and other towns in occupied Palestine went on strike, and Arabs throughout the Arab world and Muslims throughout the Mus-

Attacks on Al-Aqsa

Many Americans have taken part in the 100 or more assaults on Haram al-Sharif. The American extremists, for the most part Gush Emunim settlers in the West Bank, are recent arrivals from New York and other parts of the United States. And they all carry U.S. passports. In civilian clothes or Israeli uniforms, the American zealots carry M-16s, Uzi sub-machine guns or clubs. They patrol Hebron and Nablus with large dogs and consider themselves above the laws of both the United States and Israel.

A spokesman for one extremist group, "Terror Against Terror," said members "are mainly new immigrants from the United States," and are under the tutelage of Rabbi Meir Kahane. Born 52 years ago in Brooklyn's Flatbush section, Kahane has said he stood out because he was one of the few Jews who wore a yarmulke and because he stuttered. "I was in a fight every single day. I was always a rebel."

In 1969, together with Joseph Churba, another well-known Zionist, and director of the Center for International Security, Kahane established the Jewish Defense League (JDL) "to change the Jewish image of passiveness and weakness." After bombings of Soviet, PLO and Nazi targets, the JDL attracted about 16,000 young Jews on its rolls by the early 1970's. Then the

membership fell off to about 5,000.

One series of bombings landed Kahane in federal prison in 1975. Kahane has been arrested more than 100 times in various countries—about 70 arrests in Israel alone. He has lived in Israel since 1971, while still retaining his United States passport, and has spent nearly 18 months in Israeli prisons.

Kahane uses the JDL in the United States as training grounds for his anti-Arab Kach movement in Israel. He inducts young American Jewish recruits and trains them at JDL paramilitary camps, then dispatches them as West Bank Gush Emunim settlers. When they arrive, "they are prepared mentally and practically for terrorist acts," an Israeli reporter notes in *Al Hamishmar*.

Kahane, who was an adviser to former Prime Minister Menachem Begin and who in 1984 sought an Israeli Knesset parliamentary seat, urged that the Israeli Government form its own "terror unit" to attack Arabs. Moreover, he boasted that if given the defense portfolio he would within six months "erase" Al-Aqsa and the Dome of the Rock. After 45 young Kahane followers on March 10, 1983, attempted to storm Haram al-Sharif and were arrested by Israeli police, Kahane flew to New York where he told 300 Jewish Defense League



(Above) Jewish Defense League supporters being taught use of semi-automatic rifle by weapons instructor, Barry Kruger, in Angeles National Forest, California, in 1980. (Below) Rabbi Meir Kahane, founder of the IDL (center), has publicly threatened to destroy the Al-Aqsa Mosque.

AP/Wide World Photos

lim world staged angry demonstrations. In Pakistan alone, 200,000 Muslims demonstrated against Israeli administrative rule over Jerusalem.

Here are other examples of sabotage attempts:

Dec. 19, 1969—a group of nationalist Jews storm their way to Haram al-Sharif, in order, they claim, "to conduct Hanukkah prayers."

March 3, 1971—Jerusalem City Councilor Gershon Salomon leads Faithful of the Temple Mount followers onto Haram al-Sharif. They tell police there they will hold prayers on the site. After struggling with Arab guards, they are expelled.

Aug. 8, 1973—Rabbi Louis Rabinowitz and Knesset member Binyamin Halevi march onto the holy site, demanding the right to pray. Police force them to leave.

Jan. 30, 1976—Magistrate Court Judge Ruth Or acquits 8 Betar youths accused of disturbing public order on Haram al-Sharif. She rules that despite the *halacha* ban, Jews are permitted to pray on the holy mount. Palestinian students in occupied Jerusalem protest the court decision, and Palestinian merchants close their shops.

Israeli police arrest more than 100 Palestinians who are staging protest.

March 3, 1976—Rabbi Rabinowitz and City Councilor Salomon again lead Betar youth onto the holy mount, claiming they are acting in accordance with the High Court decision made by Judge Or. Meanwhile, Palestinian councils in Nablus, Ramallah, Bir Zeit and El Bireh resign to protest the Ruth Or decision. Palestinians demonstrate throughout occupied Palestine. Israeli troops use tear gas in the Old City and other Palestinian towns to quell the rioting. Four months later, the Jerusalem District Court overturns Magistrate Or's ruling. In doing so, however, the court also states its uncertainty in hearing the case at all, since mandatory law deprives the courts of any jurisdiction in matters connected with the holy places.

July 6, 1976—Armed nationalists of the Betar movement again gain entry onto Haram al-Sharif, clashing with Orthodox Jews who say nationalists are breaking *halacha* law.

July 14, 1978—Temple Mount Foundation lobbyist Gershon Salomon again leads Israelis—this time 30 members of *el Har*

Hashem (To the Mount of God)—onto Haram al-Sharif. After a scuffle with police, they are expelled.

July 3, 1979—Armed *Banai* (Land of Israel) and other nationalists make their entry onto Haram al-Sharif, claiming they want "to pray." They are removed by police.

Aug. 10, 1980—Three hundred armed Gush Emunim fanatics attempt to push past police onto the holy mount, but are dispersed.

Aug. 28, 1981—Israeli Religious Affairs employees are discovered digging a tunnel north of the Western Wall. To protest such excavations under Haram al-Sharif, the Supreme Muslim Council calls a strike. Palestinians close shops and schools.

Sept. 2, 1981—Religious students, under orders from Rabbi Meir Yehuda Getz, rabbi of the Western Wall, illegally enter a tunnel under Haram al-Sharif and clash with Palestinians, who are attempting to seal a cistern to prevent their further penetration. Police arrive and separate the two groups. Israeli Police Inspector General Arye Ivtzan says the cistern will be sealed. Israeli Mayor Teddy Kollek praises the rul-

ing, but Chief Rabbi Goren who wants Jewish sovereignty over Haram al-Sharif condemns it.

Sept. 15, 1981—Armed Gush Emunim settlers associated with Stanley Goldfoot and the Temple Mount Faithful attempt to force their way onto the mosque grounds. They scuffle with police guards before being evicted.

July 25, 1982—Yoel Lerner, Kach follower of militant Rabbi Kahane, is arrested for allegedly planning to sabotage mosque. Later he is convicted of planning to blow up the Dome of the Rock. He is sentenced to two-and-a-half years in prison.

July 28, 1982—Armed yeshiva students acting under the direction of an aide to Defense Minister Ariel Sharon seize three Palestinian apartments near Haram al-Sharif, as part of a plan to control key Arab locations for carrying out planned subterranean archeological excavations under the mosque.

March 10, 1983—Gush Emunim fanatics attempt to storm the mosque. Mosque officials say the settlers were attempting "to climb the walls and take the mosque by storm." Guards and policemen chase the Zionist intruders and capture 4. Later that night, Israel police arrest another 38 Jewish settlers at the house of Rabbi Yisrael Ariel, a leading figure in the extremist Kach movement, and close associate of Rabbi Kahane. All suspects are from the illegal Jewish colony of Kiryat Arba, near Hebron (Al-Khalil). Police find in their possession large quantities of explosives, automatic rifles and pistols. Twenty-nine are charged and held for trial.

May 11, 1983—High Court allows Faithful of the Temple Mount to hold prayers at the Mograbi Gate, after police earlier had denied them a license. A similar decision is handed down for another nationalist group.

Sept. 17, 1983—Israeli police try to prevent former Chief Rabbi Goren from holding prayers in a room beneath Haram al-Sharif. Goren claims he has Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Moshe Levy's consent—and indeed, Levy shows up for the prayers. Police then relent, allowing them to enter.

Sept. 21, 1983—An Israeli court acquits the 29 Jewish terrorists who on March 10 stormed the mosque. An American minister associated with the Jerusalem Temple Foundation of Los Angeles says Reisenhoover raised the money to free the militants.

Jan. 27, 1984—Israeli militants armed



Miriam Levinger, wife of Rabbi Moshe Levinger, imprisoned May 13 on terrorist charges, speaks to followers near Jerusalem police headquarters.

with 250 pounds of explosives, including grenades, dynamite and mortar rounds, flee after attempting to scale the eastern wall of the mosque. They abandon ammunition including Israeli army-issued grenades and Israeli army-issued bombs. The intruders escaped in a military truck. Eyewitnesses reported that soldiers and officers were involved. The Israeli Government withholds information about the incident for 36 hours, and moves slowly to make arrests. The Supreme Muslim Council warns, "If the attempted explosions had succeeded, all Arab countries would have immediately launched a holy war against Israel."

May 1984—Police arrest Rabbi Moshe Levinger for questioning regarding a plot to destroy the mosque. Forty-four, tall, thin, nervous and quick to anger, Levinger is married to an American, Miriam, who many believe is even more aggressively militant than her husband. In 1968 the Levingers led a group of settlers in occupying an Arab hotel in Hebron. The Israeli Army aided and abetted their plot by bringing food and water to them. This led to the

establishment of Gush Emunim which has over the past 16 years illegally moved about 30,000 Jews onto Palestinian lands in occupied Jerusalem, the West Bank and Gaza.

June 1984—Undoubtedly to win votes for what might appear as a crackdown on crime, the Likud government announces it has penetrated a terrorist network responsible for the 1980 car bombings of three Palestinian mayors, for the gun and grenade attacks on the Islamic college in Hebron, as well as plots to destroy the Dome of the Rock and Al-Aqsa Mosque. One arrested suspect, released to attend a Jewish celebration in Hebron, said the authorities had known all along what they were doing—and had condoned it. "They photographed and documented us for years."

Despite the arrests, official statements about "the Jewish underground," reflected an admiration ominously common among Israelis in high places. And meanwhile, the same officials pledged to continue building Jewish settlements on lands of the Palestinians.

There is obviously strong opposition to the government policy to forbid Jews and Jewish prayer in the Aqsa Mosque, which they consider their property although it is Muslim. And one can suppose that the incidents at Al-Aqsa Mosque result from the same opposition. And in the minds of many Israelis it's probably linked to the ultimate disposition of the West Bank. They would like to empty the place of its Arab inhabitants. And I think it is a view shared basically by the Likud and the Labor Parties. They have varying views on the same solution—both Israeli parties believe the fewer Arabs around the better.

I think the Arab world is united regarding the significance of Al-Aqsa Mosque but the thing is what can they do to get together on a plan to preserve it? This is the most frustrating thing for those of us who are apart and away from it: to see all these resources, all of this tremendous wealth, and to realize we do not have a plan.

Edward W. Said, professor of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University, New York City, and a native of Jerusalem, Palestine

King David aspired to build the temple on the Temple Mount but he was prevented from doing so with the explanation: "Thou has shed blood abundantly, and hast made great wars: Thou shalt not build a house unto my name . . . Behold, a son shall be born to thee who shall be a man of rest; and I will give him rest from all the enemies round about: For his name shall be Solomon and I will give peace and quietness unto Israel in his days. He shall build a house unto my name."

These writings present a clear order of priorities. Peace precedes the building of the temple, not only from the temporal point of view, but as a value priority according to which it is forbidden to build the temple because the spilling of blood—even in wars that are considered justified—stands in essential opposition to the building of God's House. How much more so then does the building of a temple, which intensifies the dispute and enflames the

fire of war including the likelihood of religious war, contradict the purpose of the building of the temple. The sages interpreted the prohibition of butting the stones of the altar with iron tools as teaching that the sword is intended to shorten man's life, whereas the altar is intended to lengthen it. Houses constructed from stone and concrete lack an inner holiness, and while they might exalt us from a religious and moral point of view, they are just as likely to do the opposite.

Professor Uriel Simon of *Oz V'shalom* (Strength and Peace)

If the decision is taken to build a synagogue on the Temple Mount, that would be terrible. Today there is still some hope for Israeli-Palestinian coexistence. But if this decision is taken—it will be the end. Any damage to the Al-Aqsa Mosque is a betrayal of the very essence of our existence—and that we cannot accept. . . . I think that the whole orientation of the Jewish elements involved in this issue is strictly political, and the situation is liable to explode in a very bad way.

Anwar Nusseiba, member of the Council of the Muslim Waqf

They will have to kill many Muslims, perhaps a million, in order to do something like that (destroy the mosque). No one will stand with folded arms, because this mosque is one of the three holiest sites for Muslims.

Sheik Sa'ed El-Din Afami, head of the Supreme Muslim Council in Jerusalem

This (the holy mount) has been the area of the Muslim mosque since the seventh century, and there can be no extenuating circumstances in which it is possible to take it from them by force of conquest—as this would mean their eviction from their holi-

est place in the land. Jerusalem and her mosques have enormous religious importance (as a popular ritual center and as a focus for pilgrimage from all parts of the country) and also political-national importance. The negation of Muslim ownership of the Temple Mount would become a symbol of Arab struggle throughout the country and would, without a doubt, cause much bloodshed in the West Bank and among Israeli Arabs as well. It is possible that the Iranian or Afghan Muslims would not set forth in a *jihad* (holy war) under these circumstances, but the religious issue endows the struggle between the two nationalist movements with a new and more provocative dimension. It would make the positions more extreme, cause many reverberations outside of Israel, and would arouse nationalistic consciousness in circles which were formerly less involved in the struggle. A decision such as this is liable, therefore, to enflame hatred and fan the fire of religious fanaticism to such a degree that it will be impossible to restrain or control it.

Professor Yehoshua Porat, who has studied the Palestinian nationalist movement

. . . Are we dealing with a malignant growth that has been cut off, or with an ideology that replenishes itself incessantly. (The conspirators) form part of the elite admired by the ideologists, whose thinking inspired such deeds in the first place. The suspects are senior officers, members of prestigious regiments and figures within the Greater Israel movement who combine nationalist dreams with a religious perspective. . . . All the comments (regarding the suspects) carried an undertone of respect and approval: they implied that "it is good that someone is doing (it)." This is how people are drawn into . . . mass murder . . . The deed will be tried . . . However, the ideology itself cannot.

Tavi Barei, commenting in the Israeli *Ha'aretz* on the arrest of suspected conspirators who on May 23, 1984, were charged with killing Palestinians and plotting to destroy the mosque during the past four years

Book Views

American Aid to Israel: Nature and Impact

By Mohamed El-Khawaz and Samir Abed-Rabbo
with foreword by Rabbi Elmer Berger
Amana Books, Brattleboro, Vermont, 1984, 191
pp., \$8.95.

By Allan Kellum

Since 1949, U.S. assistance—both public and private—to Israel totals \$42.3 billion, according to the authors of this new book.

This bottom line figure as well as the details which comprise it are exposed in this book for all to see. Furthermore, the final third of the book is the full text of the uncensored version of a draft of the U.S. General Accounting Office's unusually revealing report entitled: *U.S. Assistance to the State of Israel*.

The new book's scope and content have caused Rabbi Elmer Berger to comment in his foreword that it "lifts many of the curtains hiding some of this record and assembles the facts in a pattern which should put more Americans on the alert."

More than simply describing the Israeli benefits derived from U.S. largesse, the authors go on to prescribe a remedy. Authors El-Khawaz and Abed-Rabbo urge U.S. policy-makers to use the leverage of U.S. aid to Israel as a means of pressuring that country to pursue a peaceful path. By forcing Israel in that direction, claim the authors, "the U.S. would be saving billions of dollars in military assistance." But, they warn, "failure to solve the Palestinian problem will mean that the U.S. will continue pouring billions of dollars into Israel's war machinery."

Sounding a bit like Ronald Reagan, El-Khawaz and Abed-Rabbo blame "Congressional meddling in American foreign policy" for the weakened condition of the U.S. President's hand and leverage in foreign affairs. They want President Reagan to reassert himself, seize the aid-for-peace lever, and force Israel to make a territory-for-peace bargain with the Arabs.

Specifically, the authors state: "The Israeli Government must be convinced that it cannot expect support from Congress unless it shows a willingness to trade occupied Arab territory for peace. Under such circumstances, U.S. assistance could be used to pressure Israel to recognize that

Reagan's proposals do represent, with modification, a fair basis for resuming negotiations."

Actions by the Congress this spring have, however, shown that Washington lawmakers are not about to put a lid on U.S. funds for Israel. The House Foreign Affairs Committee added \$250 million to the President's FY 1985 economic aid request for Israel, and its Senate counterpart went an additional \$100 million higher. That the spiral of spending is trending upward is further illustrated by a half-dozen other special benefits that various senators added for Israel and the fact that the Administration's objections to the increases ranged from mute to barely audible. The Reagan Administration itself has been upping the ante as it, for the first time ever, agreed to make Israel's military and economic aid entirely grant in FY 1985.

In 1982, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee rejected a Cranston amendment that would provide Israel with a minimum in economic aid equal to its annual debt payment to the United States. Two years ago the Cranston amendment was defeated and Senator Charles Percy called it an "earth shattering proposal." This year Percy's Committee adopted the Cranston amendment by a 9 to 7 vote.

Here is what Senator Richard Lugar, an Indiana Republican who heads the National Republican Senatorial Committee, had to say about the political rationale behind the Cranston amendment and the general scramble in Washington to add an extra dollop of goodies to Israel's already large treasure trove: "We are in a political year and here is a situation in which the Administration has been hung-ho for Israel, and quite correctly. If I were a member of the opposition, I would be playing a little catch-up ball at this point and suggesting really a little bit more might be done. That is the nature of the Cranston amendment."

While authors El-Khawaz and Abed-Rabbo urge that U.S. policy-makers take actions that "should" and "must" be done to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict, their solutions are being rejected in Washington as U.S. aid for Israel continues its upward spiral.

Allan Kellum is editor and publisher of The Mideast Observer, a biweekly publication which monitors deliberation of Middle East issues in the U.S. Congress.

Books To Order

New Selection

□ Mohamed El-Khawaz and Samir Abed-Rabbo, *American Aid to Israel: Nature and Impact*, intro. by Elmer Berger, Amana Books, 1984, 191 pp. (paperback), \$8.95. Historical review of U.S. aid to Israel, public and private, since 1949. The book also reproduces the full uncensored version of the U.S. General Accounting Office's 1983 report, *U.S. Assistance to the State of Israel*. Our price, \$5.95. See review on this page.

□ Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, *Palestinian Rights: Affirmation and Denial*, Medina Press, 225 pp., \$7.95. In this book of essays, seventeen distinguished international scholars examine, analyze and detail Palestinian national rights, including their right to national identity, sovereignty in Palestine, return, and representation. The international assessment and response to these rights and their violation by Israel are carefully probed and documented. Our price, \$3.95.

□ Dewey Beegle, *Prophecy and Prediction*. Pryor Pettengill, 274 pp., \$5.95 (paperback). Refutes the biblical claim of Zionists to the Promised Land by discussing what the Bible teaches about prophecy, especially concerning the predictions of events which already have occurred and those which are to come. Our price, \$4.50.

□ Lenni Brenner, *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators*. Croom Helm Ltd., London, and Lawrence Hill and Co., Westport, CT, 1983, 277 pp., \$8.95 (paperback). Using a wide range of sources, predominantly Jewish, Brenner concludes that from the beginning the goal of Zionism was the occupation and control of Palestine, and not the rescue of millions of victims of Nazi, Fascist and other European tyrannies. Our price, \$7.95.

□ Jimmy Carter, *Keeping Faith: Memoirs of a President*. Bantam Books, New York, 1982, 622 pp., \$22.50. Drawing from the 5,000 page diary he kept as President, Carter evaluates his accomplishments and disappointments. A sizeable portion is devoted to Camp David with minute-by-minute accounts of the negotiations and private meetings with Middle Eastern officials. Our price, \$9.50.

□ Colin Chapman, *Whose Promised Land?*, Lion Publishing, Herts, England, 1983, 253 pp., \$3.95. Outlines the conflicting claims to the

Holy Land from the time of the Bible on. Discusses the relevancy of biblical promises to the modern age. Our price, \$2.75.

□ Richard Curtiss, *A Changing Image: American Perceptions of the Arab-Israeli Dispute*, American Educational Trust, Washington, D.C., 1982, 216 pp., \$9.95. Traces the evolution of American public opinion on the Arab-Israeli conflict; concludes that it is becoming more balanced, and that this trend will continue. Our price, \$7.25.

□ James Ennes, Jr., *Assault on the Liberty*, Random House, 301 pp., \$13.95. The author served as lieutenant among the officers of the USS *Liberty* on her fatal voyage. He was on watch on the bridge during the day of the Israeli attack. Our price, \$10.95.

□ Roberta Strauss Feuerlicht, *The Fate of the Jews: A People Torn Between Israeli Power and Jewish Ethics*, Times Books, 1983, 324 pp., \$18.65. Probing the legacy of Jewish history, the author concludes that the resiliency of Judaism is derived from its internalized moral code and the teachings of the ancient prophets — teachings that, she believes, are ignored by Israel's militarism, its ruling elite and its supporters abroad. Our price, \$11.00.

□ David Gilmour, *Dispossessed: The Ordeal of the Palestinians 1917-1980*, Sidgwick and Jackson, 242 pp. Well-documented history of Palestinians, based in part on revealing quotations from Zionist sources. Author examines the status of Palestinians in exile, the complex inter-relationships of the PLO, and the Palestinians vis-a-vis the international community, particularly with the Soviet Union and the Third World. Our price, \$3.95.

□ Stephen Green, *Taking Sides: America's Secret Relations with a Militant Israel*, William Morrow, 1984, 370 pp., \$14.95. Exploring America's behind-the-scenes relations with Israel, the author spent two years examining files recently de-classified, many at his request. Important new information emerges concerning Israeli army strength vis-a-vis the Arabs since the 1940's, Israel's shaky friendship with the Eisenhower Administration, the nuclear power plant at Dimona, and U.S. participation in the 1967 war. Our price, \$11.50.

□ Grace Halsell, *Journey to Jerusalem*, Macmillan, 1982, 256 pp., \$7.95. A distinguished journalist visits the Holy Land and meets people as diverse as Mayor Bassam Shaka of Nablus and Bobby Brown of the Bronx, NY, now a Gush Emunim settler near Bethlehem. Our price, \$2.95.

□ David Hirst, *The Gun and the Olive Branch*, Futura Publications Ltd., London, 1983 reprint, 367 pp. Apty subtitled "The Roots of Violence in the Middle East." In tracing those roots, the author dispels a number of myths about Arabs and Zionists. Well researched, and very readable. Our price, \$2.75.

□ Stephen D. Isaacs, *Jews and American Politics*, Doubleday & Co., 302 pp. An investigation into the role Jews play in American politics. It explodes many myths on this subject and shows how Jews have exercised the power they have. Our price, \$3.85.

□ Michael Jansen, *The Battle of Beirut*, South End Press, Boston, 1982, \$6.50 (paperback). This book analyzes the war from its start in June 1982, to the massacre at Sabra and Shatila in September. It explodes the contention of a "limited operation" and "minimal civilian casualties," and exposes the longer term ambitions of Israel. U.S. policy is also examined, especially the degree of collusion between Alexander Haig and the Israeli leaders. Our price, \$5.95.

□ Sabri Jiryis, *The Arabs in Israel*, Monthly Review Press, 314 pp., \$5.95. Expanded version of Jiryis' original authoritative account of the deprivation of Arabs living in Israel. Our price, \$4.25.

□ Alfred Lilienthal, *The Zionist Connection II*, North American, New Brunswick, NJ, 904 pp., \$9.95 (paperback). Covers the Arab-Israeli conflict from the time of Herzl to the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Research involved is monumental. Contains much information of which most Americans are unaware. Our price, \$8.25.

□ Donald Neff, *Warriors for Jerusalem: Six Days That Changed the Middle East*, Simon & Schuster, 1984, 384 pp., \$17.95. An award winning *Time* correspondent brings the June 1967 War into focus. The conquest of the West Bank, Gaza and Sinai, the confrontation of American and Russian fleets in the Mediterranean, and the open alliance between America and Israel, are related against a background of the war which destroyed U.S. credibility in the Middle East. Our price, \$12.75.

□ Basheer Nijim, ed., *American Church Politics and the Middle East*, Association of Arab-American University Graduates, Belmont, MA, 1982, 156 pp., \$6.95. Examines the biblical, theological and socio-religious factors in the formulation of U.S.-Middle East policy. Our price, \$5.25.

□ Livia Rokach, *Israel's Sacred Terrorism*, Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 1980, 68 pp., \$4.50 (paperback). Examines the 1953-57 diary of Moshe Sharett, founding member of Israel's Labor Party, his country's first foreign minister and its second prime minister. Our price, \$3.50.

□ Regina Sharif, *Non-Jewish Zionism*, Zed Press, London, 1983, 144 pp., \$9.95. Two centuries before Herzl the Protestant revolution generated the belief that a Jewish return to Zion would expedite the Second Coming of Christ. That belief continues among certain fundamentalists, and the author attributes the axiomatic support of Israel in the West today to this theological foundation as much as to Jewish lobbying and diplomacy. Our price, \$5.50.

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Correction:

Dr. Frank Maria was not on the staff of the American Legion but a member of the Warner, NH, Legion Post when he wrote the Legion's Commander in June 1967 urging an investigation by the Legion into the Israeli attack on the USS *Liberty*. (See *Link*, May/June 1984.) In a letter to *The Link*, Maria adds that the Commander did write back saying that his suspicions were correct, that President Johnson was "sweeping the entire matter under the rug," and that he, Maria, should draft a resolution and through the New Hampshire State Adjutant's office submit it to the national office for presentation to the August National Convention in Boston. Consequently, on August 31, 1967, in Boston, the American Legion condemned Israel and demanded an investigation and compensation for the victims and their families.

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Notice

We note with sadness the death of the Hon. Evan M. Wilson, a member of A.M.E.U.'s National Council.

Evan Wilson served for 30 years in the U.S. Foreign Service, most of that time in the Middle East, where he was Minister-Consul General in Jerusalem from 1964-1967. It was during the 1967 crisis and the Six Day War that he won the State Department Superior Honor Award for excep-

tional service to his country.

Evan Wilson also served on the Palestine Desk of the State Department during most of the period between 1942-1948. His last book, *Decision on Palestine*, is an important work on the question of how the U.S. came to recognize Israel in 1948.

Americans for Middle East Understanding is honored to have had on its National Council a man of such prestige and experience.

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