

# The Link

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## Islam and the U.S. National Interest

By Shaw J. Dallal

*An all-out effort is underway to drive a wedge between the United States and the Muslim World. Spearheaded by some of Israel's ardent supporters with ready access to editorial pages of leading newspapers and magazines, this sinister campaign aims to persuade casual readers that the word "Islam" is synonymous with violence.<sup>1</sup>*

This scheme is neither in the national interest of the United States nor is it conducive to global peace and stability.<sup>2</sup>

One of the most blatant examples of this ideological demonizing of Islam is found in a September 3, 1992, "Executive Summary" of the history of the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina, prepared by the Task Force on Terrorism & Unconventional Warfare, a House Republican Research Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives. Practically a handbook on how to vilify Islam, the following excerpts from a Congressional Task Force report are illustrative:

*(continued on page 3)*

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## About This Issue

In its 1992 monograph entitled "Islam in America," The American Jewish Committee acknowledges attempts by "some Western commentators" to stimulate what has been termed "the threat which Islam poses to western civilization." What it fails to do, however, is to say who these commentators are, why they are turning Islam into a global villain, and how such a worldview affects U.S. national interests.

For answers to these questions we have turned to Professor Shaw Dallal of Utica College. He holds a degree in International Law from Cornell University, and is a frequent writer and lecturer on the Middle East. His article "International Law and the United Nations' Role in the Gulf Crisis" recently appeared in the *Syracuse Journal of International Law and Commerce*.

Our Book Section, on pages 12-15, offers discounts up to 75% on both new books by such authors as George Ball, Abba Eban and Howard Sachar, and on classic works by Grace Halsell, Paul Findley and Robert Friedman. Plus many other books and videos, all at substantial savings.

Under Notices, on page 16, we profile SEARCH for Justice and Equality in Palestine/Israel, a human rights organization that has long toiled to bring balance to the

U.S. media's coverage of the Arab-Israeli conflict. We also are pleased to announce a study tour to the Middle East, June 9-27, led by Dr. Elaine Hagopian of Simons College, who welcomes inquiries from our readers.

Footnote: At the end of its monograph on Islam, the American Jewish Committee listed, under "Popular Publications", three resources for further reading; first on its list: *The Link*. While our goal is to promote the culture and history of all the peoples of the Middle East, we appreciate the AJC's "plug" and specifically its reference to four previous issues of *The Link*: "Arab Defamation in the Media: Its Consequences and Solutions" by radio and TV personality Casey Kasem (v. 23, #5); "What Happened To Palestine?" by historian Michael Palumbo (v. 23, #4); "Protestant and Catholic Churches Show New Support for Palestinians" by theologian Charles Kimball (v. 23, #3); and "American Victims of Israeli Human Rights Abuses" by lawyer and president of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, Albert Mokhiber (v. 23, #1). These same issues, we feel, complement our current issue as well.

John F. Mahoney  
Executive Director



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### Executive Summary IRAN'S EUROPEAN SPRINGBOARD? September 3, 1992

"The escalation of the fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina has a significance for Europe ... and ... is rapidly transforming into a proxy battlefield for the future and fortunes of the growing Muslim community of Western Europe ... Consequently, the character of the armed struggle waged by the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina — against the Serbs and Croats, as well as against their own brothers — has been determined as much by the 'needs' of the Muslim world as by the peculiarities of the local situation ... Bosnia-Herzegovina's Muslims have long been considered by the Islamist leadership in the Middle East to be ripe as a vehicle for the expansion of Islamic militancy into Europe. Additionally, the pro-Arab policies of the Tito government during the 1960s further enhanced the situation of the Muslims as radical Arab movements were permitted to conduct active propaganda in Yugoslavia, and during the 1970s were even allowed to recruit volunteers to join Palestinian terrorist organizations such as the PLO ... Indeed, the 1980s saw a marked increase in the number of mosques throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina in the wake of a revival of Islamic life. Increasingly, a growing number of local youth were sent to higher Islamic studies in the Middle East ... where the classes in schools for radical mullahs included some 250 Bosnians a year. Thus, as of the early-1980s the Belgrade authorities were aware of the 'increasing militancy' of the Muslim population and their growing contacts with ... radical Arab states. Belgrade recognized that having become a base for 'Muslim terrorists' operating against the West, the Yugoslav Muslim youth were drawn into cooperation with, and emulation of, Arab terrorists ... It is important to note that these and other fledgling Islamic terrorist activities received assistance from the Middle East, especially Palestinian organizations ... Meanwhile, the Muslim youth of Bosnia-Herzegovina were being exposed to Islamist terrorism ... Many of these Islamist terrorists established contacts with the local Muslim communities and began to actively recruit supporters from their ranks ... To that end, beginning in May 1992, a special group of Bosnian Muslim forces, many of whom had served with Islamist terrorist organizations began committing a series of atrocities, including 'some of the worst recent killings' against Muslim civilians in Sarajevo 'as a propaganda ploy to win world sympathy and military intervention.' ... In Western Europe, Muslim communities will constitute 25% of the population by the year 2000. (At present, Muslims constitute 7-9% of the population in the US, and 8-10% in France.) Moreover, the Muslim emigre community, and especially the younger, European born, generation is rapidly becoming militant Islamist in outlook ... The fundamental source of the problem lies in the irreconcilable difference between Muslim society and the West European environment. The Islamists in Europe have fundamental and uncompromising differences with the society in which they live. The Islamists consider democracy as 'the worst scourge the west inflicted on Muslim society in order to destroy it from the inside and annihilate its ancestral values,' and are therefore determined to strike it at its core ... The Muslim communities demand to be allowed to retain all aspects of Islam, including laws unacceptable in the West (such as blood vengeance and the killing of females ... in revenge for the desecration of family honor ...) and argue for making Islamic law superior to the civil law of the land. For Muslims, the mere acceptance of the Western law of the land means a contradiction of Islam's tenet that the *Sharia* is the world's supreme law ... Indeed, the European Islamists have a good organization with state support. As early as 1991, there had already been a surge in the preparations for terrorist activities of the Sunni Islamist clandestine organizations ... <sup>3</sup>



Although written on the letterhead of the Task Force, with all the names of its members affixed thereto, the Report was signed by only two staffers, Yossef Bodansky & Vaughn S. Forrest. Their views, they noted, while not necessarily reflecting those of the other Task Force Members, were primarily intended "to provoke discussion and debate."<sup>4</sup>

One cannot help wondering why the Republican Task Force elected to provoke "discussion and debate" on Islam and Muslims in this manner and at this time. How would Christians or Jews react to such "discussion and debate" if Christianity and Christians or Judaism and Jews were the targets of the Task Force, rather than Islam and Muslims?

It must be noted that, to his credit, Congressman Dana Rohrabacher, who co-chaired the Task Force with Bill McCollum,<sup>5</sup> later disassociated himself from the Report and expressed "outrage" over the house Task Force's emphasis on matters "which are exactly opposite of those" he believes to be relevant. He also apologized to the American Muslim Council for the Report having gone out under his name without his having the opportunity to preview it, and to demonstrate just how strongly he felt about this "unfortunate incident," Congressman Rohrabacher disassociated himself from the Task Force, declaring, "I will no longer be co-chairman or even a member."<sup>6</sup>

This demonization of Islam is not only morally reprehensible, it is quite contrary to the interests of the United States, whether those interests be to promote human rights and stability abroad or to stimulate economic recovery at home.

## Human Rights and U.S. National Interests

Some of Israel's supporters have been engaged in fostering the impression that the religion of Islam is a menace, and that those who practice it are violent fanatics determined

to terrorize the world. In so doing, they could prompt retaliatory attacks, thus subjecting Muslims around the world to crimes against humanity.<sup>7</sup> Such an undertaking is akin to the Nazi campaign of earlier times, one goal of which was to discredit Judaism and those who practiced it.<sup>8</sup> The consequences of this effort would be borne not only by Arabs, but also by Africans, Asians, Europeans and Americans who embrace Islam.<sup>9</sup> Such a campaign would be contrary to the United States stated policy of advocating respect for human rights everywhere. It would contravene U.S. domestic laws on human rights and U.S. commitments to protect human rights under international law. Clearly, it is important to promote respect for human rights in areas where the United States has strategic interests.

Most Americans may not realize that Islam teaches tolerance and respect for human rights. Islam recognizes and reveres the divine origins of all the great religions of the world. The *Quran* provides:

There is not a nation but a messenger has passed among them ...<sup>10</sup>

Also:

Mankind are community, and so God sent [unto all parts of the world] prophets as bearers of good tidings and as warners, and revealed there with the Scriptures the truth ...<sup>11</sup>

In his last sermon, the Prophet Mohammad admonished his fellow Muslims:

No Arab has superiority over a non-Arab, and no non-Arab has superiority over an Arab. No black person has superiority over a white person, and no white person has superiority over a black person. The criterion of honor in the sight of God is righteousness and honest living.<sup>12</sup>

Muslims may disagree with Jews or Christians on political or economic issues and may criticize their personal conduct when it deviates from the teachings of their respective religions.<sup>13</sup> However, Muslims are enjoined by Islam from renouncing the teachings of the founders and

Prophets of Judaism or Christianity, whom it recognizes as true and righteous messengers of God.<sup>14</sup> Thus did the Prophet instruct his followers:

Say: we believe in God, and what has been revealed to us, and what was revealed to Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob and the tribes, and what was given to Moses and Jesus and to the prophets from their Lord. We do not make any distinction between any of them ...<sup>15</sup>

This is not to say that some Muslim governments are not guilty of human rights violations, which occur in many regions of the world. Muslim, Christian, Jewish and other governments often have been guilty of gross human rights violations.<sup>16</sup> One need only to review the reports of Amnesty International and the annual U. S. Department of State Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, to conclude that the governments of Iran, Iraq, Israel, Egypt, Syria, India, Pakistan, Turkey, China, Chile, Brazil, to mention only a few, are all guilty of gross human rights violations. Yet Muslims, Christians, Hindus, Jews, Buddhists, and others who are nationals of those countries should not all be classified as terrorists. The governments which engage in human rights violations violate domestic and international codes as well as the codes of their religions. Neither religions nor indeed domestic or international codes should be vilified on account of the tyrannical conduct of some governments.

## Terrorism and U.S. National Interests

It is true that recently some Muslim governments have been maintaining and supporting terrorist organizations as instruments of their foreign policy.<sup>17</sup> Morally, this is contrary to the *Quran*.<sup>18</sup> Culturally, it is also new to the Muslim and Arab Worlds.<sup>19</sup>

Islam enjoins Muslims *not* to initiate hostilities, because "God loves not aggressors;" on the other hand, it does enjoin them to drive out occupiers who have seized their home-

lands, because "persecution is worse than slaughter."<sup>20</sup>

The United States, in its legitimate concern about terrorism worldwide, and particularly in the oil-rich Middle East, should know that terrorism as we know it today was introduced to the Arab and Muslim Worlds by the Zionists who founded the State of Israel.<sup>21</sup> The blowing up of the *S.S. Patria* in Haifa harbor, killing 276 illegal Jewish immigrant passengers on November 25, 1940, was perhaps the first act of terrorism perpetrated by the Zionists against their own fellow Jews.<sup>22</sup> It was then followed by a series of terrorist activities: The explosion in the Black Sea of the *S. S. Struma*, killing 769 illegal Jewish immigrants. The assassination in Cairo on November 6, 1944, of Lord Moyne, the British Minister Resident. The blowing up of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, killing 91 and injuring 45 British and Arab civilians. The 1947 dispatch of letter bombs to British Cabinet Ministers. The bomb attacks of December 11, 1947 in Haifa, terrorizing Palestinian civilians. The blowing up of the Arab-owned Semiramis Hotel in Jerusalem, killing innocent civilians, including Viscount de Tapia, the Spanish Consul. The famous April 9, 1948 massacre of Palestinian old men, women and children at the Palestinian village of Deir Yassin near Jerusalem. The assassination on September 17, 1948 of U.N. Palestine Mediator Count Folke Bernadotte, nephew of Swedish King Gustav V, and his aid, Colonel Andre' Pierre Serot. The series of bombs against Iraqi Jews and Jewish synagogues in Bagdad in 1950 by Israeli agents in an effort to terrorize Iraqi Jews into immigrating to Israel. The list is endless.<sup>23</sup>

There are of course some Muslims who believe that terrorism is a form of warfare at which Israel excels, and that Muslims ought to emulate Israel, which owes its very creation to terrorism.<sup>24</sup> The irony, perhaps, is lost on Americans that the very terrorism unleashed by the State of Israel — to which they have given over \$100 billion<sup>25</sup> — has become the "role model" for outbreaks of Arab

and Iranian terrorism. In his contribution to a major study on world terrorism, Prof. Khalid Duran explains the causal link:

... Zionist militancy began early in the 1940s, preceding the flowering of Arab terrorism by three decades ... This point is not being made as an apology for terrorist acts committed by Arabs and Iranians, all of which deserve censure in their own right. But it would be patently wrong to underestimate the effect of Israeli terrorism on the region ...<sup>26</sup>

If Americans are concerned about terrorism in the Middle East, then by all means they should be concerned about curbing Israeli state-run terrorism, whether it be against Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, Lebanese in southern Lebanon, or Syrians in the Golan Heights.

## International Stability and U.S. National Interests

Islam, the world's second largest religion, is revered not only in that region of the world loosely called the Middle East or the Near East, but in several other countries such as India and Indonesia as well. Muslims are a majority in about 45 countries. Indonesia, a non Arab country, has the largest Muslim population in the world. "India's Muslim population is the second largest. Though born in the Arabian Peninsula, Islam is the principal religion in a region that extends from Morocco on the Atlantic through North and East Africa and into sub-Saharan Africa, across the broad expanse of Central and Southwest Asia to the headwaters of the Indus in the tableland of Tibet, and southward to the Java Sea. For nearly 1400 years the religion of Islam has been shaping the lives and destinies of nations and peoples that form a mosaic of nationalities, races, languages, and cultures. More than one billion people living in areas covering the three great continents of Asia, Africa, Europe, and to a lesser extent the two Americas, are believers in Islam."<sup>27</sup>

It is reckless to pit such vast and populous areas of the world against the people of the United States. The political orientation in many of the regions is still not crystallized. Historically the United States has played a constructive role in the development of many of the Muslim countries. There is no reason why the United States should not continue to play such a role, which would be mutually beneficial, particularly for foreign trade. For the United States to make a strong economic recovery and compete with other industrial nations successfully, it needs the markets of these regions. Many of the Muslim countries possess important natural resources, such as oil and gas, which are essential to industry. Not least, by virtue of its large population and strategic location — Muslims are a majority in over 45 countries from Africa to Southeast Asia — the Islamic World is of vital importance to the security of the world.<sup>28</sup>

Hurling insults at a religion of one billion adherents is dangerous at best, in that it is certain to destabilize a very vital and volatile region. To make Islam an enemy of the United States, warns Dr. John Esposito, Loyola Professor of Middle East Studies at the College of the Holy Cross and past president of the Middle East Studies Association, "is to declare a second Cold War that is unlikely to end in the same resounding victory as the first."<sup>29</sup> Esposito continues:

In the coming decade Muslim politics will remain combustible, as will Muslim relations with the west. The Muslim world continues to expand beyond the more than forty-five Muslim nations. In addition, Muslim populations continue to grow in the former Soviet Union, China, India, Europe, and the United States. In an increasingly interdependent world, it becomes even more imperative to deal with political realities dispassionately and constructively and to transcend stereotypes.<sup>30</sup>

Esposito concludes:

In the 1990s it is important that



the vacuum created by the end of the Cold War not be filled by exaggerated fears of Islam as a resurgent 'evil empire' at war with the New World Order and a challenge to global stability ...<sup>31</sup>

Yet that is what some antagonists of Islam seem bent on doing: To portray "Islamic fundamentalism" as a major threat to the stability of the Middle East and to Western interests there and in the Muslim World. Accordingly, the questions arise: Who are these antagonists and what are their motives?

## The Antagonists of Islam

In an article entitled "Fundamentalist Muslims," published in 1986 in *Foreign Affairs*, Daniel Pipes, director of the Foreign Policy Research Institute, wrote that radical fundamentalists, specifically Islamic ones, were the "real danger" to American and western interests, because "their ascension to power almost always harms the United States and its allies."<sup>32</sup>

Either Daniel Pipes does not seem to understand the meaning of Islamic fundamentalism, or his attack on it is intended to be a thin disguise for an attack on Islam itself and on Muslims. For true Islamic fundamentalism is a passive and benign adherence to the letter of the *Quran*. It does not exist in contemporary Islamic movements, which have laudable agendas for democratization and emancipation of the masses from authoritarian and corrupt governments. In addressing this point in her recent article in *Foreign Affairs*, Middle East specialist Robin Wright writes:

"The various Islamic movements are often called 'fundamentalists' in the West, but most are in fact not fundamentalist in their agendas. Fundamentalism generally urges passive adherence to literal reading of scriptures and does not advocate change of the social order, instead focusing on reforming the lives of the individual and fam-

ily. Most of today's Islamic movements resemble Catholic Liberation theologians who urge active use of original religious doctrine to better the temporal and political lives in a modern world ..."<sup>33</sup>

Daniel Pipes however does not direct this attack against Islam and Muslims by attacking "Fundamentalist Islam" only. In a recent review of Professor Esposito's book, *The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality*, Mr. Pipes could not hide his open hostility toward Islam, at times shamelessly introducing racist quotes about Muslims.

In his book, Professor Esposito had written that Islam and most Islamic movements are not anti-western, anti-American, or anti-democratic, and that our real challenge is "to better understand the history and the realities of the Muslim World."<sup>34</sup> (This, by the way, is a view in full accord with the view taken by United States policy makers, as expressed in 1992 by Edward P. Djerjian, chief American diplomat dealing with the Middle East, who stated that "the U.S. government does not view Islam as the next 'ism' confronting the West or threatening world peace."<sup>35</sup>)

Displeased by the foregoing two statements, Mr. Pipes wrote for the *Wall Street Journal*:

"Are they right? Or do [they] represent that familiar breed of establishment specialist unable to see an enemy until he lands a fist in his face ... Mr. Esposito says not a word about low Western birthrates and the millions of Muslim immigrants to Western Europe and North America. Yet the prospect of cultural submergence is the Islamic threat that alarms European right-wingers even more than Muslim missiles and hostage takers. Writing in the *Spectator* for example, Charles Moore recalls T. S. Elliot's caution of 'hooded hordes': 'Because of our obstinate refusal to have enough babies, Western European civilization will start to die at the point when it could have revived with new blood. Then the

hooded hordes will win, and the Koran will be taught, as Gibbon famously imagined, in the schools of Oxford.' Jean-Marie Le Pen ... expresses his fears more pungently: 'I don't want the French to become like the Red Indians - annihilated by immigration.' ... Patrick Buchanan has already written fearfully about 'the whimper of a Moslem child in its cradle' spelling the end of the West ... Mr. Esposito ... fails to ... consider the implications of growing Muslim populations in the West. *The Islamic Threat* in other words, provides little guidance to the Islamic threat."<sup>36</sup>

It is not unusual to see similar racist denigration of Islam and Muslims in the Israeli press:

... In the West, Moslem tactics take another tack ... the call is for interfaith cooperation and tolerance. In fact, infiltration is the key to submerging the West in a sea of Islamic domination ... For example, in Brussels, the world center for the European Economic Community, there are more mosques than churches. Of the six million Moslems in France, 600,000 are eligible to vote ... It is conceivable, therefore, that Islam could wield pivotal influence ... In their holy war against the infidels ... they declare that they will first ... conquer the Jews ... Then ... Islam will triumph over the 'Christian' World ...<sup>37</sup>

Nor is the vilification of Islam unlikely in some academic circles. Professor Esposito cites Bernard Lewis, Professor of Near Eastern Studies at Princeton University:

"The stereotypical image of Islam and Muslims as menacing militant fundamentalists was reflected strikingly in Prof. Bernard Lewis's talk entitled 'Islam's Fundamentalism,' given as the prestigious Jefferson Lecture of 1990, the highest honor accorded by the U.S. government to a scholar for achievement in the humanities. A revised version became a lead ar-

The Clinton Administration now faces a challenge and opportunity to formulate a new policy which would be free from hate and vilification, and which would be based on a quest for real solutions. It should be a policy that would also be free from domestic self-serving pressures and influences.<sup>50</sup> Above all, it should be a policy free from the influence of unwarranted fears and imagined enemies, and should be motivated by a valid U. S. national interest.<sup>51</sup>

The United States has moral, economic and political obligations to all its citizens, regardless of their color, creed, or national or ethnic origin.<sup>52</sup> The United States should not allow one vocal minority to discredit another reticent minority, particularly when this results in the interests of a foreign state being served at the expense of the United States.<sup>53</sup>

The United States should recognize that the problems of the Muslim World emanate from complex factors for some of which our former policies are responsible. Only by recognizing the errors committed in the past will we be able to avoid repeating them. And the truth is, as expressed by Rabbi Elmer Berger, a longtime writer and lecturer on Zionism, that the "dehumanizing of Arabs [Muslims and Christians] has not been in response to or defense against Arab inhumanity to Jews. The accurate statement of the equation is quite the other way around ..."<sup>54</sup>

To be sure, the political dimensions of many older religious faiths have tended to grow through the centuries.<sup>55</sup> It is generally recognized that the political dimension of Islam has become more prominent since the creation of the state of Israel.<sup>56</sup> Because of Israel's creation on the basis of fundamentalist Jewish doctrine as the national home for the Jews, the Muslim World, particularly the Arab countries, has experienced its share of wars and violence.<sup>57</sup> In addition to the complex economic and political problems emanating from the displacement of hundreds of thousands of Muslim and Christian Palestinians in 1947 and in 1967,<sup>58</sup> the creation of a Jewish state in the Muslim World has awakened

and activated religious movements throughout the region. As Rabbi Elmer Berger explains:

"Given the legislated commitment of the State of Israel to the fundamental concept of primacy for [the] Jewish people's nationality, there is no way the state can implement human rights in any of the commonly accepted definitions of the term. And violence inexorably follows violations of human rights if the consequent injustices are not eradicated by peaceful processes and established by law. When the deprived victims are of one ethnic group, with familial and national or ethnic ties to neighboring states, the violence has great potential for internationalization. Conceptually, this is the kernel of the ... Palestinian ... Israeli ... Arab [Islamic] conflict ..."<sup>59</sup>

***When the United States condemns certain Islamic religious movements, as it has done repeatedly in Iran, Algeria, and Lebanon, but supports another, as it does in Israel, it sends confusing signals.***

Hence the rise of Islamic movements in Iran, Egypt, Lebanon, and other parts of the Muslim World, as well as of Christian movements in Egypt, Lebanon, and elsewhere, was activated by the uprooting of more than three million Palestinians in order to implant a Jewish state based on fundamentalist Biblical grounds.<sup>60</sup> The failure of our policy makers to give this basic fact full recognition and their attempt to skirt it does not alter its vital importance. When the United States condemns certain Islamic religious movements, as it has done repeatedly in Iran, Algeria, and Lebanon, but supports another, as it does in Israel, it sends confusing signals.<sup>61</sup> For example, in the recent Algerian elections the Islamists won by a substantial majority. However, army officers of the Algerian armed forces prevented the democratically elected Islamist government by force from taking power. Instead of condemning the illegitimate takeover of

a democratically elected government, as it had done in response to the attempted coup in the Soviet Union, the United States rewarded the Algerian army officers by sending them financial and military aid. Robin Wright writes:

"For the Arab and Muslim Worlds, Algeria is not simply a test case of the affinity of Islam and democracy. It is also a test of whether the West can reconcile with Islam ... Before the U.N. General Assembly last fall, President Bush said: 'people everywhere seek government of and by the people. And they want to enjoy their inalienable rights to freedom and property and person.' The United States, he added, supported those rights globally. *If Algeria is any example, however, there is an implicit exception: any country where Is-*

*lam is the winner of a democratic election ...*"<sup>62</sup> (Emphasis added)

The United States also opens itself to the charge of racism and religious prejudice.<sup>63</sup> The creation of a Jewish state as the national home for the Jewish people was an open challenge to the Muslim World and was done at the expense of an overwhelmingly Muslim and Christian population.<sup>64</sup> Accepting a fundamentalist Jewish rationale for supporting this course was a trap the United States, a nation whose constitution mandates a strict separation between church and state, should not have fallen into.

Yet U.S. policy has always been one-sided and at times uninformed.<sup>65</sup> It has been one-sided because the U.S. has tended to support the Jewish state, right or wrong, against its Muslim neighbors, even when such support is clearly not in the U.S. national interest.<sup>66</sup> The United States has spent billions of U.S. dollars to help build Israel's military strength.

The Clinton Administration now faces a challenge and opportunity to formulate a new policy which would be free from hate and vilification, and which would be based on a quest for real solutions. It should be a policy that would also be free from domestic self-serving pressures and influences.<sup>50</sup> Above all, it should be a policy free from the influence of unwarranted fears and imagined enemies, and should be motivated by a valid U. S. national interest.<sup>51</sup>

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To be sure, the political dimensions of many older religious faiths have tended to grow through the centuries.<sup>55</sup> It is generally recognized that the political dimension of Islam has become more prominent since the creation of the state of Israel.<sup>56</sup> Because of Israel's creation on the basis of fundamentalist Jewish doctrine as the national home for the Jews, the Muslim World, particularly the Arab countries, has experienced its share of wars and violence.<sup>57</sup> In addition to the complex economic and political problems emanating from the displacement of hundreds of thousands of Muslim and Christian Palestinians in 1947 and in 1967,<sup>58</sup> the creation of a Jewish state in the Muslim World has awakened

and activated religious movements throughout the region. As Rabbi Elmer Berger explains:

"Given the legislated commitment of the State of Israel to the fundamental concept of primacy for [the] Jewish people' nationality, there is no way the state can implement human rights in any of the commonly accepted definitions of the term. And violence inexorably follows violations of human rights if the consequent injustices are not eradicated by peaceful processes and established by law. When the deprived victims are of one ethnic group, with familial and national or ethnic ties to neighboring states, the violence has great potential for internationalization. Conceptually, this is the kernel of the ... Palestinian ... Israeli ... Arab [Islamic] conflict ..."<sup>59</sup>

***When the United States condemns certain Islamic religious movements, as it has done repeatedly in Iran, Algeria, and Lebanon, but supports another, as it does in Israel, it sends confusing signals.***

Hence the rise of Islamic movements in Iran, Egypt, Lebanon, and other parts of the Muslim World, as well as of Christian movements in Egypt, Lebanon, and elsewhere, was activated by the uprooting of more than three million Palestinians in order to implant a Jewish state based on fundamentalist Biblical grounds.<sup>60</sup> The failure of our policy makers to give this basic fact full recognition and their attempt to skirt it does not alter its vital importance. When the United States condemns certain Islamic religious movements, as it has done repeatedly in Iran, Algeria, and Lebanon, but supports another, as it does in Israel, it sends confusing signals.<sup>61</sup> For example, in the recent Algerian elections the Islamists won by a substantial majority. However, army officers of the Algerian armed forces prevented the democratically elected Islamist government by force from taking power. Instead of condemning the illegitimate takeover of

a democratically elected government, as it had done in response to the attempted coup in the Soviet Union, the United States rewarded the Algerian army officers by sending them financial and military aid. Robin Wright writes:

"For the Arab and Muslim Worlds, Algeria is not simply a test case of the affinity of Islam and democracy. It is also a test of whether the West can reconcile with Islam ... Before the U.N. General Assembly last fall, President Bush said: 'people everywhere seek government of and by the people. And they want to enjoy their inalienable rights to freedom and property and person.' The United States, he added, supported those rights globally. *If Algeria is any example, however, there is an implicit exception: any country where Is-*

*lam is the winner of a democratic election ...*"<sup>62</sup> (Emphasis added)

The United States also opens itself to the charge of racism and religious prejudice.<sup>63</sup> The creation of a Jewish state as the national home for the Jewish people was an open challenge to the Muslim World and was done at the expense of an overwhelmingly Muslim and Christian population.<sup>64</sup> Accepting a fundamentalist Jewish rationale for supporting this course was a trap the United States, a nation whose constitution mandates a strict separation between church and state, should not have fallen into.

Yet U.S. policy has always been one-sided and at times uninformed.<sup>65</sup> It has been one-sided because the U.S. has tended to support the Jewish state, right or wrong, against its Muslim neighbors, even when such support is clearly not in the U.S. national interest.<sup>66</sup> The United States has spent billions of U.S. dollars to help build Israel's military strength.



The U.S. pours millions of dollars daily into Israel's fragile economy, despite the serious deficit which the United States faces.<sup>67</sup> This massive bolstering of a marginally viable theocratic state, which is openly hostile to Islam and to Muslims, has alienated hundreds of millions of Muslims throughout the world.<sup>68</sup>

There are fewer than four million Jews in Israel.<sup>69</sup> The U.S. government gives them more than one-half of all the aid it gives to the whole world,<sup>70</sup> due to the activities of the pro-Israel political action committees in the United States.<sup>71</sup> There are now more Muslims in the United States than there are Jews.<sup>72</sup> The Muslim World, however, with its one billion population, does not receive a fraction of the aid the Jewish state receives.<sup>73</sup> Many of these Muslim countries, which are seriously underdeveloped, whose populations are sometimes on the verge of starvation, and which often suffer from disease and lack of education, feel aggrieved.<sup>74</sup>

U.S. policy with respect to the Muslim World has often been uninformed because the United States has not been able to properly assess the role Islam plays in those countries.<sup>75</sup> For years the United States has either failed to understand or elected to ignore the impact of implanting a Jewish state in a predominantly Muslim region. Even now, the United States does not seem to heed the passions which this ethnic cleansing has stirred.<sup>76</sup> Much of the instability in the wider Muslim World today is a result of this religious challenge. Ignoring or attempting to de-emphasize the prejudices, hatreds, and self-defeating patterns of behavior resulting from this act is not likely to make them go away. They are as much in evidence today as they were when the Jewish state was created. Unless these passions are acknowledged and dealt with openly and objectively, and above all justly, the Muslim World will continue to be in turmoil.

An enlightened solution to this problem must be one which will not excite further religious conflict, but which will alleviate the religious

strains caused by the insertion of a Jewish state into a predominantly Muslim region. A concerted effort should be made by the United States government to encourage the Jewish state to exercise religious tolerance toward its non-Jewish people and to accept them, Muslims and Christians, as equals, thereby rendering the Jewish state a truly secular one, rather than a religious state.<sup>77</sup> Distinction or preference based on religion should be removed. This would pave the way for a just and lasting peace.

In the long run, such an effort may well bring more security than all the wars the Jewish state has undertaken and may still undertake. It would be in line with our constitutional tradition. It may free us from the lopsided and inequitable distribution of foreign aid to which we have been committed. It would indirectly send a message to the peoples of the world that the United States does not countenance religious intolerance from whatever side. It may temper the religious zealots of all persuasions in the Middle East, thus removing a dangerously destabilizing element from the region. Most importantly, it would be the right thing to do, and would promote harmony among the believers in the three great religions of a poor region torn by religious, political and economic conflict for decades. And all that would go a long way in stabilizing a region that is vital to U.S. national interests.

#### Notes

1. See A.M. Rosenthal, "As You Sow," *The New York Times*, Dec. 22, 1992, p. A 21. Also: E. McQuaid, "By Peace or the Sword," *The Jerusalem Post*, Dec. 16, 1992; D. Pipes, "Fundamental Questions About Muslims," *The Wall Street Journal*, Oct. 30, 1992, p. A 11; A. Permuter, "Wishful Thinking About Islamic Fundamentalism," *The Washington Post*, January 19, 1991, p. 16.

2. See John L. Esposito, "The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality," Oxford Univ. Press, 1992, p. 4.

3. See "Task Force on Terrorism & Unconventional Warfare", issued by House Republican Search Committee, Sept. 3, 1992, pp. 1-14.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 14

5. The other members of the Task Force, in addition to chairman McCollum who, as far as this writer is aware, neither apologized nor disassociated themselves from the report, are: William S. Broomfield (MI), Christopher Cox (CA), John J. Doolittle (CA), Robert Dornan (CA), George W. Gekas (PA), Benjamin A. Gilman (NY), Frank D. Riggs (CA), James F. Sensenbrenner, Jr. (WI), Olympia J. Snowe (ME), and C.W. "Bill" Young (FL).

6. From Congressman Rohrabacher's letter to Mr. Mustafa Malik, American Muslim Council, 1212 New York Avenue, N.W., Suite 525, Washington, D.C. 20005, dated October 27, 1992.

In response to the Task Force's Report, Mr. Abdurahman Alamoudi, Executive Director of the American Muslim Council, on October 19, 1992, wrote the Task Force as follows: "We are horrified by your task force's unwarranted vilification of Muslims ... We thought we knew the tenets of our faith until we read your report ... that we Muslims are 'hostile' to western society because 'the mere acceptance of the western law of the land means a contradiction of Islam's tenet.' That is another blatant falsehood. Islam specifically enjoins upon Muslims to obey the laws of the land even if they are un-Islamic ... We are especially outraged by the insinuation that Islam is linked to terrorism ... Even the Bosnians who fought the Yugoslav communist regime in the 1970s and 1980s are termed 'Islamic terrorists.' ... The report warns that 'a major terrorist action' could be launched from Europe's Muslim community.' In support of this ... it cites 'marked increases in the number of mosques,' an increase in the Muslim population of Europe, and adds: 'about 3% - 6% of over 8 million Muslim emigres in Western Europe were already involved in Islamist activities.' We did not know that 'Islamist activities' are forbidden in the Free World ... We had hoped that the United States, as the leader of the Free World, would come to the aid of the victims of the Serbian genocide. Instead, we are dismayed to see some of our elected officials resort to maligning the victims of that genocide ... Furthermore, the task force extends its tirade to adherents of Islam everywhere ... jingoists have picked the Muslim World as their new enemy and are spreading venom against us ... As this hate campaign reaches the highest levels of our government, we are worried about our security and the security ... of our children."

7. See THE CONVENTION FOR THE PREVENTION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF GENOCIDE, U.N. DOC. A/810 (adopted December 9, 1948), reprinted in 45 A.J.L.L. 6 (Supp. 1951) [here-



inafter Convention]. The Convention came into force on January 12, 1951, and declared genocide to be an international crime whether committed in peace or in war. Article II declares genocide to include "causing serious bodily or mental harm," in whole or in part to "a national, ethnical, racial or religious group."

8. As defined in the Charter of the International Military Tribunal, crimes against humanity are offenses committed not against armed forces but against civilian populations (not individual civilians). The 1954 version of the International Law Commission's Draft Code of crimes against humanity, [see U. N. Doc. A/2693, ch. III], includes "persecution, committed against any civilian population on social, political, racial religious or cultural grounds by the authorities of a state or by private individuals acting at the instigation or with the toleration of such authorities." See Wesley L. Gould, *An Introduction to International Law* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1957), pp. 656-659.

9. See Haddad, Yvonne Yazbeck, Hains, Byron and Findly, Ellison, eds., *The Islamic Impact*, Syracuse University Press, (1984), pp. 175-194. See also Kelly, Marjorie, ed., *Islam: The Religious and Political Life of a World Community* Praeger Publishers, (1984), pp. 1-111.

10. *The Quran*, Sura 35, Verse 24; Also Sura 40, Verse 78.

11. *The Quran*, Sura 2, Verse 213.

12. See Ulfat Aziz-U-Samad, *Islam and Christianity*, English Department, University of Peshawar, I. I. F. S. O., 1982), p. 89.

13. See Ulfat Aziz-U-Samad, *op. cit.*, (Introduction). Mrs. Us-Samad writes: "Christian missionaries have all along employed their energies at proving the holy founders of other religions to be false and wicked men ... One has only to read their books about the Prophet Mohammad ... They have not hesitated even to mistranslate the *Holy Quran* and spread many misstatements about the Prophet Mohammad ... The Muslim, on the other hand, believes in the divine origin of all the great religions of the world. The Sacred Book of Islam declares that God has raised prophets in every nation to guide the people [of the world] ... A Muslim must believe in the founders of all the great religions. He may feel sorry to see how ... Jews and ... Christians have in part forsaken ... the true teachings of Moses and Jesus, but he can never speak against the holy prophets of those religions ..."

14. *Ibid*

15. *The Quran*, Sura 3, Verse 84.

16. See *Dep't of State, Country Reports*

*on Human Rights Practices*, (submitted to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations in the U.S. Senate, in accordance with Sections 116 (d) and 502 B (b) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, 1985-1991.)

17. See Lawrence Howard, Editor, *Terrorism: Roots, Impact, Responses*, (Praeger, New York, Westport, Connecticut, London, 1992), pp. 48-49. (Essay by Khalid Duran entitled "Middle Eastern Terrorism: Its Characteristics and Driving Forces.")

18. See the *Quran*, Sura 2, Verse 190, also Sura 4, Verse 30.

19. See Lawrence Howard, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-52.

20. See the *Quran*, Sura 2, Verses 190-193. See also Hammudah Abdalati, *Islam in Focus*, (International Islamic Federation of Student Organizations 1981), pp. 158-171.

21. See Alfred M. Lilienthal, *The Zionist Connection What Price Peace?* (North American, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1982), pp. 357-399. See also Lawrence Howard, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-50.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 359.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 357-365. See also Lawrence Howard, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-52.

24. *Ibid.*

25. See Note # 91, *infra*.

26. See K. Duran, "Middle Eastern Terrorism: Its Characteristics and Driving Forces," Lawrence Howard, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 52.

27. The Middle East is not a precise geographic area of the world. Scholars disagree over the geographic boundaries. Usually, they encompass the Arab states, Israel, Iran, Turkey, Afghanistan and Pakistan. All the North African states, Egypt, Lybia, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco are considered Arab and therefore a part of the Middle East. So are the Sudan, Jordan, North and South Yemen, Oman, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar Arab states and thus part of the Middle East. See David R. Tarr and Bryan R. Daves, eds., "The Middle East," 6th ed., 1991, p. 3. Also Edward Mortimer, "Faith and Power: the Politics of Islam," New York: Vintage Books, 1982, pp. 26-27; Philip Hitti, "History of the Arabs," Tenth Ed., The Macmillan Press, 1974, pp. 87-107; Marjorie Kelly, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-242, with selected bibliography and map on pp. 307 and 196; John L. Esposito, "Islam and Politics," Syracuse University Press, 1984, pp. 1-40.

28. See Esposito, "The Islamic Threat," *op. cit.*, p. 4.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 5. Actually, Professor Esposito quotes Patrick J. Buchanan's "Is Islam an Enemy of the United States?" *New Hampshire Sunday News*, November 25, 1990.

30. *Ibid.*, p. IX.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

32. See Daniel Pipes, "Fundamentalist Muslims," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 64, No. 5, Summer 1986, pp. 939-959, at page 958.

33. See Robin Wright, "Islam, Democracy and The West," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 71, No. 3, Summer 1992, pp. 131-145, Note 1, p. 131.

34. See Daniel Pipes quoting Esposito, "Fundamental Questions About Muslims," *The Wall Street Journal*, October 30, 1992.

35. See *Ibid.*, Where Daniel Pipes quotes Edward P. Djerejian.

36. *Ibid.*

37. See Elwood McQuaid, "By Peace, or The Sword," *The Jerusalem Post*, December 16, 1992.

38. See Esposito, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-174.

39. See Clyde Haberman, "Gunfire Stops 415 Arab Deportees From Going Back to Israeli Zone," *The New York Times*, December 22, 1992, p. A 1.

40. See Benjamin Cohen, "The Intifada's Influence on Israelis and Palestinians," *Middle East International*, No. 369, February 16, 1990, pp. 17-18.

41. See Harry J. Shaw, "Strategic Dissensus," *Foreign Policy*, No. 61, Winter 1985-86, pp. 125-130.

42. See David K. Shieler, *The New York Times*, July 6, 1987, pp. A1 & A. See also *Middle East International*, No. 374, April 27, 1990, pp. 3-5.

43. See Mark A. Heller, "The Middle East: Out of Step With History," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 69, No. 1, 1989-1990, pp. 152-171.

44. See Livia Rokach, *Israel's Sacred Terrorism*, (A Study Based on Moshe Sharett's "Personal Diary" and Other Documents, Association of Arab-American University Graduates, Inc. Belmont, Massachusetts, 1980), P.O. Box 456, Turnpike Station, Shrewsbury, Massachusetts, 01545, p. 44.

45. See Esposito, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-212.

46. *Ibid.*

47. See Text and Note 51.

48. The First Amendment to the United States Constitution provides: Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof ... "It would therefore seem odd that The Task Force, a

Republican Congressional Committee, would be engaged in an attack against Islam and its followers.

49. See Rabbi Elmer Berger, "Zionist Ideology: Obstacle to Peace," in Tekiner, Abed Rabbo & Mezvinsky, *Anti-Zionism: Analytical Reflections*, Amana Books, 1988, pp. 1-32.

50. *Ibid.* Rabbi Berger writes: It is a sad commentary that for more than sixty years, the reputed statesmen of the world have either accepted - or appeared to accept - at face value the standard Zionist apologetics offered to justify Israel's Zionist commitments for any given period of its history ... Nationalist territorial Zionism's dehumanizing of Arabs [Moslems and Christians] has not been in response to or defense against Arab inhumanity to Jews. The accurate statement of the equation is quite the other way around ... The source of the conflict was always Zionism ... Only one American Secretary of State ever approached an exposition of the obstacle to Middle East peace which is inherent in Zionist ideology. When John Foster Dulles returned from the Middle East in 1953, he advised the American people "the Arabs fear Zionism more than Communism." His Assistant ... Henry Byroade ... advised Israel to become a Middle Eastern state and to 'cease regarding itself center or nucleus of a world wide grouping of people of one religious faith' ... "

51. See *op. cit.*, Note 2.

52. See Friendly & Elliot, Eds., *The Constitution*, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

53. See Text and Note 41.

54. See Note 64.

55. See Esposito, "The Islamic Resurgence," *op. cit.*, pp. 1-12 and 37-46.

56. See Rabbi Elmer Berger, "Zionist Ideology," in Tekiner *et. al.* *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25.

57. See Daniel C. Diller, ed., "The Middle East," 7th Edition, Congressional Quarterly, 1991, pp. 7-38.

58. *Ibid.*

59. See Note 72.

60. See David K. Willis, "The Politics of Islam," *The Christian Science Monitor*, July 25, 1984, pp. 1 & 15. See also *The Monitor* for July 26 & 27, 1984. Also Sabri Jiryis, "The Arabs in Israel," *Monthly Review Press*, New York, 1976, p. 235, where he writes: "A basic fact that emerges from a study of the history of the last quarter of a century is that the Arab in Israel has been and continues to be a 'different' citizen 'non-Jewish,' belonging to the goyim and excluded from the rights enjoyed by Jewish citi-

zens. This distinction, which affects every aspect of Arab life, has been officially implemented from the establishment of Israel to the present." See also Rabbi Elmer Berger, "Zionist Ideology," in Tekiner, *et. al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

61. See Robin Wright, "Islam, Democracy and The West," *op. cit.*, pp. 131-145; and David McCullough, "Truman," Simon & Schuster, 1992, pp. 595-620.

62. See Robin Wright, "Islam, Democracy and The West," *op. cit.* p. 137.

63. *Ibid.*, pp. 137-138.

64. See Diller, Ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 7-30.

65. See Rabbi Elmer Berger, "Zionist Ideology," in Tekiner, *et. al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 24:

"However disappointing to the Camp David followers, that conclusion is inescapable. They persist in attempting to find 'security' for the Zionist state and peace in the Middle East by Israeli withdrawal from Sinai, in an Egyptian agreement to sell Israel oil, in superficial cultural exchanges between Egypt and Israel, and in formulas for Palestinian 'autonomy' which are insulting to Palestinian national dignity and self-consciousness. What many Camp David advocates are not admitting - perhaps not seeing - is that anything less than a comprehensive peace, including the right of the Palestinian nation to an independent state of its own, is also to invite increasing disorder ... "

66. See Alfred M. Lilienthal, *The Zionist Connection: What Price Peace?* (North American, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1982) pp. 271-313:

"... evidence points unmistakably to the pro-Israeli and anti-Arab bias of the mass media for many varied reasons: the religio-ethnic pressures of the powerful Jewish community and its potent lobby ... "

67. See *Ibid.*, "America Picks up the Torch," pp. 29-45.

68. See *Ibid.*, "Whose Congress: Thwarting The National Interest," pp. 239-270.

69. See Diller, *op. cit.*, p. 168

70. United States economic and military aid to the State of Israel since 1949 is now believed to have exceeded \$100 billion. This does not include tax deductible "charitable contributions" or the sale of state of Israel Bonds, exempted by special legislation from the Interest Equalization Tax.

See Noam Chomsky, *The Fateful Triangle*, (Southend Press, Boston, MA., 1983), p. 10, Note.

71. See Diller, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

See also "AIPAC Gate?" Pro-Israel Lobbyist Resigns Over Taped Disclosures,"

ADC TIMES, Vol. 13, No. 7, November 1992, pp. 1-8.

72. See Paul Findley, "A Campaign to Discredit Islam? Time for American Muslims to wake up," *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, Vol. XI, No. 41, October, 1992, p. 38.

73. See *op. cit.* Note 72.

74. See Esposito, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-76 See also Robin Wright, "Islam and Democracy," *op. cit.* pp. 134-137.

75. See Esposito, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-64.

76. *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74.

77. Under the present legalized racialist structure in Israel, Israel's Law of Return allows only persons born of Jewish mothers or those who convert to Judaism to "return" to Israel. The result is that Muslim and Christian Palestinians who were born in Israel or in Palestine, and whose lands the state of Israel has expropriated, may not so "return." Were they to be converted to Judaism by Orthodox Jewish rabbis, however, they could "return." Israel's Law of Citizenship grants Israeli citizenship and "Jewish Nationality" upon arrival in Israel to those born to Jewish mothers, or to those who have converted to Judaism. The Palestinians who were born in Israel or in Palestine, but who left under duress in 1947-1948 and in 1967, most of whom still live in refugee camps, may not even receive Israeli citizenship, never mind "Jewish Nationality," because they are not Jews either by birth or by conversion. Israeli citizenship without Jewish nationality is an inferior status to which are relegated only the Israeli Palestinians who remained in Israel when the state was created and who have become Israeli citizens with "Arab Nationality," as well as their descendants. The Israeli Jews, as stated earlier, are classified as Israeli citizens with "Jewish Nationality." There is no Israeli nationality in Israel. The Israeli Supreme Court has affirmed the absence of an Israeli nationality. Israel's Status Law gives to those born to Jewish mothers and those who convert to Judaism (the Israeli citizens with "Jewish Nationality,") certain rights and privileges which are denied to those Israeli citizens with "Arab Nationality," who by the accident of birth were not, born to Jewish mothers, and who could not convert to Judaism. Chief among such rights and privileges is the ownership or use of the land expropriated from the Palestinians and held in "inalienable trust for the Jewish people." See R. Tekiner, "Zionism and Racism," *American Arab Affairs*, No. 33, Summer 1990, pp. 35-41.





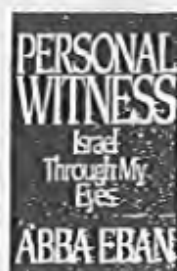
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The author of our present *Link* issue noted that indiscriminate political terrorism was introduced into the Middle East by the Zionists. What many people may not know is that part of that terrorism was directed against fellow Jews. **Ben Gurion's Scandals: How the Haganah and the Mossad Eliminated Jews**, written by Naeim Giladi, a former member of the Zionist underground in Iraq, documents such acts of Jewish terrorism as the sinking of ships carrying Jewish survivors from Europe, the massacre of Jews returning by bus from Eilat, the sinking of a motorboat carrying Jewish women and children from Morocco, and the bombing of Jewish installations in Iraq. Following the massacre of Palestinians in Sabra and Shatila, in 1982, the author left Israel and renounced his Israeli citizenship. Giladi's book (261 pp., 1992, cloth) retails for \$19.50; AMEU's price: \$14.95.



The fastest selling book we have ever had turns out to be one of our own publications: **The Colonization of Palestine: Lest the Civilized World Forget**. This is the complete list, along with maps, photos and introductory essays, of all 394 Palestinian cities, towns and villages destroyed by Israel. Nothing could put Israel's latest deportation of 415 Palestinians in clearer historical perspective. We are offering this 47-page book for \$5.00, approximately 50% off the retail price. Within the past six weeks we have sold over 800 copies, making it our Number 2 Best Seller for 1992.



The New York Times of 1/5/93 reported that U.S. Jews contributed about 60% of President Clinton's non-institutional campaign funds, with approximately 80% of Jews voting for him, for which Jews now want more pro-Israel voices in the President's cabinet. One of the best historical analyses of this commitment by U.S. Jews to the success of a foreign state is offered in Howard Sachar's 1992, 1,051-page work **A History of the Jews in America**, a cloth edition of 1,051 pages. AMEU's price for this newly published book is \$10.00. That's 75% off the retail cost.



For a full account of all the acts of terrorism by Zionists against the Palestinian people and the peoples of Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Egypt, perhaps the most authoritative is **Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem** by the Palestinian lawyer Issa Nakhleh. Published in 1991 (1131 pp., cloth), it is replete with photos and documentation. Forwards by two U.S. international lawyers, Francis Boyle of the University of Illinois College of Law and John Quigley of Ohio State University College of Law, examine the atrocities in the context of crimes against peace, war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide. The two volume set lists for \$69.99; AMEU's price is \$45.00.



□ For a glimpse of contemporary Zionist terror against Palestinians, investigative journalist Robert Friedman guides his readers into the scary netherworld of Jewish settlers, the scariest of whom look upon Palestinians as ancient Amelchites, whose extermination is mandated by the Bible. **Zealots for Zion: Inside Israel's West Bank Settlement Movement** (Random House, 263 pp., 1992, cloth) is a sober reminder that the social formula for blind terror consists of one part messianism and one part fascism. Retailing at \$22.50, AMEU's price is \$16.50.



□ Tekiner, et al., eds., **Anti-Zionism: Analytical Reflections**. This is one of the most challenging collections of essays on Zionism that AMEU has ever carried. It includes: History of Zionism (Norton Mezninsky); Definition of Who is a Jew (R. Tekiner); Zionism vrs. Democracy (Naseer Aruri); Zionism and International Law (W.T. & S. Mallison); and Zionist Policy of Rejecting Peace Initiatives (Cheryl Rubenberg). Retailing at \$19.95, AMEU's price for this 358-page cloth edition is \$4.50.



□ AMEU has a limited number of David McDowall's **Paletine and Israel: The Uprising and Beyond**, a 322-page, cloth edition (1989) from the University of California Press. This book has been popular with college teachers. Retailing for \$24.95, AMEU's price is \$8.50, while supply lasts.



□ One of the best studies of the international legal aspects of the Paletine issue is found in **The Palestinian Problem in International Law and World Order** by Tom and Sally Mallison. AMEU thought so highly of this 564-page work that we bought all remaining copies, which means that we can now offer it for \$7.50. (Published by Longmans in England, it's retail cost in the U.S. is \$49.50.)



□ When Paul Findley's **They Dare To Speak Out** first reached the bookstores, it quickly made it to The Washington Post's Bestseller's List. It has been a best-seller with us ever since. Here, in his 1989 updated edition, the former U.S. Congressman documents how pro-Israeli forces in the U.S. suppress debate on Middle East issues. Retailing for \$9.95, AMEU's price is \$5.50.



□ Because Ritchie Ovendale's **The Origin of The Arab-Israeli Wars** is published by Longman's in London, the discount is less than we'd like. We offer it, however, because the author, a Reader in International Politicis at the University College of Wales, reveals previously undisclosed documents which shed further light on the topic. This 1992 edition (308 pp., paper) also covers the aftermath of the Gulf War. List: \$19.95; AMEU: \$16.95.



□ **By Way of Deception: The Making and Unmaking of a Mossad Officer** by Victor Ostrovsky is the book whose distribution the Israeli government tried to suppress in the United States. Retailing for \$22.95, AMEU's price is \$6.00.



□ **The False Prophet: Rabbi Meir Kahane: From FBI Informant to Knesset Member** is by the Village Voice investigative reporter Robert Friedman. While this 1990 book focuses on the founder of the Jewish Defense League, its scope is to document the terrorist acts committed by the JDL both in Israel and the U.S. Friedman has a particularly revealing chapter on "Who Killed Alex Odeh?" Retail: \$19.95; AMEU's price: \$4.00.



□ University presses usually don't give discounts as good as commercial houses. Still, we are offering **The Politics of Partition: King Abdullah, the Zionists and Palestine 1921-1951**, by the Israeli historian Avi Shlaim, because it is one of the best efforts by an Israeli historian to acknowledge the brutal crimes committed by the founders of the State of Israel. Listing at \$16.00 (Columbia Univ., 436 pp., 1990, paper), AMEU's price is \$13.50.



□ Zionist terrorism has not only been directed against fellow Jews and Palestinians; it has also been directed against Americans. The most egregious example, perhaps, was Israel's 1967 attempt to sink the USS Liberty. The officer on the bridge that day, when Israeli planes and torpedo boats killed 34 U.S. servicemen and wounded 171 others, was James Ennes. His book, **Assault on the Liberty**, remains the definitive work. Published by Random House (299 pp., cloth), it retails for \$14.95; AMEU's price: \$11.50.



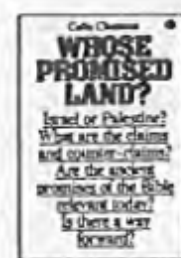
□ **The Islamic Threat** by John Esposito is cited at length by the author of our current issue of *The Link*. Esposito, who teaches at the College of the Holy Cross, counters the Western assumption of a hostile, monolithic Islam. His book, published by Oxford University Press lists for \$22.00 (229 pp., cloth); AMEU's price: \$17.50.



□ The effort to demonize Islam is most effectively countered through education. **A Muslim Primer: Beginner's Guide to Islam** by Ira G. Zepp, Professor of Religious Studies at Western Maryland College, offers a readable introduction to Islam and Islamic culture. Published in 1992, this 292-page paperbound edition is ideal for study groups. Retail it sells for \$14.95; AMEU's price is \$7.50.



□ Our Number 1 Best Seller, last year, with sales of over 3,700 copies, was Grace Halsell's **Journey to Jerusalem**, published by the Macmillan Company 12 years ago! [To date AMEU has distributed over 29,000 copies.] Our price of \$2.50 obviously makes this 193-page paperbound book affordable; what makes it an enduring classic, however, is the author's ability to empathize with a people suffering under a cruel occupation. Many of these books were used last year by local church groups as part of the National Council of Churches Mission focus on the Middle East.



□ Another classic is Colin Chapman's newly updated, 287-page paperback **Whose Promised Land?**, in which competing claims of Zionists and Palestinians are presented in their own words, with the last part of the book devoted to the religious question whether the biblical land promises are relevant after 4,000 years. AMEU has bought 1,000 copies of this book, allowing us to pass along a 50% discount by offering it for \$5.50.



□ In his sequel to **Let Us Be Free**, Bethlehem University Professor Patrick White writes movingly of life under a cruel military occupation. This is a reminder that Christians as well as Muslims share the same victimhood. **Mourning in Bethlehem: The Impact of the Gulf War on Palestine Society** (224 pp., 1992, paper) lists for \$12.95; AMEU's price: \$10.50.



□ Recently, the Israeli Government has stepped up its efforts to promote Holy Land tours among U.S. Christians. For those planning what often is a once-in-a-lifetime pilgrimage, whether on an organized tour or alone, a handy guide is Isabelle Bacon's **Walking Beside Jesus in the Holy Land**. It provides a wealth of information that, chances are, won't be found in the standard brochures. Her itinerary, based on the chronological life of Jesus, also makes a superb companion for reading the Bible at home. Retailing at \$6.95, AMEU's price is \$5.95.



□ The new Secretary of State Warren Christopher, as a former member of the Carter Administration, brings with him the experience of the Camp David Accords. That event is recorded by President Carter in **Jimmy Carter: Keeping Faith**, in which the former president accuses Israel of not keeping faith with its promises on Jerusalem, Jewish settlements and Palestinian refugees—an important reminder to our new President and his Secretary of State. Now in paperback, this 662-page book retails for \$17.50; AMEU's price: \$12.50.



□ U.S. Christians who promote Israel's take-over of Palestinian lands as a sign of Jesus's Second Coming have a peculiar alliance with Israelis who seek the same ends for their own religious purposes. This relationship is explored in Grace Halsell's **Prophecy and Politics: The Secret Alliance Between Israel and the U.S.** Christian Right (210 pp., 1986 update, paper, \$9.95), available from AMEU at \$5.50.



□ The question of whether Jews in the 20th Century own the land of Palestine because God promised it to them 40 centuries ago is discussed by 13 essayists, Christian and Jewish, in **All in the Name of the Bible** (124 pp., paper, 1986, \$7.90), available from AMEU at \$4.50. Essayists include Rev. Don Wagner and Dr. Israel Shahak.



□ This current *Link* issue is about the relationship between the United States and Islam. A history of this relationship reveals that it often has been marred by a misplaced idealism that led American missionaries, world travellers and national leaders, from colonial times on, to establish "an American Israel" in the Holy Land. This provocative history is documented in **Islam and Arabs in Early American Thought: The Roots of Orientalism in America** by Fuad Sha'ban (320 pp., cloth, 1990, \$38.50), available from AMEU at \$28.50.



## Videos



□ **Palestinian Costumes and Embroidery: A Precious Legacy.** The Munayyar Collection. This 35-minute, color video offers a beautiful display of rare Palestinian dresses, jewelry and accessories, music and traditional ceremonies. The commentary, available in English or Arabic, explains the origin of the artistry as well as its influence on Europe via the Romans and Crusaders. Listing at \$50.00, AMEU's special price is \$19.95.



□ **USS Liberty Survivors: Our Story.** This 68-minute documentary presents interviews with survivors of Israel's 1967 attack on the USS Liberty taken during their 20th anniversary reunion. Included is footage from the US Navy archives and private sources. Listing at \$50.00, AMEU's special price is \$19.95.



□ **Golan Heights: Fact & Fiction.** This 51-minute video focuses on Syria and the events in 1967 that led to Israel's occupation and later annexation of the Golan Heights. Included are interviews with Adm. Thomas Moorer, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and James Akins, former U.S. Ambassador to Saudi Arabia. Listing at \$25.00, AMEU's price is \$19.95.



□ **Jordan's Stormy Banks.** This 30-minute video, produced in 1991 by the Presbyterian Church, offers an excellent introduction to the Palestine/Israel conflict. While intended for church study groups, it is equally suitable for high school and college groups. Listing at \$19.95, AMEU's price is \$14.95.



□ **Food From Biblical Lands.** Helen Corey walks the viewer through seven traditional Middle Eastern meals. Recipes are adapted for the American kitchen, and each preparation is time-coded for quick access to the desired recipe. Retailing for \$16.95, AMEU's price for this 20-minute video is \$13.50.



□ **The Intifada: A Jewish Eye Witness.** Written & narrated by Elana Levy, this 50-minute video, made in 1991, is a moving, personal witness to Israel's inhumane occupation. "What I saw," says the filmmaker, "forced me to speak out—as a Jew, as an American, as a woman, and as a human being." Retailing at \$55.00, AMEU's price is \$35.00.

## Monographs

The following Monographs Are Available for \$2.50 Each:

□ **Facts and Figures About the Palestinians, 1992.** Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine, 42 pp.

□ **Toward the De-Arabization of Palestine/Israel, 1945-1977.** Basheer Nijm, ed., 1984, 174 pp., with colored map section, including subdistricts of Palestine.

□ **International Law and the United Nations' Role in the Gulf Crisis,** by Shaw J. Dallal, [author of our present *Link* article], Syracuse University College of Law, Spring 1992, 29 pp.

□ **Human Rights Violations During the Palestinian Uprising 1988-1989,** Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights, 1989, 87 pp. [All citations of human rights abuses are translations from the Hebrew Press.] Introduction by Dr. Israel Shahak.

□ **The Palestinian/Israeli Conflict: A Select Bibliography.** Prepared for the Chicago Public Library, this 16-page brochure caused a strong reaction among pro-Israeli supporters because of its recommended readings and its recommended news sources, first among which, we are happy to say, was *The Link*.

## Notice

SEARCH for Justice and Equality in Palestine/Israel is a national human rights organization, whose purpose is to inform journalists about the Arab-Israeli conflict and to encourage them to support the rights both of Palestinians and Israeli Jews. SEARCH's work has been praised by, among others, Israel Shahak, Rosemary Ruether, George McGovern, Elmer Berger, Noam Chomsky, Humphrey Walz, Norman Finkelstein, and John Quigley. For information and published material send self-addressed, stamped envelope to SEARCH, Box 3452, Framingham, MA 01701. SEARCH is a tax-deductible organization and welcomes contributions.

\* \* \* \* \*

Dr. Elaine Hagopian of Simmons College will be leading a tour, Boston-Damascus-Boston, departing June 9 and returning June 27. For information write: Dr. Elaine C. Hagopian, c/o Department of Sociology, Simmons College, 300 The Fenway, Boston MA 02115-5898, or phone 617-738-3156.

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