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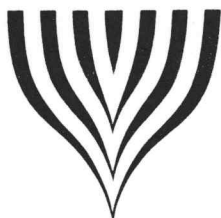
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Terrorism, 1986.

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איחוד  
ליהדות  
מתקדמת  
באמריקה

# Union of American Hebrew Congregations

PATRON OF HEBREW UNION COLLEGE - JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION  
838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100 CABLES. UNIONUAHC

DEPARTMENT OF INTERRELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

FROM: ANNETTE DAUM  
TO: ALL INTERESTED PARTIES  
SUBJECT: ISTANBUL: Responses by Religious Leaders

DATE: 9/22/86

As we approach the High Holy Days with the shock of this terrorist tragedy still fresh in our minds, it is imperative that Synagogue Leaders be aware of the outrage expressed by Religious Leaders throughout the United States who condemn this massacre of innocent members of the Jewish community at worship.

Included in this package are statements by:

POPE JOHN PAUL II

REV. ARIE R. BROUWER,  
National Council of Churches

BISHOP JAMES W. MALONE,  
National Conference of Catholic Bishops

BERNARD CARDINAL LAW,  
Diocese of Boston

JOHN CARDINAL O'CONNOR,  
Archdiocese of New York

REV. GEORGE SHERIDAN,  
Southern Baptist Convention

REV. AVERY POST,  
United Church of Christ

MOHAMMED T. MEHDI,  
National Council of Islamic Affairs

Remarks by Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, President, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, at a Memorial Service for the Jewish Victims in Istanbul is also attached.

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Encs.

# Pope Says Hope Turns to Anguish

COURMAYEUR, Italy, Sept. 7 (AP) — From an Alpine peak near Mont Blanc, Pope John Paul II said today that terrorist attacks on a jetliner in Pakistan and a synagogue in Turkey had turned hopes for peace into anguish.

"It is necessary, without delay, to do everything possible to put an end to the incessant escalation of hatred and terrorism," the Pope said at his Sunday noon blessing from the 7,687-foot-high peak of Mount Chetif.

From his pulpit facing the snowy peak of Mont Blanc, Europe's highest mountain at 15,711 feet, John Paul said he was praying for the souls of the more than three dozen people killed in the two terrorist episodes. He called the attacks insane.

## Taking 'Blood of Brothers'

He spoke of his intense sadness and offered his strongest condemnation of the hijacking Friday of a Pan American Airways jumbo jet in Karachi and the attack Saturday on a synagogue in Istanbul.

The Pope said the terrorists had taken the blood of innocent victims, "blood of traveling brothers, blood of

brothers gathered in a place of prayer."

"In the face of these horrendous and almost unbelievable events, the yearning for peace turns into anguish," he said during his blessing, broadcast live on Italian television and transmitted worldwide by satellite.

The Pope then walked carefully along a narrow, rocky path to pray at a statue of Mary the Queen of Peace.

The Pope was making a 24-hour visit to the Val d'Aosta region at the foot of Mont Blanc.

Earlier today he flew by helicopter to the Brenva Glacier on Mont Blanc's southern face, at an altitude of about 11,000 feet. Wearing a white ski jacket over his cassock, a cap with ear flaps and white snow boots, he strolled alone on the glacier for about 20 minutes.

John Paul, an avid skier and outdoorsman in his youth in his native Poland, said in his blessing that the silence of the mountains was a "silence in which man can hear more distinctly the inner echo of the voice of God."

He hailed the mountaineers who first climbed Mount Blanc 200 years ago and said their feat should serve as an example of perseverance today.

- N.Y. Times - 9/8/86

## PRELATES JOIN ECUMENICAL SERVICE FOR VICTIMS OF TERRORISM IN MIDEAST

Three Catholic bishops joined in an interfaith memorial observance for victims of terrorism in Pakistan and Turkey.

Bernard Cardinal Law of Boston, Archbishop James Hickey of Washington and Bishop William Keeler of Harrisburg, Chairman of the Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs, participated in the service (Sept. 10) at the Lutheran Church of the Reformation, Washington, D. C.

"Two weeks ago yesterday," Cardinal Law said, "I stood and prayed and wept with 100 other pilgrims, Catholics and Jews, at Auschwitz. Our prayers and cries were 'Never again!' And yet here we stand again and here we mourn again, all too often finding ourselves in these kinds of settings...."

"Auschwitz and these acts are singular reminders of the evil of which humanity is capable," he said.

Other Christian participants included the Rev. Lewis Anthony, Pastor of Varick Memorial AME Zion Church; the Rev. Arnold Keller, Senior Pastor, Lutheran Church of the Reformation; the Rev. Gerald Klever, Senior Pastor, Sixth Presbyterian Church, and Walter Fauntroy, Pastor of New Bethel Baptist Church.

Rev. Arie R. Brouwer, General Secretary  
National Council of the Churches of Christ

We are shocked and outraged about the unspeakable horror of the massacre in Istanbul during Sabbath services this weekend. Although extremist terrorist actions occur on a weekly basis and numb us to horror, we find ourselves in disbelief that anyone, for any reason, would deliberately slaughter members of a community at worship. The fact that it was a Jewish community in a predominantly Muslim country further complicates the tragedy. The obvious anti-Jewish nature of the attack is a painful reminder of continuing anti-semitism, an affront to all human beings.

Through you we offer our deepest sympathy to the families of the victims and to all who suffer from this atrocity. Indeed, the whole human family is diminished.

Be assured of our continuing resolve to work with you, as a people of faith, toward the day when religious diversity is not only tolerated but celebrated as a part of the richness of God's creation. Even as we work toward that day, we extend to you our deepest sympathies in this time of loss.

SOUTHERN BAPTISTS - 9/9/86

Southern Baptists lament the terrible acts of terrorism perpetuated in Karachi and Istanbul in the past week.

Many Baptists in their Worship Services on Sunday and in private devotions before and since have prayed for comfort for the grieving families of victims of both outrages, for healing of the injured and for a change of heart in all those who consider such unjust and violent acts as acceptable.

These terrible acts are expressions of impersonal hate brought to a focus in the latter case upon the Jews. We have seen before, all too often, all too recently, all too completely, the depths of suffering and the moral chaos such hatred can lead to. It must stop. The terrorists must be brought to quick and clear justice. The value of the rule of law and the intolerability of chaos must be communicated strongly.

Particularly it is to be stressed that religion must not be used as a ruse for acts of terrorism. It is no love of God or humanity that impels terrorists to strike. It is hatred and evil and, from a religious standpoint, unrighteous.

Rev. Avery D. Post, United Church of Christ

Rev. Avery D. Post, president of the United Church of Christ, said that "all acts of terrorism are to be condemned, whether perpetrated by political movements or by governments. To forestall further terrorism we must all work with renewed vigor to resolve the underlying issues that provoke such misguided violence. But however sympathetic we may be with Palestinian aspirations for self-determination, no right-thinking persons can condone the methods these perpetrators have employed."



On Saturday, September 6th, the world was shocked by the attack on the Neve Shalom Synagogue in Istanbul, Turkey. As the small congregation gathered for their Sabbath prayers of peace, ruthless gunmen opened fire with automatic weapons.

The slaughter of innocent people at prayer must be condemned as a particularly heinous and callous assault on all that is sacred to humanity.

The Catholic community of the United States joins with its Jewish brothers and sisters in mourning the victims, and in prayer for their families.

JOHN CARDINAL O'CONNOR - ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW YORK - HOMILY, SEPTEMBER 7th

"Let us remind ourselves to pray in this Mass for those who were killed in the hijacking in Karachi and for those killed as reported in this morning's paper in the Synagogue in Istanbul.

Every form of terrorism is to be condemned, is reprehensible, is horrendous. Certainly this is true of what happened in Karachi, but there is something particularly abominable about killing people in cold blood while they pray and it is especially heinous if it is directly against our Jewish brothers and sisters because they are Jewish and because they claim so justifiably a homeland of their own. We must, all of us, examine our consciences to ask if in any way, we have ever contributed to the kinds of prejudice and bitterness and hostility that can ultimately explode in a tragedy of this sort.

So I ask you if you will remember all of these and their families in your prayers during this Mass."

Fr. John Lennon, St. Gregory's Church

Father John Lennon, Pastor of St. Gregory the Great Roman Catholic Church said, "We today in our masses joined together with all the poor Jewish people who have suffered so much. This crime is against everything we stand for regardless of religion, race or nationality. It's slapping the face of God."

Mohammed T. Mehdi, National Council of Islamic Affairs

Mohammed T. Mehdi, Secretary General of the National Council of Islamic Affairs, a leading Moslem education group, stated that the attack on the Synagogue in Istanbul was, "a violation of the letter and spirit of Islam which specifically prohibits any violence against worshipers of places of worship." He added, "the assault was carried out by mad persons who have murdered not only Jewish worshipers but also have inflicted equally great damage on Islam."



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# Union of American Hebrew Congregations

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DEPARTMENT OF INTERRELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

Excerpts from an Address by Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, President

Union of American Hebrew Congregations\*

At a Memorial Service for Jewish Victims of Arab Terrorism in Istanbul

Once again we gather in this sanctuary for a service of mourning. Since 1980, when a bomb exploded outside the Paris Reform synagogue on Rue Copernic, there have been seven other assaults on Jewish houses of worship in Vienna and Antwerp, Rome and Johannesburg, in Buenos Aires, in Copenhagen and once again in Paris. All told, 200 worshippers have been maimed, and two score martyred. Is there no end to all this madness?

Our sorrow intermingles with bitterness, with seething anger against the perpetrators of these loathsome deeds. They claim that they are freedom fighters. They are not. Freedom fighters do not attack civilians; soldiers are their primary target. Not so the terrorists of our time. Civilians are their preferred prey. And their ultimate goal is not to liberate peoples but to frighten them into surrender and submission. Let no one say that "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter."

Equally absurd is the attempt to link worldwide terrorism with the failure of the Arabs and Israelis to come to terms. The latest to offer this shallow analysis is former President Jimmy Carter, who averred that worldwide terrorism would not cease until peace in the Middle East is achieved. Referring to the bloodbath in Istanbul, he declared: "...this terrorism, including the dastardly actions in Pakistan, will not improve until the question of the rights of the Palestinians is adequately addressed."

One must wonder at this abysmal failure to understand what the present struggle is all about and what the ultimate aims of international terrorism really are. Arab terrorists don't want peace in the Middle East. Palestinians who evince even a minimal interest in some form of accommodation with Israel are quickly cut down. And President Assad of Syria, who rivals Qaddafi in harboring terrorists, has made it crystal clear that he will scuttle any negotiation that is undertaken and any agreement that might be reached, just as he forced Lebanon to abrogate its U.S.-brokered treaty with Israel in 1983.

Arab terrorism is certainly not the consequence of any failure to attain peace in the Middle East. It is, rather, the principal cause of the failure to move toward negotiations and to achieve a peace. Further, it should be remembered that the sweep of Arab terrorism is far wider than the West Bank or even all of Israel.

The spiritual matrix of radical Shi'ism is Khomeini's Iran, and its nemesis is modernity. The West is the bearer of modernity and America is the leader of the West.

(more)

America, therefore, is the ultimate quarry. All others, including Israel, are only secondary targets, obstacles along the way to America's downfall. It is America, and what it stands for, that is the target of Moslem terrorism -- free speech and free enterprise, a religious tradition that permits those of all faiths and those of no faith to live in tranquility, a nation of laws and not of men (certainly not of holy men), and a moral code that stands against bigotry and discrimination based on race or religion or national origin or gender.

This is what the ayatollahs hold in contempt. This is what they mean to extirpate. Americans are not the target of terrorist attacks because our country befriends Israel. Rather, Israel is subject to terrorism in no small measure because it is seen as the outpost of Western values in the Middle East.

This is why Marxist and Moslem radicals are in league with one another and receive significant support from the Soviet Union. Both seek the downfall of Western democracies. And both deem terrorism the most suitable weapon for attaining their common goal.

President Carter should know all this, he and Bishop Moore, and the many others who propagate the myth that the Arab-Israel conflict is at the core of the worldwide terrorism crisis. They should remember that the Iranian hostage crisis did not precede but rather followed his towering achievement of a Middle East peace at Camp David. Still they persist in blaming the Israelis for the escalation of terrorism.

They want the Jewish victims to pay twice: first with their lives, then with the security of their nation. Indeed, the Jews are asked to pay a third time, for not only are they the victims, they are the ones who are blamed. The anti-Semite kills the Jew, and then finds reason in the Jew's behavior to justify the foul deed.

Bishop Moore does not condone terrorism, he says, but adds: "Some of the reasons behind it have to do with the frustrations of third world persons." Bishop Moore is no anti-Semite, nor is Jimmy Carter. But their attempt to find excuses for those who slaughter innocents cannot fail but give us pause.

So there is anger and disappointment seething within us today. The tragedy is still a fresh wound within us, but we recall also how often in ages past our people walked through flames. Their memory will never fade. Their sacrifice will never be forgotten. Their souls are bound up in the bond of lasting life.

9/10/86

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# MEMORANDUM

From Al Vorspan  
To UAHC Regional Directors  
Copies Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, Rabbi Daniel B. Syme, Arthur Grant  
Subject ISTANBUL MASSACRE

Date September 11, 1986

In response to the massacre in Istanbul at Neve Shalom Synagogue, the UAHC has undertaken several steps including the following:

1. A special memorial service was held in the chapel of the UAHC on Wednesday, Sept. 10. Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler delivered a powerful sermon on terrorism. The excerpts are attached, as well as the list of the 21 victims of the Istanbul pogrom, who we remembered in the Kaddish. The text of the service, conducted by Rabbi Gary Bretton-Granatoor, is attached also.
2. An emergency consultation has been held within the Synagogue Council of America which is in contact with Neve Shalom. A delegation of Reform, Conservative and Orthodox representatives from the U.S. may be visiting the congregation to demonstrate our solidarity and to review how we can help the congregation to recover and renovate the building. A fund has been established by the American Jewish Congress, 15 East 84th St., New York 10028. See memo from NJCRAC about what else can be done.
3. A message of gratitude was sent to the government of Turkey via the Ambassador of the Turkish Embassy in Washington, D.C (see attached).
4. The question of security for Synagogues and other Jewish institutions in America is being carefully examined by the UAHC Department of Synagogue Activities and by all the Jewish agencies within the NJCRAC. Myron Schoen will be in touch with you with specific guidance for your congregations.
5. The Interreligious department of the UAHC, through Annette Daum, is working with Christian groups and other civic bodies who have spoken out against the tragedy (see the attached statements).

You may wish to urge congregations to organize Memorial Services for Shloshim.



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## NEWS RELEASE

For Release: 12 Noon Wednesday,  
September 10

**Contact:** Richard Cohen  
(212) 758-6969

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\*Central body of Reform Judaism in the U.S. and Canada.

(more)



America, therefore, is the ultimate quarry. All others, including Israel, are only secondary targets, obstacles along the way to America's downfall. It is America, and what it stands for, that is the target of Moslem terrorism -- free speech and free enterprise, a religious tradition that permits those of all faiths and those of no faith to live in tranquility, a nation of laws and not of men (certainly not of holy men), and a moral code that stands against bigotry and discrimination based on race or religion or national origin or gender.

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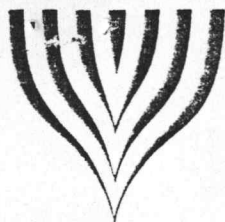
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## NEWS RELEASE

## FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Contact: Richard Cohen  
(212) 758-6969

RABBI SCHINDLER ASSAILS JIMMY CARTER AND EPISCOPAL BISHOP MOORE  
FOR ATTRIBUTING SLAUGHTER OF JEWS IN ISTANBUL SYNAGOGUE ATTACK  
TO 'FRUSTRATIONS' AND 'LACK OF PROGRESS' TOWARD A MIDEAST PEACE

NEW YORK, Sept. 11 -- Statements by former President Jimmy Carter and the Episcopal Bishop of New York, the Rev. Paul Moore Jr., attributing the slaughter of Jews at prayer in the great synagogue of Istanbul to "lack of progress in the Middle East" and "the frustrations of third-world persons" were assailed yesterday by Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

Addressing a memorial service for the Turkish terrorist victims at UAHC headquarters here, Rabbi Schindler declared:

"Bishop Moore is no anti-Semite, nor is Jimmy Carter. But their attempt to find excuses for those who slaughter innocents gives us pause.

"One must wonder at their failure to understand that Arab terrorists don't want peace in the Middle East. Palestinians who evince even a minimal interest in some form of accommodation with Israel are quickly cut down. Arab terrorism is not the consequence of any failure to attain peace in the Middle East. It is, rather, the principal cause of the failure to move toward negotiations and a resolution of Arab-Israeli differences."

[In a statement following the attack on the synagogue, former President Carter linked the terrorist action to the failure to achieve peace in the Middle East and said terrorism would continue as long as conflicts remain unresolved. "The origin of this terrorism, including the dastardly actions in Pakistan, is the lack of progress in the Middle East," Mr. Carter said in an address at Oachita Baptist University in Arkadelphia, Ark. "It will not improve until the question of the rights of the Palestinians is addressed."

[Bishop Moore said: "I do not condone terrorism of any kind, but some of the reasons behind it have to do with the frustrations of third-world persons. I don't think we are doing enough to try to understand what it is that causes this rage. It is a very complex phenomenon that cannot be cured merely by additional security and an occasional bombing of Libya."]

Rabbi Schindler said it was "absurd" to link worldwide terrorism with the failure of the Arabs and Israelis to come to terms. Commenting on what he called Mr. Carter's "shallow analysis," Rabbi Schindler stated:

(more)



Why Israel Is Target of Terrorists

"The spiritual matrix of radical Shi'ism is Khomeini's Iran, and its nemesis is modernity. The West is the bearer of modernity and America is the leader of the West. America, therefore, is the ultimate quarry. All others, including Israel, are only secondary targets, obstacles along the way to America's downfall.

"It is America, and what it stands for, that is the target of Moslem terrorism -- free speech and free enterprise, a religious tradition that permits those of all faiths and those of any faith to live in tranquility, a nation of laws and not of men (certainly not of holy men), and a moral code that stands against bigotry and discrimination based on race or religion or national origin or gender.

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"That is why Marxist and Moslem radicals are in league with one another and receive significant support from the Soviet Union. Both seek the downfall of Western democracies. And both deem terrorism the most suitable weapon for attaining their common goal.

"President Carter should know all this -- he and Bishop Moore, and the many others who propagate the myth that the Arab-Israel conflict is at the core of world terrorism"

Telegram to Turkish Ambassador

Following the memorial service, which was also addressed by Charles J. Rothschild Jr. chairman of the board of trustees, the UAHC sent a telegram to the Turkish ambassador to Washington, Sukru Elekdag, commending the government of Turkey for its "steadfast determination to oppose terrorism and to maintain a climate of tolerance of which Turkey has been rightfully proud."

The memorial service was conducted by Rabbi Gary Bretton-Granatoor, assistant director of the New York Federation of Reform Synagogues. Cantor Richard Botton of Central Synagogue in New York, whose mother grew up in Istanbul and was a member of the Neve Shalom congregation, sang the El Mole Rachamim.

## Victims of Terror At Synagogue

ISTANBUL, Turkey, Sept. 8 (AP) — Following is a list of the worshipers killed and wounded in the attack on the Neve Shalom Synagogue on Saturday. The list was provided by Jewish leaders in Istanbul.

### Dead

ALHALEL, Jozef  
ANJEL, Salamon  
ATALAY, Yuda Levi  
BABAZADE, Mirva  
BAROKAS, Izak  
BARUH, Danyel Daryo  
BEHAR, David, a cantor  
CITTONI, Selim Salom  
ERESKENAZI, Binyamin  
ERGUN, Aser, a cantor  
ERGUN, Ibrahim  
GERSON, Izak  
HARA, Elyezer  
LEVI, Moiz  
LEVI, Rensiyon  
MATALON, Yakov  
MUSAOGLU, Leon Levi  
NESIM, Rafael  
OZFINS, Robert Israel  
SAUL, Moiz  
SENKAL, Sefanya

### Wounded

ERESKENAZI, Avram  
GENC, Yasef Levi  
SAMRANO, Jak  
SITRAN, Moiz



## A SERVICE OF REMEMBRANCE

6 ELUL, 5746 -- 10 SEPTEMBER, 1986

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS

In the presence of eyes  
which witnessed the slaughter,  
which saw the oppression  
the heart could not bear,  
and as witness the heart  
that once taught compassion  
until the days came to pass  
that crushed human feeling,  
I have taken an oath: To remember it all,  
to remember, not once to forget!  
Forget not one thing to the last generation  
when degradation shall cease,  
to the last, to its ending,  
when the rod of instruction  
shall have come to conclusion.  
An oath: Not in vain passed over  
the night of the terror.  
An oath: No morning shall see me at  
flesh-pots again.  
An oath: Lest from this we learned  
nothing.

Congregation:

Life is not fair. The wrong people get sick and the wrong people get robbed and the wrong people get killed in wars and in accidents. Some people see life's unfairness and decide, "There is no God; the world is nothing but chaos." Others see the same unfairness and ask themselves, "Where do I get my sense of what is fair and unfair? Where did I get my sense of outrage and indignation, my instinctive response of sympathy? Don't I get these things from God? Doesn't God plant in me a little bit of the divine outrage at my injustice and oppression, just as God did for the prophets of the Bible? Isn't my feeling of compassion for the afflicted just a reflection of the compassion God feels in seeing the suffering of God's creatures? Our responding to life's unfairness with sympathy and righteous indignation, God's compassion and God's anger working through us, may be the surest proof of all of God's reality.

Reader:

Every generation of our people has witnessed suffering at the hand of oppressors -- people bent on our destruction. Every generation has handed over loved ones, women and men who died 'al kidush haShem' - sanctifying God's name. Ten Martyrs, teachers and sages all, died with God's name on their lips. These Ten Martyrs are symbols of the myriads of our human family who perished, leaving us a little emptier. Eyleh Ezkerah -- These things I will always remember....

*ignorance like a monster has devoured our martyrs as in one long day of blood. Rulers have arisen through the endless years, oppressive, savage in their witless power, filled with a futile thought: to make an end of that which God has cherished.*

Reader:

I have taken an oath: to remember it all.  
To remember—to forget nothing at all.  
Forgetting nothing of this,  
Till the tenth generation,  
Till the grief disappears,  
To the last, to its ending,  
Till the punishing blows are ended for good.  
I swear this night of terror  
Shall not have passed in vain;  
I swear this morning I'll not live unchanged,  
As if I were no wiser even now, even now.

R:

Dear God, so much innocent bloodshed!  
We are supposed to be created in Your image.  
But O how we have distorted it.

C:

*When we recall the beastly acts of people,  
We are ashamed to be human.  
When we read of the nobility of their victims,  
We are proud to be Jews.*

R:

Teach us, O God, to honor our martyrs,  
By being vigilant in defense of our people everywhere,  
And by fighting cruelty, persecution, and hate.

C:

*But must cruelty always be?  
Must viciousness ever be the signature of humanity?  
No! No! We refuse to accept that!  
We refuse to give hatred the last word,  
Because we have known the power of love.*

R:

We refuse to believe that cruelty will prevail,  
Because we have felt the strength of kindness.  
We refuse to award the ultimate victory to evil,  
Because we believe in You.

C:

*So help us, O God, to draw strength from our faith,  
And help us, our God, to live by our faith.*

R:

Where there is hatred, may we bring love.  
Where there is pain, may we bring healing.  
Where there is darkness, may we bring light.  
Where there is despair, may we bring hope.  
Where there is discord, may we bring harmony.  
Where there is strife, may we bring peace.  
Make this a better world and begin with us.

### Silent Prayer

יהו לרצון אמרי־פי והגיון לבי לפניך, יי, צורי וגואלי.

May the words of my mouth, and the meditations of my heart, be  
acceptable to You, O God, my Rock and my Redeemer.

R:

יִזְכּוֹר אֱלֹהִים נַשְׁמוֹת הַקְּדוּשִׁים וְהַטְּהוּרִים שֶׁנִּהְרְגוּ,  
שֶׁנִּשְׁחַטּוּ וְשֶׁנִּשְׂרָפוּ וְשֶׁנִּטְבְּעוּ וְשֶׁנִּחְנְקוּ עַל קְדוּשַׁת  
הַשֵּׁם. בְּעִבּוֹר שְׁאֵנִי נוֹדֵר (נוֹדֶרֶת) צְדָקָה בְּעַד הַזֵּכֶרֶת  
נַשְׁמוֹתֵיהֶם, בְּשֹׁכֵר זֶה, תִּהְיֶינָה נִפְשוֹתֵיהֶם צְרוּרוֹת  
בְּצִרּוֹר הַחַיִּים עִם נַשְׁמוֹת אֲבֹרָהֶם יִצְחָק וְיַעֲקֹב,  
שָׂרָה רַבֵּקָה רָחֵל וְלֵאָה, וְעִם שְׂאֵר צְדִיקִים וְצַדִּיקָנוֹת  
שֶׁבָּגָן עֲדָן, וְנֹאמַר אָמֵן.

May God remember the souls of our martyrs, holy and pure, who dedicated their deaths to God. In remembrance of them I shall perform acts of tzedakah and kindness. May their souls be treasured in the cluster of immortals, along with Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, and Leah, and all the righteous men and women who have merited a share in the world to come. Amen.

*El Maley Rachamim (for all our departed)*

Cantor:

אֵל מָלֵא רַחֲמִים. שׁוֹכֵן בְּמְרוֹמִים. הַמַּצֵּא מְנוּחָה  
נְכוֹנָה תַּחַת כַּנְּפֵי הַשְּׂכִינָה. בְּמַעְלוֹת קְדוּשִׁים  
וְטְהוּרִים כְּזֹהֵר הַרְקִיעַ מְזֻהָרִים, אֶת־נַשְׁמוֹת כָּל־  
אֵלֶּה שֶׁהוֹבְרָנוּ הַיּוֹם וְאֶת־נַשְׁמוֹת כָּל־אֲחֵינוּ בְּנֵי  
יִשְׂרָאֵל שֶׁמָּסְרוּ נַפְשָׁם עַל־קִדְשַׁת הַשֵּׁם. בְּעַל  
הַרְחָמִים יִסְתִּירֵם בְּסֶתֶר כַּנְּפֵיו לְעוֹלָמִים. וְיַצְרֹר  
בְּצִרּוֹר הַחַיִּים אֶת־נַשְׁמָתָם. יְיָ הוּא נִחְלָתָם. וְיִנְוְחוּ  
עַל־מִשְׁכְּבוֹתָם בְּשָׁלוֹם. וְנֹאמַר אָמֵן:

O God in heaven, filled with compassion for those You bring into this world, grant complete repose to the souls of all those we are remembering today, and to all our people who have given their lives to sanctify Your name. Sheltered by Your divine wings, may they join the company of the holy and pure who shine as bright as heaven. Bring their souls into the bond of life that, with You as their portion, they may repose in peace. Amen.

R:

☞ Combine all the woes that temporal and ecclesiastical tyrannies have ever inflicted on individuals or nations, and you will not have reached the full measure of suffering which this martyr people was called upon to endure century upon century. It was as if all the powers of earth had conspired—and they did so conspire—to exterminate the Jewish people, or at least to transform it into a brutalized horde. History dare not pass over in silence these scenes of well nigh unutterable misery. It is her duty to give a true and vivid account of them; to evoke due admiration for the superhuman endurance of this suffering people, and to testify that Israel, like Jacob in the days of old, has striven with gods and with men, and has prevailed.

In the rising of the sun and in its going down, we remember them.

In the blowing of the wind and in the chill of winter, we remember them.

In the opening of buds and in the rebirth of spring, we remember them.

In the blueness of the sky and in the warmth of summer, we remember them.

In the rustling of leaves and in the beauty of autumn, we remember them.

In the beginning of the year and when it ends, we remember them.

When we are weary and in need of strength, we remember them.

When we are lost and sick at heart, we remember them.

When we have joys we yearn to share, we remember them.

So long as we live, they too shall live, for they are now a part of us, as we remember them.

MOURNER'S KADDISH

קדיש יתום

יִתְגַּדַּל וְיִתְקַדַּשׁ שְׁמֵהּ רַבָּא בְּעָלְמָא דְּיָדְבָרָא כָּרְעוּתָהּ,  
Yit-ga-dal ve-yit-ka-dash she-mei ra-ba be-al-ma di-ve-ra chi-re-u-tei,

וְיִמְלִיךְ מַלְכוּתָהּ בְּחַיֵּיכוֹן וּבְיוֹמֵיכוֹן וּבְכָל־בֵּית  
ve-yam-lich mal-chu-tei be-cha-yei-chon u-ve-yo-mei-chon u-ve-cha-yei  
de-chol beit

יִשְׂרָאֵל, בְּעוֹלָא וּבְזִמְנָן קָרִיב, וְאָמְרוּ: אָמֵן.  
Yis-ra-eil, ba-a-ga-la u-vi-ze-man ka-riv, ve-i-me-ru: a-mein.

יְהֵא שְׁמֵהּ רַבָּא מְבָרַךְ לְעָלַם וּלְעָלְמֵי עָלְמַיָּא.  
Ye-hei she-mei ra-ba me-va-rach le-a-lam u-le-al-mei al-ma-ya.

יִתְבָּרַךְ וְיִשְׁתַּבַּח, וְיִתְפָּאֵר וְיִתְרוֹמֵם וְיִתְנַשֵּׂא, וְיִתְהַדָּר  
Yit-ba-rach ve-yish-ta-bach, ve-yit-pa-ar ve-yit-ro-mam ve-yit-na-sei, ve-yit-ha-dar

וְיִתְעַלֶּה וְיִתְהַלָּל שְׁמֵהּ דְּקוּדְשָׁא, בְּרִיךְ הוּא, לְעָלָא מְרַבָּל  
ve-yit-a-leh ve-yit-ha-lal she-mei de-ku-de-sha, be-rich hu, le-ei-la min kol

בְּרַבְּחָא וּשְׂרִירָתָא, תִּשְׁבַּחְתָּא וְנִחְמַתָּא דְּאִמְרָן בְּעָלְמָא,  
bi-re-cha-ta ve-shi-ra-ta, tush-be-cha-ta ve-ne-che-ma-ta, da-a-mi-ran be-al-ma,

וְאָמְרוּ: אָמֵן.  
ve-i-me-ru: a-mein.

יְהֵא שְׁלָמָא רַבָּא מִדְּשִׁמְיָא וְחַיִּים עָלֵינוּ וְעַל־כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל,  
Ye-hei she-la-ma ra-ba min she-ma-ya ve-cha-yim a-lei-nu ve-al kol Yis-ra-eil,

וְאָמְרוּ: אָמֵן.  
ve-i-me-ru: a-mein.

עֲשֵׂה שְׁלוֹם בְּמִרוֹמָיו, הוּא יַעֲשֶׂה שְׁלוֹם עָלֵינוּ וְעַל־כָּל־  
O-seh sha-lom bi-me-ro-mav, hu ya-a-seh sha-lom a-lei-nu ve-al kol

יִשְׂרָאֵל, וְאָמְרוּ: אָמֵן.  
Yis-ra-eil, ve-i-me-ru: a-mein.





Memo

September 8, 1986

TO: NJCRAC and CJF Member Agencies

FROM: Michael A. Pelavin, Chairman  
Albert D. Chernin, Executive Vice ChairmanRE: URGENT ACTION RECOMMENDATIONS ON ISTANBUL SYNAGOGUE MURDERS

"In consultation this weekend and today with a broad array of communal leadership, including our member agency congregational bodies and the Synagogue Council of America, we recommend the following actions in response to the brutal terrorist attack on fellow Jews at worship at the Neve Shalom Synagogue in Istanbul, Turkey:

1. That communities send, immediately, cables of sympathy and solidarity to Istanbul's Chief Rabbi and the President of the Istanbul Jewish Community,

Rav David Asseo and Jacques Dicet  
Benoglu  
Yemenici Sokak 23  
ISTANBUL, TURKEY

The text of our cable is attached. Please feel free to draw upon our cable in drafting your own and note any observance or service you will hold.

2. That CRCs throughout the country organize, in cooperation with local Board of Rabbis, rabbinical association, and congregational bodies, a protest memorial service to be held, preferably, this Wednesday, in conjunction with the funeral of the victims that day in Istanbul. Please seek the widest possible attendance of community leadership and Christian clergy as a demonstration of community solidarity and resolve to press for even more vigorous efforts to combat international terrorism.

In this connection, the memorial should also deplore the murder of those of all nationalities and religions, including several Americans, who were killed and injured by Palestinian terrorists aboard Pan American Flight 073 in Karachi, Pakistan. Although there is no apparent evidence linking these two crimes, they are part of a clear and undeniable pattern of violence nurtured and sustained by the Palestinian terrorist movement, to target Jews—not just Israelis—for terror and death.

In inviting the participation of general community leadership and clergy, please be mindful that some national religious spokespeople and media commentators have advanced the morally reprehensible "root causes" excuse. These unspeakable atrocities, perhaps more than other previous events, demonstrate the bankruptcy of such a notion. The theme that should be developed is that the international community, led by the United States, must now be called upon to make tangible its commitment to ferret out and punish those who commit such crimes, those who support them, and those who give them shelter and sanctuary.

CVB:mh O,EX, CJF-EX, PCO, ITF-NJ



TEXT OF CABLE

September 8, 1986

Rav David Asseo, Chief Rabbi and  
Mr. Jacques Dicet, President of the Istanbul Jewish Community  
Benoglu  
Yemenici Sokak 23  
Istanbul, Turkey

Our hearts cry out with yours in the pain of the incalculable loss and unspeakable crime perpetrated on the Jews of Istanbul this Shabbat. No words can adequately express our shock, outrage and sorrow at the murder of 22 fellow Jews at worship.

Today, the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, as the national planning and coordinating body for the field of Jewish community relations, is calling upon every Jewish community in the United States to gather in synagogue on Wednesday, with leaders of the general community and Christian clergy in attendance, to share our grief with you and to express the solidarity of the Jewish people and all civilized people, against an evil that strikes so deliberately and cowardly against Jews.

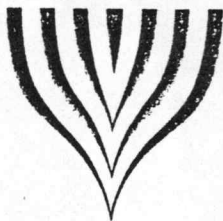
We pledge our every effort as individuals and as an American Jewish community to move our government and all responsible national bodies to initiate, at long last, a full scale attack against international terrorists, those who support them and those who shelter them.

As we join in the Kaddish affirming the glory of the Almighty and the sanctity of life, we pledge our determination that through the strength of justice, civilization and brotherhood, such crimes against our people and humanity will not go unpunished.

Michael A. Pelavin  
Chairman

Albert D. Chernin  
Executive Vice Chairman

443 Park Avenue South, New York, New York 10016



איחוד  
ליהדות  
מזקדמת  
באמריקה

# Union of American Hebrew Congregations

PATRON OF HEBREW UNION COLLEGE - JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION  
838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100 CABLES: UNIONUAHC

September 19, 1986

Ambassador Sukru Elekdag  
Turkish Embassy  
1606 Twenty-third Street NW  
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Ambassador Elekdag,

We express deep appreciation through you to your government and the Turkish people for their unqualified support to the members of Neve Shalom synagogue of Istanbul in their hours of horrendous tragedy. Our appreciation is offered on behalf of more than one million men, women and children of the 800 congregations of Reform Judaism throughout the United States and Canada.

At a crowded Memorial Service in the Chapel of our building in New York today, we commended the government of Turkey for its "steadfast determination to combat terrorism and to preserve the climate of tolerance for its Jewish citizens."

We extend our profound sympathy, therefore, not only to our fellow Jews but also to all those in your country who share with us anguished sorrow for this incomprehensible act of violence.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler  
President

Charles J. Rothschild Jr.  
Chairman

Chairman  
Charles J. Rothschild, Jr.  
President  
Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Honorary Chairmen  
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Vice Presidents  
Rabbi Daniel B. Syme  
Albert Vorspan  
Treasurer  
Howard M. Wilkoff  
Associate Treasurer  
Joseph Kleiman



# NEWS

DATE: September 8, 1986

FROM: Carl Eifert

O - 202/659-6700

H - 703/768-6948

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

## CATHOLICS JOIN IN MOURNING VICTIMS, CONDEMNING ATTACK ON SYNAGOGUE

WASHINGTON--Bishop James W. Malone, President of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, has called "the slaughter of innocent people at prayer" in the synagogue in Istanbul a "heinous and callous assault on all that is sacred to humanity."

The Bishop of Youngstown, Ohio, issued this statement:

On Saturday, September 6th, the world was shocked by the attack on the Neve Shalom Synagogue in Istanbul, Turkey. As the small congregation gathered for their Sabbath prayers of peace, ruthless gunmen opened fire with automatic weapons.

The slaughter of innocent people at prayer must be condemned as a particularly heinous and callous assault on all that is sacred to humanity.

The Catholic community of the United States joins with its Jewish brothers and sisters in mourning the victims, and in prayer for their families.

# # #

X,ISR,A

NATIONAL CATHOLIC OFFICE FOR INFORMATION

1312 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005



# NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U.S.A.



475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10115

Room 880

212-870-2141

Philip R. Cousin, President

Arie R. Brouwer, General Secretary

**FOR YOUR INFORMATION**

September 8, 1986

Rabbi Henry Michelman  
Executive Vice President  
Synagogue Council of America  
327 Lexington Avenue  
New York, NY 10016

Dear Henry:

We are shocked and outraged about the unspeakable horror of the massacre in Istanbul during Sabbath services this weekend. Although extremist terrorist actions occur on a weekly basis and numb us to horror, we find ourselves in disbelief that anyone, for any reason, would deliberately slaughter members of a community at worship. The fact that it was a Jewish community in a predominantly Muslim country further complicates the tragedy. The obvious anti-Jewish nature of the attack is a painful reminder of continuing anti-semitism, an affront to all human beings.

Through you we offer our deepest sympathy to the families of the victims and to all who suffer from this atrocity. Indeed, the whole human family is diminished.

Be assured of our continuing resolve to work with you, as a people of faith, toward the day when religious diversity is not only tolerated but celebrated as a part of the richness of God's creation. Even as we work toward that day, we extend to you our deepest sympathies in this time of loss.

Grace and Peace,

Arie R. Brouwer

cc: American Jewish Committee  
American Jewish Congress  
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
Byron Haynes



# NEWS

DATE: September 11, 1986

FROM: Carl Eifert

O - 202/659-6700

H - 703/768-6948

**FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE**

## **PRELATES JOIN ECUMENICAL SERVICE FOR VICTIMS OF TERRORISM IN MIDEAST**

WASHINGTON--Three Catholic bishops joined in an interfaith memorial observance for victims of terrorism in Pakistan and Turkey.

Bernard Cardinal Law of Boston, Archbishop James Hickey of Washington and Bishop William Keeler of Harrisburg, Chairman of the Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs, participated in the service (Sept. 10) at the Lutheran Church of the Reformation, Washington, D.C.

The 18 civilians murdered by hijackers at Karachi and the 21 elderly Jewish worshippers, including seven rabbis, slain in an Istanbul synagogue, were remembered and prayed for during the ceremony.

"Two weeks ago yesterday," Cardinal Law said, "I stood and prayed and wept with 100 other pilgrims, Catholics and Jews, at Auschwitz. Our prayers and cries were 'Never again!' And yet here we stand again and here we mourn again, all too often

/more

NATIONAL CATHOLIC OFFICE FOR INFORMATION

1312 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005



finding ourselves in these kinds of settings....

"Auschwitz and these acts are singular reminders of the evil of which humanity is capable," he said.

Cardinal Law, after quoting Isaiah, said that prophet was "urging us to a more concerted effort in our own nation to contribute to a world that recognizes that we are, each of us, brother and sister."

Archbishop Hickey expressed the condolences of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops' Administrative Committee to the families of the victims. Bishop Keeler read Psalm 130, which begins: "Out of the depths I cry to you, O Lord."

Other participants included the Rev. Lewis Anthony, Pastor of Varick Memorial AME Zion Church; Rabbi Andrew Baker, Washington Area Director, the American Jewish Committee; Norman Golstein, President, Jewish Community Council of Washington; the Rev. Arnold Keller, Senior Pastor, Lutheran Church of the Reformation; the Rev. Gerald Klever, Senior Pastor, Sixth Presbyterian Church; D.C. Delegate to Congress Walter Fauntroy, Pastor of New Bethel Baptist Church; Betty Sachs, President, Washington Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, and Rabbi Sidney Schwarz, Executive Director, Jewish Community Council of Washington.

# # #

STATEMENT - KARACHI - ISTANBUL

SOUTHERN BAPTISTS - 9/9/86

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Southern Baptists lament the terrible acts of terrorism perpetuated in Karachi and Istanbul in the past week.

Many Baptists in their Worship Services on Sunday and in private devotions before and since have prayed for comfort for the grieving families of victims of both outrages, for healing of the injured and for a change of heart in all those who consider such unjust and violent acts as acceptable.

These terrible acts are expressions of impersonal hate brought to a focus in the latter case upon the Jews. We have seen before, all too often, all too recently, all too completely, the depths of suffering and the moral chaos such hatred can lead to. It must stop. The terrorists must be brought to quick and clear justice. The value of the rule of law and the intolerability of chaos must be communicated strongly.

Particularly it is to be stressed that religion must not be used as a ruse for acts of terrorism. It is no love of God or humanity that impels terrorists to strike. It is hatred and evil and, from a religious standpoint, unrighteous.



"Let us remind ourselves to pray in this Mass for those who were killed in the hijacking in Karachi and for those killed as reported in this morning's paper in the Synagogue in Istanbul.

Every form of terrorism is to be condemned, is reprehensible, is horrendous. Certainly this is true of what happened in Karachi, but there is something particularly abominable about killing people in cold blood while they pray and it is especially heinous if it is directly against our Jewish brothers and sisters because they are Jewish and because they claim so justifiably a homeland of their own. We must, all of us, examine our consciences to ask if in any way, we have ever contributed to the kinds of prejudice and bitterness and hostility that can ultimately explode in a tragedy of this sort.

So I ask you if you will remember all of these and their families in your prayers during this Mass."

---

Mohammed T. Mehdi, Secretary General of the National Council of Islamic Affairs, a leading Moslem education group, stated that the attack on the Synagogue in Istanbul was, "a violation of the letter and spirit of Islam which specifically prohibits any violence against worshipers of places of worship." He added, "the assault was carried out by mad persons who have murdered not only Jewish worshipers but also have inflicted equally great damage on Islam."

Father John Lennon, Pastor of St. Gregory the Great Roman Catholic Church said, "We today in our masses joined together with all the poor Jewish people who have suffered so much. This crime is against everything we stand for regardless of religion, race or nationality. It's slapping the face of God."

✓ Rev. Avery D. Post, president of the United Church of Christ, said that "all acts of terrorism are to be condemned, whether perpetrated by political movements or by governments. To forestall further terrorism we must all work with renewed vigor to resolve the underlying issues that provoke such misguided violence. But however sympathetic we may be with Palestinian aspirations for self-determination, no right-thinking persons can condone the methods these perpetrators have employed."

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NEW YORK TIMES  
9-8-86  
Pg. A3



**PAPAL REACTION:** Pope John Paul II descending Mount Chetif in Italy yesterday after he spoke from atop the mountain.

## Pope Says Hope Turns to Anguish

COURMAYEUR, Italy, Sept. 7 (AP) — From an Alpine peak near Mont Blanc, Pope John Paul II said today that terrorist attacks on a jetliner in Pakistan and a synagogue in Turkey had turned hopes for peace into anguish.

"It is necessary, without delay, to do everything possible to put an end to the incessant escalation of hatred and terrorism," the Pope said at his Sunday noon blessing from the 7,687-foot-high peak of Mount Chetif.

From his pulpit facing the snowy peak of Mont Blanc, Europe's highest mountain at 15,711 feet, John Paul said he was praying for the souls of the more than three dozen people killed in the two terrorist episodes. He called the attacks insane.

### Taking 'Blood of Brothers'

He spoke of his intense sadness and offered his strongest condemnation of the hijacking Friday of a Pan American Airways jumbo jet in Karachi and the attack Saturday on a synagogue in Istanbul.

The Pope said the terrorists had taken the blood of innocent victims, "blood of traveling brothers, blood of

brothers gathered in a place of prayer."

"In the face of these horrendous and almost unbelievable events, the yearning for peace turns into anguish," he said during his blessing, broadcast live on Italian television and transmitted worldwide by satellite.

The Pope then walked carefully along a narrow, rocky path to pray at a statue of Mary the Queen of Peace.

The Pope was making a 24-hour visit to the Val d'Aosta region at the foot of Mont Blanc.

Earlier today he flew by helicopter to the Brenva Glacier on Mont Blanc's southern face, at an altitude of about 11,000 feet. Wearing a white ski jacket over his cassock, a cap with ear flaps and white snow boots, he strolled alone on the glacier for about 20 minutes.

John Paul, an avid skier and outdoorsman in his youth in his native Poland, said in his blessing that the silence of the mountains was a "silence in which man can hear more distinctly the inner echo of the voice of God."

He hailed the mountaineers who first climbed Mount Blanc 200 years ago and said their feat should serve as an example of perseverance today.

Schindler:Notes for OpEd article on Terrorism

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Western European heads of state will come to the Tokyo summit with their own plan to counter international terrorism: eliminate its "root cause," the failure of the Arabs and the Israelis to come to terms. Let the United States resume its forceful leadership in this sphere. Once a Middle East peace process is under way -- and surely once it is resolved -- terrorism will cease.

One must wonder at the political naivete that this notion lays bare. It reveals an abysmal failure to understand what the present struggle is all about and what the ultimate aims of international terrorism really are.

To begin with, Arab terrorists are scarcely dismayed by the Middle East stalemate. Quite the opposite is true. They are delighted with the deadlock and they will do everything in their power to impede its resolution and to scuttle any agreement which might be reached. Arab leaders showing the slightest impulse toward moderation are cut down by the P.L.O. And if Israel were to withdraw all the way back to the '67 lines or even the '49 lines for peace with Jordan, Syria would immediately unleash a more intensive terrorist campaign to deal the peace its deathblow (recall, if you will, how very quickly Syria demanded that Lebanon abrogate the treaty which it had negotiated so painstakingly with Israel). Arab terrorism is certainly not the consequence of any failure to attain peace in the Middle East. It is, rather, the principal cause of the failure to move toward negotiations and to achieve a peace.

Further, it ought to be remembered that the Middle East is scarcely the only locus and source of terror. Radical factions abound in our world. There is the Armenian ASALA, the German Baader-Meinhof gang, and the Italian Red Brigades. The British must contend with the Irish Republican Army the Spaniards with the Basques and the Turks with their Gray Wolves. Latin America has its Tupamaros and Monteneros, Japan its Red Army, and radical Sikhs blow an Air-India plane out of the skies over Canada. Not one of these terrorist bands, nor any of the many not listed, would pause in its indiscriminate slaughter of innocents were peace to come to the Middle East.

Not even Arab terrorism would cease in such a case, for its sweep is far wider and more distant than the West Bank or even all of Israel. The spiritual matrix of radical Shiism is Khomeini's Iran and its nemesis is modernity. The West is the bearer of modernity and America is the leader of the West. America, therefore, is the ultimate quarry. All others, including Israel, are only secondary targets, obstacles along the way to America's downfall.



The Palestine problem is not at issue in this latest round of terrorist attacks against American soldiers in a West Berlin nightclub, or of an American company in Lyon, or an American diplomat in the Sudan. What is under challenge is the idea of America itself -- its military presence in Western Europe, its commercial presence around the world, its very life as a major power with a set of ideas and with a determination to defend those ideas wherever they are threatened.

It is America and what it stands for that is the target of Moslem terrorism -- free speech and free enterprise, a religious tradition that permits those of all faiths and those of no faith to live in tranquility, a nation of laws and not of men (certainly not of holy men), full equality for women, music, and dancing and blue jeans. This is what the ayatollahs hold in contempt. This is what they mean to extirpate. America is not the target of terrorist attack because our country befriends Israel. Rather, Israel is subject to terrorism because it is seen as the outpost of Western values in the Middle East.

And this is why Marxist and Muslim radicals are in league with one another and receive significant support from the Soviet Union. Both seek the downfall of Western democracies. And both deem terrorism the most suitable weapon for attaining their common goal.

The myth that Palestinian frustration is the root-cause of international terrorism provides suitable camouflage for its truer purposes. It is a myth fed by its very own slogan: "one person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter." This motto too is a snare and a delusion. Freedom fighters do not attack civilians; invariably, they pit themselves against superior forces; soldiers are their primary target. Not so the terrorists. Civilians are their preferred prey, the old, women, children -- anyone, in fact, except armed soldiers. And their ultimate goal is not to liberate peoples but to frighten them into surrender and submission.

Why, then, do the Kohl's and Craxis and their cohorts swallow and regurgitate such a myth? Greed may well be blinding them. Or perhaps they think that by paying the extortionist's price they themselves will escape the evil decree. They would be far better advised to act upon the truth inherent in the German maxim: nur die aller duemsten Kaelber waehlen ihre Schlaechter selber -- only the dumbest of calves choose their own slaughterers.



## THE NEW REPUBLIC

MAY 19, 1986

# PLEASE GO AWAY

Europophobia has swept the nation. Americans young and old recoil in horror from the prospect of transatlantic travel. That Pan Am boarding pass? Might as well be a signed-and-sealed death certificate. You're no fool: this summer it's open season on camera-carrying, well-fed, dollar-laden Americans over there. You figure you've had a good life so far, so why push your luck? So this year you're staying put. Or you'll take that cross-country trip you've always promised yourself. You believe, as we do, in the right to die in bed peacefully when the time has come.

Almost two million Americans planning trips abroad (roughly 35 percent of those with reservations) changed their travel plans in February. Of those, 1.4 million decided against all foreign travel. And that was *before* the American attack on Tripoli. Many tour agents indicate American travel to Continental Europe could be down 80 percent from last year, when a record 6.4 million Americans visited. This year that figure could be barely a million. The collapse of the dollar is partly to blame, but terrorism seems to be the main cause.

The primary effect of Colonel Qaddafi's war against Yankee imperialism, it would seem, is to save the United States Treasury hundreds of millions of dollars in its balance of payments, at the expense primarily of Europe. There would be some justice in this if Americans who are canceling their trips abroad were motivated by the political desire to punish European nations for their craven attitude toward terrorism. But that clearly is not the motive, for the most part. Americans are avoiding travel to Britain and Israel, two nations that have cooperated fully with the United States in taking strong action against terror. France and West Germany, which have imposed stiffer diplomatic restrictions on Libyan embassies in recent weeks, may lose almost as much business this summer as Greece or Italy. Meanwhile, travel to the Soviet Union is up 50 percent over last year. The Soviet Union, ironically, is considered safe from terror, not just because it is a police state, but because it is the major sponsor of terror in the West. The Soviets, it is generally agreed, arm and train revolutionary hit men from,

among others, the PLO and the Red Brigades.

When millions of people allow themselves to be terrorized out of their normal travel plans, terrorism has accomplished its purpose. Of course you are under no moral obligation to be a hero on your vacation. But before handing the terrorist international this important victory, please consider as calmly as possible how much heroism it actually takes to travel abroad in the summer of 1986.

According to the State Department, 23 Americans were killed in terrorist incidents worldwide last year, including ten in Europe and none in Israel. The chance of an American's being killed by terrorists while abroad was about two in a million. The trend is in no particular direction. In 1974, 42 Americans died at the hands of terrorists. In 1972 the toll was 23. By pointing this out, we don't mean to suggest that the current tally is tolerable, or to rule out the possibility of bloodier strikes in the months ahead. But we do want to dispel the false notion that, based on statistics, travel to Europe or the Middle East is particularly hazardous to your health.

In the first four months of 1986, five Americans were murdered by terrorists in Europe and 464 Americans were murdered on general principles in New York City. If you decide to take that cross-country trip, keep in mind that 43,500 people were killed in domestic automobile accidents last year. That's about one in every 5,000 Americans, 100 times the rate at which Americans who ventured abroad were killed by terrorists. Take a raft trip or rent a cabin by the lake? Well, 6,600 Americans drowned in 1983. (In fact more Americans drowned in their own bathtubs last year than died in terrorist attacks.) Almost 12,000 lost their lives in falls in 1983. Grizzly bears maul a handful at Yellowstone each year. And every summer a few unlucky campers die from severe allergic reaction to a bee sting. Maybe you should just stay home and sun yourself on the roof of your apartment building? Sorry, no form of travel is perfectly safe: 15 Americans a year die in elevator accidents.

In short, there is no escaping risk. And the hysterical cancellation of travel plans is another good example of Americans' inability to think rationally about the trade-off both between risk and benefit and between different kinds

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of risks. Glamorous, publicized risks loom large in the public mind; mundane, everyday risks are ignored. Most of those who are currently canceling their vacation or business travel plans could do a lot more for their life expectancies by losing ten pounds.

As an example of risk myopia, the present stay-at-home fever resembles the recent hysteria, still only slightly abated, over AIDS. (See "AFRAIDS," *TNR*, October 14.) As with AIDS, it is celebrities who are making the biggest fools of themselves and setting the worst examples. Steven Spielberg, Martin Scorsese, and Whoopi Goldberg have declined to attend this summer's Cannes Film Festival due to concern over potential terrorist attacks. Even Sylvester Stallone, America's hard-bodied icon of ignorant jingoism, apparently will not be there.

Some people are scared to travel even within the country. Fifty second graders from an elementary school in Virginia had their field trip to a Washington museum canceled because, said the school administration, "in view of the international situation, field trips to the District of Columbia are being discouraged."

This is ridiculous. Terrorists know what they're doing. They play more to the American television cameras than to the audiences in their own countries. And it seems to be working. Don't let it. Go away. Now.

# NEAR EAST REPORT

*fre*

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

VOL. XXX, NO. 30 AUGUST 4, 1986

## EDITORIAL

### Syrian Hype

With the recent release of Rev. Lawrence Jenco from 19 months of captivity in Lebanon—some of them spent chained to a wall in a badly ventilated cell—Western thank-you's, private and official, again freshened Syrian President Assad's makeup. The pattern, set when Assad released a downed U.S. Navy flyer to candidate Rev. Jesse Jackson just before the 1984 primaries, has continued with only minor variations. Damascus "aided" in the escape of former hostage Jeremy Levin. It successfully "interceded" with the Lebanese Shi'ite Moslem hijackers of TWA flight 847 last summer and a few months later helped "arrange" the freedom of hostage Rev. Benjamin Weir.

The Moslem radicals holding American and other Western hostages in Lebanon—and their Syrian overlords—understand how to advance their interests by timely manipulation of the hostage issue. Those actually holding the captives, apparently the pro-Iranian Islamic Jihad, reportedly felt Western interest waning. Their chief demand—release from Kuwaiti jails of 17 colleagues and relatives convicted of the fatal bomb attacks on U.S. and French embassies in Kuwait—has not been met. So they agreed to Syrian pressure to release Jenco, demonstrating their "goodwill" while renewing the threat to their remaining prisoners.

In the search for public relations victories to obscure its terrorism connection, Damascus occasionally manages to spring a Westerner. But the ploy doesn't work. Syria is still tied to the assassination of Lebanese President-elect Bashir

Gemayel in 1982, to the U.S. Marine barracks bombing in Lebanon in 1983, to the effort this spring to blow up an El Al plane in London—with hundreds of Americans aboard—and to a similar attempt in Madrid last month. By securing Jenco's release when it did, with Vice President Bush traveling in the Middle East but *not* to Syria, Hafez Assad's regime hoped to show itself as the Middle East's indispensable protagonist.

Most Americans recognize this for what it is—political theater. But a few Americans do not. Peggy Say, sister of one of the Americans still prisoner—UPI reporter Terry Anderson—demanded that the Administration "stop tap-dancing" and negotiate with the kidnappers. Say said that after meetings with Syrian officials in Damascus she "felt their great humanitarian sympathy," a feeling "I never felt even in my country."

"Humanitarianism" is hardly the word for Syria's long-standing divide-and-conquer campaign in Lebanon. It has led to the anarchy of which the latest Beirut car-bombings and Western hostage-taking are a part.

Neither Syria's "great humanitarian sympathy" nor the "goodwill" of its Lebanese surrogates needs to be tested or satisfied by hostage negotiations. The release of people whose freedom should never have been denied is a non-negotiable U.S. demand. Damascus deserves not thanks but censure, and not only censure but the kind of counter-measures which raise the costs of its violent politics higher than Assad will want to pay. □

## VIEWING THE NEWS

### Quash Subpoenas

Israel will cooperate with the U.S. investigation into allegations it improperly tried to obtain American cluster bomb technology, "but insists on the cancellation of the subpoenas to appear before a jury which were issued to eight members of the Israeli Defense Ministry mission in New York" (*Kol Yisrael*, July 24). Israeli officials have stressed that such subpoenas are unusual in international cases and unprecedented between allies.

In a related matter, "officials in the State and Defense Departments in Washington, as well as the U.S. ambassador to Israel, Thomas Pickering, have apologized to Israel" for the publicity given the allegations (*Hadashot*, July 23). "An examination car-

ried out by the Defense Ministry showed that not only was Israel not involved in stealing technology, but it even gave Washington information on the new technology that the military industries had."

### Autonomy Risk

Israel's Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir told the monthly magazine *Monitin*, that he "certainly" favored autonomy for Palestinian Arabs living on the West Bank and Gaza Strip (*Jerusalem Post*, July 28). Asked if autonomy might result in establishment of a sovereign country, Shamir said, "One must be careful that autonomy does not lead to the setting up of a Palestinian state, but that's a risk one has to take. The international and regional realities necessitate it."

### Soviet Appreciation

The Soviet Union's Ambassador to Syria, Felix Fedotov, told a Damascus news conference that relations between the two countries "are continuously being developed and strengthened" (Damascus Radio, July 24). Fedotov "noted that Syria stands at the forefront of the Arab states fighting all imperialist and Zionist plots which reject the Camp David agreements and all the . . . capitulationist solutions of the Middle East problem."

The ambassador said that Syria's position was "the reason for the U.S. imperialist grudges" against it. Fedotov added that "Syria's principled, firm policy is greatly appreciated in the Soviet Union. . . ." □



## PERSPECTIVE

# Vice President in Israel

**V**ice President George Bush's three-day visit to Israel—first stop on his Middle East tour which also was to include Jordan and Egypt—was the first visit to Israel by a top-level Administration official with foreign policy responsibilities in two years. It also was Bush's first trip to Israel as Vice President; President Reagan has not visited the Middle East since assuming office and no Presidential trip is being planned.

An Administration official said that Bush knows Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir (scheduled to change places with Peres on Oct. 7), Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and Jordan's King Hussein. But "he hasn't seen them in some time; this is a chance to renew contacts." The source told *NER* after Bush arrived in Israel that the Vice President was carrying greetings from President Reagan but no new U.S. proposals on the peace process. According to the Administration, the 1982 Reagan plan remains "a sound basis for advancing the search for peace."

The official explained that "in the absence of a formula for direct negotiations"—a formula that "seemed to be emerging last year"—the Vice President would be looking for ways to keep the peace process alive. Washington is concerned because the "perception of stagnation" could lead to tension and even conflict.

Israel's efforts to improve the "quality of life" for Palestinian Arabs on the West Bank and Gaza Strip, while not a substitute for negotiations, could give Palestinian Arabs a greater stake in moderation and stability. This, in turn, could lead to the evolution of a [non-PLO] political leadership which could join Israel and Jordan in negotiations, the official said.

Israel rejects PLO participation, and Hussein is "fed up" with Chairman Yasir Arafat's political paralysis, the official said. However, Egypt "still thinks Arafat and his gang can be reformed. . . ."

"There is another way," the official said. "In the absence of a radically different PLO leadership," Arafat and company might "step aside" and permit non-PLO Palestinians loyal to them to negotiate. Such representatives, however, would have to do what the PLO refuses—show their sincerity by endorsing U.N. Security Council Resolu-

tions 242 and 338, recognizing Israel and disavowing violence. The positive reaction by some Palestinian Arabs to the Peres-Hassan meeting in Morocco could be part of this "theoretical option." [In Jerusalem, Bush told a group of Palestinian Arabs that the United States will not meet with the PLO until it recognizes Israel. He also said that Washington would like to see Hussein hold direct negotiations with Israel.]

Administration officials called the Moroccan meeting a "striking development which changed the atmosphere" and urged all leaders in the region "to do what Peres and Hassan have done . . . meet, sit down together and talk."

As Bush's visit unfolded, the prospects of a stop in Morocco to support King Hassan II or the chance of presiding over an Israeli-Egyptian agreement on Taba arbitration (and a subsequent Mubarak-Peres summit) dimmed. Nevertheless, the Vice President had bilateral matters on his agenda as well. The official said that in Israel he would discuss the country's economic stabilization program and the "critical" need "to find a way to grow again," and negotiations over construction of a Voice of America transmitter in the Negev.

While in Israel, Bush toured Jerusalem's

old city, accompanied by Mayor Teddy Kollek and others. Some Israelis expressed pleasure at the openness of the visit to an area often shunned in the past by Administration officials on formal visits. Despite Israel's annexation, the U.S. still considers east Jerusalem and the Old City as "occupied territory." Asked before the trip if the concentration of Bush's activities in Jerusalem had political significance, a senior Administration official said that "he will visit the leadership where the leadership is, which is in Jerusalem. I think it's as simple as that."

In Amman his agenda called for talks on Jordan's plan to increase economic development in the West Bank and Gaza, "the need for both Israel and Jordan to invest funds" in the territories, and the strain on Jordan's economy caused by the return of workers from the Gulf oil states. In Cairo the Vice President was expected to discuss the Egyptian economy and Egyptian requests for more favorable debt repayment terms and for aid increases. "Egypt's problems—population growth, the economy, the bureaucratic weight of government on the economy—are vastly greater than Jordan's," the official said. □

—E.R.

## Grain for Syria

The United States subsidizes exports of grain and other commodities to Syria—which is on the list of states sponsoring terrorism—as well as to other Arab countries. Syria recently qualified for 700,000 tons of American grain exports under the Export Enhancement Program (EEP) of the Department of Agriculture's Foreign Agricultural Service (FAS).

Under the EEP, American companies export commodities to eligible countries. For each shipment sent, exporters receive a free bonus of surplus commodity from the Department of Agriculture, originally bought to reduce over-supply in the American market. Other Arab countries which have recently been authorized include Iraq, Morocco, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia, which has already taken delivery of 200,000 tons of barley since May, according to the FAS.

The EEP benefits apply only to foreign markets where the commodity in question already has been sold by European countries at artificially lower world market rates. Many European commodities are heavily subsidized and American exporters cannot always compete without similar incentives, according to a senior FAS official. In Syria's case, it has been importing subsidized grain from other countries. Although Syrian participation in the EEP has been approved, it has yet to find credit guarantees from foreign banks and has not bought any of the grain. Syria gains no financial benefit in buying American grain, but would be able to purchase it at subsidized rates.

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## ANALYSIS

# What Peres Told Hassan

Israeli press reports and the Prime Minister's July 28 Knesset speech make possible a more detailed report of what Israel proposed during the summit between Shimon Peres and King Hassan II in Morocco on July 22-23. According to Israel Television, "Peres brought the King two position papers: The first paper contained an offer for the King to join him in proclaiming the coming year a year of negotiations, in the course of which all hostilities in the region would be suspended and a conference would be held in Morocco on the basis of U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

"Peres promised that Israel would not annex the West Bank and Gaza Strip during the course of the negotiations. He added that the question of sovereignty would be determined through these negotiations."

The Prime Minister also presented a 10-point plan—prepared by his aides in Israel with the help of Abba Eban, Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee Chairman. The daily newspaper *Yedi'ot Aharonot* listed the following points:

The future of the territories will be determined in negotiations; Israel will not annex the territories; Israel is not prepared to withdraw completely from the territories; Israel does not accept establishment of a Palestinian state; the Palestinian problem will be solved through peaceful means.

In addition, the document stated that an "international forum" to accompany the peace negotiations will be set up with the

agreement of both sides; Israel is not prepared to negotiate with the PLO, rather, it is prepared to negotiate with Palestinians from the territories and elsewhere who are not avowed members of the PLO . . . [but] who seek peace and oppose terrorism; the negotiations to solve the Palestinian problem will be conducted with the help of Jordan; Israel accepts the principle of freedom of religious practice for the three religions in Jerusalem; free access to the holy sites will be given, but Jerusalem will remain under Israeli sovereignty; King Hassan will provide his good offices in organizing a meeting in Morocco between the parties for the purpose of conducting negotiations . . .

Peres told the Knesset that his meeting with Hassan opened the way to a broader Arab-Israeli dialogue and that the King wanted it held in Morocco to demonstrate his country's independent decision-making and to stress that this was a direct dialogue, not the result of outside pressure. Hassan informed Peres in advance that he intended to present the Arab summit's Fez plan but that there was no intention to impose a *diktat*. The King understood that the Prime Minister would present Israel's stands.

The Prime Minister said that the major innovation in the meeting was Hassan's great contribution in telling the Arab world that the boycott on dialogue with Israel had to end, that Arab League resolutions do not bar such dialogue and without it "the conflict will remain stuck in the living flesh of the

inhabitants of the region eternally." Precisely because the gap between the sides is so deep.

Asked by Israel Defense Forces Radio if the Morocco-Israel summit boosted Peres politically and caused tension between the Labor and Likud parties, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir said, "I do not want to decrease the value of the meeting. At the same time, it is our duty not to exaggerate the importance and weight of meetings of this type" if only to let Arab countries know that they are not entitled to recompense simply for meeting with Israel.

Shamir said that the Fez plan, "almost without mentioning the name Israel," calls for Israeli withdrawal from all territories gained in 1967, including east Jerusalem. It demands that a Palestinian Arab state, with its capital in Jerusalem, be established and that all settlements started after the Six-Day War be disbanded. Shamir said that Fez does not call for Israel's destruction; however, carrying out the Fez demands would weaken the Jewish state "to the point of making it impossible for Israel to exist."

Israel Television reported Moroccan claims that premature publicity about Peres' visit "put limitations on the King from the start, forcing him to adhere closely to the Fez plan." Nonetheless, the Moroccans reportedly found the Israeli 10-point plan "interesting" and promised to relay it to other Arab leaders. □

## HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

### Aid Advances

The House Appropriations Foreign Operations Subcommittee, chaired by Rep. DAVID OBEY (D-Wis.), reported out the fiscal 1987 foreign aid bill containing \$3 billion in all-grant military and economic assistance for Israel. The \$12.9 billion bill represents a 10.6% cut from last year's appropriations.

Obey told the panel that his decision to fund Israel, Egypt, Pakistan and Ireland aid programs at the Administration's request reflected "a consensus in the Administration and Congress." The \$3 billion figure for Israel represents last year's level prior to the 4.3% cuts mandated by the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings measure.

Obey pointed to the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit reduction measure and the Administration's refusal to support a tax increase as the main reasons why all other foreign aid spending would have to be se-

verely reduced.

The bill also contains important provisions concerning funding for Israel's Lavi fighter plane, prohibitions against dealing with the PLO, early disbursement of Israel's economic support fund (ESF) payments, and \$25 million for refugee resettlement programs in Israel.

### Action on Lavi

Five contracts associated with the development of Israel's Lavi fighter aircraft have been released provisionally after eight Representatives and six Senators wrote to Administration officials protesting the delay. The contracts, charged the legislators, were being withheld to "pressure" Israel into looking at other planes.

Reps. MEL LEVINE (D-Calif.), LES ASPIN (D-Wis.), JACK KEMP (R-N.Y.), DANTE FASCELL (D-Fla.), BEN GILMAN (R-N.Y.), LARRY SMITH (D-Fla.), JIM COURTER (R-

N.J.) and ROBERT TORRICELLI (D-N.J.) along with SENS. ROBERT KASTEN (R-Wis.), DANIEL INOUE (D-Hawaii), J. BENNETT JOHNSTON (D-La.), ALFONSE D'AMATO (R-N.Y.), DENNIS DECONCINI (D-Ariz.) and ARLEN SPECTER (R-Pa.) sent the letters to Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger.

Kemp gave a major address at the roll-out ceremony, which was attended by Smith, Torricelli, Levine, CHARLES WILSON (D-Tex.) and GARY ACKERMAN (D-N.Y.). He said that Israel and the United States share the same moral values and pointed out that acquisition of a new fighter plane was necessary to help Israel defend itself and its values. He also emphasized Israel's role as a major U.S. ally. He said that supporting Israel's defense capability meant supporting America's own defense and cited the strategic cooperation between the two countries, including intelligence-sharing and joint exercises. □

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## New Desert Miracles

**M**idday heat and the nearly inescapable dust can give visitors a less-than-hospitable greeting at the Blaustein International Center for Desert Studies. Nevertheless, the center, located in the Negev Desert near Ben-Gurion's old kibbutz of Sde Boker, draws a steady stream of visitors. Recent guests included British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher earlier this summer and, last week, Vice President George Bush. At the small campus they were shown the desert as the more than 100 researchers see it—as laboratory and resource.

"There was a time when it was hard to get people to come here [to work]," Prof. Louis Berkofsky, the center's director, told *NER* recently. "But now we don't have enough housing" for the center's international staff.

Projects include research in solar and wind energy and the agricultural potential of the brackish water beneath the Negev and Sinai deserts. The water, plentiful but too saline to drink, may help grow cotton, asparagus, pistachio trees and other plants. Already the center has developed a process—in commercial use by several Israeli firms—using the water, plus high solar radiation, to grow algae. The algae are then turned into protein pills, some sold in American health food stores. Other brackish water experiments aim at more efficient fish farming.

"We have a group which works in closed-system agriculture," Berkofsky said. "They have developed a very sophisticated greenhouse for the desert." The greenhouse walls and roof are made of two layers of plastic. Between the layers a liquid circulates, acting as an optical filter. During the day it absorbs some of the sun's intense radiation; the plants then require only one-tenth the water they would otherwise.

Later, the heat absorbed during the day is released to protect the plants against cool desert nights. In addition, carbon dioxide is pumped in, accelerating plant growth. "This is very high technology. We can't export it to the third world," Berkofsky noted. "So we are starting to work on a simplified version."

Another project seeks to reproduce the ancient water collection method which allowed the Nabateans to farm the Negev desert without irrigation. The architectural unit has designed and built an adobe solar house to handle the extremes of the desert, day and night, summer and winter.

An animal physiology group studies the adaptation of camels, Arabian horses, Dorper sheep, ostriches and other animals to the desert environment. One immediate if prosaic benefit was the discovery that porcupines which eat the potato crop at Sde

Boker venture out only on nights when there is no moon. "The kibbutzniks are now lighting the fields," Berkofsky said.

From the kibbutz to the U.S. Air Force, the center's inquiring minds have something to offer. The Air Force approved a \$500,000-a-year study of how meteorological factors affect radar transmission in naturally dusty environments. "Then Congress passed the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law and the funds stopped," Berkofsky said.

A social research unit studies not only the nomadic life of the Negev's Bedouin but seeks to help isolated towns like Yerchoam capitalize on the assets they do have. Another group examines the effect of desert life on humans. One staffer explained that the guiding principle was "not to change the Negev but to adapt ourselves, not to destroy the environment but use it on a scale that makes sense."

Joint projects have been conducted with many American and European universities. Berkofsky would like to work with colleagues in the largely desert lands of neighboring Arab states and has suggested joint programs to Jordanians, Saudis, Sudanese and others at international conferences. Unfortunately, "they don't want to have contact with us."

The Blaustein Center operates on a \$2.5 million annual budget, supplied by the government, grants and the Blaustein endowment.

Berkofsky, who retired as a meteorological researcher with the U.S. Air Force in 1974 and made *aliyah*, remembers when the center was "three of us in a room in Beersheva." But now the center is internationally known. "There is a sense of excitement," Berkofsky said. "And there is tremendous potential. For 12 years, that's not bad." —E.R. □

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## Blaming Israel

The Apr. 28 issue of *Newsweek* includes seven letters on the U.S. bombing of Libya. Six of them link Palestinian "homelessness" to Libyan-backed terrorism. Four of those six argue that "an obvious approach to solving the problem of terrorism is for Israel to return the territory it expropriated and to grant the Palestinians a homeland."

Six letters to the editor is no scientific survey. However, there can be no doubt but that a sizable portion of the public believes that the terrorist threat will only disappear when the Palestinians have a homeland.

Even Vice President George Bush seems to accept this idea. In his 1984 campaign debate with Geraldine Ferraro, Bush said that "the answer" to terrorism "is a solution to the Palestine question." In February, Bush's Task Force on Combatting Terrorism singled out the Middle East as a region where "a cooperative international effort to mitigate the sources of grievances" is essential.

But Bush is only the most prominent American (actually the second most prominent if you include former President Jimmy Carter) to suggest that the "Palestine question" is the root cause of international terror. Columnists from Mary McGrory on the left to Evans and Novak on the right have long contended that the United States can best combat the terrorist menace through intense involvement in Middle East peace-making. Specifically, they want the United States to pressure Israel to get out of the West Bank. Then, and only then, will terrorism cease. Or so they argue.

The only thing wrong with this formulation is that it's dead wrong. As Johns Hopkins Professor Fouad Ajami points out in the April 17 *New York Times*, "talk of a peace process that would end this wave of terror is naive." In fact, "nothing would inflame the passions of extremists in the region more than a major American diplomatic initiative."

Ajami, a Sh'ite Moslem born in Lebanon, writes that "no American diplomatic scheme would spare America the fury of those bent upon eradicating its presence in the region. It is a false reading to say that the terror springs from the impasse between Israeli and Palestinian." Accordingly, "if Americans are to embark upon a diplomatic initiative, they must have no illusions about it. Their enemies in the region will go on a rampage precisely to convince them of the futility of such an endeavor."

According to Ajami, Middle East terror is rooted in the struggle over the "soul and historic direction" of Islam. The center is under siege by militants of every stripe.

"That is why, in a political world of angels and demons, the distant superpower was turned into a demon. A decade of oil wealth and promise in the Moslem world was ending in failure and defeat. When the inevitable scapegoating came, America was the best kind of scapegoat because it had become part of the region's landscape, its feuds and calculations of power."

He says that for Khomeini's followers in Iran, America stood for "cultural defilement." For the Syrians, America was the one thing standing between them and regional hegemony. For the Palestinians, America "stood between them and a Palestinian state." For Qaddafi, America is the symbol he can use to rally popular support despite being "an isolated, hated figure in the region. . . ."

It is therefore impossible to argue that the struggle for "Palestine" is the cause of Middle East terrorism or that terrorism would be eliminated by giving the Palestinians a state. Certainly, a West Bank state would change some of the aspects of the terror wave. Israel itself would become more of a target and certain terrorist groups might grow more bloodthirsty while others might, for a time, grow less. But the general picture would either remain static or, probably, become worse.

The battle against babies on airplanes and teachers in Beirut is not being fought for the Palestinians. On the contrary, it is the Palestinians who remain among the victims of the terrorist war. For Qaddafi and company they remain nothing more than the pretext for terror—convenient excuses for killing. They deserve better. □

—M.J.R.

# N.E.R.

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## FOREIGN AFFAIRS | Flora Lewis

## Terror in Many Stripes

PARIS

**T**errorist attacks have broken out again in Europe. As Washington notes with a hint of smugness, there hasn't been evidence of Middle East-inspired terrorism since the April 15 American raid on Libya, but the idea of terror as a political weapon has proven itself alive with a series of new deaths.

Basques in Spain, left-wing extremists in France, West Germany and Portugal, Irish nationalists and Protestant loyalists in Northern Ireland have all struck in the last week.

Meanwhile, two Lebanese Shiites sentenced to 23 years in prison for attempted murder of a Libyan Embassy official have been released and deported by Madrid, apparently in return for Spanish hostages sent home from Lebanon. France is receiving the Syrian Vice President, Abdel Halim Khaddam, in hopes of speeding the return of French hostages in Lebanon.

A French court in Lyons sentenced George Ibrahim Abdallah, alleged chief of a Lebanese terrorist group in Europe, to four years on relatively minor charges. He has already been in jail for two years, during which time his group staged several attacks to demand his release. He is still to be tried in Paris with complicity in the murder of an American deputy military attaché and an Israeli diplomat in 1982.

There have been widespread reports that the Paris court may dismiss the case for "lack of evidence," although the police found the Czech-made pistol used in both killings in Mr. Abdallah's Paris apartment. The United States Government and the American's widow have asked to enter the case as civilian plaintiffs in an effort to forestall such a judgment.

And the American Embassy complained about the light sentence in Lyons, which could lead to Mr. Abdallah's early release. The complaint provoked a sharp rebuke from the French Foreign Ministry for "unacceptable interference" in French justice.

In the middle of all this, American officials predicted that Middle East terrorists, apparently lying low just now, are likely to switch tactics and launch large-scale random attacks in European capitals to exploit and prolong American fears of foreign travel. The tourist industry has been seriously hurt.

This certainly doesn't look like the great increase in cooperation among governments to block terrorism, which has been claimed. It looks like continuing national narrow-mindedness, each country trying to look out

Though the latest has no Mideast link, the force is alive

for its own and forget the consequences for others.

The anguish of negotiations for the return of hostages is understandable. The primary duty of each state to protect its citizens is undeniable. Legal systems and court procedures remain a national affair.

But it is clear that despite all the public posturing, there is still really no agreed Western stand on how to deal with terrorism, and whether or not to make concessions in an attempt to head it off.

The media have been criticized for helping the terrorists, who need publicity to spread their message of menace. It is true that they succumb, not only in the obligation of reporting the news but in magnifying the sensation.

Politicians too are tempted by the rewards of both talking tough and trying to deliver hostages. Spectacular measures, such as the American raid on Libya, did not succeed in demonstrating that terrorism doesn't pay, just that it is not a good idea to boast about it as openly as Libya's Colonel Qaddafi liked to do.

After the raid, he told an interviewer that he was "very surprised, because I could not imagine how they could attack a head of state in his house with his family. It has not happened before in modern history." His history is bad — many heads of state have been attacked and even killed — but he seems to think attacks should be reserved for those of lesser status.

The effective proof that terrorism doesn't pay is that it has achieved no modern cause beyond grabbing public attention and, occasionally, winning the release of prisoners so they can strike again. This fact needs to be proclaimed, loud and often. It is a mistake to suggest that the motives of political terrorists should be sympathetically examined. They are sick minds who dishonor any cause.

It is also a mistake to be concerned about which terrorists are which, except in terms of catching them. They are everybody's enemy, whom they hit.

Rafal Olbinski

## andon Court

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