

Daniel Jeremy Silver Collection Digitization Project

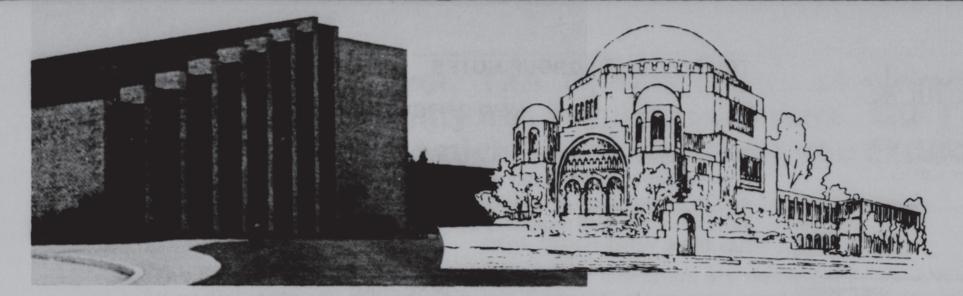
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MS-4850: Daniel Jeremy Silver Papers, 1972-1993.

Series III: The Temple Tifereth-Israel, 1946-1993, undated. Sub-series B: Sermons, 1950-1989, undated.

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The West Bank, 1982.



May 9, 1982 Vol. LXVII, No. 18

The Temple Bulletin

From the Rabbi's Desk: THE WEST BANK
The sermon of April 17, 1982 is produced here in response to numerous requests.

I can't remember a day in recent weeks when the front pages of our papers have not featured some headline about an incident on the West Bank: 'Israeli soldiers kill Arab youth'; 'Eleven are wounded in Hebron riots'. I do not question the fact that these incidents took place. There have been well-orchestrated demonstrations throughout the West Bank and Gaza ever since the Israeli government began a program of transferring power from local mayors to village councils.

I do wonder however, about the prominence these reports have been given. Over the same period thousands have died in the two-year old war between Iran and Iraq. Hundreds have died in the hills of Guatemala where insurgents seem to be building for themselves a base of operation. The war continues in Afghanistan. Across Africa, from Uganda to Angola, there have been bloody tribal conflicts. None of these events have received similar coverage. Yet every time a few Arab teen-agers throw rocks at Israeli settlers or soldiers, who then do what needs to be done to keep the roads open and to protect themselves, the incident merits front page treatment. One wonders why. There are practical explanations. It's hard for reporters to reach the hill country of Guatemala or the battle zones of the Iraq-Iran war. They can't get into Afganistan. Reporters report what's available to them. Israel is an open society. The Arab countries are rigidly censored societies. Most countries of the Third World and certainly, the Communist world, control the press and we hear, therefore, only what that government allows us to hear. It's also true that Israel is a convenient place for reporters. You can photograph an incident in Ramallah in the morning and spend the afternoon in your hotel swimming pool.

But, beyond these pragmatic considerations, I suspect that there is, to some degree, a far less attractive one. There are still many in the world who believe that Jews should know their place and who have not made peace with the idea that Jews now have a place of their own. Being in favor of Palestinian liberation or Palestinian nationalism is a confortable way to vent such feelings without speaking words which could be labeled as anti-Semitic. You may even feel quite noble about your prejudices. Liberation is, after all, an approved cause. You're allowed to be openly anti-Semitic in the Second World and the Third World, but racism is still frowned on in the Free World where memories of Hitler and the Holocaust remain strong. By saying this I don't mean to dismiss out of hand, rights which are properly Palestinian, nor to tar all who report these incidents. Most reporters are simply doing their job; but the truth

is that the incidents deserve coverage but not the daily headlines they have received.

What has been happening in the West Bank these last weeks should be understood in perspective, and since the West Bank will be in the news over the next months and years I propose to spend time providing what I hope will be useful background.

Our press calls the West Bank 'occupied territory.' Perhaps so, but it's a strange kind of occupied territory. Occupied territory should have an original owner and it is not clear to whom the West Bank belongs by right or by historical mandate.

In 1967 when the Jordanian government entered the war against pleas from Jerusalem, Israel moved into the West Bank to defend itself and soon brought the whole area under its control. After 1967 Israel allowed the West Bank towns self rule. This area is the only occupied territory I know of where there have been free elections. Israel allowed all parties to nominate whomever they wanted for local town councils and mayors and permitted those elected to hold office even if they were members of the Palestine Liberation Organization which, as you know, makes no secret of its purpose to destroy Israel as a state. From Israel's side the elections were free. The occupying power did not intrude. From the PLO's side the elections were not free. PLO money was sent in. Votes were bought. Guns were brandished. Threats were made. Some

who opposed PLO candidates were assassinated. Others had their houses and cars bombed.

Even without such threats PLO sympathizers might have become mayors; - defeat radicalizes the defeated. My point is that Israel began the "occupation" of the West Bank by maintaining the system of justice and government then in place and in the hope that those who live on the West Bank would be provided an enlightened and short-lived occupation. Many in Israel then saw a chance to provide the West Bank institutions and an economy which were more prosperous, more free, and more just than the area had known and so bring a measure of stability to a volatile part of the world.

Several weeks ago the Begin government claimed to have uncovered a plan for mass riots and the destabilization of the area which was to be put into effect immediately following the April 25 withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Sinai. Three West Bank mayors have been deposed and the claim is advanced that these were to be the key planners of this program of disruption and that Jerusalem took the action it did to forestall the threatened violence. Whether Jerusalem was right in this judgment no one can say. Perhaps greater disruption was avoided, but some disruption was assured and it could have been predicted that the violence would continue once the Arabs recognized that confrontation guaranteed them world-wide head-(Continued inside)

SUNDAY MORNING SERVICES

May 9, 1982 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch

Rabbi
DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

will speak on

WISDOM

Friday Evening Service - 5:30 - 6:10 - The Temple Chapel Sabbath Service - 11:15 a.m. - The Branch

FROM THE RABBI'S DESK (Continued)

lines. Some fault Jerusalem for bad judgment for not taking world opinion into consideration. I suspect that in terms of world opinion it would not have made any difference if Israel had waited to act. As far as the West Bank and Gaza are concerned Israel can do no right. For a variety of reasons the West is determined that Israel must withdraw, that there must be a Palestinian state, and that Israel's withdrawal must be carried out with dispatch and that's that.

Events do not happen in a vacuum, so let's step back a moment and gain some perspective on all that has happened and is happening. In 1917 the British government published the Balfour Declaration which pledged England's support in the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine. During the preceding centuries Palestine had been governed as an administrative division of the Turkish province of Syria. World War I was coming to an end and the allies needed plans for the future management of the Middle East. In 1922 the League of Nations gave Great Britain a mandate over Palestine in order to carry out the terms of the Balfour Declaration. In 1925 the British government announced unilaterally that the terms of this mandate did not refer to Palestinian territory west of the Jordan River. England proceeded to set up a Hashemite sheik from Saudi Arabia as puppet on the East Bank and declared him king of an area which was then called Trans Jordan. At the end of the second World War England handed over Trans Jordan lock, stock and army to the Hashemite king, Abdullah, and Trans Jordan became Jordan.

Would that England had been as solicitous of the Jews on the West Bank.

West of the Jordan River England did all she could to void the spirit of the Balfour Declaration. Throughout the thirties she limited the immigration of Jews but not Arabs. In the post-war years she patrolled the coast of Palestine against the so-called illegal immigration of the million Jews who languished in European displaced person camps. It was a situation which could not last. Emotional and political pressures to remove this blockade were intense and the English people were war weary. They wanted the boys home and the cost of maintaining a large standby army was more than the British Treasury could manage. So Whitehall took steps to disarm the Yishuv even as she gave arms to the Arabs; and, having no other alternatives, she turned the whole problem over to the United Nations. In November of 1947 the United Nations voted a partition resolution which divided Palestine into three areas. There would be an Arab state consisting of the West Bank, Gaza, and a small area in the Galilee running from Acre to Nazareth. The Galilee, the Mediterranean plain, and the Negev were to become a Jewish state. Jerusalem was to be a corpus-separatum, a separate community, under international rule. The Jews accepted the idea of an Arab state. The Arabs did not. Many now claim that Jerusalem blocks the creation of an Arab state and forget that there would be a Palestinian state today if the Arabs in 1947 had accepted United Nations' decision. But the Arabs would accept nothing less than all of Palestine, and to accomplish this Iraq, Syria, Trans Jordan and Egypt confidently announced that they would drive the yishuv into the sea. The Arabs attacked and were not able to achieve their ends. When a cease-fire was finally proclaimed, Israel held most of the territory allotted to it in the partition decision plus the area in the north between Acre and Nazareth which was to be part of the Arab state. Jordan had conquered what we now call the West Bank. Egypt controlled the Gaza Strip.

The north-south boundary of the West Bank runs from a point about fifteen miles north of the Sea of Galilee to a point about half-way down the western coast of the Dead Sea. Its east-west boundary begins at the

Jordan River and runs to within ten to fifteen miles of the Mediterranean. The West Bank includes most of the high land of ancient Judea and the cities which controlled an ancient trade route which connected Egypt and Syria – Beersheba, Bethlehem, Hebron, Jerusalem, Nablus, Schechen. It was in the West Bank that Abraham, Isaac and Jacob traveled, lived and settled. Jericho and Ai, both West Bank towns, were Joshua's first conquests. The palaces of the kings of Judah were in the West Bank. The West Bank contains the sites of most of the Israelite settlements of Biblical days, a fact which helps to explain why it is today the focus of Jewish nationalist and religious sentiment. The sea coast and lowlands which comprise modern Israel were almost always in contest between Judea and its neighbors and would be conquerors - Phoenicians, Philistines, Syrians and the Romans; but the highlands, the West Bank, was the unquestioned center of Jewish settlement. The roots of our people go far deeper into the West Bank than. they do to any other area of the State of Israel.

The West Bank comprises about 2,270 square miles and has a population of about 750,000, of these about 720,000 Christian and Muslim Arabs and about 25,000 Jews. In 1947 when Jordan conquered the West Bank a number of well-established Jewish settlements were overrun and those settlers who were not killed had to flee to Israel held territory. It is often forgotten that Jews also had refugees from the 1947 war. The difference is that we did not keep them penned up in refugee camps.

After 1947 the West Bank was as politically restive and as volatile as it would be years later under Israeli rule. Nasserites, Communists, Baathists and the Muslim Brotherhood stirred up so much trouble for King Hussein that he banned all political parties and, at one time, disbanded his own parliament because it had a majority of Palestinians whom he could not control. To keep the peace in the West Bank Hussein rigidly censored all West Bank newspapers and maintained two-thirds of his standing army in garrisons near the major towns. Arab rioted against Arab in the West Bank even as Arab now riots against Israel. It is an interesting and generally overlooked fact that prosperity began to come to Jordan only when Jordan lost the West Bank and that only after the loss of the West Bank did Hussein feel strong enough to move against the PLO whose forces were a destabilizing influence in his country. If you wonder why Jordan has been unwilling to enter into the Camp David negotiations, remember that though Hussein may have visions of becoming ruler of a land which stretches from Amman to the sea, his advisors know very well that Jordan's security and propserity depend upon the West Bank remaining under someone else's control. The problem they face is that they would prefer that the control not be the PLO's or Israel's, and there are few other alternatives.

In 1967 when Israel found itself in control of the West Bank, the government was well aware of its turbulent history and had no desire to assert long term control. In 1968 Levi Eshkol offered to return the West Bank to Jordan if Amman would guarantee to demilitarize the area and publicially pledge that Jerusalem would remain undivided. It was not to be. The Arab states met at Khartoum at the famous no, no, no conference: no negotiation, no mediation, no recognition, no meeting with Israel. Their goal was still Israel's elimination and the Arab states recognized that the issue of Palestinian rights would be a good propaganda vehicle in the West even though few in the Arab world or out had worried about Palestinian rights when Jordan ruled the Palestinians.

During the first years of Israel's occupation Jerusalem prevented its citizens from settling on the West

Bank. Israel wanted to maintain the status quo ante and to use the West Bank as a bargaining chip to achieve peace with their neighbors. The goal was a demilitarized West Bank. There were good reasons for this. If an independent state emerges on the West Bank, Israel will have a long and difficult border to defend and Arab guns could be placed within twelve miles of Tel Aviv. On the other hand, if Israel were to absorb the West Bank she would have to absorb 720,000 Arabs and, given the differential in the birth rate between Arabs and Israelis, the Jewishness of the Jewish state would then be threatened.

Over the years the Arabs turned a deaf ear to negotiations, and profound changes took place in Israel's attitudes toward the West Bank. Israel has been frustated in every attempt to establish a modus vivendi with its Arab neighbors and has endured the psychic and economic pressures of war and isolation. Understandably the Israeli community has become more defensive, more suspicious and more willing to take unilateral action. No one can endure being endlessly bullied without striking back. Then, too, in Israel, as in other parts of the world, there has been a revival of religious nationalism. From Iran to our own country impatient othodoxies of all kinds and of all stripes have come to play an increasingly important role in national politics as the citizenry is increasingly frustrated by economic, social and political insecurity.

Israelis have begun to call the West Bank, Judah and Samaria, terms which pick up the resonances of the Biblical times. Pressures not to return the West Bank, the ancient promised land, have grown. In the early seventies a Labor Government proposed that Israel set up a series of military stations in key areas and that the rest of the West Bank be turned back to the Arabs, provided no heavy weapons were stationed there. Israel would guarantee the Arab's security and the Arabs would gain quasi sovereignty. The Arab states did not respond and pressures grew in Israel for civilian settlements on the West Bank.

In the mid-seventies groups like the Gush Emunin, the self-styled circle of the faithful, began to argue that the government's no settlement policy stood in the way of Zionism, mocked Israel's pioneering spirit and, worse yet, violated God's will. They appealed to frustration, fear and faith - a powerful brew. How could Israel tolerate that the heart of the Promised Land should be the only place in the world which would be Judenrein. According to Jordanian law, no Jew may be a citizen of Jordan. They talked, organized and took matters into their own hands. Small groups of nationalists bought farms from area peasants who had left to enter trade in the city and began to settle on the West Bank. At first these settlements were declared illegal, but as Arab response was further delayed and as frustration mounted, these settlers found more and more support and the settlements were more or less legalized.

Mr. Begin is not the first Prime Minister to tolerate settlement activity. In 1973 a Labor Government published the so-called Galili paper which opened up the possibility of West Bank settlements by opening up the question of West Bank sovereignty. The government stated its conviction that the West Bank was not to be considered occupied territory. It was the government's position that the issue of sovereignty over the West Bank had never been fully decided – Jordan was, after all, as much an occupier as Israel – and that Israel's claims were and are as legitimate as those of any other country. Therefore, the government would allow settlement by those who wished to pioneer in area provided they did not infringe upon the property rights of the indigenous population and were authorized by Jerusalem.

(Continued)

FROM THE RABBI'S DESK (Continued)

During the mid-seventies a number of small settlements were tolerated by the Labor Government. Then, under pressure, largely from the United States, Labor pulled back a bit from this position. When Begin came into power, to a large degree because of the votes of those who espoused pro settlement sentiment, more settlements were permitted.

The settlements consist of some forty or so small villages which in the aggregate house less than 25,000 people. I'm afraid that the papers have given many the idea of a mass population movement and a massive displacement of the existing population. This is not the case. Many parts of the West Bank were sparsely settled. No one has been driven out. Nor is it clear that these settlements are illegal. Under the Geneva Convention, which presumedly governs military occupation and which is often cited as the legal basis for questioning Israel's settlement policy, settlement by an occupying power is illegal only if the settlement displaces the indigenous population. So far there have been no expropriations and no forced population moves.

Yet, over the last several years a concensus has developed in the ministeries of the West that Israel must withdraw. The issue is really less legal, or even moral, then a response to the united demand of the Arab states that Israel withdraw. The belief has emerged that if Israel withdraws from the West Bank all of the problems which face the West in its relations with the Arab world could be resolved and the West would be able to assure itself of continuous and profitable access to Arab markets and oil. So, first the European Economic Community and, increasingly, the Reagan Administration, as the Carter Administration before it, have focused attention on the West Bank as if the way to peace begins here. Furthermore, since the Camp David accords mandated some West Bank arrangements after the Sinai withdrawal, this issue is now uppermost on the diplomatic plate. You may recall that one protocol of the Camp David accords dealt with Sinai, another with commercial and diplomatic relationships between Egypt and Israel, and a third with the establishment of a basis for negotiations between Israel and the West Bank communities with the goal of establishing some form of local autonomy. Autonomy, a deliberately ambiguous phrase, was chosen as the frame of reference for these talks to avoid any term of specific meaning which would suggest the specific degree of political sovereignty the West Bank would be given. No one could agree on the form, nature and extent of that control. Given the uncertainty which attended its birth, it is not surprising that the autonomy talks have not moved ahead rapidly.

The Arab world with its billions of oil dollars has said to the West: Israel is our enemy and if you want our friendship you must prove your friendship on this issue. Under such pressure the governments of the West have made Palestinian nationalism a favorite cause and have popularized the view that it is only the intransigence of Mr. Begin that stands in the way of open, free and understanding relationships which would be profitable for the West. Of course, they phrase it differently. Begin stands in the way of Palestinian rights.

Would that things were so simple. The war between Iraq and Iran, the centuries-old Sunni-Shiite struggle, the battle for control of the Horn of Africa, the bitter tensions between Baathist governments in Iraq and Syria, the struggle between Egypt and Libya, the tribal wars in the Lebanon, the class war between poor and rich Arabs, the problems which surround the unsettling of the oil-rich kingdoms by more radical groups, all these issues have nothing to do with the West Bank except in the sense that the Palestine Liberation Organization is a radical force which operates through-

out the Middle East and trains guerillas who operate in many areas. It should not be forgotten that one of the reasons the Persian Gulf states want a Palestinian state is their hope that the responsibilities of rule would reduce the threat of the PLO to their own regime.

Is there a solution? Not in the short term. If, under pressure from the United States, Israel is forced to give back the West Bank there could be a civil war in Israel. A majority of the Israelis might bow to force majeure, the fact that they're a small country who depend for their arms and markets on the West, but many would not. Many would say: "after the Holocaust, never again. We'll make the decisions which affect our lives even if we have to go it alone." I am convinced that in today's atmosphere no government could implement a withdrawal decision. You've seen the pictures of soldiers lifting out the settlers of Yamit. Those that settled in Yamit knew that one day the Sinai would be turned back. No one has claimed that the Sinai is part of the Promised Land. West Bank withdrawal would be Yamit with gun fights and martyrs.

Israel needs time and a sense of reassurance. Israelis need to feel that the Sinai withdrawal was not in vain. Israel has given up territory twice as large as the entire state; its only oil producing area, and the possibility of defense in depth, in the hope that it could establish long term and meaningful political and commercial relationships with a major neighbor. It is not clear that after April 25 Mr. Mubarak and Egypt will respect part II of the Camp David protocol. Before Israel will go any further it needs to be clear that there is an Arab give as well as an Arab take. Israel needs time to learn whether an Arab country can, in fact, be trusted.

If Israel is pressured immediately to go the next step, I doubt that any Israeli leader could survive that move. Neither a Labor Government nor the present administration could govern if it did. All that the pressure to give up the West Bank can accomplish is to weaken Israel and to make Israel more likely to take some bold unilateral action. Washington and the E.E.C. need to understand that the West Bank problems can be faced, but not immediately, that the situation requires time and patience, and that there can be progress on this front only after certain kinds of relationships are in place and certain kinds of bridges have been built.

The Israelis under Begin have taken a tougher line on West Bank issues than previous Labor Governments. There has been tougher censorship of the Arab newspapers though these still can print absolutely vitriolic diatribes against Israel. There's been pressure on the West Bank universities to limit PLO propaganda on their campuses. Searches and seizures have been carried out in relatively high-handed ways. These acts are understandable though not necessarily praise worthy. But they should alert the West, and particularly Washington, to how thin Israeli's patience has become.

Israel needs time for her citizens to learn, hopefully, that Egypt can be trusted. With trust many things become possible. If conditions deteriorate and trust is lacking, only war is possible. Ideally, until trust develops those diplomats in Washington, London and Bonn who insist that the issue of the West Bank is central would be well advised to send some clear messages to the Arab governments that their relationships cannot be made dependent upon a particular and immediate resolution of an issue which the West does not control and which, in fact, should not be faced now because to do so would be counterproductive.

I rather doubt that Western governments will act in this way. The "settle it now" concensus is strong. Governments have decided that it's easier to lean on

Israel than to think about the complex of problems which threaten security in the Middle East. "If that's what they want it's no skin off our backs to tell Israel to give it to them." The lesson that it's not in our best interests to give the Arabs what they want simply because they say they want it does not seem to have penetrated. It was not in our best interest to sell the AWAC's to Saudi Arabia. These planes were already operational and in the area. They did not need to be transferred to Saudi Arabian control. The Saudi's demand was an act of national arrogance. The Saudis wanted to prove their money's power and were indifferent, if not contemptuous, of the political cost to the Administration. Two days after we sold the AWACs, Saudi Arabia increased the price of oil two dollars a barrel. Five hundred days under the new cost structure and we have paid off the entire cost of the AWACs. Within two months the Saudis reduced the flow of oil into the international market, in effect keeping up the dollar drain which has so weakened the economies of the West, indeed, of most of the world. Unfortunately, the Arabs, like some Israelis, are currently affected by jingoism and religious nationalism. They've been down for so long and, by God, this is their moment and they're going to take full advantage of it. They're taking of perversive joy in making us dance to their tune. Vengeance is a very human emotion, but an ugly one and a dangerous one. Combine mashochistic joy with Jihad, the Arab world belief that religious issues can be settled by the sword, and the future for peace in the Near East, if not in the world, is not bright.

I am told that the dollar value of the arms which have been poured into the Middle East in the last few years exceeds the cost of all our arms during the Second World War. One must ask why. To what end? Against whom will they be used? How will they be used?

The Arab world has made the West Bank and Jerusalem the focus of its demands. Unless the West is willing to allow its policies and economies to become captive to Riyadh, Baghdad, Damascus and Cairo, at some point someone will have to say, 'no, you can't have it all your way.' I suggest that time is now upon us, if it has not already passed.

The issue of the West Bank must be disengaged from all the other issues which confront the West; and the Palestinians, the Israelis and the Jordanians – the people most immediately affected – must be given a decade or two to build up trust, bridges, so that meaningful arrangements can be shaped which will have some staying power. Palestinians must work in Israel. Israel must sell to Palestine and to Jordan. Jordan must live with a Palestinian state. These three small communities must find ways to live together to survive. This can happen only if there's time and only if there's trust.

Daniel Jeremy Silver

PARTICIPANTS IN THE SERVICE

ROMAN FRAYMAN AND HIS DAUGHTER LAURA

MYRNA SPIRA AND HER SON ROBBY

GERALD ROSENTHAL AND HIS DAUGHTER JENNIFER

MARLENE KRAUSE - FLUTIST

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CO-CHAIR PEOPLE FOR THIS MORNING: MYRNA SPIRA AND ROMAN FRAYMAN

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