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Terrorism, 1986.

TERRORISM

Daniel Jeremy Silver

May 11, 1986

During the first four months of this year six Americans were killed by terrorist action and some eight Americans were being held by terrorists in their safe houses and prisons. During that same four months fifteen thousand Americans lost their lives on the highways of this country and many Americans have recently been planning safe summer vacations by cancelling their trips to Europe to take to the safe highways of this country. Now, I don't cite these statistics in order to suggest that terrorism is not a serious problem, it is, but simply to make the point that panic and foolish reaction to a very real problem is no real answer. Obviously, I could have taken a different time frame and the statistics would not be as startling. Obviously, I would not now plan a summer or a winter vacation in Beirut. In Lebanon every day some twenty, thirty or more people are killed by terrorist violence. I do not mean to suggest that the United States risk over 200 of our war planes and of our pilots and major carrier task force simply because a single American soldier had been killed in a bomb explosion in a discotheque in West Berlin. My point is other. My point has to do with the simple truth that terrorism has been a fact of life ever since there is a historical record. After all, Cain was a terrorist when he slew Abel at the sacrifice. And that panic, the herd instinct, is the very thing that terrorists count on. After all, a bomb has a definite limit to its explosive terror and once it's been exploded that's the end of it. What the terrorist counts on is the after shock, how you and I and millions like us will react. And their purpose, if there be a purpose to their actions, is to bring organized

society to a standstill, to turn the whole world into a Lebanon where there is no law, no order, no security, no government, no possibility of carrying out the ordinary daily responsibility of life with some degree of safety. And their means of achieving this is terror which is simply the indiscriminate use of violence to some assumed end; and they count on the fact that we will panic, lock ourselves behind our doors, hunker down, be fearful of moving out, surround ourselves with such expensive security that we no longer have the wherewithal to provide for the decencies of our society. They count on our reactions when most of all, in the modern world and this is why the power of terrorism has been multiplied in our world, they count on the media. If a terrorist commandeer a plane and no one reports it, the only people who are involved and know anything about it are the pilot and the passengers and that's where it begins and ends. But when the terrorists skyjack a plane and criss-cross the Mediterranean and put down in Tripoli and Cyprus and in Cairo and Beirut and every action, every landing is photographed by a hundred cameras, and when they allow a few women and children off in Athens or a few more in Tripoli and these are interviewed, all of this is reported immediately by the media and, as we saw last summer with the TWA hi-jacking, they can play out this drama for a week or two or more, and in so doing they get their terror, their sense of purpose, whatever it may seem to be, across into the homes of the world. And then they can even hold before the cameras a so-called press conference of their captives, that's what they're after. Insofar as terrorism has any mode of operation, it is that which is implied by the phrase "propaganda by the deed", perform a deed

Volnya, the so-called Freedom Brigade who, in the 1970's in

which is dramatic enough, the world will listen and will watch and you will presumably have lifted up your cause, lifted up your purpose, whatever it may be.

And there's a great deal of truth to this and that is why the role of the media in this whole problem is so crucial. When someone comes to Cleveland to speak, again and again our papers, the evening news will notice the protesters in front of the hall and they'll fail to report a single thing that was said inside the hall. Protesters are not terrorists, but that need of the so-called news programs for that which is visible, which is dramatic, which is confrontational, which is of human interest because it involves captives and terror and fear, this voracious appetite of the media for this kind of material is one of the reasons that we suddenly find ourselves faced with a problem we call terrorism even though I could take you through all of recorded history and show you that terror has never been absent from the human condition. Terror has always been present. Whenever people have felt abused or paranoid or whether they've had a pathological need simply to express themselves violently, there's been terror. There have been causes. There has been an attempt to impose the will of the few upon others.

Now, a terrorist counts upon two things: that the audience, you and I, will respond to what they proclaim to be their cause and that we will agree with them that there is no other way to achieve their goals, whatever they may be, except through this kind of violence, that all other legitimate means have been exhausted and nothing could be further from the truth. The prototypical terrorists of the twentieth century were the Narodnya Volnya, the so-called Freedom Brigade who, in the 1870's in

Czarist Russia began to assassinate ministers and police officers of the Czar. This Freedom Brigade was composed of about 200 young people, most of them children of the very class they were attacking, who were expressing their anger against the repression of Czarist policies. And my point is not that Czarist policies were not repressive but that Czarist policies were on their way of being reformed. The serfs had already been freed in Czarist Russia. Industrialization was making itself felt. The political changes were already in motion which would lead to the first dumont, to the establishment of the first Russian Parliament, but the young are impatient, the young are messianist, the young wanted to push freedom along, and so they resorted to violence. Now, when they did so they pushed the revolution along and when the revolution came and a true police state was established, there is no longer a Freedom Brigade. There's no equivalent of Narodnya Volnya in the Soviet Union today because when a state is truly a secure state, authoritarian, tyrannical, it can repress terrorism. Terrorism emerges only in those societies which are beginning to be transformed, beginning to liberate themselves or in those which are, in fact, largely free. Terrorism exists in western Europe and not in Eastern Europe. It is the planes of the western nations which are being attacked, not Eflot.

And so the assumption that there is no other way to achieve one's end is not necessarily a fact nor is the corresponding assumption by those of us who are impressed by terrorism, who watch it, that if we could only remove the causes which the terrorists claim are the source of their anger, we would remove the existence of terrorism itself. The so-called Red Brigade which began as

the Baldermonhof Gang in western Europe, particularly in western Germany some 25 years ago is, in a sense, the prototypical modern terrorist group. What is the source of its anger? The existence of government, all government. All government is seen to be repressive. They intend to bring society to a standstill. How can one remove the cause of their anger? How could one have removed the causes of the Sybianese Liberation Army, Charles Manson and his strange pathological group? Let me give you an example from our own history.

In the first century B.C.E. the Romans secured their control of the eastern mediterranean and Pompeii marched into Judea and secured the submission of the Hasmoneans. He established under Roman control a group of puppet emperors, Antipater and Herod, and then these in turn were supplanted by Roman procurators, people appointed by the Senate. Now, Roman rule was hard. Roman taxes were high. There were reasons for Israel to be restive under the Roman boot and there arose in Judea in the first century of this era a group known as the zealots. their leader was a man named Joshua ibn Gemala. Now, the zealots protested against Roman rule. Well and good. There were things to protest, but the theology, the conviction of these zealots was something which was far wider. for the zealots argued that according to God's will, according to the Torah, Israel was to be subordinate, subjected to no one, to no human being except God Himself. Only God was to rule, no government, no authority save that of God and God alone. Now, how could the Romans agree to that? They'd have had to dismember their empire and that wasn't about to happen. Now, because there was a streak of zealotry, of terrorism, in this group of zealots,

this group of Jews, they began to precipitate incidents, to throw stones at the Romans, to attack the Roman soldiers. And when the Romans began to suppress the zealots, the middle group in ancient Judea, you and I, began to protest. They began to point out to these people how futile their undertaking. It was impossible to achieve their end. Besides, it was only leading to the turning of the screw. The Romans had made things worse and worse the more these attacks took place. And so what did the zealots do? They began to attack their fellows, their fellow Jews, and during the 40's and 50's and 60's of the first century of this era more Jews were killed by these terrorist guerillas than Romans. And alternately, the great middle was silenced; and ultimately, the zealots precipitated enough incidents that there was a massive eruption and a fatal rebellion against Rome in which a million Jews were killed, in which the Temple was destroyed, in which Jerusalem was razed. Zealotry, terrorism, often has a root cause which, even if we could solve the problems of poverty or of colonialism, whatever be the problem they claim, could not be met.

Those who have watched the spread of terrorism and who have seen that much of this terrorism originates in the Arab world, in Libya, Syria, Iran, Yemen, places like that, have decided, because the Arabs have suggested this, that if only there was a solution to the Palestinian problem western Europe, the United States, the free world, would not have to worry anymore about the kind of terrorism that the TWA plane, the ship-jacking of the Achille Loro, the bombing of our embassies, American Express headquarters, banks of England and so on represent.

Now, we know that the attempted bombing of the El Al plane

in London just two weeks ago was master-minded by Syria. There is a report in the New York Times this morning that indicates that a Syrian Embassy official is the man who accompanied the Arab who gave the bomb to his pregnant sweetheart to put on the plane to London, that once the bomb was discovered this great hero fled to the Syrian Embassy, that he was hidden there for three days until he left and was ultimately found and incarcerated by the British police.

Now, the assumption is that Syria was not engaged in acts of this type if it were not for the Palestinian problem and since, to some, a just solution to this problem is the establishment on the West Bank and Gaza of a Palestinian state, there's a solution, we don't have to bomb Libya, we don't have to bomb bases in Syria, all we have to do is to pressure Israel to create a Palestinian state. Now, what is faulty in this logic is that Asad and the Syrians have never said that their solution to the problems of the Middle East are the establishment of a Palestinian state in Jordan and in the West Bank and in Gaza. Quite the contrary. As recently as three weeks ago, Asad made the point that it would not be long before the Golan would be retaken and it would not be long before the border of Syria would be the very center of Syria, implying that all of Israel as well as the West Bank and Gaza would be incorporated into his vision of a greater Syria.

We have a way because when you seek solutions to find solutions where none exist. The reasons that the Arab world is attacking the West are far more complex than the fact that the West Bank is still under Israeli control. Fouad Ajami, Professor of Government at Johns Hopkins University, was born in Lebanon. He is by in-

heritance a Shiite Moslem. He's also a very shrewd observer of the Middle Eastern scene and he said some things which are worth listening to.

"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. 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. Middle East terror is rooted in the 'soul and historic direction of Islam. The center is under seige by militants of every stripe. That is why, in a political world of angels and demons, the distant super-power 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. 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."

What Ajami is saying is that there are issues within issues within issues, angers within angers within anger, roiling in the ancient Middle East and that this world in turmoil and conflict is simply lashing out the way a child lashes out against parents and against the adult world when they're frustrated and that no single solution will relieve the world for long period of time of the danger of terrorism. And if you would understand this bed of recognize,

that most of the world has tried to adjust to terror the way small shopkeepers in the United States adjusted to the Mafia, that is, they paid protection money, France, Italy, the low countries did so simply by agreeing to turn a blind eye to the false passports which were bringing in the terrorists to Europe and once in Europe you can cross any border without a passport. And they were not searching diplomatic pouches which they knew contained machine guns and grenades and plastic explosives and other weapons of this kind. They were being bought off and they were buying off. But those who had to buy off the terrorists at the highest price were not the Europeans but the Arabs themselves. The Saudi Arabians have bought off the Syrians at the price of a billion dollars of money given to the Syrians a year. They have given three-quarters of a billion dollars each year to the PLO. And why has Saudi Arabia given this money to Syria and to the PLO? In order to provide security in their own country against the restiveness of the foreign workers who man the oil fields, who are doing the dirty work in Arabia, who could easily be mobilized by the radical forces, the radical ideas represented by Syria and by the PLO.

You can't, ultimately, of course, buy off the Mafia, buy off the terrorists, for ultimately greed takes over, the tribute becomes higher and more expensive year by year, demands become greater. For reasons which we do not quite yet understand, the Kuwaitis fell afoul of the Hasbalah, the Iranian Shiite terrorists and a number of these terrorists came down with an attempt to assassinate the king and the nobility of Kuwait and they failed in this undertaking. They were caught and they've been in Kuwaiti prisons for

almost two years now. The response of the terrorists to this was to begin to capture American professors at the university in Beirut and hold them and try to ransom them by having the United States government pressure Kuwait, an oil-rich state, a feudal state, to release the prisoners. The American government tried and was unsuccessful. And so the Hasbalah, these terrorists began to capture French citizens, knowing that the French ties are deep with the Arab countries, that the French might be moved to be more determined in this effort, and AGAIN, THE French were unable to secure the release of these prisoners in Kuwait.

An election in France, to a certain degree, was determined by the inability of the French government to secure the release of the French Nationals who had been captured in the Lebanon, but a more interesting question, the question that few have asked, is why did the Kuwaitis, Arabs, refuse to release these terrorists whom they had captured? Why, despite the entreaties of the United States, of Western Europe, particularly of France, did the Kuwaitis refuse to do this? And the answer is simple. Living in that part of the world, knowing the terrorists, the Kuwaitis know full well that if these men are released, Kuwait will quickly become the focus of other attacks because the one thing that can increase the level of terrorism is the certainty on the part of the terrorists that they will escape whatever happens scot free, that even if they are captured they'll soon be released. The image is of Abunidal in Italian hands being released immediately because the Italians are fearful of putting him in their jails. But the Kuwaitis know that if they release these 18 or 20 prisoners, it will not be long

before another 18 or 20 or 180 or 200 come down and attempt other acts of violence against their government.

One of the myths of the West is that those who perform acts of terrorism in fact are putting their lives on the line for some cause which they hold to be sacred. The one truth is that these are not fanatics who are willing to sacrifice their life for their cause. They are willing to sacrifice the life of their pregnant Irish fiancée but not their life. The Israelis 6 or 8 months ago captured three adolescent car bombers, Lebanese, who had been caught driving cars loaded with bombs which were about to explode in southern Lebanon and when these young people were interviewed the story that they told was a very interesting one. They were not the hasbalah. They were not the leaders of the terrorist groups. They had been pressured to do this either by being told by the leaders that if they would drive this car south they would escape before it went off and they would give to them for transmission to their parents desperately needed money or they were told, yes, they might become martyrs to the cause but if they were great advantage would accrue to their family which was otherwise destitute. The terrorists themselves are very fearful of losing their lives. Their lives are as precious to them as our lives are to us which is one of the reasons that many believe, including our own government and the Israeli government, that it's only by making the terrorists recognize the high cost which will accrue to them for their acts of violence that one can in some way suppress, limit, control the amount of terrorism which is abroad in the world.

Yes, the problems of poverty, the problems of malnutrition,

of inadequate education, lack of birth control, problems of ignorance, all these problems must be addressed, but not because terrorists tell us they must be addressed. They must be addressed because they are immoral, unfortunate, intolerable. Terrorism itself will not speed us on that journey toward the reform of the world. As a matter of fact, more often than not, terrorism simply impedes the journey. It creates the police state in response to its acts, more and more security, more and more barricades, more and more separation between the community and its leaders, more and more arbitrariness in the society. The Tufamael in Uruguay were a group of young people who were determined to hasten democracy in that land and they managed, in the process, to overthrow a democratic government and to bring about the reestablishment of a military dictatorship, a hunta.

When we face violence we must recognize that those who commit the violence care about their lives, that they can be pressured even as they try to pressure us, that we must be willing to be constant, we must be willing to pay the price for there will be a price. The United States has only lately come to the idea that there must be some way to make the nations of the world who engage in state terrorism pay that price and we've gone about this inconsistently. As much as we've complained about the lack of support of our Allies, I think we must recognize that we ourselves have not been of a mind. yes, we embargoed the sale of goods from and to Libya, but we excluded from that embargo the property and the oil production of five major American oil companies, Occidental, Amereta Hess, Sunoco and others. And the argument which we used is really the

business of America is business, we didn't want them to be hurt, that they had a billion dollars worth of investment. The result was what? The result was that a nice symbiotic sweetheart relationship had been established between these oil companies and Qadafi's government. Qadafi had a majority control of the operation in his own country already. He took 95 percent of all the profits that these companies made by bringing out and shipping to Europe and the Far East 500,000 barrels of oil a day. They were allowed a profit of 5 percent, but they were also taxed the 95% as taxes and they were allowed by our own tax laws, these companies, to deduct those taxes from their profits made elsewhere in the world which means what? That you and I, by paying our Federal income tax, were making up for these taxes which were not being paid by the major oil companies which were rather going into the coffers of the Libyans and that we were in fact doing what? We were in fact buying the missiles and the guns and all that Qadafi was making.

Now, by more recent ruling, in the last week or so, these companies have to leave Libya. But we allowed, we closed our eyes to the fact that 5-6 thousand American oil people have been working in Libya despite a presidential order ordering them out. They made no attempt to enforce that order and worse yet, when one looks at the arsenal that Qadafi can throw around the world to sport, much of that arsenal was bought for him by Americans, by ex-CIA agents and by men who were working under the aegis of the CIA who used the advantage of their office to cloak what they were really doing. And one of these men, Wilson, is now in American jails. But again and again and again, when one looks at the international arms trade

we find that countries like Syria and countries like Libya and Yemen could not buy sophisticated weapons from the west unless Westerners were willing to sell them, and there are simply Americans Englishmen, Frenchmen, who set greed, profit, above their concern for the well-being of the world. Qadafi, Asad, are not the only ones who are guilty in this.

Nor have we been consistent even in our approach to terrorism. Tip O'Neil's a lovely man, but Tip O'Neil's an Irishman and the Irish vote in the United States has some degree of power and so we have consistently refused the request from Great Britain to extradite to Great Britain known IRA terrorists, Irish Republic Army terrorists who have escaped to the United States. And we've turned a blind eye to the raising of monies in the United States for terrorism in Ireland. And Europeans quite rightly can point to our own inconsistency, even as we begin to lecture them and hector them, about theirs.

The world has not dealt with terrorism in all of its seriousness. There is as yet no defined code of practice for western media, for the free median, how to respond, what to do and what not to do in a terrorist attack. How should they respond? Should an NBC give prime time to an Abulabas to be interviewed, to have his filth spew out into American homes without any kind of commentary or background? I wonder. The West has been inconsistent. The West does have within limits the power to hurt the terrorists. We can capture those who operate on our soil. We can extradite, as Great Britain did this week, as Spain did this week, terrorists who are known to have used diplomatic immunity in order to achieve their ends. A new code of limiting the kinds of diplomatic immunity which should exist can be developed. Diplomatic pouches and dip-

lomatic mail is immune, well and good, but why goods must be immune? In this era of telegraphic, telephonic communication why should we allow missiles to be put into diplomatic pouches and transported from Libya or Syria to Europe or the United States without inspection? Good question. The world is going to have to come to grips with these, the coordination of intelligence, with any number of issues which they have been unwilling to come to grips with, and all of us must come to grips with a world which is far less secure than we'd like it to be. One of the things that the terrorists count on is that the West respects, reveres life, that we'll go to almost any length to protect the life of the innocent. But sometimes innocent lives have to be sacrificed in order that other lives may not be put in jeopardy. At some point you cannot give in to the kidnapper and pay whatever ransom he demands, knowing that if you do others will be kidnapped, that you'll simply accelerate the pace of terror in this world. Security has to be improved. All of us have to become more concerned with our own safety when we're in strange places, but we also have to recognize that there is no way for our government, or any government, to guarantee our safety day in and day out. We can't be guaranteed our safety here in Cleveland. We certainly can't be guaranteed our safety throughout the world.

One of the complaints that was raised once Mr. Reagan ordered the attack on Benghazi and Tripoli was that it will only accelerate the pace of terrorist attack against the American citizens. Perhaps ;it will bring terrorism here to these shores. It may. No question. Clearly, however, it has had at least this advantage, that as you read about the uncovering in the last week or two of Syrian plots in Italy, in Spain, in England, in West

Germany and France of the expulsion of a number of people, but know that everyone of these plots was known to exist before the American attack on Libya. What the American attack did was simply to force these countries to begin to act on knowledge that they preferred not to look at, to wait till the attack took place, to hope the attack wouldn't take place, to do these things quietly, to expel a person without really making it public. The Western world, the free world, must find a way to cooperate in protecting itself from those who would place bombs and kill the innocent and it's not going to be easy, but the one thing that we should know is this, that those who do cannot be dealt with in reasonable terms, that Qadafi has no issue, no cause. He rules a free country. He rules a rich country. He can't claim poverty. He can't claim suppression. He can't claim he's been abused by the capitalists of the West. He's used them to his own purpose. His anger is simply the anger of a megalomaniac who can't always get his way. He's attacked Uganda. He subverted a government in Sudan. He has helped to train IRA terrorists and Red Army terrorists as has Syria. When the Israelis invaded in the Lebanon one of the cache of documents they found was the documents which detailed the income the PLO had received for training the terrorists of the world, the Red Star terrorists of Japan, the Red Brigade terrorists of Germany, the IRA terrorists of Ireland. All these had been trained in Balbek and other camps in the Lebanon. There's an international underworld of terrorists and terror comes from that underworld and it's bought, it's paid for. The idea of the noble youth striking out for some cause in which he desperately believes is a fancy of the Western media and the Western imagination.

in getting the media to remove these boxes from the papers and

There are issues, but these are not issues which create terrorism. Terrorism exists on another base. It exists because people are attracted to violence. It exists because there are cultures which glorify violence. It exists because there are people who like to live with a gun. We have our own history of American mercenaries who hired themselves out here and yonder around the world and many of these terrorists are nothing more than mercenaries. It exists because it gives some people some sense of power. It exists because many delight to see and watch the desperate reactions of the world trying to combat their particular actions.

I wish I could say to you as I end this talk that the American raid on Libya will end terrorism - it will not. I wish I could say to you that terrorism is beginning to fall off - there's no proof that it is. I think we can create a world if we're willing to exert ourselves and to pay the price where terrorists will think twice before they attack, where less bombs will be placed, but I remind you that here in Cleveland we have a long history of terrorism. I remember growing up and reading in the papers as I grew up, day after day after day of a bomb being placed in some contractor's car or house because he was hiring non-union laborers or that he was not buying from the right supplier. That's terrorism, the same kind of terrorism that we face in the world. Why is it, I end with this, that we no longer have the same fear of the automobile that we have of terrorism, that we used to have? Do you remember the time they used to have on the front page of the paper daily a little box which told you how many people were killed every day and in Cuyahoga County and the State on our highways? Then about thirty years ago the automobile industry succeeded in getting the media to remove these boxes from the papers and

suddenly the highways became safe unless someone we knew was one of the statistics. Forty-five thousand Americans a year are killed on our highways, the equivalent of three full divisions of troops, 45,000 people, but Americans have lost sight of that fact and we drive with abandon. I wish I could say we drive with care.

Now, if somehow, the media were to restrain themselves in the handling of events of terrorism, then, too, we might not be moved so quickly to panic and so, too, we might begin to live again with that sense of freedom, control of our destiny, which alone will allow civilized society to sustain itself. We can't give up our way of life. We can't lock ourselves in. We have to live freely, to travel where we will, to go about the world about our business. Now, I'm not really suggesting that the news of terrorism ought not to be reported, but I am suggesting that it ought to be covered in such a way that the goal is not the sowing of panic, that there's some understanding of the extent of terrorism, the extent over time, the extent in our terms and there's a growing awareness, because the media alone can drive this home, a growing awareness of a simple truth, that the proclamation by terrorists of their cause is no justification for indiscriminate violence. The problems of the world will be confronted insofar as they can be confronted, they need to be confronted, but terrorism is self-defeating. The terrorists end creating tyranny, not creating the freedom that they claim to want to be sacrificing their lives for.

I close by reading to you a paragraph or two from a new book by the Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations, Benjamin Netanahu. The book is on terrorism and what he says, in a sense, sums up all that I've been trying to say to you.

"The West," he wrote, can win the war against terrorism, and fairly rapidly." I'm not sure of that. "But it must first win that war against its own inner weakness. That will require courage. First, government leaders must have the political courage to present the truth, however unpleasant, to their people. They must be prepared to make difficult decisions, to take measures that may involve great risks, that may even end in failure and subject them to public criticism.

Second, the soldiers who may actually be called upon to combat terrorists will need to show military courage. It will be up to them to decide whether they can or cannot undertake a particular operation that a government is considering. In the special units of the Israeli army, for example, no one has ever simply been told by the political leadership that he must accept a perilous assignment. The commanders are always asked: Is it possible? Do you think you can do it? And if they ever said it could not be done, or even if they expressed doubts, that would have been the end of the matter.

But there is also a third kind of courage: the civic valor that must be shown by an entire people. All citizens in a democracy threatened by terrorism must see themselves, in a certain sense, as soldiers in a common battle. They must not pressure their government to capitulate or to surrender to terrorism. This is especially true of public pressure on government by families of hostages. Such pressure can only be called a dereliction of civic duty. If we seriously want to win the war against terrorism, we must be prepared to endure sacrifice and even, should there be the loss of loved ones, immeasurable pain.

Terrorism is a phenomenon that tries to evoke one feeling: fear. It is understandable that the one virtue most necessary to defeat terrorism is therefore the antithesis of fear: courage."

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HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

Senators On Saudi Sale

Reagan Administration officials have tried to separate Saudi Arabia's less-than-helpful role in the Arab-Israeli peace process from the proposed sale of \$354 million in U.S. anti-aircraft and anti-ship missiles to Riyadh. And, in recent Capitol Hill testimony, they have attempted to put the best light possible on Saudi financial support for the PLO and Syria and verbal support for Libya.

Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, Richard Murphy, told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that some Arab states—including Saudi Arabia—"are moving to a more realistic view of Israel's place in the Middle East." Failure to reinforce this trend and to bolster U.S.-Arab ties by sales such as that planned for the Saudis "would be a great irony," he said. He called this "a time of testing" in the U.S.-Saudi relationship and stressed that approval of the sale would help deter Iran from expanding its war with Iraq to other Persian Gulf states.

Nearly all committee members except Sen. RICHARD LUGAR (R-Ind.), the chairman, forcefully disagreed. Referring to the American raid on Tripoli three days earlier, Sen. ALAN CRANSTON (D-Calif.) said "it's strange" to be discussing the sale of 2,600 missiles "to one of Col. Qaddafi's staunchest friends and supporters: Saudi Arabia." Cranston pointed out that the Saudis reportedly offered to make good any losses Libya incurs because of the American economic boycott. He said they also bankroll "other terrorists in the PLO and Syria" and have "actively opposed" U.S. efforts to expand the Camp David peace process. Cranston's resolution to disapprove the sale has been signed by 64 Senators.

"I find it hard to believe that we can

continue this myth of Saudi Arabia as a moderating force," declared Sen. AL D'AMATO (R-N.Y.). He said that Riyadh only "talks a good game." Asserting that the United States has provided Saudi Arabia with "over \$44 billion in arms since 1971 and \$22 billion in this Administration alone," D'Amato rejected the argument that the United States must again prove its friendship.

Sen. FRANK LAUTENBERG (D-N.J.) asserted that "the military justification for this sale cannot withstand close scrutiny." Since delivery of the air-to-air Sidewinder missiles, air-to-ship Harpoons and ground-to-air Stingers will not take place until 1989 through 1991, the sale cannot deter Iran in the short run. Meanwhile, "Saudi Arabia already has over 3,000 Sidewinder missiles to knock out less than 100 Iranian planes."

Lautenberg also charged that U.S. arms sales to Saudi Arabia "equal our sales to all our European allies combined." Nevertheless, the Saudis "have bankrolled the PLO terrorists to the tune of \$114 million a year since 1979. And their financial support of Syria, another U.S. enemy, is reported to be \$500 million annually." Lautenberg called Saudi Arabia "an opponent of peace with Israel," said that it participated in the 1948, 1967 and 1973 wars, and warned that the Stingers—sometimes called "an ideal terrorist weapon—could end up in the PLO's hands."

Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Armitage, testifying with Murphy, countered that the proposed sale "doesn't add any new systems to the Saudi arsenal." He noted that more than \$20 billion of the U.S. military aid to Saudi Arabia has gone for construction, with just \$4.8 billion spent on weapons and ammunition. [Including "support equipment," such as cargo

planes, trucks and radar, the figure is approximately \$15 billion.]

Murphy was "disturbed" by attempts "to create a formal and direct linkage between our routine arms supply to Saudi Arabia and peaceful resolution of the Arab-Israeli dispute." He called such linkage "a narrow approach to a complex set of issues" and claimed that withholding arms from Saudi Arabia and Jordan could undermine American credibility. This would ultimately harm the United States, Israel and "the moderate Arabs."

Murphy said that Riyadh seeks to channel its support to the PLO through Yasir Arafat's Fatah for "humanitarian" purposes such as aid to families and refugees. He added that the Saudis see Fatah as less extreme than other PLO factions, and asserted that Saudi Arabia does not view itself as a main party to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Instead, it is willing to accept a settlement agreeable to Jordan and the Palestinian Arabs. He also repeated the Administration claim that the Saudis have done a number of things behind the scenes to support U.S. policy in the region outside of the Arab-Israeli peace process.

Unswayed by these arguments, Sen. JOHN KERRY (D-Mass.) asked why the Saudis have not publicly endorsed U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 [the basis for Arab-Israel talks since 1967 and 1973], "why they still refer to the 'Zionist entity' as their number one enemy" and why they continued to support Syria during the 1983-1984 U.S.-Syrian confrontation in Lebanon. Kerry asked "when do we get to stop showing our signs of friendship . . . and ask the Saudis to start showing theirs?"

—E.R.

HEARD . . . Continued

ibility—and Labor's alleged partisanship—traditionally have been two of Likud's strongest issues.

The Prime Minister must explain why if Modai was unacceptable as Finance Minister he is acceptable as Justice Minister. He must also justify replacing a knowledgeable and successful Finance Minister with a novice. Nissim's move to Finance was primarily an expression of internal Likud conflict. Every other candidate was vetoed by one or more colleagues; Nissim was least objectionable because he was seen as least threatening to various rivals for Likud leadership.

Another coalition crisis could erupt over foreign policy. Likud's cold reception of Peres' "Marshall Plan" for economic stabilization in Egypt and Jordan as well as in Israel—and the Prime Minister's attempts to bridge the gap between Israel and Egypt over the festering Taba dispute—might provide reasons for the next outburst. Rumors that the United States has agreed to test Egyptian reactions to Peres' plan for autonomy in the Gaza Strip as a first step, might also stoke the fires.

Peres' declaration at the mid-April Labor Party convention that Israel "recognizes the Palestinian people"—criticized by

Shamir—was not only timed to help U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy's renewed diplomatic efforts. The decision of the Labor convention to drop southern Gaza from the list of strategic areas in the territories which Israel will claim in any peace talks came as no surprise to those already looking for the next coalition crisis. "This [compromise] is no more than another time-out," concluded Labor Secretary-General Uzi Baram.

—David Twersky.

Twersky is NER's Israel correspondent.

BACK PAGE

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 Shi'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.

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Music directorDate May 11, 1986Service no. 3

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GOP

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REMARKS

Lesser forms of tolerating terrorism, like lax security safeguards in airports, should be considered a tacit form of collusion with terrorists. It allows them to penetrate air routes and attack civilians from all countries. Offending governments should be told that their airports will be cut off from the international aviation system until they improve security.

The broad assortment of "neutral" states that repeatedly, or as a matter of policy, facilitate the operations of terrorists must be told that they risk being subjected to some or all of the sanctions that outright supporters of terrorists invite upon themselves.

A policy of firmness will make it clear that individual terrorists will be pursued, caught and punished; that the organizations that launch them will be subject to attack; that the governments that shelter them will face political, economic and, ultimately, military retaliation; that other governments that collude less brazenly will also be held accountable.

What, then, has inhibited the widespread adoption of this policy by the West? I believe it is the persistent effects of three vices.

One is greed, or a heedless promotion of economic self-interest, whatever the political or moral consequences. A second is political cowardice, which means sitting it out while your ally is attacked, or responds to an attack, so as not to invoke the wrath of the terrorists. Both factors played a part in the immediate rejection by several governments of the American initiative for sanctions against Libya following the attacks on the Rome and Vienna airports. Neither cowardice nor greed will easily disappear. If, however, the U.S. persists in its firm stance, I believe that it will eventually succeed in pressuring, even shaming, other Western states into compliance.

But there is a third, even more pernicious impediment that needs to be overcome: a confusion that is both moral and intellectual. We in the West believe in the capacity of politics to mitigate, and resolve, all conflict. We automatically tend to endow an adversary with the same assumptions. These could not be more misplaced than in the case of terrorists, who use political language to destroy the concept of politics altogether. And even when we catch a glimpse of this truth, we fail to grasp its essence. For the West is in awe of fanaticism. It is confused before a supposed willingness to die for a cause, believing that such readiness must be based on a cause that is at least partially just. Even a cursory reading of history tells us how dangerous a notion that is. No people were more prepared to sacrifice their lives for a cause than the Hitler Youth.

But our present notions of terrorism are informed not by history but in large measure by the media. This is why terrorists, in their war against the West, devote so much of their strategy and their effort to capturing the Western press and using it for their own purposes. But this need not succeed. Terrorism's reliance on the press and television of the democracies gives the media tremendous power not only to amplify terrorism's message but also to snuff it out. They can and should refuse to broadcast indiscriminately interviews with terrorists. They can and should expose the sham of terrorists' claims. They can and should expose their grisly acts for what they are.

What the public has a right to demand of journalists is the same scrupulousness and professionalism, no more and no less,

that they would show in the case of covering organized crime and its bosses. The proven power of a thorough press investigation to expose and to repudiate such corruption—indeed, to galvanize public opposition against it—is exactly the power that can be harnessed against terrorism. A thoughtful press can turn terrorism's greatest weapon against the terrorists themselves.

This is the responsibility of the West's press. It is second only to the responsibility of its political leadership. For only a determined leadership can make the West overcome the impediments of greed, cowardice and moral confusion.

Which leadership? It can come only from the U.S., which alone has the capacity to align the West's resistance, alone can credibly threaten the offenders and alone can impel the neutrals to shed their neutrality. The U.S. appears to be moving in this direction, albeit sometimes at an uncertain pace. The more the U.S. resorts to action, like punishing terrorists and their backers, the greater the number of states that will join the American effort to combat terrorism. Allies and adversaries alike, the entire world is waiting to see the depth of the American resolve.

The West can win the war against terrorism, and fairly rapidly. But it must first win the war against its own inner weakness. That will require courage. First, government leaders must have the political courage to present the truth, however unpleasant, to their people. They must be prepared to make difficult decisions, to take measures that may involve great risks, that may even end in failure and subject them to public criticism.

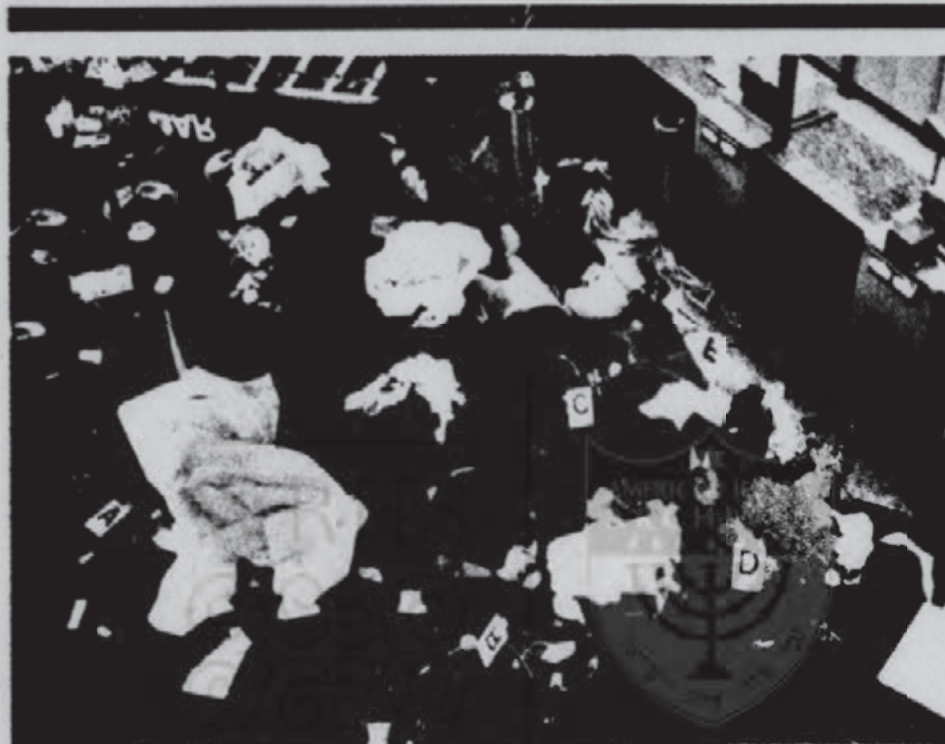
Second, the soldiers who may actually be called upon to combat terrorists will need to show military courage. It will be up to them to decide whether they can or cannot undertake a particular operation that a government is considering. In the special units of the Israeli army, for example,

no one has ever simply been told by the political leadership that he must accept a perilous assignment. The commanders are always asked: Is it possible? Do you think you can do it? And if they ever said it could not be done, or even if they expressed doubts, that would have been the end of the matter.

But there is also a third kind of courage: the civic valor that must be shown by an entire people. All citizens in a democracy threatened by terrorism must see themselves, in a certain sense, as soldiers in a common battle. They must not pressure their government to capitulate or to surrender to terrorism. This is especially true of public pressure on government by families of hostages. Such pressure can only be called a dereliction of civic duty. If we seriously want to win the war against terrorism, we must be prepared to endure sacrifice and even, should there be the loss of loved ones, immeasurable pain.

Terrorism is a phenomenon that tries to evoke one feeling: fear. It is understandable that the one virtue most necessary to defeat terrorism is therefore the antithesis of fear: courage.

Courage, said the Romans, is not the only virtue, but it is the single virtue without which all the others are meaningless. The terrorist challenge must be answered. The choice is between a free society based on law and compassion and a rampant barbarism in the service of brute force and tyranny. Confusion and vacillation facilitated the rise of terrorism. Clarity and courage will ensure its defeat.



December 1985: After the massacre at Rome's Da Vinci Airport, victims are tagged for identification