



STRATEGIC REVIEW

PHASE II

STRATEGIC FORUM: IN DEPTH ANALYSIS TRANSCRIPTS OF PRESENTATIONS FROM EXPERTS

Jerusalem, October 2009



Mr. Michael Schneider
WJC Secretary General

Opening Remarks

MICHAEL SCHNEIDER

First of all, welcome everybody. This, today's forum is not a conference and is not a decision-making body. It is a briefing session, in order to hear from experts about various aspects of the priority areas with which the World Jewish Congress is dealing.

What we are proposing to do is after this day, we will be transcribing all these discussions and then we are going to be establishing working groups in order to more thoroughly analyze each priority area and I remind you that the ones that we have set for ourselves are the danger of Iran, the de-legitimization of Israel, Anti-Semitism, Holocaust legacy and restitution, interfaith relations, terrorism and the situation of Jews who were in Arab lands. The working parties will be divided and will consist on our professional staff, members of the Executive Committee, the World Jewish Diplomatic Corps, our future generations units, as well as outside experts will be invited in.

What will then happen is a mass of documents will be written in order to present it to the next governing board meeting for ratification and I remind those of you who have been with us for two years that we did write an initial document which we have been using as our set of guidelines for action and we are acting according to that document. That is the document, which is going to be modified because of changing circumstances. And as we know the circumstances are changing mainly for the bad, not for the good.

Now, before we begin the proper part of the program, I want to stress that at this time, when we seem to be facing an obstacle and a problem in every area, that it is time for international organizations to drop their protective barriers, for us to stop competing with each other and to join and coordinate and collaborate, because the problems are so huge, that only by combining our collective strengths and we will be able to find, hopefully, some answers to some of the problems that will jury and particularly the state of Israel faces. And I see here Malcolm online from the Presidents Conference. Please, welcome him. (applause)

We are moving into a new era of cooperation and coordination with a Conference of Presidents of major American organizations. We have already begun so. And bearing in mind who the Conference of Presidency represents and who we represent, really constitute together a vast percentage of organized Jewish community around the world.

Malcolm Hoenlein

It is a pleasure to be here. First, I think that the more the world puts up barriers against Israel and the Jewish people, the more we have an obligation to tear down the barriers between us. I think that the one lesson that Jewish history teaches us is that there has always been one important precondition to every great thing that has happened to Jewish people throughout our history and that precondition was – is – that when Jews stood together, we could overcome any challenge. When the Jews were divided, every challenge was too great.

When we stood together as one people, one heart, God said we were ready to get the Torah, to rescue Russian Jews and Ethiopian Jews and Syrian Jews. We can only meet the challenges we confront today when we stay united. And the issues that we confront today, all of us, are no longer geographically specific, or sector-specific. With globalization of economies we also had a globalization of politics.

And issues have become universal issues, those that affect the United States and Europe, Africa, Australia, Canada - are today all the same. So I think that what Michael Schneider had alluded to is the need for us to come together and especially, giving the economic crisis, the need to maximize resources. No one organization, no one country or community can meet the challenges alone anymore. We need to share expertise, resources and we need to come together in order to confront the challenges through common efforts, sharing and working together.

We saw in Geneva this year, during the Durban II Conference, that the ability of all of us to work together and to mobilize enabled us to make sure that what happened at Durban I did not re-occur. The fact that we took the streets and were able to have the dominant presence was only because of the cooperative effort. Michael and I have agreed that there is no institutional interest that overrides the common obligation that we to enhance all of our efforts.

And when you look at our agenda now – whether it is Iran or the Goldstone report or the boycotts or Turkey or the security issues where we cooperate, we see that these are issues require all of us – the Jewish community in United States, the Jewish communities in other countries, and Israel – to work together, both in public campaigns and in private efforts.

One of the issues in regard to the Goldstone report, and one of the lessons that we learnt last week as we tried to mobilize in the last minute, is the need to create our global contact network, which will require all of us that we have to try and create a list, so in the future we can respond immediately and effectively, knowing who the contact is in Japan or in any other country, or in any African country. As we scrambled working throughout the nights this week trying to find some contact beyond the governmental ones.

I can tell you that many times the Presidency of US has asked us where are the Jewish communities in other countries when raising issues, when we ask them to intervene. I honestly believe that we will be held to account by future generations for what we do and for what we fail to do and we will not have the excuse to say: “Well, we did not have this interest or we had not have this particular interest”. And if you don’t have a look at this at border times and what we have in common, then we would have failed our responsibilities.

We will read soon what Jacob said to his children: "All of these are tribes of Israel". You are representing the tribes of the world Jewish community, and we pledge to work together with you to ensure that all tribes of Israel will be safe and secure in the future.



Amb. Daniel Ayalon
Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Israel
'Iran's Growing Influence around the Globe'

Daniel Ayalon

It is really a pleasure to be here with all Jewish representatives in the WJC. I would like to thank Michael Schneider and Berry Ehrenberg for this very kind invitation. There is this great importance and uniqueness in this Jewish organization that transcends the national borders, so you really have a global scope.

The fact that you are here from so many countries and you keep your work and dedication for the Jewish people and the State of Israel is something that gives us all great encouragement and helps us all. I am also very pleased to be here with MK Shai Hermesh, one of the great leaders in the Knesset, a man of the South. I am sure all will benefit a lot from his participation here. And many friends I see here...thank you all for coming.

Before I turn to the issue of Iran, I want to make one point. The war of de-legitimization now is the real war. If we look in some perspective over the last 62 or even more years, we have seen that every period, when there was a real impetus in the Arab world against us. They tried to take us on first physically, militarily – they couldn't. Then they tried to take us on economically – you know, with the boycott. Not just the normal boycott, there was a secondary, even a tertiary boycott. They couldn't. Look where our economy is now vis-à-vis theirs.

So now they are trying to do it politically, and this is the toughest of all the campaigns that we have now. Unfortunately, we have so far lost the narrative, so we have to start not from point zero, but way below zero. And here, unfortunately, quantity makes quality, because if you have Palestinian delegation in any international forum or in any office around the world – you know, they have embassies around the world – and they are part of the Arab League – 22 Arab countries are already in their pocket, which is a part of the OIC, the Organization of Islamic Countries, which has 57 members. So they all vote in one block and yet this OIC is yet a part of what is used to be called Group of 77, or the Non-Aligned, which makes 118 countries today in the UN, which are mostly non-democratic, are very backward. That is what we call automatic majority against us.

If they want to decide that the Earth is flat, the Palestinians or the Arabs, the UN will make a resolution the Earth is flat. And this is why we have an uphill battle here. It doesn't mean we have to be discouraged or just give up altogether – not at all. We know too well from our history that a repeated lie becomes a truth and a reality, which really motivates anti-Semitism. Today anti-Israel and anti-Semitism is synonymous, unfortunately, and we have to fight it, we have to fight it tooth and nail, even though it is an uphill battle. We will have to fight it in the General Assembly, we have to fight it in the media, we have to fight it on the Internet, everywhere that we can – papers and for this you are so important. This organization.

I think it is very important that we understand what we are in and it is not just Israel's image that is at stake, but of the entire Jewish people. So this is very important, that we see all your action here.

I must say, we are not alone. We have some decent countries, although we don't have the quantity, but we do have the quality. We saw it, by the way, just last Friday, in Geneva, the so-called Council for Human Rights, which actually turned itself as a Council for Rights for Terrorists, unfortunately, and we saw decent countries did not go with the herd, with the crowd and, of course, the first and foremost is the United States, but also other decent countries. Western countries did not vote forward, some just abstained, which is not good enough, but it is better than what we see sometimes.

So we can make a change, we can make a difference one by one. This is what this Ministry is going to focus on now – the Foreign Affairs Ministry is not going to dedicate itself only to the Palestinian conflict – we have done that for too long, 16 years, and it did not bring us anywhere.

Why would they want to be world power? Out of the ideology and belief – they don't believe in tolerance, in coexistence, certainly not coexistence based on parity. They would like to take over the Middle East and beyond. The fact is that they also, on top of their nuclear activities, develop very long range delivery systems, which extend beyond the Middle East – already they have 2500 km in range, but they are working on the drawing board of 5,000, which will cover the entire of Europe, and another 10 000, which will cover also the United States.

So we are talking about a very serious threat, probably the most acute threat to world security and peace since the Nazis. So it is also important to stress: firstly, Iran is a global threat. Secondly, once a global threat, it is responsibility of the international community to stop them.

Israel is also threatened, but let me tell you: We have capabilities and we have the belief that we are better equipped than most, if not all, countries in the world to defend ourselves. Iran is much more of a threat to the Sunni Arab regimes in the Middle East and to the Western civilization at large. This is why we are very much appreciating the American leadership to take the issue very seriously. We hope that they will solve it peacefully. There should be another negotiation today and I don't know whether the Iranians will show up or not, because they are stalling, they are playing and meanwhile continuing to work on their program.

The idea is to change the parameters of the game. So the dilemma is ours, ours as the international community. The clock continues to run. They are working, and we have the dilemma how to stop them. It is time to turn the table over to the Iranians so the dilemma will become theirs, which means "you stop or else..." – they will have to make a decision.

I believe that if we have a credible threat, diplomatic threat, corroborating with very crippling economic sanctions Iranians will stop bluffing. Because they are bluffing. On the one hand, they are telling everybody that their nuclear activity is for peaceful purposes, although we know they have been cheating all along. The installation in Qom is just the latest example.

Secondly, and this is dangerous, they also send this criminal kind of message that you will not be able to stop us, so don't even bother, because it is the point of no return and we will get it anyway, so get used to nuclear Iran... And I say – no way! It is not God-given, it is not predetermined that Iran will become nuclear.

Let me tell you here – Iran is a very vulnerable country, it is a weak country politically and socially. We just saw it last summer with all the follow-up of the demonstrations and of the elections. Even yesterday we saw it in Baluchistan, where there is a lot of unrest, and they have a lot of problems, but economically they are most vulnerable.

Iran with effective sanctions will not be able to sustain itself for more than 6 to 8 weeks, I believe, which means that the survival ability of this regime will no longer exist. So with all this bravado and tests and all this very, very dangerous rhetoric, if we pull together, then we will not have to resort a thing, which diplomatically or economically cannot be stopped. I think it is important to make sure that people understand it and I think more and more people do

Six months ago in Europe, we took some polls: Iran was not even on the radar screen. Today more and more Europeans see Iran as a danger. Not the Palestinians, not Israel, not the United States. In the United States the figure went up to 66 percent. 61 percent of the Americans believe that even military power should be used in order to stop Iran. I hope this also will be the case in Central Europe, in Russia and other Western countries, Latin America

You have a great role in here. So to sum up: Iran is dangerous, Iran has a global reach. Israel should not necessarily be in the forefront, but we are also threatened, like all the

Many methods have been tried to bring us to the core issues, we have here the ambassador in Iran, who ran, who headed Israeli negotiation team for what? 2 years? for 3 years. We know we have tried everything. Unfortunately we don't see the basic ingredients there. And I don't want to elaborate too much of a lasting arrangement, maybe intermediate, but what I want to say is that Israel cannot afford to continue and subject all its resources, foreign diplomacy, diplomatic resources and foreign policy resources, just to the Conflict. We have to get out of that, brand Israel as a real power in innovation, in new agendas, whether it is an alternative energy or everything that we represent here.

Of course, always stress our history, our morals, it is very important for us that we keep this country strong not only strategically and economically, culturally and scientifically, but also from the moral point of view. For that reason no one in Geneva will teach us how to behave. It is important to us and to our values and this is what we are made of.

Now we go to Iran – this is the subject that I was called to present. Let me tell you, again, from the bird view eye Iran is trying to be a superpower. How do we see it? Because of the global outreach of its activities. It is not like North Korea, who has or does not have one or two bombs in the cellar in order to extricate some economic benefits, to feed their people or to get some influence in a very small corner of the world there, in North-East Asia.

We are talking here about a country which is trying to outreach not just to the region, but also to the world. Before I get into the nuclear, look where is Iran today. Every bad thing in the Middle East starts with Iran. Whether it is in Lebanon, which was the second non-Muslim country in the Middle East, where Jewish country is and a Christian country turned to be - there is Hezbollah, which is actually an arm of Iran. It does not represent Palestinian interests, but Iranian interests, and is the main threat to the Lebanese people and the government there. It is not Israel! It is Hezbollah!

If you look at the Palestinian Authority – it is Hamas. The same thing: Hamas is supported by Iran. If we look at Moslem Brotherhood in Egypt – it is also supported by Hezbollah and Iran. And the same way here with Islamic Jihad – whether it is in Yemen, Morocco or Saudi Arabia – they are all over.

But they are not only in the Middle East. They are also trying to very aggressively penetrate into Africa, which is very important to them in terms of natural resources. By the way, also with respect to the uranium they are seeking.

They are pushing very aggressively into Latin America. We just returned, David Siegel and myself, from Pedro San Sula in Honduras. Few weeks ago they had this OAS summit – Organization of American States – and we met there with more than 20 members and foreign ministers and leaders. We discussed the Iranian problem and they told us "yes, they are everywhere". Unfortunately, they have support, logistics, front, base in Venezuela today, and through Venezuela they can penetrate into the entire continent.

By the way, we know that this is not the first time they are there. They have tried already in the 1980s to penetrate. We have suffered, as you know. The AMIA, the Argentinean Jewish Federation in 1994, our embassy in 1992... So we know they have the capabilities. And we know that they have their disciples, these dormant cells of Hezbollah, all over. Very, very bad.

They are also trying to get political influence and resources. So you see that they have a global agenda.

On top of that and on top of their very dangerous philosophy and ideology, which they not only profess, but they work with terrorism, they are seeking nuclear capabilities. These nuclear capabilities, I believe it is important to stress, are not just an end in itself. They mean to get hegemony here and to become a world power.

others and the most important point I think is, that Iran is not invincible. It is a very weak country and with a judicious and unified approach by the international community it can be stopped by peaceful means. But this has to be done very, very soon. By the end of the year we should know if the Iranians have answered with a "yes" or "no" to the political negotiations that have been started.

MICHAEL SCHNEIDER: I'm opening the floor for questions. Please.

HELENA GLASER: Thank you very much, Mr. Ambassador and Minister. First of all, I have to say that after seeing the short film you sounded a little bit optimistic so maybe that is also good. Could you elaborate a little bit about the relationship of Russia with Iran?

DANNY AYALON: Yes. Well, thank you. Well, first of all, allow me.. Optimism is a tool, you have to be optimistic, or you wouldn't be here.

By the way, Ben Gurion used to say that in the Middle East, yeah, but he also said that in the Middle East, in order to be a realist, you have to believe in miracles. So, but, no, no, I'm optimistic because once you've identified the problem and once you get together and there is some work, I think that is 50% of the solution. And we are going to work country by country to try to dis-way them and to move away just from the conflict with the Palestinians and to really concentrate on our bilateral.

And Russia...I think it was already Churchill, who said that Russia is a riddle, wrapped in an enigma, shredded by mystery. We do not fully understand Russia's behavior - quite contrary. And we can rationalize it, but the fact that Russia would like to be a real dominant factor here, in the Middle East and to try and even they promised or suggested offer to host a conference in the Middle-East and in the same time to be so blinded by anti-Israel as reflected in last Friday's vote in the Council, is something we are going to talk to them. It's not going to...I mean, there's a red line, which we cannot just ignore anymore. Russian interests tell us all the time is not to have a Nuclear Iran, after all, the border...they have a border with Iran, but, words aside and actions we see that they are helping them, they are the ones which are always giving to them even political support by saying "No, no, in any case there are not going to be sanctions." So you give them already an advance a powerful tool. And this is something of a concern. Also Russia which has still terrorism problem, whether it is in Chechnya or otherwise, for them to condemn Israel for fighting terrorism, we think it's self-defiling, from their point of view.

But again it's very complex, very intricate, some of it, I think is, you know, sometimes it's a behavior of, like, cutting your nose to spite your face, because, whatever the US does, they do the opposite, also, there's some element there, I remember, Condi Rice always told me, you know, she is a Russian student, that in their attitude to the US they have a big chip on their shoulder, the Russians. So right now their behavior is not conducive to solve Iran peacefully, but they stress all the time that their biggest interest is to solve Iran peacefully. So we say, in order to be consistent with your parlance, just show solidarity with the international community, because if you are on board with the United States and the Europeans and then China will come again, because China will not stay alone, once they're waiting for the cue from Russia, then will not have to resort to other means to stop the Iranians. We hope that this finally will prevail. We work on that and also on the Israel-Russia relations, although by that ... they're very good. We expect them also in multilateral organizations to change their voting pattern. So it's a mix bag, but we are aware of it and I hope, you know, that this new ... between Washington and Moscow, led by Obama, that they will reciprocate.

COBI BENATOFF: As I come from Italy and this is a country that has been very close to Israel in these last few years. And we saw it also in Geneva few days ago. I must tell you

that I am starting to get worried since the last visit of Mr. Berlusconi in the United States and I wanted to ask you about the relationship of Israel with the United States, because I feel it will affect very much also Italy position in the future. Italy has been a very close friend and we hope this will continue this way.

DANNY AYALON: Well, thank you. First of all, yes – Italy has been a real hero. Under Berlusconi they were one of the most decent countries, voting on Friday, and not just there. Although I am told that with Iran there is still a lot of Italian-Iranian trade. I think we have to be mindful of that... No, but Italy under Berlusconi has been a great friend.

As far as Israel-US relations are concerned, Helena will say I am optimistic, but here, I would say, I am very realistic. First of all, we have to understand its foundations are very strong, it transcends, it goes beyond on political lines and administrations with the Israeli government. Maybe they are different nuances, but the relation is strong and will continue to be strong, because there is no alternative neither for United States, nor for Israel. The alliance between the United States and Israel is a natural one. Not just based on values and interests and ethos and common threats against us, but also it is a very intimate relation between the people. And I am not talking just about the Jewish community. You have a very, a growing Evangelical community and you have industrial lobby that not just defends industries that supports Israel, now Israel is the largest trading partner of the United States in the entire Middle East. So there are many, many ties and connections together.

And if you look at the support, not just in Congress, but the people, I would say consistently for every American, let say, that sympathizes or supports Palestinians and their causes, there are eight that support Israel. This is a huge difference and that makes the difference, because the congressmen, they derive their power from their district. And eventually the administration as well. And also, you know, with new administration in Washington, new government here, there is always what we call "infancy problems", you know, before you get used to each other. But I can tell you now that the relations are very strong also at the top, between Benjamin Netanyahu and Obama. There were some things, you know, mistakes were made, maybe on both sides, but today from the top down I don't see any problem whatsoever and it will continue and there is no other alternative to it, so I hope Europe will follow soon as well.

MICHAEL SCHNEIDER: Well, we have time for one more question.

Sorry, but I am taking it in order and, unfortunately, we have time for only one more question and the first person to raise his hand was Lior Herman, so could you please ask question?

We will deal with all your questions even in the absence of the Minister, because we have some other experts here as well. Thank you. Lior, please.

LIOR HERMAN: Thank you, Deputy Minister, for your presentation. You have talked about the limits to conventional, political diplomacy and the challenges we have got on the international scene and the importance of trying to deviate the discussion less from the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

I was wondering whether you have considered the possibility of establishing something like a Goete Institute or kind of British Council, kind of Israeli centers around the world, something, which is not necessarily be called Israeli embassy, but will be obviously sponsored by Israel. I think that the Goete Institute for example is a great testimony of how Germany managed to penetrate Israel and bring in cultural issues and other things and I think the main idea is to focus on the individuals, on the society and to try to move away from what we just see on the television. So is Israel, for example, moving resources to this end?

DANNY AYALON: We have a place for you, I can tell you, great minds think alike.

DANNY AYALON: OK. That's a very good point, because in the Ministry now also we are discussing this having something like the British Council and guess what – they thought, especially in Asia.. You know, in Asia Einstein is really an icon, Einstein is really something really big. Now Einstein was not only Jewish, but all his inheritance, all the rights to Einstein are here in Israel, at the University, at the Hebrew University. So we thought that in Asia we can open Einstein clubs or Einstein societies and maybe, we are also checking whether this will go on in Europe or in Latin America, but exactly this is one of the kinds we are thinking, one of the things we are thinking to create. Thank you very much.

MICHAEL SCHNEIDER: Thank you very much, Minister. I know that you have to go. And it was very interesting. Thank you very much.



Dr. Uzi Rubin
President Rubincon Defense Consulting

'Iran's Missile Delivery Capability: Implications
for Europe and the Middle East'

Uzi Rubin

I will brief you today on Iran's missile program. The slides are very visual, lots of pictures, small screens. I will talk first about the overall picture, what is the policy of Iran, the armament policy of Iran. I will talk about break through the missile program. And I will talk about some efforts to trivialize it. For some circles in the United States it will be of interest to trivialize the thing and I will argue the point. Of course the implications, let me put the end at the beginning, I think that Iran missile program has global impact now. It is way beyond the Middle East impact. We are talking about the threat on Israel and they are coming now and then with a new missile, longer range, better capabilities, but the distance between Iran and Israel stays the same. So what you see behind is an overarching policy, which I think is even beyond the Middle East.

This slide is showing some weapon system from the greatest, largest military parade. They love to have military parades, twice a year, and what you see here – it was April military parade of the Army. You know they have two Armies. And in September there was another military parade, of the Pasadran, national guards, but the greatest, the largest ever made it was in April 2008 and the weapons you see there, some of them I remember with nostalgia from the Golan Hills, 1973. There is no money obviously invested in ground weapon systems, used in conventional armies.

The same thing with the air show. They flew 220 planes, about one half of these aircraft were made in the United States and purchased from the United States before the revolution. The most modern aircraft that flew there was MIG 29 that was bought in 1992. No money in air power. So where is the money?

It is in missiles and nuclear program. Now you need all excuses in the world, but it is clear, this is the picture – the military budget goes into the missiles and nuclear technology, not in air power and not in ground power. Which shows you the real defense policy.

They made a lot of break through and let me tell you from the beginning – they are leveraging their capabilities and showing more than they really can. But that "more" doesn't mean that they don't have capabilities. Behind the blaster, for example last month they fired in front of the television cameras a couple of missiles; we suspected some of them were not fired at all, it was just a television show. But behind that blaster, below that blaster is the real capability. They have good engineers, they are making progress, it is solid, not as solid as they say, but it is impressive and threatening.

Which they bought from North Korea and they left inside and they developed that with all kind of help from all kind of countries into what they call now the Caddy 1 they claim with a range of 2000 km, maybe it is not exactly 2000, but it is much longer than the original version.

On basic mode they have now a mobile launcher, they are now digging the missile from the ground. Like the superpowers. This is a picture from Gen Defense weekly, showing the opening of silos in the hillside in Iran.

They took the ballistic missile on the left, turned it into space rocket in the middle and turned it then into a space launcher. They put a satellite in space. The ninth nation in the world, they put satellite in a stable orbit – well, it de-orbited since then, but one month it was in orbit and it was beeping like Iranian Sputnik.

And they were so proud of it that they showed how they had made it. This steals from a movie they released and you some interesting stuff – second stage on the right hand side on the upper or white inside, the second stage, I will not go in details, but it is a very elegant design.

As an engineer I can tell you – an **original and very elegant design**. We don't know this design from anywhere else. Only they show their real capability. You see on the lower left hand side the satellite launcher on the top of a Shahab launcher, this is a mobile launcher. They launched it as a military missile on a mobile launcher, on the right hand side you see it has been prepared for launch.

There is a short animation here, but I will not bother you with that. They were very proud of it and quite rightly so. I would be proud instead of them too. It is a great achievement, very elegant design, very capable and what should that design, because I want again to jump forward and say what is not on the show here. I believe that they will go to much longer range missile, but they will hide it. They will hide it, because it is politically not correct to make any missile with a range longer than 2000 km. It threatens Europe and it can threaten United States.

They will make big satellite launchers – big, heavy satellite launchers and they will take them to space. They are talking about heavy road map, about satellites that weight 100 kg, they are talking about synchronic orbit, which needs huge rockets.

They launched their satellite in February, it met with X from the US administration and it was unjustified. One can say perhaps do they learn everything from the capability, is it imported from North Korea? We know that they have imported a lot from North Korea. Certainly they learnt from the North Korean satellite launch in April, but there is no similarity. Two different designs. In my opinion the Iranians are now ahead of the North Koreans. The pupils are now the teachers. And that has also an implication, a global implication.

The next advance – you see the two missiles look very much the same, on the left hand side is Shahab 3 or Caddy 1 and on the right hand side – something that looks very similar, because the same launcher, slightly longer, but the same diameter, but a world of difference. On the right hand side is multistage, two staged solid propellant missile. Technologies are equivalent more or less, technologies of the United States and Soviet Union in 1960-ies. While the left hand side is all technologies from the 50-ies. This is a leap, great leap forward.

Question: *Just one thing: Is there any difference in the range?*

Yes, I will be speaking about that. Now, they made several tests and the first test was in, they announced it, in November 2007. The Defense Minister said "we have now a missile, we developed Dashua and then they called it missile Dashua and they test two stages, the solid propellant and the range is – and now we have two strategic designs and the more you have this clip with me – very precise I would say immersion by the way.

What I am saying now is translation in English and I hope the translation is accurate. We have two designs – the Shahab 3 with 2,000 km and Dashua for more than 2,000 km. A year later they fired the next test in front of the camera – you see a picture here and Nadjan was interviewed , you see here in front of the TV, saying "yes, we have now, it is called Sagil, they changed the name. Why did they changed the name once again? They changed the name, they changed the colors, I don't understand it, but anyway, they have changed the name, now it is Sagil and they say the same thing "it is new missile, leaping capability, composition

propellant and the range is almost 2,000 km." I can show the clips. Now the version. What you see here is very deliberate effort to backtrack. 2,000 km for them is a magic number and it may increase. Ten years ago it was 1,500, this was the magic number, they said "we will never pass that". Now it is 2,000 km. But, I think, they have the capability of more of this range.

The next test happened shortly afterwards, about 6 months later they fired another one of these things and this time the US administration stopped to pay paid attention. We have missile with the range of 2,000 to 2,500 km, although I think at the present time they are more on the lower side of that range.

Even Gary Seymour from the NAC said that they made their own design; the rockets are their own design. And it confirms again what I said – they are ahead of North Korea, North Koreans have no capability like that.

The reconstruction of that missile – I will not go into detail, but just have a look – this is a missile of 21, more than 21 ton. I compare this to the first generation American solid propellant missile – Polar 1, which was 14 ton and, which was 33 ton. So you see it is a big missile. It is not trivial. It is a big missile, comparable to the first generation modern American missile.

Now I will not say that US don't like it. It is like trivializing American outcomes. Iranians could do things that the Americans could do in the 60-ies as well. But the Iranian are small, darker and strange language doesn't make them stupid. Human beings are clever and they have excellent technical schools. Rockets were presented to the United States and I was amazed, I when I saw a presentation of an Iranian scientist in Cincinnati in 2007 on something called "trust termination". It means one thing – ballistic missiles. But that was presented in a conference in US in a very good paper technically. They have the infrastructure and the manpower to do advance of today. Again, politicians blaster, they show more than they can do, but underneath this is a real capability. So it is a big missile.

Well, it is not ideal. The missiles have a lot of problems, they have failures, but what is impressive is the rate, the pace is almost feverish. In 2005 their former Minister Shahrani announced that they developed two solid propellant rockets. Thirty-one months later was the first test. Not bad at all.

This is an achievement, even as any country will be pleased with. Then one year later they made another test, a failure. They corrected the failure one year later, they fired another one, it failed again. Six months later they fired another one, which was successful. W

hat does it mean? It means that they have a lot of telemetry, information, they have the engineers, working down and understanding what is happening, they know how to fix it and they have a program manager, who knows how to do things. So this is a real capability and this timetable is very, very impressive. Next slide. But you will see, the space program is even more impressive. In 2007 they announced they were really going to fire a satellite in a year time. OK, it didn't took an year, but it took 13 months. In 13 months they fired the first ...

In 13 months they fired the prototype, which was unsuccessful. Six months later they fired the first launcher, which worked more successfully and fixed the problem with the first one and six months later they had a satellite in the space. That is very, very impressive. And I say this as an engineer, who did a lot of development in his life.

Whether does this mean also that they have all the infrastructure, is another thing. Internationally they are not allowed to buy all the infrastructure for these missiles. But the missiles are there, which means the infrastructure is there. Somebody is selling to them serious machinery. All the intelligence agencies, including CIA, know exactly who is selling them, but it is not politically correct to say and mention the names of those countries. Next slide. I would like to diversify a little bit to the efforts to trivialize the Iranian effort. ... to show that the Iranians have no real capability. That they are just amateurs and they are blustering, so report came out on 19 May 2009, about Iran's nuclear and missile programs. And a picture of solid propellant missile taking off ... but if you read it, I did read it and I found a special saying Iranians... we don't know about Iranian solid propellants, so we don't count them in.

That report dealt on three subjects: Iranian nuclear program, Iran's missile program and actually it was dealing with the need to defend against Iran, but I am not going into that. That is really America's thing, What is interesting for us is the nuclear and missile component of this report.

About the nuclear program, it says OK, they have the capabilities to have nuclear program as they want, but since they are under supervision of AEA, everything is all right, because if they try to enrich to a higher level, they have to kick out inspectors and the international community will take steps. Famous last words. I think last time we had this with North Korea and now they have the bomb. But that was written by US eminent, US persons, including scientists and I am ashamed to say some of the names associated with this report, very eminent. And about the missile program – Iran has no scientific capability to make longer missile, all they can do is Scud stuff and because of that they will not be able to make long range missile, threatening Europe or the United States – impossible.

At least not missiles that are survivable, that can stand the first strike, they can play around with the small rockets, but not the big stuff. That's what the report says. Trivializing, saying that the Iranian capabilities have meaning only in that Middle East context. It is not our problem, it is a problem of Israel, that is what it said exactly, although it doesn't say it in so many words. And then there is a conclusion: "Make peace in the Middle East and everything will be all right". No, it is not our problem, it is not a problem of the United States and not a problem of Europe, it is Middle Eastern problem.

And this is the conclusion, you can read it for yourself....but when I read this conclusion...

Iranians were very insulted by this report apparently, because it patronizes the Iranians. You see, they cannot do it, we, in the United States and the Russians can do it, we have invested, how come the Iranians will ever be able to do it. So they were insulted by the report, the report came out on 19 and 20 May, but that was the next day.

The Iranians flew out and the next day... said "yes, it is a real missile and a real capability" and the authors of this report were very, very embarrassed. So 10 days later they came up with rebate, they corrected themselves. next slide, please and said "yes, yes, they have some capabilities of solid propellant, but only if they want to make 5000 km range missile, that threatens Europe and looks as big as the one on the right hand side, huge, 32 m. long, 65 ton weight. This is not a missile that can be put into operation, you cannot put it on a launcher, so it is not meaningful, therefore back to ..., no problem.

What they can do is small rockets that can worry Israelis, but not Americans and not Europeans. Again – bringing the problem to the Middle East.

Well, that made me very interested, so I put my computer to work, made it smoke and made real calculations for Sagil. And the range came out to about 2500 km. This is the real, energetic range of this missile. That means that this is the distance between Tabriz in West Iran and Warsaw. The missile, as it is now the capability, once it is operational, will threaten at least 6 European Union countries. Way beyond the capability in the Middle East.

And you know, Tabriz is in the edge of Iran, some ...Tabriz is very close to Syria, you can hide some missiles there, it has mountains and valleys and canyons, a big area, huge, so they can hid all the missiles in the world and threaten Europe with that.

But I also calculated why, what do you need to hit 5,000 km away with this technology and I came out with something much smaller, 50 ton is enough, which is already mobile, but the next question is why 5,000 km.

The 5,000 km Iranians will need if they want to threaten Reykjavik Island. Why should they threaten Reykjavik Island, this is way beyond. If you want to threaten Europe, it is enough to threaten London or Paris. It is enough. If you threaten Paris, that is actually threaten Europe.

I chose London as a point, in order not to insult the British, let them be in the range too, so I calculated what is needed what that technology they have now in order to hit London.

I came up with a missile that is on the left hand side Sagil, on the right hand side is a slightly bigger missile with the same weight that can hit London and if you put it on a launcher, it will be the present launcher, the mobile launcher, very mobile. So is it real capability.

So what are the implications? First, as I said, they have a lot of missile programs. The rate is feverish. They are investing the money, they are building the infrastructure, they have the human infrastructure, by now they have already 5 or 6 generations of engineers, graduated from good schools. They are the program leaders and apparently, they are good program leaders.

The solid propellant Sagil is a breakthrough, as I said, both technologically and strategically. With this range they can threaten Europe now in some years, if they want, I am talking here about capabilities, not about intentions, if they want they can go to the Atlantic ocean, on the other side of the Asian continent, since they are connected with the North Koreans and since by now better technology than North Korea, I advise my Japanese friends, up to now we looked to what is happening in North Korea to guess what is going to happen here.

Now the Japanese have to look at what is happening here, because this is what is going to happen in the East, in East Asia. With that unpleasant thought I would like to conclude.

ODED ERAN: We have few minutes for questions and, please, if you can formulate them as questions rather than as statements. Please. Who would like to?

UZI RUBIN: Too depressing.

ODED ERAN: I don't see any finger raised, so let me ask you a question.

Let me ask you... Lior, wait a minute.

We understand they have the capability. The question is can they mount...

Suppose they have a bomb and they do have the knowledge to, how we call it, weaponize it and can the missiles that you know about carry these devices?

UZI RUBIN: Yes. The answer is yes and yes. First, as we saw on one of the slides, American experts, very eminent, said practically in that report that the Iranians have the technology, the capability to make nuclear weapons. They don't have the material, but they have the know-how, they have the infrastructure to make nuclear weapons once they have the materials.

The other question is whether it can be put on a missile carrier? Let me remind you that their friends, enemies, I don't know what they are exactly, the Pakistanis have the same design, they have the Shahab - it is nuclear. You look at the same missile and the same warhead, you have a nuclear bomb. It is not nuclear capable, it is nuclear. And they are saying it. So the answer is frantically "yes"! On the two counts.

ODED ERAN: This is a very important piece of information, I think, only very relevant to this topic, very relevant. Yes? Mr. Cukierman.

CUKIERMAN: Could you give us a comparison between the Israeli missile activities and the Iranian ones?

UZI RUBIN: Yes.

ODED ERAN: You want all the details and locations?

CUKIERMAN: No, no.

ODED ERAN: And everything else sent to you by e-mail.

UZI RUBIN: Yes, we have a very intensive...

FLO KAUFMAN: And where all the silos are?

UZI RUBIN: We have a very intensive missile defense program. When there is a new missile, we have an anti-missile program and now we have four programs, running together - we have the Aero 2, we now have Aero 3, we have the David Sling, which is a lower tier and Iron Dome, which is going to be against rockets and short range stuff. Four programs, four missile defense programs running now. Compared to the United States that has 6 missile defense programs, of course, bigger than ours. But it shows you the level of activity of this country, its commitment to put missile defense against not just the Iranian threat, we are talking about Iran, but Israel is the most threatened by missiles country in the world.

ODED ERAN: Lior?

LIOR HERMAN: What are the photographic and other capabilities of satellites, Iranian satellites out?

UZI RUBIN: The Iranian satellite was a sputnik. It could do nothing except broadcast some beeping and broadcast scientific information down to the Earth. This was a pathfinder. Just to

learn the trade, how to put the satellite in space and how to make it survive about 30 days. Like the Russians.

Yes, about 30 days, it couldn't hold itself in the space, but 300 km everything decodes there, there is still atmosphere. They said when they launched it was going to survive about 30 days and that is what happened. They are talking about much capable satellites, they are talking about space satellites, they are talking about global space satellite like the keyholes (?), the American keyholes, but that is very ambitious. For that you need rockets that have hundreds of tons of take off weight. And they are talking even about Iranian space.

MAN: I would recommend the first one, Ahmadinejad...

MAN: Exactly, exactly, with no return flight...

ODED ERAN: Flo?

FLO KAUFMANN: Yes, first of all, Mr. Rubin, may I say that I think your presentation was brilliant, informative and one of most the informative ones I have ever heard. It was very chilling to hear what you had to tell us.

And it occurred to me that you spoke in terms of certain amount of respect for the people in Iran, who designed this program and made these steps. And what I was wondering – you may not want to answer such a question, even in a environment like this – but what is known about the designers there, in Iran and are there any steps being considered and I will go no further than that?

UZI RUBIN: Well, the last part of your question, even if I knew, I would not speak about it, but I really don't know. Some of those scientists are known. As I said those that were trained in the United States. To my amazement – and I talked to my friends in the American Institute of Astronautics – they are giving the honor of allowing them to appear at international conference in the United States and speaking, this is endorsing their work, their military work, but the work itself is good and the names are known, some of the names are known. Who are the program leaders – I am not sure we know. Some of the scientists, especially in Teheran Technological University, which is like our Technicon – the names are well known.

ODED ERAN: The last questions from Chaim there, back benches.

And please treat him very seriously, because he is the one, giving us the money, so...

UZI RUBIN: O, boy...

ODED ERAN: Chaim, we will discuss this with the third speaker, OK? With your permission. With your permission. There is a special section for this one.

If this is a question on the missiles – please. Oh, OK.

ODED ERAN: OK, I was going to ask and you, Robert, certainly are relieving me from this, but ...

UZI RUBIN: I am going to be in the States two weeks from now, speaking to Washington Policy Congress, to some congressmen, so...

ODED ERAN: Yeah, we appreciate it. You certainly stood up to your reputation and this was, as Flo said, very informative and we learnt a lot and this is very important and vital that when we go out and speak about it that we are showing knowledge and understanding of the issues. Uzi, thank you very much on behalf of everybody. [applause]

ODED ERAN: The next speaker... As you can see, there is coffee, cookies and what else on the sides, so we don't have interruptions, we go straight ahead. David.

MAN: Excuse me, may I ask you a question?

UZI RUBIN: Yeah.

The Global Implications of Iran's Missile and Space Programs

The Global Implications of Iran's Missile and Space Programs

Uzi Rubin

Briefing to the World Jewish Congress leadership meeting, Jerusalem Oct. 2009

- Iran's armament policy.
- Highlights of Iran's missile and space programs.
- Recent attempts to trivialize Iran's threat: The EastWest Institute report on Iran's missile and nuclear capabilities.
- Implications.

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The Global Implications of Iran's Missile and Space Programs

Iran Army Day Parade April 2008

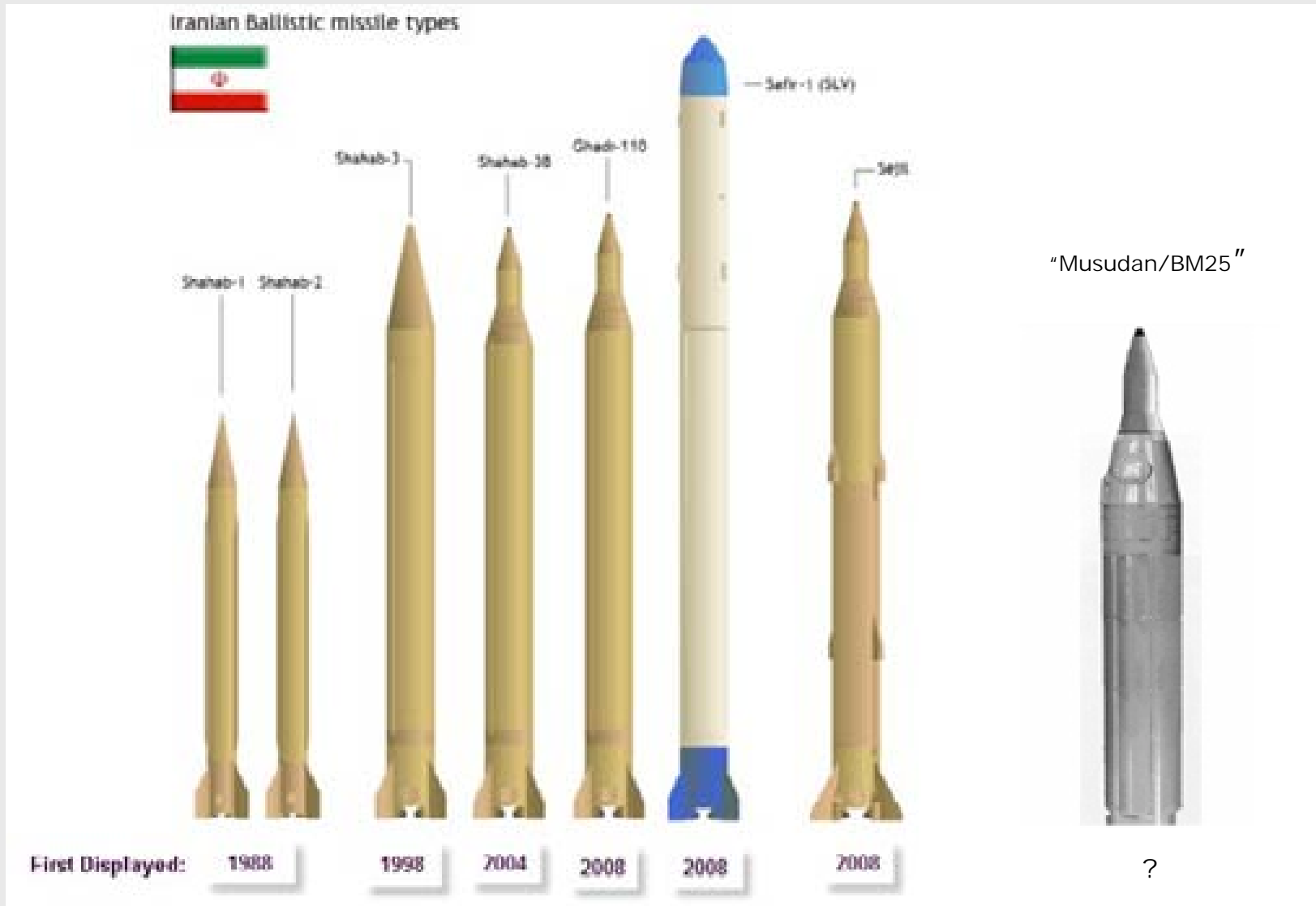


The Global Implications of Iran's Missile and Space Programs

Iran Army Day Parade 2008 - IAF Flyby



The Global Implications of Iran's Missile and Space Programs



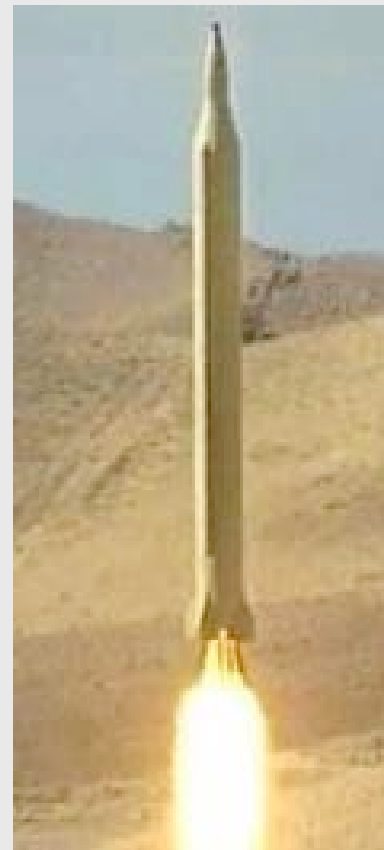
The Global Implications of Iran's Missile and Space Programs

Iran's Achievements in Missiles and Space

From 1300 Km Shahab 3 to 2000 Km Kadir 1



Shahab 3 1998

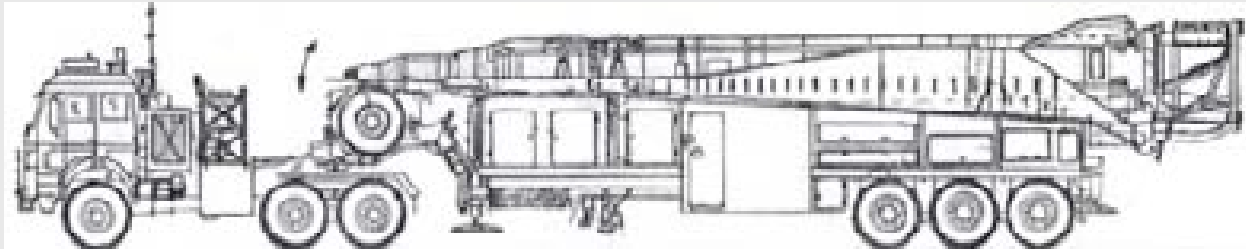


Kadir 1 2007

The Global Implications of Iran's Missile and Space Programs

Iran's Achievements in Missiles and Space

From Land Mobility to Silo Basing



The new site is built into a slope and may allow missiles to be prepared for firing under cover.
LeaDag Consulting/LeaDag Technologies/Perseus for Project Global/Google Earth, 1/20/2005

jmc.janes.com

Credit: Jane's
Missile Review

The Global Implications of Iran's Missile and Space Programs

Iran's Achievements in Missiles and Space

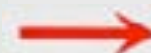
From Ballistic Missiles to Space Launch Vehicles



Shahab 3/Kadir 1



Kavoshgar test vehicle



Safir Space Launch Vehicle

The Global Implications of Iran's Missile and Space Programs

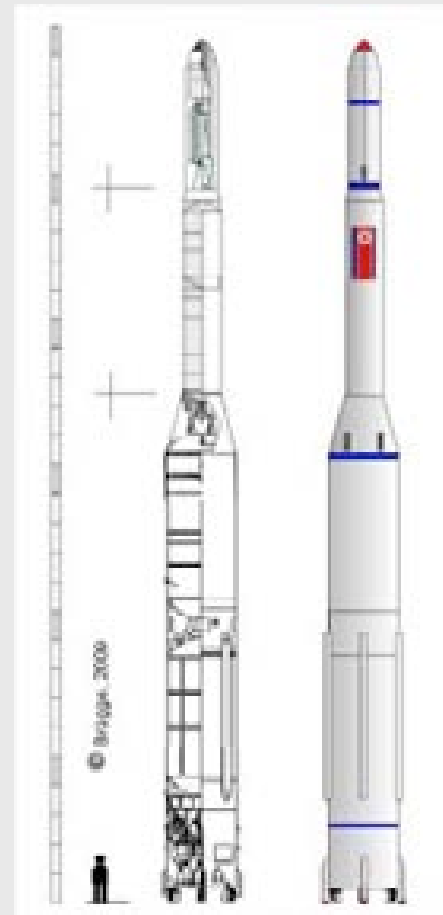
Iran's Achievements in Missiles and Space

Iran's SLV Achieves Earth Orbit, February 3rd 2009



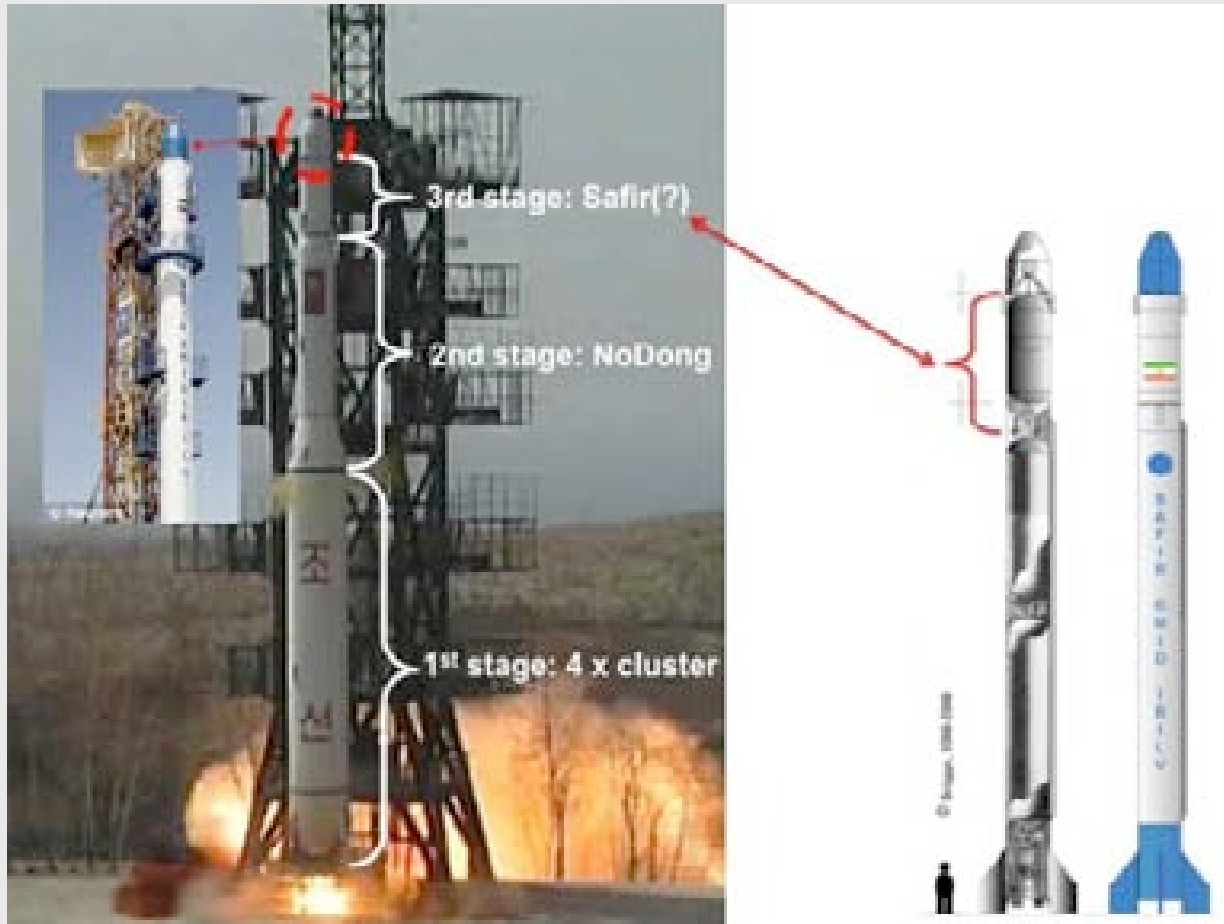
The Global Implications of Iran's Missile and Space Programs

A Teheran – Pyongyang Connection ?



The Global Implications of Iran's Missile and Space Programs

A Teheran – Pyongyang Connection ? The Jury is Out



Source: Norbert Rugge www.b14643.de

The Global Implications of Iran's Missile and Space Programs

Iran's Achievements in Ballistic Missiles

From Scud Era Technology to Modern Solid Propellant Technology



Kadir 1 single stage liquid propellant IRBM



Sejil two stage solid propellant IRBM

The Global Implications of Iran's Missile and Space Programs

Iran's Achievements in Missiles and Space

From Scud Era Technology to Modern Solid Propellant Technology

- November 5 2007: "Ashura" two stage solid propellant ballistic missile disclosed by Iran's MoD, no images released.
- Claimed range: "More than 2000 Km"
- November 18th 2008: "Sejjil" test disclosed by Iran's Mod, Images released and interviews granted.
- Claimed range: "Almost 2000 Km"



Sejjil Flight test, November 18th 2008 (Fars News Agency)

The Global Implications of Iran's Missile and Space Programs

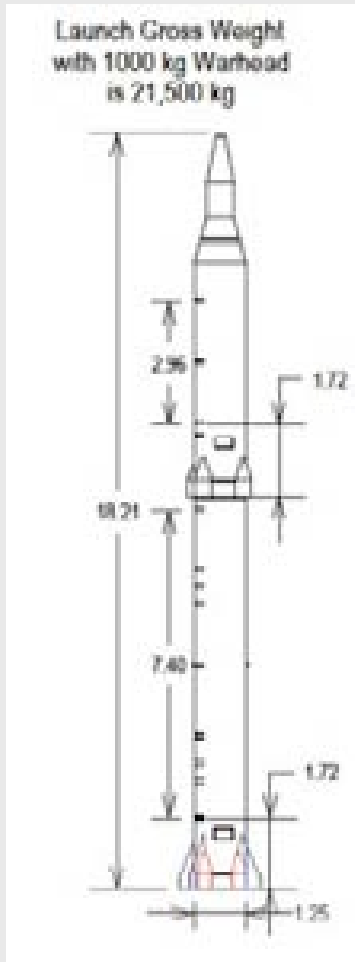
Sejil's 3rd Flight Test, May 20th 2009



- "The missile will have a range of approximately 2000 to 2500 Km" (Robert Gates, SecDef)
- "The test involved a solid propellant system which apparently they developed on their own" (Garry Saymor, NSC)

The Global Implications of Iran's Missile and Space Programs

Estimated Dimensions and Weights of Sejjil



First Stage: 14,720 ton (12,5 tons of propellant)

Second Stage: 5,78 ton (4,9 tons of propellant)

Warhead: 1,0 ton

Take off weight: 21.5 ton

(Source of weight breakdown and illustration: : Dr. T. Postol)

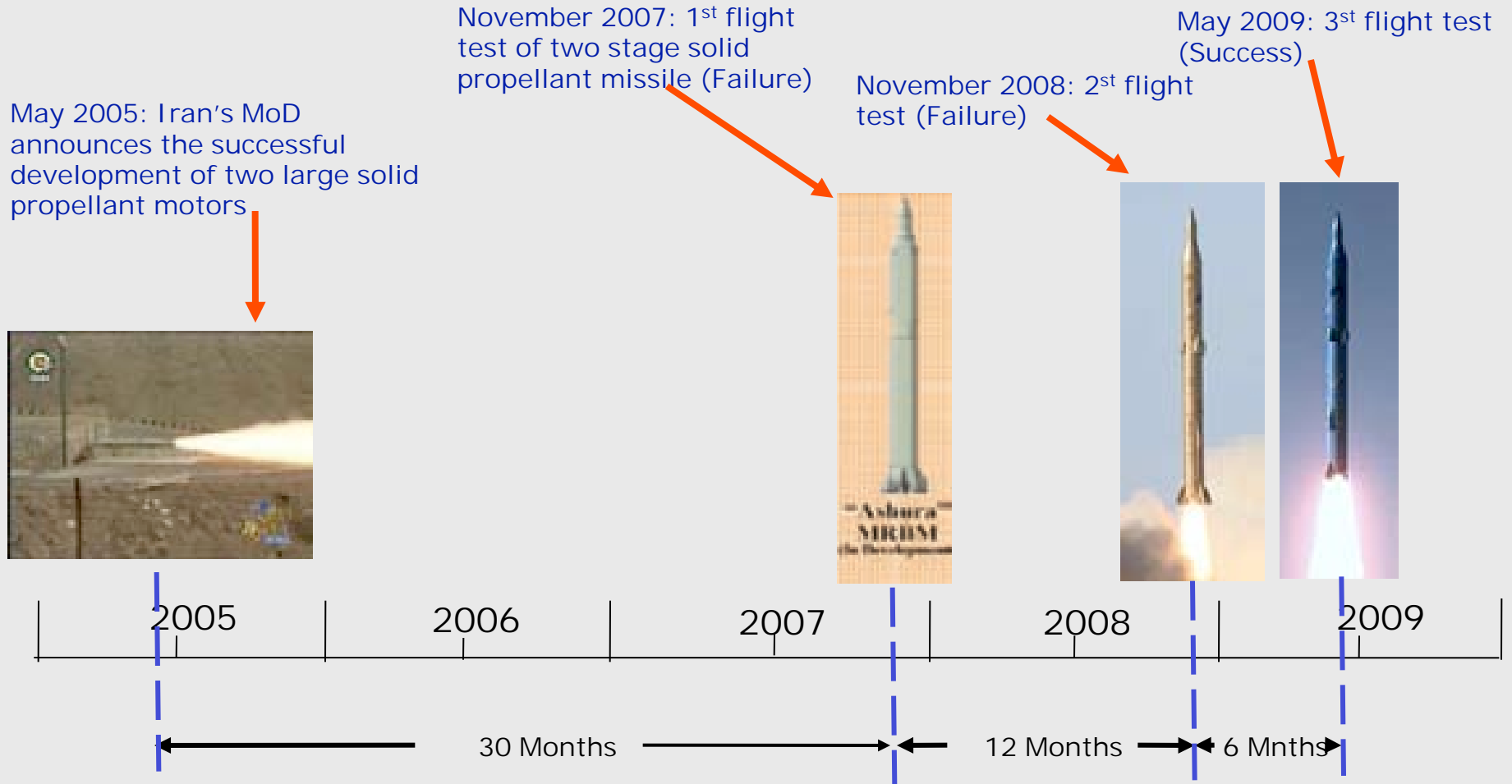
US 1st generation solid propellant ballistic missiles:

Polaris A1: 14.5 ton

Minuteman I: 33.0 ton

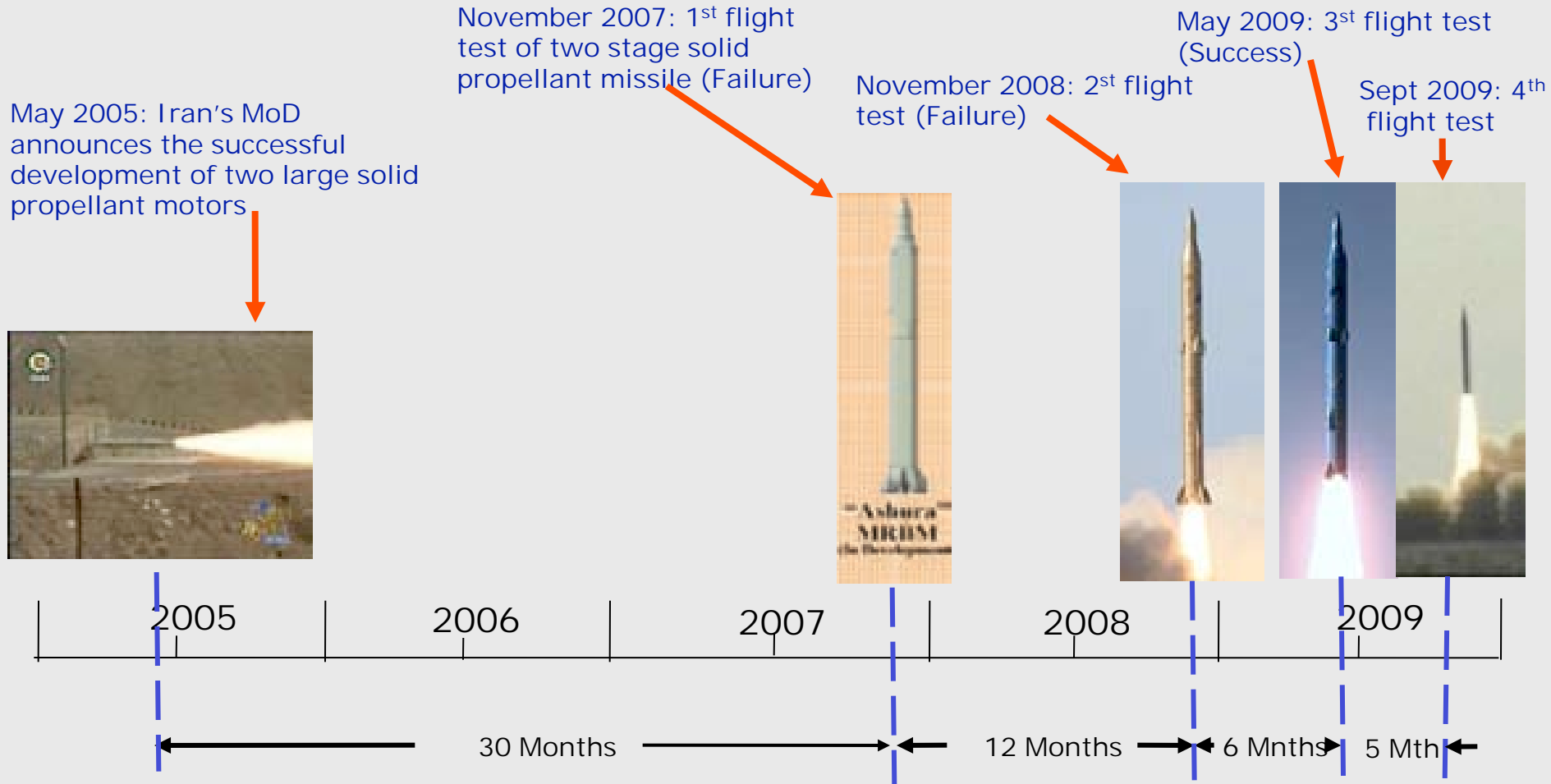
The Global Implications of Iran's Missile and Space Programs

Pace of Development: Solid Propellant Missiles



The Global Implications of Iran's Missile and Space Programs

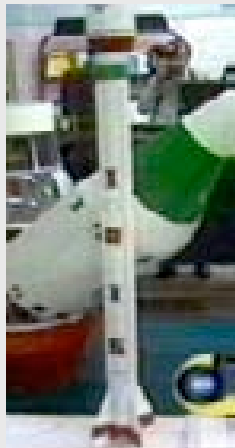
Pace of Development: Solid Propellant Missiles



The Global Implications of Iran's Missile and Space Programs

Pace of Development: Space Launch Vehicle

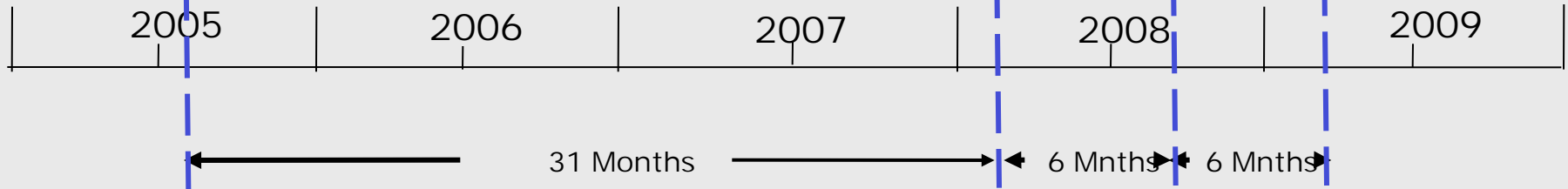
July 2005: Iran MoD announce a forthcoming satellite launch "Within one year from green light"



February 2008: Unveiling of "Safir" SLV, Launch of "Kavoshgar" vehicle (Failed in 1st stage)

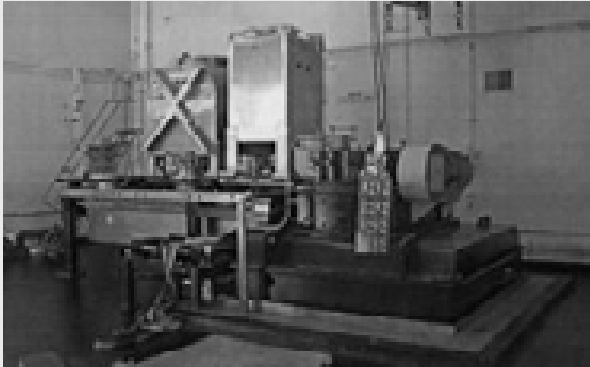
August 2008: 1st Launch of "Safir" SLV (Failed in 2nd stage)

February 2009: 2nd Launch of "Safir" SLV (Success)



The Global Implications of Iran's Missile and Space Programs

Essential infrastructure for Developing, Manufacturing and Testing of Large Solid Propellant Motors (MTCR Controlled)



Fluid Energy Mills



Large Propellant Mixers



Vacuum Casting Pits



High Power X Ray Inspection Systems



Thrust Stands

The Global Implications of Iran's Missile and Space Programs

The EastWest Institute Report of May 19 2009



“There is no reliable information at present on the state of Iran’s effort to develop solid propellant rocket motors and therefore no basis on which to make an assessment....” (3.3)

IRAN'S NUCLEAR AND MISSILE POTENTIAL

A Joint Threat Assessment
by U.S. and Russian Technical Experts

MAY 2009

- The report covers three topics:
 - Iran's current nuclear activities and their future implications.
 - Iran's current missile capability and its future implications.
 - Defense against Iran's ballistic missiles.

The Global Implications of Iran's Missile and Space Programs

The EWI May 19th Report's Main Findings

- Iran's prospective nuclear weapons:
 - Iran does have the scientific and technological potential to develop nuclear weapons.
 - However, to actually produce nuclear weapons Iran will need to expel IAEA surveillance from its enrichment plants. "The international community might take forceful actions against Iran" in such a case.
- Iran's prospective strategic missiles:
 - Iran lacks the scientific and engineering capacity to advance on its own beyond SCUD era missile technologies.
 - To threaten the whole of Europe, Iran will require better technologies currently unavailable to it.
 - Iran will not be able to build a modern ICBM for at least ten to fifteen years, conditioned on significant influx of technology from abroad.

The Global Implications of Iran's Missile and Space Programs

The EWI May 19th Report's Main Conclusions and Recommendations

- Iran's missile threat is limited to the Middle East. The threat from longer range missiles are not imminent.
- The IEAE should continue to inspect nuclear sites in Iran.
- Export controls on missile technology transfers to Iran should be vigorously enforced.

The Global Implications of Iran's Missile and Space Programs

The EWI May 19th Report's Main Conclusions and Recommendations

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What, Me Worry?



The Global Implications of Iran's Missile and Space Programs

Sejil's 3rd Flight Test, May 20th 2009



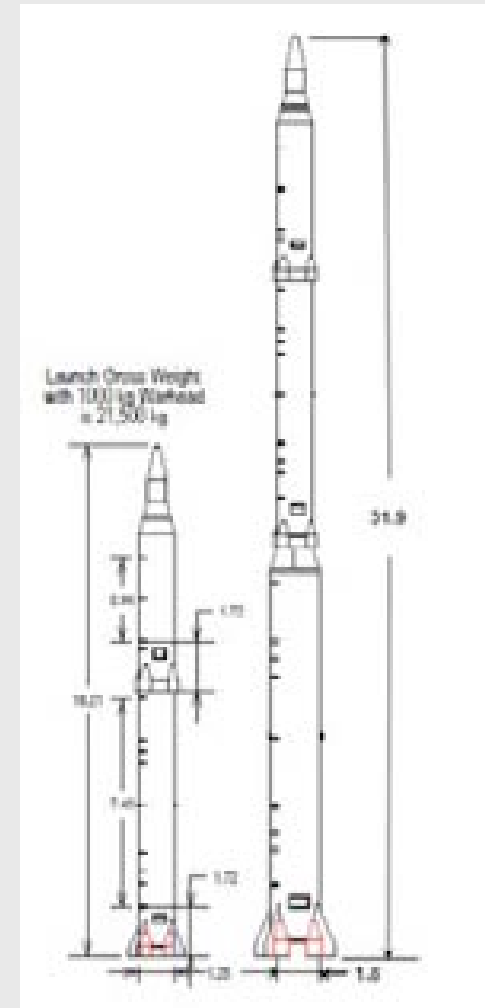
- "The missile will have a range of approximately 2000 to 2500 Km" (Robert Gates, SecDef)
- "The test involved a solid propellant system which apparently they developed on their own" (Garry Saymor, NSC)

The Global Implications of Iran's Missile and Space Programs

Technical Addendum to the EWI Report, May 31 2009

Main Finding and Conclusions

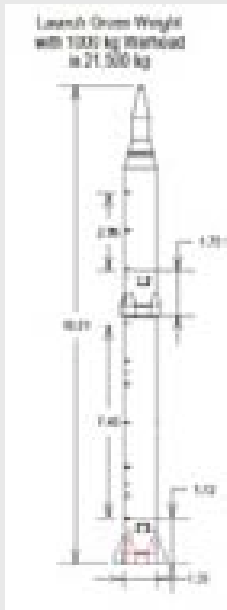
- “The Sejil should be able to carry a one ton warhead to a range of about 2200 Km.”
- To threaten Northern and Western Europe, Iran will need a 5000 Km missile with 1 ton warhead. Such a missile will require a first stage of about 45 tons and will have a take off weight of 65 tons or more.
- With such size and weight, the hypothetical IRBM is not viable.
- Hence, the recent Sejil test does not alter any of the report's main conclusions.



The Global Implications of Iran's Missile and Space Programs

Assessing Iran's True Capabilities Current

- Computations using the EWI Addendum figures for the Sejil dimensions, weights and ISP figures yielded a maximum range of 2460 Km.
- This is the distance between Tabriz and Warsaw.



Accordingly, Iran will be shortly capable of targeting 6 EU countries (Poland, Slovakia, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Greece)

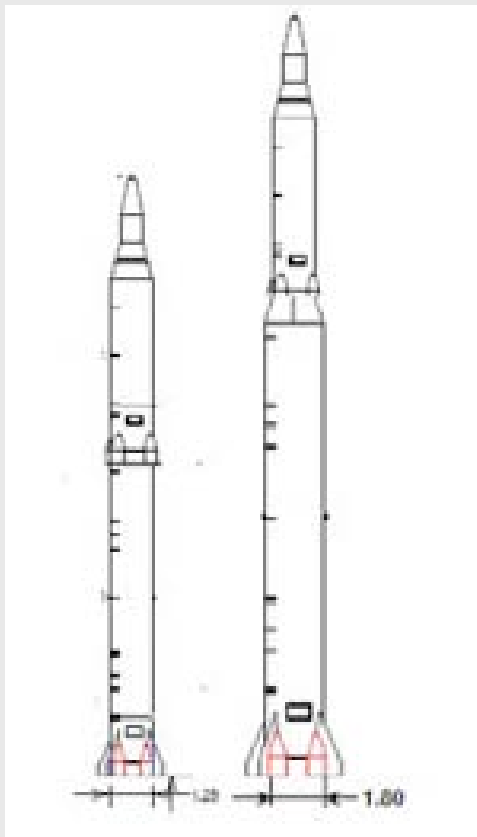
The Global Implications of Iran's Missile and Space Programs



The Global Implications of Iran's Missile and Space Programs

Assessing Iran's True Capabilities Near Term

Using the EWI estimated ISP and Sejil level of technology, a 5000 Km Iranian missile should be significantly lighter than the Addendum's:



First Stage: 45.00 ton

Second Stage: 5,78 ton

Warhead: 1,0 ton

Take off weight: 51.78 ton

This missile will be just 4.6 tons heavier than Russia's fully mobile, 47.2 ton SS27 Topol M



The Global Implications of Iran's Missile and Space Programs

Relevant Ranges for Europe Threatening Missiles



The Global Implications of Iran's Missile and Space Programs

Relevant Ranges for Europe Threatening Missiles

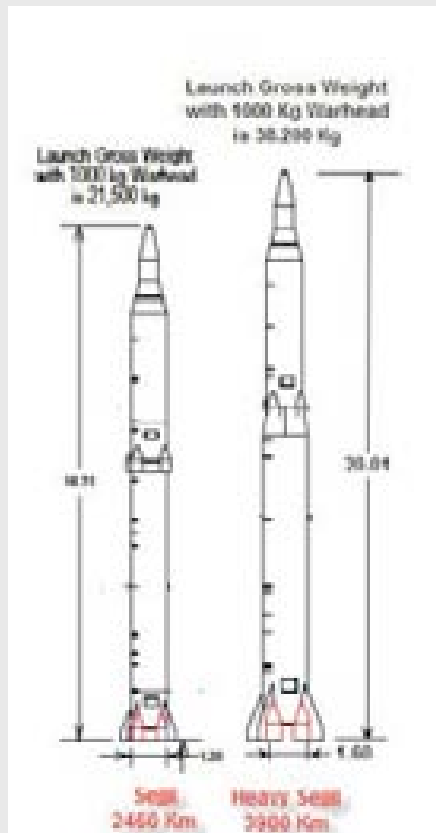


The Global Implications of Iran's Missile and Space Programs

Assessing Iran's True Capabilities

Near Term

To target London and most of the EU, a relatively modest upscale of the Sejil might be sufficient. No technical assistance will be needed.



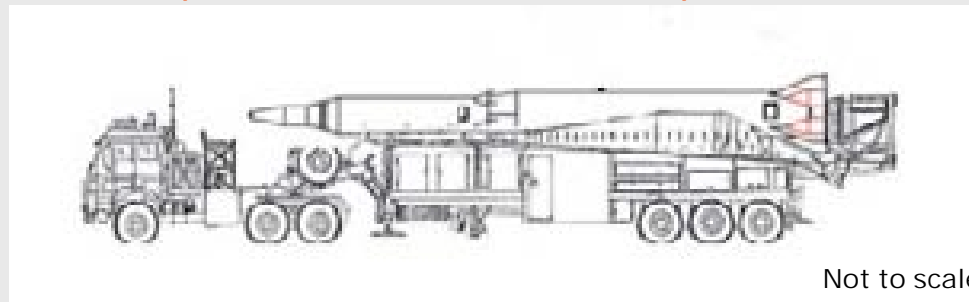
First Stage: 31.50 ton

Second Stage: 5,78 ton

Warhead: 1,0 ton

Take off weight: 38.28 ton

This missile might be compact enough to be transportable on an scaled up Shahab mobile



Not to scale

The Global Implications of Iran's Missile and Space Programs

Implications

- Iran is concurrently advancing several missile and space programs at an almost feverish pace with some impressive achievements.
- The solid propellant Sejil is a technological and strategic breakthrough. It already has sufficient range to threaten a number of EU countries.
- Iran has now the wherewithal to develop lightweight, compact, survivable solid propellant IRBMs that could threaten most of Europe if it so chooses.
- Iran has overtaken North Korea both in ballistic missiles and in space launchers.
- Iranian missile technologies might migrate to East Asia and impact on the region's future security environment.

Iran's breakthrough in missile technology has global impact



Prof. David Menashri
Head of Centre for Iranian Studies, Tel Aviv University

'What's Happening Inside Iran? The Latest Political Developments'

David Menashri

Thank you, I'm delighted to be here. Years back, when I had to speak about Iran, I was faced with a problem, because no-one happened to know anything about Iran, so I didn't know where to start from.

Today, I have a different challenge, because everyone is an expert on Iran, everyone knows everything about Iran, so what can I add to your wisdom this morning? As a good history student, I tried to my best to get away bit from the current developments and put them in the wider prospective, which I happen to think, is the most appropriate perspective of viewing the developments in Iran.

Since coming to power, the Iranian revolution, like any other revolutionary movement, has had too main aims in mind. Whenever you take power, you usually have two main aims. One, you take power, you want to maintain power. If this was the aim of the Islamic revolution, thirty years after they are pretty well successful. Thirty years after they're still in power, I don't know what will happen tomorrow, but so far there is a degree of stability in the institutions of the revolution.

But revolutions don't come to power simply to replace one government with another. They come with the aim of proving that their doctrine contains the cure to the malaise of society. They come with promise to elevate the life of people and communities. If this was the aim of the Iranian-Islamic revolution, I think that the revolution so far has been much less than successful.

Before going on, I want to raise three questions that I believe are the most important in understanding the Islamic revolution in Iran or the whole phenomenon of Islamic radicalism. The first question, today we speak about Islamic revolution, Islamic republic, Islamic terrorism, everything is Islamic, so my question would be: What is Islamic about this new trend of revolutionary-political movement that we see in the Muslim world?

It depends much on your definition of what is religion and what is Islam. If you use Western terminology, which distinguishes between religion and state, religion and science, religion and so many other things, the Islamic revolution was not religious. It was social, economic, political, cultural and anti-imperialist. According to Islamic and Jewish terminology, in which religion covers all spheres of life, this was Islamic.

I'll put it differently. I lived in Iran the last two years of the Shah regime, doing research at Iran University. If I had been Iranian citizen in 1979, I might have been with Ayatollah Khomeini – not because of religion, not because of Islam – I'm not terribly religious, I'm certainly not a Muslim, but because life was miserable and people were looking for hope. Khomeini provided the hope.

If you want thirty years after you could say it was the illusion that he would bring them greater success. In many ways people who joined the Ayatollah Khomeini, including leftists, communists, liberal intellectuals, did not support Khomeini to create a theocracy, a religious government, but rather to give them the hope of bringing a better life for their children.

If this analysis is correct, the final stability of the Islamic revolution does not depend on the degree of return to Islam, but to a degree that is Islamic regime will be capable of easing the burden of the life of the Iranian people. This, so far, has not happened. In terms of its roots, it was more *revolution* that created, that led to the Islamic government, rather than *Islamic* revolution.

The second question deals with the ideology of this revolution, to what degree the philosophy of this revolution is Islamic. Here we face the question what is Islam, what is Islamic philosophy. Is there only one ideology so that we can call this Islam?

Well, probably yes, there is the Islam which the Prophet Mohamed came with in the 7th Century, there's one Islam. But we don't live today as Muslims, as Islam used to be in the 7th Century, as much as Judaism today isn't exactly what it used to be three thousand years ago, and Christianity isn't exactly what it used to be two thousand years ago. We live today according to our interpretation, in our era, of the principles of faith. Our interpretations tend to vary from generation to generation, sometimes from place to place.

I'll give you an example. When Khomeini came to power in 1979, with all his charisma and power, there were seven Grand Ayatollahs in Iran. None of them supported Khomeini. When Khomeini came back victorious from Paris to Teheran, the leading ayatollah and the most learned and powerful ayatollah in Iran went under house arrest until he passed away seven years later. The most prominent ayatollah in Iran today is under house-arrest, and the most prominent Shiite ayatollah in Iraq does not accept Khomeini and his philosophy.

What we have here is a degree of pluralism within the world of Islam. What happened in the last generation is that Ayatollah Khomeini took a very radical interpretation of Islam, that existed only on the margins of the Islamic establishment, and brought it to center in Iran, influencing movements such as Hezbollah, Hamas, and others. To put it in the words of one of the leading Iranian intellectuals today, one of the supporters of Ayatollah Khomeini who later changed views on revolution and shuttles now between Princeton, Harvard: He said the following sentence that there is no one interpretation of Islam. There is no one interpretation that is better than the other. There is no final interpretation of Islam and – as in a very courageous way he added – there is no official interpretation of Islam.

But Islamic doctrine or any Islamic regime cannot tell you this is the right interpretation. Why? Because there is no such interpretation in Islam. And, I believe, nor is there in Judaism. There are different authorities that can interpret differently the principles of faith. What we are facing in this generation is a revolution in understanding of Islam rather than Islamic revolution.

The third question that brings us closer to what we speak here today, is to what degree the policy of Iran today is faithful with the ideology, with which Khomeini came to power. And I think that what happens in Iran is exactly what happens in any ideological movement. When you are in opposition, you confess your philosophy, you tell what you want to do, there is no tax on promises, you promise everything, everything is wonderful. But when you come to power, you can only do what you can do. As the previous prime minister of Israel used to say when challenged with his unilateral withdrawal from the Gaza Strip: What you see from here, you don't see it from there. What you see from the chair of the prime minister you don't see it from the benches of the opposition. With authority comes responsibility.

Even radicals, when they come to power, tend to be more pragmatic. I will give you an example. According to Islamic philosophy, according to Khomeini doctrine, interest in the banking system is not legal. Wonderful! What do you do when you create your own government? You want the people to deposit their money in the bank, no? If you don't give them some incentives, they are not stupid, they will hold it underneath their carpets. So you give them something, but you don't call it interest, God forbid, because it is illegal. You call the leading Israeli bank, orthodox Jewish bank, and you ask "Well, how do you Jews solve the problem". They found the same solution. They don't call it interest, they call it that you get a benefit from your investment, which is legal, and as you are cheating God, it is OK, and God is smart enough to turn his eyes.

Religiously speaking, there is one big difference between interest and investment and I think that some of you are businessman and you know it. The whole difference is in one word – risk. The moment there is no risk on your capital and the bank guarantees your capital and gives you 1%, or 2% , on whatever there is after 6 months or a year – it is interest. But the government made the people put their money in the bank, so they don't call it interest. This is the pragmatism they are referring to.

In each and every case, when there was a clash between ideology and the interest of the system, interest won over ideology to a degree that Ayatollah Khomeini before he passed away, he issued important fatwa, stating that for the sake of public interest it is legal to destroy and suspend the five pillars of Islam. What else do you really need for this?

Now, on the question how much you can retreat from dogma there are differences of opinion within the Iranian society. There is not one way the Iranians look at politics. There are different attitudes, there is degree of pluralism and there are many, many groupings – let me just refer to two main camps: the one that we call reformists, pragmatic, sometime moderate, and the other which is conservative, radical, extremist, whatever.

Let me begin with the more pragmatic element. There are in Iran wonderful things happening since the Islamic Revolution in civil society. The Iranian newspapers are the most advanced and more open than in most other countries in the Middle East. Women organizations in Iran are the most progressive and active in the Middle East. Student organizations in Iran are more active than where there are students. Use of Internet is the most extensive in Iran than in most of the countries, all the countries in the Middle East, except Israel. The cinema industry in Iran is wonderful. Books...

Within Iran, inside, inside Iran, there is a lively civil society that you would be amazed at what they are doing and how much they challenge the government. They put pictures of Ahmadinejad on fire in front of him when he visits a university in Iran. And you could see the signs two-three months ago, after the elections. So no-one is against civil society in Iran, and the nice things going on in society. Books, published in Iran, all of them by revolutionaries, supporters of Ayatollah Khomeini.

The title was "Fascist interpretation of Islam", rated by Abdi, it says that Islamic regime was fascist. Of course he went to jail, but the book was published in tens of editions in Tehran. Another intellectual, one of the most important thinkers in Iran, also in Harvard, now wrote a big essay claiming that the problem number one in Iran is the rule of the clergy. Well, and this was published in Tehran, in the leading Iranian newspaper.

Of course he went to jail, but this was published, and when I was speaking to a friend of mine at – we have had meetings with Iranian intellectuals for years – and asked an Iranian professor how he would explain this dichotomy between suppression and free expression he told me the following thing that opened my eyes: You know, they tell you there is no freedom of expression in Iran – **that's not true**. We have freedom of expression, what we do not have, however, is freedom after expression.

So I think this explains this dichotomy in the Iranian society. They speak out, go to jail and continue their struggle. I think you could see the nice face of Iran with this green movement in May and June, basically in June, three, four months ago. The problem is that these nice young women and men don't have any say on how to run the state, policy, let alone national security issues. In front of them are the radicals, who carry all the authority in the country. They have four major advantages: first, they speak in the name of God. It is wonderful when you rise in the morning and tell people what God exactly wanted because you have constant contact with Him. Well, we have some of them in Jerusalem, so we know what it means – people that claim that they know exactly what is the will of God. And it carries a lot of weight in the Iranian religious society.

If God is not enough – God forbid! – because God should be enough, but if He is not, then there is military. So if you are a revolutionary, you have the will of God on one side and the national guards on the other side and you are pretty safe. The third element on their side is that they are determined to fight for the power. And we could see it again three months ago. They did not take power to concede power voluntarily. And they are determined and they said it very clearly "we are not going to let the opposition to do to us what we did to the Shah".

The core mentor of Ahmadinejad – Ayatollah Mesbah Yasdi – said very clearly the following thing "whoever thinks that Islam is a religion of mercy does not understand what is Islam.

Islam dictates to us to take the sharp sword and cut the heads and throats of people who speak and act against us”.

I think what we have seen these last few months is a major change in Iranian society. We could see the nicer face of Iran and the oppressive face of Iran simultaneously. I think that the Iran after the presidential elections is not any more the Iran that we knew. This regime has lost its legitimacy in the minds of the Iranian people themselves. When people go to the streets and say “get rid of the dictator” and this does not only refer to Ahmadinejad, it refers also to Khamenei.

Khamenei did not follow Ayatollah Khomeini – Khomeini always disregarded the conflicts in the society, he always stood above the factions and did not identify with one of them against the other. Khamenei brought himself down to a position of a small political actor in the field by identifying himself with Ahmadinejad. The reformists, on their side, they have their own weaknesses. They don't have a coercive alternative ideology, they don't have organization, they don't have charismatic leadership, and they have many shortcomings to present the challenge.

Now one word about this Iranian challenge to us, and how it is going to be viewed in Israel. My views are not totally the views of the Israeli government, although I think that the Israeli government also changed its views recently because of the change in Obama. By the way, part of the reason that the Iranian students stood against their government is because of the President Obama. Without President Obama in the White House I would not see Iranian young people in May and June going to the streets.

But I will put it differently. Whenever there is a Democratic president in the White House, be assured that there is going to be a revolution in Iran. It was so with Harry Truman in 1951, Kennedy in 1961, and Carter in 1978 – and I don't know why. The problem is that when the students of Iran were going to streets and looking to Washington for support, Obama turned his eyes the other way. I can understand why, but I think it was disappointing for the young Iranians to lose the support of the man they were looking to.

By the way, in the beginning, next to an image of Obama it was written in Persian “He is with us”. And then after this I saw a slogan, saying “he is NOT with us”. Obama missed his image with us. But this is another issue. What is the problem? The problem is that a country, a government with such radical ideology, carrying weapons of the mass destruction on the other end, this is something that the free world cannot and should not tolerate. And they say to us “no, Iran is far away enemy”, but Iran is not far away enemy for Israel. It is all over the borders of Israel, with Hezbollah in the North, Hamas in the South, Islamic Jihad in the West. And maybe also with groups within Israel itself.

Iran going nuclear means that Egypt will be nuclear, Turkey will be nuclear, Saudi Arabia and other countries. This region is already a madhouse without the kind of nuclear capabilities in the hand of extremist, or extremist countries. What happens if there is nuclear power? What is going to happen to the oil price if Iran has nuclear power – without going into question of using or not using?

Let me conclude by what can be done. I would take off the table one option that in my view should be on the table, but I think should not be even mentioned. It is the Israeli option. I don't think that every crazy thing in the world should have a solution with the trademark Made in Israel. This is a very big file, this is not exclusively the problem of Israel. Why people expect that Israel ought to deal with these hot potatoes? Besides, why should Israel jump ahead and always claim that we have the capabilities and the will to do it?

One day they will tell us “OK, then go and do the job” and that is what we are going to do. America is all over Iran, Saudi Arabia is more concerned than Israel is, Egypt is concerned... Why we have to jump ahead? I always say to our politicians, quoting a line from “The Good, the Bad and the Ugly”: “If you want to shoot, then shoot, don't talk”.

We didn't threaten Iraq once before we attacked in 1981. We didn't threaten Syria before December or September 2007, so why do you have to threaten Iran? One day, we might have to do it, but this should be on the table of the free world, because the problem is not exclusively, is not even primarily, a problem of Israel.

Three levels of solution: one is the American solution. Dialog is essential to begin with. And I supported dialog long before Obama was candidate to the presidency. Not because I believe that dialog will solve the problem – I don't believe this dialog will solve the problem. I don't think you can do anything against Iran before dialog first. You have to speak to two nations – you have to speak to the Iranian people and you have to speak to the American people who don't have the stomach to go to any other adventure, unless they are sure that everything has been done, short of real pressure on Iran.

And mainly because I believe that the change will come from Iran. You have to bombard Iranians with gestures of good will, chocolate, whatever, provided there is a deadline and Iran does not continue with its nuclear program during this dialog. Then, if the dialog does not work, and I think it will not work, you should pressure Iran. Europe should use its moral masses to pressure Iran.

What is the pressure on moral issues? I see them on Israel, but what about Iran? Look at the jails of Iran, then economically Iran can be pressured. Iran is a country that can be pressured. And when it is pressured it will change its policy. It has done it over the last 30 years. There is not one single case where they preferred ideology over the survival of the regime.

If they understand that the survival of this regime depends on them changing their policy, they will change it. The combination of bazaar merchants and clerics makes good politicians. They are not stupid, they are not willing to commit suicide.

The second level is the regional level. It will take two minutes. The regional level, the regional solution. The regional solution is – I said Israel is not a solution, Israel is a part of the solution. If Arabs moderate countries together with Israel, we will be able to solve the Syrian problem. It will weaken Iran more than anything I can think of now.

There is one thing that can help even more: that we solve the Palestinian problem. Now, is it possible today? I am not sure, but you ask me how to weaken Iran – this is the way, this is a major way to weaken Iran, to solve the problem.

So it is better for me that Saudi Arabia will not allow Israel a corridor to use its airplanes to attack Iran. If they want to attack, let them go and attack themselves, don't give us corridors. If they establish diplomatic relations with Israel, this will be helpful to weaken Iran.

Finally, there is the domestic solution. Iran is the only country in the Middle East that has two big popular revolutions in the 20th century. Iran is the only country in the Middle East that has a constitutional revolution – people went to the streets and brought about the constitution. Iranian people brought Ayatollah Khomeini; Iranian people ultimately will change the policy of this regime, or the regime itself. They have the attitude to do it, they have done it before, and the degree of this illusion and enchantment within the Iranian young people is the recipe for the next change.

The problem is that we have two trends basically simultaneously going on. We have two trains which have left the terminal. One is carrying the message of Iranian nuclear weapons, and the other one is carrying the message of social and political change. And, unfortunately, the train with the social and political change is driving much slower than the train with the nuclear capability.

ODED ERAN: Many, many, many things, David. Few minutes for questions. Michael, please. Michael...

MIKHAIL CHLENOV: It is well known about one third of the Iranian population are of Azerbaijani ethnic origin, there are other, well, minorities, like the Lurs, Kurds, Baluchis, Turkmen and so on.

Bearing in mind that Mr. Musawi is actually of Azerbaijani origin, bearing in mind the existence of an independent Azerbaijani state, how would you comment on the impact of the ethnic factor in the modern development of Iran.

Bearing in mind also chances and perspectives for Azerbaijani-Iranian relations.

ODED ERAN: Thank you, professor Chlenov.

DAVID MENASHRI: You are right – it is not only that close to a third of the Iranian population are Azerbaijanis. About half of the Iranian people are not Persians. So there is a big minority, ethnic minority challenge.

I as one will not recommend to play this ethnic card against the Iranians – it might backlash and strengthen the government even more. You are right not only about what you mentioned, but you know very well it, Michael, there is an independent Azerbaijani country in the North of the Iranian Azerbaijanis, which is one third of the Iranian Azerbaijan. But you yourself mentioned, Khamenei is Azerbaijani, Musawi is Azerbaijani, most of the Iranian leadership are Azerbaijani, so there is no... Azerbaijanis have been integrated into the Iranian society. The leading Iranian intellectuals of the 20th century are Azerbaijani, so I know that there used to be an independent Republic of Azerbaijan after the World War II, but I think the last 60 years things have changed. There are other areas, in which you can pressure Iran, if there is spontaneous movement from within the ethnic minorities – Baluchis, Kurds, Azerbaijanis, Turkmen – that's fine; but I think that interfering and using this card, I think it would be problematic.

ODED ERAN: Member of Kneset, Chair of the Israeli branch Shai Hermesh.

SHAI HERMESH: Only a short question. You are talking about the potential for, let say, a new revolution in Iran. So who is the alternative?

DAVID MENASHRI: Well, this regime is smart regime. They allowed the opposition to get out of the country. So let them live in Beverly Hills, in Great Neck and other parts of the world, they don't really pose any serious challenge from outside.

The next leader of Iran will not come with Air France from Paris. It will emerge from inside the country. So these are the young people, the young students of Iran, there is a revolution within the Iranian society. Do you know that more than a half of the Iranian students are female?

This is a big change, the Iranian society has changed and this is the potential for change. The number of students and they are doing very well in their academic life. So I think the change will come from within the society. It may be from within the system even, but a different interpretation of Islam, because for me as one, it doesn't matter what is the religion, the ideology of this regime. I care not about the type of regime, I care about the threat for my children. They can have Islamic regime – why should I care? But I don't want them to kill my children.

And I think that there is a way to have people coming from inside and changing the policy. Now the problem is that in history one thing that we don't know is what makes people one day wake up and start changing direction. There is a beautiful poem about this in Hebrew, it is a song that all of sudden a nation wakes up and starts moving. Historians of the past do not have the answer to what makes people start moving. Popular movements are totally

unpredictable. We couldn't predict the French Revolution, the Russian Revolution, not even the collapse of the Soviet Union – it was not real math of the movement. All of a sudden you see a change.

Leadership can be produced or emerged. If you don't see the leader today, it doesn't mean there is no leader. If you would see a leader today, Khamenei will see this leader today as well and then there will no one see this leader anymore. In revolutionary process leaders emerge. And sometimes you don't see them, until they become number One, so there are ways. I will tell you this – Iran is not black and white.

I will tell you a story that I have heard from an Iranian student, sorry, Iranian professor: A young Iranian, who did not live in Iran for a long time, comes back to Iran. Wandering around the streets of Teheran he asks his friend "Tell me, how can we...Where can I buy cigarettes?" "Well, if you want to buy cigarettes – let's go to the mosque." Mosque, alluding that the mosque became a place for business. "But the mosque is not a place for business, mosque is a place for prayer". "Oh, you want a place for prayer? Let me take you to the Teheran University, where prayers have been told weekly". He says: "But the University is not place for prayer, University is place for intellectuals." "Ah, you want intellectuals, let me take you to Evin Jail". The prison that all of them are there. He says: "But the prison is not place for intellectuals, prison is a place for criminals". "Aaa, criminals, they are all in government". And there is another line here. "But the government is not place for criminals, the government is place for politicians". "Oh, let's go then back to the church". So you see that life is not exactly what it seems to be.

ODED ERAN: I want to abuse my role as a Chair and repeat the question that we heard before. We are an organization, which is aimed at furthering the cause of the Jewish people and obviously Iran is very much on the top of the agenda.

And the question came up – should we combine the nuclear issue with human rights in our campaign against Iran or should we separate the two issues and concentrate only on the Iranian state?

DAVID MENASHRI: I tell you – even if you separate it in your mind, it will not be separated in the minds of other and each of them is a challenge for Israel, even if you don't combine them. You can speak about human rights without question people asking...

ODED ERAN: No, the question, this is a practical question. In the campaign do we put human rights as target? Do we refer to it or do we leave it to others, as, let say, Obama did? He concentrates on the Iranian threat, nuclear threat and he turned a blind eye or whatever on the events in Iran.

DAVID MENASHRI: I understand you. I think that as much as possible Israel will not be taking a leading position on Iran, not on the nuclear issue and not on the human rights issue.

ODED ERAN: But the position of World Jewish Congress...

DAVID MENASHRI: The World Jewish Congress, it is WORLD Jewish Congress, so I think at least for Europe and outside world, human rights issue should be higher on their agenda. The Germans have debt to the Jewish people and why are they silent on the issue of human rights? I will give you one example in which Europe acted against Iran.

It was in 1997, in April, when the Court in Berlin found Iranian government or the leading figures guilty in the Mykonost Restaurant murder. All European countries returned their ambassadors from Teheran. This was a nightmare for the Iranian government. Two months later Khatami was elected president.

I think that the World Jewish Congress, in my view, should stress this issue of human rights, because this is the most important thing for the young people in Iran. If we target the young people in Iran and if they hear how the world cares about them, put this mirror on the other

side... If you don't use this human rights issue, how are you going to face the young Iranian people? You know how many of them have been killed and nobody rises this flag out of interest here and there and yes, I think, my recommendation will be to whoever is and most certainly to the World Jewish Congress to rise this issue of human rights, because the nuclear issue is too big for the Jewish organization to deal with.

Let us focus at where we can bring a difference. Economic pressure on Iran – this is something that can be done; Stuart Levi has done a wonderful job in Iran, pressuring banks on Iran, the banks in Europe not to do business with Iran. And then what happened? When it was bringing the results, an American intelligence, national intelligence estimate was published in December 2007, stating that Iran stopped nuclear military program in 2003.

ODED ERAN: Tamar.

TAMAR SHCHORY: Tamar Shchory, Israel. Can you elaborate a bit about the attack yesterday? Are you facing a change in direction or maybe a revolution will be faster than we think, if we are optimistic?

DAVID MENASHRI: My optimism doesn't have to do with acts of terrorism even against the revolutionary guards in Iran. I was asked during the last 24 hours to comment on radio and on the television – I refused, because I don't really know what happened. I would rather speak about things I know, I hope that I know something about, rather than these groupings that are not yet clear. I believe that Jundallah, that they are behind it, but I don't want to make any... I will tell you one thing that I don't understand – how could one suicide man kill so many people in an open space or whatsoever, but I don't really know.

ODED ERAN: Under the pressure of the real Chair, Michael, I will allow only one more question.

Moshe, I am sorry, maybe we can come back to the question in the next session.

MAN: Thank you. Professor, I found your commentary and the details you gave on the developing Iranian society very encouraging. The extend, to which you described I think is unknown and almost cannot contradict one of our campaigns, but it is important to measure and know.

Where I found a big problem in terms of advocacy and maybe I misunderstood what you said, but I found Catch 22 between what you said and maybe this is a question that Shai will comment more from the political point of view.

You stated that a peace process or maybe even a deal, in the best case, with the Palestinians will weaken Iran, which makes a logical sense, but it is quite a different point to tell us as a world community to advocate this challenge. Because the Netanyahu government, in my view, has been very clear. It is almost like Netanyahu said to Obama "Give me Iran and just watch me what I will do here on peace". But Iran has been my obsession, it seems an obsession of the government and the whole focus on...

It seems to me that the government of Israel is communicating: We will take risks for peace, but you have to eliminate this huge threat, which has been described here to only second to the Holocaust, potentially. So if you can clarify this political Catch 22?

ODED ERAN: I am very reluctant to make professor Menashri answer this.

First of all, we have short time. This is a serious question, which we may or may be not be in need to debate. And I think that this is too heavy to discuss it under the pressure of time.

If I may ask for forgiveness, this is going beyond the question of Iran...

MAN: But with all due respect, it affects what we do to strategize our advocacy, so it is relevant.

ODED ERAN: If you can give short answer to that and I am not sure you can, please, but we are under pressure of time.

DAVID MENASHRI: Well, I gave you my honest opinion on the possibilities to deal with Iran. Also told you that until some time ago leading people in the Ministry of Defense called me a traitor, because I spoke about the dialog with Iran as essential.

There are different views. The problem is that you don't hear the diversity in views and attitudes in Iran being reflected outside the country.

About this issue with the Palestinians, I can tell you the end result. I learnt that it takes two to tango and here there is no even one. So it is a more theoretical question right now how you deal with this issue. Ultimately, if Iran says that to Israel because of what we do to the Palestinians in their world, if we remove the Palestinian issue from the equation, what would they tell their people? Why should they fight Israel, if the Arab world would live in peace with Israel? Unfortunately it is not in the cards.

I would say one word that was not raised by you. We spoke about Iran more than half an hour and we didn't mention Russia and China and I feel very bad about it. So put it also in this context and one word about the Jews in Iran – something the World Jewish Congress should do – empty Iran from its Jews.

MAN : But they might want to live there...

DAVID MENASHRI: I know, I know, I know all the stories, I know some of the actors, but currently they don't have any major problem. They don't suffer much more than the Muslim suffer in Iran. But I think that it makes no sense that there are more Jews in Iran than the rest of the Muslim world combined. And I think that this is something, that we should do something to encourage them to sheer out.

ODED ERAN: Professor Menashri, I don't know whether we were experts three quarters of an hour ago, but we are certainly much more knowledgeable at this point in time. On behalf of all of us here I do thank you about the informative, knowledgeable, incisive presentation. David, thank you very much. (applause)



Dr. Ephraim Asculai
Institute for National Security Studies

'Iran's Nuclear Capability'

Ephraim Asculai

I am not going to give a talk on physics, but I am going to say few things about the technical side of Iran's nuclear weapons development project. Three weeks ago, on 25 September, Iran wrote a letter to the International Atomic Energy Agency, the IAEA in short, informing that Iran was building a small underground uranium enrichment facility. In a way, although almost no one wrote it, this was the smoking gun that everyone was looking for in order to pin down and verify that Iran was indeed embarking on a nuclear weapon development project.

I will explain how the whole thing went. First, a few technical words. There are several forms of uranium, called isotopes, out of which two are important. One is the most common uranium isotope, which is of weight 238, and the other, which is in very, very short supply in nature, is uranium 235. The 235 isotope is the one which is needed to produce nuclear weapons.

It is what is called a fissile material, it can go, undergo fission and properly handled, it can be used to make nuclear weapons. The abundance of the 235 isotope is only 0.7 percent – almost nothing. Uranium is a very heavy metal and if you want to set one isotope from the other, it is a very difficult technical process.

One of the processes commonly used now in the world is gas centrifuged isotope separated. The uranium is transformed into gas, the gas is put in these very, very delicate and intricate machines and thereby enriched. The percentage goes up from 0.7 to several categories: if it goes to, let's say, 3.5 to 5 percent, it is low-enriched uranium, commonly called LEU; if it goes up to 90 percent, it is high-enriched uranium, or HEU, which is needed for nuclear explosives.

The problem is that the gas centrifuges can do very little work, so you need thousands or, in the Iranian case, several thousands of these are needed in order to produce the required amount either for a reactor, which is a 3.5 to 5 LEU, or for nuclear weapons. Legally, any country under inspection can produce low-enriched uranium. There are no limits to that. No country is permitted – it is not a law, but it is commonly stated – to enrich uranium beyond 25 percent.

What happened in history was the following: In August 2002 an Iranian dissident movement informed the world in Washington DC that Iran was developing nuclear weapons and it had a huge underground uranium enrichment facility. This huge facility is in a place called Natanz and it was later known that it was supposed to hold some 54,000 centrifuges. This is barely sufficient to produce fuel for one nuclear power reactor, and Iran is building one nuclear power reactor.

So the excuse for that huge plant was to supply that one power reactor, that is in a place called Busheer, under the Gulf, and that was a very nice excuse. The problem was that Iran didn't declare this facility to the world. And then started a long process led by three European countries, the EU3 – United Kingdom, France and Germany. What they wanted was to Iran suspend its enrichment program and then to see what could be done.

Iran first agreed and then cancelled the agreement. Why did it cancel the agreement? Here we see the mentality, the rational of these people. They demanded and the

agreement included the words that Iran is suspending voluntarily the uranium enrichment activities. Once the word “voluntarily” was there, we in Israel, who thought about it, immediately knew that that was the end of this agreement. Why was that? Because in Europe the word “voluntarily” would usually mean “good will”, showing good will. While in Iran or in the Middle East the word “voluntarily” means “OK, we volunteered and then we can take it away” and that is what happened. And that was the first agreement. And that was the second agreement. And, unfortunately Mr. Solana, Mr. Javier Solana fell into the same trap twice and then a third time. But on the third time already nothing happened. What is going on in Iran? Iran in this big underground – some people say it is covered by 3 meters overhead cover, rock, soil, etc. – they plan, as I said, to put some 54 thousand centrifuges. And they begun mounting these centrifuges. And in March this year they managed to produce enough LEU, enough low enriched uranium of 3.5 to 4 percent, enough so if they enrich this quantity further, they can produce enough uranium, high enriched uranium for one nuclear bomb. That was a threshold, that was a sort of not red line, but it is a mark, it was a benchmark for testing what are their intentions. But happened is, of course, that they are not going to do it now.

They are going to proceed with a further amount of this low enriched uranium until they can arrive at a sufficient quantity for say 3 to 4 percent, and if the political situation will be right, then they could re-enrich it to HEU.

Why they can re-enrich it? Because the centrifuges are exactly the same. It is the same machines, it is a slightly different setup, but these are the same machines that they used to get the LEU, and they can get HEU with them. They can get there within, let's say, one year after the decision. It is slow. In one year they can probably get to this...

In nuclear weapon there are three parts. The joke says that everything military has three parts. The first part is the fissile material, the uranium, the enriched uranium. The second part is what is called weaponization, because the enriched material, the uranium, is made into a sphere, into a ball, but to explode it, to produce a nuclear weapon, it needs a very specialized technology. They need an explosive to implode the sphere, etc. It is a complicated process.

The third thing, of course, is the delivery system. In the case of Iran this will most probably be missiles, because their air force is very outdated. It is not a very good air force. Now, Professor Menashri mentioned the NIE – the National Intelligence Estimate of the American intelligence community. To many people's mind, including my own, they made a very great mistake in saying that the nuclear weapons development, which means the weaponization, the second part, was apparently stopped in 2003 and until 2007, the date of the publication of the NIE, it was not renewed.

Why people beg to differ? For two reasons: one is that probably they did receive from Pakistan the blueprints for a nuclear weapon design. It is quite possible and it is more than that, because Libya was far behind Iran in developing nuclear weapons and didn't even enrich a gram of uranium, it had these blueprints.

So it is correct, I think, to assume that Iran had these same blueprints and that they don't really need to develop the weaponization, it needed only to apply the blueprints to manufacture the parts. It is possible that they achieved whatever they want in 2003 and they didn't need to do any further work on the development. Another possibility is that, as we know now, Western intelligence is not all that good. It is possible that those activities went on secretly in concealed facilities, and since now we know that they had concealed

facilities, they could have other concealed facilities where these activities take place. Therefore to assume that they did stop it would have been a mistake.

Regarding intelligence, there are differences in time estimates. Some intelligence services think that the date will be something very early in the next decade, i.e. 2011, 2012 - the date of being able to produce nuclear weapons, if the political decision is taken. You have to have a political decision in order to produce a nuclear weapon. Everything can be ready and waiting, and it can be ready from the dates I just said. It does not mean that they are going to do at that date and we have to be very, very clear because we have to be very careful.

If they are not going to have nuclear weapon in 2012, they will have the potential to do so. They are not going to do it or they are going to do it. The NIE is much vaguer about it. The differences of opinion come because first of all it's the reason that some intelligence services like the Israeli ones will assume the worst case. Worst case is what you have to prepare for.

If you read the NIE, you will see the words "high probability" and "low probability" and "medium probability", the word certainty does not appear there, but if you take reasonable probability the dates are not so close. It depends of what your actions want to be. If you take the American dates they imply 2014, 2015 - there is time. Unfortunately the time is not there, because the Iranians, as I've said long before, in March already had the LEU in a quantity which is sufficient, if they want to take a the decision to further enrich to 90 percent.

What is the problem? They have many problems - not technical, but political problems. There are problems to do with MPT , the problems to do with IAEA, are they going to do secretly, are they going to have what is calling breakout scenario in which they say:" We do not want the IAEA inspectors anymore. It's big, big political decisions.

Then what is going to happen? Let's say that they break out and they take the uranium and they start to enriching it further. What will the inspectors do? Will they say: They are enriching further or they will say, as usual, We are going to look at it and we are going to inspect it and we have to verify what we think of and it's very complicated business. At the moment the Iranians are doing nothing of this sort, as far as we know it.

Let me come back to what I said in the beginning - that the place, the new installation near the ancient city of Qom is a the smoking gun. Why is it a smoking gun? Ahmadinejad came out and said "Look this new facility which we declared is for peaceful purposes". And there is no way that this facility is meant to do anything for peaceful purposes. Why? Because it is meant to hold 3,000 gas centrifuges, there is a rule of thumb that in the present case of the Iranians 3,000 centrifuges can produce one nuclear weapon per year. Can. This is the approximate amount needed for that.

So this place in Qom could produce one nuclear weapon per year. It is very, very well concealed - if you look at some of the satellite pictures, it's inside the mountain. It is very well protected. And each square meter inside the mountain costs a lot of money. Why can it not be for peaceful purposes? Very simple: you cannot do anything with this amount of centrifuges for peaceful purposes. Let's remember what I have said 54,000 centrifuges will supply the nuclear power plant in Busheer with the low-enriched uranium. 54,000 - nothing less will do. Now 3,000 you can put in a corner of that installation. It is very small, very tiny amount, it cannot do anything for peaceful purposes.

Now I come perhaps to the second possibility of what Iranians are doing. You know enriched uranium is one of the fissile materials that can be used for the production of nuclear weapons, the other one is plutonium. Plutonium is produced in reactors and plutonium is produced from natural uranium, not enriched uranium and the Iranians are now building a nuclear reactor. Natural uranium nuclear reactor - they called nuclear research reactor. It is heavy water reactor. They are building the heavy water plant and that is meant for the production of plutonium, so they have two roots for nuclear weapons development.

We read from the Geneva, the last Geneva conference that took place on 1 October, that the Iranians are willing to give the low enriched uranium to Russia for enrichment to 20 percent and they give that 20 percent uranium to France, which will produce fuel for the Teheran very small nuclear research reactor. This is all very nice and everyone was happy, because you take the LEU out of Iran – beautiful, so they don't have any more low-enriched uranium.

However, the sounds that come out of Teheran are different today. They are not much willing to do it and if they were willing to do it, what would happen? The world would be fueling a nuclear reactor in Tehran and that is a very, very sad joke.

In conclusion there is no doubt now that the Iranians are under nuclear weapons development route. Even the Russians, I didn't hear anything about – we do not know, we do not have a proof, if you have proof, show us. Nothing like that was heard after this discovery. It doesn't mean that Russia will support sanctions, it doesn't mean that, that's political.

El Baradei, who is the IAEA outgoing director-general, said: "We do not have any proof that Iran is developing nuclear weapons." But I think that everyone now realizes what road Iran is on!



Amb. Dr. Dore Gold
Jerusalem Centre for Public Affairs
'Has Iran Outsmarted the West?'

Dore Gold

I understand that my remarks have been titled "Iran outsmarted the West." It is an important subject to consider because we are now entering into a new period of negotiations between the permanent members of UN Security Council and Germany on one side and Iran on the other side. Much of these negotiations are under the rubric of the policy of engagement, which President Barack Obama suggested during the 2008 campaign and has become a hallmark of his approach to former adversaries like the Iranians.

Will the engagement possibly work, will it be possible to talk Iran into – or I should say out of – its nuclear program? I thought it is useful – this is one thing that I did in my book "The rise of nuclear Iran" – to look at how engagement worked in the past with Iran on a nuclear issue. Because people have engaged with Iran on a number of issues historically. Virtually every administration has.

We will look a little bit at the negotiation that occurred between 2003 and 2005 between the European Union Three and Iran. I am going to try and learn from this negotiation some lessons that we can apply to the contemporary situation. And I will reach, I believe, a conclusion that I fear: Iran is outsmarting the West.

I remember when I was writing my book, I wrote in one of the chapters that Iranians have invented chess. I got into a very big debate with my editors over whether it was the Iranians or the Indians that invented chess. But never mind. Iranians are very good chess players. And sometimes I think that on the Western side we have some people that are experts in checkers. And that makes an asymmetry in negotiating skills.

I will begin with the last negotiation begun in 2003 and the lessons of it. You might remember – we had actually a preview of what we are going through now back then. You know this year it was revealed that Iran has a secret enrichment facility in Qom. And that was the one that is expected to have the capacity to contain 3000 centrifuges. Well, back in 2002 there was another revelation of at least two facilities that Iranians have been working on for years. One was at Natanz, a facility for uranium enrichment. There was another facility in Istafan for what is called the conversion of uranium to produce feed stock for the Natanz facility. There was of course a third facility in a place called Arak, not Iraq, and Arak, with a heavy-water reactor, was under construction.

Those revelations created a tremendous dilemma for the Iranian leadership. They came out in 2002. The United States were gearing up for the Iraqi war at that time, talking about weapons of mass destruction of Saddam Hussein, not of Iran. And the Iranians could have faced severe sanctions, maybe even military action. So they found that the best route was to enter into negotiation process with the West, in which they would put their current nuclear assets, the one that had been known about, on the table for discussion.

And the United States, as I said, were busy with building the whole thing for the war in Iraq and agreed to allow the European Union to take the lead in these negotiations. The EU Three were Britain, France and Germany. They were negotiating in their national capacities with the Iranians, not like the EU, not as collective, and the negotiations went on between 2003 and 2005. Two agreements were reached. The original European goal was to reach a total suspension of uranium enrichment. What was reached was a temporary suspension of uranium enrichment, which, of course, Iran violated over time, and the entire process essentially fell apart by the time you get to 2005 and election of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad as president of Iran.

Perhaps the most revealing insight into Iranian negotiating strategy on the nuclear issue is provided to us by the head Iranian nuclear negotiator Hassan Ruhani, who has also been the head of the Iranian National Security Council for about 16 years. Ruhani lost his job – he was associated with the regime of Khatami. As an ex-nuclear negotiator, but still somebody who was part of the Iranian establishment, he was briefing the Iranian élites in Tehran in a speech

that was carried in an internal regime journal called Rahbar. The contents of this briefing were later leaked to Western newspapers – particularly to the Daily Telegraph and to the New York Times. The key sentence in that briefing that Ruhani stated was: “Why were we negotiating with the Europeans? Our engineers were working double shifts in Isfahan to complete the Isfahan conversion plan”.

I don't want to make this very complex with a lot of nuclear terminology, but just briefly – there are three basic stages in the production of nuclear fuel for nuclear weapons: first is the mining of the uranium or the initial conversion from the uranium to what is called the “yellow cake” – stage one. Stage two is taking the “yellow cake” and putting it through a conversion process to produce uranium hexafluoride gas – UF₆ gas: the conversion process.

And then the UF₆ gas goes into the centrifuges as a feed-stock, spin at extra-high speed and – voilà – you get at the end either low enriched uranium, which is appropriate for the nuclear reactors, or you will produce a high-enriched uranium, which can be used for atomic bombs. What Ruhani was saying was that we succeeded moving into stage two. In fact he added in his speech: “When we started the negotiations with the Europeans, we didn't have the Isfahan conversion plan, we had nothing”.

And by the time the negotiations were over, the conversion plan was up and running and they managed to convert 37 tons of “yellow cake” to UF₆ gas. Now we learnt two very important lessons from that period of time of what the Iranians achieve with negotiations. First – while they talked, they pushed their nuclear program forward.

The second important element was that they used the negotiating process with the West to fend off the Western pressures. Let's remember the dates: 2002 – the Iranian opposition reveals the Iranian nuclear program in Washington; Mujahidin Halk revealed the truth of what was known about the Iranian program.

The first UN Security Council Resolution, in which the UN goes after Iran, is in 2006. In other words, they used negotiations brilliantly to put off pressures on them for four years. It is only at that time the International Atomic Agency reports the Iranian file to the Security Council and the Security Council passes resolutions. So if I have to apply that history to the present tense, I would expect that when the Iranians sit together and try to come up with a negotiating strategy for the present, they are probably following a very simple, similar pattern.

A new facility was revealed near Qom. What do you have to do? You have to, first of all, fend off those international pressures. In fact, you might remember that in July of this year there was a meeting of the G-8 and it was decided at that meeting that in the month of September a deadline would be handed to Iran. And by the month of September – some would say by the meeting of G-20 in Pittsburgh – Iran had to come forward with a sincere plan, showing how it was going to address the concerns of the international community from its continuing uranium enrichment plan. In other words, the forces were closing in on Iran. Had they ever had a sincere proposal?

Prior to this G-20 meeting in Pittsburgh, earlier in the month, the Iranians actually put a proposal on the table. It was five pages long, it was later publicized and I don't have better diplomatic words to describe it except for the word “drivel”. Why “drivel”? Because there was nothing in there that was concrete. There was nothing there that corresponded to the expectations of the international community, established in the previous meeting in July. Instead what you had was a number of generalizations about the importance of denuclearizing the world. You had references to the change in the world order, where old powers were declining and new powers were raising and the need to address this new world order that was emerging.

That is fine for giving a pro-Iranian seminar for those that wanted to hear it, but that didn't answer the questions of the international community. There is nothing worse in the Middle East than to draw a line in the sand and to say “you have until September to come up with a

plan" and then September comes and you have nothing. And then the West basically says: "OK".

Now, what happened in September, of course, was at the meeting of the Security Council, which President Obama chaired – the presidency of the Security Council was in the hands of the United States – and spoke about the his vision of a nuclear-free world. Then, days later in Pittsburgh President Obama, Prime Minister Gordon Brown and President Sarkozy revealed the secret reactor enrichment plant near Qom.

What happened to the September deadline? Then it was President Sarkozy, if you read the three different statements, who said: "Well, we hope to have an answer until December". So September became December, even though they had all the reasons in the world to actually tighten pressures on Iran. Iran had to come up with a strategy to fend off possible pressures and it was not really very difficult to do so.

Therefore you have this proposal – well, they will take a good portion of the low enriched uranium, hand it to the Russian and then to the French, I don't have to repeat the whole thing that was explained in detail previously, but it captured the imagination of those who thought "Oh, negotiations are possible with Iran, it is possible to reach understanding with them". And that whole build-up that was going on toward the September deadline, around the revelations of the Qom enrichment plan just ... because of these vague proposals.

We will see whether these vague ideas will become a concrete program in the next period of time, but you have more time than on Iranians hands to negotiate this. Do you know how complicated this whole thing is? Taking the enriched uranium out of Iran, going to Russia and then going to France and then back to Iran and monitoring the whole thing – you can negotiate this for five years! I am exaggerating "five years", but it will give them time. And this is one of the most dangerous things that are occurring.

They fend off pressures, they get time to move their nuclear program forward. In the meantime, let's have a look at the state of the play in the US Congress. As all of you know, I am sure, there has been much talk in both Houses – in the Senate and in the House of representatives about putting a gasoline quarantine on Iran because of Iran's limited refinery capacity it has to import gasoline from ... Some say it is 40 percent of its gasoline, some say it is 25 percent. In any case it is a substantial amount.

When gasoline quotas were created by the Iranian government last time around, there were riots in Iran. Gasoline stations were set on fire. This is a sensitive subject. So if you put quarantine on gasoline in Iran, it will affect a lot of people and could be politically sensitive. What is happening now with these punitive measures that the Council is considering? Well, the relevant committee are the Committee of Senator Dodd and in the House Congressman Howard Berman. Both US lawmakers speak about the need to urgently advance. Essentially, that legislation is today trapped in the two committees. In other words, they made due committee work to move this legislation work at the committee level, but as long as there is negotiation process going on, it is hard to imagine the Obama administration will give them green light to move to a vote in the Senate and the House.

Which means that the Iranians, by engaging with the United States, as well as with the other Western countries, are maybe delaying the punitive measures against them, as they did in 2003. As they put off the Security Council resolution for four years.

That is a very dangerous trap. The big question, of course, is: Where are the Iranians in their program? And if you do some Google searches on this question, you will come up with US and Israeli experts and it will give you a whole salad of different dates – from 6 months from now until 2014.

What we are talking about is a nuclear weapon, or a nuclear warhead fitted on a missile, and that is probably also part of the debate. But frankly, I am concerned, because I don't think the intelligence agencies – and I say this on the basis of an outside assessment, I don't have

access to information – can get that kind of precise information about nuclear programs. Nuclear programs are the crown jewels for any country, the most guarded secrets, and Iran is a country that knows how to guard secrets. It has years of experience in the field of intelligence and counterintelligence.

The nuclear program is not just in the hands of civilians who are careless to lose a laptop to the West, but that program is in the hands of the Revolutionary Guards. It is a military program. So I don't think one can say in a definitive way where this program is ahead right now. The National Intelligence Estimate is a great example, I know that has been raised previously of how wrong it can be.

You know, if you read the National Intelligence Estimate, it says at the top of the summary "We believe with high confidence that Iran halted its nuclear program in 2003". And then you look at the end of the sentence and there is a footnote, and you go to the bottom of the page and you see what they mean by nuclear program. What the term nuclear program means. So it explains in the footnote: "By nuclear program we mean weaponization and clandestine conversion in the nuclear facilities". The second part is interesting. They are saying that Iran ended in 2003 its weaponization, i.e. making a warhead and clandestine enrichment and conversion facilities.

On the plant near Qom, the enrichment plant, two administration officials appeared before a press conference and gave an intelligence briefing, which was put on the Internet. And if you read that, these intelligence briefers were saying that United States knew about the Qom facility for several years. Now, several years... They give this briefing in 2009 – how far back these several years go? If it was in 2008, they would not use the word "several". Then maybe it is 2007? And maybe 2006? But let's think it was 2007, meaning that when NIE came out and pulled the plug and all the tension about the Iranian nuclear program and asserted that the Iranians, among other things, had halted a clandestine enrichment program, they knew in fact about the Qom facility.

I don't know about Israel assessing the NIE, I don't know if Israel has an NIE to put forward like that. But let's talk about that. So what does that mean? It means that, on one hand, in 2007 the US said there were no clandestine facilities anymore that are operating and, on the other hand, you had them building this Qom facility, which they knew about. And which is a clandestine enrichment facility.

What I am trying to say is that the world of intelligence assessments about nuclear programs is very unclear. Therefore we have the responsibility, as people concerned about the future of Israel and Jewish people, to come up with an approach that is responsible. My conclusion that I am sharing with you as a private citizen is that we cannot take risks. I tend to think that Iran is much further along than many people think. I believe there are several other sources that came out public and that are giving us glimpse of the secret world of intelligence. They would indicate that there are other clandestine facilities that have not been either publicly uncovered or the intelligence agencies haven't discovered.

Some, like the Daily Telegraph, report seven facilities, reflecting the British assessment. There is David Sagor in the New York Times, who wrote an outstanding book called "The inheritance" and he refers to 12 facilities being the American assessment. All we have found is one near Qom.

Given that this is the state of play, given the Iranian determination to achieve a nuclear weapon capability, I think we have to use all our political strength, all our persuasive powers to make sure the West realizes its own interest, not just the interest of Israel, which is to halt the Iranian nuclear program. We cannot allow ourselves to become complacent. There is a whole...industry in the United States I can speak about, which is anxious to put everybody to sleep.

There are important journalists, there are important intellectuals, there are ex-officials, who all work to put out stories to put us to sleep. We have responsibility to wake people up and take

action. And, hopefully, the Western governments will realize what their interests are. When I hear President Sarkozy, the urgency in his voice, I think he understands what France's concerns are. And I have met Arab leaders from the Gulf. When they speak, the urgency is coming out of them, it is there.

But nonetheless there are people who are going to tell you "No, the Iranians are not going to develop nuclear program", saying that the development of a nuclear program, a nuclear development program will be a moral. So again, if we have the responsibility to wake people up, not to listen to those assessments of nonsense and to try and get the West focus on realizing its interest just protecting itself from the nuclear Iran.

MICHAEL SCHNEIDER: Thank you very much. I am going to pull rank and ask the first question and I will not do it again today.

Assuming that any country that gets the nuclear bomb, immediately makes it not possible to use that weapon against an enemy also has a bomb. Assuming that this is correct assumption – it may not be – and I am leaving aside the fanatic fringe for a moment – what would be Iran's nuclear aim in getting the bomb, in your opinion?

DORE GOLD: Well, I am not sure that the classic models of deterrence of "one nuclear power neutralizes another nuclear power" works in this sense. First, the immediate impact of a nuclear Iran will be massive nuclear proliferation in this region. And I suspect that it is going to move from a Middle East, which is pre-nuclear to a multi polar Middle East with several nuclear powers. I suspect that nuclear arsenals will be small – you will not have triheads like you had them in the US – Soviet Russia case, where they had land-based, sea-based and air-based weapons, so they had survivability and if you do not have that kind of survivability, you will end up with vulnerable weapons nuclear systems and hair-trigger mechanism: a very dangerous Middle East.

Now at the same time I have been focused in my writing on the impact on terrorism. Think back to 9/11. United States were attacked, Washington and New York were attacked by Al Kaida, which was based in Afghanistan under the talliban. Talliban did not have nuclear weapons, talliban did not have long-range missiles delivery systems and therefore the United States and its national airlines could go into Afghanistan saying "OK, we are taking down this talliban regime". True, they run to the Pakistani border and came back since then, but at that time a message could be send to all states, providing sanctuary to international terrorist organizations "You attack the West, we take down your regime". And a certain level of deterrence could be created in the war against terrorism.

Now fast forward – from 2001 to 2011 and 2012. Iran has a nuclear weapon. You know, how good their operational systems are, the commander control, who knows. But an organization coming out of Iran – the Hesbullah, which is the Shiite radical Islamic arm of Iran itself – or Sunni organization, to which they give sanctuary to – you know Al Kaida split after Afghanistan failed and part of the radical leadership went to Iran. Most of them went to Pakistan. So it may be an Al Kaida operation out of Iran. Either one – can the West retaliate against Iran to give sanctuary to that Al Kaida or that Hisbullah operation? Can we retaliate?

I would say that if we have nuclear Iran, we cannot and therefore the freedom of movement of the terrorist organizations in their war against the West significantly grows. And that has nothing to do with the classic, you know, two sides pushing buttons and doing deterrence calculations. Because deterrence is very much under the radar, I mean the terrorism is much under the radar.

MICHAEL SCHNEIDER: Thank you very much. Can we have questions?
I have Dan Diker, sorry I didn't hear your name.

[man speaking off the microphone]

MICHAEL SCHNEIDER: OK, fine. Sorry, I will ask Dan and then I will ask you to ask your question. Please.

DAN DIKER [off microphone]: There has been some discussion this morning about the role of Israel...

MAN: Can you speak in the microphone, please.

DAN DIKER: There has been some discussion this morning, ambassador Gold – this is a double-headed question – regarding Israel's direct role on continuing to sound the alarm on Iran's nuclear file and, by the way, as extension, organizations like the World Jewish Congress. Now there are those that said, like David Menashri, that Israel should not take the lead that this is world issue and we should not be at front. With view to fact that following his receiving the Nobel Prize President Obama and his administration, the likelihood that they will take sort of reaction on Iran would be minimized, what should be, and with view to the fact that the West may not take continued focus on Iran, what should Israel's position be with regard to the type of alarm you sounded this morning, that is one.

And the second part of my question is the linkage to the Palestinian issue, which was also raised? That if, in fact, Israel would resolve its conflict with the Palestinians, that this will remove the pretext for Iranian diplomatic and de-legitimization attacks against Israel and in that way coalescing the Arab world against Isarel as a pretext and that will remove the issue, the argument would be that then it would be much easier to contain Iran with our Western and Arab partners.

DORE GOLD: My view on sounding an alarm is that, if you are quiet, people will soon live with it and therefore it is a self-defeating position to take. So I think Israel and our pro-Israel organizations should speak out against Iran, but they should always remind the listeners that Israel is not the only country affected.

In all my – I just wrote a book about this – and virtually at every appearance I reminded listeners that the officials close to the supreme leader of Iran Ali Khamenei stated this year that Bahrain was province of Iran. And Bahrain is an independent Arab kingdom next to Saudi Arabia. It is a member of the United Nations. But – and here is the case – they didn't say "we want to wipe Bahrain off the map", but they used language reminiscent of how Saddam Hussein referred to and talked about Kuwait.

And I think that this is constructive to talk about those kind of cases, to show that this is a broader threat, but I think Israel and Israeli diplomats and, I believe, organizations that are concerned about Israel should speak up, because if you don't speak up, and I will repeat myself, the world will assume that it is not as big as a problem as you originally claimed. That you are now relaxed, that you can now live in this world of deterrence with the nuclear Iran and this is a very dangerous assumption, it is spreads.

On the issue of linkage – I believe linkage here is totally inappropriate and unnecessary. And I will explain why. Look, if Israel finds a Palestinian peace partner and moves the negotiations along, if this has its own logic, its own relevance, but if we are looking at forming coalitions with the Arab world, presently the Arabs are concerned more about Iran than, I think, even many Israelis are. They see a big clash forming between Sunni Islam and Shiite Islam.

And I cannot imagine that the Saudi Defense Minister would say to the United States " I do not want to cooperate with you on the defense of our raster world Arab League because someone build a veranda under house in the settlement of Itamaar" and scenario. Just doesn't work that way.

These countries need protection, those seek protection, the only argument that could be made is that there is struggle for the Arab street. And that if this conflict is a hot conflict, in other words, if there is Palestinian-Israeli clash, a new intifada and its Al Jazeera, then this puts pressure on the Arab leaders who need to address the Palestinian issue and don't have the same freedom of action to devote resources to the Iranian issue. That is an argument that could be made. But if you do not have this kind of a hot conflict going on, and you don't at present and it doesn't seem likely in the future, then I think the Arab leaders have their own reasons to cooperate with the West against Iran and therefore the linkage issue is inappropriate.

MICHAEL SCHNEIDER: Sorry I didn't catch your first name?

MAN speaking off the microphone

MICHAEL SCHNEIDER: And your surname?

Well, we are going to take your question. What I wanted to say...

In your youth you must have been a would-be diplomat, Dore, and we have here about 5 members of our World Jewish Diplomatic Corps, which is a body, which is doing very effective advocacy work and intercession work with various UN bodies and in fact, can you just please stand up for a minute, all the WJDCs' who are here.

DORE GOLD: Wow.

MICHAEL SCHNEIDER: And each time when we give them an exercise, which they carry out successfully, they become more horned, more experienced and they are our future. So I thought you just should know about them.

DORE GOLD: Thank you.

MICHAEL SCHNEIDER: Now would you like to ask your question?

MAN (?): Yes. What do you think are the motivators behind the cartridge industry you alluded of people, who would like to make the Iranian issue go away or would like to have people fall sleep and specifically:

What do you think are the motivators behind the 2007 NIE, given that the US intelligence community probably had all the information by them to show them that the Iranians are cheating on the nuclear program?

DORE GOLD: Well, you are asking me a subject, on which my answer could only be really speculative, but I will share with you – and again, this is not something that I can prove - I suspect that the American intelligence community, those that were part of it, not the whole American intelligence community, but those that were engaged in this activity, were concerned about the trends in the Bush administration. They had opposed the Iraq war and they wanted to make sure that no other war will break out. Very simple. And they used and they politicized the intelligence.

There were other cases of this that are noticeable. There is a former CIA analyst by name Michael Shoir, who is terrible anti Israel and he appears in "60 minutes" and in VOX television shows as well, he was the head of the Ben Laden unit in the CIA. He was permitted by the CAI to write a book on a US policy on the war on terrorism under the name "Anonymous" and publish it, while he was in CIA and he attacked his own commander in chief. So how does that work? You cannot do that in Israel and in Israel you can leak a lot of things, but you cannot do this. But that happened.

Now part of the cartridge industry – it does have people, who are, like we say in Hebrew,... You had here earlier Uzi Rubin. I do not know if he made this presentation to you, but he made this presentation to the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs. ...OK, there you go.

I have heard of brooking, I have heard of heritage, I have heard of EAI, I have heard of...Institute in Washington, I have never heard of East-West Institute, but they put out this report on the Iranian missile capability and I am sure, as he told you, East-West Institute report, when it was released, by the way, engendered articles about its contents in Los Angeles Times and the Washington Post in May of this year. It stated Iran does not have solid fuel engines, Iran cannot strike European territory and – voila – the day after the report was released, the Sagel missile is fired 2000 km with solid fuel engines. Entire report is shown to be rubbish. Of course, they tried to get out of this with an addendum – does not make any difference. Now that report was based on the work of a Russian-American team.

To ask about motivations – maybe the Russian interest in proving that Iran didn't have solid fuel engines was primitive...and could not hit European territory. Or back in May one motivation could be in get the American anti-missile systems out of the Czech Republic and out of Poland. And in Russia things do not have interest, because it is an intellectual interest to make a report with a couple of Americans. So that is what I think happened. Here is the motivation.

I will share with you another thing. This has become an obsession of mine. Farid Zaharia, one of the most eloquent analyst of the US foreign policy in the United States – he is an associated editor of Newsweek magazine, has his own TV show on CNN, he wrote a cover story in Newsweek on June 1st and the cover story was "Everything you know about Iran is wrong" and had terribly uncomplimentary picture of Ahmedinejad.

And I had just finished my book – you know it was about to go to press and saw this magazine, I grabbed it at the airport, because I wanted to see – everything that I knew was wrong, so I looked at the cover story, his cover story and in it Zaharia writes "Iran does not have any intention to build a nuclear weapon program". Why? Because the supreme leader of Iran Ayatollah Ali Khamenei has said that nuclear weapons are immoral.

In fact he has given a fatuah, a religious opinion, former religious opinion to that effect. What is true is that Iranian diplomats at International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna have made this claim before. It wasn't a new claim. But this time it was coming from one of the most eloquent spokesman on American foreign policy in the United States.

So when I wrote my book, one of the things I did was – I worked with people, who were Farsi experts and were able to do research for me, as was I became acquainted with the whole circle of the top Iran experts in the world. I asked one such group in the United States and I asked the corresponding Israeli counterpart in Israel about this famous nuclear fatuah. Both of them checked it out and reported back to me. And on the web site of the supreme leader of Iran Ali Khamenei you have, I guess, there is a fatuah button or there is an indicator that you have gone to his religious rulings. And these religious rulings are updated very regularly, because if the supreme leader of Iran makes a new religious decision, it has to go on the web site in Farsi. So they went through his formal list of fatuahs and do you know what they found? There is no nuclear fatuah.

As we say in ArabicDoes not exist, but nonetheless, one of the most prominent spokesman on the American foreign policy makes this assertion. And why is he doing that? I have never spoken to him and I cannot read his mind, but it seems to me that it is part of this cartridge industry, saying "don't worry about Iran, you know, you have these people running around, overstating the case".

And there are others, besides the East- West institute and Farid Zaharia. And they have a lot of currency, they get quoted in the New York Times and Washington Post and other places, and it makes it very difficult to present what are the facts of the case. But the facts are there and they are disturbing and they are immediate.

MICHAEL SCHNEIDER: Thank you. Any other questions? Well, thank you very much for that.

Isi Leibler, I was going to introduce you, if I may have this opportunity. Everybody knows Isi and I would like to welcome him. Isi is officially now an honorary advisor to the World Jewish Congress. Isi Leibler.

ISI LEIBLER: I have listened with great interest everything that you have said and, of course, I endorse the whole thesis. Where I would like to make one comment, because I feel there is a weakness in the way we present our case is that we are living in illusions that if we are going to simply concentrate on fighting against Iran having the bomb.

Because my feeling is that unless we take out the bomb ourselves and there is a very big question mark – I am not a military person, I do not have an idea, but my gut feeling is that we cannot and it may be counterproductive, but I may be wrong there. But putting that aside, unless that happens, in my mind, we are not dealing with reality by not facing up the fact that we are going to be having a nuclear Iran.

And my feeling is that our concentration now should be entirely moving towards recognition of this fact and beginning to start an environment and an atmosphere of deterrence. Because I do not accept the fact that deterrence will not play a role, I do accept the fact that there is madness in their religious environment that could be distorted, but deterrence is still deterrence and we are facing an enemy, which is very, very much concerned about his long-term security.

And what I feel that we in Israel are not doing sufficiently, is creating an environment, whereby it will be known that we are going to act in a way that nobody has acted before, if any nuclear activity takes place against us. And that's an issue of deterrence. And I think that we should be concentrating much, much more on that than crying, just crying that this was going to happen. Because my fear is that it may happen. And I would like to hear your comment on that.

ODED ERAN: I think that there is one possible development on the way to what Isi described and it is, basically, living with the bomb, if I understood him correctly. Is that the United States – and that is what we need to prepare before we prepare to what Isi referred to – is a situation, where United States, in order to salvage the negotiations, to salvage the credibility of the President, agrees to formally recognize the enrichment up to a certain level – make it 5, make it 10 percent, doesn't matter.

And at that time, and that is what we need to, in the WJC, also decide how to deal with this – with a US plus European agreement to go this line and add to what you just described very...in a very detailed professional manner how Iran outsmarted the West. And this outsmarting will continue. From five it will become seven, from seven it will become thirteen, etc., etc.

And so – do we go into a confrontation as a WJC, I am not speaking about Israel.

As WJC do we go into confrontation with the world, when the world, quote, unquote agreed to a certain agreement, which we all can guess where it is leading?

This is one of the problems we might face in the immediate future, before we face what Isi has described.

DORE GOLD: OK, there are really two issues put on the table now. I will first deal with Isi suggestion and then I will deal with Oded's scenario.

Right now, if you read between the lines of the policy in Washington, I think they are going towards deterrence. Deterrence.

There is a New York Times author that I rather – I don't want to say detest, it is too strong a word, but I don't particularly care for a lot of his analyses. And the reason I am using such strong language is he is very unfair to Israel – his name is Roger Cohen.

Now, Roger Cohen maybe unfair and someone to be very concerned about on Israel, but he has some interesting sources of information around. He did an outstanding analysis in the New

York Times magazine a few months ago, in which, if you can read between the lines, he spoke to everybody he had to speak to. And he suggested in that article that America in fact forth-back position of the US government is deterrence.

The problem with Israel or the pro-Israel organizations taking that position is that we completely acquiesce them and we accept the bomb. That is how our positions are interpreted. Is there a point to ramping up sanctions, including the gas and quarantine? I believe there is.

I believe that it also demonstrates political will to the Iranians. Because you have the whole West saying "Iranian's nuclear bomb is unthinkable" – I quote Sarkozy – and then it happens – without any fight, without any struggle. What does that say about deterrence in the future? If you rise the expectations and then nothing happens. I think someone has to think about what happens if all these efforts fail. And I think that this is prudent to think about it behind closed doors.

But I think as a public position, we should do everything in our power to support the move to a gasoline quarantine and be as supportive as possible to organizations promoting moving out of a committee discussion with a Congressman Berman or Senator Dodd and moving to the Senate in the House for vote to see that going forward.

Now the scenario that Oded describes is very realistic. I noticed that Senator John Kerry, the Chairman of the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee gave an interview in the Financial Times in the spring, in which – I call it a "trouble wound" – he basically said what America should do is not acquiesce to the bomb, but acquiesce to the enrichment only at the civilian level, something like 5%, formally it is up to 20%, but normally we are talking about 3.5%.

[man speaking off the microphone]

DORE GOLD: Well, yes, that's why they are pushing this proposal by the way.

So here is the issue I am concerned with and I am not sure how it gets addressed. Back in 2002 North Korea decided on a policy of break out from its nuclear restrictions. That is understanding with Clinton administration and then later, of course, another understanding with Bush administration, but in 2002 they decided to break out and break out meant to kick out the IAEA teams. It broke the seals on its nuclear equipment and although it was not a Uranium case, but a Plutonium case, it started the production of Plutonium from spent fuel rods from its nuclear reactors. That was in 2002 and by 2006 the North Koreans had their first atomic test, although it was a borderline test according to different sources. They had a definite test this year, in 2009. And they managed to get away with this. They had some Security Council resolutions, they had some pressure from here and there, but they pulled it off.

There is a report that Iranians will president one of these tests or both of them. I don't know whether they were. But I am sure the Iranians studied this North Korean scenario, because it shows how you take a permissible nuclear program, break out of it in defiance of all international obligations, reach a nuclear test and get away with it. That is the North Korean model, whether you are using Plutonium or Uranium – it does not make any difference, it is a political, international political event. And my simple concern is that is going to be a scenario that the Iranians will follow. I don't think they will do nuclear test so quickly, because that will bring huge international pressures, but, for example, to go from a 20% enriched Uranium, which they have their hands on, to 90% enriched Uranium, which is not a big leap – that is something that is possible.

So if the West does pursue this idea of accepting civilian enrichment, then I think we have to be very concerned about how Iran - which is determined to get a bomb, they are determined to be the hegemony power in this region, they are determined to have their say in global affairs; look at what they are doing in South America; they are not just a Middle-Eastern power, so I believe that we have to raise concerns about this type of scenario, which I think is not unrealistic – double negative, meaning it is realistic. Michael.

MAN (?) COBBI BENATOFF (?): What I think is that we had a very interesting morning, very interesting presentations and I find it very stimulating and intellectually certainly a great experience. But my limits come up, which means that I am here as a member of this Executive Committee and representative of certain European Jewry and my main point is what can I, what can we, as World Jewish Congress do on this matter?

And, frankly, I am afraid that we are going out of the purpose of this discussion in the sense that after having heard all these presentations, I believe it is very important for us to come up with some decision also on what way the World Jewish Congress should approach the Iranian issue. I see levels of approach, which are government levels, levels of approach, which are secret service information levels and I am still wandering what is the level, what is the level, where we, as the World Jewish Congress, can approach and be of help in coping with this issue?

MICHAEL SCHNEIDER: Cobbi, I remind you that in my introduction yesterday I rolled out the sequence we are going to follow in relation to all our priority areas and I did mention that following four very intensive hours, we will going to in the remaining half an hour to even touch upon a subject, but I will repeat it again in case you were not there at that time.

We are going to be breaking up into a number of focus groups and strategic planning groups after hearing all this very rich and intensive information and we will be bringing in experts again in order to guide us as to how we would within our limitations – and we are not a sovereign state, we are not an organization with armaments and weapons, but we can fill, I believe, strategic niches either to reinforce what governments are doing in order to cope with the Iranian situation and to sharpen our strategies, because we are not without any action. We have taken actions at the moment.

But I think that what this session has given us is a lot of very important information, which the world does not know about and which we can help with our eighty countries community around the world by providing them with either dramatic or very compelling information to dispill lot of either misinformation, ignorance or disinformation that has been spread to the general public.

And I believe that we now had four first class, I believe, hours – our experts have been terrific, but I thought the human mind was not able to concentrate for more than 32 minutes and I do not know how you have all managed to... We will do a test later, a written test this evening to see how much you have actually absorbed.

But, Dore, I really do thank you, because you brought us to a climax in this matter.



Amb. Oded Eran
Executive Director WJC Israel and
Director of Institute for National Security Studies

Review of Iran Session, Discussion and Recommendations

ODED ERAN

First of all I would like to join you, Michael, in prizing Dore Gold for the very insight description of the research he made for the book and I fully share his conclusions.

In part of the time from 2002 I was the ambassador to the EU and I followed very closely the meanders of the EU negotiating with Iran and being outsmarted by Iran.

What I take from the four hours and the five speakers, beginning with Danny Ayalon and ending with Dore Gold, a very – I think - very important and relevant conclusions we have heard from all of them, without an exception that:

- Iran is determined to obtain nuclear military capability and I think that this is very important, because we need ourselves to be convinced that this is the case. If we do not believe in this, it will be very difficult to act on this issue. And I think that all of them, coming from different angles of dealing with this issue, certainly did not coordinate what they were saying, but they were very clear on this issue. And I think this is very important, because we can discuss what we do with five percent, with twenty five percent, but eventually we need to understand that if we don't stop Iran – or somebody does not stop Iran – they will get there.
- Secondly, I take from the four hours the conclusion of the people speaking to us and I think that they are experts on this issue – Iran is vulnerable. That is to say that determined as they may be, they have not been tested yet, but if tested, they may think twice about this program. I am not saying that they will be giving it up forever, but they may think at least of whether they can suspend it, delayed it or accept certain conditions from the international community.

And the truth is that we haven't tested them yet. I mean – the international community. The three rounds of resolutions that are in the Security Council are important in the sense that at least the international community, Russia and China included, stood behind them – willingly, less willingly, but stood behind them. The question that we need to put to the international community and especially to those two members of the Security Council, is: are you willing to go along with a nuclear Iran or are you willing to do something against it?

And I think that we have to prepare also for the eventuality that these two do not go along. And then we have to come up with a strategy do we push the United States and the European key members to adopt their own sanctions against Iran and they are capable of doing it. I think that one issue was mentioned by Dore and myself and that is the oil, the gasoline and the refined gasoline. They are exporters of crude oil, but they have to import all, most – 50%- for the time being and until they somehow modernize their refinery industry.

So Iran is vulnerable and we should go for this vulnerability.

The third issue that came up in Menashri's issue and we have to decide on this is what do we do with the human rights – do we combine it or do we go for the single issue of Iranian nuclear capability? It is very important issue, it has to do with...And I am not, I am just throwing it as a bit for a discussion sometime.

The whole question of the human rights is, it is not linked to the Goldstone report, but in the view of those that we are approaching, this may be looked as an attempt of Israel

and its friends to distract attention from the Goldstone report or its remnications. I am just throwing it as one issue that we need to discuss before we go along.

The third issue that I am going to... or the forth issue is: who are we going to approach? And it is not a simple case we can approach the whole world, it is maybe beyond our means and beyond our resources – human resources, financial resources. So we have to concentrate on what is our target audience – do we go for public opinion, do we go for the governments, do we go only for the Security Council members – all these issues have to be discussed. We have to be using, as efficiently as possible, the resources that we have in our disposal.

And the last issue that I am going to raise is organizational. This is a colossal issue; I do not want to use words like "existential", "not existential" – there is an argument in Israel, outside Israel – is it existential or not. We have to be careful in this issue and not to, on the one end, speak loosely about these issues, but, on the other end, we have to send a message to the international community - This is not another couple of rockets being sent on innocent Israeli population. This is more than that. It is a dramatic shift in the balance of powers. It is a dramatic shift in the whole political situation in the Middle East, it is not only Israel, as we have heard it is the Arab countries in the Gulf and elsewhere and so framing the problem is a problem in itself.

I think what we need to do is to have a group in the WJC, which follows, monitors this issue and comes up with a draft resolution for the leadership of the, our major branches – whether it is in Latin America, whether it is in Asia or in Europe or the United States and, certainly, Israel. This is going to live with us for the next 3 to 5 years at least, if not more than that. So investing in the organization, it is not a waste, it will be useful. And I think that we need to unite, we need to basically look at the organization, look at how the decisions are adopted by the WJC and what is being done in every continent, which is a member of WJC. So I think that we have the work half that fast and I think that it was a very useful morning to say the least. And you are absolutely right that we sat, we were glued to our chairs, because each one of the speakers contributed to our knowledge and to understanding of the problem.



Ms. Aviva Raz-Shechter
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Israel

'Recent Phenomena in Anti-Semitism Worldwide'

Aviva Raz-Shechter

Shalom, everybody. It's always...indeed, it's a pleasure to be with so many old and new friends and since I am dealing with tough issues that are growing from one day to the other in their size and in the awareness that they are absorbing lately here, in Israel, and of course, outside, I would like to immediately refer to some of the current issues that we are dealing with.

When we formed the department, the issue was combating anti-Semitism in different forms, but we were very careful not to put what you call legitimate criticism of Israel that sometimes is being described as Anti-Israelism and anti-Zionism, in spite of the term 'anti-Semitism'. And we had internally in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and with some other offices debates regarding that, whether we should go along the definition that anti-Zionism and anti-Israelism is today a guise for anti-Semitism and to present it as such when we deal with governments, with NGOs, with others, since we can no longer disregard the fact that the correlation between what is happening in Israel in times of crisis and the rise of anti-Semitism all over the world and the effect on Jewish communities is becoming very clear, very obvious and therefore if you want to raise this issues with a counterpart, we cannot just talk about anti-Semitism, because usually, you know when we come with that they say 'You can't even say that we are anti-Semitic, you know, our best friends, they're ... with us to criticize Israel and Jews and therefore, you know, 'No way we see ourselves as anti-Semitic and beyond that, we want to save you, you know, we are doing whatever we are doing in order to help Israel understand that it has to deal with issues differently'.

I think that what is happening today around us shows us that we need to start crystallizing in much stronger strategy, no longer tackling each and every event, or regional events, but really to form a strategy that will be comprised of different disciplines, whereby a new terminology will be used in order to deal with those forces that are criticizing us in a way that sometimes, I feel, is creating two parallel lines. We are talking on one level and they are talking on a different level and specifically, I mean that the left, liberal left, progressive left that once was our counterpart, we had and we still have the same values, the same mindset, they are becoming our biggest challenge.

Now, I know I am not telling you anything new, and as a matter of fact while I do speak a lot of this issue, it seems that there is nothing new under the sun. However, we need to start talking much more bluntly with those groups, movements, organizations. To say that if you do not let Israel, as a democratic state, defend itself, what we have seen now with the Goldstone report and I am sure you have discussed it and heard about it from our deputy foreign minister and others, what that happened is that our capability to justify our right or not only to defend our citizens, but even in the later stage, the right to exist as a Jewish democratic state here is being the issue that is standing in front of us.

Therefore the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is now rifting in the whole thing and I am pleased to tell you that the upcoming conference that we are holding for the third consecutive year, the Global Forum for Combating Anti-Semitism that will be convened on December 16th and 17th, and I hope all of you know about it, and if not, indeed let me know right after, because we are going to deal with all those issues and try also to come out with something more operational, because that is what is needed right now.

I am travelling a lot, I am meeting many organizations and others, and all the time we are doing things, we work together in the Durban II process and of course in Geneva, and there are positive outcomes. However, it seems that we did not manage to convey a message that is so obvious to us and to the Jewish communities all over and also to very many other people and governments on the civil society level, and the NGOs level, on movements level, the situation in academia is growing more and more problematic today. I mean those challenges of academic boycotts, of divestment other boycotts as part of what we call anti-Zionism, anti-Israelism under the disguise for anti-Semitism is becoming our issue.

Just to tell you that I was visiting Norway last week for meetings of the International Task Force of Holocaust Remembrance, Education and Research. The Norwegians are the chairs this year. Maybe some of you heard about the issue with Knut Hamsun, the Norwegian Literature Noble Prize winner, who was Nazi follower, supporter and so forth. What is not known maybe is that the Task Force immediately conveyed to the Norwegians a very strong message, saying that they have to come out with a statement, explaining why they have chosen to celebrate the hundred years of Knut Hamsun, but to explain what was behind it. And they indeed did come up with this statement, separating totally between his literary achievements and the fact that he was brought to court, you know that he was Spanish and nobody supports, of course this part of his life.

However, of course, we are receiving so many responses regarding the whole issue, and it became a bilateral issue with us and Norway. Now, the Norwegians, on the one hand, don't want that to happen and they want to convey another message, and, on the other, when we talk about media, about cultural issues, about others in regards to Israel, we have again a confrontation. How do they see what they are doing, they are seeing it as something totally not on the arena of anti-Semitism and the way we interpret it. This is only an example to tell you the differences of opinion. But the Norwegians hopefully – one of their representatives will come to the Global Conference – do want to convey a message and discuss these issues so that they are not operating against, as they said, the global values that all democratic Western societies share. I think that that is a good approach to start a discussion. I think we should go along this path and at the same time Israel will take the Chairmanship from Norway as of next March and the ten year, the anniversary of the tenth year of the Task Force and we will have all meetings here.

We are going to use this opportunity during that year for promoting not only Holocaust remembrance but also the immediate relationship and correlation to fight anti-Semitism and for the first time we managed in these meetings last week to have a decision on establishing a Standing Committee on combating anti-Semitism within this international Task Force. Twenty-seven countries are part of it. They always dealt mainly with education and now at least if we manage by consensus to get this understanding that we need to move on to more political and politicized approach, it is, I think, an achievement.

We are far away from seeing immediate results, but I think that again we need to work with different Jewish communities and organizations to build coalitions, because we do have friends out there, we have many parliamentarians that participated in the Global Form Conferences and the ICCA that was within the Global Form and now it is a kind of an independent entity that is going to convene next year in Canada under the auspices of the Canadian government. The number of parliamentarians that are participating in it is growing. I think that we should use this force for legislation and enforcement of legislation that those three baskets we are working on – education, legislation and enforcement and the issues of media are the repeated focuses that we deal with and we want to continue

and deal with it in the upcoming conference, because, of course, media and Internet are becoming crucial tools for spreading anti-Semitism each for the other and of course could also be used positively.

Now, another issue that we are facing, is the latest trends that started during the last years of revisionism of the history of the Second World War and the Holocaust. Maybe the best reflection of it is the decision within the EU and the OSCE during, by the way, the Czech Chairmanship to have an international remembrance day for the victims of totalitarian regimes and the international day was chosen to be August 23rd, which is the Ribbentrop-Molotov signing of the agreement seventy years ago.

We are already seeing the outcomes of these trends in the discussions we had on the bilateral level with, for example, the Baltic states, with Ukraine in comparison to Russia. I don't know if you recall, but the meetings President Peres has had in Russia lately and the statement that came out, there was also eagerness by the Russians to bring it to the General Assembly together. We again regard revisionist trends as part of the whole idea of denial of the Holocaust. The kind of denial of the Holocaust we see with Ahmadinejad and others that have done it for many years but also revisionism, which can, you know, last for many years and then in the next decade the history will be totally different from what we know.

So this is another challenge we are dealing with. We are trying to approach it through discussions with the Baltic states representatives; they had the taskforces dealing with that and Professor Yehuda Bauer published several articles about it that were responded by our Baltic state colleagues. On the other hand, we have the Russians that are taking a different approach. But for us, for the State of Israel the most important thing is that the Holocaust is what we call the singular event in history that cannot be compared to any other genocide.

We sympathize with all victims of totalitarian regimes. We are not denying that the Stalinist regime was not responsible for so many, many victims. However, to turn it into a situation in which the victims become the aggressor, where Yitzhak Arad, for example, who was one of the greatest partisans in Lithuania and one of the members of the historical committee that they formed in the 1990s, is becoming the victim of this revisionists, is unacceptable. I must admit that Lithuanians said that they closed the file, but the way they closed it... There are several people who are sitting here that are very involved in that and know it wasn't done in the way we expected, together with the other three women that were accused in this affair.

This is another issue we are going to put in front of ourselves, dealing with new trends in Eastern, Central European countries whereby we will call it extremist, nationalistic trends, especially in the right, whereby we have seen in the latest, the European parliament elections the rise of extreme right parties and this is something also to deal with. Unfortunately, we didn't hear much from the EU institutions either, the Commission and from other states. It went through quite silently. This is something to look at and deal with many parliamentarians and others. On the Western side mainly the anti-Israeli, anti-Zionists approaches that are now being part and parcel of those leftist progressive groups and pro-Palestinian or Muslim groups that are sharing a common denominator, which is delegitimizing Israel, but not necessarily having the same ideology.

When I'm saying 'not having the same ideology', I think we can start working very hard on that vision that the ideology of those extremist Moslem groups in Europe that are finding

kind of a common language with liberal groups is so different. This is one of the reasons why we need to develop the right terminologies and language with the left in order to cut this relationship and narrow the gaps that are widening between us and them.

I will stop here and just ask you to let me know whether there is any of you who is not aware of the Global Form, because for us it is becoming not only an important form, but maybe the biggest that exists these days, bringing Jews and un-Jews together and we want to use it in the best way possible, you know, to embark on a very massive campaign in front of the challenges that we face. Thank you.

BETTY EHRENBERG: If anyone does not know about the Global Forum on anti-Semitism that will be held in December here, in Jerusalem under the auspices of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and under Aviva's direction, please let me know, we will get your e-mail address and name to Aviva and she'll be able to send you all the proper information.

I am going to take the first question again as the privilege of this chair and then I will be very happy to call on you for questions.

You mentioned anti-Semitism in the media and Internet, this is something that really has been troubling World Jewish Congress as we have been noticing especially young people deeply involved in the social media in YouTube, Facebook and other social media, this is new fangled media. How do we see what we call hate-mail or all kind of anti-Semitic, certainly anti-Israel messages? Have you be seeing this and what have you been looking at as possible answers, their possible solutions or at least possible responses to them?

AVIVA RAZ-SCHECHTER: Yes. What you mention is what we call the web two and we tried to deal with it within our special dialogue with the EC, with European Commission just lately, because we feel that without specific legislation we won't get far.

There was a conference, as you recall, in Paris a few years ago that dealt with anti-Semitism on the Internet and France for example, took some steps, but since the EC is always telling us that each and every country is entitled to its own legislation, national legislation and they cannot enforce anything, then we always come to those framework decisions that are diminishing really our expectations. The same was with the frame of decision on racism during the German presidency of the EU.

So we are trying to bring much more awareness to the issue on the legislative level. Even in the United States, by the way, there are several ways to approach that and we heard this, for example, approach from memory. I hope you know ... and memory, they formed kind of a committee of vary dignitaries of the United States, to whenever they see something that is dealing with very blind anti-Semitism, they are writing a letter on behalf of - for example is a member and some congressmen and others - to the director of the website, somehow they get to know where is the origin of that and they even won many websites to be closed because they proved to the directors of those websites that it is anti-Semitic and it didn't cost, it didn't take much and it did happen.

Now this is, of course, a small drop in the big sea of anti-Semitism, however the ADL, for example, had some discussions regarding it and achievement, regarding the website. They dealt with Jews, Judaism, I don't recall exactly how it was written but this was also another...

Apart from that we always say that education is most important and to follow those things and to be aware of them and to build websites that will confront that. But as you know the Internet indeed is becoming very dangerous tool on one hand and, on the other, very fruitful one if we use it well and I believe that in one of those working groups that we will operate in the Global Forum will continue discuss it.

BETTY EHRENBERG: Questions for Aviva. Michael?

MIKHAIL CHLENOV: Aviva, shalom. I have a question, which actually is probably more of cultural and philosophical nature than practical, but I am sure that we can't really touch the practical problems without having answers, so...

You mentioned that the left liberal, the left progressive were our counterparts for the most events in the 20th centuries. Now it is the opposite. Has the Israeli government or the Israeli society an answer why did it happen? What happened actually? I think this is the most crucial question.

AVIVA RAZ-SCHECHTER: Well, thank you. What I think happened is that we turned be the Goliath and didn't continue to be the David. This is the beginning, you know, being the David is always easy to support and when we are becoming a stronger country and you are, as they call us, I mean they call us an apartheid state, everything has been twisted, so today for us, the Israeli representatives, diplomats that go abroad and speak about this specific question that you answer, we start to say that we didn't lose any of our values, armies have the highest moral values, but we are defending our citizens – as any country has the right to – against terrorism.

The interpretation of terrorism, on the other side, has changed. Today it is not seen as if the democratic state is fighting to a reason, but that a state, which is – some of them don't even say democratic – they say apartheid state, is fighting minorities, is fighting the underdogs and when I am starting to say what is at all the comparison between apartheid states – South Africa – and Israel, there is no correlation between the two and I start developing the idea, then many times I hear in one or another partner don't confuse me with the facts.

So, in a way, I think that what has happened to us during those 30 years is that we did not cultivate our, in a way, national aspirations, our philosophy behind what is the State of Israel – I mean, we did very well, but we left the ground for many of our opponents, especially the Palestinians and the Arab world, and anti-Semitism, of course, has been marketed from there outside to the West. We left a ground and I should say, not wisely, certainly not wisely, to our opponents and now we see the results in the academy, in boycotts and others and it is time to start moving ahead, as I am saying, with a very different approach strategy and in a much harsher language.

BETTY EHRENBERG: Roger?

ROGER CUKIERMAN: Yes, this is not so much a question, but a remark – there are more and more leftist Jews, who claim that it is not really anti-Semitism and that it is built-up by

the State of Israel as a way to fight against the problem that Israeli have been attacked. By the way I read an article in... two days ago, which was terrible from that point of view, written by a very well known French man, who is also known as a former advisor to Mitteran and to Sarkozy.

AVIVA RAZ-SCHECHTER: If I may just relate to that and say that indeed I said that we are very cautious not to put this criticism of Israel with the same basket of anti-Semitism. And we are still doing so. We are trying to be very precise in what is legitimate criticism and what is crossing the boundaries to a new form of anti-Semitism.

And now it was Sharanski, who at the time spoke of these 3Ds if you recall – he put these three-dimensional glasses on and you depicted in the conversation de-legitimization, demonization and the double standards and you see that this is no longer legitimate criticism, but it is really crossing the boundaries to something new.

And I think that it is still right to say that this is in our discussions with our opponents to say that criticism – Israel is a democratic state, we are a strong democratic state with our legal system – we can deal with that. But when you criticize Israel defending itself against terror organizations, you are not only harming Israel goals, but you are really damaging the possibility of other democratic states to deal with these changes of terrorism.

And this is the essence of the issue today. It is not longer desecration of synagogues and their physically attacking Jews. It is the specifically issue of turning from dealing with the Jews as individuals to dealing with the Jewish state, which is the State of Israel. It is very easy to say – we have anything against the Jews; we have against the State of Israel. And you have to ask the question – what is the State of Israel. Is it an amorphous entity? It is the state of the Jewish people. And from here to start a discussion. It is not easy at all and I know that many Jews are part of this anti-Zionist and I once said something very strong. I said “there are also anti-Semitic Jews”. Unfortunately, I am saying it, you know, just to say that it is making our work much harder indeed, when you have people of our own religion – and Goldstone for example.

I don't think that he was realizing from the very beginning what he was doing and I don't know whether he has second thought today. But you know, I am saying that he was just the climax of having a Jew that saw himself as a Zionist, that his daughter made a ...to Israel, that used to come here and that had many friends here and Adasa Benito, the former justice, had correspondence with him about those issues and suddenly everything changes and I hear voices coming from those people, who had very close relation with him, they are telling me “We don't know what happened and how it can happen”. Something bad is happening and we need to deal with it together in a very serious way.

BETTY EHRENBERG: Tamar, you had a question.

TAMAR SCHORY: I wanted to address this issue also, Aviva. But maybe you can elaborate, because I know that you in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs you have this body partment, you have this Israeli branding matter that nowis leading and you are responsible for anti-Semitism.

So are you dealing mainly with what we are speaking about as anti-Israelism atmosphere in the world or with traditional anti-Semitic events that do occur in the world?

AVIVA RAZ-SCHECHTER: We deal with every phenomenon and as I am saying, we are enlarging now the scope of our work. However, when you say you have a branding project, I must say and my best friends are sitting there ...who is the head of this project of branding Israel, which is re-branding, which is so important.

I must tell you honestly, and they know it, that we will not fight anti-Semitism with... branding. It is good for better times, you know, when Israel is on a peace process and then you come and you bring the other face of Israel and we have to do it all the time, also in the time of crisis. However, anti-Semitism is much deeper than dealing with the explaining, you know, what is and that is why I am saying that we lost very precious time during the last decades and that we now are facing a situation, in which our opponents use this arena and mainly the European one and those left liberal circles to create those coalitions, ideological coalitions, though I don't find any ideology in between them.

And this is what we have to break and I hope that many very wise people will help us find a solution for that.

BETTY EHRENBERG: Yuri Kanner, you had a question.

ENGLISH INTERPRETATION FOR YURI KANNER: A short remark on that point. The Holocaust is an extreme expression of the anti-Semitism as far as I can understand.

So now we see that it is not accidental that extreme anti-Semitism has many faces itself and the de-legitimization of Israel and another revision of the Holocaust.

That is why I really share the opinion that the time has come to turn over the last page of the history of the Holocaust in the sense that we should organize the burials of the Holocaust period, which are not yet memorialized and not yet put in the proper order.

We presented in Moscow a special project about these Holocaust burials and we got throughout the support of Mr. Machkevitch and the WJC organization in this field and I actually want to express an opinion that sometimes it is just easier to speak about anti-Semitism than to really do some practical project like for example this re-organizing of the mass burial of the Holocaust era.

And that is why it is very important to ask the World Jewish Congress and the big international Jewish organizations, which were always active when really we tried to do something of high importance for the Jewish people. Like, for instance, the establishment of the State of Israel, like the Soviet Jewry campaign or other things. So I will ask the World Jewish Congress to be inside this project. Thanks.

BETTY EHRENBERG: Thank you very much. We know about the project, we have heard of, we had actually publicized the project on the web site of the World Jewish Congress in a press release. We are very grateful for the sensitivity for the mass graves of Jews that were murdered during the Holocaust and the wish and the effort to mark them – it is very important and we greatly compliment you and admire you for that great effort.

I would like to thank Aviva for her time, for the wonderful analysis and for the clear remarks. We know that we have a great set of problems before us, certainly her job is very, very important at many levels and once again – thank you very much for being with us here today.



Mr. Dan Diker
Director, Senior Foreign Policy Analyst Institute for Contemporary
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'Israeli-Palestinian Diplomacy at the Crossroads: Analysis of
Fayad's Unilateral Statehood Plan'

Dan Diker

I'm very happy that we have few moments to share with you some very, very dramatic and serious developments on the Palestinian side which, although I used the adjective "dramatic", were not been that widely covered in the international media, not even in Israel.

But before I do so I want to introduce my colleague, who is far more a teacher of mine than he is assistant of mine. We work together for some five to six years on the Palestinian issue, having worked very specifically on different models for federation, confederation, together with Palestinians and Jordanians having been quite profoundly involved in visits to places like Ramallah and Amman quite frequently.

Just the background of our work on specific issues that I would like to share with you which is called, the subject matter is called "Israel and the Palestinians at the cross roads - a brief analysis of Prime Minister Fayad's unilateral plan to declared statehood in two years. And as a title I would like to borrow from Dore Gold's session and ask the question rhetorically: 'Has Israel been outsmarted by the Palestinians?'"

I chose those words carefully because many of you may have heard of the Fayad Plan as it is been called in the West. It is a radical departure from any diplomacy that we have known in the past with the Palestinians since the Six Day War. It is a plan on one hand that has positive aspects to it, in a sense that the Fayad unilateral plan calls for ending armed resistance against Israel, which is still the Fatah platform and was affirmed just two months ago in Bethlehem, a few miles from here at the Fatah congress.

Fayad's plan rejects the concept of armed resistance against Israel and adopts language that Israel has insisted upon for the Palestinians, especially, in the past months under Prime Minister Netanyahu, which is Bottom Up economic peace. Well, those are two anchors to Prime Minister Fayad's own plan. And that is a very positive development, in the sense that finally there is a Palestinian leader, unelected though he is, appointed, of course, by the Palestinian Chairman Mahmoud Abbas, some say Palestinian President, but according to the interim agreement in Oslo that is still valid, he is officially, technically called Chairman and it is an important point that we should discuss latter, but what he has done as a way the official top of the line subcontractor, if you will for Mahmoud Abbas, is to say, we, the Palestinian Authority are now turning into a state-building organization, ground up state building that means institutions, that means infrastructure, that means water projects, that means electrical grids, that means services that have not been initiated even since the Oslo Accords was signed in September 1993.

This is a far and sharp turn away from the traditional Palestinian position of armed resistance against Israel. As a headline the concern would be that because this is an unilateral plan, it completely rejects the notion that has been an affirmed international law: a negotiated solution between Israel and its Palestinian neighbour that, of course, was contained in UN Security Council Resolution 242 of 22 November 1967, which then called on Israel to withdraw from territories to secure and recognize the boundaries.

The diplomatic short hand for that would be called defensible borders, of course, and to have negotiated solution was part of 242. That concept of negotiated solution between Israel and the other parties had govern Arab-Israeli peace making, particularly since 1979 peace treaty between Israel and Egypt and all the way through Oslo I, Oslo II, Camp David, the Road Map, etc. And it is that principle that has been the over, the anchor of all

Palestinian or Arab-Israeli diplomacy that is now been shunted aside according to the Fayad plan and that in two years, in 23 months to be exact, according to the plan itself is the intention that the Palestinian Liberation Organization governing bodies, headed by its largest faction, the Fatah, will unilaterally proclaim a Palestinian statehood.

The notion is that they will build institutions of statehood, the good news, and whatever comes or does not come in 24 months, the Palestinian Authority will have then by then garnered, according to the plan, international support for a full-blown Palestinian state along the 4 June 1967 lines, which Abba Eban in 1969, in interview to Der Spiegel, called the Auschwitz borders, with Jerusalem as its capital and according to all of the other protocols of what he is calling the PLO program which is UN General Assembly resolution 194 in the issue of refugees, the so-called right of return.

This creates a very serious challenge to Israel and if Israel does not check this program Israel will find itself perhaps checkmated in another 23 months. Just a very short number of brief points of what the plan is: The Palestinian Authority lacks the basic institutions of statehood and that is what the prime minister, a US-educated economist, very much beloved and embraced by the United States and the Europeans, and frankly very much supported in Israel, for his sharp turn away from traditional Palestinian violence-based politics into a state building project. What he is calling for, which is a cause for concern for Israel, is that all of these institutions and all of this infrastructure will be built throughout of the West Bank, Judea and Samaria.

Which brings us from Israeli point of view to a fundamental security challenge and you can see behind me the board that comes from our Ministry of Defence that has represented the exact same challenge in every peace process that Israel has been engaged in and that goes back to Israel's requirements for defensible borders. Israel's requirements for defensible borders, which means that in view of our terrible experience in Gaza after having withdrawn lock, stock and barrel, and our terrible experience in southern Lebanon, when we withdrew lock, stock and barrel, the notion that Israel withdraws and their full-blown Palestinian State that, according to Fayad plan, would come all the way to 1967 Green Line – through the middle of Israel – that would then create a situation in which any 13-year old Palestinian child with a Kassam rocket could fire it just a handful of kilometres away towards Ben Gurion airport and stop all commercial aviation, or attack our basic utilities and our national facilities along the Mediterranean coast, not to mention all of Israel's major cities.

That is why Israel has insisted in all of its administrations practically since 1967 on defensible borders for Israel, which means in short that Israel would share Judea, Samaria with the Palestinians, but Israel would have to have control or annex the Jordan Valley in order to control that natural wall to our East, as well as what is known as ... or the mountain tops, facing the East towards Jordan facing the West, so we can protect our Mediterranean cities. Seventy percent of our population, 80 percent of our industrial capacity are located between Tel Aviv and Haifa.

That creates a major challenge for us. As many of you remember, under the interim Oslo accord of 1995, which still governs, we are still in the interim period according to the Oslo accords, and those still govern, from Israeli point of view, negotiations between us and the Palestinians and, obviously, the West Bank is divided in areas A, B and C. Prime Minister Fayad had said clearly that most of his projects are intended for area C, including an airport in Jordan valley and taking over the Atarot Airport at Kalandia, just outside

Jerusalem. That, according to Israeli security echelons, with whom I spoke four or five days ago, is a non-starter, because of the vital security interest that Israel has.

The unilateralism of the Fayad plan is a major threat to Israel, because it completely reverses the entire notion of a negotiated agreement, that is entrenched in the interim agreement in Oslo and which is based on UN Security Council Resolution 242. Then there is the challenge to our traditional concept of defensible borders, which Prime Minister Netanyahu talked about four weeks ago in an interview with the "Israel Today" newspaper. He said: "There are some that have prophesied the 1967 lines as an ultimate border. This is not correct; I do not accept it because Israel cannot defend itself, we have no defensible borders on the 67 lines and Israel must be able to defend itself by itself".

That notion of defensible borders and Israel defending itself through holding the high ground, specially over Jerusalem as you can see on the board, and up and down the North-South hill ridge, which is 3,000 feet above sea level, whereas the Jordan Valley is 1,500 feet below sea level and, of course, the Mediterranean coast is at sea level, would give the other side major topographical advantage. This is exactly the problem that Netanyahu talked about in his 15 June 2009 speech in Bar-Ilan, where he said Israel will accept a demilitarised Palestinian state, however, the Israeli conditions, besides the Palestinians recognizing the Jewish State - were: defensible borders, the demilitarisation, airspace security (Israel controlling the airspace over the future Palestinian State), electromagnetic control and additional, outside security guarantees still to be defined.

So what we have, what we have know in the Fayad plan is direct challenge to that notion. Now, what is the problem? Not that Israel disagrees necessarily and only with the problem, with the promise that the Fayad plan has elicited a major strategic backing in the West.

The reason that President Obama did a very sharp U-turn and did not much to the chagrin of his Palestinian partner Mahmud Abbas, he did not require full ... of what we call preservation growth or natural growth of settlements as a precondition negotiations is for this reason . That from his point of view Mr. Obama in 23 months from now, it is quite likely and we already have indications that the United States administration will recognize a full-blown Palestinian state on the 4 June 1967 lines. That would be a major reassessment and re-foundation of US policy.

Israel, in my estimation, is unprepared at this point for the implications of the Fayad plan, unchecked from the point of view of Israel's air tight security requirements that have been expressed by almost every prime minister in terms of defensible borders and even former Chief de Staff Shaul Mofaz, who said in 2000, during the Clinton proposal, that this type of plan, did not mention Fayad plan by name, but this type of plan to the 67 lines would endanger Israel and former Chief de Staff Ayalon said very clearly after the 2006 war and 2007 takeover in Gaza by Hamas.

We have a major challenge here – vis-à-vis the Palestinians and vis-à-vis very enthusiastic Western partners who see this as the new strategic reality for Palestinians, Palestinian State building, American support and Quartet support for the 1967 lines.

By the way, as one indication of a major shift of the West - a little noticed statement, the joint statement by the Quartet on 24 September, for the first time ever called on Israel and Palestinians to adhere to the roadmap, irrespective of reciprocity. Irrespective of reciprocity! This is a Kassam rocket, diplomatically speaking. Because the roadmap is based on reciprocity. So when the Palestinians look at Israel and say: "Israel, you are not

fulfilling the first sentence of the first paragraph of the roadmap, because you continue to build settlements, even though they are natural growth settlements” – because the roadmap says natural growth, here all of a sudden we have Quartet statement itself and this is not a low-level team by the way. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton was there, Ban Ki-moon was there, Ambassador Blair was there, and this is a major revision of all past diplomacy.

In our assessment, this is part of a new strategic plan moving forward, which is a US and European backing for a Palestinian disengagement from the State of Israel. This is the Palestinian disengagement plan. We had ours, this is theirs. They do not want Israeli help in building fundamental infrastructure, they do not want Israeli partnership to build cities like Nablus or Jenin. They want Israel only to concede and make territorial and other gestures and free prisoners, while they continue to collect, hundreds of millions of dollars – they just received 200 million dollars from the US government in July, in the summer, and 20 million dollars recently from USAID.

USAID is actually helping the Palestinians change street signs in parts of the West Bank from the traditional Hebrew/English in Arabic, which is traditionally, been the way it has been until 1967 and erasing Hebrew lettering from those signs, preparing them for sort of a more activist expression of American USAID support as a pre-statehood act.

There is really a major challenge here, on one hand it is terrific that Prime Minister Fayad has turned the corner and is now interested in state building. This is consistent with the values of the democratic State of Israel. However, on the other hand, the concept of a unilaterally declared Palestinian State at the end of the 24-month period, with American support – it is, by the way, not irony, that both Ramallah and the president himself had been quoted as talking about a 2-year path to statehood.

It is not irony that General Keith Dayton, in charge of US-sponsored Palestinian forces, also talked about a two-year path to statehood. So the message here is that we need to have, in my view, and I think in Pinkas’s view and I think perhaps in the question period you can, Pinkas, you will make your comments. Pinkas meets almost daily with very, very senior Palestinians, so he really has a very accurate, up to date and behind the scene information from Palestinian point of view on how they are looking at this.

That Israel needs to be supported and the international community needs to be alerted that Israel should not be forced to accept any unilateral statement or declaration of Palestinian statehood and that Israel that is in charge of area C of Judea and Samaria on the West Bank, this includes strategically vital Jordan Valley and the hills surrounding Jerusalem and the North-South hill ridge, should not be forced back to the indefensible 1967 lines. Because if that happens, as many past prime ministers, including Prime Minister Rabin’s blessed memory, who said in 1995, one month before he was assassinated, that Israel in any final state of agreement will control the Jordan Valley in the largest sense...the final borders will include the Jordan Valley in the largest sense of that term and he said it with respect to the concept of defensible borders.

Israel must have defensible borders in the West Bank, especially after Gaza and those 10,000 rockets and mortars and after our experience in southern Lebanon short-range rocket fire, we need every bit of land we can have just to protect ourselves against that unique problem of short-range rocket fire, notwithstanding the larger ballistic problem. We must have defensible borders in the West Bank, that is why Israel’s friends must insist on

a negotiated solution and on maintaining and helping Israel maintain its right of defensible borders and a negotiated solution.



Amb. Sergio Minerbi
Visiting Professor of Political Science at
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'Opportunities for Dialogue between the Abrahamic Faiths'

Sergio Minerbi

I understand that after the very interesting report we have just heard about negotiations or non-negotiations with the Palestinians, my subject would seem a little bit far away. But as a matter of fact, on this subject, the relations with the Catholic Church, the Jewish organizations have much more to say than on any other subject. This is completely in your hands. Very rapidly I would just remind you – we live now in a period, in which the Church wants to beatify Pius XII.

I think this is the part of a bigger plan of Christianisation of the Shoah. This bigger plan was introduced by John Paul II, when he spoke about Auschwitz as a Golgotha of the modern world, when he reminded only two people as martyrs of Auschwitz – Maximilian Kolbe and Edith Stein – two Catholic and Edith Stein, even better, born Jewish and became Catholic, just a little bit like Jesus.

And Pius XII was also the one who had the beautiful idea, on the 2 June, 1945 to declare that the Church had not been a collaborator of the Nazis, but victim of Nazism. Wonderful idea, which was followed up, in a different way, by Pope John Paul, while he was still a bishop of Krakow, when he distributed the ashes of Auschwitz to the bishops in Rome, when there was the beatification of Maximilian Kolbe, Catholic priest, who was killed in Auschwitz.

He then spoke about, in Auschwitz, when he was already a Pope, about the six million dead Poles, a fifth of the Polish nation – just to be clear, the symbol of six millions victims became suddenly a Polish Catholic symbol. Now, the current Pope, Benedict XVI, said the same when he visited Auschwitz in 2006, but three days later he came back to Rome, he corrected himself, a very seldom thing to happen for a pontiff, and said the Nazis wanted to eradicate the Christian roots and replace them with faith invented by them. This is the other side of the Christianisation of Shoah, but at least he also said that Hitler killed six million Jews and the six million symbol was re-established as a Jewish one.

Naturally, the idea that Nazis were killing Jews only on their way to the Christian roots is rather a strange idea. When he was still Cardinal Ratzinger in 2000, Benedict said almost the same. In the Osservatore Romano he published an article about his previous document Dominus Jesus in which he argued that when the Nazis wanted to eradicate the Christian roots, from the Abrahamic context, they killed the Jews. So killing the Jews was kind of first step in order to eradicate Christianity.

I mean this is a stand, which did not change very much. In the meantime there is a cross of 7,5 meters in Auschwitz since 1979. In the meantime we had this year the acceptance back into the Church of Bishop Williamson, notwithstanding his negation of the Shoah, when he said there were no gas-chambers in the Shoah and he did not believe that more than 200,000 or 300,000 Jews were killed. Now we recently had the visit of the Pope in Israel and he was received with great honour, but people really did not read every word that he said, especially not what he said to the Palestinians.

On the 13 May he visited Bethlehem, he made four speeches to the Palestinians and he told them "You have the right to marry, to have a family, right to work". The idea was that all this you cannot do because of Israel. But moreover he said the Holy See supported the rights to a Palestinian homeland on the territory of their ancestors. So now we know that the ancestors were living previously in the Holy Land, were Palestinians, and they ask the local nuncio whether we should now believe that Jesus and Maria and Joseph were also Palestinians. He also said that the Palestinian refugees are like the Holy Family, obliged to run away from their homes.

Now the Holy Family has a very clear theological meaning, because the Holy Family was obliged to take the little Jesus with them to Egypt, in order to escape Herod, who was the King of the Jews. So now we have the Jews, which are in the same camp of those who were killing children, as it is said also in other documentary pictures on the Turkish TV. On the other hand, we have a complete change of the Holy history. Benedict also said that Palestine refugees have a right to have good living, to have possibility to work. Now who is avoiding to work – it is Hamas, not the Israelis! But this Hamas was never mentioned by the Pope.

We also have some exercises of trialogue. I don't know why our people are so happy about not only dialogue, but they want also trialogue. I think that to have a trialogue puts the Israeli side in minority of one in the face of the other two. We had the example recently. Sant'Egidio, which is a non-religious group but very close to the Church organization in Rome, organized a visit to Auschwitz with Muslim and Jewish representatives. The first thing one imam from Saudi Arabia immediately said "Now I understand finally what happened in Gaza". Thank you very much for this, we have to run for a trialogue and nobody of the Israeli delegation objected, or perhaps didn't even know.

I think that we should have a much more critical stand in the dialogue, especially on the question of the Christianisation of the Shoah, while survivors of the Shoah are still alive. I do not approve what Ambassador Mordechai Levy, who is the ambassador of Israel to the Holy See, said in Boston recently, that Pius XII was not a hero, nor a villain. I don't know why we suddenly have to rehabilitate him, while the Israeli government is on record in opposing his beatification.

All this is a little bit complex perhaps, but it seems to me that it is important to have a different stand against this steady Christianisation of the Shoah, saying that if we are not able to express our own views the whole dialogue is not worth continuing. Moreover, the definition of the dialogue by then Cardinal Ratzinger and later Pope Benedict XVI was that dialogue is made to look for the truth.

Truth that is only one – ours. So the dialogue should bring, at the end of the day, the Jews to become Christians. Such a dialogue is not exactly what I think is necessary for us. The Chief Rabbi of Rome, Di Segni – generally the Italian rabbis understand much better the language of the Pope – said that if the purpose of the dialogue is to convert the Jews, we prefer no dialogue at all. And this should be our stand.

I also think that the Jewish organizations should be ready for the opening of the Vatican archives in four or five years from now. Otherwise what will happen is the same that has happened already, while the Vatican opened the archives until 1939 until Pacelli became Pope I am not aware of any, not a single one, Jewish scholar who has gone to Rome and looked into archives. First of all, because most of the papers are written in a very strange language, which is Italian and not very well known. Then because it is not only a question of language, you also have to understand the matter.

And therefore, I think that if we do not prepare now, the people who eventually will go and check those documents, will have a very strange situation – we asked for the opening of the archives, but nobody is going to look at them.

It seems to me that also the steady hostility to the State of Israel should be subject of discussion. Mgr. Touran, who had been kind of the Foreign Minister of the Vatican, said that the only solution which could guarantee peace in the Holy Land was a special statute for Jerusalem with the international guarantee that will not be changed. This is still the stand of the Vatican, only that Touran is now the man in charge for the dialogue with Islam, and therefore he has acquired a greater importance. This was in short how I

see the problems on the table today in the very strange dialogue with the Catholic Church.

MARAM STERN: Thank you very much. Any questions to Ambassador Minerbi?

MAN (?): If you wish, I can put a question.

MARAM STERN: OK, we go over to Chief Rabbi Melchior. Oh, sorry. Please.

WOMAN (CHARLOTTE or FLO): Thank you very much for your remarks. I have to say that I am getting more and more depressed today.

Do you have any positive also proposal for us? Is there any way that this dialog can also be fruitful and positive? Because you shared with us what is happening, but it would very good for us also to hear some suggestions to better the dialog, because I really feel very bad.

SERGIO MINERBI: Don't feel bad. I think that your question is quite apropos.

Definitely I have concrete and practical ideas. My concrete ideas are very simple. That with should have:

1. A coordinated stand among various Jewish organizations and the State of Israel in between;
2. That we should have a clear stand on things, upon which there is no discussion possible.

When the Williamson affair was started few months ago, who saved the Pope from his own people? It was the Jewish delegation, who came on the 12th of February, if I am not wrong, to the Pope and this said so lately. But no conditions attached, we put no conditions, we asked nothing, just we were so nice toward the Pope that we came out immediately to his help, whilst this Pope, he has a very ambiguous stand – once he is positive, once he is negative.

But this Pope, from the negative side, has: 1. reinstated the prayer to convert the Jews, which is included in the Tridentina Missa and so now we have a step backward from Concilium Vatican II from Nostra Etate, we have a big step backward, the Missa Tridentina, Tridentina from Trento in the Alps - has now been reestablished in order to allow the Church to receive back Williamson and company, the Lefervian four bishops, so we did a big step back.

The only ones, who reacted, were again the Italian Rabbis. And sorry for the Rabbis, who are not yet Italians, but you can become one. And the Italians said "Thank you so much. If it is so, then the next meeting of our dialog is suspended". This is what they did.

Now the Pope has announced that he was going on the 17th of January, he is going to a Vatican Kneset in Rome. Again, first of all, he will most probably come with his cross well exposed, while I have found in the archives of Vatican that the question whether the cross should be exposed or not had been asked already 100 years ago. So there are cases, in which the Church accepts not to put the cross in front of a... but this is just a

detail. We will see what he will say at the synagogue, I just remind you that his predecessor, who was so loved by the Jews, he was also the one, who has done the maximum to christianize the Shoah and when he was in a synagogue the first time John Paul II spoke about "You are my brothers, my elder brothers". If you look in the Bible who are the elder brothers from Kain to Yakov and Desaav, etc. – not such good guys. It is a fact, I cannot change it.

So the practical, concrete deeds are: A. to study more, B. to be more active in this field and C. to tell them the truth. On these conditions we will not dialog with you.

MAN (?): I just have half a question for you, Mr. Chairman and for you, Mr. Speaker. It is on a topic that I am quite against about and that is the beatification of Pius XII.

Can you tell us how far it is down the line and can you tell us has the WJC taken an official stand on it? I just cannot recall what is its opinion on this.

SERGIO MINERBI: The State of Israel – I hope I do answer your question – the State of Israel is on record by the mouth of its then ambassador Lopes to the Holy See, the State of Israel is opposing the beatification of Pius XII.

There was last year, in 2008, there was a meeting in Rome with the participation of Mr. Krup from the United States, who is leading so called organization And Mr. Krup brought to Rome his wonderful ideas that we should not only beatify Pius XII, we should also as Jews consider him rites among the nations of

All this seems to me outrageous. I have just ended now a historical essay on the 16th of October, those days, but in 1943, showing that, most probably, Pius XII was aware that of the 16th of October Nazi will take as many Jews as possible and he did nothing in exchange for the Nazi avoiding to erupt into the Vatican and take the Pope to deportation. This is my humble opinion in so far that Pius XII is concerned. But Pius XII is not the main problem, because the Pope himself in last year, in September 2008, did not sign the decree, which allows the beatification process to start. So the Pope himself refrained from this. It means he took into considerations what the Jews were saying. And, most probably, he would like to give this "hot potato" to his successor. This is the actual situation, but the main problem is Pius XII only in relation with what I called "the Christianisation of the Shoah".

MARAM STERN: Last question to Madam Knobloch.

CHARLOTTE KNOBLOCH: It is not a question. We are very unhappy and we are very depressed. It is like it is. Mr. Minerbi has 100% right.

I live in Germany and it is a German Pope. And we feel it every day how the Catholics are against us and he forgot about the Pius (in German), to tell us about the Pius..., I don't know the English word, they are the beloved brothers of the Pope. They are anti-Semitic, you cannot imagine. It is like it is and what we can do I don't know, because the Catholics, who are restitutes, they got something from the Pope not to speak about it. It is...

What he told us is 100% right and I think he forgot something what I know.

MARAM STERN: I am turning over to Michael.

MICHAEL SCHNEIDER: Yeah.

Please note, folks, that we have tried to bring here a variety of ideas about certain subjects.

What professor Minerbi has said, of course, he knows the subject, he is an alluded man – at the present time it is not the position of the World Jewish Congress.

The World Jewish Congress position up until now and when we meet in smaller group, it will be re-discussed and it will be open, is that we strongly agree with this particular decision made by the Pope and that we must continue to agree in dialog and not outside a dialog. And therefore our relationship with the Vatican at the present time continues, while continuously reminding the Vatican that this is a subject, with which we very much disagree. Now we do not have to argue this here, because there will be an opportunity to fully discuss not only our relationship with the Catholics, but also the Orthodox and also the Muslims. So I don't think that we need to debate this issue over here and now.

ROBERT GOOT: Can I..

MICHAEL SCHNEIDER: In the interest of time, Robert....

ROBERT GOOT: I just want to clarify what decision it was that you were opposing?

MICHAEL SCHNEIDER: We are talking about the prayer for the conversion of the Jews. And we say we strongly disagree, we think it is a wrong decision that should not have been made, it was ill judgment to make it at this time and this timing, but bearing in mind that we have few friends and that this is a powerful Church, so far our position has been as I said before. We disagree with you, we would like you to change it and in the meantime we continue some connection and dialog with the Catholic Church. But I don't think we need to debate it here.



Rabbi Michael Melchior
Mosaica Center for Interreligious Cooperation

Dialogue with Islam

Michael Melchior

I will probably take the line of the honourable Chairman of Wizo in my words, because it will be easy for me to put here, to present a case, where all the Muslims hate us and that they are all a bunch of anti-Semites and that we should cut off all dialogue. And it will be easy to take this approach and I think I would be able to bring a lot of a material to that approach also to the table here. But those things are very known by the table, so there is no reason to invite me to come and say this and you get them in the e-mails every day. Sometimes I would be pleased I thought about it when I heard the critical remarks of ambassador Minervi; sometimes I would be pleased if the rabbis are being evaluated on the same kind of magnifying glass as we expect from others. I can give you some pretty shocking remarks, which I had given out in all synagogues of this country at least. I am sure in other countries is much better, but you talked about the Italian rabbis. Mainstream rabbis in this country, if you publish some of these statements, it would be very difficult to have dialog with anybody in the world.

So sometimes we have to also try to look at the half full glass, not only at the half empty glass and I am pleased to try to present to you some of the thoughts about an issue that I personally consider one of the most important and crucial issues on the agenda of the State of Israel and of the Jewish world in a relationship with the Islam and the Muslim world. I think this is the most important, besides the our internal issues – those, I think, are still the more important: how we create an internal Jewish - Zionist agenda and become inclusive and have dialogue with each other and that I think today is even more crucial, but after we finished the **simple issue of shalom ...**, I think that the most important issue today is the Islamic world. And this is an issue, which the Jewish world has ignored. Ignored virtually. I am talking not about the relationships inside Arab countries and so on, which are very well known, I am talking about the relationships now, the last forty years, by far and large the Jewish world has avoided dealing with this issues, except for the very few individuals, who have pioneered the work and I am not talking about dialogue with certain Muslim leaders in Kazakhstan or in Bosnia or in other places, even not in some places in America. I am talking about the really difficult questions of the situation here in the Middle East. I very much approve of and appreciate what has been done in other places of the world, but every time when we come back to the situation of the Middle East, which, no doubt, ties in on everything else. And because I think that it is important for the peace in this area, crucial, and because I think it is important for the peace of the world and for the relationships in Europe and in North America and other places – because of that I have spent more and more of my time in dealing with this issue.

Now the problems you know – I don't have to say that – the problems you know, the conflict you know, the de-legitimation you know, the Islamic anti-Semitism you know. **What you maybe don't know is that more and more cases of trying to build an alternative have been done over the recent years and have been done successfully over the recent years.** And I myself have tried, to a certain point I stopped going to conferences and travelling around the world, you know – going to the Millennium conference in UN and all religious leaders come there and they all say that all their religion is about peace and about the compassion and they go back killing each other. That, I thought, is not such a big point. But we have started over the recent years – and I know that there are other initiatives going on in Europe and in America and I very much appreciate these initiatives – we tried here, in this area, to start a movement of people, doing it quietly, on three different levels.

One level is the level of down-up, of the educational level. We have taken religious schools or frantically religious schools – religious Islamic schools and religious Jewish schools and starting working together with the principals and the religious leaders, rabbis and imams, and with teachers and now also with students in these schools. And this is difficult, OK? It is not the lovely people-to-people work, which was done as part of the ... process, where the 2% of Israelis in peace now and 2% of the Palestinians in peace now meet in every single capital in the world and they made peace all over and it was so very nice and everybody was so pleased and everybody applauded it, but nothing happened. Nothing happened, because there was no analysis of what the real problem was. And it is very nice that you will see Berlin and I will see Abu Dabi and we can go to Geneva and make a deal, but it doesn't change the facts on the ground. I am not against it, but it doesn't change anything. And therefore you need to look at the conflict as it is. In order for the conflict not to turn into a religious conflict, which it must not be turned into, then you need to deal with the religious aspects of the conflict, which nobody wants to touch. Nobody wants to – not the Israelis for sure, not the Palestinian party and for sure, not the Europeans nor the Americans. After they finish their careers, then they write books on how it was a major mistake, but it doesn't help, because it is after they finish the books or their careers, like an important woman called Madeline Albright, who was very much involved in the peace process and afterwards wrote a book on the... I would say, called "The Mighty and the Almighty" of how the attempt of excluding the religious element turned the religious element into becoming a central element in the conflict. And this is, unfortunately, what our leaders are doing today also and it will be having the same result and we are going down the same blind alleys and we will get nowhere, because nobody wants to deal with the real problems.

So we started different groups working with the schools, with the schools, the schoolbooks, not only the Arab schools and the Arab schoolbooks, OK? There are no any better narratives, thoughts – I know that you are going to be very surprised at what I am saying - but in the religious Jewish schools about the possibilities of – God forbidding! – having peace or doing other things – very difficult, terrible things. And dealing with this with the real people. And I can tell you I have seen processes happen, where people, where the school leaders have started off by being very honest believing that good Arab is a dead Arab or good Jew is a dead Jew, to take you in both ways, and telling you feelings about, religious feelings about our rights and the rights of the others in this area and how far you can get with a well established, well prepared and professional process, where you can really get to a recognition of the other, which is unbelievable. And relationships have been built now in many, many schools, which are working as a part of this one project.

I can mentioned also many other projects going on, where we are working a lot with young rabbis and young imams, not the "peace now" people, we are talking about people, from whom a lot of the hatred and the incitement come and we have seen that in the right processes walls of hatred can come tumbling down. It is really unbelievable. And the third level – we are trying, of course, to expand this talk – the interesting thing is that while a lot of the...as you know well the Jewish scene, the Jewish Orthodox both from the national religious, the Sephardi ultra-Orthodox, the Ashkenazi ultra-Orthodox; they are all willing to be part of this process. That is the good news. I mean, there is willingness to talk about peace, if the peace is seen in a religious context. And I think that this is crucial for also proceeding in any political context. One of the reasons why the Israelis don't believe today in peace. Today the majority of Israelis are willing to give up what is necessary to give up for peace, I think. Which they were not willing to do 10 or 15 or 20 years ago. But nobody believes in it. The reason in which they did believe 10 or 15 or 20 years ago. There is a shift, very, very complicated shift. I think the only way

that you can restore confidence and belief in the process is if you cut a deal, which also includes mainstream Islam as a part of the deal.

Not that Islam, not that the religious leaders should substitute political leaders, it is not what they are elected to do and it is not what they know to do, but to create an atmosphere of legitimisation. I think that if the Israeli knew that a deal would be cut with Abu Maza, just to give you an example of somebody, and that this deal would not only include Abu Maza and his people, but would include the mainstream Islamic world, which would give a backing and legitimisation of such deal, the approach of Israel would be different. And the question is: is that possible? And here I want to go not on a bottom level, not on a medium level, but on the top-level people. We have had over the recent couple of years more and more contacts, all over the Islamic world and we come as very conscious religious Jews, Zionist, not anybody is willing to sell out what we believe in and they know who they are dealing with and we have seen in many, many parts of the Islamic world, also from people you would be very surprised to hear that they are part of this dialogue, we have seen a keenness even to go on with the dialogue and to recognize the basics, which are necessary for such a dialogue, which from my part at least is that there can be many talks about many kinds of future in the Middle East, but all these futures include the State of Israel. Include the State of Israel with the secure boundaries as necessity for our future here. And this is, I want to say, this is really good news that such a dialogue today is possible, is sought after and I believe that if we invested much more of our thinking and of our powers and invested also our human powers to do that much more than what is happening today, I sincerely believe that we can turn this around. It is very nice to go to conferences and get presented the newest examples of Islamic anti-Semitism. But it is no point in getting together and saying how terrible it is and condemning it. It should be condemned, of course. But that will not get us anywhere.

The only people that can change and turn around the Islamic anti-Semitism are the Muslims themselves. Mainstream Muslims, not people of the left Islam that can travel around the world, showing how terrible Muslims are. I am talking about people of mainstream Islam. And I have seen this happen, I have seen central Islamic leaders going on radio, on television, Al Jazira and mainstream programs, and telling how the feel of anti-Semitism will not bring Muslims anywhere. And we are talking about mainstream leaders, not some fringe "peace now" leaders. And therefore I think that much more should be invested in this and I hope that I shook you of the challenge of Helena. It is true – you can tell me all kinds of stories about this...But also I will give just one last comment. By ignoring important factors of this world they don't go away. They just blow off in our faces and the extremists are always waiting for us to ignore this. And they are always empowered by us. We cultivate them, we write about them, we make them heroes. Instead of taking all the moderate figures, which are in this world and empowering them and having something serious. By ignoring this aspect we put all the weapons in the hands of those, who, with a dangerous combination of Islamic totalitarianism and weapons of mass destruction, know how they can endanger the future of the world and I am sure I don't have to elaborate on this issue on this table. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.



Dr. Alexander Machkevitch
EAJC President

Dialogue with the Orthodox Churches

Alexander Machkevitch

Dear colleagues, there is a very important topic – dialog.

Let's say without dialog it will be really difficult for Jewish world to achieve something. What do I mean? We have to find every day, every minute absolutely extraordinary, absolutely creatively new ways, new methods how to do it. Absolutely every day we have to do something new.

Let say Euro-Asian Jewish congress – we have really serious experience with inter religious dialog with Islam. I hope not so many organizations worldwide, who did so much in inter religious dialog. I think that maybe the most primitive, but most effective mechanism how we can do it, we have to find a way, we have to push religious leaders to say some words, which are positive to Jews. And we have transfer, we have to deliver these words to simple people. If, let say, Pope, whoever, or Imam or I don't know who, has to be top level religious people – they have to say good words about Jews. How we could achieve it? It is our target, our job. I will tell you later what we do in this way. But we have to do it not only in a room, we have to do it through media to deliver it to hundreds millions, so when simple people hear what the leaders are saying, believe me, they follow their leaders.

That is why today I want to say few words shortly about dialog with Orthodox Church. Because I think it is very important, because it is not so often, because we give a lot of attention to the Catholic world, which is very important, to Muslim world, which is very important, but Orthodox Church – it is just 350 million people. By the way, second one, and let say Russia, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Moldova, where hundreds hundreds Jews live – I think it is very important. And if we will not find good dialog with the Orthodox Church, we will have problem, because trend is very bad. Trend is very bad and normally all Jewish organizations – they have dialog with representatives of the Greek Orthodox Church. But I think real power is in Russia, in Ukraine.

Let say – I will tell you an interesting story. I built myself five Orthodox churches. Five. And they are not small, they are big, big – thousands people could come to one church. And I tried to show to all Orthodox people that Jews think not only about Jewish people, like everybody normally tries to explain to everybody. I mean, I tried to explain that Jewish people think about everybody in this world. And Russian Orthodox Church gave to me, at that time at least it decide that it liked Jewish guys, it gave to me order of Andrey Pervozvaniy – it is the second most important order in Russian Orthodox Church. And representative of previous chief of Russian Orthodox Church, archbishop Cyril – the same name as today's chief of Orthodox Church – came to Kazakhstan, to Astana, in official ceremony to give to me this order.

Very good, beautiful press conference. He did it, many people, hundred people, after that press conference and this guy – representative of Russian Orthodox Church – archbishop Cyril says: "I would like to talk about Jewish – Palestinian relations". Hundred people and I felt, of course, not good. I though "again", you know, Russian Orthodox Church, in general, is very anti-Semitic, negative to Jews and I told him: "Maybe we do not talk here, so celebration, good mood everybody, why do we have to talk about politics, let's talk about something else". He said: "No, I would like to talk about relations between Jews and Palestinians. Are you a Jew?" – he said, he was very tough. And I said: "yes, I am a Jew". And he said: "In this case, in the Bible is written: God gave to you, to your people this land. You have no right to give to the Palestinians even one

piece of this land". (laughing) No, no, no, it is a real fact, in front of hundred of people. You know, "You have to, you cannot do it, God gave to you this land and you don't have the right to..." And I said: "Yes, we will follow God's instructions", you know.

But it is one example, one example and we circulated his words – everybody now, the media, the newspapers, we do it one year after that, while here we always come back and come back to this story, I mean, we have to find a way how to have this dialog, to make it realistic and to look very useful for us.

Another example. I just was in Georgia. Georgia, I told you, I opened a new synagogue and chief of Georgian Orthodox Church invited us to his residence – hundreds representatives of media, hundreds people and, by the way, I help them in Georgian Orthodox Church as well. I help them to... And he told in presence of five TV channels, of all five TV channels, such good words about Jews, you cannot imagine. He told to Rabbi: "When Jewish people bless somebody, it means it is blessing of God. Please, bless me" - he asked Rabbi - "please, bless me, bless all Georgian people and the whole country. Please, bless me, in this case God will bless us". And it was in the presence of all TV, all TV show this. I mean, we have to find every time something special, something creative. You cannot do every day the same, the same, the same, the same – there is no reaction to that.

Let say about Orthodox - about Muslim I could talk hours, because I was born in Muslim, I do every day, another time I will tell you - but about Orthodox: we have to do, we have to do something serious. By the way, I would like to introduce here the president of Russian Jewish Congress, Mr. Kanner, who doesn't know. He was a time with us, he is a very, very good Jew, he does a lot in Russia, that is why I hope Russian Jewish Congress will be absolutely at different level with Mr. Kanner and I would like to (applause)

And, but our idea, let say, by the way, we invite European conference of Rabbis to Moscow. It will be the second half of December, big conference in Moscow, let say hundreds Rabbis, all chief Rabbis of Europe will come to Moscow and we would like to organize very good dialog with the Orthodox Church and with the Muslim from Russia. And I would like to create committee between World Jewish Congress, Euro-Asian Jewish Congress and Russian Orthodox Church, which will work permanently. And now we are in negotiations and I hope next time we will report you, but we would like to do it in systematic way. Because we would like to show to simple people that leaders are positive to Jews. I think today it is what we can do today. Of course, I agree with you – we have to think about future, we have to think about education, we have to do every day something, but even if we would like to have immediate and quick reaction, we have to show to simple people what leaders think about Jews. That is why we do what we can, but I ask everybody to do what they can as well. Thank you very much.



Mr. Mike Whine
Community Security Trust (UK)
'Our Communities under Threat'

Mike Whine

I want to talk about terrorist threats to Jewish communities and our potential responses to those threats. What that graph shows are two things: first is a number of anti-Semitic incidents - ..., graphite, threats and so on and then below it, the much, much lower number are the terrorist attacks against Jewish communities.

This is the world, these figures are for the whole of the world, I have not broken it down by continent. This just shows the overall picture for the world. The point of this is to show that while the number of anti-Semitic incidents has been rising drastically, particularly after the second Intifada, the number of actual incidents has declined, the number of the terrorist incidents has declined, although it rose slightly last year. The reason for this is because government and the majority of Western governments recognized that there is a specific threat to Jewish communities from terrorist groups. And they take action.

They are not always informing the communities, but there is a lot going on in order to detect potential terrorist attacks. This is the first reason. The second reason is the response from the communities themselves. You are all aware, the overwhelming majority of the Jewish communities in Europe, Latin America have their own defence capabilities, their own security capability, not in North America, but pretty well everywhere else. In some countries it is very open, like for example in the United Kingdom, not to so great extent in France, also in South Africa, Australia, where we work closely with the law enforcement and with the governments. In other countries it is much less so and it is something that is not spoken about, although anybody visiting the Jewish institutions sees that it is quite apparent.

These two responses – that by the governments and the law enforcement agencies and that by the communities themselves, which have an overt deterrent capability outside their institutions, are the reasons why the number of incidents is so much lower than it might otherwise be. I have to tell you that the number of threats and the number of plots that are hatched is not diminishing; it stays at the constant high level.

Again it is probably too small to indicate, but this is from the last year, a pie chart showing again the number of violent incidents, which are the orange and green on the top two sections and the rest is anti-Semitism. So if you break down in this way, you will see again that the number of violent incidents are those, which in technical terms one would say use the hot weapons against the communities - are so much smaller than the number of other incidents. The breaking down, maybe the figures are too small to see it from here. Seventy incidents.

This only goes through the areas, where the threats are coming. Primarily they are coming from three areas. They are coming from al-Qaeda and the global Jihad movements – you are aware that there is al-Qaeda center that is responsible for 9/11 and for the attacks on the American embassies and ships in the Gulf. That is al-Qaeda, that was organized by Bin Laden, Al Zarqawi and their people, based at that time in Afghanistan. There is also this wider global Jihad movement, which is motivated by the same ideology, which may or may not have close links with al-Qaeda, which is often self-motivating, self-generating, self-financing and which has the ideology of al-Qaeda.

To a great extent it also has the ideology of someone you might have never heard - – who wrote these treaties on global Jihad and that essentially said that Jihad should be out

there looking for their own targets, financing their own activities and organizing themselves. They didn't need to be controlled by al-Qaeda central. So the global Jihad movement is the first and, probably, the most eminent area, from which threat comes.

What I had included there, were quotes of some of their leaders. So you have here for example quotes of Al Zarqawi from 24 March this year. He calls the Muslims to fight Christians and Zionists everywhere in the world. You have got another quote from him last year, where he talks about having attacks on the Jews in Djerba and in Mombasa, in Kenya and promising the Muslim brothers that they will be continuing this war against other targets of the Jews.

There is an al-Qaeda online training manual that only came to light last year, which interestingly warns the Jihad not to attack the religious sites, but that they should make a special target of Jewish religious sites. Of course, you've got Hamas, you've got comments by Hamas and the first one, the top one in fact is by Al Quaradawi – he was the ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood, who discredits violence, terrorism, who discredits al-Qaeda, but supports terrorism when it is against Israel or against a Zionist institution.

The second area of threat comes from Iran and its surrogates. We heard a little bit about that before. Let me tell you that Iran and its intelligence capability make al-Qaeda look like amateurs. The infrastructure is a world-wide one. It exists in Europe. Particularly, as you heard today, it is being built up and strengthened in Latin America and they are making a particular play for Africa.

I look at a report on a daily basis of Iranian activity in Africa and I see the way, in which Iran is extending its influence throughout Africa, not just Sub-Saharan Africa, but both East and West Africa and, of course, also in the South Africa itself. And the infrastructure they are building that is an intelligence supporting infrastructure and an infrastructure that is there to further Iranian strategic interests can also very easily be turned to one, gathering information on Jewish communities.

We know that they are doing this. I can cite you two examples in recent years. One in Geneva, where our colleagues from the Community Security Organization apprehended a woman, who turned to be working for the Iranian mission in the UN, who got inside the synagogue and was trying to photograph and was apprehended and then turned over to the police.

Another case in London, where a group of Iranian tourists just happened to be photographing our office building. And our office building is, for those of you who have not visited it, really an anonymous building, in an out of the way suburb. There is no sign up outside that says CST or or anything like that, it is an anonymous building, with no name on it and our address is published as a P. O. Box.

What were Iranian tourists doing photographing our building? I can set you other examples. Iranians unlike the Global Jihad movement, however, are building capabilities in the event that it suits Iranian strategy to attack Jewish communities. That political decision could be made, if Iran feels that it is cornered too far over the nuclear periphery or out of revenge, as we saw in the case of the AMIA attack

We know also that they work through surrogates, particularly Hezbollah, and we know also of attempts to seek revenge after the assassination of the Hezbollah operations chief.

In this case we have seen plots against the Israeli institutions, particularly one in Baku, where the people have just gone on trial. The third area of threats, increasingly now, although it was much more important many years ago, is coming from the far right. The attack at the Holocaust Museum in Washington merely represents the tip of an iceberg. From reporting streams by American intelligence and security agencies, it becomes quickly apparent that there are elements in the American far right, in the white supremacy movement, who have access to an enormous amount of fire power. Their targets are not just Latinos or government institutions. There have been attacks that have been foiled by the far right against the Jewish institutions.

I would say that this is potentially a third area of threat against the Jewish communities. We know, of course, in Germany there was a plot in Munich by a far right group that was foiled by the German security service. Other plots have been foiled against targets that were not Jewish communities.

In the UK we had a whole series of terrorist plots that have been foiled by the police and security services, where the Jews were not targets, but Muslims and mosques, but the people that make these plots are just as likely to attack Jews. It all comes from the same ideology. What I would say is that arenas, areas like al-Qaeda and the Iranians, don't necessarily target the Jews primarily. Their primary targets are the Americans, their institutions, those countries that are part of the coalition forces in Iraq, Afghanistan – this is why the Germans are currently very exercised with plots, threats that have been made by German Muslims who have gone to Afghanistan and to Pakistan – countries that have troops in Muslim lands, if you like, are quite high up on their threat list.

Jews come some lower down, but some of these arenas have anti-Semitism as a central element in their ideology.

What I wanted to show were the range of attacks and foiled attacks against Jewish communities. I have only gone back a couple of years in order just to give an indication. In Britain the Security Services have foiled after 7 July a whole range of terrorist plots. Within several of those major plots there were subparts, if you would like, that were focused on the Jewish community. The Krevis conspiracy, which would have been probably the largest terrorist plot in the UK, having not been foiled in the early stages, where the plotters, who have links with al-Qaeda, were plotting to blow up the Blue Waters Shopping Center, which is the largest shopping mall in the UK and two or three large night clubs, had also begun gathering intelligence on synagogues.

This was not known initially when the police foiled the plot and it only became apparent, when they began to interrogate the computers that the group was using to store the data they had collected on. They had begun collecting information on synagogues.

Another case only came to light last year, where another substantial plot in Manchester. When they began their investigation, the police found that the central figure in the plot had made invisible ink notes on a plot to assassinate Trevor Chin, who is one of the leaders of the Jewish community in the UK. This was mainly because of his friendship with the Prime Minister Blair rather than anything else, but it just shows how easily the Jews become targets of other plots.

After the Atocha bombing in Madrid in March 2004 Spanish police found in the subsequent investigations that the plotters had also begun gathering intelligence on a Jewish Community Center in the suburbs of Madrid. This was again only released subsequently.

In September of last year the Norwegian security services, investigating a plot that they thought was directed at institutions in Norway, in Oslo, found also that there were elements of this plot, which were targeting the Jewish community in Prague. The Jewish community was told nothing about it. The first we knew was when tanks suddenly appeared in front of the synagogue in Prague. There has been a whole host of lone terrorists operating in America – from Seattle to others, five bombings of the synagogue in Montreal, but these are the lower level.

I don't have to remind you of a one that did succeed, tragically, and that was the plot against the Nariman Center, the Chabad center in Bombay last year, where a group that was affiliated to al-Qaeda made a special point of attacking the Chabad center.

What I want to just have a look at very closely, rather a very briefly, are some indications that would help us and some guidance. Firstly, law enforcement and security authorities will be aware of this, but the Jewish communities not so, that often – not always, but this is often the case – that terrorists will use an anniversary as a reason to stage an attack.

So we have to be cognizant of the anniversaries that are significant to the other side. We in the UK, and we shared this with some other Community Security Organizations, produce an annual list both of dates in our calendar and also the dates in the Muslim calendar. We have to distinguish between Sunni and Shiite calendar as well. But dates that are significant. For example, if we have coming up Israel engagement in Gaza. This will almost inevitably trigger some sort of a plot, if not against Israel, then against the Jewish communities.

I have only been talking about plots against the Jewish communities until now; I have not been talking about plots against Israeli embassies or other institutions abroad. We find that the response from the British government and its agencies is very positive one to our desire to work with them. I recognize that we may be unique, although I see the same thing happening slightly slower in France and in few other countries, where the authorities are actually seeking out the expertise of the Jewish Security Organizations to the extent that we now do some training for the police in the UK, whereas ten years ago we were asking them to train us.

Uniquely, we did get training from the British police. Now I recognize that we have gone further than this, but the atmosphere in the UK is much easier than it is in other countries. But those Jewish communities that do not have some sort of a relationship with their law enforcement authorities and their governments should seek one, although I recognize that in some cases, particularly Latin America cases, this may not be possible or may not be as possible as it is in Europe.

The second thing is that where the community leadership does not work with the Jewish Security agencies – and I cannot imagine that there are some that there is no at least some sort of relationship, but I do know of some, where the relationship is rather distant – then they have to try and come closer, because we have got to work together.

If the Jewish security agencies are finding difficulties in one or another aspect of their work, then they should be coming to you as communal leadership to ask for your assistance, if they haven't already done so. Again, there are difficulties, I recognize that, as there are all sorts of sensitivities, surrounding the communal security agencies and I don't have to spell those out to you, but nevertheless, as citizens and taxpayers of the countries,

in which we live, we have a right to demand that the state provides security for us, but we also have to recognize that we are in a better position to understand quite often the nature of the threats against us.

We have found so often in the past that the security services and the government agencies really don't quite understand what it is that we are facing. They know that there have been some attacks in this country or that country, but often confuse the Jewish institutions with the Israeli institutions and don't often even understand the difference.

You get all sorts of crude comments coming from them, such as "your embassy has been attacked" and "your people have been attacked", when it has been the Israelis. And you have to make the point that, whilst we have closeness with Israel and its institutions, they are not our people, that we are their people. We are the taxpayers and the nationals of the countries, where we operate and we are the people to whom they owe a duty to care. And that we have our own capability, but it does not replace the one of the police – we cannot operate on the streets the way the police and the security services can do. We don't have, obviously, access to that sort of information that they do.

We should also be aware that Israel is acting on this arena, besides of everything that I said up until now. There is information passing from the Israeli agencies to your state's national agencies – it is frequent and it also often bypasses the Jewish communities, who have no idea that this is going on. Even I sometimes don't know what is going on, but sometimes I do, because people take the opportunity to tell us.

My final point is that there is an awful lot that is going on out there and that threatens us. Some of which we are aware of and some of which we can guard against. But there is also some, which we are unaware of and the only way that we can guard against that, is by securing the cooperation with our government and their law enforcement agencies and by having our own over deterrence. It is not to say that that deterrence, which essentially volunteers from within the Jewish community, is capable of standing to their attacks – they are not.

What they are capable of doing is spotting the build-up one, the surveillance that has to precede the attack. Again, I could cite you several occasions, where we believe we have foiled attacks in our country and in other countries, because the Jewish community security agencies spotted something that was happening. Spotted somebody photographing an institution, spotted people standing in a bus stop opposite a synagogue or a school, letting buses go past, taking more interest in who is coming and going and how to get access to the building, than to get on the bus.

So security to some extent is in your hands, the hands of your communities, but it is also in the hands of your governments and you have to work with them.



World Jewish Congress

Strategic Forum

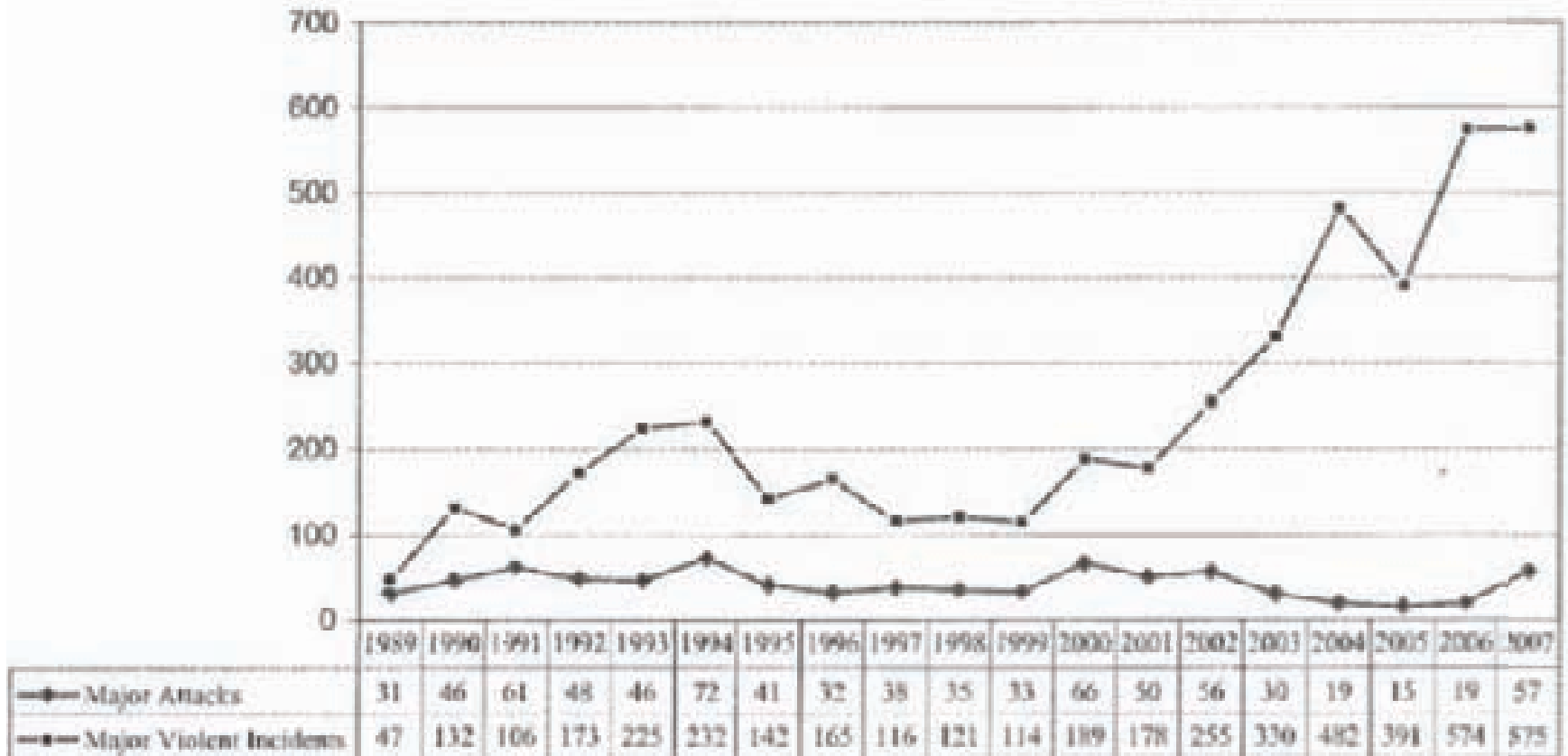
19 October 2009

Our Communities Under Threat

Michael Whine

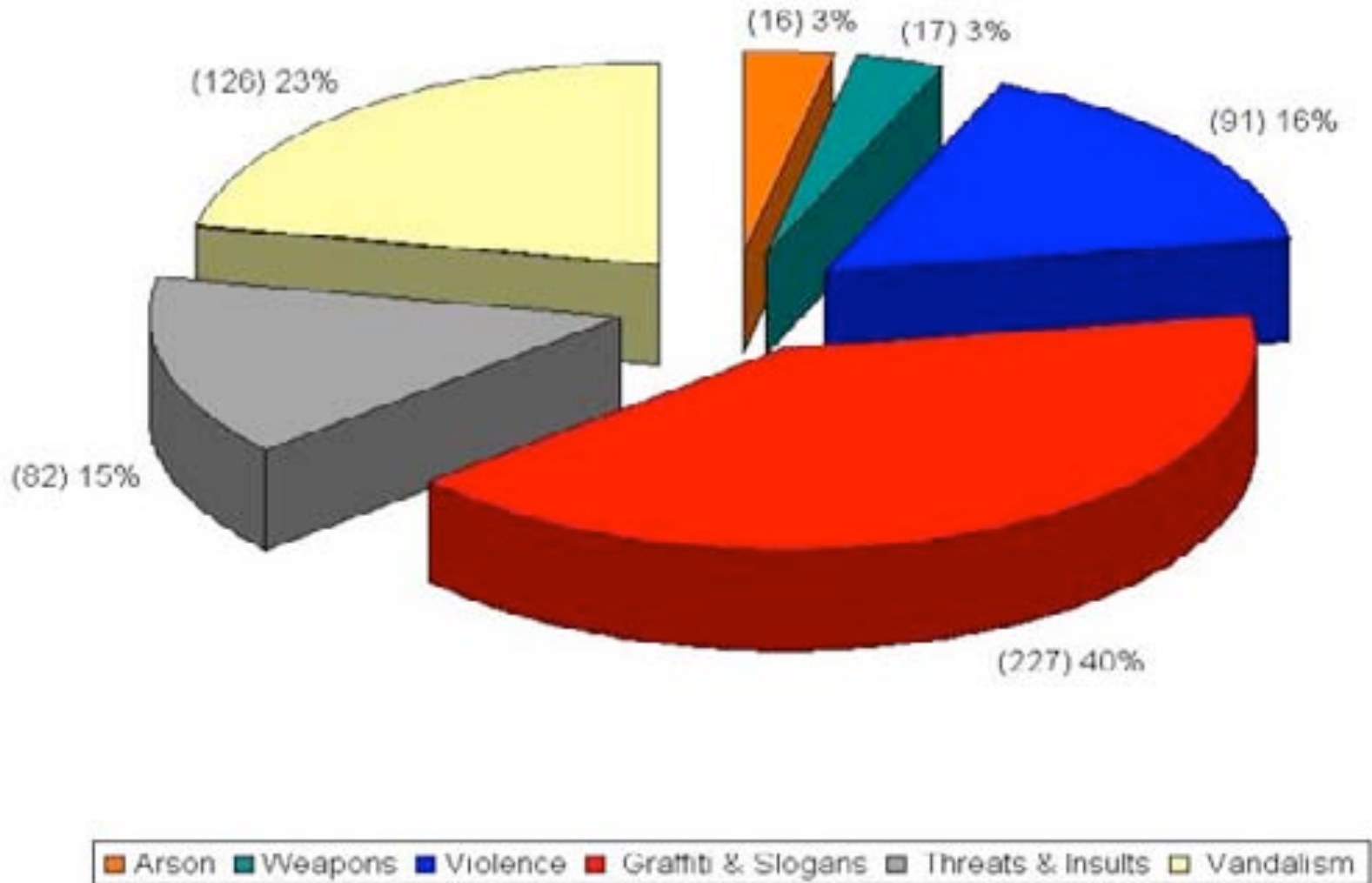
Violent Antisemitic Incidents 1989-2007

Worldwide



Source: Stephen Roth Institute

Violent Manifestations Worldwide in 2008 - Breakdown by Modus Operandi



Source: Stephen Roth Institute

Few terror attacks have taken place, in comparison with vandalism and desecrations, as the preceding slides indicate. But their impact on Jewish communities is traumatic and long lasting.

This is a consequence of governments' awareness of the terror threat, and communities own overt deterrence measures.

The threat currently comes from three areas:

- Al Qaeda and the global jihad movement
- Iran and its surrogates (eg. Hizbollah)
- Extreme right (white supremacists, neo Nazis)

No distinction is made between Israeli and Jewish community targets.

Jews may not be the primary targets for many terrorist groups but antisemitism is central to their ideologies.

Recent calls for anti-Jewish attacks

Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi

“...Allah lies in wait for them, and He will not forsake this nation. He will not allow these people to continue to spread corruption in the land. We wait for the revenge of Allah to descend upon them, and Allah willing, it will be by our own hands:

‘Fight them, Allah will torment them by your hands, and bring them to disgrace, and will assist you against them, and will heal the hearts of the believers, and you will still the anger of your hearts.’ This is my message to the treacherous Jews, who have never adhered to what is right, or been true to their promises, who violate each time the promises they make to you... Oh Allah, take your enemies, the enemies of Islam. **Oh Allah, take the Jews, the treacherous aggressors.** Oh Allah, take this profligate, cunning, arrogant band of people. Oh Allah, they have spread much tyranny and corruption in the land. Pour Your wrath upon them... **Oh Allah, take this oppressive, Jewish, Zionist band of people. Oh Allah, do not spare a single one of them. Oh Allah, count their numbers, and kill them, down to the very last one.**”

(Al Jazeera TV, 9 January 2009)

Ayman al-Zawahri

“I say to the enraged Muslim masses that set out to protest all over the Islamic world: these demonstrations will surely not be enough to confront their bombs – but our Islamic rage should turn into effective and active actions that will shake the corners of the Zionist-Christian alliance, with the help of Allah and His strength. O’ Muslims everywhere, give your response to the call of almighty Allah and perform the duty of individual Jihad... O’ Muslims everywhere, fight against the Zionist-Christian campaign, and strike its interest wherever you encounter them... **so thwart the efforts of these traitors by striking the interests of the enemies of Islam – namely, the Christians and the Jews – wherever and by whatever means you can**”.

(Al Qaeda video, 24 March 2009)

'Al Qaeda struck the Jews in Djerba, Tunisia and Israeli tourists in their hotel in Mombassa, Kenya... And after that launched two rockets at an El Al plane carrying a number (of Israelis)... We thank the person asking the question for his positive thinking, and **we promise our Muslim brothers that we will do our best to strike the Jews both inside and outside Israel.**

(2 April 2008 – Ayman al Zawahiri)

Training manual on AQ linked site warned salafi jihadis not to attack religious figures but **prioritised targets as Jews, but Jews from Israel and the USA took priority over French or British Jews, Christians and apostates.**

(Al Qaeda online training manual, 2008)

Comments posted by other Islamist groups issuing threats against Jews worldwide. **One posting included a plea to expand “the war against the Jews”** and to use weapons of mass destruction. Another posting made a general call goading Muslims to target “Zionists” everywhere due to their perception that “a Jewish adolescent boy in an Australian synagogue, a Jewish minister in the Georgian government, a Jewish businessman in the New York Stock Exchange, and an illiterate Jew from the Ethiopian desert... they all belong to the same gang and the same nation, apart from the rest of humanity.”

(A Hamas-linked website, 2008)

Recent attacks and foiled plots against Jewish Communities

January 2003 to March 2004 - The conspirators in the UK Crevice Conspiracy were planning to attack synagogues in the UK as well as the Bluewater Shopping Centre and London nightclubs.

28 July 2006 – Naveed Afzal Haq shot and killed a member of staff, and wounded five others, at the Greater Seattle Jewish Federation Centre.

September 2006 – Islamist terrorists planned to attack synagogues in Prague in a plot that was forestalled by the Czech security service, acting on information provided by the Norwegian security services.

September 2006 – three Islamist residents of Oslo, Norway, planned to bomb the Oslo synagogue, but at their trial in 2008 only one of them was convicted (of shooting at the synagogue); the other two were acquitted due to lack of evidence.

December 2006 – Talib Abu Salam Ibn Shareef, of Rockford Illinois, was arrested for plotting to bomb a shopping centre, and attacking Jews.

November 2008 – Lashkar e Toiba terrorists deliberately targeted Chabad Centre in Mumbai, as part of a more widespread attack on hotels and transportation centres, killing 170 people of whom 6 were held hostage and then murdered at the Centre.

February 2009 – Omar Bulphred and Azim Ibragimov were convicted of firebombing 2 synagogues in Montreal.

Foiled Al Qaeda / global jihad movement attacks

The group responsible for the May 2004 Atocha Station bombings also planned to attack a community centre near Madrid.

Invisible ink notes indicated a plot to assassinate community leader Sir Trevor Chinn, because of his closeness to Prime Minister Tony Blair, found at the home of Rangzeib Ahmed, who was convicted of terrorism offences in October 2008 in Manchester.

Recent Iranian linked plots

Iran has put in place a world wide infrastructure capable of committing acts of terrorism and will use it if it perceives its interests to be threatened, or to seek revenge (eg. assassination of Imad Mughnieh). Hizbollah is an essential part of this, and has established a terrorist infrastructure in several African countries, especially West Africa and Latin America.

July 2009 – 2 Lebanese and 4 Azerbaijanis convicted of planning to bomb the Israel Embassy in Baku, in a Hizbollah inspired plot.

Far Right attacks

10 June 2009 – white supremacist James von Brunn shot a number of people including a security guard who subsequently died, at the National Holocaust Museum, Washington DC.



Prof. Gerald M. Steinberg
Bar Ilan University, NGO Monitor

'The Role of NGO's in the Effort to De-Legitimize Israel'

Gerald Steinberg

We saw at the beginning this morning, around 8 o'clock, just before Danny Ayalon spoke, there was a film, a short film of a demonization of Israel. Everyone of those scenes that you saw could have been - or were - very much supported and often caused by non-governmental organizations.

Groups that claim to promote human rights, that promote humanitarian aid. Mike Whine knows about Oxfam, I will actually talk to you about what is happening between the community leadership and Oxfam, Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International. The Goldstone report would have not existed, had it not been for the Human Rights Watch and another 150 NGOs that campaigned vigorously. But Goldstone was certainly a product of the Human Rights Watch and I will show you some details of aspects of how the NGOs influence this process.

So I want to spent a couple of minutes just reminding you - I think most of you have heard me to do the longer version, this is the shorter one and I will just do a shortcut - and then some of the things that are being done, that NGO Monitor is doing, the Israeli government is doing and particularly, what needs to be done in this war, which is very much a product of the exploitation of the language of human rights, of humanitarian assistance, of democracy, of peace by these very powerful and very wealthy NGOs.

The lawfare cases, cases against - most recently Ehud Barak, but also of Moshe Ayalon - against a whole series of Israeli officials; we are talking about approximately 500 cases that have been prepared against Israeli officials, are all being funded and being controlled by NGOs.

Tal will speak later and he may disagree with that, but in my view, if we could cut off the funding, if the NGOs didn't exist and they didn't have this huge amount of funding going in, then this shopping to get a judge in Spain or the venue in England or the universal jurisdiction statute in this country or another country, the ability to weight this aspect of the political war - what is called law affair against Israel - will be hard to do. I am not saying that it will not exist, but it will be far reduced.

The origins of this blood libeled claims in Sweden, if you go back, like we have done, 3 - 4 years ago in Sweden and the anti-, not just anti-Israel, but anti-Semitic propaganda that turns Israelis into war criminals, capable of doing any moral outrage, you will see the climate that created the foundations for this becoming a major headline in countries like Sweden.

The Human Rights Watch campaign - I think there have been four or five major reports, which means a press conference at the American Colony Hotel, which means instantly, within five minutes after the end of this press conference, we have counted three-four hundred different press reports. One was held that Israel was using white phosphorous. A few weeks later the same person, Marco Lasko, the guy that had this Nazi memorabilia fetish - there is a picture of the cover of his book on the side there - he is the main author of the report that charges Israel with using secret drawn technology to kill innocent Palestinians.

What is wrong with these reports is not just that .. the basic claims, but there is absolutely no substance of factual basis for most of them. They are strictly part of the demonization of Israel. Run by an organization, whose Middle East division and its military expert – Marco Lasko – are dedicated to promoting this process of de-legitimization resulted in the Durban process.

More cases of NGO lawfare. The recent case against Ehud Barak was to begin in England, which is mainly for publicity. None of these cases have advanced anywhere near any kind of trial or conviction. They are strictly done in order to label, to get publicity, so that the label "Israel", "Israeli", "war crimes", "apartheid" - all those terms are more strongly implemented or imprinted primarily in the European, but also now in North American context. That when you see the word "Israel" and you see the word "IDF" – you are to mainly think of war crimes, that is the purpose of these trials. And these are the latest ones – the Ehud Barak case in Britain was instigated, was funded, was supported by Almazan and Al Hak, two Palestinian NGOs that are funded by the European governments, supposedly under frameworks like Partnerships for Peace or the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights or by number of other European governments and similar frameworks – that is where the money comes from.

That is what gives the publicity and that is what puts an end, so...Non-governmental organizations, it is my opinion, are leading political war against Israel. And there is something that we can do something about. This is something that has, I think, short-term policy implications. Very briefly, the process generally goes and there have been many rounds from Ganin to Goldstone. NGOs are making claims, they make research, they issue the publications and immediately it gets headlines in the media. Very few journalists bother to check the accuracy of these reports. Amnesty, Human Rights, Oxfam, FIDH in France, Betsalem, Gishaad – there are hundreds of them. They are automatically considered to be reliable, they are considered to be reliable, they are considered to be apolitical, they are considered to be moral and they are instantly adopted by the media, including to a large part by Israeli media, less than before.

That goes to the UN, you know, and the diplomats, there is the Human Rights Council adopts a resolution, creates a fact finding mission or an enquiry commission and this is not the first time it has happened. But it is the first time they have a judge like Goldstone to make it seem so legitimate. They had a similar process in the Lebanon war and many other cases.

And then from there it goes to my colleagues in academia, who quote these reports as if now they have been given some sort of premature validity.

Couple of minutes about the Goldstone report, because this is the top, the summit of the process. I wanted to say the epidemic, but that sounds like a positive term. We went through this report. The original draft was 575 pages, I think that the revised version is maybe 100 pages less. And in the original draft there were 1223 footnotes, of which about 500 came from NGOs. Goldstone report, to make it simple, is a compilation of NGOs' claims.

From all these organizations something like 90% - and I haven't counted it exactly, but I would estimate that 90% of the factual claims come, either directly or indirectly, from

NGOs. The witnesses that appeared, the witnesses that were brought to testify – how did Goldstone pick the people or the 36 cases that they examined. They all come from the NGO campaigns that were conducted before, during and after the Gaza operation.

Here is the list of the NGO sources in the Goldstone report – I don't expect from you to read all that, there are 48 different NGOs that are listed there. The ones that are funded primarily by the European governments. Government funding going to non-governmental organizations primarily to promote the demonization of Israel.

Again, if you take the NGOs out, there is no Goldstone report. If you take the European-funded NGOs out, you will half the Goldstone report. The NGOs... the power of the NGOs has reached their epidemic in the Goldstone process.

Now what is important – and I said I would focus particularly on this – is what you can do about it, the counter strategy. I think that NGOs are vulnerable, they just have never been examined before, they have always been allowed to function and promoted to the halo effect. NGOs are good, they are moral, who can say anything bad about Amnesty International or Human Rights Watch. And now you begin to look at the details.

The first stage is "naming and shaming". And I will talk about this with a couple of examples. Focusing the attention on their bias, their lack of methodology, the façade of doing research – this needs to be taken on and it needs to be taken on consistently and it needs to be taken on in many different areas – in the international legal community, in the international ..., it issued a couple of months ago, in June, a guideline for fact finding, called The London Loon (?) Guidelines. And Goldstone violated every single one of those guidelines.

And that needs to be focused on. The report ...Goldstone is on Jerusalem Post yesterday saying: "Everybody is attacking me, nobody is showing the substance is bad". That is absolutely false. It is a blatant lie.

The Foreign Ministry has issued two major documents – I will leave that to Tal to talk about – documenting the false words that are in the NGO testimonies and in the Goldstone report. The first report was issued before the Goldstone report, the second came out afterwards.

My organization - NGO Monitor – issued, I think, 5 reports on specific aspects of what is false or not credible or lacking verification. There are many, many claims that cannot be substantiated, they are simply the Palestinian claims. There is one that I want to talk about very briefly.

One of the major incidents involves Abu Rabud family. They are featured prominently in the one of the Human Rights Watch reports – the one that accuses Israel of killing people - innocent, who were waving white flags. And when you look at this, you will find out that there are at least 16 different versions of the Abu Rabud family, of the Abu Rabud family testimony of what happened.

And it keeps evolving – from the day of the incident, I believe it was on 8th of January, and then we looked at the Arabic text and it was completely different than what they told the Western reporters.

The process is always the same – you go to the American colony hotel, you get a fixer, usually one of the very small number of fixers, I think they are about half a dozen, who takes you to Gaza and they take you to talk to the same people and they tell you the stories of terror. That Israel is responsible for all sorts of terrible things that had happened to them. And then you find out that this family was involved in the internal politics and struggles between Fatah and Hamas and they are positioning themselves. **And therefore they want to ...in the hands of the story.** Now – I don't know if some members of the family were killed, but I do know that many of the people, who were claimed to be killed, who showed up on the list of casualties, were actually involved with Hamas.

We have at least three good sources of the information. One is the ICT, the Institute for Counter Terrorism in Harcelia, in IDC; one is the work that has been done by Yossi Dako Ahaleivi (???) and the third one was through the idea of sources, the Israeli Government.

So we know the names of the people. These are not innocent family members, who were **attacked without a reason and slaughtered by the idea.** And these stories just don't check up, they keep changing. So focusing on the factual errors, and there are many other examples – there is the mosque case that Goldstone talked about in his press conference and many other examples.

So confronting directly Goldstone and the report with its factual errors is extremely important. That is part of the "naming and shaming" process.

Influencing the founders is very important, going to the people, who give the money, European governments – I come back to that. Every Western European Government – and even now the Czech Republic has started in a minor way, because they are part of the club, so they have a budget for NGOs and these NGOs are listed under various Partnerships for Peace-type of programs. And what they are doing with the money is completely inconsistent with what the Government says they are doing.

As far as I can say, with the exception of the British Parliament, there is no parliamentary proceedings or hearings to talk about where the money goes. Even the British Parliamentary Committee is not a serious investigation, but much more of a supportive group. This needs to be challenged. Our recommendation is been with Dan Ayalon and the Foreign Ministry are now taking...but every serious high-level meeting with Europeans, who come to talk about various peace processes with their recommendations – I am meeting with a group of Danish Parliamentarians next week – this should go on the table. "We don't talk about your role in the peace process, until we talk about your role in the demonization." And this had some impact. And I will tell you a couple of examples in a minute.

The third group, challenging the halo effect in the media... These are not credible sources, these are not universal promoters of morality, these are bias participants in the political war against Israel. **Let's make this claim, let's put the evidence on the table.** And it worked. The New York Times no longer publishes headlines with reports of Human Rights Watch. The reporters that are here recognized that they are not neutral, apolitical or accurate sources.

Amnesty – the process is a little bit slower, we had some success with the BBC, but not enough. We have a case that the BBC will investigate and be careful with reports.

And also the Washington Post is much more careful. But we need to focus on journalists and we need your help for that. In any part of the world, when a newspaper, or wire service, a television focuses on NGO report and gives it a headline status without at all investigating independently its accuracy – that needs to be subject of meetings, discussions, pressure, highlighting that these are not what they claim to be.

Confronting the NGO officials themselves, getting engaged in debates – my experience is that most of them are not able to defend their cases at all, because they don't know the details and they are mostly ideologues. And I had a debate with somebody from Amnesty in Boston, who spoke entirely in his half an hour presentation about how much they did for Soviet Jewry in 1970-ies and 1980-ies. Wonderful! Where are you now?! Because he didn't want to deal with the reality now. And I think we need to have more of this kind of debates, including with Oxfam and others and then building coalitions and it is growing, there are enough people now, looking at the NGOs and finding out cases like having Marco Lasko from Human Rights Watch being obsessed with Nazi fetishism actually.

Educating the political and diplomatic elites, meeting with members of Parliament, showing them where the money is going, the money accountability, working with tax payers' alliance – if they are not pro-Israel, at least they should be shown how their money is wasted and this is counterproductive.

And finally, we have great impact on Israeli government. 1st December we are going to have a conference in the Kneset on the political role of NGOs and their sources of funding and discussion on legislation that would require transparency. That you could no longer receive money anonymously from European...from any government and conducting answer on that advertising and proclaiming what the source of funding is.

In the United States there is legislation that requires anybody who receives foreign government funding for political lobbying to register as an agent of a foreign government. Which sounds sinister in the United States that just seems to be lobbyist, but it makes difference if you receive money from Kadafi and you go to see a congressman for some sort of a political issue, than it is obvious to everybody that you are an agent of the Libyan government and where your money comes from. In Israel there is no such legislation.

And we are talking about European funding of at least 150 million Euro an year – that is what we know about, I don't want to discuss what we don't know about. That is major money for political NGOs.

I will just talk very briefly about what we have done with the Human Rights Watch. That is...Malcolm is not here, but I think it was five years ago. I think I spoke for the first time at the Presidents Conference both in New York and here about this process.

Human Rights Watch, because it is seen as and was founded as a Jewish organization by Jewish founders, based in New York, has a lot of high reputation for being apolitical, for

being accurate in conducting research. Except when it comes to Israel. The Middle East division is run by two ideologues – Sara Lee Widston and Joe Stork, who were very strongly campaigning against Israel before they went to the human rights business. They are primarily anti-Israel ideologues. Their entire Middle East division is different than anything other in Human Rights Watch's framework.

And by focusing on them and then uncovering our Lasko and demonstrating how reports contain huge amount of false information, we have succeeded in helping to convince a number of Board members to resign. We expect to see some public statements by some of the founders in the very near future on how Human Rights Watch has betrayed the basic principles, which is supposed to be focusing on those regimes and societies, where human rights violations are daily event, not focusing on Israel bashing and our main purpose is to get the Board to change the entire structure of the Human Rights Watch.

It takes a lot of work. And if any of you knows members of the Board.. And the same process, somewhat different may be applied also to Amnesty and to Oxfam. The people, who provide the legitimacy...Most of the people, who work – and this is my last couple of sentences – but most of the activists are not going to be convinced. But people, who sit on the Board and who provide the legitimacy, the façade – this is a neutral human rights organization or – in the case of Oxfam – a neutral humanitarian aid agency. They are the ones that, I think, can be convinced that both their own reputations and the moral framework, in which they operate, are not going to be served by continuing to be part of these sorts of processes. It is a long and difficult discussion. It took us about 5 years to get where we are with the Human Rights Watch, but I think it shows that it is doable and it can be engaged.

I think that it is also very important.. I think we can also go further than that in working with the medical community to set up a whole project on how NGOs called "medical malpractice" use false claims that Israel is responsible for all the suffering, the medical suffering of the Palestinians in Gaza, whether it is in the British Medical Journal or elsewhere. Each of these areas can be approached, each of these areas can be taken on and I think the power of the NGOs in five years can be reduced significantly through consistent action. Thank you.

HELENA GLASER: It is a political question: Do you feel that, as I at least feel, that it was a big mistake made by the government to speak about why the Palestinians did not...how do you say...I am so tired and now ...you know what I want to ask...

Because you said before, Tal, you have to be Hebrew, and if you would have been "smart and not right" I think it was horrible to talk about ...wow, you know, you run to your friends and say...in Hebrew we say "you don't finish to do something, but you run to tell your friends what you did". So this was the case here, you ran right away to tell what you did and I think it was a biggest mistake and I think we are paying for it heavily what is happening now with the...

GERALD STEINBERG: Now, what is the focus? What Israel should have done in order...

HELENA GLASER: No, I will tell you.

My information, unfortunately, it is not as you have behind the scene, I just read the press. And from the news what was stated – that originally the Palestinians withdrew, did not ask to have this, the report discussed...you know...you understand my question?

To postpone it...

Then the Government came out or an official came out and said "wow, we want ... we made it so...

Because so and so... And I felt that this was a big mistake on the part of the government officials to do something like that.

GERALD STEINBERG: First of all, I don't have an answer for you, I was on an airplane and all of sudden I got back and I realized that they rescheduled the Human Rights Commission on this. But my guess is that it wouldn't have made any difference.

It is the same thing. I thought you were originally asking should the Israeli government have cooperated with Goldstone. And there also I...

I think that these processes, as Tal described, the whole process of lawfare and using the international law against Israel goes back to Durban conference in 2001. It is so strong, it is the dominant strategy of the Palestinians, of the entire Organization of the Islamic conference, Egypt is essentially involved in this.

This wasn't simply...Maybe we should have shut up about it. It always helps to do that and not to proclaim your victories too loudly, before you had few months to make sure that they will really going to stay. But still think that the Arab League, which has its own process, they issued a report before Goldstone, they gave it to ICC – this whole process of bringing Israel before the ICC and declaring Israel incompetent, which, by the way, was a major part of Human Rights Watch's strategy...

Since 2000 there are over 70 times Human Rights Watch different reports that came out with exactly the same statement – that Israel.. that there needs to be an independent investigation of whatever it was...When a Reuters cameraman was killed, because he looked like he was ready to shoot a rocket at Israel, because there was some fighting and some soldiers were killed – immediately the Human Rights Watch issued 5 different declarations saying that any investigation Israel conducts is completely invalid, because they are incapable of doing that. And this is over and over again. This would have happened anyway.

We should not fool ourselves that with some small difference there, the outcome would have been different. We need to think more strategically about this.

I had couple of e-mails while we were sitting here. I was talking about Human Rights Watch, I think this is part of what needs to be done. That by talking to people that were involved – whether it is on the basis of interests...and embarrassment is an interest... If

you are giving your own money or your Government is giving your money to an organization, which is doing things, which are against your own interests, which are embarrassing, then you would stop doing that.

And so the founders of the Human Rights Watch, to whom I have been speaking for 5 years, had firstly given me 5 minutes and tell me everything that is wrong in our reports. I will have an article in tomorrow's New York Times in which we will lay out, it is half the length we originally wrote, but I am told that they will laid out most of the arguments about why Human Rights Watch has failed to live up to the expectations. And those are the sort of the things that we have...we need to act on this. I got another Board member, who is saying "OK, are you going to follow his lead?" And if not, why not.

Another point that I also just got in an e-mail. And also I think, speaking strategically, finding the weak points of their arguments, finding their interests, as Tal said, we need all these strategies – these of the governments and these of the NGOs that are promoting this. Turns out that Goldstone runs an Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation – it is an NGO. And one of the main constituencies is something called the Arab Thought Forum and they have issued over 20 statements over the last few months, using words like apartheid and war crime.

So this is another example on how Goldstone comes into this process, completely a process that is against the standard framework of a judge going in and looking at the evidence. He completely should not have been the person...he should have excused himself as they say. I think these cases should be very much focused on.

It turns to be that one of his partners was the Perez center. I didn't have the chance to look why but they have resigned from this process. So looking at the details, "the naming and shaming", the putting the evidence on the table and pursuing it as intensely, as NGO is pursuing us and the governments in the UN and elsewhere, think is a very important part of this process.

BETTY EHRENBERG: And the last question goes to Robert Goot.

ROBERT GOOT: Thank you. I found the presentations excellent, troubling, interesting. Is it possible to give the list of the NGOs - I know that we will get the slides, but rather quicker, rather later and also is it possible for some attention to be given, Michael, to fast-tracking information as it occur, because it is a very fast moving issue and is something that most of us are ignorant about, but we have to deal with and if possible to streamline the process, so that information can be given on the significance of the developments that occur today so we know, we will appreciate.

GERALD STEINBERG: And the list of information. I think you all have copies of some of our publications in Wall street Journal and elsewhere and on our web site is right there and everything is right there, at the front, just log on and you will get the whole list of NGOs.

But we can work.. we are working on increasing the level of coordination on that, to make it instantly available.

October 2009

NGOs and the Delegitimization of Israel

Prof Gerald Steinberg
President



www.ngo-monitor.org



“Israeli War Criminals”
at Harvard:
Dan Halutz
IDF Chief of Staff 2005-7
www.harvardwarcriminals.blogspot.com



“Spain investigates claims of Israeli crimes against humanity in Gaza”

Jan. 29, 2009
Guardian.co.uk

"Israeli Bodysnatchers"

Sep. 2, 2009

Middle East Online



Promoting Critical Debate and Accountability of Human Rights NGOs in the Arab Israeli Conflict



“Israel accused of using white phosphorus in Gaza”

Human Rights Watch





'NGO Lawfare'

مركز الميزان لحقوق الإنسان
Al Mezan Center for Human Rights



- ***Sabra & Shatila Committee vs. Sharon*** (Belgium, HRW, Amnesty) 2001
- ***ICJ advisory decision v. security barrier*** (2004, B'Tselem, Amnesty, FIDH)
- ***Matar v. Dichter*** (US, CCR, PCHR, 2005)
- ***Al-Haq v. Secretaries of State*** (UK, 2006, 2009)
- ***Matar v. Halutz, et al*** (Spain, PCHR, 2008)
- ***Bil'in Village Council v. Green Park Intl– Kiryat Sefer*** (Canada, Al-Haq, Michael Sfar, 2008)
- Al Mezan and Al Haq vs. Ehud Barak – UK 2009



Promoting Critical Debate and Accountability of Human Rights NGOs in the Arab Israeli Conflict



NGOs

Non-governmental organizations

Leading the political war

The NGO Durban Strategy: DEMONIZATION

Jenin: 2002

UNHRC

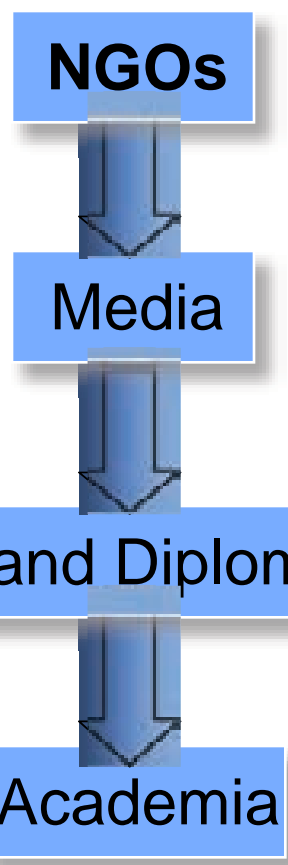
“Apartheid Wall”: 2004

BDS: 2005

Lebanon War: 2006

Gaza: 2007/8

Goldstone: 2009



Goldstone Report - NGO "Cut and Paste"

- HRW main force behind Goldstone
- Goldstone is former HRW board member
- Close relationship with Roth
- 'Cut and paste' of over **500** NGO claims, submissions, and testimony
- HRW/Amnesty campaigning for adoption of report



Goldstone Report: NGO sources

- | | | | |
|-----|---|-----|--|
| 1. | AlAtaa Charitable Association | 29. | New Profile |
| 2. | Al-Dameer Association | 30. | Palestinian Agricultural Development Society |
| 3. | Adalah | 31. | Palestinian Center for Human Rights (PCHR) |
| 4. | Addameer | 32. | Palest. Internl Campaign to End the Siege on Gaza |
| 5. | PARC | 33. | Palestinian Medical Relief Society |
| 6. | Al-Haq | 34. | Palestinian Network of NGOs |
| 7. | Al-Mezan | 35. | Palestinian Red Crescent Society (PRCS) |
| 8. | Alternative Information Centre | 36. | Palestinian Woman Developmental Studies Association |
| 9. | Amnesty International | 37. | Palestinian Woman Information and Media Centre |
| 10. | ARIJ | 38. | Physicians for Human Rights – Israel |
| 11. | ACRI | 39. | Public Committee against Torture in Israel (PCATI) |
| 12. | Bimkom | 40. | Rabbis for Human Rights |
| 13. | Breaking the Silence | 41. | Society for Disabled in the Gaza Strip |
| 14. | B'Tselem | 42. | Stop the Wall |
| 15. | Center for Women's Legal Research | 43. | Yesh Din |
| 16. | Culture and Free Thought Association | 44. | Yesh Gvul |
| 17. | Defense of Children International – PS | 45. | Union of Agricultural Work Committees |
| 18. | Diakonia | 46. | Union of Health Care Committees |
| 19. | Gaza Mental Health Program (GMHP) | 47. | Union of Health Work Committees |
| 20. | General Union of Palestinian Women | 48. | Women's Affairs Centre |
| 21. | Gisha | | |
| 22. | HaMoked | | |

NGO Counter-strategy

- Naming and Shaming
- Influencing NGO funders: Policy change in EU, Regular meetings with ambassadors and government officials, Dialogue with NIF
- Challenging the Halo Effect in the Media, academia, etc
- Confronting NGO officials
- Building coalitions – blogs, academics, etc.



NGO Counter-strategy

- Educating political and diplomatic leaders, leading journalists, EU parliament, UK Parliamentary committees, Congress briefings
- Israeli Government – PMO, Knesset



“Naming and Shaming” - Human Rights Watch



- **NGO Monitor’s report of HRW Saudi fundraising event in WSJ, full media coverage**
- **HRW’s senior military analyst suspended following report of Nazi memorabilia fetish**
- **NGO Monitor research report on HRW: Experts or ideologues (academic critique)**
- **HRW Board crisis meetings**



ENDING NGO FUNDING FOR DEMONIZATION

- **Ford Foundation – 2001 vs. 2009**
- **Halting European funding for individual NGOs - ICAHD**
- **Troicaire (Ireland) funding cut by 22% (\$1 million less for NGOs)**
- **Forcing EU transparency on funding – NGO Monitor lawsuit**



REMOVING THE HALO EFFECT

- “U.N. Smears Israeli Self-Defense As 'War Crimes'”, Gerald Steinberg, **Wall Street Journal**, Sep. 17, 2009
- “Goldstone's sins of omission”, Dan Kosky, **The Guardian**, Sep. 16, 2009
- “Human Rights Watch Suspends Researcher who collected Nazi Memorabilia”, **Daily Telegraph (UK)**, Sep. 15, 2009
- “J'lem think tank: HRW lacks credibility”, Josiah Ryan, **Jerusalem Post**, Sep. 9, 2009
- “NGO Monitor: Gaza War Probe tainted by Anti-Israel Ideology”, **Haaretz**, Cnaan Liphshiz, Sep. 8, 2009
- “Israel Obsession Leads HRW Astray”, **Baltimore Sun**, Gerald Steinberg and Dan Kosky, Aug. 30, 2009
- “Rights Group: Hamas May Have Committed War Crimes” **New York Times** Aug 6 2009



NGO Action plan -- 2010

- **Focusing on cutting Funding for NGO demonization**
- **NGOM *Knesset* conference: Dec. 2009**
- **Proposed *Knesset* legislation**
- **Suing EU for lack of transparency**
- **Dialogue with *New Israel Fund* – other Zionist funders**
- **Medical NGOs “Malpractice”**





Dr. Tal Becker
Former Legal Advisor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

'International Lawfare Against Israel'



Mr. Stanley Urman

Justice for Jews from Arab Countries, American Sephardi Federation

'Seeking Justice for Displaced Jews'

Stanley Urman

I appreciate this opportunity to brief you all on an issue that I believe is important for the Jewish people and for the State of Israel: securing rights for Jews displaced from Arab countries. I do so with full appreciation and respect for Mr. Serge Verdugo, who is representing the Jewish community in Morocco, and Flo Kaufman and others, Mr. Cukierman and some others who have the leadership in Europe and elsewhere.

It is no accident that when you hear the term "refugees" in the context of the Middle East, you immediately think of the Palestinians. For, indeed, it was a well orchestrated campaign to ensure that at every international gathering – in the United Nations or elsewhere – Palestinian refugees is the sole issue on the agenda, drawing the attention of government representatives, the media and the public.

And as we hear astonishing figures – 4 million plus Palestinian refugees – it is important to know the facts.

This is a document we secured from the United Nations High Commission for Refugees. Third column down is the UN estimate of Palestinians, who became refugees in 1948 – 726 000 Palestinians. Period. That is the UN number of Palestinians – refugees at the time of founding of the State of Israel. Here is a chart of what we call Jews ultimately left or displaced or fled or left voluntarily from Jews in Arab countries. In 1948, they were roughly 856 000 Jews in some terrain Arab countries. You will notice – 1948, 1957, 1967, 1976, every time there was a war, every time there was a conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbors, the number of Jews in Arab countries dropped precipitately, today there are some 850 000 Jews displaced from Arab countries.

Now, this is true, particularly in the 20th century, that the treatment of Jews by leaders and Muslim population varied from country to country. In some countries Jews were forbidden to leave, like Syria – they were held like virtual hostages. In other countries Jews were expelled, like Egypt, by government decrees. In some countries they were formally displaced by mass – like in Iraq. And in some countries Jews were left in relative peace under the protection of Muslim rulers, particularly in countries like Morocco, Tunisia. In certain periods of history Jews and Muslims were a model of co-existence, Jews and Arabs could live together.

However, the results are clear from the figures. Where did these Jews go? About two thirds of them, about 650 000, went to Israel, the rest to France, Britain, Australia, Canada, the United States and elsewhere.

It is clear that the entire 1948 even the New York Times recognized the Jews were in great danger in all Muslim countries. However, unknown at that time was the extend of the threat the Jews were in Arab countries, what professor Irvin Cotler called the "criminal conspiracy" of the Arab League.

This is a document which was originally uncovered by the World Jewish Congress, when it exposed and affixed to a January 1948 memo to ECOSOC. The text of a draft law, prepared by the political committee of the Arab League when they met in Beirut before

the founding of the State of Israel, discussing a strategy as to how Arab countries would use their Jewish populations as political weapons in their struggle against the establishment of the State of Israel. This draft law, seven points, again presented to the UN by the WJC, among other measures called for: Jewish bank account to be taken, seized, the money of which to be sent to Palestine and given to the Arabs to buy weapons to fight against, what was called, Zionist aspirations in Palestine. Two: Jews were required to declare that they were quote anti-Zionist. If they were to declare that they were anti-Zionist, then their sons were to be inducted into the Arab armies with the possibility to be sent to Palestine to fight alongside with six Arab armies against the Jews that were trying to establish the State of Israel.

As we examine this case, it is essential to underscore that there is no parallel, there is no comparable history, there is no comparable geography nor demography that would allow any just comparison between the Palestinian refugees and Jewish refugees. Palestinians were in a war zone; Jews were not in a war zone, when they were displaced. Jews were citizens, born, native to the country, which they left; Palestinians were never citizens of the State of Israel. The list of differences is extensive, however, and also there is a fundamental distinction that must be made between those two cases, which we must underscore at every single opportunity, namely: that the State of Israel, newly established, even though under attack from six Arab armies, with scant resources, opened its doors to over 650,000 Jews, fleeing from Arab countries, granted them citizenship and tried, as best as it could, under very difficult circumstances, to absorb them in the Israeli society.

By contrast, the Arab world, with the sole exception of Jordan, turned their backs on displaced Palestinians, sequestered them in refugee camps to be used as a political weapon against the State of Israel for these 55 to 65 years. So there is no symmetry, there is no correlation between the plate, such as it was, of the Palestinian refugees and those of Jews displaced from Arab countries. However, I would suggest that there is one important factor that applies to both former Jews from Arab countries and Palestinian refugees: the moral imperative to ensure that the rights and claims of all *bona-fide* refugees are fully acknowledged, respected and addressed in whatever resolution of the Israeli-Arab conflict.

The question is: Were the Jews displaced from Arab countries refugees? Well, when we first went to the State Department, that's the first question they asked us: What makes you think they were refugees? They went to Israel, they were absorbed in other countries, they were not refugees. It is true that the narrative that the Jews came to Israel to fulfill Zionist aspirations to build a life in the Jewish homeland. But that does not negate the fact that the Jews were considered *bona-fide* refugees under international law, by the international community.

On two separate occasions the High Commission on Refugees declared that the Jews, leaving Arab countries, were indeed refugees under international law, subject to the full protection of the international community. The first time in 1957 with respect to Jews leaving Egypt, and the second time in 1967 with respect to Jews leaving countries in all North Africa.

So there is a strong, clear, definitive statement by the international community, notwithstanding the Zionist narrative, that those Jews fleeing Arab countries were indeed

bona-fide refugees, subject to the full protection and rights extent today and, by the way, there is no statute of limitations of the rights of refugees. If they had bank accounts, if they had pensions, over time you do not lose rights to those assets. Therefore, Jewish refugees still have rights today under the international law. And there is a strong legal basis to assert rights for Jewish refugees from Arab countries.

Everyone has heard of Resolution 242. It calls for a "just solution of the refugee problem". It does not say Arab refugee problem. Does not say Palestinian refugee problem. Says "THE refugee problem".

Unbeknown to many – and the Palestinians assert this – Resolution 242 as the basis for negotiation, as the basis of the rights of Palestinian refugees under international law – is that on 16 November 1967 the United Kingdom submitted this Resolution 242, the first draft, which called for just solution of the refugee problem. That same day the Soviet Union submitted a second resolution 242 that called for "a just solution of the Palestinian refugee problem". Two refugee resolutions on the table. The United Nations took a vote, they adopted the UK resolution, they refused to adopt the Soviet resolution, thus the international community's intention were not to restrict the just solution of a refugee problem to the Palestinians.

In fact, this interpretation is confirmed by the memoirs about Lord Caradon from Britain and Arthur Goldberg, both of whom were the co-sponsors of 242, both of whom wrote in their memoirs that in fact 242 was left generic, because indeed there were Jewish refugees and they had rights as well.

Every international multilateral agreement relates to both Jews and Palestinians. The Madrid Conference – everyone heard about multilateral working group on refugees. Palestinians continue asserting even today that it refers to them. James Baker, 1992, in Moscow when he first announced that the mandate of the multilateral working group on refugees stated, quote, "this refugee group will consider practical ways of improving the life of the people throughout the region, who have been displaced from their homes. Not Palestinians – ALL people displaced from their homes.

The roadmap is still cited today by the EU and by others as the benchmark from which we now will move forward towards a peace process. Phase Three of the roadmap says that there must be "an agreed, just, fair and realistic solution to the refugee issue". Does not say Palestinian refugee issue.

Every single reference to the refugee issue in the multilateral affairs and even in the bilateral Israeli agreements – the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty, the Israeli-Jordanian peace treaty, even every single agreement between Israel and the Palestinian Authority – talks about the refugees. No specific reference only to Palestinians. I have material in the folders that gives you a greater detail some of these legal bases on the rights of the Jewish refugees.

Moreover political recognition is a cure to the rights of the Jewish refugees. After the first Camp David Jimmy Carter, not quite known as a friend of Israel, made a statement that there are Jewish refugees and obviously they have rights, too. President Clinton's famous statement after Camp David II about the rights of Jewish refugees. And most

recently Canadian Prime Minister Paul Martin declared his support for recognition of the rights of Jewish refugees.

So in reality and under international law, there were two populations of refugees. Yet there was a fundamental inequality in the treatment of the United Nations and its agencies to these two populations of refugees.

There have been 1063 resolutions on the Middle East since 1948 – I know, because I have gone through every single one of them. Of these 1063 resolutions, 167 deal only and specifically with the Palestinian refugees. There is no one resolution, or even a reference in one of those resolutions, to rights of Jews, displaced from the Arab countries. Thirteen agencies were either mandated or created specifically to provide services and to provide protection and relief to Palestinian refugees. One agency was mandated to deal with Jewish refugee – this was the UN High Commission on Refugees.

They did not deal with protection, they did not deal with re-settlement, they only dealt with trying to recoup assets, which is one of their mandates. And, unfortunately, they did not do a very good job on that. However, we cannot say that anybody else, except for UNHCR, had as a mandate Jewish refugees from the Arab countries.

The budget for UNWRA is a half of billion dollars per year. Since 1948 there have been tens of billions of dollars spent by the international community to maintain and sustain Palestinian refugees in refugee camps. I would have loved to find out that there was never any money spent on Jewish refugees, but I found out that that is not true. I found out that in 1957 the High Commission on Refugees took 35 000 dollars out of its personal account, this personal Refugee High Commissioner account, to provide for Jews fleeing from Egypt. But there were two provisos to the allocation of those funds – number one: it had to be secret. He did not want anybody to know, it was not reported in the records. I found this in his personal correspondence to the JDC, the Joint, as a matter of fact.

Number two: he eventually turned around and said it was a loan and in fact the Joint did pay it back. So in fact there were no funds from the international community given to the Jewish refugees. And the comparison goes further.

Once again the comparisons between Jewish refugees and Palestinian refugees are stark. UNWRA with the mandate to provide service today to, what they quote, over 4.6 million refugees, has 24 000 employees. The UNHCR – the High Commission for Refugees – with 32 million displaced people that they deal with, has only 6 000 people under its employ. Four times as many people hired by UNWRA than the entire UN High Commission in structure!

The budget for UNWRA is half a billion dollars to serve Palestinian refugees in three countries. And the budget for 110 countries, serviced by UNHCR, is only 1.3 billion. The comparison is remarkable, startling and obviously unjust.

This fundamental inequity and to redress this historical injustice is what led to the creation of "Justice for Jews from the Arab countries". In 2002, *Justice for Jews from the Arab countries* (JJAC) was formed by the Conference of Presidents, the World Jewish Congress, the American Sephardic Federation, and the World Organization of Jews from

Arab Countries. Today, we work in partnership with the American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, JCBA, the World Sephardic Congress – a venerable alphabet soup of the Jewish world.

Seventy-seven organizations, many of whom are represented around this table, have at some point or other participated in the programs of JJAC. Perhaps our most significant accomplishment was the adoption in April 2008 by the United States Congress of Resolution 185, which granted the first-ever recognition of Jewish refugees from the Arab countries.

This now requires US diplomats in all Middle East negotiations to refer to a quote of what the resolution calls “multiple population of refugees” with a specific injunction that hands forth any specific reference and “any specific reference to the Palestinian refugees must be matched by an explicit reference to Jewish refugees”. That is now part of the United States negotiating position.

It was until the recent election of President Obama. I am not sure about the language he uses at this time, but I am not sure it reflects the spirit of what Congress presented to him. However, our mandate is to follow that lead. Any explicit reference to Palestinians should be followed by explicit reference to Jewish refugees. Because in fact there are two populations of refugees and for the peace to be durable both have to be addressed, both have to be on the table.

JJAC has participated in testifying before the UN Human Rights Council in Geneva, we had formal hearings in the British House of Lords, at the European Parliament in Brussels, in the Italian Parliament in Rome, we have made representations to Ministers and members of Congresses and Parliaments in Canada, Belgium, France and through our partners in Russia and in the European Commission. Much has been done, but much more remains to be done.

That is why we hope the World Jewish Congress will adopt this issue as a matter of priority, related to its Israel advocacy work. And JJAC has been working in full cooperation with every successive Israeli government since the ten year of Yitzhak Rabin as Prime Minister.

Our mandate is to ensure that the justice for Jews from the Arab countries assumes its rightful place on the international political agenda and their rights are secured as a matter of law and equity.

The Israeli Cabinet and the Knesset have adopted four specific resolutions, governing **Israel’s position on promoting rights for Jewish refugees**. We have talked about the de-legitimization of Israel and that is why I believe that this issue is a very important weapon in our arsenal.

By asserting rights – right now the Palestinians have virtual monopoly on the term “Middle East refugees” –for Jewish refugees, Israel can neutralize this exclusive monopoly the Palestinians have on this term – “Middle East refugees”.

Number two: Israel always stays alone, condemned by the world for their alleged mistreatment of the Palestinian refugees. By asserting rights for Jews from Arab

countries, Israel levels the playing field by holding accountable those Arab regimes for their ill treatment of Jews and their responsibility for the mass displacement of their Jewish populations.

Number three: We hear claims by Ahmadinejad and others that Israel is called a bastard state, made up by white Europeans, parachuted in from Europe, creating the Jewish state as foreign to the region and that is the cause of the problem in the region. Let us make a case. The case is Jews have been living in the North Africa, Middle East and Gulf for 2,500 years, 1,000 years before the advent of Islam. We are the indigenous people of the Middle East. And this is the narrative that must be returned to the table.

Today, Israel is made of 45 percent of Jews from Arab countries or their descendants. And that clearly negates as illogical and unjust any Palestinian claim of the right of return. Now it is known that Prime Minister Bibi Netanyahu is in favor of raising this issue on the international arena. There have been some Israeli governments that were less favorable, some were more favorable. Let me state today that in our discussions with the Prime Minister's Office and others they are clear that they want change now, they want to bring this issue to public attention, particularly in Europe.

In fact Prime Minister Bibi Netanyahu in his 14 June response to Obama's Cairo speech referred to "the hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees, who left their homes and belongings in Arab countries". The prime minister himself has made this case publicly. More so, last Sunday, before I wrote the report for the World Jewish Congress, the Israeli Cabinet adopted a resolution on how to move on this issue to the international agenda. They are establishing a public Advisory Committee.

This is of the most comprehensive Cabinet resolutions I have ever seen on this subject. And they have mandated a very prominent former Cabinet minister to lead this public campaign and it will be on the front burner of the agenda of the Israeli government.

I have a number of policy recommendations for WJC, but I will leave this to discussions period. Earlier people have said that they were depressed and how do we move forward. This issue allows us to be proactive. This issue empowers us to underscore on the basis of human rights law that the first injustice was the mass violations of the human rights of Jews in the vast majority of Arab countries.

Today, we cannot allow a second injustice. And that would be for the international community to recognize rights for one victim population, while ignoring the rights of another victim population at the very same Arab-Israeli conflict. That is our mission, that is our mandate and I hope you will join us in it.

MICHAEL SCHNEIDER: The passion that Stanley had, when we came to see me, completely blew me over and I felt that he had every right to make a case and I am very happy to find out that I am an indigenous member of this region and I hope that you feel the same enthusiasm and passion as Stanley has.

Are there any questions on this subject? I have just one follow up to what you said, I will come to you. What is the end of the line here? Are you talking about in the end, saying so many Arabs were displaced from Palestine, but so many Jews were displaced from our neighbors that ultimately the negotiation, should there ever be a peace deal with claim and counterclaim, that this would be put on the debit side of the Arabs. Is this the bottom of the line, Stanley?

STANLEY URMAN: I will give a Jewish answer: yes and no.

Let me tell you first what we are not and then I will answer the question of what we are.

Number one: We are not anti-Arab. We are not coming here, condemning the Arabs. On the contrary, we should retain good relations with the Arab world, particularly in these countries, where are the holy sites and shrines, cemeteries, holy places for Jewish people.

Number two: we are not anti-Palestinian. We say that if Palestinians were victims and if they had rights, their rights will be on the table. What we are saying is that, similarly, Jewish rights should be on the table.

Number three: this is not about money. And I want to underscore this particularly at the table, where the World Jewish Congress has achieved incredible successes in securing restitution for the Holocaust victims. This, with respect, is not a Holocaust story.

This is not a campaign for money. This is a campaign for recognition and narrative. Now, people are coming to me, now what are we asking for... People come to me and say "what do you want? Money?" and I say "No". One simple thing and this is a message that we have homed over seven years. And this is the message that, Frankie, had been resonating in Europe. All we say is that it has to be law and equity. If there are Palestinian refugees and their rights are on the table in any peace process, then the world must recognize that there are Jewish refugees and they must be on the table. All we demand is that the rights and recognition of Jews displaced from Arab countries be on the negotiation table and then we say, when they say "what is the resolution", I say "this is up to Israel and its Arab neighbors to reconcile". Not for me. This is a human rights campaign, this is a legitimacy campaign, this is redressing historical injustice campaign. But the ultimate conclusion, the ultimate resolution, ultimately, is a parcel of fabric in the Middle East peace process.

MICHAEL SCHNEIDER: Thank you. First Mikhail, then Robert Goot and then Mervyn.

MIKHAIL CHLENOV: Well, I find the presentation very positive and very interesting.

When Stanley first approached us few years ago with this topic, I thought that it is just actually so far from the interest of Soviet Jewry, because on the territory of the former Soviet Union, to the best of my acknowledge, no one of these displaced Jews, who lived in their lands or their descendants. But after that we discussed well this problem and we decided that such a body is as a quartet, while Russia is one of the members. And we started discussing and presenting this problem to the Russian leadership.

Two years ago, while I presented it formally to the Foreign Ministry of Russia - the file, the idea was actually what should be done with it. We came to a conclusion that we should ask, let say, the Russian Diplomatic Corps and the Foreign Ministry, to try to establish a file in the agenda of the quartet.

Two months ago I discussed this problem with Foreign Minister Lavrov. He asked me very sceptically "Ah, Jewish refugees, are there many of those, who would like to come back to the Arab lands". I told him "No, Sir, no, to the best of my acknowledge there are not so many of them, but you told us now, because we're in a small group for discussing the Middle-Eastern problem, you told us now that actually no one expects that Israel would allow millions of Palestinian refugees to settle in Israel, probably some symbolic number. Yes, as for the rest, their problem should be solved according to international norms of such cases like compensation of lost assets, etc., etc. I told them "Okay, well look, that's just the case where we're actually asking you to consider.

After that while, there was a special meeting with the Russian representatives of the quartet, okay, into the office of the Euro-Asian Jewish congress where there was quite a long conversation, about more than a hour, again where I presented them these materials and where they have request to open the file. It was a file that should be opened, in spite of, well, the success or lack of success.

So that's just for remark and some information, which I wanted to add to this and, Stanley, I think you could really put the name of the Euro-Asian Jewish Congress on the list of your partners, which was not on this slide, I wonder why.

MICHAEL SCHNEIDER: Thank you. Let's take the three together. Robert.

ROBERT GOOT: Thank you. Very briefly, it was the most informative and excellent presentation, if I may say so.

It seems to me that getting the issue on the table so that there are two refugee questions on the table isn't quite the end of it, because either there is demand for Jews from former Arab lands to be repatriated or there is a demand for compensation.

What else is there? I mean, you recognize a problem by having it on the table. But if the problem is resolved by money and you're saying that you won't take it and if the answer of the question is that you will take it, then isn't it a bit cute to say "This is not about money".

SERGE BERDUGO: [...off microphone...]

STANLEY URMAN: May I answer?

MICHAEL SCHNEIDER: You want to ask a question or you want to make a comment?

SERGE BERDUGO: To ask a question.

MICHAEL SCHNEIDER: Okay, so ask a question.

SERGE BERDUGO: You understand I cannot be silent on this kind of problems. I want only to add something.

You know that almost all of the Arab countries - Libya, Tunisia, Morocco ask the Jews to come back. They say "Come if you want, it's your country, yes".

So, be careful on this part of the project. If you see only that we have no compensation and you are only saying that you have to make a balance between the two refugees, I don't think you can have and you can have a boomerang thing.

Second thing - you are talking about justice for Jews from Arab countries. I ask you to make justice for only 65 thousand Moroccan Jews that lived in Morocco from 1948 to 1958, because at this time they were under the rule of the French people and only because they want to go to Israel. This is the justice for them.

MICHAEL SCHNEIDER: Thank you, Serge. Stanley?

STANLEY URMAN: Okay. First of all, good questions.

Again, I think you know well that when we are approaching particularly countries in Europe, we'll have to make a new presentation. If we come in with maximalist positions, we're not well received, but we have been well received, because our expectations are very clear and they are minimalists, but in some ways they are maximalist.

What I mean is as follows. We demand rights and for lawyers – rights and redress. Redress is a legal term. Redress on international law can take many forms. Redress in South Africa meant truth and reconciliation commissions, where the white men already had to admit the injustice is perpetrated against the black majority, for peace to be true and enduring.

Why could there not be truth and reconciliation commissions with respect to Jews in Arab countries?

Redress can be, perhaps, establishment of chairs, of study at major universities throughout Europe, to protect and preserve the rich Israhi (?) history and heritage and culture that have been expunged from the Arab world! Redress may be perhaps a fund to protect Jewish holy sites in countries, where there are no longer any Jews protecting them. Or, lastly, redress might be compensation under the international law.

And all we're demanding is law and equity, because obviously the Palestinians demand compensations and that is part of rights and redress and then we, Jews, are going to demand rights and redress as part of the international law. But that is not the first demand. Number one.

Number two. Again, we can argue this forever. The right of return is not a legal right under the international law, there are some that say it is, most reputable legal experts that I know claim that there is no right under the international law, but we have heard the charge of Arab country saying "Please come back" and I will tell them that I will pull out my file and show them discriminatory edicts for virtually every Arab country that does not allow Jews to become citizens, because they are not Muslim, that does not

allow them the right to work, that does not allow them to own property or to own businesses. Why would Jews want to go back to countries, where, forgetting about being dime, second-class citizens, they will be legally discriminated against, by law, by government edict?

So, returning to Arab lands, when... we also sometimes some of my most radical people say, would you expect German Jews to go back to - and these are, by the way, regimes that are still in power - would you expect the Jews of Germany to go back to Germany, if the Nazis were still in power? But that is a little bit too extreme for my own personal view, but the going back to the Arab countries, from which they came, I must tell you, there are many Arabs, who want to, who want to visit, who want to go and visit the graves of their grandparents, of their parents, who want to visit the communities that they grew up in. And they should be allowed the right to visit.

But that doesn't necessarily mean that all of them would necessarily may want to move back, because there would not be full-fledged citizens, worth it in a move-back. And I have clearly that documented.



Middle East Refugees

Presentation to the

World Jewish Congress Executive Committee

Jerusalem, October 19, 2009

Palestinian Refugees: 1948-1949

Copy of original document from UNHCR archives in Geneva

Table 3
Estimates of Refugees According to Areas of Arrival
1948-1949

| Areas of Arrival | Official British Estimates | Official U.S. Estimates | United Nations Estimates | Private Israeli Estimates | Official Israeli Estimates | Palestinian Estimates |
|------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| Gaza | 210,000 | 208,000 | 280,000 | 200,000 | | 201,173 |
| West Bank | 320,000 | | 190,000 | 200,000 | | 363,689 |
| Arab countries | 280,000 | 667,000 | 256,000 | 250,000 | | 284,324 |
| Totals | 810,000 ^a | 875,000 ^b | 726,000 ^c | 650,000 | 520,000 ^d | 849,186 ^e |
| | | | 957,000 ^f | 600,000-700,000 ^g | 590,000 ^h | 714,150-744,150 ⁱ |
| | | | | 620,000 ^j | | 770,100-780,000 ^k |

^aSee document from PRO FO371/754194 E2297/1871/11, in Morris 1987, pp. 297, 364. Estimate as of February 1949.

^b"The Problem of Arab Refugees from Palestine." The West Bank refugees are added to those of Jordan. Estimate as of 1953.

^cUnited Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine, p. 18; United Nations Annual Report of the Director General of UNRWA, Doc.5224/5223, 25 November 1952. First estimate as of September 1949; second estimate as of May 1950.

^dMorris 1990, p. 68. Estimate as of 1948-1950.

^eEfrat 1993. Estimate as of mid-1949.

^fMorris 1987, p. 297. Estimate as of 1948.

^gThe estimate is as of 1992, based on a report by the Israeli Foreign Ministry, published in al-Qadr, 10 September 1992.

^hHagopian and Zahlan, p. 53. Estimate as of November 1952.

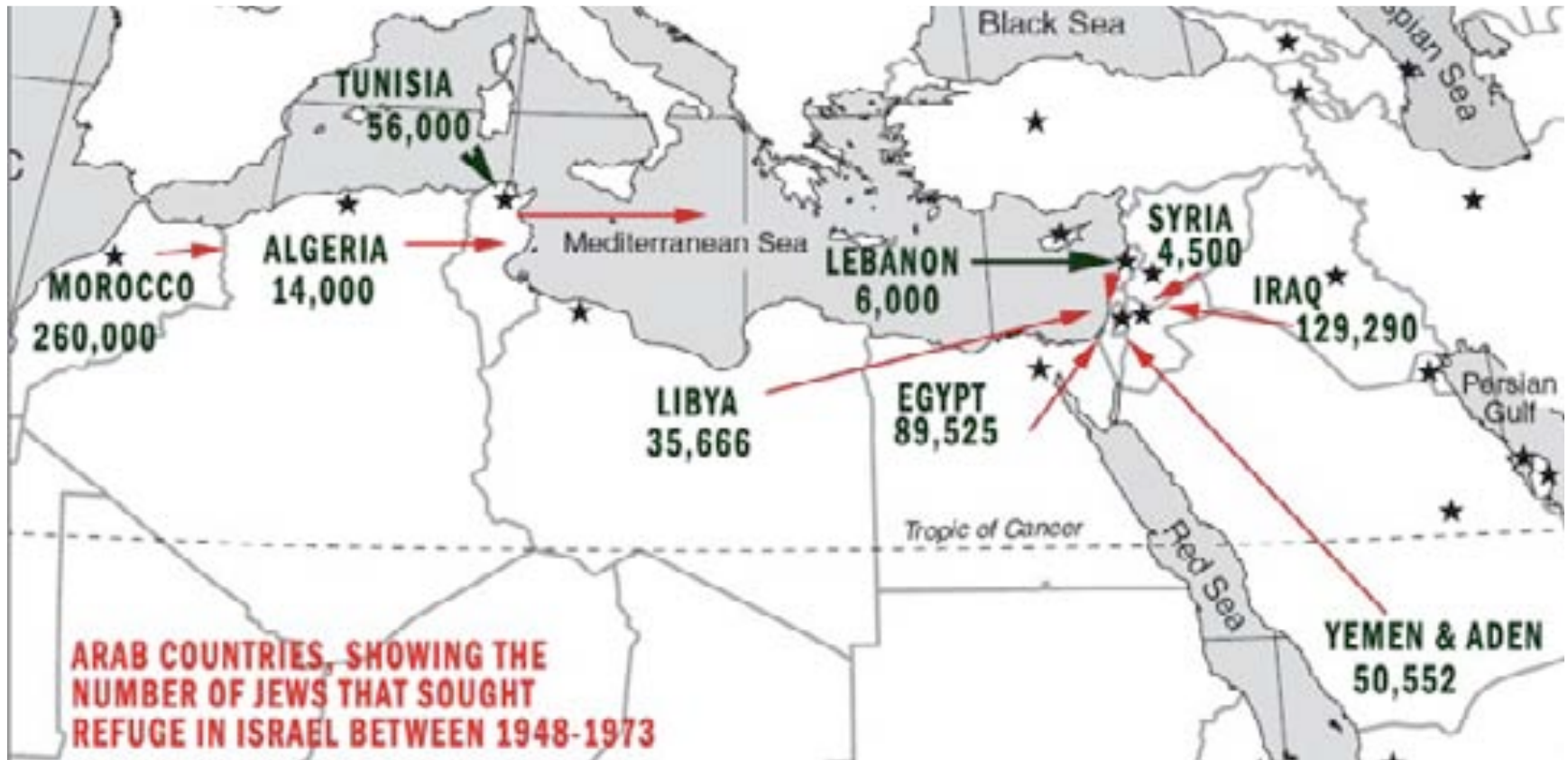
ⁱW. Khalidi 1992, Appendix III, p. 582. Estimate as of mid-1948.

Jews Displaced from Arab Countries

| | 1948 ¹ | 1958 | 1968 | 1976 | 2005 |
|--------------|-------------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|
| ADEN | 8,000 | 800 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| ALGERIA | 140,000 | 130,000 | 1,500 | 1,000 | 0 |
| EGYPT | 75,000 | 40,000 | 2,500 | 400 | 100 |
| IRAQ | 135,000 | 6,000 | 2,500 | 350 | 60 |
| LEBANON | 5,000 | 6,000 | 3,000 | 400 | 50 |
| LIBYA | 38,000 | 3,750 | 500 | 40 | 0 |
| MOROCCO | 265,000 | 200,000 | 50,000 | 18,000 | 3,500 |
| SYRIA | 30,000 | 5,000 | 4,000 | 4,500 | 100 |
| TUNISIA | 105,000 | 80,000 | 10,000 | 7,000 | 1100 |
| YEMEN | 55,000 | 3,500 | 500 | 500 | 200 |
| TOTAL | 856,000 | 475,050 | 76,000 | 32,190 | 5,110 |

1) Roumani, Maurice. *The Jews from Arab Countries: A Neglected Issue*. WOJAC, 1983. p.2;

Where did the Refugees Go?



645,000 Jews in Total Went to Israel



UNHCR on Jewish Refugees

"All the News
That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times.

LATE CITY EDITION
1

NEW YORK, SUNDAY, MAY 16, 1948. VOL. XCVII, No. 1586. FIFTEEN CENTS

JEWS IN GRAVE DANGER IN ALL MOSLEM LANDS

By MALLEORY BROWNE
Special to The New York Times.

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., May 15.—For nearly four months, the United Nations has had before it an appeal for "immediate and urgent" consideration of the case of the Jewish populations in Arab and Moslem countries stretching from Morocco to India.

Even four months ago, it was the Zionist view that Jews residing in the Near and Middle East were in "extreme and imminent danger." Now that the end of the mandate has precipitated civil war or even worse developments in Palestine, it is feared that the repercussions of this in Moslem countries will put the Jewish populations in many of these states in mortal peril.

Reports from the Middle East make it clear that there is serious tension in all Arab countries. The Jewish populations there are gravely worried at the prospect that an Arab-Jewish war may

Nine Hundred Thousand in Africa and Asia Face Wrath of Their Foes



servants in the employ of the Syrian Government have been discharged. Freedom of movement has been "practically abolished." Special frontier posts have been established to control movements of Jews.

In Iraq no Jew is permitted to leave the country unless he deposits \$5,000 (\$20,000) with the Government to guarantee his return. No foreign Jew is allowed to enter Iraq even in transit.

In Lebanon Jews have been forced to contribute financially to the fight against the United Nations partition resolution on Palestine. Acts of violence against Jews are openly admitted by the press, which accuses Jews of "poisoning wells," etc.

Danger Emphasized

Giving many other details of persecution, this report declares that "the very survival of the Jewish communities in certain Arab and

Arab League Conspiracy

Text of Law drafted by Political Committee of Arab League:

1. Beginning with (date), all Jewish citizens of (name of country) will be considered as members of the Jewish minority State of Palestine and will have to register with the authorities of the region wherein they reside, giving their names, the exact number of members in their families, their addresses, the names of their banks and the amounts of their deposits in these banks. This formality is to be accomplished within seven days.
2. Beginning with (date), bank accounts of Jews will be frozen. These funds will be utilized in part or in full to finance the movement of resistance to Zionist ambitions in Palestine.
3. Beginning with (date), only Jews who are subjects of foreign countries will be considered as "neutrals". These will be compelled either to return to their countries, with a minimum of delay, or be considered as Arabs and obliged to accept active service with the Arab army.
4. Jews who accept active service in Arab armies or place themselves at the disposal of these armies, will be considered as "Arabs".
5. Every Jew whose activities reveal that he is an active Zionist will be considered as a political prisoner and will be interned in places specifically designated for that purpose by police authorities or by the Government. His financial resources, instead of being frozen, will be confiscated.
6. Any Jew who will be able to prove that his activities are anti-Zionist will be free to act as he likes, provided that he declares his readiness to join the Arab armies.
7. The foregoing (para. 5), does not mean that those Jews will not be submitted to paragraphs 1 and 2 of this law.



UNHCR on Jewish Refugees

On two occasions, the *UN High Commissioner for Refugees* determined that Jews fleeing from Arab countries were refugees:

"Another emergency problem is now arising: that of refugees from Egypt. There is no doubt in my mind that those refugees from Egypt who are not able, or not willing to avail themselves of the protection of the Government of their nationality fall under the mandate of my office." --Mr. Auguste Lindt, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Report of the UNREF Executive Committee, Fourth Session – Geneva 29 January to 4 February, 1957.

"I refer to our recent discussion concerning Jews from Middle Eastern and North African countries in consequence of recent events. I am now able to inform you that such persons may be considered prima facie within the mandate of this Office." -- Dr. E. Jahn, Office of the UN High Commissioner, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Document No. 7/2/3/Libya, July 6, 1967.

Legal Basis for Rights of Jewish Refugees



- UN Resolutions:
 - *UN Security Council 242*

- Multilateral Initiatives
 - *The Madrid Conference*
 - *The Roadmap*

- Bilateral Arab-Israeli Agreements
 - *Israel – Egypt Agreements*
 - *Israel – Jordan Peace Treaty, 1994*
 - *Israeli-Palestinian Agreements, 1993-*

Political Support

- Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter (1977):
 - *"Palestinians have rights...obviously there are Jewish refugees...they have the same rights as others do."*

- Former U.S. President Bill Clinton (2000):
 - *"There will have to be some sort of international fund set up for the refugees...a fund which compensates the Israelis who were made refugees by the war, which occurred after the birth of the State of Israel..."*

- Canadian Prime Minister Paul Martin (2005):
 - *"A refugee is a refugee and that the situation of Jewish refugees from Arab lands must be recognized. All refugees deserve our consideration as they have lost both physical property and historical connections..."*



Comparisons and Contrasts



UNITED NATIONS

| Criteria | Palestinians | Jews |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| UN Resolutions | 167 | 0 |
| International Agencies | 13 | 1 |
| Funding | \$\$ Billions | (\$35,000)* |

Comparisons and Contrasts



CRITERIA



| | UNRWA | UNHCR |
|--------------------------|--|--|
| PERSONS UNDER ITS | 4,618,141 | 32,900,000 |
| NUMBER OF | 24,324 | 6,300 |
| JURISDICTION | 3 Countries plus West Bank and Gaza | 110 Countries |
| BUDGET | (May 30, 2009) \$523,800,000 | (Nov. 30, 2009) \$1,375,115,485 |

JJAC Auspices

FOUNDERS



PARTNERS



JJAC Mission

“To ensure that justice for Jews displaced from Arab countries assumes its rightful place on the international political agenda and that their rights be secured as a matter of law and equity.”



Position of the Government of Israel



September 28, 1969

Israel established to collect: “... Documents regarding acts of persecution against Jews; The registration of Jewish personal and communal claims regarding bodily harm, or the expropriation or loss of property.”



March 3, 2002

Israel reaffirmed that it desired to collect: “...*research and registration with the objective of gathering legal material on damages to property and the persecution of Jews... who left all Arab states and Iran.*”

Recommendations: WJC Policy

- For any peace process to be credible and enduring, Jewish refugees from Arab countries must be ‘on the negotiation table’;
- All Middle East negotiations should refer to the two populations of refugees that emerged from the conflict in the Middle East;
- At its core, this issue is not about money;
- Representations on behalf of Jewish refugees should not be misconstrued as anti-Arab;
- It is more appropriate and effective for victims and their descendants to “make the case” before governments, media, etc.

Recommendations: WJC Action

1. In all meetings with Government Heads of State and/or senior officials, the rights of Jewish refugees from Arab countries should be raised.
2. The member states of the Quartet should particularly be targeted for WJC representations on behalf of Jewish refugees.
3. Efforts are needed to raise this issue directly with US President Obama and ensure that he and his team of advisors will recognize Jewish refugees and ensure that their rights will be included in any negotiations on “Middle East refugees”.
4. Governmental Hearings and public Symposia should be held in European capitals.