

Peace Now News

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LETTER FROM THE CHAIR

Dear Friend:

2005 holds the potential to be a year of significant internal change in Israel and the Palestinian territories.

On the Israeli side, Prime Minister Ariel Sharon is navigating through a series of political and legislative obstacles in order to carry out his disengagement initiative. To the dismay of hardcore settlement supporters in the Likud, he has brought the Labor Party into his cabinet, thereby improving the chances of his settlement evacuation actually taking place. If the evacuation goes as planned, there is a good possibility that Labor's cooperation with Sharon will be over and Israel will move to new elections by the end of the year.

On the Palestinian side, Mahmoud Abbas was elected to be the new president of the Palestinian Authority, having run on a platform promising reform of Palestinian political, security, and financial institutions and the non-violent pursuit of Palestinian statehood. Ongoing elections are also being held for Palestinian municipalities, and there are plans to hold elections in the spring for the Palestinian Legislative Council. Abbas will try to use these elections to co-opt Hamas and other Islamist groups into participating in the political process and ending their terrorist practices.

Besides some coordination on the disengagement plan, this flurry of activity will not automatically translate into the resumption of meaningful peace negotiations between the two sides. Abbas is likely to concentrate more on internal reforms than on diplomacy, while Sharon is not anxious to begin talks about issues like final borders, Jerusalem, and settlements. Further, it remains to be seen if President George Bush will go beyond rhetorical support for Israeli-Palestinian peace to taking action that might advance the diplomatic process.

During this important period, Peace Now and Americans for Peace Now will work to ensure that the Gaza evacuation is carried out and continue our vigilant watch over West Bank settlements, which are still expanding. We need to guarantee that Sharon's evacuation is just one step in a broader peace process, not the last step in a scheme to stop the chances of a viable two-state solution. We need to make sure that there is visible support for settlement evacuation on the Israeli streets. And we need to build backing for settlement evacuation in the halls of Congress and inside the American Jewish community.

Finally, as we look ahead, I want to extend my appreciation to someone who has been a part of the APN family for many years: Bib Brown. Bib started APN's chapter in Sarasota, Florida, and he has been responsible for maintaining a great deal of enthusiasm for our organization in his local community. The APN Sarasota chapter is going to make a special award presentation to Bib in March in recognition of all of his hard work—to which I add the gratitude of the APN national office. His commitment to generating the financial backing and political support that APN needs to carry out the pursuit of peace is something that everyone should emulate.

Sincerely,
Luis Lainer
Chair



Peace Now News is a publication of Americans for Peace Now, a national grassroots organization of American Zionists committed to peace and security for Israel. Together with Shalom Achshav (Peace Now) — Israel's premier peace movement — APN is building public understanding and support for efforts to achieve a lasting and secure peace in the Middle East.

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The Democracy Din By Mark Rosenblum

President George Bush's willingness to make the Israeli-Palestinian peace process a top priority during his second term is cause for cautious celebration. His enthusiasm for tackling the issue is a welcome change from White House policy during the previous four years. He deserves high marks for recognizing the historic opportunity that has been created with the passing of Yasser Arafat and the important role that the U.S. must play in bringing about an Israeli-Palestinian agreement. However, it's worrying to hear him make Palestinian democracy a precondition for dealing with other issues. Democracy is certainly desirable for the Palestinian people, and it's a key part of the Road Map for Middle East peace. But it is not a panacea for reaching an accord with Israel. It is just one of many elements that must be addressed simultaneously if the president is to realize his vision of "two states, Israel and Palestine, living side-by-side in peace and security."

In a recent speech, President Bush said, "Achieving peace in the Holy Land is not just a matter of pressuring one side or the other on the shape of a border or the site of a settlement. This approach has been tried before, without success. As we negotiate the details of peace, we must look at the heart of the matter, which is the need for a Palestinian democracy. The Palestinian people deserve a peaceful government that truly serves their interests, and the Israeli people need a true partner in peace."

The nature of national political systems is vitally important to people who are governed by them, but not necessarily "the heart of the matter" for relations between states. If the president's insistence on democracy had been applied to previous Israeli-Arab disputes, Israel would never have achieved a peace accord with Egypt, which has provided

Israel with over 25 years of security, nor would it have reached an agreement with Jordan, which just marked its tenth anniversary.

Natan Sharansky—the former refusenik whose recent book about democracy is said to have greatly influenced the president—could still be languishing in the gulag if American leaders had failed to engage politically with the brutal Soviet dictatorship during the Cold War. By the same token, President Bush has not insisted that China, Libya, and Uzbekistan adopt a Jeffersonian outlook before negotiating with them.

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The president is also too quick to dismiss the Oslo peace process as a failure because it didn't put enough emphasis on democracy. The Palestinian Authority was set up under Oslo and established through democratic elections for the Palestinian legislature and presidency. Although Arafat proved to be a unique figure who would not or could not be subjected to checks and balances built into

the political system, Oslo laid the groundwork for Palestinian elections that President Bush has embraced.

All of this is not to diminish the powerfully positive impact that democracy can have for Palestinians. Indeed, the president is pushing on an open door. Palestinians themselves already embrace democracy as the most legitimate method of government, and they have high demands for the performance of their system: more security, jobs, greater accountability, a vigorous legislature, and an end to corruption. With the aid of the international community, democratic elections can help deliver all of these much needed changes for the Palestinian people.

But such elections, by themselves, will not make it easier to achieve peace.

(Continued on Page 7)

Peace Now Targeted By Likud Spies, Rallies Support For Settlement Evacuation

Even though the Israeli Peace Now movement has been leading the street battle in favor of the evacuation of settlements from Gaza and part of the West Bank, that has not spared it from being targeted by Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's graduates from the School of Watergate Studies. Yoel Hasson, Sharon's adviser on complaints and requests from the public, has announced that he intends to plant Likud supporters inside Peace Now to spy on its activities.

Hasson, who is also chairman of Young Likud, announced his plan in a letter that was sent to thousands of his members (contrary to everything he learned in Cover-Up 101). "In light of the recurrent attempts of Peace Now to undermine the resilience of the State of Israel, I call upon you to enlist for activity to harass Peace Now and prevent its members from continuing their predatory activities," Hasson wrote. "We will monitor their activities, we will join their tours, and we will submit complaints to the police about any subversive activity." A source close to Hasson said, "The aim of Young Likud is to infiltrate the ranks of Peace Now and to report on actions such as illegal entry into Area A."

In response, Peace Now director general Yariv Oppenheimer said, "The prime minister has to sack the thug Hasson forthwith. It is only in the worst regimes that government representatives plant agents in opposition organizations to sabotage their activities."

Right-wing infiltration of Peace Now is not just theoretical. On a recent Peace Now tour of illegal settlement outposts that drew 200 participants, mostly Peace Now supporters, there was a reasonably large contingent of right-wingers associated with Professors for a Strong Israel. The right-wingers joined the tour to see how Peace Now explains the situation on the ground to its activists.

On the same tour, eight Peace Now activists were detained for questioning (and subsequently released) by police,

who arrived in unusually large numbers at the outskirts of one of the outposts being visited and declared the area a closed military zone. Police attempted to evacuate the Peace Now activists by force, even though the tour was coordinated in advance with the security services. After the police failed to produce an official pronouncement by a member of the General Staff that the territory was indeed a closed military zone, the Peace Now tour continued.

Ironically, Hasson's concerns about Peace Now "undermining" Israel came at the same time that the Zionist organization took out advertisements in the Israeli press to address the right-wing settlers' threats to tear apart the IDF because of the disengagement plan. The advertisements featured a clip-out coupon addressed to the Chief of Staff. Under the heading, "For Every Soldier Who Refuses, I Volunteer," the coupon read, "I volunteer to be at the service of the IDF and the security forces in the days of the disengagement in order to help implement the governmental decision to leave Gaza and Western Samaria."

Signatories were then asked to provide their names, identification numbers, dates of birth, and

telephone numbers.

Oppenheimer, who patriotically serves in the reserves, said that the campaign was designed to send the public a message that, "There is nothing to worry about—the threats on the right to refuse military service on the day of evacuation will not hamper the disengagement. There will not be any shortage in forces to carry it out. For every person from the right who refuses to serve, we will find at least one person, if not more, who will volunteer."

על כל חייל שמסרב אני מתנדב

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This Peace Now newspaper advertisement called on supporters of settlement evacuation to volunteer to replace Israeli soldiers who refuse to carry out their orders as part of the disengagement plan.

Gene Reynolds Presented with 2004 Yitzhak Rabin Peace Award on the West Coast

In early December, Americans for Peace Now (APN) presented the 2004 Yitzhak Rabin Peace Award to television producer, director, and writer Gene Reynolds at APN's annual West Coast Yitzhak Rabin Peace Award Luncheon, which was attended by more than 200 friends and supporters and held at the Luxe Hotel in Bel Air, California.



Gene Reynolds displays his Yitzhak Rabin Peace Award.

Gene Reynolds was honored with the Rabin Award for his longstanding support, activism, and leadership with Americans for Peace Now. In the crowd were actors, writers, producers, and directors from Reynolds' long and successful career in television, which included the creation of such seminal TV series as *M*A*S*H**, *Lou Grant*, and *Room 222*.

During his acceptance speech, Reynolds said, "We are greatly humbled as we reflect on the character and accomplishments of Yitzhak Rabin. Rabin served his country as soldier, politician, diplomat, and on two occasions as prime minister. He was a brilliant and compassionate leader, a recipient of the Nobel Prize for Peace. I told a friend of mine, who's Israeli, of the award, and he said, 'If Rabin were alive today, there would be peace in Israel...'"

"Many of our people are passionate about the survival of Israel but, without knowledge of the complexities, they condone actions that are hawkish and aggressive. 'Peace Now' believes Israel must be strong and vigilant but it must recognize the rights of the Palestinians to self-determination, which also coincides with Israel's best interest. For us, a humane, compassionate policy will prove to be the most self-serving...A policy of disengagement, an assertive role by the United States, and mutual respect for the rights of Israel and all in the Middle East; this is the road to peace."

The program also included readings from actors Christina Pickles and Ed Asner commemorating Yitzhak Rabin on the 10th anniversary of receiving the Nobel Peace Prize. Hollywood luminaries who served as Honorary Chairs for the event included Marilyn and Alan Bergman, James Burrows, James Cromwell, Mike Farrell, Larry Gelbart, Arthur Hiller, Fay Kanin, Linda Kelsey, Bob Schiller, APN Board member Stanley Sheinbaum, and Bud Yorkin.

Robert Malley, former Special Assistant to President Bill Clinton for Arab-Israeli Affairs and currently with the International Crisis Group, delivered the keynote address. He told the audience of the need to "seize the moment" for restarting the peace process given the transition to a new Palestinian political leadership, Israel's desire to disengage from the Gaza Strip and part of the West Bank, and the onset of President George Bush's second term. Malley concluded his remarks, quipping that despite the missed opportunities of the past decade to achieve "peace then," he would be OK with "peace now."

Sara Ehrman—Lightly Basted

Founding APN Board member and long-time champion of progressive causes, Sara Ehrman, was honored, feted, and lightly basted by family, friends, and colleagues at an APN roast held in her honor at the Improv Club in Washington, D.C.

Roasters included APN President and CEO Debra DeLee; Harold Ickes (Deputy Chief of Staff in the Clinton White House), Miles Rubin (businessman and Democratic activist), Daniel Ehrman and other members of Sara's family, Ken Wollack (President of the National Democratic Institute of International Affairs), and Joe Grandmaison (former chair of the New Hampshire Democratic Party).

They regaled the audience with tales of Sara's work on election campaigns going back to George McGovern (and even a few of her candidates who won), her domestic skills (or lack thereof), and her tendency to cut straight to the point, where lesser souls would use, say, tact.

Professional comedian and political impersonator Jim Mor-

ris brought the house down with a comedy routine that featured his take on Presidents Bill Clinton, George Bush (I & II), and Ronald Reagan.

Some former Clinton Administration officials even got a personal encore performance from him after the program was over.

Special video greetings were played during the night from Senator Hillary Clinton, former Vermont Governor Howard Dean, and Janet Aviad, Galia Golan, and the staff of Shalom Achshav. Fans of Sara traveled from across the country to be at the event.



Sara Ehrman was the object of affection and ribbing at the DC Improv.

A Voice of Peace

By Luis Lainer

Immediately after Yasser Arafat's death, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon announced that his test for "exposing the true face" of the new Palestinian leaders would be an end to incitement against Israel in the Palestinian media and education system. The prime minister is correct to insist on an end to inflammatory messages emanating from such Palestinian sources. But he failed to support an important new initiative to create a better atmosphere for Israeli-Palestinian relations when he had a chance to do so. Fortunately, the people behind this initiative found a way to work around him.

For over a year, Sharon's government has kept a radio transmitter purchased for a pro-peace radio station, Voice of Peace, locked up in a warehouse at Ben Gurion Airport. The Israeli and Palestinian founders of the station wanted to use this transmitter to broadcast programs about tolerance and co-existence in Arabic, Hebrew, and English throughout Israel and the Palestinian Authority. If the prime minister wanted to practice what he preaches, this transmitter should have been released immediately. Instead, the station's founders resorted to purchasing a used transmitter in the West Bank. But as a result, Voice of Peace is now on the air.

Voice of Peace was established as a joint initiative by the Palestinian organization Biladi, *The Jerusalem Times* newspaper, and the Israeli group Givat Haviva. It's dedicated to providing the kind of messages that Prime Minister Sharon says he'd like Palestinians to hear, with an emphasis on exposing various aspects of each side to the other, shattering stereotypes, and discussing common interests in areas like health, culture, and the economy. Not surprisingly, the station carefully maintains equality in its management, content, and language, with Israeli Shimon Malka and Palestinian Maysa Baransi-Siniore serving as co-directors. The founders received a frequency from the Palestinian Authority to establish a radio station, and funding from European and Japanese sources.

Even before the station's organizers found a way to work around the transmitter problem, Voice of Peace was broadcasting its interviews, current affairs and culture programs, sports, and music shows over the internet at www.allforpeace.org. Voice of Peace currently draws about 7,000 listeners a day on the internet, and these internet transmissions will continue even with the broadcasts going out over the airwaves.

According to Mossi Raz, deputy general director of Givat Haviva, the internet broadcasts provide many benefits to the station, including knowing how many listeners they have, where their listeners are located, and which programs they prefer. "At the beginning," said Raz, "the thought was that our music would attract listeners for our other programming. But we found the opposite to be true. Our listeners tune in for our informational programming, then stay for the music. About 52% of our audience is Israeli, 35% is Palestinian, and 13% is North American and European. The most popular programs we have are interviews focusing on Palestinian society and Israeli civil society."

Regarding the station's message, Baransi-Siniore said in a recent interview with an Israeli publication, *Kol Ha'Ir*, "You destroy, we destroy, *halas*, enough. Feelings of revenge do not help the sides get anywhere. We all lose. We try to speak to people who don't think the way we do. To talk to those who believe in the slogans of force and violence, who believe in 'in blood and fire we will liberate.'... Each story has two sides, and it is important that people see the whole picture. When a newspaper in Arabic shows the picture of a woman wailing because the olive trees have been uprooted on the family plot, it is important that readers know that a day before, shots were fired from this olive grove at an Israeli car. It is important that we know the true mood of people, not only on security matters but also in regard to social, economic, and cultural issues. These are issues that are no less important, and they should be shown to the public without establish-

ment filters and without the mantras that we're so sick of hearing."

Malka—who grew up on the right-wing nationalist Beitar movement and in a conservative Sephardic environment—is on the same frequency as his Palestinian colleague. In the same interview, he said, "To make peace... you have to present balanced information, additional aspects, more positions. There is more than just black and white in relations between peoples."

Despite Prime Minister Sharon's opposition, Voice of Peace is now being heard within a 62 mile radius of Ramallah, thanks to the ingenuity of station's organizers who wouldn't take "no" for an answer. Listeners in central Israel, including Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, can hear the broadcasts, as can Palestinians living in most of the West Bank. Although the northern parts of Israel and the West Bank are out of reach for the station and its broadcasts can only reach a small part of Gaza, Raz said that the station is just beginning, and it is on track with its plans. Organizers will try to expand its coverage area in the future.

The messages of tolerance, peace, and understanding emanating from Voice of Peace are vitally important for the future of Israelis and Palestinians. It's heartening to know that despite the obstacles put before it, Voice of Peace can now be heard clearly across the region.

Luis Lainer is Chair of Americans for Peace Now.



Settlements Watch Takes U.K. By Storm

British Friends of Peace Now (BFPN) recently brought Dror Etkes, head of Peace Now's Settlements Watch program, to the U.K. for a successful series of high-profile briefings to members of the British government and Members of Parliament (MP). According to BFPN's director, Paul Usiskin, Etkes briefed the Middle East and North Africa Research group at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, addressed the Britain-Palestine all party group at the House of Commons, and became the first Israeli to address a meeting of the new Scottish Parliament plenary.

The Britain-Palestine all party group is chaired by Labor MP Richard Burden, while Conservative MP Crispin Blunt and Liberal Democrat MP Colin Breed serve as vice chairs. Just two weeks prior to Etkes' testimony in mid-December, the Israeli Ambassador to the U.K., Zev Heifetz, addressed the same group. There were four Members of Parliament from the three British parties in the audience for Etkes, including several who have become good friends of BFPN.

Here are some excerpts of what Etkes had to say:

"...The second Intifada witnessed a significant reduction in the number of [settlement] housing units built, in comparison to the Oslo years - from 1993 and 2000. This reflects the fact that far fewer Israelis are moving to the West Bank. The majority who did move there were 'economic migrants' and not ideologically motivated. The question of their security became increasingly pressing, as the security situation deteriorated.

"One result is in the number of houses constructed. For example in the year

2000, over 4000 housing units were built. This has not been equaled since. In the year 2001, 1100 housing units were built. This rose again in 2003 and

which is south of Jerusalem; the areas east and north of Jerusalem; and the central West Bank bloc which includes the settlement towns of Ariel, Alfei Menashe, and Karnei Shomron.

Massive Settlement Expansion Near Jayyous



Ground has been broken on land belonging to the Palestinian village of Jayyous for a new settlement near the existing settlement of Zofim. Peace Now says the new land grab is an attempt to get a head start on the American team waiting for instructions to go out to the settlements and mark the limits of their expansion. Zofim, where about 200 families live, is built on 336 acres of land confiscated from Jayyous in 1986. The company developing this new site plans to build at least 2,100 settlement housing units.



This billboard outside of the settlement of Zofim talks about the new Nofei Zofim project, featuring cottages with three, five, and six rooms, as well as a selection of garden homes with four to five rooms. Mortgages are available on preferential terms for settlers who choose this location.

with my estimate for 2004, this reaches approximately 1800 units. Most of these were concentrated in the three main settlement blocs: Gush Etzion,

"Together with housing unit construction came road building—not only a road network that bypasses Palestinian population centers, but one that also connects various strategic parts of the West Bank, a process that is ongoing as I speak.

"Further, one hundred outposts exist today, over 50 of them created since Sharon was first elected in February 2001. These are the nucleus of potential new settlements, aimed at achieving fast development whenever increased settlement expansion is called for. Under the terms of the Road Map, the Sharon government was committed to the dismantling of the outposts erected during his period in office. In fact, until now, nothing of the sort has happened. Instead, there is a more subtle phenomenon. While the number of outposts has hardly increased, these outposts have been physically expanded over the areas they occupy.

"The dilemma facing Israel today is actually the same one it faced at the start of the occupation on June 12, 1967: Israel cannot maintain the settlement enterprise and remain both a Jewish and a democratic state. So the challenge is to decide what future we really want for ourselves, having postponed this inevitable question for 37 years.

"In my view, Ariel Sharon wants to keep postponing the answer to this question. He does not believe in a reality in which both peoples can exist on the same land – neither in two sovereign independent states, nor in one.

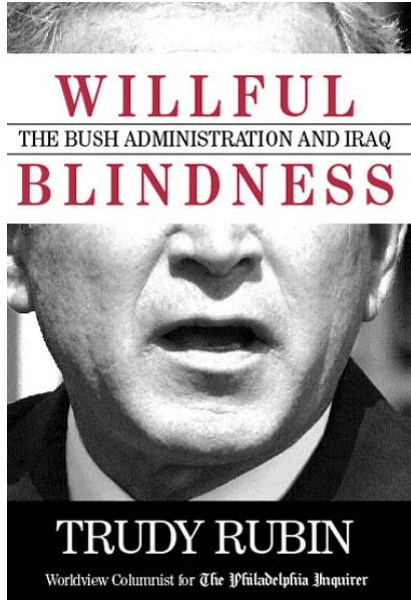
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Book Review—
Willful Blindness: The Bush Administration and Iraq
By Trudy Rubin

Trudy Rubin has been writing *The Philadelphia Inquirer's* foreign affairs column, *Worldview*, for over ten years, and she dedicated most of her reporting from July 2002 to June 2004 to U.S. policy toward Iraq. Drawing on more than 30 years of experience covering the Middle East—including multiple trips to Iraq during the period surveyed in this book—Rubin brings extensive knowledge and a clear eye to her analysis of President George Bush's justification for the Iraq war, America's occupation of Iraq, and efforts to rebuild that country. She is also mindful of how the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict stokes Arab opposition to U.S. efforts in the region.

Rubin does not approach her subject as an anti-war activist with an ax to grind. Quite the opposite. She thought a reasonable case could be made for regime change in Iraq because Saddam Hussein was “a leader who didn't know where to stop in his push for regional power” and who took brutal revenge on Iraq's Kurdish and Shiite populations in the early 1990s when they rebelled against Saddam with the encouragement of President George H.W. Bush. She thinks Saddam would have tried to rearm and obtain nuclear weapons so he could dominate the area once UN sanctions were lifted, and that he might one day have threatened U.S. oil supplies and regional allies. “Nothing would have pleased me more than to see Saddam in irons,” she writes.

And yet, she found herself increasingly critical of how the Bush Administration justified going to war with Iraq. She says, “The White House made Saddam the test case for a new Bush Doctrine of preemption, which gave Washington the right to oust any regime it chose, on the basis of any evidence it put forward. The breadth of that doctrine rallied much of the world against an Iraq war. The Bush team also inflated Saddam from a regional threat into a menace who would help terrorists blow up American cities. They knew before the war that Saddam was nowhere near acquiring nuclear weapons and had no strategic links to Islamic terrorists. U.S. intelligence agencies and Iraq experts believed that this dictator would not risk American wrath by handing off weapons of mass destruction to terrorists except if he were under threat of U.S. attack. Most unsettling



was the White House's refusal to plan for what it would face in Iraq after a war was over. There was never any doubt that toppling Saddam would enmesh the United States in a massive nation-building project, within a broken and deeply divided country. State Department and CIA analysts knew it. Academic and other Iraq experts knew it. Unhappy Pentagon brass knew it. Colin Powell knew it.”

Rubin directs much of her criticism at the Pentagon, which was unprepared for occupying Iraq and had an unwarranted faith in the ability of Iraqi exile leader Ahmed Chalabi to take charge after the war. She is particularly appalled by the outlook of Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz, who firmly believes that Iraq not only could become a democracy but could be the launch pad for transforming the entire Mideast.

He told her in an interview in late 2002, “It is entirely possible that in Iraq, you have the most pro-American population that can be found anywhere in the Arab world.” On the contrary, Rubin predicted in March 2003, “The occupation of Iraq will be messy and more likely to strengthen Islamists than produce Mideast democracies.” As U.S. deaths in the conflict have passed 1,000, it's easy to see how perceptive Rubin was at the time.

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The Democracy Din

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Even the most moderate Palestinian leaders—ones who condemn terrorism and welcome democracy—hold the same basic Palestinian negotiating demands for the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza based on the Green Line, with East Jerusalem as its capital, and a just, comprehensive solution for the problem of Palestinian refugees.

At the same time, fundamental Israeli negotiating positions on security, Jerusalem, and refugees will not be altered just because the Palestinians manage to pull off credible elections and establish rule of law.

Disputes over boundaries, Israeli settlements, refugees, holy sites, and Jerusalem will still need to be addressed. But if President Bush fails to pay adequate attention to these problems until he's satisfied with the level of Palestinian democracy, developments on the ground will only exacerbate the points of contention between the two sides, making it far more difficult to resolve them. The unchecked growth of settlements alone could make the establishment of a viable Palestinian state—and the end of the conflict—nearly impossible, no matter how many votes are cast in elections.

President Bush should be applauded for his dedication to achieving Israeli-Palestinian peace. But he needs to recalibrate the balance of his approach to the conflict if he is to be successful.

Mark Rosenblum is the Founder and Policy Director of Americans for Peace Now.

Settlements Watch Takes U.K. By Storm
 (Continued from Page 6)

“So, the unilateral withdrawal from Gaza, which is now described as a disengagement, is in fact nothing less than part of a strategy by Mr. Sharon to create a long-term interim process. Adding the four settlements in the north of the West Bank is not addressing the big picture as I outlined it just now. Cantorization of the West Bank is his interim vision. I do not believe that he himself knows when the interim will end. But what is clear, is that peaceful co-existence between Israel and Palestine is out of the question for Mr. Sharon.

“Having said this, we are left with the obvious question - how is it that of all leaders from the right, Ariel Sharon is the one who has stated his commitment to the creation of a Palestinian state? This is essential Sharon – a man who takes words and empties them of their original meaning. We should not allow him to do this. Further expansion of settlements in the West Bank, after the Gaza exit, presents to both us and the Palestinians, the greatest danger of all.

“For Israelis and Palestinians there is no viable post-national solution. Real friends of both peoples should help us disengage from the zero sum game that faces us. Games involve two sides. And games have consequences. I believe that Israelis have to see that the occupation must end. I believe that Palestinians must see that demanding the actual return of thousands of their refugees is simply unacceptable to most Israelis. The only way to resolve these issues is by negotiations...”

Willful Blindness
 (Continued from Page 7)

Willful Blindness consists of Rubin's columns provided in chronological order and arranged to make a case about how the Bush Administration mishandled Iraq before, during, and after the conflict. Readers will be forgiven if they find themselves flipping back through the pages to check the dates of specific columns, given how accurately Rubin predicted what would occur. On the other hand, Rubin does not simply criticize actions that have been taken; she also provides a series of policy suggestions that would allow the Bush Administration to make the best of a terrible situation, even now.

Given the amount of bad information and White House spin that's been put out about what is happening in Iraq, *Willful Blindness* helps readers sort out rhetoric from reality. It is at once a look back and a look forward at America's involvement in the region, a reminder of what's gone wrong and a clarion call for taking corrective action before things get worse.

More information about Trudy Rubin and her new book can be found online at: www.trudy Rubin.com



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