ONE CITY UNDER GOD

JERUSALEM, 40 YEARS AFTER LIBERATION

“And may you see the good of Jerusalem all the days of your life…”

Psalm 128: 5
The International Christian Embassy Jerusalem (ICEJ)

The International Christian Embassy Jerusalem was founded in 1960 as an act of comfort and solidarity with Israel and the Jewish people in their claim to Jerusalem.

Today, the Christian Embassy stands at the forefront of a growing mainstream movement of Christians worldwide who share a love and concern for Israel and an understanding of the biblical significance of the modern ingathering of Jews to the land of their forefathers.

From our headquarters in Jerusalem and through our branches and representations in over 80 nations, we seek to challenge the Church to take up its scriptural responsibilities towards the Jewish people, to remind Israel of the wonderful promises made to her in the Bible, and to be a source of practical assistance to all the people of the land of Israel.

The ICEJ is a non-denominational faith ministry, supported by the voluntary contributions of our members and friends worldwide. We invite you to join with us as we minister to Israel and the Jewish people worldwide.

If you wish to make a donation to the general work of the ICEJ or to a specific project described in this magazine, please use the attached response envelope, use the address below or visit our secure Web site at www.icej.org/donate.php to send your gift. All donations are tax deductible according to the law of your country.

Cover:

An Israeli soldier bows his head in prayer against the ancient stones of the Western Wall on the day of the liberation of Jerusalem from Jordanian forces in June 1967. (Israel Images)

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Dear Friends,

At this time of the year Israel commemorates two important events. One is the sombre “Day of Holocaust Martyrs and Heroes Remembrance,” and the other, seven days later, is the very joyful, “Day of Independence.” At first glance these two days appear to be poles apart but in reality they are inseparable. The reason for this is the fact that out of death came life. Evil men did everything in their power to exterminate and destroy the Jewish people once for all. They failed! Today the State of Israel is strong and resilient and consists of six million Jews. This is not only amazing but confirmation yet again of the Biblical revelation that undergirds the existence of Israel for as long as the sun, moon and stars are in the heavens! (Jeremiah 31:35-36)

Jesus put it another way. In Mark 13:30 He stated that this generation (race) would not pass away until all things be fulfilled. The lesson is clear; Israel’s existence is vouched safe by the God of Heaven and therefore to do away with Israel one would first have to do away with God Himself. This lesson has not yet been learned by Mahmoud Ahmadinejad of Iran, but it will.

God’s commitment to Israel is not just in a vacuum. That is, it is not without good reason. Israel has been, and is, the vehicle of world redemption (John 4:22). The world knows about the one and only true God because of her. The Bible is Jewish and so is our wonderful Messiah Jesus (Romans 3:1; Romans 9:1-5). Israel’s unique role in history has made her the target of all that is wicked and evil. Sadly this attempt to destroy Israel has not stopped. As I write a new wave of anti-Semitism is sweeping Europe, and with it the emergence of a new generation of holocaust deniers. Indeed the front page of The Jerusalem Post carried this headline on Monday 16th April, “Worldwide Violence Against Jews Surging.” For sure the battle lines are being drawn but this time we will not be silent. From one corner of the world to another, we will fight anti-Semitism and all those who seek to demonize the Jews and destroy them.

It is therefore wholly appropriate that Israelis should celebrate their independence with joy and gladness. God has been faithful! Out of the ashes and stench of death rose a nation pulsating with life. This is not man’s doing – it is God’s doing! Some two thousand five hundred years before the Holocaust, the God of Israel showed Ezekiel a valley of dry bones (Ezekiel 37:1-14). All hope was gone and so overcome was the prophet by the divine question. “Can these bones live?”, that he answered, “Oh Lord you know?” In short the scene he saw was so utterly devastating that he could not imagine any form of life or restoration proceeding from it. God alone knew. The bones did come to life and in the end, covered with flesh and infused with the Holy Spirit, they stood up as a mighty nation – the Nation of Israel.

We are the witnesses of this amazing miracle and we “lived” to support it and stand alongside it. We will bless what God is blessing and we will not be deterred from our course.

Malcolm Hedding
Executive Director of the ICEJ
One city under God

Jerusalem, 40 years after liberation

By Malcolm Hedding

Forty years ago this June, Jerusalem, as a consequence of the now famous Six Day War, was finally reunited again after nineteen long years of partition. No one will ever forget the jubilant scenes as the Israelis swept through the Old City and gathered with awe and wonder at the Western Wall. Israel’s remarkable victory in the teeth of overwhelming odds must and should be seen as nothing less than the intervention of God. It was amazing!

But the real significance of the June ’67 war and the reunification of Jerusalem is the expression it gives to several important biblical truths. The first of these being a sign of the end of “the times of the gentiles.” In Luke 21:24 Jesus predicted the destruction of Jerusalem, the Temple and the worldwide dispersion of the Jewish people. All this came to pass in A.D. 70. Jesus then went on to say that these tragic events would be reversed when God’s people to the Old City also states that this event itself will arouse the anger of the gentile nations who will seek to disinvest Israel of it (Zechariah 12). This too we are seeing today!

Secondly: the reunification of Jerusalem in 1967 teaches a lesson that one generation after the next prefers to forget. That is: the Lord of history and of the affairs of men remains the God of the Bible. While man, in his arrogant halls of governance, seeks more and more to exclude God from the affairs of State, the God of the Bible confounds him by demonstrating His sovereignty over the nations. The second Psalm has been around for three thousand years. It not only asserts God’s sovereignty over the nations but also affirms a glorious future for Jerusalem. This future envisages a Jewish presence and Messiah in the city.

Thirdly: the return of the Jews to the ancient city of Jerusalem is a warning. This warning is to the nations. While the Jews, like any other nation, have paid the price for their sin and rebellion against God. He has not forgotten them. He has returned them to Zion and those who contest this put themselves in conflict with the God of Heaven. History is littered with the debris of nations who once stood tall, proud and strong but sought to destroy the Jewish people and disinvest them of their divine bequest.

Today we hear similar voices like a great tumult, calling for the removal of the Jews from their homeland and capital. Their arguments are bold, arrogant and sometimes even plausible but they will fail, not because we say so but because God says so! They ignore the scriptures to their peril.

Finally: Israel’s return to the undivided eternal city of Jerusalem forty years ago means that today, times of transition are upon us. In the Bible forty always indicates times of change. Moses’ life was marked by three periods of forty years: as a prince of Egypt, a shepherd of Midian, and a prophet of God. David ruled for forty years, so did Solomon. Jesus spent forty days in the wilderness in preparation for his public ministry.

We cannot say what times are upon us now as we approach forty years of restored Jewish presence and control over the Holy City but we can strongly affirm, as Jesus did, that these are Messianic times. As Shlomo Goren, the Chief Rabbi of Israel, blew a shofar at the Western Wall in 1967, he declared that Messianic times had arrived. He was right and no matter how these days unfold we know that in times of transition God is always present and working. No wonder scripture calls upon us to pray for the peace of Jerusalem!

Your Embassy

In Jerusalem

For 27 of the 40 years since the restoration of Jewish sovereignty over Jerusalem, the International Christian Embassy Jerusalem has been here faithfully representing millions of Christians worldwide with a heart to stand with Israel in these critical days. Throughout that time we have tirelessly discharged our mandate from Isaiah 40:1 by standing with the Jewish people’s 3,000 year old claim to their capital by:

**COMFORTING ISRAEL through an extensive nationwide benevolence ministry...**

**EDUCATING THE CHURCH about God’s purposes for this nation in print, on the web and on the radio...**

**DECLARING GOD’S FAITHFULNESS through The Feast, The Covenant and other events...**

**CONFRONTING ANTI-SEMITISM through our national branches, The European Coalition for Israel, our partnership with Yad Vashem...**

**THESE VITAL TASKS DEPEND ON YOUR ONGOING GENEROSITY. PLEASE CONSIDER MAKING A GIFT TODAY IN THE ENVELOPE PROVIDED — OR SIMPLY GIVE ONLINE: www.icej.org/donate.php.**

Stand with us, with Israel.
June 7th, 1967. Late morning. After surrounding the Old City of Jerusalem and bombarding it for 36 hours, Israeli forces are ready to take the ancient walled city. Positioned on the Mount of Olives to Jerusalem’s east, the Jewish fighters are preparing to push their way through the city’s gates, capture the Temple Mount, and end over 2,000 years of foreign control over Judaism’s most holy site.

The clear summer sky is tarnished by acrid smoke from a thousand shell-induced fires. As Israeli and Jordanian artillery engage in a savage duel, commands are issued to the Israeli paratroopers to continue their advance. Radio squawks of a radio transmission. Simultaneously, two Israeli forces broke into the Old City via two different gates. Tanks and infantry advance down the narrow alleys in the face of blistering Jordanian fire, charging enemy positions on picturesque rooftops and engaging in bloody hand-to-hand combat. Finally, they are in sight of their objective: The Temple Mount is in our hands!

Jerusalem of gold, of bronze, and of light—Behold I am a violin for all your songs.

We have returned to the citizens To the market and to the marketplace A shofar calls out on the Temple Mount In the Old City.

And in the caves in the mountain Thousands of suns shine - We will once again descend to the Dead Sea By way of Jericho!

“JERUSALEM OF GOLD,” by Naomi Shemer

Jerusalem of gold, and of bronze, and of light
Behold I am a violin for all your songs.

To the average bystander, the capture of the Old City, the historic reunification of Jerusalem, and indeed the entire Six Day War may have seemed like a lightning-quick movie roll. But even though it only lasted six days, the war actually began long before the first Israeli Centurions rolled into Sinai on June 5.

The Six Day War may have seemed like a lightening-quick movie roll. But even though it only lasted six days, the war actually began long before the first Israeli Centurions rolled into Sinai on June 5.

The aftermath of the 1967 Suez Crisis saw the region return to an uneasy balance without any lasting resolution. At the time, no Arab state had recognised Israel, and Syria – aligned with the Soviet bloc – began sponsoring guerrilla raids on the Golan in the early 1960s.

In March, May, and August of 1965, the IDF attacked Syrian water diversion works in the Golan Heights after the Syrians diverted water away from Israeli reservoirs. The attacks were the first link in what would become a prolonged chain of border clashes.

On November 12, 1966, three Israeli soldiers were killed and six more were injured after their patrol hit a mine on the Jordanian border, triggering the advance of 4,000 Israeli soldiers into the Jordanian occupied West Bank.

The real battle for Jerusalem began on June 6th, the second day of the war. Israeli paratroopers attacked Jordanian positions and completed the encirclement of the Old City in the bloody Battle of the Ammunition Hill. The Israeli Air Force detected and destroyed Jordanian reinforcements en-route from Jericho to Jerusalem.

The IDF’s plan was to remain on the defensive along the Jordanian front and focus on the Egyptian campaign. Jordan’s King Hussein, reticent to join the war, had given peaceful assurances to Israel in the past. Massive Arab pressure and false reports of Arab successes proved too much for him, however, and Jordanian forces began shelling the Jewish (western) part of Jerusalem a number of hours after Israel attacked Egypt. Both air and artillery barrages caused little damage, however, and Israeli units were scrambled to counterattack Jordanian forces in the West Bank.

By the afternoon of the same day, Israel had destroyed the Royal Jordanian Air Force. By evening, the Israeli infantry moved south of Jerusalem, while paratroopers encircled it from the north.

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Jerusalem. The next day, Gur's paratroopers finally entered the Old City, solidifying Israeli control over Jerusalem.

Today, as Israelis celebrate the 40th Anniversary of the liberation of Jerusalem on May 16th, they view the city as their birthright – the defining symbol of their determination to stand up and prevail against all odds. Immediately after the Six Day War, the eastern part of the city was annexed into the municipality of Jerusalem. Later in 1967, Israeli lawmakers decreed that united Jerusalem was the eternal capital of Israel.

Jerusalem's status, however, remains a “burdensome stone” and a “cup of trembling” among the nations, as foretold by the prophet Zachariah, and due to the ongoing dispute over the city, many nations have chosen to relocate their embassies to Tel Aviv. Today, the question of Jerusalem is a thorny issue in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, with both sides claiming the city as their capital. But Israeli sentiments towards the city were faithfully expressed in the words of the late Yitzhak Rabin: “Our position should remain forever.”

In many ways the new partnership is a unique program with many opportunities and challenges,” said Clarke. “We want to join Christians with Israelis of the fact that there are Christians in the world who not only want to do something to repair the damage of the past but who also want to make a difference to Jewish/Christian relations today and in the future. We will never be silent again!”

A debt to history
Introducing “Christian Friends of Yad Vashem”

BY JAKE KING

S

earinghead efforts to educate the Church about the Holocaust, the ICEJ and Yad Vashem, Israel's Holocaust Remembrance Authority, have joined forces to create a new window into the Nazi genocide for the Christian world. Appointed to lead the groundbreaking initiative is Rev. Sam Clarke, an Anglican minister from the United States who took up his post earlier this year as the first director of ‘Christian Friends of Yad Vashem’. Having left the parish ministry to study and teach the Hebrew roots of Christian faith, Clarke recently told The Jerusalem Post Christian Edition about his new role and calling to help Christians worldwide understand their historic responsibility to God’s people. In particular he means laying emphasis upon the Holocaust and the dark legacy of ‘Christian’ anti-Semitism. He then went on to say, “we also want to educate the Christian world about the roots of our faith and the debt we owe to the Jewish people and to the modern State of Israel.”

In many ways the new partnership is testimony to the close working relationship built by the ICEJ and Israel’s Holocaust Remembrance Authority since Rev. Malcolm Hedding took over as Executive Director in 2001. According to Hedding, the job demands someone who can “reach out to the Christian world in terms of understanding the ramifications of the Holocaust and thus encourage Christians to support the work of Yad Vashem.”

“We realized that in order to speak to the Christian world, we needed someone intimately connected to that world,” echoed Yad Vashem’s director of international relations, Shaya Ben-Yehuda: “Someone who, through his own worldview, could conceptualize Yad Vashem’s mission and goals for Christian audiences and explain why the work we do is so relevant to them. Sam, as a long-time pastor of an important church and a true friend of Israel, fits the bill.”

Sam Clarke is the first to admit that Christians are sincere about their sorrow for all that has been done to the Jews in the name of Christianity. His new post is sensitive and has already created a stir in a Jewish community. When asked how Yad Vashem was answering critics of the formal ties with the ICEJ, Clarke is realistic: “There’s not a whole lot that can be done other than prove to them through doing this job excellently and raising the high Christian presence at Yad Vashem will be a strong testimony to Israelis of the fact that there are Christians in the world who not only want to do something to repair the damage of the past but who also want to make a difference to Jewish/Christian relations today and in the future. We will never be silent again!”

In the days of tense waiting before the outbreak of the Six Day War, Israelis had been introduced to a brand new ballad penned by noted songwriter Naomi Shemer that lamented the way Jews were cut off from the markets and hallowed Wall in their beloved Old City. But when Shemer heard the startling news of its liberation just moments before a scheduled performance before Israeli troops at al-Arish, she quickly revised the lyrics to exult in the dramatic return to “Jerusalem of Gold.” The haunting melody instantly became the anthem of the Six Day War.

David Schutz was born in Jerusalem in 1989 and has been an integral part of the ICEJ family ever since. He is due to leave Israel this coming August to study politics and international affairs at Princeton University in the United States. The directors and staff of the ICEJ want to congratulate David on this remarkable achievement and wish him God’s richest blessings for the future.

David Schutz stands by the tree dedicated to Corrie ten Boom at Yad Vashem’s ‘Garden of the Righteous’. “A small tree, but big in my heart” he explains.

Sam Clarke stands by the tree dedicated to Corrie ten Boom at Yad Vashem’s ‘Garden of the Righteous’. “A small tree, but big in my heart” he explains.
This year’s Feast will have as its theme “Blow a Trumpet in Zion!” This theme is appropriate in many ways because the trumpet blast in scripture is a call to war, to holiness, to a solemn assembly and to spiritual fervour. All these elements of the trumpet blast apply to Israel and the Christian world.

Our line up of speakers this year will give powerful and clear testimony to these spiritual realities. This feast celebration will therefore be unique and, if possible, you should not miss it. We sincerely believe that it will sound a trumpet call from heaven that will speak to the people of God as never before.

We again are looking forward to providing a platform for our strategic partners for business and economic development in Israel, the International Christian Chamber of Commerce, to offer a series of business seminars. This is a very practical way to bless Israel.

Most of all, whether you ascend to Zion or not for this Feast, we urge you to pray with us for this holy gathering of the people of God. We are ever mindful of the fact that our help is from God alone. To this end we call upon you to stand with us, as this is His Feast and not ours.

Malcolm Hedding
ICEJ Executive Director
Festival of freedom
Helping Israelis celebrate Passover

By Michael Hines

It is, without question, the greatest escape story ever.

In just one night over a million Hebrew slaves took their families, children, cattle and goods and left behind the crushing tyranny of their Egyptian taskmasters for the land promised to their forefather Abraham centuries before.

Some three and a half thousand years later, the direct descendants of those early Israelite tribes still celebrate the Exodus, their ‘coming of age’ as a people and a nation of faith.

In almost every Jewish home across the world this year, as every year, families gathered to remember the bitter herbs of ‘slavery’ before tasting the sweet wine of ‘freedom’. Nowhere on earth does that celebration have more significance than in the ancient homeland of the Jewish people, Israel.

But Passover is also a time to remember the tyranny of the present.

Five years ago, on 29 March 2002, a Palestinian suicide bomber blew himself up in the middle of a crowded Passover seder meal in the Park Hotel in Netanya. 30 people were killed and over 140 injured. Many of the victims were themselves elderly survivors of the Nazi Holocaust: the defining event of the post-exilic Jewish history and the ‘living memory’ that has informed every Passover celebration ever since.

Today, of the 1.5 million Israelis living below the poverty line, unable to put food on the table or pay their bills: 80,000 of those are Holocaust survivors. The importance of this festival to all Jewish people – young and old – is why the ICEJ’s Social Assistance Department has for more than 25 years been reaching out to Israelis across the country to enable them to celebrate Passover with dignity.

This year we funded several large-scale seder meals for new immigrants, mentally ill and lone soldiers while assisting hard-pressed Ethiopian immigrants to purchase desperately needed household supplies in advance of the festival. In addition, the Embassy teamed up with Municipal Welfare Departments across the nation - from Kiryat Shmona in the north to Dimona in the Negev - helping them distribute food vouchers and Passover baskets to families in need.

Your gifts enabled thousands of Israelis to celebrate their freedom.

Thank you for your ongoing support.

Contact the ICEJ’s Social Assistance team to discover more ways in which you can help Israelis in need throughout the year.

Email: sapdept@icej.org
or visit our website: www.icej.org.
Cargo Cult Christianity

The secret of revival is simpler than we think

by Jürgen Bühler

T he term ‘cargo cult’ first hit the American mainstream when Nobel Prize winning physicist Richard Feynman applied it to the rising tide of populist “pseudoscience” in a 1974 Caltech commencement address. By then, this pseudo-religious Pacific island phenomenon was already rising on the horizon.

I admit that I too have been a cargo cult Christian many times since I started out as a youth pastor in Germany. First there was the praise and worship movement that hit the charismatic and Pentecostal churches in the early 80s. If we just adopted a new kind of worship, replaced the pipe organ with drums andinstalled a worship leader, the blessing would surely come. Speaking from personal taste as a drummer myself, I am thankful we did remove the pipe organ.

A cargo cult is defined as any group whose primitive belief systems became increasingly fixated on the spiritual value of the great colonial cargo ships.

When I arrived in our churches, none brought the major move of God to Germany that we all expected. Though God was undoubtedly moving in a sovereign way, the temptation for Christian leaders has always been to observe the blessing and draw the wrong conclusion in the perennial ‘quick fix’ search for revival.

At the height of the Second World War the tribal peoples of Melanesia noticed that where the US forces built wharves and airstrips, ships and airplanes soon arrived delivering the ‘sacred’ shipments of goods and wealth promised by their ancestors centuries before.

With painstaking effort we investigate the various revival ministries around the world. We research church growth, and try to identify the reason for the success of this mega-church or that ministry. Whole institutions are dedicated to this purpose alone.

Today’s church could learn a lesson or two from these South Sea Islanders whose primitive belief systems became increasingly fixated on the spiritual value of the great colonial cargo ships.

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The secret of revival is simpler than we think.

I call it cargo cult Christianity. I admit that I too have been a cargo cult Christian many times since I started out as a youth pastor in Germany. First there was the praise and worship movement that hit the charismatic and Pentecostal churches in the early 80s. If we just adopted a new kind of worship, replaced the pipe organ with drums and installed a worship leader, the blessing would surely come. Speaking from personal taste as a drummer myself, I am thankful we did remove the pipe organ.

But it did not bring the expected cargo of spiritual wealth.

The next wave that I remember was the Wharves and Airfields. By then, this pseudo-religious Pacific island phenomenon was on the wane, but for Feynman and many others besides.

A cargo cult is defined as any group whose primitive belief systems became increasingly fixated on the spiritual value of the great colonial cargo ships.

Even though each wave brought precious and edifying truths to our churches, none brought the major move of God to Germany that we all expected. Though God was undoubtedly moving in a sovereign way, the temptation for Christian leaders has always been to observe the blessing and draw the wrong conclusion in the perennial ‘quick fix’ search for revival.

Winds of doctrine

In the 1950s the tribal peoples of the South Sea tried to imitate the practises of WW2 American GIs by staging drill marches, painting military insignia on their skins, and waving landing signals on their runways—all to no avail.

Many times today we engage in similar almost ritualistic activities in our churches—giving almost mystical significance to outward revivalist practices and liturgies. A certain order of songs will do the job (usually from fast to slow). Or perhaps a new teaching class on revival? We pattern our leadership structure after this dynamic church or that and invite the followers deserted their local ‘prophet’ and went home. In the church also most of these new ‘winds of doctrine’ are short-lived: while one wave falls, the next is already rising on the horizon.
out biblical times until the reign of King Hezekiah: the worship of Moses’ brazen serpent. For centuries the Israelites reasoned that since it unlocked God’s healing power in the wilderness, it would also work for them in their day. Hezekiah did away with it, recognizing it for the idolatry that it was. In a similar manner the prophets rebuked Israel for turning temple worship into a kind of cargo cult where outward ritual left no room for the true worship of the heart.

So what for us Christians is the real thing - the underlying substance that we need to understand to see God move in power today?

The pages of scripture speak of a persistent cargo cult that existed throughout biblical times until the reign of King Hezekiah: the worship of Moses’ brazen serpent.

The truth is simple. No move or visitation of God is dependent on a newly discovered doctrine, practice or strategy. It is a matter of a heart desperately seeking and thirsting for God’s presence. It’s a matter of a heart, which meets the right landing conditions for God to come and dwell among His people. Wooden ‘headphones’ will do nothing. God looks for people whose hearts are in constant radio contact with His throne room.

What all the world’s revivals have in common is this: people who desperately yearn for the presence of God. This is true in Africa, South and North America, China or wherever. God might respond by giving specific strategies that correspond to the individual calling and environment of a church or a minister. But to transfer this strategy to your life and your city - could be nothing more than a waste of time.

“Heaven is My throne, And earth is My footstool. Where is the house that you will build Me? And where is the place of My rest? For all those things My hand has made… But on this one will I look: On him who is poor and of a contrite spirit, And who trembles at My word.” Isaiah 66:1-2

These words are still true today. It is all about sitting at the Master’s feet and wholeheartedly seeking Him and His presence. It is the readiness to humble ourselves, to repent and to act whenever He speaks that constitutes the true substance behind any move of God.

“If My people who are called by My name will humble themselves, and pray and seek My face, and turn from their wicked ways, then I will hear from heaven, and will forgive their sin and heal their land” 2 Chronicles 7:14

If you follow this tried and tested pattern the divine radio messages will reach you. The Lord might tell you to build that airstrip and get ready for His landing. Then you can be sure the heavenly Cargo of the Spirit of God will reach your life, family and community.

YOUNG ADULTS FROM AROUND THE WORLD JOINING TOGETHER
WORSHIPPING, SEEKING THE LORD
WALKING THE LAND OF THE BIBLE

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or decades, conventional wisdom in the Middle East held that the Arabs could not make war on Israel without Egypt, and could not make peace without Syria. Today, however, it seems nothing moves in any direction without Saudi Arabia.

In a region experiencing major tectonic build-ups, the Saudis are displaying an unusual level of diplomatic activism in championing ‘Arab’ concerns – whether it is Iran’s nuclear quest, the spread of radical Shi’a Islam, the Iraqi imbroglio, Lebanon’s political crisis, Palestinian infighting or the conflict with Israel. But reading Saudi intentions can be a murky guessing game, and Israel’s leading strategic thinkers are fairly divided as to whether Riyadh has finally come to terms with the Jewish state.

This split in opinion sharpened during the Arab League summit in Riyadh in late March, when the host Saudis revived their five-year old ‘peace initiative’ with Israel. Originally adopted at the Beirut summit in 2002, the plan offers Israel “normal relations” and unspecified security arrangements with 22 Arab states in exchange for a full withdrawal to the pre-1967 armistice lines, a Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital, and a “just solution” to the Palestinian refugee problem.

“By joining the Arab summit as they did and associating themselves with the Saudi initiative, I would put it to you that all those around the table – including Hamas – have already recognised Israel… I think this is no small matter,” assessed Efraim HaLevy, former head of the Mossad.

“Peace with Israel is not likely to be at the top of the Saudi agenda”, countered Dore Gold, Israel’s former ambassador to the UN. “What is shaping Saudi Arabia’s new diplomatic activism is the rapidly expanding Iranian threat and the weakness of the Western response.”

On the one hand, the Saudi regime has been working with the West to keep down the price of oil as part of the effort to confront Iran’s renegade nuclear program. The royal family also criticised Hizbullah’s “adventurism” in sparking last summer’s war in Lebanon, while quietly giving Israel leeway to deliver a needed blow to the Iranian proxy militia. Then in the ensuing Lebanese political standoff, the Saudis mediated on behalf of the pro-Western al-Sanoira government.

Nonetheless, American and Israeli officials remained buoyant ahead of the Riyadh summit that the Saudis would press their Arab colleagues to amend the 2002 Beirut declaration to address Israeli concerns over borders and refugees. Such optimism was not without reason. Last fall, Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert began praising the “positive elements” of laying out a “political horizon” for the Palestinians.

But those hopes were undermined by the Saudis themselves in February, when they brokered the Mecca Agreement between the warring Palestinian factions Fatah and Hamas, thereby sabotaging Rice’s strategy of strengthening pragmatic PA president Mahmoud Abbas at the expense of his hard-line Islamic rivals. Analysts agree that in sponsoring the Palestinian national unity accord, the Saudis aimed to wean Hamas away from Iran while ignoring its rejection of Israel.

On one hand the Saudi regime has been working with the West, spurred on by the threat of a nuclear Iran. So why are they so anxious to undercut Palestinian ‘moderates’ like Mahmoud Abbas, bankroll Hamas, and threaten Israel with war for trying to kick-start talks on a two-state solution...?
the Saudi initiative, notching him a secret rendezvous in Jordan with the influential Saudi national security adviser, Prince Bandar bin Sultan, reportedly to discuss possible changes to the plan.

As the Riyadh summit approached, an optimistic Livni focused on the refugee issue in particular, saying that if the Arabs truly supported a two-state solution then any ‘right of return’ must be limited to a future Palestinian state and not to Israel.

Any hopes of flexibility were dashed, however, when the Arab League bluntly refused to consider any alterations to the plan.

“What we have the power to do in the Arab world, we think we have done”, insisted Saudi foreign minister Prince Saudi al-Faisal. “If Israel refuses, that means it doesn’t want peace... They will be putting their future not in the hands of the peace-makers but in the hands of the lords of war.”

The hostile comments validated the view of many Israelis that the Arabs were simply maneuvering to portray Israel as obstructionist. But Olmert defiantly threw the ball back into the Saudi court, calling for a regional conference with those Arab states that already have established ties with Israel – Egypt, Jordan and Qatar – to enter exploratory discussions with Jerusalem on the Saudi initiative, notching him a secret rendezvous in Jordan with the influential Saudi national security adviser, Prince Bandar bin Sultan, reportedly to discuss possible changes to the plan.

The open discord was especially surprising given the close Bush family ties with the Saudi monarchs. But some Middle East specialists like Daniel Pipes contended that the Americans and Saudis have been undergoing a mutual, slow motion divorce ever since 9/11, when 15 out of the 19 hijackers turned out to be Saudis.

Thus the Saudis may have decided to accelerate that separation and pursue other suitors in light of the Bush Administration’s recent failings in Iraq and its inability so far to curb the growing threat of Iran, says Amb. Gold.

“How can Rice offer American auspices for a Saudi-led peace process when the Saudis want a divorce from America? You’ve first got a problem between Saudi Arabia and America that you have to resolve before you deal with Israel and Saudi Arabia, says Gold.

Northeast, some Israeli experts still see a region ripening for rap-prochement with Israel and thus believe Jerusalem should seriously pursue the Saudi initiative and even enter direct talks with Hamas.

“I believe those trying to impede peace efforts are at the limit of their capabilities”, insists HaLevy, the ex-Mossad chief. “Iran is feeling the pinch of economic sanctions very painfully. Syria has felt the bitter taste of isolation over recent years. And I believe Hamas would veer towards pragmatism, not out of idealism but out of self-preservation, once the option of dialogue is opened to them.”

HaLevy advises that the Olmert government accept the Saudi plan in principle and enter negotiations from there, rather than stick to the US-hacked roadmap. But Gold has had deep reservations about the merits of the Saudi peace plan from its inception.

“The Saudi peace plan was originally launched not through normal diplomatic channels but in the pages of The New York Times, raising questions about its seriousness as a sincere peace initiative”, recounts Gold.

Further, the Beirut summit added a provision calling for a “just solution” to the Palestinian refugee problem based on UNGA resolution 194, a position opposed so far to curb the growing threat of Iran, says Amb. Gold.

Another major flaw is the Saudi plan’s ultimatum on retreating to the pre-67 lines. Even the Israeli left is complaining that the Saudi diktat on borders would rule out the idea of land swaps agreed to in unofficial talks with Palestinian ‘moderates.’

“With the re-adoption of the Saudi plan in Riyadh, the only new element is that Saudi Arabia and Israel both perceive a threat from Iran. But whether that alters the Saudi peace plan in some way is doubtful. Saudi Arabia has its own reasons to defend itself against Iran regardless of Israel”, Gold concludes.

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