
OUTPOST

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Coming Apart

William Mehlman

The Iranian nuclear impasse is beginning to tell on Prime Minister Netanyahu's nerves.

Strains created by Jerusalem's loss of confidence in Washington's bet on sanctions to pull the plug on Tehran's uranium-enriching centrifuges reached a breaking point in early September, resulting in what was described as a "highly undiplomatic exchange" (read "shouting match") between the prime minister and U.S. Ambassador to Israel Dan Shapiro. Republican Congressman Mike Rogers, chairman of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, who witnessed the scene, described the clash to a radio reporter in his home state of Michigan as "unusual to say the least." "We've had sharp exchanges with other heads of state and intelligence services," he averred, "but nothing at that level that I've seen in all my time, where people were clearly that agitated, clearly that worked up about a particular issue."

Two days later, Shapiro was on Israel Broadcasting Authority's Channel 2 claiming that accounts of the fallout were overblown, but conceding it was "very very clear" that the Israelis had lost patience with the [Obama] Administration. "They don't believe the Administration is serious when it says that all options are on the table," Rogers asserted, "and, more importantly, neither do the Iranians. That's why the nuclear program is progressing." Rogers said he walked out of the meeting feeling that Israel was at its "wit's end."

If Mr. Netanyahu's wit's end is still somewhat down the road, he signaled it was well within reach with his over-the-top response to an admittedly outrageous leak to a reporter for the Hebrew daily *Yediot Aharonot* of an intelligence services' squabble during the course of what was billed as a deep-cover, two-day meeting of the "national security cabinet" aimed at forging a policy consensus on Iran. Media leaks are an endemic feature of Israel's predatory political landscape but the prime minister was so incensed by this one that he cancelled the second portion of the meeting five minutes after it was convened and ventured the possibility of submitting all those present, himself included, to a polygraph test. "I have no claim against the media," a statement from his office declared. "I do have a claim against whoever violated the most basic trust needed to hold security cabinet discourses on matters having to do with Israel's security and undermined the ability to hold confidential discussions."

If the prime minister can't trust his own cabinet, pray tell, who can he trust? Clearly not Shimon Peres. It wasn't but two hours after Defense Minister Ehud Barak finished laying out the government's case in the Knesset plenum for "the risks of dealing with Iran's nuclear threat [being] less than they will be in dealing with them later" that Israel's 89 year- old bemedaled and bethroghied president was telling Channel 2 that an Israeli air strike against Tehran's nuclear installations, uncoordinated with the United States, was simply out of the question. "It's clear to us (sic) that we cannot do it alone," Peres declared. "I am convinced that this is an American interest. I am convinced [President Obama] recognizes the American interest...I have no doubt about it after having had talks with him."

Netanyahu's response to this challenge to his policy on Iran from the ostensibly ceremonial presidential precinct was swift and uncompromisingly blunt. Under cover of a "source" described as "close to the prime minister," Netanyahu's office detailed a list of the president's "historic mistakes," including, inter alia, his leadership of an "Oslo process" which opened the road to Ramallah to Yasser Arafat & Associates and has been charged with responsibility for the death of more than 1,000 Israelis at the hands of PLO terrorists; his staunch support of a Gaza evacuation that turned 22 Jewish communities into launching pads for Hamas rockets; and his equally staunch opposition to the successful Israeli air strikes on nuclear reactors in Iraq and Syria. Even dredged up was a reported Peres suggestion that the homes of the 9,000 dispossessed Jews of Gush Katif not be demolished by the IDF but rather integrated into Palestinian "holiday and youth villages." What appeared to particularly rankle

the Netanyahu forces was Peres' admission that he broke an alleged agreement with the prime minister to refrain from airing his contrarian views on Iran in his conversations with Obama.

If that be the case, it reveals a degree of naivete surprising for an old political hand like Netanyahu. The facts and fantasies that have stamped Mr. Peres' career should keep historians busy long after he's gone, but one thing is indisputable: in whatever role he filled, Peres unfailingly subscribed to his own roadmap. Anybody who thought he was going to tailor it to the dimensions of a ribbon-cutting presidency was seriously out of touch with reality. Correct as he may be, however, about the risks—military and political—Israel would be incurring in a unilateral strike on Iran, Mr. Peres' faith in Barack Obama as the Jewish State's game-saver is likely to be as misplaced as his 1990s conception of a "new Middle East." Pleading "scheduling difficulties," President Obama had turned down, at this writing, a Netanyahu request for a meeting on the Iran impasse sometime during the latter's Sept. 27th-30th trip to New York for the opening of the UN General Assembly. The rejection followed on the heels of a State Department slap-down of the prime minister's plea for an Israel-U.S. agreement on nuclear "red lines" beyond which Iran could not venture without triggering a military response. "The United States has no intention of placing red lines or deadlines in front of the Iranians," asserted the State Department's Victoria Nuland. To which her boss, Hillary Clinton, added: "We are convinced we have more time to focus on these sanctions, to do everything we can to bring Iran to a good-faith agreement."

"Good faith" from Iran? Never has Emmett Tyrell's tagging of Mrs. Clinton as "frequent flier without a clue" seemed more apt. No less apt was Netanyahu's response. "The world asks us to wait," he told the Canadian Broadcasting Service. "And I say wait for what? Wait until when? Those in the international community who refuse to put red lines before Iran have no moral right to put a red light before Israel."

Netanyahu has been portrayed by his enemies as a self-serving political machine posing as a statesman, but his obsession with expunging the Iranian doomsday threat confronting Israel appears to transcend personal political considerations. "He believes this is his *raison d'être*, why he was elected prime minister," *Ha'aretz's* Yossi Verter submits, and why he must see it through, no matter the personal cost. His reply to the question at a recent forum of whether he has taken into account the consequences to his political future of a failed effort against Iran projects his mindset in a nutshell.

"Come on," he retorted, "you're insulting me."

Bill Mehlman leads AFSI in Israel.

From the Editor

Niebuhr Revisited

The following passage from a 1941 article in *Christianity and Crisis* by Protestant theologian Reinhold Niebuhr applies equally well today as Iran is poised on the nuclear threshold while the West fumbles and crumbles in the face of Islamic violence. I have changed only two words in the original: where Niebuhr wrote "Nazi tyranny" I have substituted "Islamic tyranny."

"That there are historic situations in which refusal to defend the inheritance of civilization, however imperfect, against tyranny and aggression may result in consequences even worse than war... Islamic tyranny intends to annihilate the Jewish race, to subject the nations of Europe to dominion of a 'master' race, to extirpate the Christian religion, to annul the liberties and legal standards that are the priceless heritage of Christian and humanistic culture, to make truth the prostitute of political power, to

seek world dominion through its satraps and allies, and generally to destroy the very fabric of our civilization."

Their Lying Eyes

A long standing--still regnant--characteristic of American Jews is to see in American Presidents what they want to see, impervious to the evidence of their lying eyes. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the adulation of Roosevelt. Long time Zionist leader Emanuel Neumann provided a harsh verdict on Roosevelt, and indirectly also on the overwhelming majority of American Jews who chose to be fooled by him.

"Whatever his attitude toward the Jews and the apparent absence of anti-Semitism in his makeup, there is no doubt that Roosevelt did nothing effective to stay the hands of the Nazis in their extermination of European Jewry, and little or nothing to help Hitler's victims find a refuge in the United States or to induce England to admit Jewish refugees to Palestine...[Yet within the Zionist movement] he was regarded as a devoted friend of the Jewish people....He came to be looked upon by American Jews not only as their champion, but as the personification of all that was noble in the American character. As this feeling grew he came to be revered and adored by the Jewish masses, to criticize him was blasphemy...I came to realize that Roosevelt's favorable attitude to our cause was not much more than 'platonic love,' or, as Abba Hillel Silver came to describe it in his own inimitable way, a case of 'uninvolved benignancy.' I gradually came to doubt even the 'benignancy' and considered it a misfortune that at such a critical time the government of the United States should be headed by a President who was clothed with great power and imperturbable charm, but who seemed determined to do nothing of substance for our people and its cause."

Israel's Disastrous Barak

Israel's Defense Minister has come up with a new plan to make Israel defenseless. In an interview with *Israel Hayom* he proposes a unilateral retreat from all but a small slice of Judea and Samaria (comprising the major settlements close to the old Green Line) leaving remaining Jewish communities (if their inhabitants refuse to leave) to remain under PA rule. If insanity is doing the same thing over and over and expecting different results, Barak should be committable even under present tight standards. The difference from the Gaza unilateral retreat, which led to rocket attacks on southern Israel, is that now Tel Aviv and Israel's airport will be in easy range of Arab missiles. And this time, instead of forcibly removing Israeli families, as was the case with Gush Katif, Barak will leave them to be murdered by the PA in their homes. That Barak can believe these proposals will help his political career indicates that a sizable portion of the Israeli public is as mad as he is.

That Special Relationship

Ruth King takes apart the notion of a long standing special relationship between Israel and the United States administration. Under Obama relations have reached a new low and the latest manifestation (apart from Obama's describing Netanyahu's demand that there be red lines for Iran's nuclear development as "noise") is Obama's renegeing on long term understandings that the U.S. would

prevent a situation where a UN committee on Middle Eastern nuclear demilitarization could focus its demands on Israel.

The first signs of trouble were early in 2010 when the review committee for supervising the implementation of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) met, as it does every five years. Pressured by Arab countries, the committee decided to go forward with a meeting to discuss the demilitarization of the Middle East. Journalist Amir Rapaport reports that Israel was angry the United States did not foil this despite long-time understandings with the U.S. and that Netanyahu felt the issue was so important that he raised it at his meeting with Obama in July 2010. He obtained a reaffirmation of the historical understanding, anchored in an official statement by the White House.

The "understanding" turns out to be worthless (no surprise, here). UN General Secretary Ban Ki-Moon has announced that Finland will be hosting a conference on nuclear demilitarization of the Middle East at the beginning of next year. In vain, according to Rapaport, Israeli officials claimed to their U.S. counterparts that the U.S. should stand behind its commitment of July 2010. So expect a dark comedy where Israel will stand in the international dock for its nuclear program, while Iran slips away.

To the Shores of Tripoli

Sarah Honig

It is written in the Koran that all nations which had not acknowledged the Prophet are sinners, whom it is the right and duty of the faithful to plunder and enslave; and that every Muslim who is slain in this warfare is sure to go to Paradise.

--Tripoli's envoy, Sidi Haji Abdul Rahman Adja

Difficult as it may be for some *New York Times* devotees to believe, the above wasn't enunciated in response to an esoteric 14-minute YouTube clip which few actually viewed but which invisible Islamic puppet-masters belatedly decried as too offensive to overlook.

The above quote dates back to 1785 but it undeniably bloviates in precisely the same spirit as latter-day Muslim rabble-rousers. Nothing has changed since these supremacist sentiments were sounded to American emissaries Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, who were dispatched to London in an attempt to reason with the proto-al-Qaeda leaders of their day.

Suffice it to say that the negotiations led nowhere. What the two future American presidents--both Founding Fathers with the impeccable credentials of enlightened political philosophers--would hear was that Muslims are above accommodating themselves to lowly infidels and that the infidels had better admit their inferiority and pay the obligatory penalty for being inferior.

In time, this standoff would escalate to what became known as the First Barbary War. America's ability to strike far from home was tested for the first time. It was also the first time a united American force was deployed as distinct from a collection of local militias.

This chapter in American annals was seminal enough to be immortalized in the official hymn of the American Marine Corps via the phrase "to the shores of Tripoli."

Few Americans today have an iota of non-romanticized inkling about their own country's beginnings, never mind the realization that the first foreign war the US fought was with Muslims.

From this history-deficient worldview springs the politically correct rationalization about why assorted Muslim fanatics have taken to the streets of far-flung cities to vent hate. Like an imperious

choirmaster, the Obama administration inculcates into the public's mind the convenient pretext that an inane YouTube clip could automatically trigger the uncontrollable fury of the mobs.

To hear Obama's mouthpieces, the to-be-expected reaction of the faithful is to riot against diplomatic sanctuaries (of different nations), despoil foreign-franchised eateries and obviously—it goes without saying—hoarsely recommend the slaughter of all Jews everywhere.

The impression willy-nilly imparted by this neat explanation is that there was a specific match which ignited the flame, that the consequences might have been avoided had the match not been struck and had we Westerners been a tad more considerate of the noble sensitivities of our Muslim brethren.

The implication is unfailingly that only Muslims possess the prerogative to be sensitive and to express their sensitivities brutally. Say it how you will, the unspoken axiom is that even a perceived affront against Islam sets loose the wrath of hell.

On the other hand, Muslims may call Jews descendents of apes and pigs but Jews are never expected to respond ferociously because, as Mohammedan believers aver, the lowly Jews are indeed swine and hence fully deserve all the scorn heaped upon them. Jews have no right to rage right back (not that they ever do).

The justifiably proud Muslims are in contrast perfect (which is what the appellation Muslim means in Arabic) and thus are worthy of veneration. Anything less is a severe insult that must be avenged. Simply put, the Muslim view is "we are the best, you are the worst."

All our Western notions of live-and-let-live might as well come from an alternative universe. They are irrelevant, which is why Obama erred so fundamentally when apologizing to Islam and bowing down to its potentates.

This is where memory blanks come in handy. They help cover up the fact that the video clip is a trite excuse—that we have heard it all before—with the Danish political caricature six years ago, with Salman Rushdie's novel over 20 years ago, with Jerusalem mufti Haj Amin al-Husseini's pogrom-instigating calumnies from the 1920s onward or the license which North African Muslims issued themselves to abduct foreign mariners and hold them for ransom hundreds of years ago.

All these are links in one long chain.

The Barbary Coast—as it was known in the 18th century—was straddled by the independent Sultanate of Morocco and the quasi-independent states surrounding Tripoli, Tunis and Algiers, under the minimally nominal hegemony of the Ottoman Empire. All were in the business of piracy. They hijacked merchant ships throughout the Mediterranean and in parts of the Atlantic and held their crews in abject misery until ransomed.

The Muslim leaders of these provinces amassed great wealth and power thereby. Before independence, American shipping came under British protection and during the Revolutionary War under that of the French. Thereafter, however, beginning in 1784, the Barbary rulers focused on American vessels.

By the time Jefferson became America's third president, things had deteriorated into bloody skirmishes and spawned an American naval blockade.



Then Tripoli captured the USS Philadelphia. On the night of February 16, 1804, Lt. Stephen Decatur commanded an undersized contingent of American Marines who stormed the captive Philadelphia and set it ablaze. British Admiral Horatio Nelson lauded this as "the most bold and daring act of the age."

But there was more to come. Tripoli itself was attacked a few months later and more months down the line the city of Derna, in Tripoli's sphere, fell to a force of Marines and a ragtag hodgepodge of mercenaries. An American flag was hoisted victoriously abroad for the first time in what we now dub Libya.

It all concluded in a compromise which the Muslim princes violated in no time, especially once America became embroiled in its existential War of 1812. Not until the 1815 Second Barbary War did the US successfully halt the extortions and end all tribute payments.

There must be a lesson here for today's pampered, more powerful and less imperiled America. No good will come of sucking up to those who believe they have the only direct line to the Almighty, and were ordained by Allah to lord it over the rest of us underlings, menacingly extract submission but dish out contempt with impunity.

Powwowing won't lead to a change of heart among Islam's supremacists. The showdown is inevitable. The Barbary War's rallying call was: "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute."

Two footnotes offer further insights.

The first goes to underscore the difference of mindsets between the enlightened West and Islam already 227 years ago. While Adams's and Jefferson's interlocutor justified murder and pillage as the inherent right of the superior Muslim, Jefferson was the principal author of the trailblazing American Declaration of Independence and in his later life composed an alternative Bible called *The Life and Morals of Jesus of Nazareth*.

Jefferson transposed and deleted portions of the New Testament (mainly those with supernatural content which he argued were the personal conjectures and/or embellishments of the Four Evangelists) in order to reconstruct what he presented as a rational and more reliable account of the life of Jesus.

Religious as America was, no violent vendettas were mounted against Jefferson by offended Christians. Unlike the rampaging Muslims, they made do with disagreeing.

The second footnote is about Joseph Israel. This Jewish midshipman was killed on September 4, 1804, in Tripoli Harbor. An ornate monument was erected in his memory and that of the five other fallen of that battle. One of America's oldest military monuments, it stands today at the US Naval Academy in Annapolis.

In 1918, the American Navy launched a destroyer that honored his heroism. It sailed the seas as the USS Israel. It was the only instance in which a US naval vessel bore the name.

Sarah Honig is an Israeli writer. This appeared on her blog, SarahHonig.com of September 20.

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Reflections of a Diaspora Jew

David Horowitz

Editors' note: Horowitz gave this speech (slightly abbreviated here) at a ZOA dinner on Sept. 6, 2012.



Zionism.”

Today, anti-Zionism is the cause of Jew-haters and anti-Semites the world over, and for Jews embarrassed by the fact that they are Jews and that others fear and despise them for that reason. Even the rare Jewish magazine of the left that is actually a supporter of Israel is uncomfortable with the connotations of the Zionist label, and with what it means for Jews to defend themselves. In a recent unflattering profile, the *Tablet* magazine described me as touring the country “making the case for a muscular

I plead guilty to this charge. Yes, I want muscular Jews and a muscular Israel. I want Jews proud of the extraordinary nation-state Jews created in 1948 out of the ruins of the Ottoman Empire. I want Jews who are armed, and Jews who will defend themselves with arms if necessary. Muscular in every way. Yes.

I want more than just individual Jews armed. I want a Jewish nation-state possessing in its arsenal the most advanced modern weapons available, a state that can be counted on to defend Jews from their global enemies, and particularly their enemies in the Muslim world who are legion and who have sworn our destruction, and who are openly planning to complete the job that Hitler started. I want a Jewish state, armed to the teeth, because Islamic Nazis, who are the storm troopers of a second Holocaust, are already mobilized, and because—as we discovered during the first Holocaust—there are not enough non-Jews in the world who are willing and prepared to defend us.

I am glad that Israel exists. I am glad that there is a country that will preserve Jewish culture, and be a model to the world of what Jews can do when they are given the chance. Today Israel is per capita the world’s leading scientific and technological innovator and contributor to human advancement. As a Jew I am proud of that.

I am also thrilled that in the creation of Israel Jews have regained their birthright. After 2,000 years of exile, the oldest surviving indigenous people in the world has won the right to some of its stolen homeland. I look forward to the day when Judea and Samaria, the historic centers of Judaism, become part of the Jewish homeland as well.

That homeland is now occupied by Palestinian Arabs who are at war with Israel, who have proclaimed their Jew-hatred to the world, and who have forfeited any right to the territories by conducting five unprovoked, armed aggressions against the Jewish state. The official policy of the Palestinian Authority in the West Bank is to make Jerusalem and the entire region of Palestine Judenrein. No other country in the world is expected to suffer such genocidal assaults without securing borders that are defensible, and Israel should not be expected to either.

Nonetheless, there is a paradox in this honor given to me, a Jew who has never been to Israel and who has never considered himself a Zionist in the sense that its founders intended.

Herzl’s Zionist idea was grounded in the belief that the establishment of a Jewish state on Jewish land would finally “normalize” the Jewish people and end their persecution. The Zionist idea was that by including Jews among the nations, Jews would become ordinary, and like other peoples—that their inclusion would finally “solve” the Jewish problem. That was the meaning of Zionism as Herzl understood it, and indeed as it was understood until the Holocaust and the actual creation of the Jewish state.

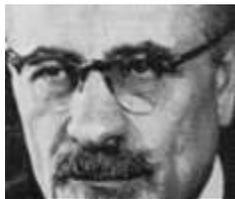
But Herzl’s dream proved to be a fairy tale, as delusional in its way as the dreams of socialism, communism and progressivism, whose believers hoped would provide solutions to the conflicts and

sufferings that blight our human state. All these isms took hold in the 19th Century, and became forms of modern faith. The traditional religions they supplanted had trusted in a Divinity for such a solution, but were forced into retreat before the advance of Darwinian theory and modern scientific developments. All the messianic visions of the modern age were driven by the desire for an earthly redemption that would resolve our human dilemmas and achieve what the heavenly redemption could no longer convincingly offer.

Among these fantasies of a better world than the one we inherited, Zionism was the most conservative, and the most practical. The quests for a socially just future are based on no human reality but on the expectation of a human miracle, a transformation of who we are and what we have been into something wonderfully different. Zionism by contrast was based on the experience of actual peoples who had already taken their place among the nations. It was a quest for normality. Not for a world transformation but for an integration into the existing world of others.

But even this modest hope of the Jews has proved an impossible dream. It is true that half of Herzl's goal has been realized, and in an astounding way. Yet its very realization has proved the hope that inspired it to be a folly. By all standards of civilization and modernity Israel should be admired and emulated by the rest of the world. Instead, the Jewish state is hated and is a pariah among the nations, just as Jews themselves are pariahs in most of the world outside America today.

Far from creating a refuge, Israel has become the focal point of all the genocidal intentions against the Jews, which have never been more overt or more global. Today Israel is the site of a Holocaust for which the Islamic world openly yearns, and which the rest of the world—with the possible exceptions of America and Canada—will not lift a finger to prevent. This sobering reality has changed the meaning of Zionism, and has made it a more comfortable fit for me. Call it the Zionism of Survival.



Isaac Deutscher

In the household I grew up in, I was not brought up to be a Zionist because my parents were Marxist progressives who looked to a socialist future to provide an earthly salvation, and an end to the persecution of the Jews. My realization that this was not going to happen occurred through my relationship with a Marxist mentor named Isaac Deutscher. Deutscher had written a book called *The Non-Jewish Jew*, by which he meant Marxists like us—Jews who were of Judaism but not in it. By the time I came under his influence in the 1960s, he had become a defender of Israel and had been one since the Second World War. Deutscher viewed Israel as a “raft” state—a refuge that Jews could cling to after they had been shipwrecked in the storms that periodically engulfed them. The particular storm he was referring to was Hitler's “Final Solution.”

During the interwar years, a debate had raged in Europe's leftwing circles, which carried momentous consequences for those who participated in it. The debate was about how Jews should respond to the looming fascist threat. The Zionists were urging Jews to flee the continent and take refuge in the Palestine Mandate. Marxists like Deutscher argued that the Jews should stay in Europe and fight for the socialist revolution. But as Deutscher ruefully acknowledged later, the Jews who listened to the Zionists were still alive, while those who listened to Marxists like him were dead.

Under Deutscher's influence, I became a quasi-Zionist, a believer in the raft state. Israel should exist and be defended until the socialist transformation abolished nation-states and solved the problem of the Jews once and for all.

Don't think for a moment that this is some quaint Marxist delusion now consigned to the historical dustbin. The idea of a world without borders is alive and well in the international left and among liberals and progressives in America. It is the idea that animates the Democratic Party's attacks on American sovereignty, and it is a vision whose intellectual leaders are Jews.

One of its canonical articles is called “Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism”—for the latter and against the former. It was written by Harvard philosopher Martha Nussbaum. According to Nussbaum,

the cosmopolitan ideal which progressive people should aspire to is “the person whose primary allegiance is to the community of human beings in the entire world.” This attitude—that we are not Jews or Americans but “citizens of the world”—explains why people on the left are so uncomfortable with—or simply hostile to—issues of national security and patriotism. It explains why progressive Jews can be indifferent to the survival of the Jewish state.

Even as I absorbed Deutscher’s lesson about the raft state, my belief in the progressive fantasy was rapidly eroding. I had begun to doubt the possibility of a redeemed future, a future fundamentally different from those with which we were historically familiar. As these doubts grew, they were changing my view of the unredeemed present. This had immediate and profound consequences for my attitude towards Israel and my identity as a Jew, and as an American as well.

There was not going to be a future in which there were no longer nations or peoples in conflict; there was not going to be a future in which Jews would cease to be the objects of envy and resentment, and virulent hatred. There was not going to be a future in which a refuge—a raft state—was no longer useful.

Then came 9/11 and the Islamic attack on the World Trade Center. It was an event that made millions of people aware of the Islamist movement in the Muslim world and the fact that they were conducting a holy war against infidels in general, and Jews in particular. The incubator and leading force of this holy war is the Muslim Brotherhood, an organization founded by an admirer of Hitler and a godfather of the call to push the Jews of Palestine into the sea. Today, the spiritual leader of the Brotherhood is the Egyptian imam, Yusef al-Qaradawi, who has publicly prayed that the Muslim believers will finish the job that Hitler started.

Millions of Jews are in denial when it comes to the determination of Islamists to kill them. In part, this denial is psychological and familiar as when people face a prospect that is too terrible to contemplate. There are a billion and a half Muslims in the world today who worship a prophet who has told them that “the day of redemption will only come when Muslims fight the Jews and kill them, when the Jews hide behind the rocks and the trees, and the rocks and the trees cry out, ‘Oh Muslim, there is a Jew hiding behind me. Come and kill him.’” For a billion and a half Muslims that is the word of God. Denial is one convenient way of dealing with this fact.

One of the chief instruments of the Muslim Brotherhood is the Muslim Students Association, which sponsors “Israeli Apartheid weeks” at universities across America and throughout the Western world calling for Israel’s destruction. Muslim Students Association members chant “Palestine will be free from the river to the sea” – that is from the eastern boundary of Israel to the western one. It is a call for the liquidation of the Jewish state because it is Jewish. Yet all across America, campus rabbis hold ecumenical dialogues with the Muslim Students Association, and defend it against its critics.

I have traveled to many universities to oppose these Jew-haters, and everywhere I go I am protested against and defamed by the Muslim Students Association and by their Jewish enablers. I have met with numerous campus rabbis and asked them to set conditions for their ecumenical outreach: first, that their Muslim counterparts desist from sponsoring Israeli Apartheid Weeks, and denounce those who conduct them; and second, that they only hold dialogues with people who publicly support the right of a Jewish state to exist in the Middle East.

For these efforts I have been attacked by Hillel rabbis at Yale, the University of North Carolina, the University of California Santa Barbara, and the University of Florida, and by Hillel student leaders at the University of Pennsylvania and other schools. For voicing these concerns, they have called me a bigot, a racist and an “Islamophobe,” which is a smear invented by the Muslim Brotherhood to silence its critics.

Last year I published a full-page ad in the Yale Daily News whose headline read: “The Palestinian Case Against Israel Is Based On A Genocidal Lie.” The genocidal lie is the claim that all of Israel—or any of Israel—is occupied Arab land. It is a claim used to justify all of the murderous acts committed against the

Jews of Israel. In fact, Israel was created out of the ruins of the Turkish Empire, as were Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq. The Turks are not Arabs, and Israel does not occupy any Arab land.

The Middle East conflict is not about land or a Palestinian state. It is a sixty-year war of aggression first by the Arab League and then by Sunni and Shi'ite Muslims to destroy the Jewish state and push the Jews into the sea. This war is now a religious war, an expression of Islamic Nazism.

To be perfectly clear, I am not referring to all Muslims as Nazis. I am referring to the Muslim Brotherhood and the Islamic forces now ascendant in Egypt and the Middle East who are actively promoting a second genocide of the Jews, along with their supporters in America and their secular allies on the political left.

When my ad about the Palestinian lie appeared in the Yale paper, the Slifka Center, the focus of Jewish life on campus, was outraged. They were not outraged by the Palestinian lie but by my ad, which told the truth. They were outraged because the truth offended the Muslim Students Association with whom they wished to be friends. To counter my ad the Slifka Center published its own full-page statement. It affirmed the Slifka Center's "respect" – and I quote their words – "for the Muslim Students Association, which does not spread hateful lies about Israel."

The Slifka statement then attacked my ad as the purveyor of "hateful ideas," which it said would "lead to tragic rifts between the Jewish and Muslim communities," as though campuses across the country were not already reverberating to the chants of "Palestine will be free from the river to the sea," or as though Muslim masses were not already chanting "death to the Israel" at the call of Hizbollah and Hamas and the Islamic Republic of Iran. Having made its commitments clear, the Slifka ad then invited students to an evening with the Ground Zero Mosque Imam, Feisal Abdul Rauf, hosted by Slifka Center director James Ponet, the celebrity rabbi who officiated at Chelsea Clinton's wedding.

Delusions about Islamic Nazis are hardly confined to Jews, however. In the eyes of the Islamic fanatics, Israel may be the "Little Satan," but America is "The Great Satan," the arch demon that must be destroyed in the name of Allah. In his fatwas Osama Bin Laden identified Islam's enemies as "Jews and Crusaders," America being Christian and therefore the "Crusader Nation." Every Islamist leader and organization from Ahmadinejad to Qaradawi, from the Muslim Brotherhood to Hizbollah and Hamas has promised death to Israel and America as the necessary means to their malignant ends.

Meanwhile, the Crusaders – like the Jews — are asleep. It is an old story. Just before the Second World War, Whittaker Chambers, a Communist defector, attempted to warn Roosevelt that a White House advisor named Alger Hiss was a Soviet agent and that his administration had been penetrated by Communist operatives. When Roosevelt was informed of Chambers' charges he laughed and dismissed them. Hiss then accompanied Roosevelt to Yalta where he helped conclude the deal that delivered Eastern Europe to the Soviet Empire and triggered the Cold War.



Mohammed Morsi

Here is a story that may prove worse than that of Alger Hiss. In a series of foreign policy disasters the Obama Administration has assisted the Muslim Brotherhood in transforming the Arab Spring in the Middle East into an Islamist winter, beginning with the toppling of an allied regime in Egypt and the accession to power of the Muslim Brotherhood, and its expansion throughout the region. In August, the new Egyptian president sacked his military commanders, abrogated the Constitution, and assumed dictatorial powers greater than those possessed by his predecessor, and transforming Egypt into an Islamist state. Opponents of the dictatorship were crucified – literally nailed to crosses – in front of the government headquarters. It was the Brotherhood's way of dramatizing its intentions to turn Egypt into a Medieval totalitarian state.

This was exactly what the American State Department had assured the world the Muslim Brotherhood would not do as it paved the way for the Brotherhood's accession to power. The

intelligence chief of the Obama White House had officially described the Muslim Brotherhood as a “moderate” and “secular” organization, which had embraced democratic and constitutional government.

The betrayal of these promises, and the violation of every principle the American government claimed to be supporting in the Middle East’s most important state, took place without a word of protest from the American government or the American Secretary of State.

In the hands of the Islamists and their allies, Zionism has become the name of all the opponents of Islamist supremacy and its holy war against infidels, against Jews and Christians, Israel and the United States. Americans and Israelis, Jews and Christians have their backs to the same wall. One cannot be defended without defending the other. Supporters of freedom are all Zionists now. And that includes myself. That is the way this war of the civilizations, or—as I prefer it—this war between Islamist barbarism and civilization, will continue until it is finally concluded, and the next conflict begins.

I say this, because as a conservative I understand that conflicts are endless, and these battles are without end. To be a conservative is first to understand that there is no solution to the dilemmas of the human condition. Second, it is to understand that to escape these dilemmas, human beings will inevitably embark on desperate quests for redemptions in this life. These redemptions, in turn, will require holy wars to purge the world of demons – of those who do not share their faith, and who stand in their way. In this regard, totalitarian Islam is really no different in its heart from totalitarian socialism or progressivism, even though the latter are secular and the former is pursued in the name of a vengeful and malignant God. Both seek to cleanse mankind of its irreparable imperfections.

To remain free beings, we are continually forced to defend ourselves and our breathing space, against the efforts of the redeemers to perfect us — against the armies of the saints who are determined to make the world a better place than it can ever be. That is how I see the political wars we face, and why they will never end.

On a personal level, and to answer the question I raised at the beginning of this talk about my identity: I am comfortable being a Diaspora Jew, both in this present struggle with the enemies of America and Israel, and beyond. Diaspora is the name of our Jewish exile, but exile is also the name of our human condition. We are thrust into this life, and remain here for awhile, and then we are gone. If there is a home for us that is truly permanent, it is not of this time or of this place.

My country, America, and the country of my people, Israel, share a common destiny. They are the gathering places of exiles, of those who understand better than others that we have no permanent abode in this world. It is because of this that we cherish the freedoms and the homes we do have, and we are not afraid to fight for them.

David Horowitz is a founder and current president of the David Horowitz Freedom Center and edits Frontpage Magazine.

Living Without Solutions in Samaria

Spengler

I am in Samaria, the northern half of the West Bank, inside a cement shed in a drab industrial park loaded with high-tech equipment, hearing a harangue by a fiftyish fellow wearing a knit skullcap, a torn t-shirt, shorts and sandals. His name is Amichai Lourie, and he points to a slim glass container holding an ominous-looking amber liquid.

"I'll never do it again," sighs Lourie. "I had to sleep in the vineyard and tell the growers exactly when to harvest every bunch of grapes. But I ended up with 8% residual sugar. Chardonnay is a tough

grape for a late harvest wine. Getting the sugar is one thing, but it's especially hard to get the right balance of fruit acid." Clearly this man is a dangerous fanatic.

Lourie is referring to a late harvest Chardonnay dessert wine wrung out of the Samaritan hills, one of wine-making's trickiest products in a region that has made wine for less than a generation, in the present millennium, that is. His specialty is Merlot.

"It's an unforgiving grape. With Cabernet, you can make a mistake or two and still get a decent wine, but Merlot requires perfection from harvest to fermenting to aging." Anything easier wouldn't interest the Pennsylvania-born vintner, who won't be deprived of the chance to be part of a miracle.

Wine might seem a distraction as the Oslo accords disintegrate. Palestine Authority President Mahmoud Abbas is threatening to annual the 20-year-old foundation for the "peace process". Now that Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood President Mohamed Morsi has embraced Hamas - the Brotherhood's Palestinian wing - over the protests of the Palestine Authority, [1] the Fatah-led PA has lost its main Arab supporter. Earlier this month, West Bank Palestinians rioted against the PA over economic grievances.

In vino veritas, though not in the way the proverb is usually understood. Wine has geopolitical significance on the West Bank. Samaria's wine boutiques help explain why the Jewish presence in ancient Judea and Samaria has become a permanent fact of life in the region. Like Mr Lourie, the winemakers of Samaria are on a mission from God. The region is in ferment, but not the way you might think.

Lourie's Shiloh winery took the top prizes at Israel's main wine competition, but he's one of several settler-vintners who set out to turn what the international media call the Occupied West Bank into Israel's Napa Valley. Next door to his winery, ancient Israel kept the Ark of the Covenant for the 400 years preceding King David's conquest of Jerusalem in BCE 1000. Judah Maccabee routed his first Greek column. Beth-El, where Jacob dreamed of angels going to and from heaven is on the next hill.

Ten minutes from Shiloh is the Psagot Winery, already equipped with a tasting cellar and historical sound and light shows. It offers different grades; all are workmanlike, but the artisanal single-vineyard Cabernet is brilliant.

The beaten track of tourism hasn't made it to Samaria yet, but that is about to change. Add a few visitors' centers with slick archaeological shows, and a couple of restaurants attached to the wineries with celebrity kosher chefs, and the contest region will blossom into a cross between Napa Valley and a biblical theme park.

The improbable growth of what began as religious settlements - in the face of the universal opprobrium of enlightened opinion - is one of the stranger stories in modern politics. Except for the unobtrusive but tight security, the West Bank towns that house 360,000 Jewish residents have the staid air of long-established suburbs. Home prices in the settlements are rising and converging on comparable properties west of the Green Line, and some towns have a long waiting list of prospective residents.

To the casual observer, only their elevation distinguishes the so-called settlements from ordinary suburbs. The Palestinian Arabs who comprise just 5% of the population in the Oslo Accord's Area C, where virtually all Jews east of the Green Line reside, build in the valleys. Overlooking Shiloh and the ongoing grape harvest is the township of Eli, a group of interconnecting villages. "We build on the hilltops, the Arabs live in the valleys. That's because we have to worry about defending ourselves, and they know they don't" explains Eli's security officer, a reservist in the Golani Brigade.

There is a sizeable contingent of secular Jews in Samaria who came for the mountain air and manageable costs, but most adhere to the Dati Leumi, or national-religious movement. Two out of five Israeli army officers come from this movement, and each town has a yeshiva that prepares prospective officers and provides continuing Jewish education. Thirty of these academies recruit and prepare religious youth for officer training.

The national-religious contingent has a love affair with the land and a deep sense of its sanctity. They put the same passion into cultivation, with striking results. The best Samaria wines have more in

common with great European wines than with the consistent, pleasant products of California: they have a uniqueness, or earthiness, the idiosyncratic complexity that comes from a special combination of soil and climate. The vintners want the biblical earth to bear witness to its special blessing. That's what keeps Shiloh's Lourie up all night in the vineyards during harvest.

From the back yard of her hilltop home in Eli, Tamar Asraf points to green vineyards below the hill of Shiloh. "That's where the girls danced in the vineyards at harvest time," she says, citing Judges 21. The Bible reports winemaking two and a half millennia ago. When the first Jewish settlers came to the area late in the 19th century, no grape had grown there for nearly two thousand years. Archaeologists in the meantime have discovered hundreds of wine presses in Samaria.

"It's a pleasure to be at the center of all the evil in the world," I greet the diminutive woman, who is the public affairs officer for the Eli township. In the idiom of modern diplomacy, the 360,000 Jews in Samaria are responsible for all the violence in the region. The search terms "settlements" and "obstacle to peace" yield nearly a million Google hits. Boycotts of West Bank products are promulgated at diplomatic meetings and campus gatherings around the world. But standing in Ms. Asraf's back yard on a 1,000-meter hilltop, the narrative seems insane.

She points west. "There's Tel Aviv," an easy half-hour commute from the Samaria settlements. She pivots and indicates the east. "There's Amman." The distances are negligible. It's as if Buda occupied Pest, or Minneapolis occupied St. Paul. The idea that the world's problems hinge on a small number of people clustered in a tiny space is either prima facie proof of epidemic dementia, or a way of changing the subject.

Ms Asraf wants to talk about the economic prospects for the region. Israel has supported the settlements as a bulwark against hostile encroachment on its core territory. Artillery on a few West Bank hills could hit anything in Tel Aviv as well as the country's main airport.

A bone of contention in Israeli politics, though, has been the cost of supporting the settlers. According to a recent study by the left-center newspaper Ha'aretz, civilian costs (excluding the military presence) amount to about US\$2,500 per settler. Whether that estimate is accurate, it's a lot.

"We have to focus on economics," Ms Asraf states, and the greatest potential is in tourism. This is the biblical heartland, just half an hour by bus from Jerusalem. It is arresting hill country, with historic associations at every turn in the road. The Christian pilgrims who pack Jerusalem to walk the Via Dolorosa well might take an afternoon on the Road of the Patriarchs, with a wine-tasting from biblical vineyards. For someone who takes Hebrew Scripture in earnest, like this writer, the mixture of taste, sight and memory is heady stuff.

Once there are service industry jobs, the local Arabs will start to benefit. That benefit is already visible at Ariel University, located in Samaria's largest city. The campus would look like a modest branch of an American state university, except for the large number of girls in Muslim headscarves. West Bank Arabs, I calculated in 2009, had double the per capita income of Egyptians. After the civil war in Syria and the collapse of Egypt's economy, the West Bank will stand out as an oasis of Arab prosperity. Nothing will entirely assuage the humiliation Arabs feel at the Israeli presence, but economic benefits help make it bearable. A biblical version of Napa Valley could feed the Israeli treasury rather than drain it.

What about all the people who are looking to the settlements for a solution to the world's problems?, I asked Ms Asraf. "Sometimes you have to live without a solution," she replies. In a way, the settlers are a last redoubt of realism. The local situation is hopeless, but not serious, and the region's future belongs to those who dig in and get on with life.

Spengler is the pseudonym for David Goldman, whose most recent book is How Civilizations Die (and Why Islam is Dying Too.)

Get Over It! It is Not and Has Never Been a Special Relationship

Ruth King

Partisans of Israel from left and right keep evoking the so called America/Israel special relationship.

The left worries that a muscular Israeli response to a mortal threat will threaten the relationship, and the right frets that it has seriously frayed under the Obama administration.

They are both wrong. The so called special relationship is a chimera.

Let's revisit some history.

In closing critical international shipping lanes, the nationalization of the Suez Canal by Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser in July, 1956, was a serious provocation to Great Britain, France and Israel. Furthermore after continual terrorism and threats Israel had credible intelligence that the Arabs were preparing for war. On Oct. 29, 1956, Israeli forces, directed by Moshe Dayan, launched a combined air and ground assault into Egypt's Sinai peninsula. Early Israeli successes were reinforced by an Anglo-French invasion along the canal. The November 6 cease fire, demanded by the United Nations and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles led to a total withdrawal by Israel, England and France in exchange for reassurances that the U.N. would monitor the Sinai and keep open the Straits of Tiran crucial for Israel's shipping. That was special only in the thinly disguised animosity of John Foster Dulles.

Border incidents and terrorism continued against Israel for the next decade. Egypt's President Nasser escalated his blood curdling threats to destroy Israel and in 1967 he requested the withdrawal of United Nations forces from the Sinai and closed the Gulf of Aqaba and Straits of Tiran.

When Israel complained of these flagrant violations of the 1956 agreement, Secretary of State Dean Rusk and President Lyndon Johnson declared that they could not find the agreement and therefore could not issue any warning to Egypt. Israel launched a pre-emptive lightning strike which crippled the forces of Syria, Egypt and Jordan arrayed against it. By the time Israel heard Dean Rusk's demands for a cease fire it was all over, and the era of so called "occupation," which has been flogged by every successive administration, began.

In October of 1973 it was clear to Israel and confirmed by international intelligence that Arab States were preparing a major strike on Israel. President Nixon, already beset by escalating scandal permitted his Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to pressure Israel to avoid a preemptive strike. Israel bowed to the hard fisted demands and on Yom Kippur, the combined forces of Egypt and Syria with logistical support from all the Arab states attacked. Israel's desperate pleas for re-supply of dwindling ordnance were ignored by the State and Defense Departments. Finally, Nixon ordered an immediate airlift. While dispute continues as to whether it was Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger or Kissinger who held up the resupply, what is clear is that when Israel regrouped and began a counteroffensive, Kissinger demanded an immediate cease fire. Negotiations over Israel's retreat from the Sinai continued into the administration of Gerald Ford in which Kissinger remained as Secretary of State. Largely as a result of Kissinger's crude threats of a "reassessment of America's relations with Israel" Israel withdrew back across the Suez Canal and several miles inland from the east bank. All territorial gains in Syria made during the war were given up.

Then there was President James Earl Carter who was surprised by Anwar Sadat's visit to Jerusalem which heralded the Camp David Accords. His National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski was clearly partial to the Arabs, a stance he has never abandoned. Carter's Ambassador to the United Nations, Andrew Young met with the P.L.O. They all piled on Israel to accept Anwar Sadat's terms not just for the return of the entire Sinai with thriving Jewish settlements and state of the art military bases, but also to accept his demands for withdrawal from the Golan and the West Bank. Begin described those meetings in the Camp David Retreat as "deluxe concentration camps."

While there is deserved nostalgia for Ronald Reagan, it should be remembered that in the 1982 Lebanon War, when Israel, after continuing bombardment from PLO bases in Lebanon, launched a major offensive to destroy PLO strongholds, then Secretary of State George Schultz and the President sponsored a plan to save the PLO by evacuating it to Arab countries, with the leadership going to Tunisia where they remained until the Oslo accords brought them back to the West Bank.

The Reagan administration also produced the "Reagan Plan for Middle East Peace" which was nothing but a clone of the Rogers' plan calling basically for a return to the 1967 lines.

The first President George Bush's Secretary of State James Baker's animus to Israel went back to his college years at Princeton where his thesis focused on Israel's advent as a policy blunder. When Iraq launched SCUD missiles into Israel, a non combatant, the Bush/Baker/Cheney administration went into high gear to deny Israel the right to strike back by refusing to give them a "friendly craft" code for American aircraft. Israel was repaid for her acquiescence by Baker's threats to cut off loan guarantees unless then Prime Minister Shamir acceded to a Madrid meeting. That was pretty special, was it not?

During the Clinton years, there was a special relationship, but not with Israel. It was with Yasser Arafat who was the most frequent foreign visitor to the White House during the Clinton years. Clinton hosted the Oslo accords which culminated with a handshake by Yasser Arafat and prime Minister Rabin, followed by an unprecedented escalation of terror against Israeli civilians. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright with the help of Dennis Ross pummeled Israel continually into accepting every single Arab demand. When Israel's Prime Minister Netanyahu demurred at the Wye Plantation, and Arafat threatened to leave, we were treated to the vision of Albright running as fast as her heels would let her to block the gate so that most favored guest would not leave in a snit. Albright went on to greater money if not glory by shilling for Qatar as a paid lobbyist.

And then we had the second George Bush administration. George W. Bush was genuinely well disposed toward Israel, but he could not avoid the siren song of appeasement, and flogged the "Road Map," yet another clone of the give-the-Arabs everything plans and pushed for the surrender of Gaza. His Secretaries of State, first Colin Powell and then Condoleezza Rice, barely masked their antipathy to Israel. What was special about this duo was their string of failed foreign policy initiatives while they were busy processing peace in the Middle East.

And now we have an administration where the President and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, once political adversaries, think as one when it comes to hostility to Israel.

There are only two special relationships with respect to Israel. First is the relationship to Jews in every corner of the world to Israel and the miracle of its resurrection. Second is the special relationship with Christian Evangelicals, a number of legislators and those non Jewish columnists, writers and commentators – Glenn Beck, Pilar Rahola, Robin Shepherd, Andrew McCarthy, Frank Gaffney, John Bolton, Cal Thomas, Giulio Meotti, Geert Wilders, Robert Spencer, Adrian Morgan, to name only a handful--who buck the prevailing insane vilification of the Jewish state and staunchly and bravely stand by Israel.

I have no doubt inadvertently omitted many names, but as we embark on a New Year 5773, may all their names be inscribed in the Book of Life.

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