

OUTPOST

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The Peace Process Resurrects

Herbert Zweibon

Now that Arafat is dead, world leaders see an opportunity to jump-start the moribund "peace process." Says Prime Minister Blair: "I have long argued that the need to revitalize the Middle East peace process is the single most pressing political challenge in our world today." And President Bush: "We've got a great chance to establish a Palestinian state, and I intend to use the next four years to spend the capital of the United States on such a state." To be sure, the President predicates this commitment on the emergence of a peaceful, democratic polity prepared to live harmoniously beside Israel.

On a scale of probabilities this ranks with the likelihood that beheadings-chieftain Abu-Musab-al Zarqawi will morph into George Washington. The territories under the control of the Palestinian Authority are a giant al-Qaeda training camp with all institutions -- schools, media, mosques, political organizations, even summer camps -- devoted to inciting hatred and producing *shahids*, martyrs for murder.

What is often overlooked is the long history of Palestinian Arab extremism. AFSI's pamphlet *The Palestinians: A Political Masquerade*, published almost thirty years ago, noted that in Mandatory Palestine, the Hussein clan won out against the marginally less anti-Zionist Nashashibi clan, and they did so in the tried and true Arab fashion — by assassinating their rivals. The absolutely uncompromising leadership then, as now, was unwilling to come to any accommodation with Jewish Palestinians even when it was in their political interests. When the British wanted to establish a legislative assembly that would have made the Arabs, as the numerically stronger element, dominant, the Arab leadership refused, fearing this would give some political legitimacy to Jews.

As *The Palestinians* points out, the Arabs of Palestine are an "anti-nation," one that derives its entire meaning and purpose from the desire to destroy another nation: the conflict with Israel is the central fact of Palestinian Arab identity and the elimination of Israel the messianic goal.

To think the nature of Palestinian Arab nationalism can be transformed by holding elections in January is an absurdity.

There are no leaders in the wings eager for accommodation (nor could they survive, if there were). There are Arafat's old guard from Tunis like Mahmud Abbas and Ahmed Qurei, early comrades in Fatah. Just last year Abbas said in Cairo that "cracking down on Hamas, Jihad and the Palestinian organizations is not an option at all." Abbas has the additional distinction of writing a PhD dissertation (later a book) explaining that the Holocaust was a hoax. The new chairman of Fatah, Farouk Qaddoumi (who rejected Oslo and so never joined Arafat in the Palestinian Authority) has said "We will pitch our tent as far as our bullets reach." Then there are rival locals like Muhammad Dahlan, architect of the current terror war, and Marwan Barghouti, reportedly the most popular single figure because he sits in an Israeli prison, convicted of a series of murders. And, of course, there is Hamas, whose best known leaders have recently been eliminated by acts of Israeli derring-do.

Whoever the elections install, the outlook is for factional strife, as rival groups of gunmen struggle for dominance, and more terror against Israel. Already gunmen have killed two of Abbas' bodyguards. And while Abbas has called for a temporary halt on attacks on Israel, Hamas has already turned him down.

No, there will be no peaceful Palestinian state alongside Israel. The danger is that Israel's weak leadership will be pressured to implement the disastrous Road Map (to which Sharon continues to express devotion!) and a terrorist and terror-sponsoring state will be recognized by an eager Europe and a U.S. leadership blinded to reality by its own self-hypnotizing rhetoric of a Palestinian state devoted to democracy, peace and civil liberties.

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From the Editor

Sharon on Gaza

"I also recommended the establishment of several Jewish settlements, Jewish 'fingers' as I called them, to divide the Gaza district....all of them built, like the Judean and Samarian settlements, on state-owned land. Standing with the cabinet members on a high hill of dunes, I pointed out exactly what I thought we needed. If in the future we wanted in any way to control this area, I told them, we would need to establish a Jewish presence now. Otherwise we would have no motivation to be there during difficult times later on. In addition, it was essential to create a Jewish buffer zone between Gaza and the Sinai to cut off the flow of smuggled weapons and — looking forward to a future settlement with Egypt — to divide the two regions....The essence of my plan was to get rid of the Palestinian refugee camps altogether." (From *Warrior*, the autobiography of Ariel Sharon, 1989, p. 258).

And what has changed since Sharon, as Minister of Agriculture in the Begin government, pushed for the creation of Jewish settlements in Gaza following Israel's abandonment of Sinai? Have weapons stopped flowing from Egypt? Is the need to assert control over Gaza less or has the need vastly increased in the decade since Oslo unleashed the full fury of Arab terror on Israel?

While Sharon never got rid of the Palestinian refugee camps, his policies are in danger of turning the Jews of Israel into a nation of refugees.

More from Columbia

A gallant group of Jewish students has rocked the comfortable anti-Israel boat at what *The Daily News* calls "Hate U-on-the-Hudson." With the help of the David Project in Boston they have produced a 25 minute documentary "Columbia Unbecoming" in which present and former students give examples of the abuse they were forced to undergo, notably in classes in the Middle East and Asian Languages and Culture Department. For example Joseph Massad, who teaches modern Arab politics, repeatedly refused to answer a question from Tomy Schoenfeld, an Israeli student, instead demanding that he answer "How many Palestinians have you killed?"

Prior to the film, student complaints had been wafted away. Students were told to take their complaints to the department head but got short shrift from department chairman Hamid Dabashi, a signer of one of the divest-from-Israel petitions that have stained U.S. campuses. But the documentary has forced Columbia President Lee Bollinger (formerly of the University of Michigan), to reluctantly order an "investigation." It is foolish to expect much. As Matthew Continetti in *National Review* sums up: "By any traditional standard Lee Bollinger is the worst college president in America."

Peres the Profound(ly stupid)

There is no surer proof that an Israeli leader is endangering the state than praise from Shimon Peres. Peres urged Labor Knesset members to support Sharon's destruction of Jewish settlements in Gaza: "To be rid of isolation is to be rid of an asset? To be rid of war is to be rid of an asset? Dangers are what we are getting rid of." In fact, of course, dangers are what Israel will be increasing exponentially.

As for Arafat's demise, this is Shimon's take: "The biggest mistake of Arafat was when he turned to terror. His greatest achievements were when he tried to build peace." In fact Arafat used the *folie a deux* of Peres and Rabin known as the Oslo Accords to improve his strategic position. Palestinian Arab analyst Yunis Odeh recalled after Arafat's death: We told Arafat that Oslo would mean termination of the Palestinian cause: Arafat replied that on the contrary "I am hammering the first nail in the Zionist coffin."

An Unreported Scandal

As the media feast on scandals from Abu Ghraib to mistreatment of wounded terrorists, a more grievous scandal has gone unnoticed: the release of prisoners to kill again. As Mark Landsbaum points out in *FrontPageMagazine* (Oct. 27), more than ten of the 200 terrorist suspects released from Guantanamo are known to have struck again. A few examples:

Abdullah Mehsud, 28, used his new freedom to organize the kidnapping of two Chinese working on Pakistan's Gomal Zam Dam project. Previously unknown, he is now Pakistan's most wanted man and a hero to *al Qaeda* supporters. Another released detainee killed a judge leaving an Afghanistan mosque. Several other released detainees have been killed in the course of terrorist acts.

As Landsman notes "The fact is terrorists are running free in Afghanistan and potentially around the world because the Legal Left placed their 'inalienable rights' above the safety of Americans. Institutions like the Center for Constitutional Rights, the ACLU and the National Lawyers Guild do this out of a hatred of this country and all that she stands for -- and in this instance, they are literally 'softening us up for the kill.'"

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Israel's Adgravophilia

Steven Plaut

For the past fourteen years, Israeli governmental policy has been governing by Adgravophilia. Adgravophilia comes from the Latin root *adgravo*, which means making things worse. The whole word means the love of making things deteriorate and worsen. For fourteen years, Israeli government policy has been dominated by a passionate desire to make things worse.

Adgravophilia was adopted in what, we now know, was probably the most successful moment in Israel's history, certainly the most successful moment since 1973. By 1989 the pogroms and anti-Jewish atrocities that have become known as the "First Intifada" had largely been suppressed. Violent incidents were declining by the month. Arafat and his creatures were off in distant Tunis. Israel's economy was doing phenomenally well and prosperity was growing. A large wave of Jewish immigration from the ex-Soviet states was boosting Israel economically, morally, and socially. The PLO leadership were *persona non grata*, not only for Israel but also for the U.S. There was agreement with Washington that the PLO would never be a partner in any future negotiations, and that the most Palestinians would ever get would be fully-demilitarized "limited autonomy". In retrospect, it was among the happiest and most secure times in Israel's history.

But by 1992, into this near idyllic situation came the Adgravophilia of the Israeli Labor party. It insisted that things were just god-awful bad in the Middle East. After all, there were Palestinian guttersnipes throwing rocks at Israeli soldiers in the Gaza Strip and in some parts of the West Bank, and injuring soldiers. Sometimes other acts of violence would occur, knifings and shootings. "Things could not possibly be worse!" it insisted. So children throwing rocks at troops in Gaza were swapped for buses full of Israeli children being blown to bits in Haifa and Jerusalem.

Adgravophilia feeds on human ignorance and on the human weakness that always finds it so difficult to imagine things getting any worse than they already are. But the inability to imagine things far worse than they are is a symptom of the poverty of the human imagination and not a rational way for dealing with the world.

For many years, people have been trying to represent the Middle East conflict as a manifestation of assorted games of strategy, from chess, to "chicken", to Indian wrestling. The Israeli Labor Party decided to deal with the situation via Fifty-Two-Card-Pick-Up. Fifty-Two-Card-Pick-Up is where a player

unhappy with his cards simply throws them all on the floor. The problem, of course, is that there is no reason to think that this improves things. In the case of the Oslo version of the Fifty-Two-Card-Pick-Up, it turned a near-idyllic situation having some unpleasant wrinkles into the twenty-first century version of the Valley of the Shadow of Death. Now, in 2004, one thousand five hundred Oslo-murdered Israelis later, and Israel's very existence under greater threat than ever, we sit and rub our eyes in disbelief at the astronomical stupidity of Israeli leaders in 1992, thinking that things could not possibly get worse.

Rabin and Peres tossed all 52 cards onto the floor and launched the greatest round of Adgravophilia in Israeli history, and possibly the worst in all of human history. They turned Arafat and his storm troopers from distant pariahs into legitimized players and holders of an acknowledged claim to statehood. They armed and bankrolled the terrorists and set them up in the suburbs of Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. They placed PLO missile crews within shooting distance of Ben-Gurion Airport. They rewarded every atrocity by the PLO and its affiliates with new of-

fers of Israeli generosity.

In part, the Laborites persuaded Israelis to play Fifty-Two-Card-Pick-Up by arguing that it was simply a revocable or reversible experiment. One of the hardest lessons we have all learned over the past 14 years has been that there are no such things in Israel as "experiments". Any "experiment" is in fact an irreversible set of concessions and capitulations, which establishes *faits accompli* that Israel will be prevented from renouncing.

Adgravophilia invariably produces a ratchet effect, by which things that used to be unthinkable get "tried" in a temporary "experiment" and then can never be recalled. As soon as they are "tested", the United States decrees that no backing off from the "experiment" is permissible. No matter how many times the PLO has violated its Oslo commitments, no matter how many atrocities the PLO rank and file carry out under the direct orders of the PLO leadership, the United States will take the full range of previous Israeli unilateral gestures as the starting point for demands for new Israeli concessions in the next round. And every goodwill measure by Israel, every generous concession or act of Israeli restraint, will immediately trigger European attacks and attempts to delegitimize Israel altogether and undermine Israel's right to exist.

Labor Party Adgravophilia was accompanied

For fourteen years, Israeli government policy has been dominated by a passionate desire to make things worse.

by other political innovations as well. Every act of tomfoolery by the Labor leaders was accompanied by massive media manipulation, large billboards springing up all by themselves, bumper stickers flooding the country, and huge ads by non-existent leftist "peace groups" financed by overseas ill-wishers, all proclaiming that there is no just alternative to adopting the proposal on the table that would of course make things worse. Then, as soon as the public was seeing things actually getting worse, the Labor Party would insist that this is because their plan had not been fully implemented skillfully enough yet, or that those murderous anti-Oslo inciters were creating obstacles.

If Adgravophilia was first introduced as a Labor Party innovation in the Oslo game of Fifty-Two-Card-Pick-Up in 1992, the Likud was not far behind in buying into it, with all 52 of its cards. Now, in late 2004, the Likud under Ariel Sharon is advocating and implementing policies that, 16 years earlier, were solely endorsed by the Israeli Arab-dominated communist party, and unambiguously opposed by the Zionist consensus stretching from Right to Left. Every symptom of the Adgravophilic disease has been aggravated, as the Likud has followed the Labor Party lead in making things worse. Resenting this up-staging, the Labor Party and the Left keep trying to come up with newer plans, even more dramatically Adgravophilic, such as the Beilin "Geneva Plan" or the Ayalon-Nusseibah "Plan". Leftists even more Adgravophilic than the Laborites are now touting the "one-state solution", under which a single Arab-dominated state will encompass all of Israel and "Palestine", and the Jews will be invited to experience a second Holocaust.

But the Likud of Ariel Sharon refuses to be left behind. The latest manifestation of the Likud's Adgravophilia is the Sharon plan for unilateral "disengagement" in the Gaza Strip. Now in fact the Sharon plan is identical to the Mitzna Plan, against which Sharon and the Likud ran in the last elections. Sharon and his people were elected by voters precisely because they claimed to *oppose* the Mitzna plan. But within months of the election, Sharon was announcing that he had always believed that a Palestinian terror state was the way to go, and unilateral eviction of the Jewish population of the Gaza Strip was the only effective way to make peace. Once the Gaza Strip has been made *Judenrein*, with no Israeli soldiers left behind there, without a doubt the Gaza population will take up quilting and transcendental meditation. Joan Baez disks will be all the rage. And do I have a bridge in Brooklyn to sell you!

The Sharon round of Adgravophilia was ac-

companied by all the accoutrements familiar from Labor Party days, the large "spontaneous" ads in the papers endorsing the plan by civilian rank and file, the billboard blitz, the endless repetitions that there is just no alternative, the pie in the sky promises, the denunciation of opponents of the plan as irrational haters of peace, as people driven by fanatical religious prejudice, greed, and blindness.

Like previous rounds, the Sharon Plan chapter in Adgravophilia will make things far worse. The hundreds of rockets already fired into Jewish civilian areas, even while the Israeli army is in control of Gaza, will morph into thousands and then tens of thousands. Sderot will be obliterated and then Ashkelon. The Oslo

death toll will jump by an order of magnitude, and maybe by two. Israel's pre-1967 area within rocket range of Gaza will be emptied of Jews, turned into a no man's zone, hailed as yet another victory by the Palestinians in driving out the Zionist *Untermenschen*. Bands of suicide bombers will emerge from Gaza in numbers far exceeding what Israel has known.

The tunnels through which weapons were smuggled from Egypt even while the Israeli army controlled the ground will become uninterrupted super-highways of terror. Missiles will be brought in that threaten Israeli air space. The range of rockets will be upgraded until they strike Tel Aviv. All the while, just like in all previous deteriorations following previous rounds of Adgravophilia, the same politicians will pout before the cameras and insist that none of this could have possibly been

foreseen, that it was entirely unexpected, that no one at all had predicted this could happen.

No matter how many times Ariel Sharon swears on the heads of his children that the Gaza Plan is in fact a wily tactic by him to allow Israel to retain control of the West Bank indefinitely, no one should believe him. And no matter how many times the Likud apparatchiks insist that the Gaza capitulation is not a precedent for a similar unilateral "disengagement" in the West Bank, they are lying. The demands and pressures for an identical West Bank capitulation will come even before the last Jewish "settler" has been evicted at bayonet point from Gush Katif. Now that his Ugliness Yasser Arafat has been dispatched to the great hijacked airplace of the sky, pressures will build for Israel to show its goodwill to the new Palestinian "moderates" who take Arafat's place. Since the circus of Arafat's funeral, the media are discovering peace-loving moderates behind every cactus bush, and the United States and United Kingdom are escalating demands for Israel to meet these "moderates" more than

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half way.

But the Sharon Adgravophilia is disastrous for another reason. It is a one-sided population transfer. Sharon's argument is that Jewish settlers in the Gaza Strip need to be moved to another part of their homeland to reduce tensions and remove confrontation. So why is this eviction not balanced and even-handed? Why is it not accompanied by, say, a plan to evict the population of Jenin and move it to the Gaza Strip in order to reduce tensions and remove confrontations? Why aren't these two fully integrated halves of a single plan? Why is it that only Jews need to be shifted and moved to reduce confrontation? This lack of balance establishes a clear precedent that will haunt Israel in all future "negotiations".

One interesting twist in the Sharon round is the clear demonstration of how utterly unpopular Adgravophilia is among Israelis in general. When Sharon tried to provide "his" plan with the Likud party household seal of approval in the party referendum last year, Adgravophilia lost by a huge three-to-two majority, despite intense lobbying for it by the Likud party machine. Sharon has had to fight a long series of battles, accompanied by naked threats against his

own cabinet ministers and backbenchers. In fact, every time Israeli voters have actually been allowed to express their opinion over Adgravophilia, they have rejected it. Understanding that they would do so again is what motivated Sharon's people to prohibit any ballot referendum on the plan. This was accompanied by Labor Party-like trotting out of "experts" to lecture the public about how anti-democratic ballot initiatives are. Tell that to Californians.

I have always believed that politics are a lot like medicine, and that the first obligation of all leaders is simply to avoid making things worse, to avoid doing harm. Part of maturity is understanding that not all problems in life have solutions and that not every unpleasantness can be removed and eliminated. Ugliness and discomfort are often an unavoidable part of life. This does not make death the preferred alternative.

For fourteen years, Israeli politicians have been attempting to resolve the complexity of the Middle East conflict by making things worse.

Steven Plaut is Professor of Economics at Haifa University.

Israel You Did It to Yourself

Jan Willem van der Hoeven

Editor's note: The closest Israel has to a modern prophet is a Christian clergyman, Jan Willem van der Hoeven, who runs the International Christian Zionist Center in Jerusalem. A true Zionist, whose children have served in Israel's armed forces, van der Hoeven has repeatedly sternly warned the people of Israel of what would follow from their feckless pursuit of peace when there is no peace.

You released from Beirut a murderer and arch terrorist, whom you knew to be your deadly enemy, to go free with his fellow terrorists and their guns — when you could have captured and tried him in your courts!

You did it again when, exiled to Tunisia, he and his prestige were at one of their lowest points. You allowed him to return victorious as "the Oslo peacemaker" and gave him back his worldwide importance and recognition. Thus he continued his bloody battle, now as "peacemaker" against thousands of your innocent men, women and children, with guns you supplied him. Finally you had to admit he had deceived you and was no more a peacemaker after Oslo than he was before Oslo.

Will you now do it again to your own woeful detriment?

Will you fall for the sinister plan urged upon you by the world — that you free from your prison the most popular Palestinian leader Marwan Bargouti so that in the coming Palestinian elections he, the murderer of Israelis, will become Arafat's successor? Even if this bitter pill would be sweetened by the blinded West through the release of Azzam Azzam from Egyptian prison and Jonathan Pollard from U.S. prison?

Will you now also allow a man of the type of Bargouti to go free to henceforth challenge all Palestinian moderates in the name of all those Palestinians thirsting for revenge?

So seeing how you released, built up and gave weapons and prestige to Arafat to your own terrifying detriment, you in all likelihood will do the same now in your mad drive for peace at all costs. The world, especially now that Arafat has gone, will pressure and pressure you to accept this internationally accepted 'solution' — a Palestinian State — a future springboard for your destruction.

You in all your self-destructiveness will probably -- all in the name of peace of course -- accept this plan of the nations: A Palestinian State not so much beside you but instead of you!

As I Remember Him

Pierre van Paassen

Editor's note: *As the world's leaders heap encomiums on Arafat it is worth noting the contrast between his legacy -- as writer Rachel Ehrenfeld has noted, Arafat pioneered plane hijacking, mass murder of civilians, suicide bombing, and the exploitation of "charities" to fund terror -- with the noble legacy of Vladimir Jabotinsky, the great visionary leader of the Jews who died in obscurity, unremarked by the notables of the world, neglected, even vilified, by much of his own people. What follows is excerpted from an essay on Vladimir Jabotinsky written in 1942 by the Dutch/Canadian journalist Pierre van Paassen who was with him shortly before his death.*

It was in New York, on the evening of one of those sultry, sweltering days in midsummer of 1940 that we walked for the last time and sat on the green in Central Park till the city grew hushed with the coming of dawn.

He looked pale and worn, the Rosh Betar, after weeks and weeks on end of writing and conferences and discussions with journalists and politicians and disciples, always planning, always thinking of some new venture, some new approach to the old problem of Jewish national emancipation. I had to tear him away, literally, from the clutches of some devoted Chassidim who were gathered in the humble apartment which he occupied during the last few months of his life near the Park.

Once outside, however, in the open air, his cares and worries seemed to leave him. He was as cheerful as I had seldom seen him. That night after dinner he talked uninterruptedly, not in the vainglorious display of his almost encyclopedic knowledge and quiet wisdom or because he was of a garrulous nature. He merely felt released from his most pressing cares for the moment. The breadth of his spirit took a wider sway in the freedom of the trees and meadows.

And of what did he not talk? Of the need not to confuse the historical moment with the trend of history, of the campaign on the Jordan where the valley burned like a fiery furnace when he led his men of the Jewish legion to victory against the Turks; of the neopagan movement in the days of the Borgias and of the Italian Renaissance as proto-typical of the present-day Hauser school in Germany; of his last-minute, futile intervention with Malcolm MacDonald, the son of Ramsay, "a ridiculous pedantic fellow with the mind of a flunkey" to save the life of a young Zionist activist in that Crusader's dungeon in Acco where he himself spent weary months of incarceration and where Ronald Storrs and T.E. Lawrence came to shake

hands with him through the bars of his cell; of the atmosphere in the Dutch public schools which he thought so pleasant, that it was almost inevitable that a love of learning should flourish in that country; of Martin Buber's book on the Mythos of the Jews; of his son Eri, then in the Palestinian gaol for the faith's sake; of the Calvinist doctrine of predestination and the contrasting doctrine of man's free will; of the tendency of all socialistic revolutions to degenerate into étatism and tyranny; then of course of the need to raise a Jewish army forthwith, not only for the defence of Palestine but as an instrument to speed up the redemption of Eretz Israel and the founding of a Jewish State in the present cataclysmic circumstances when history does not move with the measured tread of a grandfather's clock, but advances with the seven league boots of a giant and with revolutionary shocks.

For that: Eretz Israel and the Jewish State in Palestine, that was his cause, his all in all, the sacred passion which entirely possessed and visibly consumed him. In Jabotinsky the love of Zion was both an unquenchable, ecstatic fire and also the still and steady flame of grace which the sages call *Hittlahabut* and of which the Baalshem once said that it

sanctifies every action in life with a holy significance.

The healing of Israel through a normalization of its national and international status as a people, with a history, traditions, a way of life and a religion of its own, and therefore its need to live and work within walls of its own, that is: in its own land, master of its own destiny, not forced and twisted into the moulds of this or that alien civilization, but applying its genius for justice to working out its own solution of man's relationship with his brother as in the past it found for all mankind the way of man's relationship with God, and so as an independent factor, in a personal-national sense, and in accord with its own character and talents and ethos a contributor to the sum total of civilization: that was Jabotinsky's vision of Israel's place and function in the new humanity.



In order to bring this vision to reality by translating it into new covenants and into a new structure of international relationships, to lead Israel at least part of the way along the long and weary road to the ideal, he poured out his whole heart, all his strength and his whole life. Jabotinsky lived Zionism. And it was the cause, too, that made of his life one of wondrous unity and singleness of purpose.

Vladimir Jabotinsky came from that intellectual milieu in Russian Jewry which had fully absorbed Russian civilization. When he first began to write his feuilletons and poetry in the Russian language, he was hailed by the critics of Petersburg and Moscow. Maxim Gorky devoted an essay to the realism and style of the young Jewish author. The great Tolstoy himself welcomed in Jabotinsky "a new writer of promise at last." The road to glory seemed open to the budding poet.

Then, without a word of warning, Jabotinsky stopped writing. His name disappeared from the columns of the literary journals and the journals of opinion to which he had but recently become a contributor.

What had happened? It was the wave of pogroms that swept through his native land following Russia's defeat in the war with Japan in 1905, which had thrown the young writer completely off his track. Not unlike Theodor Herzl, scarcely a decade earlier, Jabotinsky had suddenly beheld for himself and had measured, as in some dread apocalyptic revelation, the full magnitude of the Jewish tragedy.

He was to sum up the anguish of his soul and of the soul of Israel later in life, before the Royal Commission, sitting in the House of Lords in February 1937 with the words: "Three generations of Jewish thinkers and Zionists amongst whom there were many great minds...have given much thought to analyzing the Jewish position and have come to the conclusion that the cause of Jewish suffering is the very fact of the Diaspora, the bedrock fact that the Jews are everywhere in the minority.

"It is not the anti-Semitism of men; it is, above all, the anti-Semitism of things, the inherent xenophobia of the body social or the body economic under which the Jews suffer. Of course there are up and downs; but there are also moments, there are whole periods in history when 'this xenophobia of Life itself' takes on dimensions which no people can stand, and that is what we are facing now." ...

Yet Jabotinsky did not become a Jewish nationalist merely because he had gained an insight at an early age into the overwhelming tragedy of the Jewish people in the Galut. He was a nationalist because he was an artist, a man of the world, a thinker of practical understanding and high critical judgment in international political affairs.... His nationalism was a protest and in diametric opposition to the depersonalization which is the goal and object of internationalism.

He knew that only by and in asserting one's own particular and peculiar nature, talents and character one can best serve the general interest and that this applies to nations as well as to individuals.

Like the true prophet he castigated because he loved. Because he wanted to see his people great and free, he denounced its faults. He tolerated no betrayal of values, national or spiritual. He always came back to the central truth: You Jews, you are a nation, a nation are you! — for the renewal of Jewish life is only possible when proceeding from this central thought. His own life was but a flame that burned and consumed in order that the nation might be saved and led into new paths of life.

Although frequently impatient in debate and in negotiations with his own, Jabotinsky never wearied in his advocacy of Jewish rights with the Mandatory Power and the governments who had subscribed to the sentiments and ideas of the Balfour Declaration. "I have appealed," he once told me, "to their honor and to their sensibility, to their self-interests and to their own national cause, even to their innermost anti-Semitism wherever that existed. I have nothing left untried and I am ready to begin all over again tomorrow. For they must hear me. They must take heed. They must allow us to live."

In the course of my long years of wandering to and fro on the earth, his path crossed mine again and again; in Antwerp, in Warsaw, in London, Berlin, New York, Paris and Vilna — never, alas, in his own Jewish Fatherland whence a nervous British bureaucracy, instinctively fearing "the Spirit that maketh alive," kept him permanently barred. But whenever the chance presented itself, he would snatch an hour or so to sit still and discuss the plans and thoughts and dreams that always occupied his restless mind.

In such moments his words, cast in a wondrous clarity and precision of speech, were revelatory of coming things and events. It was as if a light suddenly went up over the dying and decaying phenomena of the present.... When I sat opposite Jabotinsky one afternoon in the small office, on the second floor of the Rue Vinuense in Passy, where he published the Russian language periodical devoted to Jewish affairs called *Rasviet*, the conversation drifted to the subject of Bergson's genius. In the course of that short hour he said with a smile "Genius really means to be able to see and feel what will come to pass ten years hence.' That was in the early part of 1931. A quarter of an hour later, he sat calmly describing to me the conquest of Europe by a resurgent nationalist Germany, the refusal of the nations to stand together in the face of a common danger and the virtual extermination of the European Jewish communities.

Jabotinsky had suddenly beheld for himself the full magni- tude of the Jewish trag- edy.

How fantastic that sounded then! An editor of a national magazine to whom I send a synopsis of the interview with Jabotinsky cabled back: "Tell that Jeremiah that his calamities can never come to pass; the world is too civilized!"

I once asked him in a mood of confidence why he should be so everlastingly kind in receiving me when it was convenient or not, me, a journalist whose voice assuredly did not carry very far in the world of men and events. "I surely cannot do a great deal," I said, "to spread your views and ideas. My heart is yours, but my talents are extremely limited." ...

Jabotinsky waved his hand impatiently: "It isn't that," he said; "it isn't that at all. I like to look at you while we speak, because your eyes and not mine will see a regenerated Jewish people taking up its national role in the community of peoples, in a truly free Palestine. It is for the reflection of that glory that I look in your eyes. And that reflection is there because you believe!"

Like Moses at the Burning Bush he had once heard the call to service for his people. His life was spent in obedience to that divine call, through the years, never flinching, through pain and humiliation, through disillusion and doubt, through misrepresentation and the hatred of false prophets, against the course of his personal interests, sacrificing career, glory, honor and happiness for the sake of the ideal.

What a tremendous thing it is when a man can say — right in the teeth of opposition and in defiance

of the will of the world's mighty, diametrically at variance with his own profit and interest — here I stand, in the Name of God.... You may jeer at me as a fanatical fool. You may smile at me with your official pity.... I have not willed this task... I have more than once turned aside from the call and pushed away from me as senseless the undertaking of speaking of God's greatness and of His right over man. ... Tremblingly I have turned my ear when the voice came to me calling me to speak for my people. I felt myself too weak, too poor, too sinful to plead the cause of Israel. ...

Nevertheless, here I stand in the world, in the Name of God!

I will not rest before my people has been called awake in the name of freedom! I will not rest until you let my people go! Even if I must go into battle with you and I must die: then yet will I preach and cry my cry of revolt: "Men of Israel, fight yourself free! Cast off the chains that bind you! The fire of God burns and His flames are the flames of freedom!"

What an unutterably tremendous thing it is when a man can honestly say: Here I stand, in the Name of God, I can do no other!

In doubt, in pain, in death, yet illumined with courage, standing in the name of God!

Thus stood the prophets of old!

Thus stood Vladimir Jabotinsky.

Our thanks to Professor David Kirk, who is writing a biography of Van Paassen, for this essay.

The World's Dirty Little Secret

Jack Engelhard

Mother Teresa never got anything like this. Albert Schweitzer never rated this riot of adoration, as did that pervert named Yasser Arafat.

Leaders from around the world paid him homage. Kings, presidents and prime ministers ripped their clothes in sorrow over his passing.

The United Nations lowered its flag. There is talk of naming a street after him somewhere in France.

Why do the nations grieve? In here there is a secret that dare not speak its name, but let's have it out.

Someone has got to tell it like it is, and I will take that risk.

They grieve for the man who was their number one killer of Jews. That's it in a nutshell. They lost Hitler and had nowhere to turn, until along came Arafat. They fed him billions of dollars each year, the nations did, to keep to the task, not to build, but to destroy, namely, Israel.

They knew the money wasn't going for roads or for schools. They knew exactly where it was going, and when he proved capable by blowing up yet an-

other bus full of Israeli children going to school, they knew they had their man, and sent him more money.

Arafat's failing was that he lacked Hitler's machinery. Hitler was efficient. Arafat was crude. But second best is better than nothing.

Hitler mobilized a nation to murder the Jews. Arafat created a nation whose sole purpose was to murder the Jews.

Arafat had no gas chambers, so he turned his generation of children into an assembly-line of ticking bombs. Mothers were ordered to produce offspring in the service of death, rather than life. Hitler murdered millions. Arafat tried, but his victims, the murdered and the maimed, number in the thousands.

For this, they mourn; Arafat didn't finish up.

Gerhard Schroeder hinted at what it was all about. "It wasn't granted to Yasser Arafat to complete his life's work," said the German Chancellor.

Right, five and a half million to go, and the man elected for the job, gone, buried in Ramallah.

Schroeder spoke for much of the world, as did the BBC, when, unwittingly, it taught us the difference between bad Arab terrorists and good Arab terrorists. Bad Arab terrorists are those who are doing all that raping and killing in Darfur. The BBC swallowed its usual British reserve by describing those killers as de-

testable.

In a previous segment, the reporter pretty much used Kofi Annan's language in speaking of Arafat as a man who "symbolized in his person the national aspirations of the Palestinian people." Dignified words, but nothing, from this BBC reporter, that matched the image of what came across our TV screens — those mobs, those terrible mobs, grasping for that terrible casket. But these were the good terrorists, the terrorists that kill Jews, the terrorists the nations have consigned to live side-by-side with Israel in "peace and harmony."

After scenes like this, Israel should worry about its security?

To that BBC reporter, who put a shine over a scene so grisly, one could only say, "Nice try, but, indeed, a picture is worth a thousand words."

The *Los Angeles Times* and others along the news media grapevine reminded us that Arafat was the only leader the Palestinians have ever known.

Surely they did not mean to put it quite like that, because then it's a giveaway — indeed, this Palestinian "nation" has existed for no more than forty years.

So, if they do admit this, then what "national aspirations" are we talking about? Forty years? For this they get Jerusalem? Forty years?

Israel's "national aspirations" go back nearly four thousand years.

Arafat's death gives us a glimpse, actually a moment of clarity, into the true nature of our world, and brings to mind Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, wherein it is finally revealed that no gloss can cover-up the corrupted soul that lurks within man and the nations.

Jack Engelhard's novel The Days of the Bitter End is being prepared for movie production. He is completing a docu-novel on news media corruption called The Uriah Deadline

Quintessential Arafat

Angela Bertz

Adam Weinstein was 14.

A bright ninth grade student, he was a computer prodigy. He liked to play basketball and the piano. His brother described him as a good soul who never cursed and had many friends. On December 1, 2001 this vibrant young teenager had been enjoying a night out with his friends. Just before 11.30 p.m. he spoke to his parents to tell them he was on his way home. Adam never spoke to them again. Shortly after that call two Palestinian Arab homicide bombers detonated an explosive belt and Adam, along with 10 other youngsters, was blown to pieces. The number of wounded was 180.

This is what Nelson Mandela, former President of South Africa, had to say about the man that was responsible for Adam's murder. "Yasser Arafat was one of the outstanding freedom fighters of this generation, one who gave his entire life to the cause of the Palestinian people. We honor his memory today."

South African President Thabo Mbeki expressed his "deepest regret" at the death of a "giant of the struggle of the poor and struggle of the oppressed."

This is what Yasser Arafat said "My brothers! With blood and with spirit we will redeem you, Palestine! Yes, with blood and with spirit we will redeem you Palestine!"

Anya Kazachkov was 16.

Anya was a talented 11th grade student whose drawings now decorate the walls of her former school. Her mother described her daughter as full of life. She wanted to study, serve in the army and get married. Anya, born in Russia had only been in Israel for two years. On the first day of June in 2001 Anya was waiting to go into a disco with her friends. Shortly before midnight a Palestinian Arab destroyed not only Anya's life but the life of 19 other teenagers. One hundred more were wounded. Overwhelmed with grief at her daughter's funeral two days later, her mother screamed that all she wanted was to see her daughter's face one more time.

This is what French President Chirac had to say about the man responsible for Anya's murder. "With him disappears a man of courage and conviction who for 40 years incarnated the Palestinians' fight for recognition of their national rights."

This was Yasser Arafat's message to Palestinian Arab children.

"Be a Shahid" (Martyr). Upon hearing the news of yet another attack on Israel he declared: "The heroic martyrdom operation [of the man] that turned his body into a bomb [is] the model of manhood and sacrifice for the sake of Allah and the homeland."

Malka Roth was 15.

Malka was a beautiful girl who helped her mother care for her severely handicapped sister. Through her experience in the home she became devoted to the needs of special needs children. She was a gifted musician who played the classical flute. Accompanied by her best friend, on August 9, 2002

The people of Gaza raced through the streets like cannibals with the torn body parts of these young soldiers.

she stopped for lunch at the Sbarro Pizza parlour in Jerusalem. Just before 2 p.m. a Palestinian Arab detonated a 5-10 kg bomb packed with nails and shrapnel. Malka's parents received her phone back with a one inch nail embedded in it. Fourteen others, including her best friend and five members of the same family, were also killed and 132 were wounded.

This is what UN chief Kofi Annan had to say about the man who murdered Malka.

Arafat "symbolized... the national aspirations of the Palestinian people." By signing the Oslo accords, "he took a giant step towards the realization of this vision. It is tragic that he did not live to see it fulfilled."

These are words spoken by Yasser Arafat: "We the PLO will concentrate all our efforts on splitting Israel psychologically into two camps. Within five years we will have six to seven million Arabs living on the West Bank and in Jerusalem. The PLO plans to eliminate the State of Israel and establish a purely Palestinian State. We will make life unbearable for Jews by psychological warfare and population explosion."

Shmuel Taubenfeld was three months old.

There is not much to be said about his short life. He never had a chance to take his first step. He never spoke his first word. He would never have a first day at school. He never understood what it meant to smell a flower. On August 19th a Palestinian Arab-homicide bomber dressed as an orthodox Jew got on the bus. Twenty two people were blown to pieces and 136 were wounded, many of them children.. Some of the victims could only be identified through DNA tests. The rabbi at Shmuel's funeral said these poignant words: "You will now be an angel who will protect us and strengthen us". Shmuel was buried alongside his mother Goldie in Jerusalem and is survived by his father and 12 siblings.

This is what Polish President Aleksander Kwasniewski had to say about the man responsible for the murder of baby Shmuel: "The death of Yasser Arafat is a departure from political life of one of the most charismatic, one of the most colorful and controversial figures, both in the Middle East and the wider political world."

The Spanish government said the following:

"The Spanish government expresses its great sadness at the death of Yasser Arafat, the president of the Palestinian National Authority, and winner of the Nobel peace prize". The statement continued: "Arafat's charismatic personality, the international status that he gave to the Palestinian nation and his unrelenting fight for recognition for his people makes him one of the

most relevant leaders of our time."

These are words spoken by Yasser Arafat: "They are waging open war against the Palestinian people...We must confront them, we must confront them, we must confront them. We must confront them in every sense of the word."

Elad Cohen was 20.

A neighbour described him as a quiet and serious boy, who had wanted to serve in a combat unit, where he thrived, making many friends. On May 12, 2004 Elad, along with 5 other soldiers, was on a mission to destroy tunnels used by Palestinian Arabs to smuggle weapons and ammunition. His armoured personnel carrier was hit by an anti-tank rocket and he was blown to pieces. Later the people of Gaza raced through the streets like cannibals with the torn body parts of these young soldiers. They then tried to use the return of these body parts for burial as bargaining chips to force Israel into painful concessions.

This is what Chinese President Hu Jintao had to say about the man responsible for the murder of Elad. Yasser Arafat was "a brilliant leader" and "a great friend" of China.

Communist neighbour North Korea decreed a three day condolence period and issued the following statement: "Yasser Arafat was a close friend of the Korean people as he made ceaseless efforts to develop friendly and cooperative relations between the peoples of North Korea and Palestine. His noble accomplishments will always be remembered by not only Palestinians but also the international community".

These are words spoken by Yasser Arafat: "To Jerusalem we will march — millions of martyrs. And, O God, Master of the Universe, please let me be one of the martyrs. Al-jihad, al-jihad, al-jihad, al-jihad" (Holy war, holy war, holy war, holy war).

The last word belongs to the senior apologist for Palestinian terrorism Hannan Ashrawi. This lady has for years used her oratorical skills to spew out vile lies faster than Palestinians bullets can be plowed into the head of a pregnant mother and her four little daughters.

Commenting on the outpouring of grief at the chaotic funeral in Ramallah she described Arafat as a man of the people, a great leader, a great statesman and a great father.

The funeral, she added, is "Quintessential Arafat—he would have loved it."

Angela Bertz lives in Israel and is a frequent contributor to IsraPundit



Arafat's Legacy For Europe

Bat Ye'or

On October 29, 2004, just before the U.S. presidential election, Osama bin Laden delivered a taped speech that confirms the *jihadi* strategy. His declaration, "Any U.S. state that does not toy with our security automatically guarantees its own security", epitomizes the Palestinian terror threat to Europe in the 1970s. It is precisely this threat that has engineered a Euro-Arab and Palestinian solidarity. It fueled the frantic European devotion to Arafat and Europe's neurotic insistence that the Arab-Israeli conflict is the prime danger to its own security and world peace. This fear motivates the European countries' adamant refusal to recognize Palestinian terrorism, and fight it. Instead, Europeans, in the tradition of *dhimmitude*, purchased their security by devising an alliance with the Arab League and the PLO against Israel.

With George Bush's re-election, Tony Blair is under ever stronger pressure from his own Labor party and from a traumatized Europe eager to get at Israel as a *quid pro quo* for the war in Iraq, while promising a deceitful Euro-American rapprochement. Like it or not, Americans must face a new reality: Europe's evolution from a Judeo-Christian secular and free civilization to a continent imbued by a new political and religious cult: Palestinianism.

This cult is vital for Europe's security; it permeates the culture, academia, universities, the churches, the unions, the media, even the fashion industry, and all aspects of political life. For over thirty years, it has been injected in every sector of European society by the European Commission's supra-national power and unifying policy. The European Commission is the executive body that advises, directs, influences and monitors the same unique agenda, the same ideology, the same political correctness over all the European populations. It strives to control Europe's foreign policy, and make Europe a rival to America. This anti-American lust for power can only be implemented through the building of an idealized "Islam-Christian Civilization," the dawn of a messianic universal peace whose blessing over the whole world is impeded by Zionism and Israel. Islamic assistance is essential for building this European anti-American super-power, initially via Palestinianism, the ideology which foments Israel's elimination.

Palestinianism condenses *jihadi* values. It promotes the destruction of Israel, the denial of Hebrew biblical history, and hence Christianity. It preaches Islamic replacement theology, and the Arabi-

zation and Islamization of the Holy Land's biblical archeology. Arafat, its leader, was the bin Laden of a seduced Europe, which applauded his policy of spectacular terrorism. It is Arafat who initiated in 1968 air piracy against Jews, hostage ransoming, suicide bombings, random killings of civilians and the destruction of urban areas as in Lebanon. In short, the current global terror campaign was first successfully introduced by Arafat against Jews and Israelis, as well as Lebanese Christians.

More than Hitler before him, Arafat became the most popular hero in Europe, cradle of Palestinianism, concocted by the second International Conference in Support of the Arab Peoples (Cairo, 25-26 January 1969), as an international strategic war against Israel, and conducted till today. The Conference's Sponsoring Committee of 54 members comprised 46 influential European intellectuals and politicians. Palestinianism as an ideology bringing together Europe and the Arab countries on the ashes of Israel was conceived and planned in Europe with unofficial Gaullist benediction, and Arafat was its embodiment.

France's love affair with Arafat became a European state policy after the 1973 Arab oil embargo, although some European leaders had already been convinced of Arafat's "just cause"

by earlier PLO air piracy and terrorist murders (December 1971 London; in 1972 Cologne, Hamburg, Munich, Frankfurt, Brussels, Lod; and in February 1973, Khartoum). Such terrorist achievements brought the opening in European capitals of PLO offices, following the French example in 1975. The unshakable European-Arafat alliance was sealed by the Venice Declaration (1980) when Arafat was recognized as leader of the PLO, the sole representative of the Palestinian people, and Israel was summoned by the European Community to negotiate only with him.

For years the European countries have joined the 56 countries of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) to promote Palestinianism in international bodies as world warfare against Israel. This war was officially declared at the 1980 Fez Islamic Conference and at the Amman Arab Summit, soon after the Venice Declaration. It was re-emphasized at the Mecca-Taif Islamic Summit (January 1981). Those august bodies showered thanks on the Vatican and the World Council of Churches for their invaluable support to Palestinianism. The red-green alliance was then strengthened in the Amman Arab Summit Declaration (November 1980). In this marriage the Muslim

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side, confident in its divine mission and fed by unlimited funds, overwhelmed its faithless, leftist European partner. The latter, weakened by Communism's collapse, is now rejuvenated as the antisemitic, anti-Christian, and anti-American conveyor of Islamization in Europe.

The cohorts of European foreign ministers rushing to Arafat's commemoration ceremony in Cairo signals that Palestinianism – Europe's war against Israel – will not die with Arafat, having been generated from Europe's most persistent hate impulse. Peace was never the goal. The goal was Israel's suffering, bleeding, isolation, demonization, vilification, the robbery of its identity and history through Palestinianism. This is why European chief diplomats hastened to laud Arafat, a terrorist whose protection they bought with billions of euros, much of which disappeared through corruption.

The glorification of such a war-criminal, who indulged in the massacres of thousand of Israelis and others innocent civilians, insults basic human ethics and the memory of his countless victims, Jews and non-Jews alike. Already, the Euro-Arab lobby for the powerful replacement theology models Arafat as a Moses, or even Jesus, casting the Arafatian cult into the Palestinian Liberation Theology. After the failure of the Communist, Nazi, and Fascist ideologies in blood and mass massacres, Europe is left with Palestinianism, which she has concocted as a substitute.

But now Europe wants to draw America into its own decay and delusion. The trans-Atlantic rap-

prochement can go two ways: America could move nearer to Europe's cult of Palestinianism, which is tantamount to submitting to bin Laden, the Arafat of America. Or the U.S. could bring Europe to her side. This latter option is practically impossible today. Many Eurabian politicians have sternly predicted that the gap will not narrow. Not only social and demographic factors hinder this possibility, but Eurabian political leaders oppose it as they intend to maintain and cherish Arafat's iconic legacy.

Moreover, Islamist terror from within and without is overwhelming Europe. Today it is not uncommon to hear Europeans express their disgust for Europe and their wish to emigrate. Europe, they say, is dead and has no future. They flee this Islamic-Christian *dhimmi* civilization where the native non-Muslims are deprived of their basic human rights under the yet unofficial *shari'a* rule that recognizes conditional peaceful co-existence only to *dhimmi*s respectful of Islam. Going Europe's way means a U.S. compliance to bin Laden and the denial of Islamist global terrorism, whose creator and promoter was Arafat, Europe's hero and the demonic agent of its downfall.

This article appeared in FrontPageMag.com on November 16. Bat Ye'or is author of Islam and Dhimmitude. Where Civilizations Collide. (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2002). Her forthcoming book is Eurabia: The Euro-Arab Axis (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, January 2005, 384pp.)

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