

# **The Jewish Political Chronicle**

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Spring 2010

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## **SLAPPING ISRAEL AROUND**

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## **STOPPING A NUCLEAR IRAN: WILL THE U.S. CHOKE?**

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## **BRITAIN AND THE JEWS**

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## Editor's Message:

### “Engaging” Iran: Appeasement By Another Name

Appeasement: A tool in the international diplomatic lexicon that has become fraught with meaning and foreboding.

Appeasement was the relatively popular foreign policy practiced by England and France to avoid conflict with fascist powers, principally Nazi Germany during its rise to power in the 1930s. Voters in these democratic countries cheered leaders who appeased the Nazis, certain that this policy would avoid catastrophic conflict.

Wikipedia defines appeasement as “the policy of settling international quarrels by admitting and satisfying grievances through rational negotiation and compromise, thereby avoiding the resort to an armed conflict which would be expensive, bloody, and possibly dangerous.”

What incontrovertible lesson was derived from the colossal failure of appeasement policies to avert World War II, a global conflagration that wrought the deaths of 50 million people including six out of seven million European Jews who were successfully targeted for systematic extermination?

Since World War II, most diplomats understand that appeasement only works when all parties to a conflict share fundamental values that makes possible the trust and reliability that are the *sine qua non* for any successful conflict avoidance agreement. Absent such shared Western values, including respect for the rights of individuals, tolerance for others' views and civil/religious practices, and a healthy appreciation for the value of human life, appeasement can be a dangerous,

potentially fatal, practice.

Today, we are witness to the most foolhardy use of appeasement since it failed to deter Nazi Germany, more than sixty years ago. For over thirty years, Iran has been governed by a fanatical (Shia) Islamic regime hostile to Western civilized values. Over the last decade, all the possible diplomatic dance steps have been tried to assure that the Islamic Republic of Iran does not acquire nuclear weapons.

First, there were the usual series of impotent United Nations Security Council resolutions. Iran dismissed and continues to ignore all of them.

Then the combined efforts of England, France, Russia, China and Germany, all of which were on relatively good terms with Iran, tried to negotiate a diplomatic solution.

After almost five years of failure by this group, the newly elected Obama Administration reversed existing U.S. protocols on the assumption that the Bush Administration's failure to negotiate directly with Iran accounted for Iran's continued defiance of international norms as it marches unhindered to 'nuclear power' status. The State Department instead instituted a policy of direct 'engagement,' the next stretch of the road known as appeasement.

As predicted by those critics of appeasement redux, the Obama engagement effort (that included embarrassing apologies for all past American sins against Iran, real and imagined) plainly flopped.

Now diplomats are marshalling international support for one of the few tools they still hold: 'crippling' economic sanctions. For this strategy to have any chance of success, it requires steadfast cooperation from China, Russia and even Brazil - all of whom have expressed their lack of enthusiasm (to put it mildly). And the Obama Administration does not appear very eager to carry out this punitive policy unilaterally.

Of course, the constant refrain from tough talking Administration officials that no option 'is off the table' (i.e., resort to military means) has in reality meant nothing but the opposite. If fact, if news reports are to be believed, the Obama Administration is strongly pressuring Israel not to resort to force against Iran's nuclear installations in response to the existential threats coming from Iran's leadership

Let there be no doubt about the choices we face. Either Iran's nuclear facilities are physically destroyed with all the attendant short run dangers and awful side effects or the U.S. and its allies are headed toward a far more cataclysmic eventuality that could make World War II look like a modest affair. Again, it will be the Jews, playing the proverbial canary in the mine, that will pay the heaviest price. But they will not be the only ones. Certainly neighboring Sunni Arab states understand this exposure even if President Obama does not. Let's hope he will not be remembered as 'Neville' Obama.

David Schimel  
Editor



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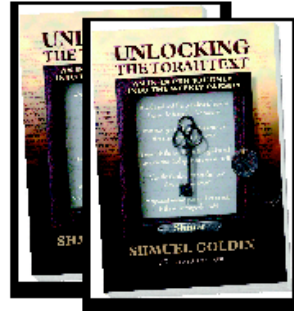
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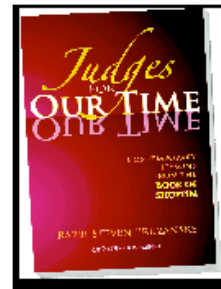
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## SLAPPING ISRAEL AROUND

### Israel and the Crisis With Obama

By John Bolton

Reprinted from *The Wall Street Journal* (March 17, 2010)

Benjamin Netanyahu's first term as Israeli prime minister collapsed in 1999 in part because he had an unhappy relationship with President Bill Clinton. It is understandable then that Mr. Netanyahu's current government had, until last week, strived to stay close to President Barack Obama.

That strategy would have been entirely sensible if Mr. Obama were simply another president in the long line since Franklin Roosevelt who vigorously asserted U.S. national interests, championed our friends (especially beleaguered ones), and kept alliances strong. But Mr. Obama is different. He is our first post-American president. He looks beyond American exceptionalism and believes that our role on the world stage should be merely one nation among many. Mr. Netanyahu's strategy is therefore out-of-date and flawed.

Israel has sought to accommodate Mr. Obama on two critical issues: negotiations with Palestinians and Iranian nuclear weapons. These efforts have largely kept bilateral disagreements out of sight. But now the suppressed conflicts are fully visible and will either be resolved or cause a serious collision between Israel and the U.S.

On the Palestinian front, Mr. Netanyahu's government has tolerated 14 months of feckless administration diplomacy that has not altered geopolitical realities between Israel and the Palestinians.

Last week's announcement of the construction of new settlements in East Jerusalem while Vice President Joe Biden was visiting Israel was an unnecessary step. But optics are not the real

problem. Mr. Biden's response ("I condemn the decision"), approved in advance by Mr. Obama, and then emphasized by Secretary of State Hillary Clinton in a blistering Friday phone call to Mr. Netanyahu, foreshadows what lies ahead. It won't be pretty.

Mr. Netanyahu's efforts to avoid open disputes with Washington have not won him White House plaudits. Mr. Obama almost certainly believes the real obstacle to peace is not new housing or unfortunate timing but so-called Israeli intransigence.

On Iran, Mr. Netanyahu has faithfully supported Mr. Obama's diplomacy, hoping to build credibility with the president against the day when Israel might have to strike Iran's weapons program pre-emptively. Jerusalem, for example, currently backs U.S. efforts to increase sanctions against Iran's nuclear program, doomed to failure though they are. As time passes, Israel's military option grows more difficult and the chances for success shrink as Iran seeks new air-defense systems and further buries and hardens nuclear facilities.

Mr. Netanyahu's mistake has been to assume that Mr. Obama basically agrees that we must prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons. But the White House likely believes that a nuclear Iran, though undesirable, can be contained and will therefore not support using military force to thwart Tehran's nuclear ambitions.

What's more, Mr. Obama is also unwilling to let anyone else, namely Israel, act instead. That means that if Israel bombs Iranian nuclear

facilities, the president will likely withhold critical replenishments of destroyed Israeli aircraft and other weapons systems.

We are moving inexorably toward, and perhaps have now reached, an Israeli crisis with Mr. Obama. Americans must realize that allowing Iran to obtain nuclear weapons is empowering an existential threat to the Israeli state, to Arab governments in the region that are friendly to the U.S., and to long-term global peace and security.

Mr. Netanyahu must realize he has not been banking good behavior credits with Mr. Obama but simply postponing an inevitable confrontation. The prime minister should recalibrate his approach, and soon. Israel's deference on Palestinian issues will not help it with Mr. Obama after a pre-emptive strike against Iran's nuclear program. It would be a mistake to think that further delays in such a strike will materially change the toxic political response Israel can expect from the White House. Israel's support will come from Congress and the American people, as opinion polls show, not from the president.

Mr. Obama is not merely heedless of America's predominant global position. He is also embarrassed enough by it not to regret diminishing it. In fact, we have achieved pre-eminence not simply to preen our American ego, but to defend our interests and those of like-minded allies. Ceding America's role in world affairs is not an act of becoming modesty but a dangerous signal of weakness to friends and adversaries alike. Israel may be the first ally to feel the pain. ▲

*Mr. Bolton, a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, is the author of Surrender Is Not an Option: Defending America at the United Nations and Abroad (Simon & Schuster, 2007).*

### Obama Has Crossed the Line

By Isi Leibler

Reprinted from *The Jerusalem Post* (March 16, 2010)

The bureaucratic fashla [blunder] of our dysfunctional government to forestall the announcement of a new housing project in Jerusalem during the visit of US Vice President Joe Biden provided a pretext for the Obama administration to launch one of the harshest condemnations ever leveled against us by a US government. But while the timing of the announcement was appalling, it involved no breach of undertaking.

In fact, the Obama administration had previously publicly praised the Israeli government for making a "major concession" by imposing a settlement freeze which explicitly excluded Jerusalem.

The campaign was personally orchestrated by President Barack Obama. His Vice President Biden accused us of "endangering US lives in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan." Despite Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu's abject apology, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton accused him of "insulting" the US. Obama's chief political adviser David Axelrod even claimed that the Israeli government was deliberately undermining peace talks.

These hostile outbursts must be viewed in the context of the fact that despite strong ongoing support for Israel by the American people, the US-Israel relationship has been on a downward spiral since the election of the new administration.

Former Mossad head Ephraim Halevy attributes this to Obama's determination to rehabilitate Islam's global tarnished image.

Yet his strategy of "engaging" Islamic rogue states has been disastrous. The effort to prevent the nuclearization of Iran by appeasing the Iranian tyrants backfired with the ayatollahs literally mocking the US. The response of Syrian President Bashar Assad to US groveling and the appointment of an ambassador to Damascus, was to host a summit with Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and Hizbullah terrorist leader Hassan Nasrallah and ridicule the US demand that he curtail his relationship with Iran. President Obama did not consider this "insulting,"

prompting the editor of the Lebanese *The Daily Star* to say that “the Obama administration these days provokes little confidence in its allies and even less fear in its adversaries.”

The Arab League refuses to modify its hard-line against Israel. It insists that Israel unconditionally accept the Saudi peace plan, a full retreat to the ‘67 borders and the implementation of the Arab right of return which would signal an end to Jewish sovereignty in the region.

There are now ominous signals that to obviate their failures, White House strategists are cynically distancing themselves from us in order to curry popularity by capitalizing on the anti-Israeli hatred which has engulfed the world.

Despite continuously incanting the mantra that it remains committed to the alliance with Israel, the White House is not behaving in an even-handed manner. Obama does not disguise his animosity and repeatedly humiliates our prime minister. The administration “condemns” us for building homes, not in densely Arab populated areas of Jerusalem but in Jewish suburbs like Gilo and most recently Ramat Shlomo which most of us regard as Israel no less than Tel Aviv.

Instead of condemning the brutal Palestinian murderer of an Israeli civilian in December, the US requested “clarification” after Israel apprehended the killers who the PA extolled as heroes. They failed to block a UN Security Council resolution criticizing Israeli police for protecting worshippers at the Temple Mount from Arabs hurling stones at them. They even condemned us for authorizing repairs on Jewish heritage sites over the Green Line.

In stark contrast, the US has not publicly reprimanded the PA on a single issue over the past twelve months. It is unconscionable that neither the White House nor the State Department conveyed a word of protest concerning the ongoing incitement and spate of ceremonies

sanctifying the memory of the most degenerate suicide killers and mass murderers. Not even when our peace partners President Mahmoud Abbas and Prime Minister Salam Fayyad personally partook in these ghoulis ceremonies. In fact, during Biden’s visit, the PA announced that they would postpone a ceremony to name a public square in Ramallah to honor Dalal Mughrabi, the female monster responsible for the abominable 1978 massacre in which 37 Israelis including 13 children were butchered. Nevertheless the ceremony took place and the PA TV interviewed Mughrabi’s sister who stated: “This is a day of glory and pride for the Palestinian people. We must unite, and our rifles must unite, against the enemy who steals our land.” The US failed to register a protest.

Netanyahu has extended more concessions than any other Israeli leader. His government immediately agreed to negotiations with the Palestinians. In contrast, Abbas told *The Washington Post* that being confident that the US would ensure that the Palestinians obtained whatever they sought, he saw no benefit in negotiating with the Israelis. This scenario is now being realized.

Netanyahu also overcame Likud resistance to a two-state solution and acceded to a temporary settlement freeze which no previous Israeli government was willing to consider. He authorized the release of prisoners and reduced checkpoints, even compromising the security of Israeli civilians.

Yet, far from acting as an honest broker, the US effectively endorsed most of the Palestinian positions and is poised to pressure Israel into making further unilateral concessions.

In a recent chilling document, reiterated by Biden in the course of his condemnation of construction in Jerusalem, the US assured the PA that the principal objective of the “indirect”

negotiations was not peace, but the establishment of an independent Palestinian state and that parties who adopted negative positions would be dealt with “in order to overcome that obstacle.”

Our relations with the US will now be further tested.

Obama is surely aware that recent statements by his administration will only embolden the Palestinians and Jihadists to be more extreme in their demands, making it inevitable that the talks will almost certainly fail. Some may infer that this is precisely his intention. We will then be blamed for the breakdown and the US, with the backing of the Quartet and others, will then seek to impose a solution upon us.

There are certain red lines which no government of Israel may cross. Netanyahu, on this occasion, must stand firm. The current crisis transcends political or ideological differences between Likud, Labor and Kadima. All mainstream parties should unite and convey to President Obama that Israel is a sovereign state and will not automatically bow to dictats of the US administration. They need to make the US administration and public understand that no government of Israel will agree to freeze construction in Jerusalem, the heart and soul of the Jewish people.

We may not be a superpower but the Obama administration will hesitate to pursue a path which rejects the consensus of the nation. A demonstration of unity against the unprecedented attacks on Israel’s sovereignty by the Obama administration will also encourage the American people and Congress to publicly support and assist us to reaffirm the traditional alliance and bonds of friendship between our two nations.

It will hopefully also encourage the Obama administration to relate to us with at least the same level of courtesy and respect it extends to rogue states. ▲

## *Allies Everywhere Feeling Snubbed By President Obama*

By Robert Kagan

Reprinted from *The Washington Post* (March 17, 2010)

The contretemps between President Obama and Israel needs to be seen in a broader global context. The president who ran against “unilateralism” in the 2008 campaign has worse relations overall with American allies than George W. Bush did in his second term.

Israelis shouldn’t feel that they have been singled out. In Britain, people are talking about the end of the “special relationship” with America and worrying that Obama has no great regard for the British, despite their ongoing sacrifices in Afghanistan. In France, President Nicolas Sarkozy has openly criticized Obama for months (and is finally being rewarded with a private dinner, presumably to mend fences). In Eastern and Central Europe, there has been fear since the administration canceled long-planned missile defense installations in Poland and the Czech Republic that the United States may no longer be a reliable guarantor of security. Among top E.U. officials there is consternation that neither the

president nor even his Cabinet seems to have time for the European Union’s new president, Herman Van Rompuy, who, while less than scintillating, is nevertheless the chosen representative of the post-Lisbon Treaty continent. Europeans in general, while still fond of Obama, have concluded that he is not so fond of them - despite his six trips to Europe - and is more of an Asian president.

The Asians, however, are not so sure. Relations with Japan are rocky, mostly because of the actions of the new government in Tokyo but partly because of a perception that the United States can’t be counted on for the long term. In India, there are worries that the burgeoning strategic partnership forged in the Bush years has been demoted in the interest of better relations with China. Although the Obama administration promised to demonstrate that the United States “is back” in Asia after the alleged neglect of the Bush years, it has not yet convinced allies that they are the focus of American attention.

U.S. officials have any number of explanations for these concerns: that they are based on misunderstandings, the product of minor errors in execution, simply Bush’s fault. By now, however, a moderately self-reflective administration might be asking why so many allies, everywhere, are worried.

Yet it isn’t that surprising. Who has attracted attention in the Obama administration? The answer, so far, seems to be not America’s allies but its competitors, and in some cases its adversaries. If there were a way to measure administration exertion in foreign policy, the meter would show the greatest concentration of energy, beyond the war in Afghanistan, has been devoted to four endeavors: the failed first-year attempt to improve relations with Iran; the ongoing attempt to improve relations with Russia; the stalled effort to improve cooperation with China; and the effort - fruitless so far - to prove to the Arab states that the United States is willing to

pressure Israel to further the peace process. Add to these the efforts to improve relations with Syria, engage Burma and everything with Af-Pak, and not much has been left for the concerns of our allies.

This is bad enough, but compounding the problem has been the administration's evident impatience with allies who don't do as they are told. Europeans get spanked for a pallid commitment to NATO defense spending even as they contribute 30,000 troops to a distant war that European publics mostly don't believe in. Japan gets spanked when its new government insists on rethinking some recent agreements. In both cases, the administration has a point, but it's always easier to hammer allies when they misbehave than to hammer tough competitors such as Russia or China.

The president has shown seemingly limitless

patience with the Russians as they stall an arms-control deal that could have been done in December. He accepted a year of Iranian insults and refusal to negotiate before hesitantly moving toward sanctions. The administration continues to woo Syria and Burma without much sign of reciprocation in Damascus or Rangoon. Yet Obama angrily orders a near-rupture of relations with Israel for a minor infraction like the recent settlement dispute - and after the Israeli prime minister publicly apologized.

This may be the one great innovation of Obama foreign policy. While displaying more continuity than discontinuity in his policies toward Afghanistan, Iraq and the war against terrorism, and garnering as a result considerable bipartisan support for those policies, Obama appears to be departing from a 60-year-old American grand strategy when it comes to allies. The old strategy

rested on a global network of formal military and political alliances, mostly though not exclusively with fellow democracies. The idea, Averell Harriman explained in 1947, was to create "a balance of power preponderantly in favor of the free countries." Under Bill Clinton, and the two Bushes, relations with Europe and Japan, and later India, were deepened and strengthened.

This administration pays lip-service to "multilateralism," but it is a multilateralism of accommodating autocratic rivals, not of solidifying relations with longtime democratic allies. Rather than strengthening the democratic foundation of the new "international architecture" - the G-20 world - the administration's posture is increasingly one of neutrality, at best, between allies and adversaries, and between democrats and autocrats. Israel is not the only unhappy ally, therefore; it's just the most vulnerable. ▲

*Robert Kagan, a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, writes a monthly column for The Post.*

## Obama and the Jacksonian Zionists

By Walter Russell Mead

Reprinted from *The American Thinker Online* (March 16, 2010)

Last week the Israelis handed the Obama administration an important advantage in the continuing struggle between the US and Israel over policy towards the Palestinians. By announcing a decision to move forward with 1600 housing units in East Jerusalem, the Israelis embarrassed the administration in a way that created problems for Prime Minister Netanyahu and gave Washington an opportunity to push back. But by going public with a set of tough demands without securing its domestic support, the Obama administration may lose the advantage it gained.

With Secretary of State Hilary Clinton and Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu scheduled to address AIPAC's annual meeting next weekend in Washington, the stage is set for high drama. The greatest danger at this point is that one or both sides may misjudge the state of American public opinion. Israel's political support in the United States is ultimately based much less in the highly visible network of organizations like AIPAC than it is in the strong support for Israel well beyond the Beltway. I've been writing a series of posts over the last week about this; it is the gentile supporters of Israel, not American Jews, who ultimately define the boundaries of American foreign policy on this issue, and the Obama administration's ability to put pressure on its most important Middle Eastern ally ultimately depends on the reaction of American gentile supporters of Israel to administration policy. The administration may be in danger of overestimating its support in a drawn out debate.

The politics of American support for Israel can be hard to read. For the last generation, Israel has been losing popularity and support among some groups of Americans. The shift in sentiment is particularly notable among Democrats, among some of the more liberal mainline churches, among African-Americans and among people with graduate and professional degrees.

Despite these losses, overall public support for Israel in the United States has been rising, not falling, for most of the last generation. 9/11, which galvanized many American liberals to think harder than ever about the desirability of distancing the United States from Israel, immeasurably deepened the determination of a large number of their fellow citizens to stand by Israel no matter what. Just as Israel was seen as America's most reliable and important Middle Eastern ally during the Cold War by these people, it now looked like a country whose survival depended on the defeat of America's enemies in the war on terror. That today Israel is engaged in a confrontation with Iran, a country which poll after poll shows that Americans think of as their most dangerous adversary, only deepens this bond.

During most of the twentieth century, politically active American gentile supporters of Zionism were most visible on the left. Solidarity with Jews, the desire to offer Jews a refuge while keeping them out of the United States, a generalized concern for the rights and security of minority groups, and the traditional liberal sympathy towards Jews based on common attitudes toward historic forms of illiberal European oppression were all factors.

Liberal Zionism peaked in many ways during the Truman administration. The Communist Party, which still enjoyed some moral prestige and organizational strength in parts of the left, obediently fell in line with Stalin's support for the Zionist objectives in Palestine. African-Americans, whose sympathy for European Jews had grown during the imposition of Nazi discrimination similar to Jim Crow laws in the United States, forged an alliance with American Jews based on common support for the growing civil rights movement. The UN's endorsement of the Partition of Palestine in 1947, accepted by

Palestinian Jews and rejected by the Arabs, led many supporters of the UN to support the Jewish position on Partition so that the UN's first high profile international decision would not fall flat.

During the era of liberal Zionism, the State of Israel - weak and poor, secular and socialist - was seen as a client rather than a strategic asset or ally. While many conservative Protestants in the United States supported the return of the Jews to the Holy Land on both humanitarian and religious grounds (and perhaps in some cases also in gratitude that those destitute Jews were not coming to the United States), conservative political activism at this time was much more focused on the domestic and international fight against communism. Socialist Israel, whose independence had been supported by Stalin at the UN, was not seen as part of this fight.

Since 1967, liberal gentile Zionism has been on the wane both in the United States and in Europe. Israeli politics have moved to the right. Moreover the aggressive rise of religious parties, the settlement movement, and the drift in Israel away from the 'European' norms of the state's early years to a more 'eastern' culture and political system (as Jews of Middle Eastern and ex-Soviet origin have gained demographic and political power) make Israel less attractive to the western left. Additionally, as Israel's regional position shifted from embattled refuge to occupying power, it seemed equally less necessary and less moral among liberals to support the Jewish state. In the years since 1967 the western left has also reflected more deeply on the shortcomings of past western treatment of other parts of the world, including the Middle East. The Arab argument that Israel was a colonial imposition like French Algeria or white South Africa gained plausibility with many people.

As a result, in both Europe and the United States, liberal gentile Zionism has been slowly

fading away. In the United States, this process not only moved more slowly than in Europe, it was countered by something else which, until recently, was almost unknown in the old world: rising populist support for the Jewish state on the right. I think we will see more of this in the future in Europe, where pro-Israel sentiment is likely to appeal to movements and people who fear and resent the impact in Europe of immigration from the Middle East. For now, though, this is mostly an American phenomenon.

In America, the strong upsurge in Jacksonian Zionism begins with the same event and same changes that contributed to the decline of liberal Zionism. Israel's victory in the Six Day War electrified populist nationalists in the United States. At that time Israel's enemies were seen as ours; the Soviet Union was supporting those who attacked Israel. At a time when the United States was bogged down in Vietnam and containment of communism seemed to be failing in Asia, Israel's victory looked like a decisive defeat for Soviet expansionary dreams in the Middle East with its vital oil resources. More, Israel's conquest of the holy sites helped trigger a massive and continuing religious revival in the United States. For hundreds of years American Protestant theology had been developing Biblical interpretations which gave a special role to Israel in the 'end times'; the conquest of the Temple Mount was one of the vital steps that had to take place. Finally, even if Israel looked less European and western to liberals, it looked much more western to American Jacksonians than its neighbors. Wars and all, Israel was democratic, not Muslim, anti-Soviet and pro-American. It was everything an ally should be, and strong too. For Jacksonian America, Israel was one of the few signs of light in a dark world and it has kept this status to the present day.

Many of the arguments and perceptions that have weakened support for Israel on the left cut no ice with the populist right. The argument that just war theory forbids the 'disproportionate' use of force has absolutely no weight in much of American opinion. When somebody attacks you,

especially in an underhanded terrorist way, you have a natural right to defend yourself using every weapon and every tactic that comes to hand. This is the way most Americans think about war; American public opinion on the whole does not regret the use of nuclear weapons against Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

Two-thirds of American respondents tell Pew pollsters that they favor the use of "torture" under some circumstances. Such people are not necessarily indifferent to Palestinian rights, and they may not feel that every Israeli action is well judged, but they strongly believe that as long as Palestinians engage in terrorism, Israel has an unlimited and absolute right of self defense. It can and should do anything and everything it can to stop the attacks and many Americans consider international laws against such practices as pious hopes with no binding legal or even moral force. If the terrorists shield themselves behind civilians, that only shows how evil they are - and is an extra reason why you have both the right and the duty to eliminate them no matter what it takes.

This view may be right or it may be wrong, but its cultural hold on a substantial section of the American people is a fact. It is one of the strongest and most persistent elements in the national character. It is unlikely to change anytime soon.

For many Jacksonians, Israel is a litmus test. If you are pro-Israel, you are pro-American exceptionalism, pro-western values and pro-defense. The more clearly you support Israel, the more you look like a reliable American patriot who will do what it takes to defend the country from religious violence and the more you seem to share the values of tens of millions of gentle Americans.

This may be the ultimate reason why so many American politicians instinctively shy away from taking any positions that can even remotely be seen as anti-Israel. Being pro-Israel is a sign of being pro-American to a very large sector of American public opinion. Nobody wants to be on the wrong side of that divide; the minute you start

to look soft on this, you start to look soft and unreliable on everything. Even when substantial numbers of Americans disapprove of some particular Israeli action, many politicians will rationally conclude that being seen as 'too eager' to attack Israel is a bad career move. In most of the United States, it is almost always politically more beneficial to support Israel or at most to remain silent when Israeli behavior is particularly controversial. To get the reputation of being an 'anti-Israel' politician is to cripple your ability to attract gentle Jacksonian voters.

The Obama administration must now make some tough choices. Israel's open show of disrespect during Biden's visit made the US administration look weak. That is something Jacksonians do not want to see in an American president. They admire tough leaders and despise weak ones. On the other hand, Jacksonians don't want a long and bitter fight with a country they support as America's most important ally in the most dangerous region in the world. They are also likely to draw unfavorable comparisons between what they will see as President Obama's soft policy toward Iran and his tough stand against Israel.

President Obama needs to do two things now in this dispute. He must stand tall, and he must settle quick. He cannot afford a humiliating climb down in the face of Israeli pressure, but it is unlikely that either Congress or Jacksonian America will back him in a long and divisive struggle. Israel on the other hand cannot welcome a bitter controversy that will polarize American public opinion and damage Israel's image, perhaps irreparably, among the liberal constituencies who were once its strongest source of support.

But whatever happens in the Washington policy wars, one thing should be clear. This is not a battle between 'the Jews' and the rest of the United States over our policy in the Middle East. It is a battle between opposing conceptions of America's interests in the Middle East, and gentiles and Jews can be found on both sides. ▲

## *The Night Yasser Arafat Kissed Me*

By Walter Russell Meade

Reprinted from *The American Thinker* (March 9, 2010)

The stars were sparking over Gaza on the unforgettable night when Yasser Arafat kissed me - gently, tenderly, sincerely. I've rarely felt more relaxed or more comfortable with a world leader; he was kneading my shoulders and massaging my back at the time. As the tension of a hard day drained out of me, I looked wonderingly at our reflections in the window as he closed his sensitive and expressive eyes and bent down to kiss me on the crown of my head.

It had been a hard day; a long business lunch at a fish restaurant overlooking the Mediterranean, a quick dip in the water, and one meeting after another. In the afternoon I spent some time with Madame Arafat; she converted to Islam before marrying the leader of the Palestinian national movement, but had a beautiful, autographed

biography of John Paul II on her coffee table. She was very excited; to help with the Palestinian struggle she had planned a benefit in Paris to help Palestinian hospitals and we passed an agreeable hour as she told me of her plans.

I bring up this tranquil, tender moment when two busy lives intersected because I'm about to do something that usually makes for trouble: while continuing to blog on a range of subjects over the next week to ten days I'll put up some more posts on the reasons why the United States supports Israel as much as we do. I've touched on this subject before; my post on the "Israel Lobby Syndrome," or ILS, that strikes some of our foreign policy specialists from time to time was not universally popular - anymore than Chairman Arafat was. You can look at the comments page

or check here and here to see some interesting responses.

Now some of the trouble I brought on myself; 'realist' is a word that so many people use in so many senses that I should have understood that its use in this context would only confuse matters. I suppose I had in mind the misguided book written by two prominent 'realist' scholars that appeared a couple of years ago on this subject. It's also true that some of the people whose bad advice led President Obama into the biggest and most costly foreign policy blunder of his administration so far are often called 'realists.' For those with short memories, these are the people who seem to have persuaded the President to issue a public demand that Israel freeze all settlement activity. This was based on a completely unrealistic understanding

of America's leverage over Israel. Israel rejected the President's demand out of hand, and the rejection set President Obama's hopes for progress toward peace in the region back by at least a year. This was bad for him, bad for the United States, bad for Israel and bad for the Palestinians.

I often hear self-described realists urging us to do completely unrealistic things when it comes to Israel, and the earlier post reflected that. I remain genuinely puzzled why people who in other contexts have quite interesting things to say manage to trip up in such foolish and self-defeating ways when the I-word comes up, but you can't tar all realists with that brush, and to anybody out there who felt unfairly besmirched by the association - I'm sorry.

Blogging on US-Israel relations is a political nightmare; there is so much mistrust, wounded righteousness and ill feeling on all sides that it's hard to strike the right tone and make your points clearly enough to avoid being misunderstood. The core points I want to make aren't about whether American foreign policy toward Israel is a good thing or not, but this debate is so politicized that if you criticize the thesis that American policy toward Israel represents the power of American Jews people assume that you are part of the lobby. In fact, arguably the people who suffer the most from mistaking the political basis of America's policy in the Middle East are those who want to change it. Those who don't understand the American politics of this issue are never going to come up with effective strategies for change.

Frankly, those who think they can make substantive changes in American policy toward Israel by attacking the Jews and the Israel lobby remind of some bulls I once saw at the bull fights in Madrid. Bull after bull went for the red cape, not the matador. Bull after bull went down in the dust as the crowds cheered and threw flowers. That is pretty much what has happened to those who want to distance the US from Israel; they go for the highly visible and attractive target of the Israel lobby, and time after time they go down. I don't think this is smart, but don't let me stop anybody's fun.

I'll get into the reasons why I think the Israel lobby is more matador's cape than matador going forward, but there's one difficult subject that needs to be addressed up front, and that issue is anti-Semitism. This form of prejudice is as deeply embedded in western Christian history as racism is in American culture. As a native South Carolinian born back in the days of legally-enforced racial segregation, I have learned a lot about the subtle qualities and stubborn persistence of racist images and ideas that you take in unconsciously from the culture that shapes you.

We've come a long way in fighting both types of prejudice, but you'd have to be naive and ignorant to think they have just vanished away. I am always nervous around people who stridently insist that racism has disappeared in mainstream American life and only lingers on in weird subcultures; I feel the same way about people who say that anti-Semitism is no longer a significant feature of western culture. I am especially leery when people who loudly and implausibly assert

that anti-Semitism isn't a problem anymore make harsh and unbalanced criticisms about the world's only Jewish state.

I'm not trying to grade the incommensurable suffering of people around the world, but if we compare the attention and care that the international community has extended to the Palestinians with our attention and support for other victims in other places, a disturbing pattern emerges. Whatever the wrongs of Israel's occupation policy - and I agree that there are some - the Palestinians, especially in the West Bank but even in Gaza, live much better than many people in the world whose suffering attracts far less world attention - and whose oppressors get far less criticism. I would much rather be a Palestinian, even in Gaza, than a member of a minority tribe in the hills of Myanmar, or almost anyone in the Eastern Congo or Darfur. Millions of children in Pakistan and Indonesia have less food security, less educational opportunity and less access to health services than Palestinians who benefit from UN services (to which the United States is historically the largest single contributor) that poor people in other countries can only dream of.

The disproportionate reactions to Israel's treatment of Palestinians constitutes a genuine scandal and pretty much proves that anti-Semitism did not die when Hitler shot himself underneath Berlin. Russia treats its Chechens much worse than Israel treats its Arabs yet there are plenty of self-righteous German leftists who want to disinvest from Israel but favor closer relations with Putin's Russia. These people will hotly deny that they are anti-Semites and get all huffy and moralistic; I am not sure that the rest of us should take them at their word. The pious people in Turkey who have gotten so angry recently about Israeli actions in Gaza haven't perhaps thought as deeply as they could have about Turkey's record with the Armenians, Greeks and the Kurds. Although life is far from perfect for Arabs in Israel, Muslim and Christian Arabs generally have more freedom, dignity and equality in Israel than Christian Arabs, Jews and non-Arab ethnic groups enjoy in many Arab countries.

I'm not trying to say that anti-Semitism is the only reason why people react with disproportionate outrage to Israeli wrongdoings. This dispute has lasted so long and events like the last war in Gaza are covered so much more thoroughly on television than other violent episodes, and the Israelis are so much more open about allowing the world press to see what is going on that Israeli actions and their consequences are well publicized. And for people in Europe, Israel is close at hand and seems in many ways part of the same cultural space; events there somehow seem more real than bigger problems farther way. It is also true that some 'causes' somehow get to be more chic and interesting than others; the Palestinian cause is 'in' in a way that, say, the cause of Iranian Baluchistan or of Christian tribal people in northeastern India is not. And of course for the Palestinians and their allies, mobilizing public anger against Israel is an important tactic in the long-running dispute.

But even after making all the possible and

necessary allowances, there is something disturbing about the widespread excessive fixation on Jewish shortcomings. Almost the whole world is barking obsessively and furiously at the Jews while ignoring equal or worse problems on every side. At worst and far too frequently, this is anti-Semitism in full career: virulent, murderous, irrational, vile. It must be opposed, and it must be called to account.

I have no doubt that most of the official criticism that Israel receives from the European Union (to take one example) is hypocritical hogwash. If any democratic European country faced the same kinds of threats that Israel did - hostility from the region, a constant threat of suicide bombers, persistent legal and political efforts to delegitimize the state, periodic uprisings among ethnic minorities, and rocket attacks from areas just over its frontier - those tut-tutting moralists would show another side of their character and act at least as ruthlessly as Israel sometimes does. (And sometimes, as in Israel's case, their anger and fear would lead them to do things that were unwise and self-defeating. No democracy under the threats and pressures that Israel has faced throughout its existence could avoid excesses and even crimes.)

Now to give them their credit, I believe that many of the individuals who denounce Israel's policies would also denounce the tough policies that their own governments would adopt in similar circumstances. After all, many Israeli intellectuals and others denounce some of Israel's policies. However, stridently emotional critics of Israel's policies who spend more time and more energy on Israel than they do on other, more serious human rights abuses around the world and who come from countries with long histories of deeply rooted anti-Semitism (which is virtually every country in Europe) should take a good hard look at that righteous rage. Yes it feels good to let that anger run free. But remember please that Satan likes to appear as an angel of light. Mistaking hatred and resentment for a disinterested love of justice is one of the most common and most destructive mistakes human beings can make.

Furthermore, while I am reluctant to call out individuals, I believe that unconscious but real anti-Semitism informs many contemporary attitudes toward the Jewish state. I've run across a surprisingly large number of people who believe that Israel's right to exist is conditional: that Israel has to earn and keep re-earning its legitimacy by behaving better than other countries. I have also been told many times that the Jews are not a "real" people.

These views are anti-Semitic, pure and simple. The Jews are a real people, a nation, and they have the same right to self-determination that other nations have. The Jewish state is the expression of their natural right to self-determination and whether that state behaves well or badly, wisely or foolishly, it has the same right to exist as Finland, the United States or Egypt. To deny the right of the Jews to a state is to deny them a basic human right on account of their nationality; I'm sorry, but this is anti-Semitic behavior. If you work very hard, and are very clever and exceptionally careful in your moral and political judgments, it is

technically possible for a gentile to be an anti-Zionist without being an anti-Semite, but this state of mind is not as easy to achieve as many people think. Many and perhaps most of those who insist so self-righteously on this precious distinction haven't worked nearly hard enough to earn it.

Opposing particular Israeli policies, of course, is very different from opposing the right of the Jewish people to have a state. Opposition to a given Israeli policy or even set of policies may be a sign of a passionate attachment to the Jewish people and their right to have and protect a state. An article in the current American Interest by former US Ambassador to Israel David Kurtzer offers a pretty devastating critique of Israel's settlement policy as it has been carried out. In the same way, it's not anti-Semitic to argue that the United States should change its policy toward Israel.

Finally, the belief that only Israeli recalcitrance prevents the outbreak of peace in the Middle East strikes me as delusional. We all want this horrible, draining and destabilizing conflict to end, but there is very little prospect for a settlement between the Israelis and the Palestinians anytime soon. The two sides share responsibility for this situation and to some degree both sides are trapped by a logic for which neither side is fully to blame. Certainly the desire of some ultra-Zionists to continue building settlements in the West Bank is a factor, as is the much more widespread Israeli determination to

hang on to every inch of East Jerusalem that they can. On the Palestinian side, however, the obstacles are equally deep and to make matters worse, with outside powers like Syria and Iran meddling constantly in Palestinian politics for reasons of their own. Weak leadership, fragile institutions and a lack of a sufficiently strong consensus among Palestinians worldwide to accept partition as the final outcome to the long struggle would continue to obstruct a peace settlement even if all the Israeli obstacles were to disappear. And if the Palestinians and Israelis reach an agreement, other countries in the Middle East are likely to continue to stir the embers of hatred for generations to come. Even if there is a formal settlement, we are likely to see decades of continuing violence and retaliation. Some Palestinians (and some Israelis) will reject the peaceful solution and the compromise of partition; outside powers and the Palestinian diaspora are likely to fund groups committed to armed struggle. Bombs will go off; rockets will fire; Israel will at times retaliate. The legacy of the struggle is too deep, too bitter to fade away all at once.

Managing unhappiness rather than building utopia is what we Americans are likely to be doing in the Middle East for the foreseeable future. We will be trying first to reduce the ability of Palestinian-Israeli confrontations and violence to disturb our other regional interests. Second we will be working to improve the conditions of daily

life for both groups, and especially for Palestinians who need the help more. Finally, we will be doing our poor best to develop the network of ideas, institutions and policies that can bring Israelis and Palestinians together to settle the most contentious of the issues that divide them.

Back on that scented evening during the Clinton administration as the breakers crashed on the beach and Chairman Arafat bent down to give me his kiss, I was more optimistic about the prospects of Middle East peace than ever before. It's all been downhill from that moment; Presidents Clinton, Bush and Obama all brought big hopes to the region. Let's hope Obama's luck changes, but for now there doesn't seem to be much sign of it. The Iranians and the Syrians seem to be blowing off his overtures of friendship; the Saudis are confessing their disappointment to Maureen Dowd.

Given all that, I'm not going to spend precious blogging time writing new peace plans for two sides who don't want my help. But over the next week as I go forward with this subject I'll try at least to make clear to Americans and others just why the United States has been and remains so supportive of the Jewish state. In part, however, the answer is this: western anti-Semitism, while still a force in American life, is for a variety of reasons weaker in the contemporary United States than it is in other parts of the Christian and post-Christian west. ▲

## *Gazans Suffer, and Israel Is Not the Reason*

By Joel Brinkley

Reprinted from *Sacramento Bee* (December 24, 2009)

While Palestinian Christians in the West Bank celebrate Christmas in Bethlehem, Palestinians in Gaza, no matter their religious affiliation or political bent, are suffering in squalor and growing ignorance. Thousands are trying to flee.

Gaza has never been a prosperous enclave; the 140-square-mile territory has always been a poor, dependent state. But for Hamas, the radical Islamic terrorist group that seized control of Gaza in 2007, the long-term pursuit of a political impossibility trumps even the slightest concern for the welfare of the group's 1.5 million "constituents."

Residents of the Palestinian territories have been subjects of foreign states - Turkey, Great Britain, Jordan and then Israel - for half a millennium. But all the while, during both prosperous and desperate times, Palestinians have struggled to ensure that they educate their children. As a result, Palestinians have been among the best educated people in the world. Literacy rates, even for girls, have hovered around 99 percent. By comparison, in Iran, perhaps the Palestinians' biggest defenders now, and Israel's greatest enemy, UNICEF reports that only 77 percent of the population can read and write. Even Israel's literacy rate is lower: 97.1 percent.

But now, for the first time in the modern era, Gazans as young as 9, 10, 11 are being put to work

in ever larger numbers, forgoing school. "Learning achievement has declined along with primary school enrollment," UNICEF reports.

Much of the world blames Israel. During its invasion of Gaza last January, Israeli troops damaged or destroyed nearly half of the territory's schools along with much of the remaining infrastructure. The condemnation of Israel, much of it justified for the assault's brutality, continues to this day in the United Nations and elsewhere.

Still, most of the people behind the continuing reproval take little note of Hamas' own campaign of terror in the previous months, lobbing hundreds of missiles toward Israeli population centers. No matter. That's a debate for another day. The point is, a year has passed.

What political concessions has Hamas offered that might have enabled it to make repairs, improve the lot of its people? None. So, poverty and malnutrition are growing so fast that these pernicious blights are reaching epidemic status. The United Nations reported this fall that one in five Gazans now live in what it called "abject poverty." That is why many parents are no longer sending their children to school. They need the pennies their children can earn at menial jobs to buy food.

Their chieftains don't seem to care. I have interviewed the leaders of Hamas many times over the years, and all of them offered one

consistent refrain, time and time again: We are patient. Our resistance will continue as long as it takes - even centuries - until we reach our goal, full control of Palestine.

Of course, that includes the state of Israel. One of them, Ismail Abu Shenab, now deceased, once told me: "There are plenty of open areas in the United States that could absorb the Jews." Even Shenaeb, zealot that he was, must have known that nothing like that was going to happen even in his grandchildren's lifetimes - if ever. But he and all his colleagues, then and now, pursued that ludicrous goal in exclusion of all else, and now it is leading to the social destruction of their own people.

Israel and Egypt have locked the gates to Gaza. Israel's closure is more understandable than Egypt's, given that Cairo pretends to be the Palestinian's greatest friend and protector. In any case, it's impossible to know just how many Gazans endorse Hamas' chimerical, single-minded, objective.

The majority of Gazans I have met want to live peaceful lives and provide for their children. Sure, all of them would love to turn the clock back to 1967, before Israel won control of Gaza. That's why most of them still choose to live in decades-old refugee camps, to show that they refuse to accept the current state of affairs.

But now a growing number - half the

population, according to recent polls - is trying to get out of Gaza, escape from Hamas control and the deprivation that comes from its rule. In one famous case early this month, a healthy man joined the thousands who are fleeing to Egypt and

Israel with bribes and fake medical reports, by pretending to be dying of cancer. He didn't get away with it.

Now, a year after the Israeli invasion of Gaza,

it's time to stop blaming Israel for the desperate plight of Gaza's people. Now, without question, it's Hamas' fault. ▲

*Joel Brinkley is a former Pulitzer Prize-winning foreign correspondent for The New York Times and now a professor of journalism at Stanford University.*

## The Good Old Days Before Peace

By Khaled Abu Toameh

Reprinted from *Hudson Institute* (January 26, 2010)

Many Jews and Arabs living in this part of the world really miss the good old days before the Middle East peace process began -- before Yasser Arafat and the PLO were brought to the West Bank and Gaza Strip after the signing of the Oslo Accords.

It is time to cry out loudly that this peace process has been nothing but a disaster for both peoples.

Has anyone ever noticed that more Jews and Arabs have died since the signing of the Oslo Accords than during the period between 1967 and 1993?

This peace process, correctly dubbed by some as a "war process," has failed; it is time to try something else.

Real peace between Palestinians and Jews cannot be achieved, at least not in the foreseeable future. The gap between the two sides remains as wide as ever and the two sides do not trust one another at all.

Instead of talking about conflict resolution, we should go for conflict management, with good-will gestures from both parties.

Israel, for instance, could ease security restrictions, stop settlement expansion in the West Bank and help improve the living conditions of Palestinians.

The Palestinians, for their part, could stop all forms of violence and incitement against Israel and focus on building proper government

institutions and a strong infrastructure for the future Palestinian state.

Conflict management means keeping the conflict on a low flame with the hope that this would have a moderating effect on both Jews and Palestinians.

In the good old days before the peace process began in the Middle East, anyone living in the West Bank and Gaza Strip could wake up in the morning, get into his or her car and drive to any place inside Israel.

Suicide and car bombings were unheard of.

Not a single rocket or missile was fired from the West Bank or Gaza Strip into Israel.

About 200,000 Palestinians used to work in Israel on a daily basis.

There was no security fence and no wall in the West Bank.

There were no armed militias like Fatah's Aqsa Martyrs Brigades and Islamic Jihad's Al-Quds Battalions roaming the streets of Palestinian communities.

Palestinian villagers had free access to their lands and farms in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Thousands of Palestinian merchants from the West Bank and Gaza Strip used to converge on Tel Aviv and other Israeli cities almost every day to do business. They used to converge on Tel Aviv and other Israeli cities almost every day to do business. Thousands of Palestinian families would be seen enjoying their time at Israeli beaches,

public parks and restaurants.

There were no permanent Israeli military checkpoints between the West Bank and Gaza Strip on the one hand and Israel on the second. Checkpoints were set up only when security deemed it necessary.

There was one government and one police force in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and Palestinians knew who they were dealing with and had a clear address. Palestinians did not have to worry about a dozen or so security forces/militias that were created by the PLO after the signing of the Oslo Accords.

Thousands of Israeli Jews would flock Palestinian cities and villages, especially on weekends, to buy relatively cheap vegetables and fruit and enjoy locally-made kebab and hummus. Israeli Jews used to repair their cars in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. They used to visit their dentists in Qalqilya, Bethlehem and Jenin.

Palestinians did not need a special permit to enter Israel.

Jerusalem was open to all Palestinians and the PLO even had many offices in the city.

Palestinians were able to move to Israel proper and even obtain Israeli citizenship if they married an Israeli citizen.

We have reached a point where many Jews and Arabs say, somewhat sarcastically, that they miss the good old days before peace. ▲

## Is Israeli Society Strong Enough To Face the Future?

By Aluf Benn

Reprinted from *Ha'aretz* (February 12, 2010)

At the base of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's worldview is profound anxiety over Israel's future and its fortitude in the face of the threats surrounding it. Netanyahu is afraid that if Israelis are pressed hard enough, they will simply get up and flee, especially if presented with the material temptations of American society and its satellites. He is preoccupied with finding ways to salvage Israel's Zionist, educated, established skeleton from its pending collapse under the dual pressures of the increasingly strong ultra-Orthodox and Arab populations from within, and the threat of annihilation by Iran and its allies from without.

Netanyahu's speech at the Herzliya Conference last Wednesday was devoted to the danger of

national collapse. The speech aroused only slight media interest, but it was one of Netanyahu's most fascinating and important: He revealed his fears about Israel's collective future, if it continues to distance itself from the founding fathers' Zionist legacy.

"Our existence depends not only on a weapons system, our military strength, the strength of our economy, our innovation, our exports," he said. "It depends, first and foremost, on the knowledge and national sentiment we as parents bestow on our children, and we as a state bestow on our education system. It depends on our culture; it depends on our cultural heroes; it depends on our ability to explain the justness of our path and demonstrate our affinity for our land - first to

ourselves and then to others. We must remind ourselves that if our feeling of serving a higher purpose dissipates, if our sources of spiritual strength grow weak, then ... our future will also be unclear." Netanyahu cited two sources of inspiration: Napoleon, who was deeply impressed by the Jews' centuries of lament over the destroyed Temple, and Yigal Allon, the late Israeli politician and fighter, who said that "a people that doesn't remember its past - its present is uncertain and its future is unclear."

This was no trivial choice for a right-wing politician, whose father worked with Ze'ev Jabotinsky. As commander of the Palmach, the elite strike force of the pre-state Jewish militia the Haganah, Allon was responsible for the anti-Irgun

campaign known as the Saison and the sinking of the Altalena, as it approached shore with an arms shipment for the latter organization. In the eyes of the Fighting Family, as Irgun veterans were known, these were acts of political persecution, if not a criminal betrayal of the national cause in favor of the partisan, factional interests of Mapai, the precursor to the Labor Party.

Netanyahu is prepared to forgive Allon, in order to adopt what he symbolizes: the founders' generation, the earthy sabra-ism, the field trips and bonfire, and "Yalkut Hakzavim" [a collection of folklore about the Palmach]. A modern incarnation of the heroes of the Bible, a book "that is close to my heart these days," Netanyahu said. He wants to educate the younger generation in the way of these symbols, so that the connection to Jewish history and to the Zionist enterprise will keep them in Israel, even in adulthood.

He is worried about the collective crumbling: "[The] challenge is not to get carried away by the illusion that we - each and every one of us - is allowed to become preoccupied solely with self-development. There are a great many talented young people here, and they are being taught to think, quite justifiably, that they are cosmopolitans. But they cannot be just cosmopolitans."

Netanyahu is still upset about an unscheduled visit he made to Tel Lachish a few months ago. The bookcase in his father's home, like many homes from that period, contains Naftali Tur-Sinai's book about the Lachish letters,

missives written in Hebrew on clay tablets that documented the plight of the city's Israelite defenders against the Babylonian army. In his speech, Netanyahu said how saddened he was by the emptiness of the site, which had only a handful of Russian tour guides milling about.

In a similar vein, Netanyahu was awed by a trip to the British detention camp in Atlit with his son's class, where he saw the hut from which the underground group NILI used to send signals to the British during World War I. NILI "helped the British take control and free the Land of Israel. It opened up the way to Zionism," Netanyahu said, in a return to his roots; the right liked to praise NILI, whose members came from peasant stock and were affiliated with the Labor movement.

On Tel Hai Day, Adar 11, Netanyahu will present Cabinet Secretary Zvi Hauser's "heritage program" to his government for approval. The government plans to invest in restoring hundreds of historic sites, museums and archives, and in building two trails between archaeological sites and landmark stations from the era of the Yishuv, the pre-state Jewish community. New technologies will be used to bring the younger generation closer to the past.

A senior government official says that not since the days of David Ben-Gurion, who even during the difficult period of austerity invested in preserving treasures from the Jewish people's past, has an effort of this kind been made to impart Israeli heritage. Ben-Gurion, like Netanyahu, was profoundly worried about the fortitude of Israel's

citizens, and gave high priority to archaeological excavations, which along with Bible study were meant to provide the basis for a shared historical consciousness in a modern nation of immigrants.

Netanyahu's detractors will say that his processes of privatization, and the American values he represents, are what decimated the social cohesion of "little old Israel" and replaced it with a no-holds-barred race for the money. Netanyahu would respond that in capitalist America, a great deal is invested in preserving historic sites.

But the hard question relates to processes of social change in Israel: How will the program accommodate ultra-Orthodox and Arab youth, who together will be a majority in their age group within a few years? They are raised on other narratives, non-Zionist ones, and Netanyahu's program is designed to present the "core of the Zionist story."

"We will not be restoring the site where Abdul Khader Husseini fell in the heroic battle for Kastel, and we will not promote Haredi culture and rabbinical questions-and-answers," the senior government official said. Netanyahu mentioned the ultra-Orthodox and the Arabs in his speech, and called on them to sign up for social service within "their communities." He is not offering them a shared cultural heritage. And this will make it harder to realize his grand vision, to build an Israeli society united before the challenges of the future. ▲

## Israel's Right In the 'Disputed' Territories

By Danny Ayalon

Reprinted from *Wall Street Journal Europe* (December 30, 2009)

The recent statements by the European Union's new foreign relations chief Catherine Ashton criticizing Israel have once again brought international attention to Jerusalem and the settlements. However, little appears to be truly understood about Israel's rights to what are generally called the "occupied territories" but what really are "disputed territories."

That's because the land now known as the West Bank cannot be considered "occupied" in the legal sense of the word as it had not attained recognized sovereignty before Israel's conquest. Contrary to some beliefs there has never been a Palestinian state, and no other nation has ever established Jerusalem as its capital despite it being under Islamic control for hundreds of years.

The name "West Bank" was first used in 1950 by the Jordanians when they annexed the land to differentiate it from the rest of the country, which is on the east bank of the river Jordan. The boundaries of this territory were set only one year before during the armistice agreement between Israel and Jordan that ended the war that began in 1948 when five Arab armies invaded the nascent Jewish State. It was at Jordan's insistence that the 1949 armistice line became not a recognized international border but only a line separating armies. The Armistice Agreement specifically stated: "No provision of this Agreement shall in

any way prejudice the rights, claims, and positions of either Party hereto in the peaceful settlement of the Palestine questions, the provisions of this Agreement being dictated exclusively by military considerations." (Italics added.) This boundary became the famous "Green Line," so named because the military officials during the armistice talks used a green pen to draw the line on the map.

After the Six Day War, when once again Arab armies sought to destroy Israel and the Jewish state subsequently captured the West Bank and other territory, the United Nations sought to create an enduring solution to the conflict. U.N. Security Council Resolution 242 is probably one of the most misunderstood documents in the international arena. While many, especially the Palestinians, push the idea that the document demands that Israel return everything captured over the Green Line, nothing could be further from the truth. The resolution calls for "peace within secure and recognized boundaries," but nowhere does it mention where those boundaries should be.

It is best to understand the intentions of the drafters of the resolution before considering other interpretations. Eugene V. Rostow, U.S. Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs in 1967 and a drafter of the resolution, stated in 1990: "Security Council Resolution 242 and (subsequent U.N. Security Council Resolution

338... rest on two principles, Israel may administer the territory until its Arab neighbors make peace; and when peace is made, Israel should withdraw to "secure and recognized borders," which need not be the same as the Armistice Demarcation Lines of 194."

Lord Caradon, the British U.N. Ambassador at the time and the resolution's main drafter who introduced it to the Council, said in 1974 unequivocally that, "It would have been wrong to demand that Israel return to its positions of June 4, 1967, because those positions were undesirable and artificial."

The U.S. ambassador to the U.N. at the time, former Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg, made the issue even clearer when he stated in 1973 that, "the resolution speaks of withdrawal from occupied territories without defining the extent of withdrawal." This would encompass "less than a complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from occupied territory, inasmuch as Israel's prior frontiers had proven to be notably insecure."

Even the Soviet delegate to the U.N., Vasily Kuznetsov, who fought against the final text, conceded that the resolution gave Israel the right to "withdraw its forces only to those lines it considers appropriate."

After the war in 1967, when Jews started returning to their historic heartland in the West

Bank, or Judea and Samaria, as the territory had been known around the world for 2,000 years until the Jordanians renamed it, the issue of settlements arose. However, Rostow found no legal impediment to Jewish settlement in these territories. He maintained that the original British Mandate of Palestine still applies to the West Bank. He said "the Jewish right of settlement in Palestine west of the Jordan River, that is, in

Israel, the West Bank, Jerusalem, was made unassailable. That right has never been terminated and cannot be terminated except by a recognized peace between Israel and its neighbors." There is no internationally binding document pertaining to this territory that has nullified this right of Jewish settlement since.

And yet, there is this perception that Israel is occupying stolen land and that the Palestinians are

the only party with national, legal and historic rights to it. Not only is this morally and factually incorrect, but the more this narrative is being accepted, the less likely the Palestinians feel the need to come to the negotiating table. Statements like those of Lady Ashton's are not only incorrect; they push a negotiated solution further away. ▲

*Mr. Ayalon is the deputy foreign minister of Israel.*

## ***These Palestinians Aren't Happy About Israel Settlement Freeze***

*By Ilene R. Prusher*

Reprinted from *Christian Science Monitor* (January 26, 2010)

Jalazon Refugee Camp, West Bank - Theoretically, the 10-month freeze on building Israeli settlements in the West Bank was supposed to benefit the Palestinian cause.

But at the run-down cafes that make up a town square of sorts here in the Jalazon Refugee Camp, there's a different story.

It's just before noon, and the area is full of young men with nowhere to go.

Normally, about half of Jalazon's able-bodied men are employed in construction in nearby Jewish settlements. But since Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, under pressure from President Barack Obama, announced the settlement building freeze in October, much of the work has disappeared.

In the long-term, the freeze is meant to help the stagnant Israeli-Palestinian peace process, and Palestinian leader Mahmoud Abbas said he wouldn't agree to a resumption in peace talks without a building moratorium. But in the short-term, thousands of Palestinians who work in construction across the West Bank are feeling the pinch. They're annoyed that no one seems to be paying attention to the impact on their lives of what they see as a pointless exercise.

"Work in the settlements has decreased dramatically in the last few months - it's nothing like it was before. But our lives haven't changed for the better and the leaders aren't any closer to peace, so what's the point?" says Walid Mustafa, a sort of self-appointed spokesman of the unemployed and father of seven who says he's lucky to find work one day a month. "The settlement freeze is temporary anyway. The Israeli government is made up of settlers, and they will build again soon enough."

Mr. Mustafa estimates that about 80 percent of camp residents who work in construction are now

unemployed, while those still working are taking jobs for 50 shekels a day (\$13) rather than the 150 shekels (\$40) they used to make.

"The settlement freeze has only brought more poverty," complains Abdel Aziz Othman.

"There's no work anywhere," agrees Issa Muhammed Mahmoud, a young man who spends most days sitting here, chatting and drinking tea for lack of something else to do. "I used to be able to go into Israel to work on sites there, but now they don't give permits for that, and they're bringing laborers from China to do it."

### **Palestinian: I'm not judged for working in settlements**

The fact that so many Palestinians work on building sites in the occupied West Bank is a sensitive matter, though most construction workers here will talk freely about it.

On the one hand, settlements are roundly considered by Palestinians to be an impediment to the establishment of a Palestinian state, and clearly stand in the way of Palestinian territorial contiguity in the West Bank. The 120 settlements that Israel has built in the West Bank since 1967 are considered illegal under international law, and Israel never annexed the territory.

But on the other hand, most Palestinians consider working in settlements to be a form of realpolitik applied to home economics. Palestinians who are skilled in masonry, construction, and other relevant trades have built the vast majority of homes in Israel's controversial settlements to meet their daily needs.

"While the politicians dawdle away the months, we have families to feed," says Fawzi Aqraba, a Palestinian from the Nablus area interviewed while finishing off a home in the Israeli settlement of Kiryat Netafim. "Everyone at home in my

village knows what I do, and I don't think anyone judges it. We have to survive."

### **New 'Dignity Fund' for Palestinians**

Mr. Abbas rejected Netanyahu's offer of a 10-month settlement freeze late last year, maintaining his position that the stop-work order should mean all building comes to a halt, and that it must include East Jerusalem. Netanyahu exempted approximately 3,000 buildings - projects already begun - from the freeze, and he has rejected calls to limit Israeli building anywhere in Jerusalem. George Mitchell, the US Middle East peace envoy, was here last week in the hopes of forging a breakthrough, but none was apparent.

Palestinian officials hold that the Israeli offer is too limited in scope. "Washington, along with the international community, is pressuring the Palestinians without obliging Israel to stop settlement construction," Nabil Shaath, a member of the Central Committee of Abbas's Fatah party, said Tuesday in a statement e-mailed to reporters.

Ziad Toame, director general at the Palestinian Ministry of National Economy, says the Palestinian Authority (PA) recognizes that many Palestinian workers depend on jobs in the settlements. Mr. Toame's ministry is in charge of enforcing a new PA campaign to get Palestinians to stop buying goods made in settlements. As part of the campaign, Palestinian Prime Minister Salam Fayyad set up a \$2 million "Dignity Fund" to compensate Palestinian merchants for their losses.

"We hope that the Dignity Fund will be expanded, if we get more donors, and then we might be able to compensate construction workers as well," Toame says. "Or start training programs so they can do something else." ▲

## ***Think Tank: Israel Faces Global Delegitimization Campaign***

*By Barak Ravid*

Reprinted from *Ha'aretz* (February 12, 2010)

Israel is facing a global campaign of delegitimization, according to a report by the Reut Institute, made available to the cabinet on Thursday. The Tel Aviv-based security and socioeconomic think tank called on ministers to treat the matter as a strategic threat.

The report cites anti-Israel demonstrations on campuses, protests when Israeli athletes compete abroad, moves in Europe to boycott Israeli products, and threats of arrest warrants for Israeli leaders visiting London.

Reut says the campaign is the work of a

worldwide network of private individuals and organizations. They have no hierarchy or overall commander, but work together based on a joint ideology - portraying Israel as a pariah state and denying its right to exist.

Reut lists the network's major hubs - London,

Brussels, Madrid, Toronto, San Francisco and the University of California, Berkeley. The network's activists - "delegitimizers" the report dubs them - are relatively marginal: young people, anarchists, migrants and radical political activists. Although they are not many, they raise their profile using public campaigns and media coverage, the report says.

The "delegitimizers" cooperate with organizations engaging in legitimate criticism of Israel's policy in the territories such as Amnesty and Human Rights Watch, blurring the line between legitimate censure and delegitimization. They also promote pro-Palestinian activities in Europe as "trendy," the report says.

The network's activists are not mostly Palestinian, Arab or Muslim. Many of them are European and North American left-wing activists. The Western left has changed its approach to Israel and now sees it as an occupation state, the report says. To those left-wing groups, if in the 1960s Israel was seen as a model for an egalitarian, socialist society, today it epitomizes Western evil.

The delegitimization network sees the fight

against the former regime in South Africa as a success model. It believes that like the apartheid regime, the Zionist-Israeli model can be toppled and a one-state model can be established.

The Reut team says the network's groups share symbols and heroes such as the Palestinian boy Mohammed al-Dura, American peace activist Rachel Corrie and joint events like the Durban Conference.

Israel's diplomats overseas, meanwhile, must counter the attempts to delegitimize the country. "The combination of a large Muslim community, a radical left, influential, English-language media and an international university center make London fertile ground for Israel's delegitimization," says Ron Prosor, Israel's ambassador in London.

Prosor gives many interviews to the British media and lectures at university campuses throughout the country. Although he says he has encountered anti-Israel demonstrations on almost every campus, Prosor has told his people to increase their campus activity.

"What is now happening in London universities will happen, at most, in five years at all the large

universities in the United States," he says.

The Reut report says Israel is not prepared at all to deal with the threat of delegitimization. The cabinet has not defined the issue as a threat and sees the diplomatic arena as marginal compared to the military one.

"The Foreign Ministry is built for the challenges of the '60s, not the 2000s," the report says. "There are no budgets, not enough diplomats and no appropriate diplomatic doctrine."

Reut recommends setting up a counter-network, in which Israel's embassies in centers of delegitimization activity would serve as "front positions."

The report says the intelligence service should monitor the organizations' activities and study their methods. The cabinet should also confront groups trying to delegitimize Israel but embrace those engaged in legitimate criticism.

The report adds that Israel should not boycott these groups, as Israel's embassy in Washington does with the left-wing lobby J Street. Boycotting critics merely pushes them toward joining the delegitimizers, Reut says. ▲

## ***Egyptian Cleric Muhammad Hussein Yaaqub: The Jews Are Our Enemies and Allah Will Annihilate Them At Our Hands***

Reprinted from MEMRI (January 20, 2010)

The following are excerpts from a sermon given by Egyptian cleric Muhammad Hussein Yaaqub, which aired on Al-Nas TV (Egypt) on December 29, 2009.

***"The Nation of Islam was Created to Remain to the End of Time, Strong and Dominant"***

Muhammad Hussein Yaaqub: "The nation of Islam is here to stay. We should make this notion grow within our hearts. Our nation was not created to fulfill a role and then disappear, like the nations before us, which were created to exist for a while, only to be annihilated. No, no. The nation of Islam was created to remain to the end of time, strong and dominant..."

"Our nation will never die. It will not be annihilated. We have seen our nation undergoing worse events than those we witness today. We ache [for] the disintegration, the loss, and the eradication of Iraq, but Iraq has undergone crises that made the Euphrates River flow red with

blood, and another time, flow black with ink, because of the books of the Baghdad Library which were thrown into it..."

"We have witnessed the racial cleansing in Bosnia and in Kosovo. Despite this, the Muslim race has been cleansed of the filthy blood of polytheism and the polytheists..."

"The Jews are our enemies. Allah will annihilate them at our hands. This is something we know for certain. We know this for certain - not because I say so, but because Allah said so: 'You shall find that the people strongest in enmity to the believers are the Jews and the polytheists.'..."

"For the Islamic nation, the Al-Aqsa Mosque is

like a banner on the battlefield. I have read the works of many preachers and scholars, who said that if you wanted to discern the state of the nation at any given time, you should look at Al-Aqsa. The state of Al-Aqsa reflects the state of the nation. Whenever the nation was strong and its banner was flying high, Al-Aqsa was in the hands of the Muslims. But whenever the nation went through a period of weakness and collapse, Al-Aqsa was in the hands of non-Muslims..."

"Today, the nation - its young, its elderly, its men, its women, and its children - are prepared to be martyred at the gates of Al-Aqsa... The nation in its entirety." ▲

## ***Islamic Extremists Threaten Jewish-Friendly Imam***

Reprinted from Jewish Telegraphic Agency (January 26, 2010)

A group of Islamic extremists burst into a French mosque's prayer service and threatened the presiding imam, known for his efforts to improve Muslim-Jewish ties.

"We are going to liquidate him, this imam of the Jews," said some of the about 80 people who interrupted Monday's services in Hassen Chalghoumi's mosque north of Paris, in Drancy, according to Chalghoumi's adviser and French news reports. There were about 200 worshippers in the mosque at the time.

The intruders also called Chalghoumi a "heathen" and "renegade."

Chalghoumi has consistently spoken against

Islamic extremism, and has worked actively with Muslim youth and Jewish leaders around France to condemn anti-Semitism.

In 2006, his home was vandalized following his public request that all Muslims respect the memory of the thousands of Jews sent to Nazi death camps from Drancy.

"They wanted to kill me," said Chalghoumi on Radio Orient on Tuesday, adding that he would continue to work to improve Muslim-Jewish relations in France, and to speak out against extremism, because "it is our future that is at stake."

Chalghoumi confirmed he would make an

official complaint against the unidentified intruders.

France's Jewish community leaders on Tuesday expressed their solidarity and support for Chalghoumi.

"We consider these events serious and worrisome," said Sammy Ghozlan in a statement for the CCJ Jewish community organization based in the Paris region.

"Since the arrival of the imam from Drancy, a real harmony has reigned between the Jewish and Muslim communities in the department," added the statement. ▲

# The Lure Of Jihadism, Or “Boys Will Be Boys”

By Raymond Ibrahim

Reprinted from *Pajamasmedia.com* (February 3, 2010)

According to a recent ABC report, “As many as three dozen criminals who converted to Islam in American prisons have moved to Yemen where they could pose a ‘significant threat’ to attack the U.S., according to a report on al-Qaeda from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. . . . Also of concern to U.S. officials, the Senate staff found, is a group of ‘nearly 10 non-Yemeni Americans who traveled to Yemen, converted to Islam, became fundamentalists, and married Yemeni women so they could remain in the country.’ . . . An American official described them as ‘blond-haired, blue-eyed types’ who fit the profile of Americans who al-Qaeda has sought to recruit for terror missions.”

These, of course, are not the first Americans - black, white, or in between - to convert to Islam and join the jihad: John Walker Lindh wound up fighting fellow Americans alongside Taliban forces in Afghanistan; Adam Gadahn became a major character in al-Qaeda’s propaganda machine; Gregory Patterson, Levar Washington, and Kevin James plotted terror strikes against the U.S.; Christopher Paul and Jose Padilla conspired to use weapons of mass destruction.

Then there are the countless European converts, such as the British “shoe-bomber,” Richard Reid, who attempted to achieve “martyrdom” by detonating explosives in his shoes while aboard a passenger aircraft; the late Germaine Lindsay, who *did* achieve “martyrdom” by killing himself and 56 of his fellow citizens and injuring over 700, in the London bombings of 2005; and Abu Abdullah, the native Briton-turned-fierce-Islamist-preacher who makes no secret of his vitriolic hatred of the West (all, of course, while enjoying that unique Western liberty, freedom of speech).

What causes such men, born and raised in the West, often from Christian backgrounds, to abandon their heritage, embrace Islam, and become radicalized to the point that they conspire to kill their fellow countrymen?

As for Islam’s intrinsic appeal, it has long been argued that, unlike Christianity, which can be “heavy” on theology, Islam is relatively simple and straightforward. Thus while Christianity may revolve around more metaphysical topics - the Trinity, Christology, etc. - Islam, in black-and-white terms, commands its adherents to do this and not do that. In fact, the Arabic word “Sharia,” that comprehensive body of laws Muslims are to obey, is etymologically related to the word for “pathway” - as in, “the pathway to paradise.”

Yet there is another, more subtle, factor that may attract men to Islam: traditional male roles are well preserved in the religion. This may appeal to Western men who find it difficult to assert their “masculinity” in what may be perceived as gender-free Western societies. Harvey Mansfield’s book, *Manliness*, defines that term as “a quality both bad and good, mostly male, often intolerant, irrational, and ambitious. *Our gender-neutral society does not like it but cannot get rid*

*of it.*”

Indeed, with an ethical code that coalesced in the seventh century - when the Muslim prophet and “perfect example” walked the earth, enforced his will, and conquered his “infidel” neighbors - Islamic culture can hardly be deemed “gender-neutral.” Even philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche, who despised religion and preached the need for man to be transformed into an amoral “hyper-man,” professed some admiration for Islam, describing it as “noble and manly” (*The Antichrist*).

Of course, traditional masculine roles are not the sole domain of Islam; most civilizations have lived in accordance to such norms. So-called “gender-neutral societies” are, from a historical perspective, aberrant. James Bowman, author of *Honor: A History*, stresses that, when it comes to the West’s disregard for notions of honor and masculinity, “we are, in global terms, the odd ones out”; he further asserts that, up until the Victorian era, in the West, “honor was rather closer to the Arab and Muslim idea of it today.”

In this context, then, it seems only natural for disaffected young men, who feel they are not fitting into what they perceive to be a “gender-neutral” society, to find a religion which emphasizes “masculinity” appealing.

John Walker Lindh especially seems to fit this paradigm. Precipitating his conversion to Islam was his teenage discovery that his father was homosexual - an event that appears to have traumatized and alienated Lindh. Islam’s masculine ideals and unequivocal condemnation of homosexuality may have lured young Lindh, who, soon after his father left his mother and moved in with another man, converted to Islam at age 16. Shortly thereafter, he went a-jihading.

This is all further exacerbated by Muslims mocking Western masculinity - such as Osama bin Laden, who ridicules homosexuality in the West and has characterized the American soldier as “a paper tiger” who is “too cowardly and too fearful to meet the young people of Islam face-to-face” (*The Al Qaeda Reader*).

Whatever position one may hold regarding these issues, one thing is clear: If traditional masculine virtues are upheld in Islamic culture, so too do traditional masculine vices abound - for it is often a very fine line that separates hyper-virtue from hyper-vice. Honor, courage, and patriarchal ethics can - and do - easily morph into destructive pride (e.g., “honor killings”), disdain for life (e.g., suicide bombings), and rabid misogyny.

Nonetheless, for those more “adventurous” young men looking to add a bit of “excitement” to their lives, Islam offers avenues. Based on the Koran and Muhammad’s biography, raiding, killing, and plundering infidels (i.e., the “other”), abducting their women, and enslaving their children are all permissible, so long as they are done in a jihadist context, that is, in the “service” of Islam. In fact, that is how the Islamic prophet and first Muslims spread Islam - a historical fact,

not a slander - as attested to by Islam’s sacred texts and histories, written and compiled by pious, authoritative Muslims.

Of course, such behavior was “normal” in the seventh century. Then, wherever one looked, men of all races, creeds, and religions were raiding, pillaging, plundering, and enslaving their neighbors. For Islamists, however, the actions of seventh-century Muhammad, no matter how at odds with modernity, must be emulated today no less than yesterday. Moreover, any moral scruples a potential jihadist may experience over such “antiquated” practices - that is, should his conscience momentarily get the best of him - immediately dissipate in light of Allah’s explicit approval. For instance: “Married women are prohibited to you [Muslims] - *except for those taken captive in war*” (Koran 4:24; see also 23:6 and 33:50-52).

Little wonder, then, that Islam appeals to certain Western men over Christianity: Aspects of it better comport with man’s baser proclivities - for war, possessions, and women - than, say, the passive and inhibiting teachings of Jesus: “turn the other cheek,” “pray for those who persecute you,” and “he who lusts after a woman in his heart has already committed adultery.” Even Islam’s version of paradise is far more alluring. There, a river of wine and dozens of “voluptuous women” await the jihadist who dies battling infidels (see Koran 78:33).

And so, like mischievous little boys who find the pirate lifestyle fascinating - raiding, killing, plundering, abducting, hiding in caves - so do some Western men find the lifestyle of the jihadist captivating. So they convert. Nor is it any small irony that the physical appearance of today’s Islamist heroes is reminiscent of those wily pirates of old - from the furtive Taliban leader, “One-Eyed” Mullah Muhammad Omar, to London’s radical ideologue Abu Hamza, who not only boasts one eye, but also has a *metal hook* for a hand, which he took to shaking menacingly when referring to infidels. (Like Walt Disney’s Captain Hook, he was affectionately referred to by his followers simply as “The Hook.”)

It goes without saying, of course, that none of this is to imply that Muslims are piratical by nature. It is to say, however, that persons naturally inclined to such activities - including would-be converts - can and do find exoneration under the rubric of “sunna” and jihad legal theory: if it was okay for Muhammad and the first Muslims to wage war on, plunder, and enslave infidels - so the logic goes - surely it is okay today.

This phenomenon is further highlighted by the obvious intersection between prison incarceration and conversion to radical Islam. Indeed, most of the aforementioned proselytes had criminal records previous to their Islamic conversion: Reid and Abdullah had convictions for muggings, Padilla for gangster activity, and Lindsay for drug dealing. Patterson, Washington, and James began their “cell” while serving time in prison for committing over a dozen armed robberies. And,

most recently, the three dozen converts-turned-potential-terrorists who just fled to Yemen were all, as the ABC report puts it, “criminals.”

Traditionally, one of the reasons ex-cons turned

to religion was to change their evil ways. Not so these Western-men-turned-Islamic-terrorists. Consciously or unconsciously, it would seem they embraced the most radical form of Islam merely to receive divine sanctioning for

*Raymond Ibrahim is the associate director of the Middle East Forum, the author of The Al Qaeda Reader, and a visiting lecturer at the National Defense Intelligence College.*

their otherwise violent and anti-social behavior, being transformed in the process from petty criminals to major criminals - terrorists and traitors. ▲

## Expose ‘Apartheid’ Charges Real Agenda

By Malcolm Hedding

Reprinted from *The Jerusalem Post* (March 12, 2010)

Day by day, the anti-Israel alliance is seeking to make the apartheid label stick to Israel. We see this at present in the fortnight of global agitation known as “Israel Apartheid Week.” But no one should be fooled - the real agenda behind branding Israel an “apartheid state” is the disappearance of the Jewish state altogether.

The real apartheid state of South Africa was rightfully dismantled by the early 1990s. It was first discredited, then delegitimized and finally dismantled to the elation of the world and the enslaved black majority who had lived under its brutality. However, to describe Israel in these terms is, quite frankly, immoral and wicked. Yet on university campuses worldwide, this is becoming a very popular cause.

Radical leftist academics and politicians are teaming up with extremist Muslim elements to pursue this goal. They want to equate Israel with the original apartheid state, yet most of these people know absolutely nothing about apartheid. They have no knowledge of the “inner workings” of the apartheid system and couldn’t even tell you the basic facts about it. But the word itself is an extremely powerful weapon against Israel - since it conjures up notions of hatred, discrimination, brutality, racism and prejudice.

Essentially, apartheid was a totalitarian system of governance - not unlike many of the regimes in the Arab world today. A white minority subjugated the overwhelmingly black population. It was ideologically driven and obsessed with racial superiority. The superior whites could not mingle with or even sit on a bench with the inferior black peoples. Even the education system was “dumbed down” for black people because they were deemed mentally inferior.

The towns and cities were “white by night” as all “blacks” had to be removed to their shanty towns, which served as cheap labor ghettos for the nation. The black people could not vote, own property or even move freely inside their own country.

Various instruments of state were used to ruthlessly enforce a total segregation, including the police, military and judiciary. In short, it was Aryanism in a new form.

There is absolutely nothing equivalent to this in the dispute between the Palestinians and Israel today. Within Israel itself, Arabs and Jews share the same shopping malls, benches, hospitals, theaters and, in many cases, suburbs. The educational institutions do not have a deliberately “dumbed down” Arab curriculum and the privilege of voting is given to all. The Knesset has Arab members, and Jews, Arabs and Palestinians often work together at construction sites, businesses, hotels and elsewhere.

Most important of all is the fact that Israel is a democratic state. Not a perfect one, but it does have democratic institutions and is definitely not governed by a totalitarian minority! In the disputed territories, some 98 percent of the Palestinian Arab population now lives under the governance of their own Palestinian Authority, where they have the right to vote and change their leaders - at least theoretically. True, Israel has adopted security measures that curtail their movement, but these have been necessitated by the conflict and are legitimate acts of self-defense, rather than acts of racial discrimination.

Actually, the real nature of this conflict has very little to do with politics or race, and everything to do with theology. By this I mean a radical jihadist theology that considers the whole Land of Israel and not just the West Bank as part of the “House of Islam.”

This theology dictates that all this land must be returned to Islamic rule, by force if necessary. Despite its “secular” credentials, the PLO has pursued the express mission of destroying the State of Israel since its founding in 1964 because it simply cannot derogate from this Islamic doctrine. The same jihadist theology drives an even more radical Hamas.

This has absolutely nothing to do with

apartheid. The State of Israel is a democracy which must answer to its citizens and thus has demonstrated a willingness to make painful concessions to secure a future of peace with its neighbors. In all cases, it alone has paid the real price by giving up land, which has then been used as a launching pad for further acts of terror.

Even in response to Israel’s most generous peace overtures during the Oslo era, the Palestinians have opted for violence. Waves of suicide bombers attacked Israelis from the porous boundaries surrounding the West Bank. Men, women and children were indiscriminately murdered in buses, restaurants, hotels and shopping malls. To protect herself, Israel built a security barrier, which in some built-up areas consists of a wall. It was not built to segregate people or discriminate against them, but to protect its own citizens from attack. In this connection, the security fence has been highly successful though even Israelis admit it is regrettable.

Nevertheless Israel’s detractors love to deride the “apartheid wall.” These same radical leftists espouse democracy but will not allow Israeli officials and scholars to exercise their democratic right to free speech. This is exactly what the apartheid thugs in South Africa did. They violently brought public meetings to an end if anyone opposed their view. They were scared to death that someone might just have a more truthful and compelling argument than theirs. The democratic rights they claim for themselves, they deny to others.

For sure the Palestinians have suffered, but to place the blame entirely at Israel’s door is folly. Their failed and corrupt leadership, missed opportunities and willingness to support violence and terror are also central causes of their suffering. The truth is the apartheid accusation is just another smoke screen in the war against Israel. I should know because I grew up in the dark apartheid era in South Africa and stood against it to my peril. ▲

*As a young minister in South Africa, the writer participated in the struggle against apartheid in the 1980s and was threatened with detention without trial by the infamous Bureau of State Security. Today, he is executive director of the International Christian Embassy Jerusalem.*

## ***STOPPING A NUCLEAR IRAN: WILL THE U.S. CHOKE?***

### ***The Year Of Living Fecklessly***

By Charles Krauthammer

Reprinted from *National Review Online* (December 25, 2009)

On Tuesday, Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad did not just reject President Obama's latest feckless floating nuclear deadline. He spat on it, declaring that Iran "will continue resisting" until the U.S. has gotten rid of its 8,000 nuclear warheads.

So ends 2009, the year of "engagement," of the extended hand, of the gratuitous apology - and of spinning centrifuges, two-stage rockets and a secret enrichment facility that brought Iran materially closer to becoming a nuclear power.

We lost a year. But it was not just any year. It was a year of spectacularly squandered opportunity. In Iran, it was a year of revolution, beginning with a contested election and culminating this week in huge demonstrations mourning the death of the dissident Grand Ayatollah Hossein Ali Montazeri - and demanding no longer a recount of the stolen election but the overthrow of the clerical dictatorship.

Obama responded by distancing himself from this new birth of freedom. First, scandalous silence. Then, a few grudging words. Then relentless engagement with the murderous regime. With offer after offer, gesture after gesture - to not Iran, but the "Islamic Republic of Iran," as Obama ever so respectfully called these clerical fascists - the U.S. conferred legitimacy on a regime desperate to regain it.

Why is this so important? Because revolutions succeed at that singular moment, that imperceptible historical inflection, when the people, and particularly those in power, realize that the regime has lost the mandate of heaven. With this weakening dictatorship desperate for affirmation, why is the U.S. repeatedly offering

just such affirmation?

Apart from ostracizing and delegitimizing these gangsters, we should be encouraging and reinforcing the demonstrators. This is no trivial matter. When pursued, beaten, arrested, and imprisoned, dissidents can easily succumb to feelings of despair and isolation. Natan Sharansky testifies to the electric effect Ronald Reagan's Evil Empire speech had on lifting spirits in the Gulag. The news was spread cell to cell in code tapped on the walls. They knew they weren't alone, that America was committed to their cause.

Yet so aloof has Obama been that on Hate America Day (November 4, the anniversary of the seizure of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran), pro-American counter-demonstrators chanted "Obama, Obama, you are either with us or with them," i.e., their oppressors.

Such cool indifference is more than a betrayal of our values. It's a strategic blunder of the first order.

Forget about human rights. Assume you care only about the nuclear issue. How to defuse it? Negotiations are going nowhere, and whatever U.N. sanctions we might get will be weak, partial, grudging, and late. The only real hope is regime change. The revered and widely supported Montazeri had actually issued a fatwa against nuclear weapons.

And even if a successor government were to act otherwise, the nuclear threat would be highly attenuated, because it's not the weapon but the regime that creates the danger. (Think India or Britain, for example.) Any proliferation is troubling, but a nonaggressive pro-Western Tehran would completely change the strategic

equation and make the threat minimal and manageable.

What should we do? Pressure from without - cutting off gasoline supplies, for example - to complement and reinforce pressure from within. The pressure should be aimed not at changing the current regime's nuclear policy - that will never happen - but at helping change the regime itself.

Give the kind of covert support to assist dissident communication and circumvent censorship that, for example, we gave Solidarity in Poland during the 1980s. (In those days, that meant broadcasting equipment and copying machines.) But of equal importance is robust rhetorical and diplomatic support from the very highest level: full-throated denunciation of the regime's savagery and persecution. In detail - highlighting cases, the way Western leaders adopted the causes of Sharansky and Andrei Sakharov during the rise of the dissident movement that helped bring down the Soviet empire.

Will this revolution succeed? The odds are long but the reward immense. Its ripple effects would extend from Afghanistan to Iraq (in both conflicts, Iran actively supports insurgents who have long been killing Americans and their allies) to Lebanon and Gaza, where Iran's proxies, Hezbollah and Hamas, are arming for war.

One way or the other, Iran will dominate 2010. Either there will be an Israeli attack, or Iran will arrive at - or cross - the nuclear threshold. Unless revolution intervenes. Which is why to fail to do everything in our power to support this popular revolt is unforgivable. ▲

### ***Obama and Iran***

An editorial reprinted from *The Wall Street Journal* (February 19, 2010)

These have been busy days for Iran's leadership. On January 28, the regime hanged two government opponents and sentenced 10 others to die. It has arrested and jailed some 500 opponents since December. Last week, it shut off access to Gmail and Google Buzz, as it already has done with Twitter, to prevent opposition forces from organizing. On the 31st anniversary of the Islamic Revolution, it jammed the streets of Tehran with supporters and security forces. Oh, and Mahmoud Ahmadinejad announced that Iran has begun enriching uranium

to 20% purity, making it a "nuclear state."

Maybe now we can all agree that "engagement" with Iran has failed. So where does the Obama Administration go from here? It seems to be moving on multiple, not always coherent, fronts.

Last Wednesday, the Treasury Department imposed sanctions on a commander of Iran's Revolutionary Guards Corps along with several IRGC-related companies said to be involved in WMD programs. And this week, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton warned that Iran may be evolving into a military dictatorship, with the

Revolutionary Guards essentially running the show.

The U.S. is also trying to get the U.N. Security Council to agree to a new round of sanctions on Iran, over continued Chinese opposition. A Western diplomatic source tells us we can probably expect another essentially symbolic U.N. resolution in the coming weeks.

Then there is Congress, which in the past two months has voted overwhelmingly for legislation that targets companies doing energy business with Iran. The two bills must now be reconciled, but

the State Department has previously sought to postpone the measures on grounds that they would constrain its room for diplomatic maneuver and could hurt the Iranian people.

Our sources tell us the Administration may now reluctantly be willing to let Congress play bad cop as it pursues its sanctions options at the U.N. and, separately, with the Europeans. That's fine as far as it goes, and we hope the Administration understands that the Congressional bills would also have a major impact on the Revolutionary Guard, which dominates Iran's energy business and takes a huge cut from the \$6 billion-plus annual gasoline trade, according to the Foundation for Defense of Democracies.

Then again, we doubt even this Administration thinks that these sanctions alone can alter the regime's behavior, much less force its collapse. Instead-and in the absence of a credible threat of the use of U.S. military force-the Administration seems to be gambling its Iran policy on a set of assumptions that look increasingly wishful.

One of these assumptions is that there may still be a "grand bargain" to be struck with the Iranian leadership, notwithstanding its refusals to do so last year amid President Obama's overtures. The Administration also allowed itself to imagine that Iran's protest movement would force the regime to take a more conciliatory nuclear line. It seems to

have done the opposite.

Another assumption is that Iran has encountered serious technical difficulties in its nuclear program, out of some combination of incompetence and perhaps sabotage. We certainly hope that's true. But the driving fact is that Iran seems to have repeatedly surmounted these obstacles over the years, and last year it surprised U.N. inspectors by producing more low-enriched uranium than anticipated. Enrichment only becomes easier as it moves to higher states of purity. And yesterday, the U.N. nuclear agency said it is worried that Iran may already be working on a nuclear warhead.

Then there is the whispered assumption that a nuclear Iran would be "containable." But leaving aside the view that a religiously fanatic regime can never safely be trusted with a bomb, a nuclear Iran would open the Pandora's box of nuclear proliferation in Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Turkey. For an Administration that has made nuclear nonproliferation a centerpiece of its agenda, allowing Iran to go nuclear would seem an odd way to advance that goal.

All of this suggests the need for a new U.S. strategy that drops the engagement illusion and begins to treat Iran as the single biggest threat to Mideast and U.S. security. Sanctions can be part of that strategy, but they will need to be more

comprehensive than anything to date. They must also be ramped up rapidly because they will need time to be felt by the regime. The U.S. should give up on the U.N., which will only delay and dilute such pressure, and build a sanctions coalition of the willing.

The U.S. can also speak and act far more forcefully and clearly on behalf of Iran's domestic opposition. The regime's recent crackdown suggests that the chances of regime change in the near term are remote, but popular animosity against Iran's rulers still seethes underground. The U.S. should assist that opposition in any way it can, especially with technology to help communicate with each other and the world.

Finally, the option of a military strike will have to be put squarely on the table. Sanctions have little chance of working unless they are backed by a credible military threat, and in any case Israel is more likely to act if it concludes that the U.S. won't. The risks of military action are obvious, but the danger to the world from a nuclear Iran is far worse.

After a year of lost time, Mr. Obama needs to put aside the diplomatic illusions of his campaign and make the hard decisions to stop the Revolutionary Guards from getting the bomb. ▲

## Blame China For Iran's Nukes

By Michael Danby

Reprinted from *The Wall Street Journal* (February 11, 2010)

Iran's threat to "punch" the West will exacerbate the worries of many people who follow events in the Middle East and are increasingly worried the world is sleep-walking towards a new regional war. The causes of this possible war are typically categorized as, first, Iran's determination to build nuclear weapons, and second, the world's apparent inability to stop it.

But a third cause often gets overlooked: If there is a war, a large part of the responsibility will rest with Beijing. China has assumed the status of a great power, including a veto at the U.N. Security Council. But instead of becoming a responsible member of the community of leading states, acting jointly with other powers to avert the prospect of wars, China is using its new-found power in ways that make war more likely.

China's military and diplomatic power have increased enormously over the past 20 years. But unlike the world's other leading powers, China is a poor country economically and a dictatorship politically. After decades of rapid growth, China's per capita GDP is still only \$6,500-less than Ecuador or Angola, and only 14% of per capita GDP in the United States.

China's approach to Iran can be explained by the political situation at home: The Chinese people have come to expect constantly rising standards of living, and this the greatest weakness of the Chinese Communist regime. The Chinese

people will tolerate the communists' monopoly of power only so long as their living standards keep rising.

The weak link in this system is China's inadequate energy sources. Even with coal, nuclear power and its huge hydro-electricity schemes, China is short of energy, and its dependence on imports is growing. Australia, as a major exporter of coal and natural gas, has been one of the major beneficiaries. But China's greatest need is for oil, and this Australia cannot supply.

Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao, right, shakes hands with Iranian First Vice President Mohammad Reza Rahimi during a meeting at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing on Thursday October 15, 2009.

China can buy all the oil it wants on the international market, but the communist leaders don't want China's prosperity - and their own hold on power - to be dependent on a free market they don't trust. They want control and certainty. They see the way to get these things is through deals with selected oil-exporting countries, preferably ones which are at political odds with western powers, so that their need for friends and protectors is greater.

This explains China's deep involvement with Sudan - one of the world's nastiest regimes, responsible for the deaths of up to 300,000 people

in Darfur. Sudan now supplies nearly 10% of China's oil imports. It's a cozy deal - China gets a secure oil supply and Sudan gets arms and diplomatic protection. The Sudanese regime knows it will never face U.N. sanctions, because China uses its Security Council veto to protect it.

An even bigger supplier of oil to China is Iran. China now gets 15% of its oil from Iran, and is Iran's second-biggest customer after Japan. As with Sudan, China pays for its oil by protecting Iran against U.N. sanctions over its nuclear program. Even with Russia threatening to support sanctions against Iran, China's foreign minister has made clear that Beijing opposes sanctions.

This is a very dangerous game. President Mahmoud Ahmedinejad is determined to build nuclear weapons and has threatened Israel with destruction many times. He may be bluffing, but this is not a risk Israel can afford to take. If the international community cannot restrain Iran, the government of Israel will face great pressure to take pre-emptive steps to protect the country against attack.

Thus, China's greed for secure oil imports and its willingness to deal with outlaw regimes to get these imports is causing a breakdown in the world's only system for disciplining countries that endanger peace. If the U.N. sanctions break down in Iran, this opens up a serious danger of war-and China will bear a heavy share of the blame. ▲

*Mr. Danby is a member of the Australian Parliament and chair of the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee.*

# Nineteen-Thirty-Something

By Clifford D. May

Reprinted from *National Review Online* (January 7, 2010)

A few days of vacation in the Rocky Mountains is a good time to catch up on one's reading. But if I was looking for escape from the issues on which I spend most of my time, I didn't find it in *Churchill*, the brief but penetrating biography by Paul Johnson, who is among the world's greatest living historians. In particular, Johnson's account of the 1930s holds up an eerie mirror to the present.

Johnson notes that when Hitler and the Nazis came to power in Germany in 1933, most Europeans failed to recognize either the nature or the gravity of the threat. Winston Churchill - retired soldier, popular writer, not very popular politician - was the exception. He understood that unless free peoples acted decisively, they would come under attack, sooner or later.

Churchill was derided as an alarmist, or even a "warmonger." The well-known economist John Maynard Keynes argued that Hitler had legitimate grievances, in particular the unjust Versailles Treaty that had held Germany down since the conclusion of the first great war of the 20th century. Clifford Allen, a prominent British politician, "applauded Hitler," saying: "I am convinced he genuinely desires peace." Archbishop Temple of York agreed. Hitler had made "a great contribution to the secure establishment of peace," he said.

Today, of course, it is the ruling Islamists of Iran who candidly express their aggressive and even genocidal intentions. In speeches and sermons, they pledge to wipe Israel off the map, and vow to bring about "a world without America." For three decades, "Death to America!" has been the regime's rallying cry, inscribed on the sides of missiles whose range and accuracy increase year after year.

And once again, those who would take these threats seriously and act decisively are dismissed as alarmists, or denigrated as warmongers by foreign-policy mandarins. Once again, they insist that grievances must be addressed: Did not the CIA meddle in Iranian domestic politics in the 1950s? With American troops in Iraq and Afghanistan, don't Iran's rulers have cause for concern?

In the 1930s, the Nazis bought heavy weapons from Joseph Stalin, the Soviet dictator, who could not imagine that Hitler would use those weapons against him a few years later.

Iran's Khomeinists have been working feverishly to acquire nuclear weapons and the means to protect and deliver them. They have had little difficulty buying what they can't develop on their own from Russia, as well as from Western European countries whose leaders have persuaded themselves that a nuclear-armed Iran will be someone else's problem.

Hitler made common cause with Fascists in Italy and Spain, and with the militarists in Japan.

Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad has established close alliances with such anti-American leftist strongmen as Venezuela's Hugo Chávez and Bolivia's Evo Morales.

Iran's war machine includes Hizbollah, which has developed not just as an armed militia inside Lebanon but also as an international terrorist proxy. Our intelligence community appears to know little about Tehran's relations with al-Qaeda. But there can be no doubt that Shia militants and Sunni militants collaborate on occasion against their common enemies. The recent revelation that Osama bin Laden's closest relatives - including one of his wives, six of his children, and eleven of his grandchildren - have been living in a compound outside Tehran provides additional evidence, if any were needed.

Johnson recounts that in 1930s Britain, the elites wanted to "leave everything to the League of Nations." As German military strength grew, such top British government officials as Anthony Eden insisted that the armies of the United Kingdom and France should not expand, as Churchill urged, but should shrink instead, in order "to secure for Europe that period of appeasement which is needed."

Finally, in 1938, British prime minister Neville Chamberlain engaged the German Führer - "supreme leader" would be a reasonable translation of that title - at Munich, returning home to announce that through his diplomatic efforts common ground had been found, and that "peace in our time" had been assured.

Churchill saw through this fog of self-deception. Chamberlain's diplomacy, he said, had resulted in "total and unmitigated defeat." Churchill anticipated that the nations of Central and Eastern Europe would recognize how weak the democracies had become and "make the best terms they can with the triumphant Nazi power." Hitler would then absorb those nations, and "sooner or later he will begin to look westward."

Today, foreign-policy elites want to rely on the United Nations - which is more corrupt and dysfunctional than the League of Nations ever was. President Obama continues to extend his hand to Iran's rulers, apparently not perceiving the significance when a spokesman for Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei calls it "the hand of Satan in a new sleeve," and - adding racist insult to injury - tells the world: "The Great Satan now has a black face."

Adjustments are being made in the Middle East. In recent days, Ali Larijani, a top aide to Khamenei, has met with Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak. Turkey's leaders have signed multiple agreements with Syrian president Bashar al-Assad, who serves Khamenei, much as Mussolini served Hitler.

Lebanese prime minister Saad Hariri has just spent two days with Assad. He paid this visit,

noted journalist Michael J. Totten, with Hizbollah's bayonet in his back. Assad's regime assassinated Saad Hariri's father, Rafik, in 2005. There is no alternate universe where Saad Hariri is okay with this or where his generically "positive" statements at a press conference were anything other than forced. . . . When Hariri went to Damascus, everyone in the country, aside from useless newswire reporters, understood it meant Syria has re-emerged as the strong horse in Lebanon.

The United States, Europe, the U.N. - all had vowed that Hariri's murderers would be brought to justice. But they haven't been. The "international community" pledged it would not permit political benefit to derive from assassinations ordered in foreign capitals. But that's exactly what has been permitted - and licensed for the future.

After Munich, Churchill experienced moments of intense despair. In the past, he wrote to a friend, "the peace-loving powers have been definitely stronger than the Dictators, but next year we must expect a different balance." Indeed, he said, the democracies were unlikely to survive "unless by a supreme recovery of moral health and martial vigor, we arise and take our stand for freedom as in the olden time."

Today, taking a stand for freedom would require less. We would need to impose serious sanctions on Iran: A strong bipartisan majority in Congress already has voted for legislation that would put that arrow into Obama's quiver. The question is: Will he use it?

In addition, it would be useful to provide - at long last - moral and material support to Iran's courageous anti-regime dissidents. Measures could be taken to isolate and ostracize those most responsible for Iran's oppression at home and terrorism abroad: the leaders of the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps, which may be seen as a kind of Iranian Gestapo. Military measures should remain on the table, in case all peaceful means of restraint prove inadequate.

In the end, Johnson's *Churchill* is inspiring and distressing. Inspiring because Churchill was, finally, vindicated. The Anglo-American alliance recovered its "moral health and martial vigor" and took its stand for freedom. Hitler and the Nazis were decisively defeated. But it's distressing because Churchill's spirit is so little in evidence these days, while the views and values of his detractors echo in the speeches of too many Western policy makers.

Just after Sept. 11, 2001, the British government loaned the White House a bronze bust of Churchill created by the great sculptor Sir Jacob Epstein. Not long after he entered the Oval Office, President Obama sent it back. ▲

*Clifford D. May, a former New York Times foreign correspondent, is the president of the Foundation for Defense of Democracies, a policy institute focusing on terrorism.*

## Seven Myths About Iran

By Bret Stephens

Reprinted from *The Wall Street Journal* (February 2, 2010)

“We have been trying to negotiate [with the Iranians] for five, six years. We’ve tried everything. We have met every Iranian. We have tried to open every possible channel. We’ve had new ideas and the result is this: nothing.”

Thus did a senior Western diplomat recently describe to me his country’s efforts to reach a negotiated settlement with Tehran over its nuclear programs. In doing so, he also finally disposed of the myth, nearly a decade in the making, that Iran was ready to abandon those programs in exchange for a “grand bargain” with the West.

Let’s dispose of a few other myths-and hope it doesn’t take years for the lesson to stick:

(1) Military strikes on Iran’s nuclear facilities would accomplish nothing.

That’s the argument made by Defense Secretary Robert Gates, who last year told a Senate Committee that “a military attack will only buy us time and send the program deeper and more covert.”

Maybe so, but what’s wrong with buying time? Israel’s 1981 attack on Iraq’s Osirak reactor also bought time while driving Saddam’s nuclear programs underground. But it ensured that it was a non-nuclear Iraq that invaded Kuwait and threatened Saudi Arabia nine years later, a point recognized by then-Defense Secretary Dick Cheney when he thanked the Israeli commander of the Osirak operation for making “our job much easier in Desert Storm.”

(2) A strike would rally Iranians to the side of the regime.

The case would be more persuasive if the regime had any remaining claims on Iranian patriotism. It no longer does, if it ever did. It also would be more persuasive if the nuclear program

were as broadly popular as some of the regime’s apologists claim. On the contrary, one of the more popular chants of the demonstrators goes, “Iran is green and fertile, it doesn’t need nukes.”

Yet even if the nuclear program enjoyed widespread support, it isn’t clear how Iranians would react in the event of military strikes. Argentine dictator Leopoldo Galtieri whooped up a nationalist fervor when he invaded the Falklands in 1982, but was ousted from office just a week after Port Stanley fell to the British. When a regime gambles its prestige on a single controversial enterprise, it cannot afford to lose it.

(3) Sanctions don’t work, and usually wind up strengthening the regime at the expense of its own people.

That’s only true when the sanctioned regimes have strong internal controls, relatively pliant populations, and zero interest in international respectability. It’s also true that sanctions alone are never a silver bullet. But as Mark Dubowitz of the Foundation for Defense of Democracies points out, they can be “silver shrapnel,” particularly when the target country is as politically vulnerable as Iran is now, and when it is also critically reliant on the consumption of imported gasoline.

That’s why the House was right when it overwhelmingly approved the Iran Refined Petroleum Sanctions Act in December, and when the Senate unanimously passed a similar bill (against the administration’s objections) last Thursday. Over time, the regime will surely find ways to skirt the sanctions, which prohibit companies that do business in Iran’s energy sector from also doing business in the U.S. But in the critical short term, these sanctions might provoke the kind of mass unrest that could tip the scales against the regime.

(4) The world can live with a nuclear Iran, just

as we live with other nasty nuclear powers.

Assume that’s true. (I don’t.) Can we also live with nuclear Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Turkey? The problem with the “realist” view is that it fails to take account of the fears a nuclear Iran inspires among the status quo regimes in its neighborhood. Containment was complicated enough during the Cold War. Now imagine a four- or five-way standoff among Arabs, Persians, Turks and Israelis, some religiously fanatic, in the world’s most volatile neighborhood.

(5) The Iranian regime is headed for the ash heap of history. The best policy is to do as little as possible until it crumbles from within.

Communist regimes were also destined for the ash heap. Unfortunately, it took them decades to get there, during which they murdered tens of millions of people. It matters a great deal to Iran’s people, and its neighbors, that the regime go quietly. But it also matters that it go quickly, and waiting on events is not a policy.

(6) The more support we show Iran’s demonstrators, the more we hurt their cause.

This was the administration’s view after the June 12 election, as it walked on tiptoes to avoid the perception of “meddling.” The regime accused the U.S. of meddling all the same.

But protest movements like Iran’s (or Poland’s, or South Africa’s) are sustained by a sense of moral legitimacy that global support uniquely conveys. When will American liberals get behind Iranian rights, as they have, say, Tibetan ones? Maybe when President Obama tells them to.

(7) Israel will ultimately dispose of Iran’s nuclear facilities.

The more policy makers fall for the first six myths, the less mythical the seventh one becomes. ▲

## The Death Of the ‘Iran Won’ Myth

By Victor Davis Hanson

Reprinted from *National Review Online* (March 12, 2010)

Did the fall of Saddam Hussein and the violent birth of Iraqi democracy really empower Iran?

That conventional wisdom might have been true in the shorter term during the chaotic Iraqi insurrection, but it was never an accurate assessment over the longer haul - as we are beginning to see, nearly seven years after the Iraq War began.

In the last twelve months, mass civil disobedience has spread throughout Iran, most notably when nearly a million people hit the streets to protest last summer’s rigged elections. There is unrest in Iraq as well, and a myriad of conflicting interests, but note that the tension is of a completely opposite sort. Whereas in Iran an unpopular government uses violence to squelch a majority that seeks free elections, in Iraq a

legitimately elected government enjoys public support against occasional attacks from small cadres of terrorist extremists. So in an Iran supposedly at peace, more died voting than in an Iraq purportedly at war.

The use of Saddam Hussein as a proper balance to Iran was always an atrocious idea - and it is bizarre to hear critics of the war cite post facto his obscene government as a once-necessary check on the Iranian theocracy. Given Saddam’s genocidal policies, and America’s war against him in 1990-91, there was no way that the United States should ever again have used his dictatorship to thwart Iran’s. And while the present democratic government of Iraq is dominated by Shiites - logically, given demographic realities - it is not true that they are all pro-Iranian Muslims who have forfeited their Iraqi identities. In time,

a stable democratic Iraq may be one of the very few mechanisms by which Iranian regional influence can be checked.

That is why Iran for the last five years has done its best to destroy Iraqi democracy, by supplying money and weapons to cross-border terrorists. Yet Iraq has survived, and it is now slowly proving subversive to Iran, albeit in quite a different manner - by reminding Iran’s uneasy Shiite population that free elections are not incompatible with their religion, as they can now readily see from the free, uncensored media across the border. The percentage of Iraqis who turned out for this round of voting was greater than the percentage of Americans who turned out for our landmark election of 2008.

As a result of Saddam’s removal, and the success of the subsequent democracy, Iran is

looking not just at a free Iraq, but also at a semi-autonomous, prosperous, and pro-Western Kurdistan, and a Lebanon without Syrian occupation troops. In the short term, Iran must also weigh in the fact that there are hundreds of American aircraft just across the border in Iraq - basing that would have been impossible under Saddam. And whereas a few years ago Iran was threatening Israel, hand in glove with Saddam Hussein, who was subsidizing the families of suicide bombers on the West Bank, today Iraq is not fueling unrest in the Middle East. If anything it may be, along with Saudi Arabia and Jordan, secretly not upset that Israel might address the ominous Iranian nuclear facilities.

Iraq last month also achieved its highest level of oil exportation since Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait in 1990. And with the latest round of auctions and the new transparent oil contracts, the Iraqis are hoping to reach an incredible figure of 10 million barrels of oil pumped per day within seven years.

Given international interest in Iraq's oil, competitive bidding, and the growing security in the country at large, Iraq might well come close to meeting such once unimaginable goals. If it were to pump another seven or eight million barrels per day, such a spike in production by the nation with the third largest known oil reserves in the world would work to moderate oil prices for years - and thus especially irk Iran.

To pay for its vast terrorist enterprises and its nuclear program, Iran counts on high oil prices. Thus it desperately needs unrest in other countries in the region, depressing their oil production and ensuring price speculation. Meanwhile, its own oil sector is suffering declining sales from sanctions, incompetence, and the country's pariah status. So Tehran may soon face the specter of chronically pumping fewer barrels, without much hope of a near-term return to the old sky-high oil prices - all

at a time when its Iraqi neighbor is suddenly swimming in petrodollars.

For a year, the Obama administration seems to have failed to appreciate these new realities. It snubbed Iraq's legitimate prime minister, Nouri al-Maliki, and instead bragged about its outreach to Iran's thuggish president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. The administration apparently thought that Iraq's future would entail perpetual civil unrest and combat, declining oil production, and a quagmire for the United States. All that, of course, would have helped Iran, just as its antithesis - a stable, consensual oil-exporting state - is increasingly worrying it.

But now the Obama "reset" policy has itself seemingly been reset. Recently Vice President Biden - of "trisect Iraq" fame - predicted that Iraq would become one of the administration's "greatest achievements." And soon afterward, Secretary of State Clinton all but confessed that the much-ballyhooed Obama policy of reaching out to the theocracy with diplomacy, videos, and personal letters, while keeping mum about its brutal crackdown on dissidents, was a failure.

Clinton pointed to a military coup by the Revolutionary Guards that had supposedly seized power from more "moderate" Iranian theocrats, and thus apparently unexpectedly thwarted Obama's otherwise sound policy of American engagement: "We see that the government of Iran - the supreme leader, the president, the parliament - is being supplanted and that Iran is moving toward a military dictatorship."

It is disturbing that Secretary Clinton did not appreciate the long, pernicious history of the Revolutionary Guards' influence inside Iran and their cozy relationship with many in the theocratic elite; but at least she can now, at last, cite some "unforeseen" development that may allow her to backtrack on the administration's disastrous policy of appeasing Iran.

*NRO contributor Victor Davis Hanson is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution, the editor of Makers of Ancient Strategy: From the Persian Wars to the Fall of Rome, and the author of The Father of Us All: War and History, Ancient and Modern.*

Don't expect very many observers to accept the heresy that the post-Saddam Iraq is increasingly becoming Iran's worst nightmare. The Iraq War has left such poisonous antiwar feelings here at home, advocacy for Middle Eastern democracy has been so caricatured as a "neocon" pipe dream, and the cost to America in blood and treasure was so high, that in the current climate it is nearly impossible for most Americans to appreciate the salutary geostrategic effects of the removal of Saddam Hussein and his replacement by a consensual government.

As a first step, just look back at the last few months in both countries, as if the roles had been reversed. Imagine a free and open Iran now holding elections marred by only a few radical Islamic terrorist attacks, while an autocracy in Baghdad ran phony plebiscites and then cracked down on a million Iraqis demanding democratic reform.

In such a scenario, one would expect outrage from the American Left, as it praised a democratic Iran while damning a hopelessly corrupt and violent American puppet in Iraq - and always castigating the United States for ignoring the brave Iraqi protesters in the street.

Why, then, when we have before us reality - and not a "what if?" fantasy - do we show so little appreciation for Iraq's recent successful elections, and even less outrage over the farcical Iranian voting?

In short, the idea of the Iraq War empowering Iran has become as entrenched a myth as "No blood for oil." Both are now deeply embedded within the liberal antiwar narrative. Yet one need not think that the war to remove Saddam Hussein was primarily motivated by a desire to weaken Iran (it was not) to acknowledge that precisely such a welcome development is fast becoming one of the unforeseen dividends of the surprising continuance of Iraqi democracy. ▲

## BRITAIN AND THE JEWS

### England's Not So Pleasant Aspect

By Anthony Julius

Reprinted from *Jewish Chronicle (UK)* (February 4, 2010)

There are many kinds of antisemitism, and among them there are four that have an English provenance, either wholly or in substantial part.

The radical antisemitism of medieval England - one of defamation, expropriation, murder and expulsion - completed itself in 1290, when there were no Jews left to torment. English literary antisemitism has been continuously present from the anonymous medieval ballad *Sir Hugh, or the Jew's Daughter* through to present times. A modern, everyday antisemitism of insult and partial exclusion has also been pervasive, if contained, in this country. This is the common antisemitism experienced by Jews from their "readmission" to England in the mid-17th century through to the late-20th century.

Finally, a new configuration of anti-Zionisms, which treats Zionism and the state of Israel as illegitimate Jewish enterprises, emerged here in the late 1960s and 1970s. This perspective, heavily indebted to antisemitic tropes, constitutes the greatest current threat to Anglo-Jewish security and morale.

This fourth kind of antisemitism is now more European than English but has a particularly English history, stemming from the intimacy of association between England and the Zionist project from the mid-19th century through to the mid-1950s. It denies to Jews the rights that it upholds for other, comparable peoples. It adheres to the principle of national self-determination,

except in the Jews' case. It affirms international law, except in Israel's case. It does not understand that supporting the cause of Palestinian nationhood is one thing, while denying the right of Jews to live in their own state is quite another. It is outraged by the Jewish nature of the state of Israel, but is untroubled by, say, the Islamic nature of Iran or of Saudi Arabia. It regards as racist the social inequalities between Jew and Arab in Israel, while being indifferent to the legal inequalities between Muslim and non-Muslim in Iran, Saudi Arabia, and other Muslim states.

It regards Zionism as uniquely pernicious, rather than as merely another nationalism, just as earlier generations of antisemites regarded Jewish capitalists as uniquely pernicious, rather than as heterogeneous members of a much larger capitalist class.

It writes out of the history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict the massacres of Jews in Hebron (August 1929), Jerusalem (February 1948), and Kfar Etzion (May 1948), while treating the massacre of Arabs at Deir Yasin (April 1948) as proof of fundamental Zionist iniquity. It is reluctant to take a position on the Chinese occupation of Tibet, while holding the Israeli occupation of the West Bank an indefensible evil of global consequence. It is hostile to the United States, which it believes is dominated by Jews. It plays variations on well-established antisemitic tropes and deploys some new ones of its own - principally, that Israel may suitably be compared with Nazi Germany and/or Apartheid South

Africa.

It treats UN, and UN committee and council, resolutions on Israel as if passed by impartial, apolitical bodies. It denies the existence of Islamic antisemitism, save perhaps as a Western import and of no practical consequence. While it excoriates racist sentiments found among Israelis, or in the complex history of Zionism, it refuses to acknowledge the racist themes towards Jews to be found in many currents of Arab nationalism. It overstates, on every occasion, and beyond reason, any case that could be made against Israel's actions or policies, and wildly overstates the significance of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in world affairs.

Longstanding antisemites now embrace "anti-Zionism" as a cover for their Jew-hatred. This is because, in relation to Israel, the antisemite finds a protected voice. The desire to destroy Jews is reconfigured as the desire to destroy or dismantle the Jewish state. The new anti-Zionism has become a cause for some English academics and political activists; it is commonly found in the universities and in student and university teacher associations. Anti-Zionism has renewed antisemitism, and given it a future.

These, then, are England's gifts to Jew-hatred. The antisemitism of no other country has this density of history. The antisemitism of no other country is so continuously innovative. On many occasions in the history of antisemitism, England arrives first. ▲

### Who Is a British Jew?

By David Pryce-Jones

Reprinted from *Commentary* (February 2010)

Anyone accused of racism in Britain stands in danger of extreme condemnation. The historical memory of the cost to the United Kingdom of defeating Nazism is carried along, apparently, by fear of a repeat. With forebodings of that kind in mind, the Race Relations Act of 1976 prohibited discrimination on grounds of "colour, race, nationality, or ethnic or national origins," and subsequent acts have confirmed the thrust of it. The theoretical area between race and ethnicity is a slippery and undifferentiated zone, but the wording of the act seems intended to cover the prejudices that set people apart.

At about that same time, however, the United Nations passed the resolution declaring "Zionism is racism" with the very intention of encouraging

ethnic or racist discrimination against Israel and anyone supporting it. This had a malign contemporary originality all its own. For if Israelis and Jews are truly to be perceived by the world as racist, then they are nothing more than criminals, and they are lost.

The UN resolution was eventually reversed, but the campaign to criminalize Israel as racist has ever since been pursued with persistence and considerable success by Arab and Iranian spokesmen and their well-wishers on the Left. Unexpectedly, indeed unimaginably, a small, localized, and very specific issue in London has added a new and potentially dangerous twist to it.

Last year, Mr. and Mrs. M applied to send their 12-year-old son E to the Jewish Free School, one

of the most famous educational institutions in London (the three protagonists are identified only by initials). The Jewish Free School dates back to the 18th century. One of some 30 Jewish faith schools in Britain, every one subsidized by the state, it has 1,900 pupils and has been such an outstanding academic success for such a long time that every year there are many more applicants than places. Parents are reputed to go to great lengths to get their children in - entering them at birth, changing addresses, and so on.

Mr. M is Jewish and had brought his son up to be Jewish, so it appeared that the family had met the school's essential precondition for entrance. Mrs. M, on the other hand, had been born into a Catholic family but converted to Judaism - and, by coincidence, she is a teacher in the school. A

Reform rabbi had supervised her conversion.

Following the ruling of the Chief Rabbi of Great Britain, Jonathan Sacks, the Jewish Free School decided that E did not qualify for admission because Mrs. M's conversion did not pass the test of Orthodoxy, and therefore their son was not deemed Jewish by the standards of the Jewish community of Great Britain. For the past 2,000 years or so, Jews have considered themselves Jewish by virtue of a Jewish mother - that is, by matrilineal descent.

Mr. M decided to sue the school on grounds of discrimination under the Race Relations Act. Stephen Pollard, editor of the *Jewish Chronicle*, a London weekly that is almost an official voice for Britain's Jewish community, expressed the sudden anxiety that things might well get out of hand: "This is potentially the biggest case in the British Jewish community's modern history. It speaks directly to the right of the state to intervene in how a religion operates."

The fact that there is controversy over E's Jewishness springs from the well-known inability of Jews to devise a consistent answer to the question "Who is a Jew?" More precisely, there are several answers to that question, and some are incompatible with others. In all likelihood, Mr. M wanted only to do the best he could for his boy, but by bringing suit, he was obliging the state to address a question of identity that divides and vexes Jews - a question, moreover, that only Jews themselves are in a position to resolve, and that is, and should be, of no real concern to anyone else.

The case went to court, and the court found in favor of the school. Mr. M then appealed, and last summer the Court of Appeal overturned the earlier ruling. It was legal as well as fair, that court found, for the Jewish Free School to base its admission policy on religion; the JFS is, after all, a parochial institution. But to exclude a pupil on grounds of race or ethnicity would be illegal, and that is what the court decided had occurred. The status of Mrs. M decided the issue. The court held that basing admission to the school on the traditional precondition of having a Jewish mother was some sort of test of ethnicity, not a matter of faith, and therefore discriminatory.

Whether the rationale for the school's policy of admission was "benign or malignant, theological or supremacist, makes it no less and no more unlawful," the court decided. Beneath the obfuscatory complexity of such negatives and adjectives working against each other, there surely lurks a discernible degree of doubt as to whether the court was contented with the implications of what it was doing. The obscurantist language may be explained by an unexpressed fear that the appeals-court judges themselves might be accused of racism.

The case was brought to its final hearing in front of the Law Lords, a 19th-century institution of the House of Lords transformed just this past October into an American-style Supreme Court consisting of nine judges. The Law Lords affirmed the decision of the Appeals Court, deciding that the boy had been excluded on racial grounds in contravention of the Race Relations Act. In its decision, Lord Phillips, the Lord Chief Justice, also detected the odor of ethnicity, without defining what exactly he meant by it: "one thing is

clear about the matrilineal test; it is a test of ethnic origin by definition." Using matrilineal descent to determine who is a Jew for the purposes of admission to the school was, therefore, "discrimination....on racial grounds."

The judges reached their verdict by the slender majority of 5 to 4. They reflected awareness of the delicate ground they were standing on when they said that the Jewish Free School had not been racist in a pejorative sense, and that they did not consider Sacks, the Chief Rabbi, racist either. Sacks did not return the compliment. He finds that the judgment has "branded racist" the Jewish faith, and he made a further point directed against Mrs. M: "One cannot convert to an ethnicity." A spokesman for Sacks summed up the view of Orthodox Jews: "Essentially we must now apply a non-Jewish definition of who is Jewish."

Lord Rodgers, one of the dissenting judges, said that the decision "leads to such extraordinary results, and produces such manifest discrimination against Jewish faith schools in comparison with other faith schools, that one cannot help feeling that something has gone wrong." In a thoughtful article in the *Guardian*, no friend of things Jewish as a rule, Naftali Brawer, a rabbi and an educator, spoke with dismay of what has become "a very heated, difficult and potentially divisive community debate." The ruling "betrayed an appalling insensitivity towards the Jewish community by deeming racist its definition of Jewishness." The *Independent*, also no friend of things Jewish, featured the bald headline, "Jewish School Racially Discriminated, Says Court." No one could have predicted, ran an article in the *Daily Telegraph*, that a modern liberal democracy would take it upon itself to say: "We decide who is a Jew."

Several commentators noted the irony that the Race Relations Act, set up to protect minority groups, has ended up punishing one of them. The court has declared that members of a particular religion do not have the final authority to define themselves, although such a definition has to be the core element of all religions. Neil Addison, a lawyer at the Thomas More Legal Centre, went as far as to declare the ruling redolent of "the most insidious form of totalitarianism":

What the decision means is that the historic Jewish definition of "who is a Jew" is now illegal and Orthodox Jewish organizations and schools can no longer apply their own definitions of membership. As a lawyer I can understand the technical legal argument but as a human being I regard it as a profoundly dangerous extension of state power.

In response to the ruling, the Jewish Free School and the other Jewish faith schools are instituting what is called a Certificate of Religious Practice. Candidates for admission will have their level of Jewish observance tested. In other words, Jewish practice, rather than ethnicity or race, will now be the criterion that will keep the schools on the right side of the Race Relations Act. Parents are now taking their children to Orthodox synagogues to obtain these duly stamped certificates that will serve as passports to a school like the Jewish Free School.

Such a modification would have allowed young

E to enter the school without all this fuss. By now there are evidently large numbers of men and women who are Jews merely because they think they are, not because Jewish law or tradition agrees. Edward Frankel, the great classical scholar who fled from Germany to Oxford in the 1930s, was one example among many, explaining to pupils that his mother was not Jewish, but "Hitler thought me Jewish and what was good enough for him is good enough for me."

That may well be, but the imagery of a religion being forced to comply with a fiat of the state through the means of a stamp - effectively compelling the bureaucratic enforcement of the ultimate private matter in which the state should have no interest-itself has, as Neil Addison pointed out, a whiff of Hitler as well. The ruling also suggests the dangers involved when any religious institution comes to rely on the financial munificence of government.

Even more disturbing, the damage comes at a time when Britain is proving to be one of the most anti-Semitic countries in Europe. The number of attacks on Jews in Britain in 2009 far surpassed those in 2006 and 2008, previously the highest on record. An unusual combination of elite figures, neofascist thugs, and Muslim extremists speaks in unbridled tones about Jewry and the State of Israel, in a manner that suggests that the rhetorical violence is a progenitor of and an explanation for the physical violence taking place.

For example: a tribunal is currently inquiring into the circumstances leading up to the Iraq war of 2003. Two of its five members are the eminent historians Lawrence Freedman and Martin Gilbert. Writing in the *Independent*, Sir Oliver Miles, a former ambassador to Libya (and chairman of MEC International, which lobbies for Arab interests), objected to the tribunal's composition with these words:

Both Gilbert and Freedman are Jewish, and Gilbert at least has a record of active support for Zionism. Such facts are not usually mentioned in the mainstream British and American media....it is a pity that, if and when the inquiry is accused of a whitewash, such handy ammunition will be available. Membership should not only be balanced; it should be seen to be balanced.

In other words, Jews cannot be trusted to be fair or truthful in anything that might involve their own interest. Sir Oliver has since protested that his words do not make him an anti-Semite; and another diplomat, Sir Alistair Hunter, has defended him in print by expressing what has become the characteristic apologia: "Anti-Israel is different from anti-Semitic...There is....a growing tide of outrage at Israel's behaviour towards the Palestinians."

In the meantime, the British government has been openly hardening its policy against Israel; its latest move is to put into operation an implicit boycott of goods and merchandise imported from the West Bank by labeling them to show whether their origins are Israeli or Palestinian. Several trade unions are pushing for wider boycotts. An embargo already exists on some armaments. Recently a firm of British lawyers in cooperation with Hamas applied for a warrant to arrest the Israeli politician Tzipi Livni on charges of war

crimes because she was the Israeli foreign minister during the Gaza fighting at the end of 2008. Warned in advance, Livni, who ran for prime minister in the recent Israeli election as a dove, felt obliged to cancel her visit to England.

Into this gathering climate of hostility drops the verdict of the Law Lords sitting in the Supreme Court, in which, with a sprinkling of qualifications and double negatives, it has stigmatized as racist those Jews most concerned

with hewing to the specifics of Jewish law. The old slogan "Zionism is racism" has, in effect, been revived in a more explicit and comprehensive form: "Judaism is racism." ▲

*David Pryce-Jones is a longtime contributor to Commentary and the author, most recently, of Betrayal: France, the Arabs, and the Jews.*

## An Inconvenient Truth

By Andrew Roberts

Reprinted from *The Spectator (UK)* (December 9, 2009)

*The historian Andrew Roberts delivered this address at the annual dinner of the Anglo-Israel Association.*

My Lords, Ladies & Gentlemen,

It's a great honour to be invited to address you, especially on this the 60th anniversary of AIA, and I'd like to take the opportunity of this anniversary to look at the overall story of the relationship between Britain and Israel, and to try to strip away some of the myths.

Because it seems to me that for all the undoubted statesmanship implicit in Arthur Balfour's Declaration of November 1917, promising 'a National Home for the Jewish People', it doesn't mean that Britain has ever been much more than a fair-weather friend to Jewish national aspirations. The Declaration itself was at least in part conceived to keep Eastern European and Russian Jews supporting the Great War after the Bolshevik Revolution, and Chaim Weizmann's preferred wording of 'a Jewish State' was turned down by the British Foreign Office. As David Ben-Gurion wrote at the time: 'Britain has made a magnificent gesture ... But only the Hebrew people can transform this right into tangible fact: only they, with body and soul, with their strength and capital, must build their National Home and bring about their national redemption.'

Sure enough, at the Versailles Conference and its ancillary meetings up to 1922, although Britain was given the League of Nations Mandate for Palestine, the Jewish National Home was not established. During the Mandate period there was an observable tension between the CO, which was responsible for administering Palestine and wanted to do so within the terms of the (admittedly self-contradictory) Balfour Declaration, and the FO, which feared that allowing the de facto creation of a Jewish State would alienate Arabs. In 1937 the Peel Commission recommended ending the Mandate and partitioning Palestine into Arab and Jewish states, with population transfers of 225,000 Arabs from Galilee, an outcome Ben-Gurion said [quote] 'could give us something which we have never had, even when we stood on our own during the days of the First and Second Temples'. Nonetheless, both the Arabs and the 20th Zionist Congress rejected Peel's recommendations, to the palpable relief of the Foreign Office, which concentrated its own opposition to it on the basis of its supposed impracticality.

Instead there was the notorious 1939 White Paper, which severely limited Jewish immigration into Palestine at precisely the period of their greatest need, during the Final Solution. A total

upper limit of 75,000 Jewish immigrants was set for the fateful years 1940-44, a figure that was also intended to cover refugee emergencies. The White Paper was published on 9 November 1938 - the very same day as the Kristallnacht atrocities in Germany - and was approved by Parliament in May 1939, a full two months after Hitler's occupation of the rump of Czechoslovakia. The *Manchester Guardian* described it as 'a death sentence on tens of thousands of Central European Jews', which in sheer numerical terms was probably an underestimation. Although the Labour Party Conference voted to repeal the White Paper in 1945, the Labour Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin - a bitter enemy of Israel - persisted in it, and it was not to be repealed until the day after the State of Israel was proclaimed.

In late April 1948, Bevin ordered that Arab positions in Jaffa needed to be protected from the Jews [quote] 'at all costs', and when Israeli independence came the next month, the departing British sometimes handed over vital military and strategic strongpoints to the five invading Arab armies, the most efficient of which, Transjordan's Arab Legion, was actually commanded by a Briton, Sir John Glubb. And then on New Year's Eve 1948 the British Government actually issued an ultimatum to Israel threatening war if Israel did not halt its counter-attacks on Egyptian forces in the Gaza Strip and Sinai. Britain was the only country in the UN that came to Egypt's aid in this regard.

One can easily see, therefore, why when Brig-Gen Sir Wyndham Deedes set up the Anglo-Israeli Association only weeks after Israel was finally recognized by Britain in 1949 - months after America, Russia and several other states had already done so - it was much-needed. There was still massive resentment over the War of Independence; Israel was considered at best a headache by the FO; and worst of all, unlike her neighbours, she had no oil. Nor did the Suez Crisis much help matters seven years later: the way in which Israel fitted in neatly with British plans to crush Nasser ought to have endeared her to the Foreign Office, but of course it didn't.

When in May 1967 Nasser announced the blockading of the Straits of Tiran, closing Israel's commercial lifeline to the east, the guarantors of this international waterway - including Britain - failed to act quickly or decisively, and although Harold Wilson was proud of his pro-Israeli sentiments, his foreign secretary George Brown and the FO certainly did not reciprocate them.

Britain compounded its generally lukewarm attitude during the Six Day War by sponsoring Resolution 242 at the end of it, which called on Israel to withdraw [quote] 'from territories occupied', in a resolution that was so badly worded by the FO that Arabs and Israelis have been able to argue over its proper meaning ever since.

The Yom Kippur War of October 1973 saw even worse bias by the FO in favour of the Arabs and against the Jews. Announcing an arms embargo 'equally' between the belligerents, the Heath Government effectively stopped Israel buying spare parts for the IDF's Centurion tanks, whilst allowing them to be bought by Jordan, the only other country affected, because it was not (officially at least) a belligerent. Egyptian helicopter pilots continued to be trained in Britain, with the foreign secretary Sir Alec Douglas-Home lamely telling the Israeli Ambassador that it was better for the pilots to be training in Britain than fighting at the front. Heath even refused to allow American cargo planes taking supplies to Israel to land and refuel at our bases on Cyprus.

In the 1980s Margaret Thatcher seemed to offer a new warmth to Anglo-Israeli relations. She sat for Finchley, her Methodism chimed well with Jewish values, and she was the most philo-Semitic PM since Churchill, yet even she was stymied by the FO, especially over Intelligence cooperation with Mossad. It's true that John Major sent a special SAS unit to seek and destroy Iraqi Scud missile batteries targeting Israel during the First Gulf War, but that was largely to remove the danger of Israel retaliating, and thereby perhaps destroying the Arab coalition against Saddam.

After 9/11 Tony Blair seemed to appreciate how Israel was in the very front line in the War against Terror, and he thus bravely refused to condemn Israel's acts of self-defence in Lebanon, but since then Britain's contribution to the EU's strand of negotiating over Iran's nuclear ambitions has been, frankly, pathetic.

One area of policy over which the FO has traditionally held great sway is in the question of Royal Visits. It is no therefore coincidence that although HMQ has made over 250 official overseas visits to 129 different countries during her reign, neither she nor one single member of the British royal family has ever been to Israel on an official visit. Even though Prince Philip's mother, Princess Alice of Greece, who was recognized as "Righteous Among the Nations" for sheltering a Jewish family in her Athens home

during the Holocaust, was buried on the Mount of Olives, the Duke of Edinburgh was not allowed by the FO to visit her grave until 1994, and then only on a private visit.

“Official visits are organized and taken on the advice of the Foreign and Commonwealth office,” a press officer for the royal family explained when Prince Edward visited Israel recently privately - and a spokesman for the Foreign Office replied that [quote] ‘Israel is not unique’ in not having received an official royal visit, because [quote] ‘Many countries have not had an official visit.’ That might be true for Burkino Faso and Chad, but the FO has somehow managed to find the time over the years to send the Queen on State visits to Libya, Iran, Sudan, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Jordan & Turkey. So it can’t have been that she wasn’t in the area.

Perhaps Her Majesty hasn’t been on the throne long enough, at 57 years, for the Foreign Office to get round to allowing her to visit one of the only democracies in the Middle East. At least she could be certain of a warm welcome in Israel, unlike in Morocco where she was kept waiting by the King for three hours in 90 degree heat, or at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Uganda the time before last, where they hadn’t even finished building her hotel.

The true reason of course, is that the Foreign Office has a ban on official Royal visits to Israel, which is even more powerful for its being unwritten and unacknowledged. As an act of delegitimization of Israel, this effective boycott is quite as serious as other similar acts, such as the academic boycott, and is the direct fault of the FO Arabists. Which brings us on to Mr Oliver Miles.

One of the reasons I’m proud to be an historian is that there are scholars of the integrity and erudition of Prof Sir Martin Gilbert and Prof Sir Lawrence Freedman who also write history. If people as intelligent, wise and incorruptible as they choose to be historians, then it must be an honourable profession. Let me quote to you, therefore, word-for-word, what a former British Ambassador to Libya and Greece, Mr Oliver Miles, wrote in *The Independent* newspaper less than a fortnight ago, commenting on the composition of the present Chilcot Inquiry into the Iraq War:

‘Both Gilbert and Freedman are Jewish, and Gilbert at least has a record of active support for Zionism. Such facts are not usually mentioned in the mainstream British and American media. ... All five members have outstanding reputations and records, but it is a pity that, if and when the inquiry is accused of a whitewash, such handy

ammunition will be available. Membership should not only be balanced; it should be seen to be balanced.’

Ladies and gentlemen, if that’s the way that FO Arabists are prepared to express themselves in public, can you imagine the way that they refer to such people as Professors Gilbert and Freedman in private? For the balance that Mr Miles is talking about here is clearly a racial balance, that only a certain quota of Jews should have been allowed on to the Inquiry.

Of course there’s a reason why ‘Such facts are not usually mentioned in the mainstream media’, of course, and that is because it is a disgraceful and disgusting concept even to notice the racial background of such distinguished public servants, and one that wouldn’t have even occurred to most people had not Mr Miles made such a point of it.

Because there are 22 ambassadors to Arab countries, and only one to Israel, it is perhaps natural that the FO should tend to be more pro-Arab than pro-Israeli. On occasion there are remarkably good British Ambassadors to Israel - your president, Sir Andrew Burns, was one such in the early 1990s - just as there are on occasion remarkably good Israeli Ambassadors to Britain, indeed we are fortunate to have one at the Embassy today in Ron Prozor. Overall, however, such men are swimming against the tide of an FO assumption that Britain’s relations with Israel ought constantly to be subordinated to her relations with other Middle Eastern states, especially the oil-rich ones, however badly those states behave in terms of human rights abuses, the persecution of Christians, the oppression of women, medieval practices of punishment, and so on.

It seems to me that there is an implicit racism going on here. Jews are expected to behave better, goes the FO thinking, because they are like us. Arabs must not be chastised because they are not. So in warfare, we constantly expect Israel to behave far better than her neighbours, and chastise her quite hypocritically when occasionally under the exigencies of national struggle, she cannot. The problem crosses political parties today, just as it always has. William Hague called for Israel to adopt a proportionate response in its struggle with Hezbollah in Lebanon in 2007, as though proportionate responses ever won any victories against fascists. In the Second World War, the Luftwaffe killed 50,000 Britons in the Blitz, and the Allied response was to kill 600,000 Germans - twelve times the number and hardly a proportionate response, but one that contributed mightily to victory. Who are we therefore to lecture the Israelis on how proportionate their

responses should be?

Very often in Britain, especially when faced with the overwhelmingly anti-Israeli bias that is endemic in our liberal media and the BBC, we fail to ask ourselves what we would not do placed in the same position? The population of the United Kingdom of 63 millions is nine times that of Israel. In July 2006, to take one example entirely at random, Hezbollah crossed the border of Lebanon into Israel and killed 8 patrolmen and kidnapped 2 others, and that summer fired 4,000 Katyusha rockets into Israel which killed a further 43 civilians. Now, if we multiply those numbers by nine to get the British equivalent, just imagine what we would not do if a terrorist organization based as close as Calais were to fire 36,000 rockets into Sussex and Kent, killing 387 British civilians, after killing 72 British servicemen in an ambush and capturing a further eighteen? I put it to you that there is absolutely no lengths to which our Government would not go to protect British subjects under those circumstances, and quite right too. So why should Israel be expected to behave any differently?

There has hardly been a single year since Brigadier-General Deedes established AIA in 1949 when a speaker has not been able to say that Israel faced a crisis, and on some occasions - in 1956, 1967, 1973 and especially in the face of the present Iranian nuclear programme today - these were existential. At a time when Barack Obama appears to be least pro-Israeli president since Eisenhower, the dangers are even more obvious. For there is simply no way that Obama will prevent Ahmadinejad, perhaps Jewry’s most viciously outspoken and dangerous foe since the death of Adolf Hitler, to acquire a nuclear Bomb.

None of us can pretend to know what lies ahead for Israel, but if she decides pre-emptively to strike against such a threat - in the same way that Nelson pre-emptively sank the Danish Fleet at Copenhagen and Churchill pre-emptively sank the Vichy Fleet at Oran - then she can expect nothing but condemnation from the British Foreign Office. She should ignore such criticism, because for all the fine work done by this Association over the past six decades - work that’s clearly needed as much now as ever before - Britain has only ever really been at best a fairweather friend to Israel.

Although History does not repeat itself, it’s cadences do occasionally rhyme, and if the witness of History is testament to anything it is testament to this:

That in her hopes of averting the threat of a Second Holocaust, only Israel can be relied upon to act decisively in the best interests of the Jews. ▲

## British Radicalization Studies

By Douglas Murray

Reprinted from *The Wall Street Journal* (January 8, 2010)

Shortly after he tried to bring down flight 253 to Detroit on Christmas Day, Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab became the fourth former head of a British university Islamic Society (ISOC) to have been charged with a serious

terrorism offense. This is only the tip of the problem. Shaming as it is, during his time studying at University College London (UCL), Abdulmutallab was in the most conducive environment an Islamic extremist could inhabit

outside Waziristan.

It is a situation that has come about despite repeated warnings. And I should know, because I’ve been one of the people trying to do the warning.

The results are often surreal. Just before Christmas, the al Qaeda preacher Anwar al-Awlaki was the subject of an airstrike on his Yemen home that killed many al Qaeda operatives. Only last April my organization was trying to explain to London's City University why he was not a suitable person to address, by video-link, their Islamic Society. Despite already having been known to be spiritual mentor to two of the 9/11 hijackers, he has been advertised as the "distinguished guest" speaker at the U.K.'s Federation of Student Islamic Societies' (FOSIS) annual dinner in 2003, and at Westminster University in 2006. Awlaki is now thought to be the connection between Abdumutallab and the people who gave him the bomb with which he intended to bring down the Detroit flight.

A year and a half ago the think tank I head in London released "Islam on Campus." The reasons for commissioning the report struck me as obvious: The list of Muslim students from the U.K. who had become active in Islamist terrorism was substantial and growing.

It was a graduate of the London School of Economics who kidnapped and beheaded *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl in 2002. It was two undergraduates from Kings College London who carried out a suicide bombing in a bar in Tel Aviv the following year.

But as the list of British students turning to terrorism grew, so did the denial that there was anything wrong.

Our report, published in the summer of 2008, uncovered routine extremist preaching on U.K. campuses as well as the propagation of extremist texts. In conjunction with the polling company YouGov, we also carried out and published what remains the only major survey to date of Muslim student opinions in the U.K. The results were deeply disturbing.

The poll showed that one in three Muslim students believed that killing in the name of their religion could be justified. That figure almost

doubled to 60% among respondents who were active members of their universities' ISOCs. Other results included the discovery that 40% of Muslim students polled supported the introduction of sharia law into British law, and that 58% of students active in their ISOC supported the idea of the introduction of a worldwide Caliphate.

These horrifying opinions rightly shocked the newspaper-reading public. But the response from government and the university authorities was not to tackle the problem, but rather to attack the messengers.

FOSIS, which had been heavily criticized in the report, "rejected the conclusions utterly." The National Union of Students followed suit.

Then Higher Education minister, Bill Rammell, entered the debate and studiously stepped onto the wrong side. Mr. Rammell congratulated FOSIS and the National Union of Students, expressing himself "pleased at the speed with which [they] have dismissed the findings." I hope those words don't come back to haunt him.

Mr. Rammell's reaction epitomizes the problem. University authorities and the government would rather ignore the embarrassment than tackle it. And when they do address it, it is almost always to attack those shouting "fire" rather than those working to start one. Last year during Israel's operation in Gaza, I was due to chair a debate at the London School of Economics on Islam and democracy. Radical students already holding an "occupation" on campus apparently threatened violence if I - known to be a critic of radical Islam and a friend of Israel - was to appear. The result was that the university authorities asked me to stay away from campus, saying they could not ensure my security or that of the audience.

As I enjoyed a quiet evening in, the irony of the situation was not lost. Every month in Britain extremist Islamic speakers preach a message of intolerance and hatred at the invitation of Islamic societies. It is one of the reasons people like Abdumutallab are so often created and nurtured

here in Britain.

Only last month I wrote to the president of Abdumutallab's former university at the University College of London, asking why he had, for the second time in a year, allowed a speaking invitation to go out to Abu Usama adh Dhahabee. Dhahabee's views include that women are mentally deficient, and that apostates from Islam, as well as homosexuals, should be killed. He also teaches where and when to carry out violent jihad. His invitation to UCL was rescinded only after heavy pressure from campaign groups. Last February my organization stepped in twice to prevent Hamas adviser and advocate Azzam Tamimi addressing UCL students on campus. In an interview with the BBC, Tamimi famously said that if he had the opportunity to become a suicide bomber "for Palestine . . . I would do it."

Such poison has spread throughout our universities. It means students at a vulnerable stage of their development are routinely subjected to views that most people, including many British Muslims, would find hair-raising. On campus, such views are normalized and excused.

Just weeks before the attempted massacre on Christmas Day, FOSIS spokesman Qasim Rafiq, who succeeded the Detroit bomber as president of the UCL's ISOC, said "There is no substantial evidence to suggest extremism is prevalent on any U.K. campus." It is a line that many people would like to hear. But it is also a lie.

That lie has once again been exposed. But it must also be dealt with. That means both dealing with the extremists, and dealing with all those who, through ignorance, malice, or fear, have become the assistant idiots of Islamist terrorism, enabling the radicalization and recruitment of a generation. Even now the president of UCL is trying to divert attention by accusing his critics of "Islamophobia." It strikes me that our ivory towers, like our Parliament, are more than overdue for a clear-out. ▲

*Mr. Murray is the director of London's Center for Social Cohesion. His latest co-authored book, "Victims of Intimidation: Freedom of Speech within Europe's Muslim Communities," was published in 2008.*

## Anti-Israel Bias Infects Medical Journal

By Barbara Kay

Reprinted from *Pajamasmedia.com* (February 4, 2010)

As all doctors know, untreated gangrene in a single limb can spread quickly through the body and lead to death. The most effective way to halt the progress of gangrene is to cut off the corrupting limb, a necessary sacrifice for the greater good.

As with bodies, so with scientific credibility.

As Phyllis Chesler informed us in these pages on January 24, *Lancet*, once an impeccable source for authoritative medical research, has in recent years become more and more "Palestinianized." In the just-published article she cites, "Association between exposure to political violence and intimate-partner violence in the occupied Palestinian territory: a cross-sectional study," Palestinian husbands were found to be

more violent towards their wives as a function of the Israeli "occupation" - "and . . . the violence increases significantly when the husbands are 'directly' as opposed to 'indirectly' exposed to political violence."

Very clever. Being a Palestinian means you get to beat your wife without having to say you're sorry, because, hey, it's too bad about all those bruises, but the Israelis made me do it! That the statistics were gathered and the study was funded by the Palestinian Authority should have been a clue to its lack of objectivity. This is propaganda, not research.

It isn't only *Lancet*, though. Editorial views in the prestigious *British Medical Journal* and the *Journal of the Royal College of Physicians*

(recently renamed *Clinical Medicine*) have revealed a similar pattern of anti-Israel bias.

In the February 2009 issue of *Commentary* (requires a login), an official organ of the Royal College of Physicians of London, for example, an inflammatory "special" article erroneously claims, amongst other falsehoods, that Palestinian physicians were prevented from traveling abroad for training and conferences. This was especially galling to Israeli medical professionals because, as Hebrew University Professor Oded Abramsky wrote in an open letter to the Royal College of Physicians: "The level of cooperation between Israeli and Gazan hospitals and medical personnel and the cross-border treatment of the ill and wounded is without question greater than between

any two other entities in the world who are nominally (and sometimes actively) at war. Therefore, please keep medicine and politics separate, for the good of all, as we try to do in Israel." An apology by the journal was later (grudgingly) issued.

To prove that bias amongst British medical research elites is systemic rather than random, a group of Israeli medical academics, led by Prof. Yehuda Shoenfeld, editor-in-chief of the *Israeli Medical Association Journal*, assessed coverage of conflict-related deaths around the world.

Their study analyzed citations in the *British Medical Journal*, a wholly owned subsidiary of the British Medical Association, finding that: for Europeans killing Europeans (Bosnia), there was one citation for every 2,000 deaths; for Africans killing Africans (Rwanda), one citation for every 4,000 deaths; for Arabs killing black Africans (Darfur), one citation for every 7,000 deaths; for Arab Muslims killing Kurds, *no citation whatsoever*; yet, for Israelis killing Palestinians, one citation for every 13 deaths.

The Brits aren't alone in their politicization of science. But because of the long ancestry of their journals and the reflexive respect they command, the British organs are looked up to as role models; when they allow ideology to trump accuracy and objectivity, they give encouragement to unsubstantiated elements in other research entities.

And so now the gangrene is everywhere, even in my own backyard. Canadian scientific scholarship

is generally widely respected and used to be entirely credible. But as early as 2004 the *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry* published an article, "Prevalence of Psychological Morbidity in West Bank Palestinian Children," whose thrust is to blame the Israeli occupation for the psychological problems of Palestinian children. The methodology is transparently shoddy and no attempt is made to obscure the partisanship governing the focus. Any objective study would have sought to compare data about the suffering of Israeli children under constant threat of (and actual) terrorism. Worse, from a scientific point of view, not a single one of the authors is academically accredited in psychology or psychiatry. It took months before a letter of rebuttal was accepted for publication. By then the damage was done.

It's too bad these medical journals don't choose to highlight the amazing medical benefits Israel has brought to Palestinians. As detailed in a May 30, 2009, study by U.S. medical researchers Ted H. Tulchinsky et al., Palestinians in the territories boast the lowest age- and sex-standardized mortality rate per 100,000 of all Middle Eastern Arab populations. Since 1972 immunization coverage in the territories has reached 99%. Polio and measles have been eradicated. Life expectancy rose from 54 in 1970 to 73 in 2007. Major sanitation and disease-control projects have reduced morbidity and hospital admissions.

And of Israeli and North American doctors

giving of their time and expertise to improve the medical lot of Palestinians, there seems to be no end. Some Toronto heart surgeons, to cite but one shining example, 10 years ago founded a strictly non-political, non-sectarian group called Save a Child's Heart (SACH), whose motto is "mending hearts, building bridges." Headquartered at Woolfson Hospital in Tel Aviv, with satellite offices in the U.S., the UK, and Germany, SACH has operated on 2,100 children from 35 different countries at a cost of about \$10,000 per child. Almost half of them are from neighboring Arab countries, including the West Bank, of course. Money raised by SACH also goes to train foreign medical teams. During the Gazan conflict, an infant nephew of the Hamas minister of defense was brought in for urgent heart surgery.

Why don't *Lancet* and the others choose to write the good medical news about Israel? They could start with Israel's stellar performance following the recent earthquake in Haiti, where by all accounts the Israeli field hospital and human and material resources rose head and shoulders over every other country's.

If the medical profession were a human body, any objective doctor would issue the obvious warning that if it wants to thrive - in academic terms, to be taken seriously by real scholars - it must cut off the gangrenous anti-Israel limb that has already turned black and stinks to high heaven.

Time is running out. Physicians, heal thyselfes. ▲

## Jihadists Groom Children In the UK Under 10

By Marie Woolf

Reprinted from *The Sunday Times (UK)* (January 10, 2010)

Police have identified children as young as seven being groomed for terrorism, with some expressing a wish to become suicide bombers.

Up to 10 primary school pupils, aged between seven and 10, have been placed on a government outreach programme for individuals considered at risk of being radicalised and turning to violence.

Some have taken inspiration from jihadi websites or after viewing extremist material in Islamic bookshops.

One child was referred to the programme by his teacher after writing on a school book: "I want to be a suicide bomber."

Other youngsters were identified by their parents after suddenly adopting traditional

Muslim dress or espousing extremist views.

At least 228 people, mostly teenagers and young men aged 15-24, have been referred to the anti-terrorism Channel project after being singled out as "potentially vulnerable to violent extremism."

"For people to be identified there have to be distinct changes in behaviour and warning signs," said Craig Denholm, deputy chief constable of Surrey police who oversees the programme. "We assess each one on its own merits. There is a very small number of children aged seven, eight and nine."

The Channel project was launched after the 7/7 suicide attacks in London in 2005, when 52 commuters died.

It is run by the Home Office and the Association of Chief Police Officers, but also involves schools, social workers and youth workers. Those displaying "concerning behaviour" are monitored by police, their parents are alerted and some are provided with mentors with moderate views.

"The programme is not appropriate for people who are dangerous or have passed over into violent extremism," said Denholm. "The whole purpose is to persuade."

Community policing tactics have been used in an attempt to divert them from an extremist path. Some of the children are offered "diversionary" activities, such as football coaching, or are sent on outdoor adventure courses to try to integrate them into mainstream society. ▲

## WHAT PRICE AIRLINE SECURITY?

### *What Israel Can Teach Us About Security*

By Cathal Kelly

Reprinted from *Toronto Star* (December 31, 2009)

While North America's airports groan under the weight of another sea-change in security protocols, one word keeps popping out of the mouths of experts: Israelification.

That is, how can we make our airports more like Israel's, which deal with far greater terror threats with far less inconvenience.

"It is mind boggling for us Israelis to look at what happens in North America, because we went through this 50 years ago," said Rafi Sela, the president of AR Challenges, a global transportation security consultancy. He has worked with the RCMP, the U.S. Navy Seals and airports around the world.

"Israelis, unlike Canadians and Americans, don't take s--- from anybody. When the security agency in Israel (the ISA) started to tighten security and we had to wait in line for - not for hours - but 30 or 40 minutes, all hell broke loose here. We said, 'We're not going to do this. You're going to find a way that will take care of security without touching the efficiency of the airport.'"

Despite facing dozens of potential threats each day, the security set-up at Israel's largest hub, Tel Aviv's Ben Gurion International Airport, has not been breached since 2002, when a passenger mistakenly carried a handgun onto a flight. How do they manage that?

The first layer of actual security that greets travellers at Ben Gurion is a roadside check. All drivers are stopped and asked two questions: How are you? Where are you coming from?

"Two benign questions. The questions aren't important. The way people act when they answer them is," Sela said.

Once you've parked your car or gotten off your bus, you pass through the second and third security perimeters.

Armed guards outside the terminal observe passengers as they move toward the doors, again looking for odd behaviour. At Ben Gurion's half-dozen entrances, another layer of security is watching. At this point, some travellers will be randomly taken aside, and their person and their luggage run through a magnometer.

"This is to see that you don't have heavy metals on you or something that looks suspicious," said Sela.

You are now in the terminal. As you approach your airline check-in desk, a trained interviewer takes your passport and ticket. They ask a series of

questions: Who packed your luggage? Has it left your side?

"The whole time, they are looking into your eyes - which is very embarrassing. But this is one of the ways they figure out if you are suspicious or not. It takes 20, 25 seconds," said Sela.

Lines are staggered. People are not allowed to bunch up into inviting targets for a bomber who has gotten this far.

At the check-in desk, your luggage is scanned immediately in a purpose-built area. Sela plays devil's advocate - what if you have escaped the attention of the first four layers of security, and now try to pass a bag with a bomb in it?

"I once put this question to Jacques Duchesneau (the former head of the Canadian Air Transport Security Authority): say there is a bag with Play-Doh in it and two pens stuck in the Play-Doh. That is 'Bombs 101' to a screener. I asked Duchesneau, 'What would you do?' And he said, 'Evacuate the terminal.' And I said, 'Oh. My. God.'"

"Take (Toronto's) Pearson (airport). Do you know how many people are in the terminal at all times? Many thousands. Let's say I'm (doing an evacuation) without panic - which will never happen. But let's say this is the case. How long will it take? Nobody thought about it. I said, 'Two days.'"

A screener at Ben Gurion has a pair of better options.

First, the screening area is surrounded by contoured, blast-proof glass that can contain the detonation of up to 100 kilos of plastic explosive. Only the few dozen people within the screening area need be removed, and only to a point a few metres away.

Second, all the screening areas contain 'bomb boxes.' If a screener spots a suspect bag, he/she is trained to pick it up and place it in the box, which is blast proof. A bomb squad arrives shortly and wheels the box away for further investigation.

"This is a very small, simple example of how we can simply stop a problem that would cripple one of your airports," Sela said.

Five security layers down: you now finally arrive at the only one which Ben Gurion airport shares with Pearson - the body and hand-luggage check.

"But here it is done completely, absolutely 180 degrees differently than it is done in North

America," Sela said.

"First, it's fast - there's almost no line. That's because they're not looking for liquids, they're not looking at your shoes. They're not looking for everything they look for in North America. They just look at you," said Sela. "Even today with the heightened security in North America, they will check your items to death. But they will never look at you, at how you behave. They will never look into your eyes ... and that's how you figure out the bad guys from the good guys."

The goal at Ben Gurion is to move fliers from the parking lot to the airport lounge in 25 minutes tops.

And then there's intelligence. In Israel, Sela said, a coordinated intelligence gathering operation produces a constantly evolving series of threat analyses and vulnerability studies.

"There is absolutely no intelligence and threat analysis done in Canada or the United States," Sela said. "Absolutely none."

But even without the intelligence, Sela maintains, Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab - who allegedly tried to blow up Northwest Airlines Flight 253 on Christmas Day - would not have gotten past Ben Gurion's behavioural profilers.

So. Eight years after 9/11, why are we still so reactive?

Sela first blames our leaders, and then ourselves.

"You can easily do what we do. You don't have to replace anything. You have to add just a little bit - technology, training," Sela said. "But you have to completely change the way you go about doing airport security. And that is something that the bureaucrats have a problem with. They are very well enclosed in their own concept."

And rather than fear, he suggests outrage would be a far more powerful spur to provoking that change.

"Do you know why Israelis are so calm? We have brutal terror attacks on our civilians and still, life in Israel is pretty good. The reason is that people trust their defence forces, their police, their response teams and the security agencies. They know they're doing a good job. You can't say the same thing about Americans and Canadians. They don't trust anybody," Sela said. "But they say, 'So far, so good.' Then if something happens, all hell breaks loose and you've spent eight hours in an airport. Which is ridiculous. Not justifiable." ▲

## Profile Me If You Must

By Michael J. Totten

Reprinted from *Contentions (Commentary)* (December 31, 2009)

I don't want to be profiled at the airport. It has happened before, and I hate it. Volunteering for more isn't what I feel like doing right now, but our airport security system is so half-baked and dysfunctional it may as well not even exist, and flying is about to become more miserable anyway. So rather than doubling down on grandma and micromanaging everyone on the plane, we might want to pay as much attention to people as to their luggage, especially military-aged males who make unusual and suspicious-looking travel arrangements. That's what the Israelis do, and that's why security agents take me into a room and interrogate me every time I pass through Ben-Gurion International Airport.

Israeli airport security is the most thorough and strict in the world, as one might expect in one of the most terrorized countries. No plane leaving Ben-Gurion has ever been hijacked or otherwise attacked by a terrorist. The system works, yet you don't have to take off your shoes in the security line, no one cares if you pack perfume from the duty-free in your carry-on, you can listen to your iPod 55 minutes before landing, and you don't have to stand in front of invasive and expensive body-scanning machines.

The Israelis look for weapons, of course. You aren't at all likely to sneak one on board. Just as important, though, the Israelis are on the look-out for terrorists. Who would you rather sit next to? A woman carrying shampoo and tweezers, or 9/11 hijacker Mohammad Atta, even if he's not carrying anything?

Israeli security agents interview everyone, and they subject travelers who fit certain profiles to additional scrutiny. I don't know exactly what their criteria are, but I do know they aren't just taking Arabs and Muslims aside. They take me aside, too, partly because of my gender and age

but mostly because a huge percentage of my passport stamps are from countries with serious terrorist problems.

"Does anyone in Lebanon know you're here?" they usually ask me. They've also asked if I've ever met with anyone in Hezbollah. I am not going to lie during an airport security interview, especially not when the answer can be easily found using Google. They know I've met with Hezbollah. That's why my luggage gets hand-searched one sock at a time while elderly tourists from Florida skate through. I can't say I enjoy this procedure, but I don't take it personally, and it makes a lot more sense than letting me skate through while grandma's luggage is hand-searched instead.

The United States need not and should not import the Israeli system. It's labor intensive, slow, and at times incredibly aggravating. Americans wouldn't put up with it, and it wouldn't scale well. The one thing we can and should learn from the Israelis, though, is that we need to pay as much attention to who gets on airplanes as to what they're bringing on board.

I don't like being profiled, but the Israelis aren't wrong for looking more closely at me than at, say, an 80-year-old black woman from Kansas or a 12-year-old kid from Japan. When I get on a plane in the United States, though, I often breeze past women decades older than me while they're being frisked. Almost every single person in line knows it's ridiculous. We don't say anything, partly because we don't want to get in trouble, and partly because it feels vaguely "fair."

Maybe it is, but it's no way to catch terrorists. And it's not as if the only alternative is a separate policy for Arabs and Muslims. Racial and religious profiling won't even work. Shoe bomber

Richard Reid wouldn't have been caught that way, and it's probably safe to let a 90 year-old woman from Dubai through with minimal hassle.

Right now there appears to be no effort whatsoever to discriminate among passengers using any criteria, let alone racist criteria. "Pants bomber" Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab did not have a passport, did not have any luggage, and bought a one-way ticket with cash. His name is in a database of possible terrorists. Any Christians, Buddhists, Hindus, Jews, or all-American white boys from Iowa who fit that description should be stopped. Abdulmutallab wasn't stopped. In 2004, though, Senator Ted Kennedy found himself with his name on the no-fly list.

The TSA's whole mindset is wrong. Its agents confiscate things, even harmless things, and they apply additional scrutiny to things carried by people selected at random. If they were also tasked with looking for dangerous people, they would rightly ease up on grandmothers and senators, and they'd have a competently compiled list in the computer of those who are known to be dangerous. And if some kind of broad profiling means I'll have to suffer the indignity of being frisked while the nun in line behind me does not, it's no worse, really, than the embarrassment and contempt I'll feel if the nun gets frisked instead.

Security agents will never find everything or everyone. It's impossible. Abdulmutallab sewed a bomb into his underwear. Not even the most draconian new rules imaginable will allow agents to search inside anyone's underwear. Patting down grandpa below the mid-thigh won't do any good. Patting down Abdulmutallab below the mid-thigh wouldn't have done any good either - all the more reason to start paying as much attention to people as to what they carry. ▲

## Congratulations, Osama

By David Lapin

Reprinted from *The Jerusalem Post* (January 3, 2010)

Congratulations on an outstanding job, Osama. You masterfully pulled the strings, and the most powerful nation in the world jumped. You caused turmoil in major airports around the world on the busiest travel day of the year, cancelling and delaying thousands of flights. Now we discover that there is a new place to hide explosives as we scurry around to devise solutions.

Creating havoc at airports will divert our attention from your real targets. Perhaps our fragile electricity grid? Or our cyber-dependency? Homeland Security, always a step behind you, frantically searches for bombs in the last places you hid them. Since Richard Reid's 2001 shoe-bombing attempt, we remove our shoes before we fly, much as you do before you pray. We are searched for liquids since the 2006 plot to

blow up 10 transatlantic flights. You must be chuckling. Now they will have to search our underwear!

As Roey Rosenblith, a passenger on Friday's flight is quoted in Toronto's *The Globe and Mail*, "Even if he had been thoroughly frisked, the only way the guard would have noticed anything is if he literally put his hands down the guy's pants and searched his groin."

Even the Secretary of Homeland Security is confused. The Sunday after the incident, she claimed that the airport security system was not broken. The next day, she reversed her comments. Both of her opposing claims are right.

Rosenblith wrote in the *Huffington Post* that everyone boarding the NWA flight in Amsterdam was interviewed by a team of around 10 personal screeners. He said that he was frisked so

thoroughly that he began to wonder if the Dutch security official was enjoying himself. They did all they could. And yet Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab succeeded at getting through security.

He got through because although the system is working, the people are not. This is America's greatest strength and also its most perilous weakness. We are brilliant at systems, processes and technology. But in the pursuit of and reliance on technology, the American mind has become fat, lazy and complacent. Any intelligent human could have prevented a man with explosives strapped to his body from boarding a flight only weeks after the man's father warned US authorities of his son's growing radicalism. All that was required was someone to ask questions and connect dots; 9/11 could have been prevented

in the very same way.

Ben-Gurion Airport is in one of the most targeted countries in the world for acts of terrorism. Yet it has successfully managed to avoid hijacking and bombing attempts, even though security there is usually much quicker than at any US airport of similar size. Perhaps this is because security at Ben-Gurion does not rely only on technology. Security officers there do not mindlessly monitor people taking off shoes and belts as they walk through metal detectors. They are not just looking for bombs. They are looking for stories, connections and intelligence, and they hire and train brilliant people to look for those stories by asking probing questions.

Once, after clearing security there, an officer looked into my eyes and said, "Do you know why I am asking you these questions?" And then she said with compelling sincerity, "I really don't want anything to happen to you."

I believe she was telling the truth. To her, her job was not about checking boxes to make sure that if a plane went down, her own back was covered. Her job was much more meaningful than that. Her job was to care about me and tens of thousands of other travelers that day, and she was passionately committed to it. She was applying her considerable skill, training and intelligence to her job in the most caring way.

The security check was fast, not unpleasant and genuinely reassuring. Only wisdom and intelligence can foil an intelligent enemy. Machines and process alone cannot.

The need for wisdom over and above technology goes beyond security. We will not maintain our global lead in any field with process and technology alone; we will also need much more human brilliance. Process and technology can be copied, brilliance cannot. Even in the field of technology itself, can a nation continue to lead

if it relies more on process than on thinking? Dan Senor and Saul Singer's *Start-up Nation: The Story of Israel's Economic Miracle* argues that it cannot.

Process and information is about having the best answers, wisdom is about asking the best questions. Instead of educating our children to have the "right" answers, we should educate them to ask the right questions. Law enforcement and airport security personnel should be trained to ask more questions, not just to rudely yell out childish instructions about computers and liquids. The country's intelligence systems need to preempt rather than react.

Whether Abdulmutallab was an insignificant individual or part of a bigger plan, he highlighted the fact that we can never have all the right answers. However we can ask all the right questions, and in the wise question, the Talmud says, lies half the answer. ▲

*The writer is CEO of Lapin International, a Los Angeles-based consulting firm that develops next-generation business leaders capable of mobilizing human energy and transforming it into quick, measurable results. He has trained over a thousand senior criminal justice professionals as part of the Department of Justice's National Institute Against Hate Crimes and Terrorism at the Los Angeles Museum of Tolerance.*

## Infrastructure Protection

By Avi Schnurr

Reprinted from *ePolitiX.com* (March 5, 2010)

From the Great Fire of London to the Blitz in the Second World War, the United Kingdom's unique and turbulent history helped mould a proactive national character, capable of meeting new and unfamiliar threats. That character will soon be put to the test by one of the greatest dangers facing the developed world.

The story began on September 2, 1859 when, about 24 hours after British astronomer Richard Carrington witnessed a massive flare on the surface of the sun, the telegraph network - the only electrical system then in existence - was burned out all over the world.

Then in 1962, when the United States and the Soviet Union performed the first upper atmosphere nuclear tests, there was a similar, remarkable phenomenon as street lights, electrical systems and even underground cables shorted out more than 1,000 kilometres from the tests.

Scientists concluded that a nuclear detonation in space creates an electromagnetic pulse, or EMP, which can damage or destroy electrical equipment over huge regions of the earth.

In spite of this long history, it is only recently that these two threats have become a focus of serious concern. New research and a changing geopolitical reality have moved both subjects onto national and international agendas.

After a growing number of solar flare-related incidents, NASA recently conducted a detailed study on severe space weather. The results,

published last year, show that Carrington-class solar flares occur about once per century. With the last such flare over 150 years ago, the report warns that a severe flare could occur any time, causing long-duration, catastrophic failure of vital electric infrastructures.

As study principal investigator John Kappenman pointed out, the crisis would begin with failure of the electric grid, with "water distribution affected within several hours; perishable foods and medications lost in 12-24 hours; loss of heating/air conditioning, sewage disposal, phone service, fuel re-supply and so on". And with replacement times of months to a year or more for the electric grid's largest transformers, this would mean unprecedented disaster, leaving millions without basic requirements for survival.

At the same time, while concerns have been expressed over the EMP threat for years, it is only recently that increasing proliferation has led analysts to conclude that we have passed a new threshold of risk.

Testifying before the United States House of Representatives Committee on Homeland Security in July 2009, Dr William R. Graham, chairman of the Congressional EMP Commission, warned that Iran, North Korea and other potentially hostile states are approaching the capability to launch a devastating attack.

Iran, he testified, has openly discussed an EMP attack against the West, and has tested sea-launched missiles, apparently configured for

an EMP-style high-altitude explosion. He explained that the electromagnetic pulse generated by a high-altitude nuclear explosion "has the capability to produce widespread and long-lasting disruption and damage to the critical infrastructures that underpin the fabric of US society."

This pulse, he said, "is one of a small number of threats that can hold our society at risk of catastrophic consequences". And with the potential for country-wide devastation from a single, barge-launched missile in the hands of a rogue nation or even a terror group, Graham pointed out that today's unprecedented vulnerability invites nuclear EMP attack.

But as bad as it is, this threat has a remarkable - and exploitable - weakness. A national electric grid can be protected relatively quickly with inexpensive design changes that would harden it against both the EMP and solar flare threats. According to the Commission, this is a critical priority, more urgent than enhanced deterrence or missile defense.

It is impossible to predict how much time we have, but we are overdue for a severe solar flare, and the EMP Commission reports a growing list of nations and non-state actors that may soon be capable of launching an EMP strike.

The United Kingdom's complex history has made it especially alert to dangerous new threats, and a serious dialogue is now beginning in Parliament. It is an important, and timely, start. ▲

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