WHITHER ZIONISM?

Ernst Rodin

For our children that they may not be sacrificed to Moloch on the altar of delusion

DEMOGRAPHICS

World Wide Population Figures

Jews: 14,890.000

Muslims: 1,147,494.000

Source: World Almanac 1999

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Preface

Our country, the United States of America and the "Leader of the Free World", faces great difficulties. When only about one half of the population bothers to go to the polls, and a presidential election is decided by one vote of the Supreme Court, warning flags have to go up. Of the numerous problems besetting our society in the field of foreign affairs, none seems to be more dangerous and urgent than the developments in the Middle East. With passions running at fever pitch in that area of the world, genuine peace is a chimera. Our leadership and the public mass media ought to take a step back and take a close look at the facts as they have evolved over millennia before rushing into actions.

We keep proclaiming that "Israel is our friend" and don't know that this particular phrase is more than two thousand years old. During the times of Judas Maccabeus, the Senate in Rome had declared that the "Jews are our friends" and had warned the Seleucid king Demetrius to abstain from further hostile action against the forces of Judas Maccabeus or Rome will step in. The outcome of that friendship is known but the reasons are being swept under the rug. We know also fully well that nations have no friends but only self-interests. The current slogan makes good propaganda and is intended to win Jewish votes at elections but at the same time it thoroughly alienates us from the Muslim world. This presents a grave danger to our country and is clearly not in the best interest of even the Jewish members of our society. If a major war were to break out in the Middle East America's oil supplies are likely to be seriously curtailed with an inevitable economic downturn as the result. It does not take much imagination as to who will really get blamed. "The Jews." of course!

Jewish organizations are trying with all their might to prevent another Holocaust by keeping the memory alive through museums, books and lectures. These efforts are bound to fail because they ignore the fundamentals of human nature and the reasons why there was a Holocaust in the first place. In order to shed some light on the latter question I have published a book War and Mayhem, and another book *The Moses Legacy* is in preparation at this time. Since major publishing houses tend to shy away from controversial topics by unknown authors, one is forced to go the print-on-demand route. This in turn has the disadvantage that the major media will not review the material, thereby relegating it to obscurity. Furthermore, there is a tendency in our society to stay away from serious topics and a book which in manuscript form takes up nearly four hundred pages is not likely to be read in full except by some very dedicated souls.

The general public, and especially the politicians who hold our fate in their hands, cannot be expected to read the antecedents of the current Middle East conflict, which go back more than 2000 years, in their entirety. Nevertheless, unless one knows them, wishful thinking will dominate over reality. For this reason I have extracted some pages from War and Mayhem in addition to four chapters from The Moses Legacy which bear most directly on the Middle East problem. This, what one might call Reader's Digest version of the events, will be sent free of charge to key members of Congress and President Bush's cabinet. Whether or not they will read it, let alone act on the information, is not up to me. If they choose to ignore it, they and their children will also have to bear the consequences. The words "Whoever does not know history will be forced to repeat it" have never been more true, especially in regard to that part of the world where ancient dramas are re-enacted in our time.

The Jewish people, more than any other ethnic group, are painfully aware of their history, but it seems that they are mainly guided by myths that have evolved over the millennia rather than the historical facts. To dispel these myths in favor of the facts is the purpose of this publication. The book is available through trafford.com, as well as amazon.com. Further information can also be obtained through the URL:www.thinktruth.com.

February 28, 2001 Ash Wednesday

CHAPTER 1

The Maccabean Era

At that time there appeared in Israel a group of renegade Jews, who incited the people. 'Let us enter into a covenant with the Gentiles round about,' they said, 'because disaster, upon disaster has overtaken us since we segregated ourselves from them' (I Macc.:1).

When one reads the history of the Maccabean era, which comprises approximately 100 years from 166 to 63 B.C., one cannot help but experience a profound sense of déjà vu. History does repeat and the only question for today is: will the outcome be similar? To prevent the disasters of the past from happening again the Maccabees have to be studied dispassionately and the mistakes which were made have to be exposed. Inasmuch as the two books of Maccabees are not part of the regular Bible but are contained in the Apocrypha, they have not received the wide circulation that might otherwise have occurred. The glorification of the Maccabean era is directly responsible not only for Zionism, but also its current problems. In 1896 when Herzl wrote his programmatic pamphlet Der Judenstaat he stated "The Maccabees will rise again." They have, and they are behaving exactly as in the days of old. The following brief synopsis was culled from the two books of Maccabees, Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews*, and *The Cambridge Ancient History*.

As far as the popular version of the events is concerned, the Seleucid king Antiochus IV, desecrated the temple in Jerusalem and forbade the Jewish religion. As a result the Jews rebelled under Matthatias. His son Judas Maccabeus defeated Antiochus' armies, liberated Jerusalem, cleansed the temple and instituted the feast of Hanukkah in commemoration of the event. Judas' brothers, Jonathan and subsequently Simon, succeeded through military conquests in restoring the country to the size of David's kingdom and freeing it from Syrian overlordship. This rendering of events is true, but it presents only a partial account of what had happened and most importantly omits the reasons for Antiochus' behavior as well as for the successes of Jewish arms.

According to the first book of Maccabees, the difficulties the Jews experienced with the authorities emerged rather gradually and were initially not due to oppression but a result of the strong pull Hellenistic culture exerted on the locals. In the wake of Alexander the Great's victories in the East the Macedonians had settled their veterans and other colonists from the Greek speaking world in the land. They brought along Greek culture and philosophy which began to permeate all walks of life.

The Greeks, who firmly believed in *mens sana in corpore sano* (a healthy mind in a healthy body), established gymnasia not only in the larger cities but also smaller ones. These served as venues for athletic competitions and the local youths obviously wanted to participate on an equal footing. The Greeks had no problem with that but training and competitions were held in the buff, which immediately established the ancestry. Is it surprising that young Jews wanted

to blend in with the rest of the crowd? So the pact with the Lord, as evidenced by absence of foreskin, was renounced, or as the Bible puts it: "They removed their marks of circumcision and repudiated the holy covenant. They intermarried with Gentiles, and abandoned themselves to evil ways [I Macc. 1:15]." The process was apparently similar to nineteenth century Europe and present-day America where assimilation was, and is, viewed with a great deal of concern by religious authorities. The first book of Maccabees then goes on to relate how Antiochus, despoiled the Jerusalem temple upon his return from a campaign in Egypt, apparently out of sheer wickedness, turned the town into a Greek city, and declared that all of his subjects were to become one people under one law. Keeping the Sabbath and circumcision of the male offsprings were punishable by death. On the 15th of Kislev (December) in 167 B.C. the "abomination of desolation" was set up on the altar of the temple. Speculation has it that it was a statue of Zeus in the likeness of Antiochus whose surname Epiphanes translated into "God Manifest." "On the twenty-fifth day of the month they offered sacrifice on the pagan altar which was on top of the altar of the Lord [I Macc.1:59]." The date of December 25 was chosen because it coincided with the ancient Festival of Lights which celebrated the return of the sun after the winter solstice. Pagan altars were then erected throughout Judea and "unclean beasts were to be offered in sacrifice." This is the source of the short version of the causes for the revolt which tends to be dispensed to tourists.

A more detailed and, therefore, more accurate account can be found in Maccabees II. A quarrel had broken out between Onias, the high priest, and Simon, the temple administrator, over financial matters. It must now be said that the book was written by Onias' partisans and we don't have Simon's version of the events. Since Onias stood his ground on the issue of how to regulate the city market, Simon took his case to the governor of Syria who was in charge of the region. He told him that the Jerusalem temple contained untold riches and, due to what would now be called "creative book keeping techniques," the king was in essence being defrauded. When this information was relayed to the king (Seleucus IV 187-176 B.C.), he sent his chief minister, Heliodorus, to Jerusalem to get at the truth of the matter. Onias assured him that whatever deposits existed in the temple were held in trust for widows and orphans, while another portion belonged to Hyrcanus, the son of a highly esteemed family. Simon's allegations were, therefore, pure lies.

Heliodorus, not quite satisfied, employed President Reagan's "trust but verify" rule and set a date for inventory to be taken. This caused great distress in the city because the temple functioned also as the main financial institution and depositors were afraid of losing considerable sums of money to the royal *fiscus*. This was, by the way, also the reason why the Jewish authorities became so upset about two hundred years later when Jesus overturned the tables of the money changers and declared that they had turned the temple into a "den of thieves."

In the days of Heliodorus, the situation was saved by a "divine miracle." On inventory day an apparition of a "splendidly caparisoned horse" and a "rider of terrible aspect" who wore golden armor appeared on the scene. The rearing horse threatened Heliodorus with his hooves and two young men of "surpassing strength and glorious beauty, splendidly dressed ... scourged him, raining unceasing blows upon him." As a result of the unexpected attack, the king's minister passed out and had to be carried from the scene. On regaining consciousness, instead of calling for the arrest of the assailants, he is supposed to have firmly

believed in the miracle and credited the saving of his life to Onias' intercession with God. Heliodorus went back with his troops to the king and when asked who ought to go next he replied, in essence, "send somebody whom you hate and want to get rid of."

Simon, who had been the original instigator of all the troubles, was much less intrigued with the "miracle" and let it be known that this was just a ruse on Onias' part. Acrimony between the two sides continued to increase and Onias' fortunes began to wane. Since Simon's followers "even resorted to murder," Onias felt that the only way to restore order was to appeal directly to the king. The Bible breaks off at this point and doesn't tell us about the outcome of his mission. *The Cambridge Ancient History* on the other hand relates that he remained at Antioch and, fearing for his life from his own countrymen, took refuge in the temple of Apollo.

The Bible continues with the death of Seleucus and his succession by Antiochus IV (175-163 B.C.). Seleucus had not died of natural causes but had been murdered by Heliodorus, who had apparently been none the worse off for the blows he had received in Jerusalem. Antiochus was no paragon of virtue either and historians described him as eccentric, capricious, reveling with crowds, distributing large sums of money carelessly, and being given to bouts of cruelty. This was the man in whose hands the fate of the Jewish people now rested.

The infighting among Jerusalem's factions had continued and the Bible reports that Jason, the brother of Onias, had obtained the office of high priest "by corrupt means." It was he who had asked the king to establish a sports stadium in Jerusalem and to grant the inhabitants the privilege to be regarded as citizens of the capital Antioch. Since the request was accompanied by 360 silver talents in cash and the prom-

ise of another 150 from future revenues, Antiochus had no reason to deny the request. "As soon as he had seized the high-priesthood, Jason made the Jews conform to the Greek way of life." Thus the impetus for Hellenization had originally not come from the crown but from a group of Grecophile Jews and the initial quarrel was, as usual, not about religion but money! The office of the high-priest was not necessarily desired for religious purposes but led to control over the temple treasures and was, as such, a massive lifetime sinecure. Infighting among Jewish contenders for the high priesthood continued and intermittently rose to the level of civil war.

Antiochus stayed aloof from these internal quarrels until his ill-fated invasion of Egypt where he had his comeuppance. Although he had been militarily successful, his ambitions were thwarted by Rome. After having decisively defeated the Carthaginians in the second Punic war, Rome turned her eyes to the East and subjected Macedonia. When the Greeks tried to shake off Roman overlordship, they were subdued in 168 B.C. Immediately thereafter, Gaius Popillius Laenas was dispatched to Egypt in order to put a check to Antiochus' fortunes. Rome had no interest whatsoever to see a strong eastern empire emerge over which she would have no control. They met in a suburb of Alexandria and the Roman demanded Antiochus' unconditional withdrawal. When Antiochus demurred and asked for time to consider. the now proverbial "line in the sand" was literally drawn for the first time. Laenas took his walking stick, drew a circle around the king, and informed him that by the time he stepped out of the circle he would have to know whether it was peace or war with Rome. Since Antiochus could ill afford all-out war, especially since rumor had it that not only Jerusalem but all of Judea was in open revolt, he

acceded to Rome's demands. Needless to say, he felt thoroughly humiliated and aggravated by this turn of events.

The rumor about the Judean revolt had only been partially true. There had been no revolt, but a civil war limited to Jerusalem. This did not make much difference for Antiochus who must have been thoroughly disgusted. Upon his return from Egypt he vented his fury on the hapless Jews. He ordered the army to storm Jerusalem and put an end to this trouble spot once and for all. Jason, the instigator of the revolt, took to his heels and, as usual, the common people who were totally innocent had to bear the brunt of the onslaught. We are told that within three days forty thousand were killed and another forty thousand were sold into slavery.

These numbers need not be taken literally because biblical writers had a penchant for the number forty whenever either a great many or a long period of time was meant. As an aside, one might mention that this also applies to Moses, for instance. His life falls, according to the Bible, into three neat forties. Forty years at court in Egypt, forty years herding sheep, and another forty years wandering with the Israelites and the mixed multitude in the desert. It is remarkable that, even today, some people take the forty literally and the dates of Moses' birth and death have been calculated on that basis for a *CD ROM Multimedia World History* which promises to "take the Mystery out of History."

Antiochus subsequently entered the temple, with Menelaus, one of the contending high-priests, as his guide, and helped himself personally to some of the treasures he had previously enjoyed only as bribes. He now became convinced that the major problem in Judea was the religion itself, which demanded separation from Gentiles and that future disturbances were unavoidable unless the country was

united under common laws and common gods. On account of these considerations, the ban on circumcision, the Sabbath, and the dietary laws was decreed. For transgressors, there was the death penalty, and the Bible describes several instances of heroic martyrdom. Thus the stage was set for the Maccabean revolt. But it must be re-emphasized that the original cause for the draconic measures had been dissension and subsequent civil war among Jews. The tragedies were, therefore, in part self-inflicted.

The Maccabean Wars

The revolt started in the town of Modin which is situated roughly half-way between Jerusalem and the coast. Mattathias, a priest and influential community leader, as well as his five sons were deeply disturbed about the turn of events and putting on sackcloth, went into public mourning. When the king's officers came to town, to enforce the decrees they not only encouraged Mattathias to give up this type of behavior but promised him, in addition, rich rewards if he would influence the community to cooperate with the authorities. The latter vehemently denounced this proposition. When another Jew asserted his independence and began to offer public sacrifice at the pagan altar, he was immediately set upon by Mattathias and killed right then and there. For good measure, he also killed the king's officer who had made this impious proposal and then went on in his holy fury to destroy the altar.

Since it was obvious that the authorities would now have to intervene, Mattathias, his sons, and some of their followers took to the hills to start guerilla warfare. They were soon joined by a group of Hasideans (Pious Ones), as well as others of orthodox persuasion. Religious warfare broke out in earnest. They scoured the countryside, tore down pagan

altars, plundered the villages, and forcibly circumcised all the uncircumcised boys within the borders of Judea. That this behavior did not make them very popular among non-Jews can readily be appreciated. When Mattathias died at what was apparently quite an old age, he put his son Judas in command.

Judas was soon confronted by a gentile contingent, which he defeated, as well as a second one which arrived thereafter. When Antiochus heard about this, he sent an expeditionary force, which was also promptly routed. It needs to be mentioned, however, that Antiochus himself was again engaged elsewhere in Persia because his treasury had run low and he was in search of increased revenues. It is reasonable to assume that he had the pick of the army with him and the Jews were fighting the home guard. After these victories, Judas moved into Jerusalem, cleansed the temple, and established Hanukkah in commemoration of this event (164 B.C.). It is noteworthy that the miracle of the oil, which was to have lasted only one day but was burning for eight, is not mentioned in the Bible but comes from a later legend in the Talmud.

The land of Israel, then as well as now, was also inhabited by a considerable number of Gentiles who did not take kindly to these events: "they were furious, and determined to wipe out all those of the race of Jacob who lived among them. Thus began the work of massacre and extermination among the people [I Macc. 5:2]." To put it into modern terms, terrorism abounded. Judas was evidently concerned about what would be called today the quest for "secure borders" and launched several successful attacks against neighboring city states on both sides of the Jordan, the Mediterranean shoreline, as well as in Samaria and Galilee.

The following year Antiochus died in Persia and the crown went to his young son Antiochus V Eupator (163-162

B.C.). With the central government thus considerably weakened, Judas and his brother Jonathan had ample opportunity to enlarge their territorial hold around the countryside. Meanwhile, all was not well in Jerusalem. The Hellenizing party had not vanished but longed for the good old days. Therefore, they petitioned the new king to re-establish the old order in the city. The ensuing war waxed back and forth and eventually ended in an armistice which guaranteed the Jews freedom of religion (162 B.C.). Thus, the persecutions had lasted no more than five years, three in Jerusalem. As far as the Hasideans were concerned, it was now "mission accomplished" and they went home.

For Judas and the rest of his followers this was, however, merely Phase One. The goal now shifted from religious freedom to nationalism and the re-creation of David's kingdom. The reason for the abrupt end to the fighting had been the news that Philip, Antiochus Epiphanes' most trusted adjutant, had returned from Persia and was installing himself with royal power in Antioch. Therefore, first things first; the crown had to be rescued and this was successfully accomplished by the incumbent. Nevertheless, the Seleucid kingdom was in considerable disarray by the succession of none-too-victorious campaigns elsewhere which provided Judas with the opportunity to further enlarge his sphere of influence. That this was not entirely easy on the conquered population is amply testified by repeated accounts of the razing of towns, plunder and "putting the inhabitants to the sword."

World events did not stand still, however. In 161 B.C. Demetrius I Soter returned from Rome where he had been held hostage and, upon disembarking, proclaimed himself king. He marched on Antioch, the army declared for him and he first deposed then murdered young Antiochus V. Sensing a change in the direction of the political wind, a

deputation of Hellenizing Jews went to greet the new king and asked him to send someone he trusted to inspect the land so that he might get a first hand view of the havoc Judas was wreaking on the province. The leader of these "renegade Jews," as the Bible calls them, was Alcimus and his goal – the high priesthood. Demetrius complied and Alcimus returned to Jerusalem accompanied by a considerable force of the king's army under Bacchides. They were met by a group of Hasideans who trusted Alcimus as having been a descendant of Aaron, and made peace overtures. They soon found out that their confidence had been misplaced because he arrested sixty of them and had them executed. Once installed "Alcimus fought hard for his high priesthood. All the trouble makers rallied to him, they gained control over Judea and did terrible damage in Israel. [I Macc. 7:21-22]."

Judas, however, was not one to give up in adversity and strengthened his hand by raids upon the countryside "punishing deserters" i.e. the followers of Alcimus. The latter complained to the king who sent an army under Nicanor, but it received a sound thrashing by Judas' party. Judas now deserves credit for not only having been devoutly religious and an excellent general, but also a very astute politician. He realized fully well that tiny Judea could not withstand the Greeks forever and, therefore, negotiated a mutual assistance pact with the Romans who were only too happy to extend their sphere of influence into the eastern Mediterranean. Since this treaty is of considerable interest for the understanding of subsequent events and represents the first foothold Rome gained in the Levant, it is here reproduced in full from I Macc. 8:23-32:

Success to the Romans and the Jewish nation by sea and land for ever! May sword and foe be far from them! But if war breaks out first against Rome or any of her allies throughout her dominion, then the Jewish nation shall support them whole-heartedly as occasion may require. To the enemies of Rome or of her allies the Jews shall neither give nor supply provisions, arms, money, or ships; so Rome has decided; and they shall observe their commitments without compensation.

Similarly, if war breaks out first against the Jewish nation, then the Romans shall give them hearty support as occasion may require. To their enemies there shall be given neither provisions, arms, money, nor ships; so Rome has decided. These commitments shall be kept without breach of faith.

These are the terms of the agreement which the Romans have made with the Jewish people. But if, hereafter, both parties shall agree to add or to rescind anything, then they shall do as they decide; any such addition or rescindment shall be valid.

To this the Romans added: As far as the misdeeds which king Demetrius is perpetrating against the Jews, we have written him as follows: 'Why have you oppressed our *friends* [emphasis added] and allies the Jews so harshly? If they make any further complaints against you, then we will see that justice is done them, and will make war upon you by sea and by land.'

Judas had succeeded to harness Rome's prestige, if not yet the legions, to his cause. The answer to the question the Senate had asked of Demetrius: why he was doing what he was doing? the Romans had to learn the hard way about two hundred years later when they found themselves in his shoes.

Means of communications were somewhat slow in those days and before Judas could benefit from this treaty Demetrius had sent another army against him. Not only was Judas defeated, but he also lost his life in the battle. At this point the assimilationists, to use a modern term, again saw light at the end of the tunnel and rejoiced mightily or as the Bible put it: "the renegades raised their heads in every part of Israel and all the evildoers reappeared. In those days a terri-

ble famine broke out, and the country went over to their side [I Macc. 9:23-25]." The tables had been turned and Judas' followers were now persecuted: "it was a time of great affliction for Israel, worse than any since the days when prophets ceased to appear among them [I Macc. 9:27]." It needs to be re-emphasized that these persecutions were by Jews of Jews rather than imposed by the crown.

The religious right, in modern parlance, appealed to Jonathan, Judas' brother, to take over the leadership and resume the fight. Several skirmishes ensued with uneven success, but Jerusalem remained firmly in the hands of the "renegade" Alcimus until he had a stroke and died. Bacchides then left the field and returned to Antioch. This worried the Hellenizers considerably and they tried to bring him back in order to have Jonathan and his followers arrested. The plan was leaked, misfired and about "fifty of the ringleaders of this villainy in Judea were seized and put to death [I Macc. 9:61]." A peace treaty was then arranged between Jonathan and Bacchides who returned to Syria thereafter. "Jonathan took up residence in Michmash and began to govern the people, rooting the godless out of Israel [I Macc. 9:73]." In other words, religious persecution was the order of the day.

Due to the fact that the Seleucid empire was in the process of disintegration with numerous pretenders to the throne competing for the crown, Jonathan, and, after his death, brother Simon achieved the goal of re-creating David's kingdom to a considerable extent. In 142 B.C. Simon negotiated a treaty with Demetrius II Nicator (145-140 B.C.) which allowed the Jews to keep the strongholds they had captured. The debts to the crown were canceled as were all the other taxes on Jerusalem. As the Bible put it "Israel was released from the gentile yoke [I. Macc 13:41]."

The golden age had now dawned for the Jews of the orthodox persuasion, but not necessarily for others, and especially not for the Gentiles, who lived within the borders of Simon's realm. He soon enlarged his territories and made himself "master of the whole land." "Those were the days when every enemy vanished from the land and when every hostile king was crushed." Simon also "paid close attention to the law [Torah] and rid the country of lawless and wicked men." The latter refers, of course, not only to Gentiles but also "renegade Jews" who did not believe that the law must be followed literally.

In view of Simon's merits, a public proclamation was engraved in 140 B.C. which gave him virtual dictatorial powers in perpetuity. He was to be: high priest, ethnarch, general, and protector of the people. He was also in charge of the temple and therefore the *fiscus*, as well as all fortifications; all contracts were to be drawn up in his name and he was to wear the royal purple and clasp. Neither priest nor layman would have authority to abrogate or oppose any command issued by Simon or convene any assembly in the land without his consent [I. Macc 14: 41-47]. Thus, the country was under a theocratic military dictatorship where independence of mind was not tolerated. Of special interest for today's events is the specific mention of settlements in the occupied territories and the "Gentiles were expelled from the land [I. Macc. 14:36]."

In order to cement his power against external enemies, Simon sent a golden shield to Rome with the request to reaffirm the mutual assistance treaty which had been negotiated several years earlier by Judas. The senate was happy to oblige and sent an additional letter to the eastern kings and potentates requiring them to do no harm to the Jews nor make war on any of their cities or their country. Neither were they to ally themselves with anyone who warred

against the Jews. Furthermore "traitors" – or political refugees, as we would call them today – were to be extradited and returned to Simon. In essence, Greater Judea had become a theocratic dictatorship protected by Rome.

There is one more facet of Simon's rule which deserves recounting because of its relevance to today's events. After the death of Demetrius II, Antiochus VII Sidetes (138-124 B.C.) arrived on the scene and when he saw the state the country was in, he wrote to Simon:

You are occupying Joppa and Gazara and the citadel in Jerusalem that belong to my kingdom. You have laid waste their territories, and done great damage to the country. I demand the return of the cities you have captured and the surrender of the tribute you have exacted from places beyond the frontiers of Judaea over which you have assumed control. Otherwise you must pay five hundred talents of silver on their account, and another five hundred as compensation for the destruction you caused and for the loss of tribute from the cities. Failing this we shall go to war with you [I. Macc 15:28-31].

Simon's reply was remarkably modern:

We have not occupied other people's lands nor taken other people's property, but only the inheritances of our ancestors, unjustly seized for a time by our enemies. We have grasped our opportunity and have claimed our patrimony. With regard to Joppa and Gazara, which you demand, these towns are doing a great deal of damage among our people and in our land. For these we offer one hundred talents [I. Macc.15:33-35].

It should come as no surprise that "The king was furious," as we read in the Bible, and he prepared to invade Judea. After a brief account of how Simon was murdered by his son-in-law who had wanted the high priesthood for himself, the first Book of Maccabees ends. The second book of Maccabees had stopped after the events of about thirty years earlier.

Apart from the fact that the state of Israel is currently a parliamentary democracy rather than a theocratic state, one does find a rather uncanny resemblance to today's events. When the Israeli forces captured and occupied the "West Bank" from Jordan in 1967, it was not regarded as foreign soil but only as the recovery of the "ancient provinces of Judea and Samaria," which were rightfully theirs in the first place. The similarity extends furthermore to the somewhat high-handed treatment of the non-Jewish population in the conquered territories and the creation of settlements therein, with resultant ill-will against the occupiers. It also includes the infighting between religious orthodoxy and the "secularists" as well as the protective hand of the new Rome, the U.S.A. It is obvious that the interval of more than 2000 years since Maccabean times has failed to make much of a difference in the minds of some politicians and journalists who still regard that era as a model to be followed. If this mind-set continues to be the case in the future, further self-inflicted wounds and disasters for the Jewish people are unavoidable.

The Hasmoneans

The dynasty established by Simon's son John Hyrcanus, referred to as the Hasmoneans, was also characterized by nearly continuous external and internal warfare. The struggle for supremacy between the Pharisees and the Sadducees was one aspect of it. The differences between these two groups were not only religious-theological but also political. As far as theology was concerned, the Sadducees believed that the written law – the Torah as embodied in the five books of Moses – was sufficient. The pharisees added an oral version to the Torah in form of legends, explanations, and the 613 rules and regulations which governed all aspects of

daily life. In order to lend authority to these additions, they were retroactively attributed to Moses, although he had expressly forbidden that sort of thing: "Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish from it, that ye may keep the commandments of the LORD your God which I command you. [Dt 4:2]."

As far as the political issues were concerned, the Sadducees were the aristocratic party and governed the temple, while the Pharisees controlled the masses of the common people. Initially, John Hyrcanus was allied with the Pharisees, but when they began to question the legitimacy of his being high priest, he broke with them and "abolished the decrees they had imposed upon the people." In addition, he began to "punish those that observe them [Josephus Ant. XIII 10:6]." For the next seventy odd years John's successors were engaged in internal as well as external wars. There was only a relatively brief interlude of rest (27 years) under Alexander Janneus. After having defeated his enemies in one of the civil wars and having returned to Jerusalem he committed, according to Josephus "one of the most barbarous actions in the world." While feasting with his concubines, he had eight hundred of his Jewish adversaries crucified in sight of all the people and while they were still alive had the throats of their wives and children cut in front of them. This type of public death sentence was obviously a deterrent because we are told that Alexander "reigned the rest of his time in the utmost tranquility [Ant. XIII 14:2]." Some time later, while the two brothers Aristobulus and Hyrcanus were involved in one of the periodic wars over the high priesthood, Pompey arrived in the area (64 B.C.). His mission was to wrest one province after another from what was left of the Seleucid empire. The brothers then put their case for arbitration to Pompey. He took the matter under advisement and suggested they settle their differences

themselves. Aristobulus was not satisfied with this decision and continued to pursue war against his brother. When Pompey was informed, he became furious and used his legions and mercenaries to teach Aristobulus some manners. The latter, realizing that his army was no match against the Romans, desisted from the war against his brother, offered Pompey some money, and invited him to Jerusalem. Pompey was pleased with the arrangement and sent Gabinius to collect the money as well as the keys to the city. Aristobulus had, however, promised more than he could deliver, and his soldiers shut the city's gates in Gabinius' face. Pompey suspected duplicity on Aristobulus' part, put him in prison, and marched against the city himself.

Upon this turn of events, the inhabitants of Jerusalem were of divided opinion. The peace party was for opening the gates and saving the city, while the war party, consisting of Aristobulus' followers, insisted that they were able to withstand a siege. Both sides won. Aristobulus' people withdrew into the temple and fortified it while the rest of the city welcomed Pompey. The siege of the temple was then embarked upon with the eager help of Hyrcanus. Eventually it was conquered. Pompey inspected the premises but didn't take anything. The following day he ordered it cleansed and the normal sacrifices to be resumed. Hyrcanus was installed as high priest; Jerusalem was made a tributary to Rome; the Syrian cities the Jews had conquered in the past were put under Roman control, while others including the coastal towns were left to self-government. The Hasmonean kingdom and dreams of Jewish glory were gone for the next 2000 years with the brief exception of the Bar Cochba uprising from A.D. 132 - 135. Pompey returned to Rome bringing with him the chained Aristobulus and his children. Sic transit gloria mundi (thus passes the glory of this world), as the

Romans were fond of saying. The stage was now set for Roman occupation and the resultant Jewish revolt.

In summary, one must conclude that feuds between Jews themselves had brought on Roman occupation. The Romans had, in this particular instance, not come as conquerors but had actually been invited as peacemakers. They had initially no interest to shoulder the burden of administering the country themselves. *Divide et impera* (divide and rule) was their motto. A loyal Jewish king would have been their preference. All he would have had to do was to refrain from inciting war against Rome and content himself with keeping civil law and order. Under those circumstances, the religion would have been safe and the temple would have prospered. This reading of history is borne out by subsequent events.

CHAPTER 2

Roman Occupation and the Fall of Jerusalem

The popular version in regard to the fall of Jerusalem tends to be that the Jews were oppressed by the Romans. They rose to gain their liberty, were defeated, the temple was burned and the people were sold into slavery. The result was 2000 years of exile from which the Jewish people were redeemed only in the twentieth century.

As is common in popular versions of one's country's history, heroism and victimization tend to be emphasized while historical accuracy becomes the loser. Versions of this type also paint "the Jews" as a homogenous group with common goals, which never was, nor is now, accurate. It may therefore come as a surprise to some that the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, and especially the loss of the temple, were quite unnecessary and represent another self-inflicted wound. The disaster was not due to the conduct of patriots but that of chauvinistic zealots. To blame the Romans exclusively, without examining the reasons which drove them to their actions, is not merely a disservice to history. It is also harmful and dangerous for the future when one ignores the latent chauvinistic streak in some members of Jewish society which gets masked under the noble names of liberty and

religion. Inasmuch as these passions can erupt again at any time, and the general public is quite uninformed about what really happened in A.D. 70, the fall of Jerusalem will be summarized here.

The most reliable information we have comes from Josephus' *Wars of the Jews*. Inasmuch as he wrote for the Roman intelligentsia, and could not offend his imperial patrons, *Wars of the Jews* shows some bias toward the Roman side. On the other hand, his is the only report from someone who was actually there. Initially, Josephus was a Jewish general defending Galilee and subsequently became a prisoner of war. After his release from chains, he acted as "local advisor" to Titus and watched the fall of Jerusalem from the Roman camp. He had, therefore, full information not only of the miseries the Jewish people were exposed to but also of their causes.

After Pompey had left, Aulus Gambinius became proconsul. He was followed by Crassus, who distinguished himself by plundering the temple. When Caesar took power in Rome, he released Aristobulus and sent him back to Palestine with two legions. This plan was foiled by Pompey, who had Aristobulus poisoned and his son Alexander beheaded. Pompey's fortunes were, however, also already on the wane and he literally lost his own head in Egypt soon thereafter (48 B.C.). Caesar granted the Jews several privileges and installed Antipater, the Idumean, as procurator. To what extent Roman Jewish money was helpful, Josephus does not mention but Feldman in Jew&Gentile in the Ancient World repeatedly points to the "vertical alliance" between the ruling political circles and Jewish financial power, regardless of what country was involved. Furthermore, Antipater had rescued Caesar from a difficult military situation during the Egyptian campaign and gratitude was called for.

Herod, one of Antipater's sons, took over in Jerusalem thereafter and made himself profoundly unpopular. This was not only on account of his arrogance, but he was also not regarded as a real Jew since the Idumeans had only recently been converted against their will. Furthermore, he was a "law and order" man who successfully and brutally fought the "brigands" - as Josephus referred to them - in Galilee, and who were regarded as freedom fighters by other segments of the populace. Herod closely toed the Roman line. As an astute politicians who is not encumbered by principles, he aligned himself with whoever was in power at a given moment. This earned him investiture as king, first by Marc Antony and then by Octavian who became Augustus. Herod built lavishly in the Greco-Roman style throughout the country. He also tore down the old temple and erected a new one of unparalleled opulence. Since he kept a firm hand on the people, the Roman eagle on the portico entrance was tolerated by the faithful whose choices were quite limited while he was in power. He brooked no interference from anyone, including his sons, and the death penalty was liberally dispensed. This led to the quip by Augustus that it was safer to be Herod's pig than his son. On the other hand, the "Slaughter of the Innocents," as reported in the New Testament, is absent from historical records. It belongs in all probability to the same genre as the one supposedly perpetrated by Pharaoh in Moses' times. When Herod died in 4 B.C. his kingdom was practically co-extensive with that of David and Solomon and its Hellenization exceeded the fondest dreams of the "renegade Jews" of Maccabean times.

Herod's successors proved themselves incompetent and the Jews appealed to Augustus to depose them and install a procurator instead. Their wish was granted but the country became, over the years, progressively more ungovernable. Jews were fighting each other over religious differences and they fought the Romans on account of religion as well as nationalism. In addition, the procurators contributed more than their share to the problem as a result of insensitivity to the needs of the population, which was compounded by personal rapaciousness. They regarded the country as a cash cow to be milked as fast as possible before they would be ordered out again.

Two major factions arose in the land. The peace party felt that working within the system would bring about amelioration in the long run, while the war party wanted immediate results through force of arms. Some of the latter took over Masada, killed the Roman garrison of that mountain fortress and manned it with their own people. In addition, Eleazar, the son of the high priest who was governor of the temple, persuaded those who officiated in the ceremonies not to accept gifts from, or perform services for foreigners. This was clearly an insult and tantamount to a declaration of war. It had always been customary to receive gifts from foreign potentates; it had been equally customary to pray for the well-being of the sender, whoever it might have been, which included the various Caesars. The upper echelons of Jerusalem society, including priests, then got together and besought the multitude, which was assembled in the temple precinct, to consider that the glory of the temple had come from gifts by foreigners since time immemorial. This made no impact on the war party and the city was again sharply divided. The "doves" took over the upper city, while the "hawks" barricaded themselves in the lower city and the temple. Civil war raged for seven days. Then the "doves" were driven out of the upper city and the house of Ananias the high priest, was torched. The palaces of Agrippa and Berenice as well as the house which contained all the property documents and contracts with creditors were also destroyed. This was calculated to entice the debtors, who

were now free of financial obligations, to join their ranks. Looking at the events from a modern perspective, one can see that religion was not the prime motivation for the conflict; it was much rather a class struggle of the younger relatively dispossessed population against the older wealthier one. It was a social revolution where the latter had nothing to gain and everything to lose while the former thought, in the words of one of their descendants, they had "nothing to lose but their chains."

Manahem, son of Judas the Galilean, then took some of Herod's armor from Masada, regaled himself as king, and entered Jerusalem on the side of the sedition. On account of his overbearing and tyrannical attitude, he found himself out of favor in short order and had to leave the city amid a hail of rocks. He was killed soon thereafter but one of his followers, another Eleazar – a son of Jarius – escaped to Masada where he took charge and instituted a reign of terror. This is the Eleazar who is glorified today for his stand against the Roman siege and his exhortations that all of them, including the women and children, should die by their own hands rather than surrender to the Romans.

Amidst all these disturbances there was still a Roman garrison trapped in Jerusalem's citadel. Matilius, the commander, overpowered as he was, offered to lay down arms in exchange for free passage out of the city. This was agreed upon, but as soon as they had disarmed, the seditious mob attacked and killed them. While his men accepted their fate and complained only of treachery, Metilius begged for his life, promised he would become a Jew and have himself circumcised. The moderates, and what was left of the upper crust of the population, were appalled by this villainy, not only because vengeance was sure to follow but because the calamity was perpetrated on the Sabbath.

Massacres were not limited to Jerusalem; on the same day Roman troops killed Jewish inhabitants of Caesarea. Those who ran away and were captured were sent to man the galleys. The reasons for this pogrom were not reported and Josephus simply ascribes it to divine Providence. The revolt quickly spread to other cities where it was Gentile against Jew, again like in olden times: "so the daytime was spent in shedding blood and the night in fear." Plunder was also the order of the day. As a result:

it was then common to see cities filled with dead bodies, still lying unburied, and those of old men, mixed with infants all dead and scattered together; women also lay amongst them without any covering for their nakedness, you might see the whole province full of inexpressible calamities, while the dread of still more barbarous practices which were threatened, was everywhere greater than had already been perpetrated [War II, 18:2].

The slaughters turned into a free for all. Not only was it Jew against Gentile but also Jew against Jew. In addition to the above mentioned factions, the *sicarii* appeared on the scene. They had sprung up originally during the procuratorship of Felix, who had imprisoned one Eleazar (not connected with any of the previously mentioned ones) and his followers, who had ravaged the countryside for about twenty years. Some of them were crucified and others sent to Rome. Instead of open rebellion, their friends subsequently resorted to what nowadays would be called terror tactics. They kept their daggers (sica) hidden underneath their cloaks, mingled with the crowds, especially on festive occasions, stabbed their enemy, and then raised loud shouts of woe and grief over the victims in order to give the impression that they were upright citizens. This deception worked to such an extent that after some time no one could trust anyone else because "everybody expected death at every hour." The motives were mixed. Some of the assailants were religious fanatics, others where nationalists, while still others were mostly interested in personal gain. Thus, there is truly nothing new under the sun – especially in that part of the world.

Anti-Jewish riots then started to spread beyond Palestine to Alexandria. That city had a large Jewish population which had enjoyed fairly equal privileges with the Greeks ever since Alexander the Great had founded it. Although the Jews had segregated themselves in a section of the city called the Delta (so as not to be "polluted" as Josephus put it), there were still intermittently a great many confrontations with the rest of the citizenry. These were usually put down by the authorities without having to resort to the legions. As a result of the events in Palestine, passions soon ran even higher than usual and a major massacre took place.

The Alexandrians had gathered in public assembly to discuss an embassy to be sent to Nero when a group of Jews arrived. They were promptly denounced as spies and beset upon; some were killed while others ran away. They returned, however, soon thereafter in full force and turned the tables on the Greeks. First came rocks, then burning lamps, the precursors of the modern Molotov cocktails. Since the Greeks were in danger of being burned alive in the theater where the assembly had been held, Tiberius, the governor, had to intercede and separate the warring factions. He was an apostate Jew himself and tried a policy of persuasion. Josephus regrets that this was done privately rather than beginning "to teach them wisdom by arms." The Jews were not amenable to reason. When Tiberius realized this fact, he called out the two legions, which were stationed in the city at the time. These were joined by a host of other soldiers and they were given liberty to kill and plunder the Jews in their quarters. As usual, the slaughter was

indiscriminate, killing the innocents with the guilty till "fifty thousand of them lay dead upon heaps [II 18:8]." Historians agree that Josephus' numbers tend to be considerably inflated, but there is no doubt that a major pogrom had taken place.

Since local uprisings were springing up all over the place, it was time for the legions to intervene on a larger scale. They were reinforced by auxiliaries from the free cities who "indeed had not the same skill in martial affairs but made up in their alacrity and in their hatred of the Jews what they lacked in skills [II 18:9]." It was now time again for the Gentiles to seek revenge for past misfortunes. The major towns of Galilee as well as those of the plains soon fell and the army moved on Jerusalem under the leadership of Cestius, the tribune. He first encamped on Mount Scopus, which overlooked the city, and a few days later moved into the city proper. The seditious group barricaded itself in the temple precinct and the Romans started to mine the wall. They also got ready to set fire to the temple gate, which caused a severe panic among the defenders. The war would have been over within a day or so when one of those inexplicable exigencies of history supervened. Totally misjudging the situation, Cestius withdrew his army "without any reason in the world [II 19:7]." Why he did so has remained a mystery but it was this decision which became the proximate cause of the long war and the ultimate destruction of the city with its temple.

Cestius soon came to regret his mistake. Jewish warriors attacked his rear guard in a manner similar to the Cossacks during Napoleon's disastrous retreat from Moscow, and the disengagement turned into a route. Over five thousand Romans were killed. The event took place on November 8, 66 A.D. Thoughtful Jews knew that this was an open invitation for the disaster which would inevitably follow. There-

fore, "many of the most eminent of the Jews swam away from the city, as from a ship when it was going to sink [II 20:1]." It was obvious that Rome could not possibly tolerate this defeat and the country braced for all-out war. Jewish generals were appointed for the various regions and our historian was put in charge of Galilee. There is speculation that the peace party had not yet given up hope altogether and the appointment of Josephus to a region which would bear the first brunt of the invasion is used as one reason. His pro-Roman tendencies were well known and it may have been assumed that he would not pursue the war as vigorously as someone with more zealot ardor in his blood.

While fortifying the part of the country under his control for the inevitable assault, Josephus was vigorously denounced by John, a son of Levi, from the village of Gischala. There was deep animosity between the two men. Since John eventually died in a Roman prison, while Josephus, living in Roman splendor, went on to write histories, we have only one version of the events. As far as Josephus was concerned, John was evil incarnate:

His character was that of a very cunning, and a very knavish person, beyond the ordinary rate of other men of eminence there; and for wicked practices he had not his fellow anywhere....He was a ready liar, and yet very sharp in gaining credit to his fictions: he thought it a point of virtue to delude people and would delude even such as were dearest to him. He was a hypocritical pretender to humanity, but when he had hopes of gain he spared not the shedding of blood; his desires were ever carried to greater things, and he encouraged his hopes from those mean wicked tricks which he was the author of. He had a peculiar knack at thieving ... [Wars II 21:1].

This might be an example of what Freud had called "projection." The term denotes that ideas and attitudes which a given person expresses about somebody else he may really

harbor within himself. A power struggle ensued between Josephus and John. The former was to be relieved of his command and ordered back to Jerusalem but he managed to get the better of his opponent. Josephus retained his authority in pitched battle while John escaped to Jerusalem. The people of Galilee were, therefore, far from unified which soon reflected itself in the conduct of the war.

In the meantime. Nero had been notified of Cestius' defeat and had appointed Vespasian to take charge. While the latter advanced from the north, his son Titus brought the two legions from Egypt. Nevertheless, some Jews thought that Maccabean times had arrived again and tried to sack Ascalon. The city contained a small but competent military garrison and the attackers suffered a resounding defeat. Not content, they returned a second time with the same result. While Josephus was trying to hold on to Galilee, Titus joined his father, Vespasian, at Ptolemais and the full force of Roman armor, supplemented by auxiliaries, was now brought into the war. First they took the city of Gadara from Josephus and subsequently besieged him in Jotapata. The fight was, of course, hopeless; the fortress was eventually overrun and Josephus captured. When brought before Vespasian, he prophesied that the latter would become emperor. When this came true a little while later he was held in great esteem by father and son from then on. As mentioned earlier, he acted as "local advisor" to the Romans thereafter for which he received a great many rewards when the war was over.

We can skip the early events of the war and concentrate on those surrounding the destruction of Jerusalem. While Titus was marshaling his forces, chaos continued in the country. In addition to two warring forces in Jerusalem, namely that of John of Gischala and that of Eleazar the zealot, a new player in form of Simon of Gesara made his appearance. First he joined the *sicarii* in Masada but soon had a falling out because his ambitions were riveted on the capital. After having gathered a force of like-minded followers, he first possessed himself of some of the countryside by leaving nothing but ruins and then went for Jerusalem, where John of Gischala and Eleazar the zealot were fighting their own private war. Eleazar had retreated to the temple, while John's people held the city. Their behavior was quite graphically described by Josephus:

Their inclination to plunder was insatiable, as was their zeal for searching out the houses of the rich; and for murdering of the men, and abusing the women, it was sport to them. They also devoured what spoils they had taken, together with their blood, and indulged themselves in feminine wantonness, without any disturbance, till they were satiated therewith: while they decked their hair, and put on women's garments, and were besmeared with ointments; and that they might appear comely they had paint under their eyes, and imitated not only the ornaments, but also the lusts of women ... while their faces looked like the faces of women, they killed with their right hands; and when their gait was effeminate they presently attacked men, and became warriors, and drew their swords from under their finely-dyed cloaks, and ran everybody through whom they alighted upon [IV 10:10].

We ought to remember at this point that all of these outrages were perpetrated supposedly in the name of religion and/or national liberation! What would Moses or the prophets have said?

With these goings on, the common people yearned for deliverance and since Simon was outside the walls, he was let in. Their hopes were in vain because now they had not only two but three warring factions in their midst. Simon held the upper parts of the city and sections of the lower; John held the rest of the city and the outer temple precincts,

while Eleazar was ensconced in the inner temple. Eleazar had the high ground but only a limited number of followers so they had to content themselves with throwing rocks and darts at John's troops. John, although he had the manpower, was caught in the unenviable position of being between the proverbial rock and a hard place. He was bombarded from the temple and beleaguered from the other side by Simon's contingents.

Some time earlier John had captured Roman siege engines, which he now applied against Eleazar's temple forces. To make matters worse, it was Passover week and the city was filled not only with locals but also with foreigners, who had made the annual pilgrimage in spite of the carnage which was taking place in the city and country. This led to the following scenes:

[John] had such engines as threw darts, and javelins, and stones, and that in no small number by which he did not only defend himself from such as fought against him, but slew moreover many of the priests, as they were about their sacred ministrations; for notwithstanding these men were mad with all sorts of impiety, yet did they still admit those that desired to offer their sacrifices ... those darts that were thrown by the engines came with that force, that they went over all the buildings, and the temple itself, and fell upon the priests and those that were about the sacred offices; insomuch that many persons who came thither with great zeal from the ends of the earth, to offer sacrifices at this celebrated place, which was esteemed holy by all mankind, fell down before their own sacrifice themselves, and sprinkled the altar, which was venerable among all men, both Greeks and barbarians, with their own blood; till the dead bodies of strangers were mingled with together with those of their own country, and those of profane persons with those of the priests, and the blood of all sorts of dead carcasses stood in lakes in the holy courts themselves [V 1:3]

A recent PBS "documentary" led one to believe that this carnage was initiated by the Romans when, in fact, this is what life was like in Jerusalem as a result of the civil war among Jews, which continued in spite of the imminent assault by Titus. One can readily imagine that the common people just sat in their houses and cellars praying for speedy delivery from these calamities.

As Titus encompassed the city with his legions and auxiliaries, he soon observed that there was really only one area which lent itself to assault because the others bordered on steep valleys offering natural protection. The defenders, aware of this situation, had raised not only one but two more strong walls in the most exposed sections making assaults extremely difficult and costly.

On the fourteenth of Nisan, Passover day, John and Eleazar arranged for a truce. The sanctuary was opened to the people for the holy event, but John used the occasion to smuggle into the temple some of his people who promptly fell on Eleazar's men. Surprised and outnumbered, they took refuge in the subterranean caverns of the temple. John's troops then settled personal as well as impersonal accounts with anyone they could lay hands on, while "the people that stood trembling at the altar, and about the holy house, were rolled on heaps together, and trampled upon, and were beaten both with wooden and with iron weapons without mercy [V 3:1]." With the inner temple thus seized by John's followers, and Eleazar's people either captured or killed, the power over the city now rested with two rather than three factions. Some of the captured, which included Eleazar, promised good behavior and were joined to John's forces. As far as numbers are concerned, Simon had about 15,000 men, while John had about 8,000. The total city population, as estimated by Tacitus, was about 600.000. On the Roman side were three battle tested legions of Vespasian and in addition there were the twelfth, plus portions of the eighteenth and third legions which had come from Egypt. Assuming an average strength of about 5000 per legion this would amount probably to at least 25,000 men. Furthermore:

This force was accompanied by twenty cohorts of allied troops and eight squadrons of cavalry, by the two kings of Agrippa and Sohemus, by the auxiliary forces of king Antiochus, by a strong contingent of Arabs, who hated the Jews with the usual hatred of neighbors, and, lastly, by many persons brought from the capital and from Italy by private hopes of securing the yet unengaged affections of the Prince [Tacitus Hist. V:1].

A Roman cohort ranged between 400 and 600 men. It is likely, therefore, that at least 30,000 troops encircled the city. Unfortunately, Tacitus breaks off at the point where Titus surveys the situation and prepares the assault. Tacitus shifts his attention instead to events in Germany. Josephus remains, therefore, the only source for the subsequent siege.

Despite valiant sallies by the defenders the first wall was breached within fourteen days. Five days later the second wall gave way, but the Romans now found themselves under severe attack within the narrow streets and alleys and had to retreat with considerable loss of life. This defeat was rectified a few days later and there was now only one more wall to go. To avoid further bloodshed and destruction, Titus sent Josephus to negotiate surrender terms. He pointed out the utter futility of further resistance, that the Romans would deal leniently with those who laid down their arms, and that the city would soon be reduced by starvation if not force of arms. The offer was rebuffed and the mission was a failure.

Inasmuch as there were already serious food shortages in the city, some of the defenders, as well as old men from the

civilian population, ventured out intermittently to gather edibles. They were promptly caught by the troops. Titus thus found himself confronted by a growing number of prisoners of war whom he could neither feed nor guard without taking away men from the assault forces. The unfortunates were then crucified in front of the wall. This led, of course, to a stiffening of the resolve by the defenders who could now point to how the Romans really treated their prisoners. Titus then had ramps built to seize the temple wall and the adjoining fortress Antonia but the defenders managed to destroy them. The Romans, therefore, decided to let nature take its course, and in order to prevent further sallies by the hungry population, they encompassed the entire city with a wall of their own. This was supposedly accomplished within three days. In the meantime inside the city starvation began to take its toll:

The upper rooms were full of women and children that were dying by famine; and the lanes of the city were full of dead bodies of the aged; the children also and the young men wandered about the market-places like shadows, all swelled with famine, and fell down wheresoever their misery seized them. As for burying them, those that were sick themselves were not able to do it: and those that were hearty and well were deterred from doing it by the great multitude of those dead bodies, and by the uncertainty there was how soon they should die themselves; for many died as they were burying others ... the famine confounded all natural passions; for those who were just going to die, looked upon those that were gone to their rest before them with dry eyes and open mouths. A deep silence also and a kind of deadly night had seized upon the city; while yet the robbers were still more terrible than these miseries were themselves; for they broke open those houses which were no other than graves of dead bodies, and plundered them of what they had; and carrying off the coverings of their bodies went out laughing and tried the points of their swords on the dead bodies; and, in order to prove what mettle they were made of, they thrust some of those through that still lay alive upon the ground; but for those that entreated them to lend them their right hand, and their sword to despatch them, they were too proud to grant their requests, and left them to be consumed by the famine. Now every one of these died with their eyes fixed upon the temple and left the seditious alive behind them [V 12:3].

Desertions from the city increased again, but as soon as the starved ones had eaten their fill in the Roman camp "they burst asunder" having been unaccustomed to proper nourishment for too long. In addition, word had spread that a fair number of deserters had swallowed gold pieces to smuggle them out of the city and were retrieving them subsequently from their excrements. The *Soldateska* was in no mood to wait for nature to deliver the golden eggs; instead they cut open the bellies and performed autopsies on the living. When Titus was informed about these practices, he ordered an end to them but it was clearly a no-win situation for the city's inhabitants.

Titus then ordered a new siege ramp to be built. This was accomplished with considerable difficulties since the trees in the vicinity had already been cut down and new timber had to be brought in from considerable distances. What had once been flowering gardens, orchards, and woods was now reduced to desert. With help of the ramps, the third wall was conquered and so was the fortress Antonia. John's forces retreated into the temple precinct, and the upper city remained in Simon's hands. Famine reduced the population to further acts of desperation and madness which are better read in the original description (VI 4:3-4) than repeated here. Josephus made another attempt to persuade the besieged to either give up or at least remove themselves from the temple precincts, so that the holy structure would be saved. He was again met with derision and the slow

assault on the temple began. Ramps were built, battering rams put into position, and the foundations of the temple's north gate mined, in spite of vigorous resistance by the defenders.

But the temple was not to be taken easily. The walls were of such strength that the battering rams proved useless. When assault ladders were placed, the defenders simply bombarded the climbers from above and overturned the ladders. It was apparent that since the walls could not be scaled, the only other option was to set fire to the gates. This was accomplished; the section called the cloisters was burnt to the ground, although the temple proper was still unscathed. According to Josephus, a council of war was then held about what to do with the structure and its defenders. Some argued for total destruction because the Jews would never cease from rebellion as long as the house remained intact, while others, among whom was supposedly Titus himself, argued that this work of art should be preserved and only its occupants eliminated. Orders were therefore given to quench the fire which by that time had reached the inner court, and while this was being carried out, the defenders sallied forth and resumed the fight. The Romans beat them and gave pursuit into the temple itself. In the heat of battle one of the soldiers snatched a burning piece and after having hoisted himself upon the shoulders of another, "set fire to a golden window, through which there was a passage to the rooms that were round about the holy house, on the north side of it [VI 4:5]." When Titus was appraised that the temple was aflame, he supposedly gave orders to have the fire put out, but they were not obeyed. The troops either didn't get the message or had become ungovernable in their fury. Whatever could be looted was taken, the remaining defenders who had failed to escape were killed, and the building was consigned to the flames.

The Cambridge Ancient History disputes this account and states that the temple was destroyed on Titus' orders. This seems more likely because a Roman general would want to get things done the fastest way possible and fire would surely do it. Josephus wrote his version while living in Rome on the largesse of Vespasian and Titus and had every reason to exculpate the conduct of his patrons.

The temple grounds were now in Roman hands but the lower and upper city remained to be taken. Surrender terms were again offered but rejected. John had escaped with some of his men and Simon also still had his army. It took another two to three weeks of ramp building and battering ram operations to finally subdue the city and put it to the torch. Part of the remaining civilian population who surrendered was allowed to leave freely, others were killed indiscriminately along with those who were caught bearing arms. The most handsome young men were selected to be paraded in the triumph which was to follow in Rome, while others were sent to the Egyptian mines or sold into slavery. Both John and Simon were captured alive and brought to Rome. Simon was executed, John sentenced to life imprisonment, while our historian received a pension, large tax-free holdings in his home country, and went on to write books.

It is appropriate at this point to list some of Moses' curses as to what would befall the Israelites if they failed to follow the Lord's commandments:

Thou shalt beget sons and daughters, but they shall not be thine; for they shall go into captivity. All thy trees and the fruit of thy land shall the locust possess....The Lord shall bring a nation against thee from far, from the end of the earth, as the vulture swoopeth down; a nation whose tongue thou shalt not understand; a nation of fierce countenance, that shall not regard the person of the old, nor show favor to the young ... and he shall besiege thee in all thy gates, until thy high and fortified

walls come down....And thou shalt eat the fruit of thine own body, the flesh of thy sons and of thy daughters ... in the siege and the straightness, wherewith thine enemies shall straiten thee [there are indeed reports of cannibalism having occurred during the famine which accompanied Jerusalem's siege]....And it shall come to pass, that as the LORD rejoiced over you to do you good, and to multiply you; so the LORD will rejoice over you to cause you to perish and to destroy you; and ye shall be plucked from off the land whither thou goest in to possess it. And the LORD shall scatter thee among all peoples, from the one end of the earth even unto the other end of the earth....And among these nations shalt thou have no repose ... but the LORD shall give thee there a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and languishing of soul [Deut.28:41,42,49,50,52,53,63-65].

The Jews had not heeded the warnings; instead of life, they had chosen death. The disaster was not preordained. It was the result of the exercise of free will by a few irresponsible fanatics.

The Romans are chided for the destruction of the temple – a holy, religious, cultural landmark. It was that originally, but when it was taken over by fanatics and turned into a fortress, it had become a military target. Let us consider for a moment what would have happened during World War II if the Germans had not declared Rome an open city but instead had fought a street-to-street battle and eventually barricaded themselves in the Vatican. If they had then continued to harass the Americans with rifle, machine gun, and bazooka fire it does not take all that much imagination to figure out how the U.S. forces would have responded. The destruction of the ancient monastery on Monte Cassino, which seemed to bar the way to the American advance, is a good example that in war, expediency always wins hands down over religious-cultural sentiments.

Although Jerusalem fell in A.D. 70, the war lasted another three years. Fanatics continued to hold the mountain fortresses of Herodium, Machaerus and Masada. Herodium was readily taken by Bassus the newly appointed legate to Judea. Macherus yielded after a prolonged siege and its defenders were allowed to leave after their surrender. At this point only Masada, with the sicarii under Eleazar's control, remained. He withstood the siege of Silva, who had replaced Bassus, for more than a year. When all hope was gone, he convinced his garrison that it would be better to die by their own hands than bank on the mercies of the Romans. Since the sicarii were thoroughly hated even by their own countrymen, as a result of their raids upon neighboring villages, their chances were probably rather slim anyway. Inasmuch as the use of the dagger had become second nature, they took their families to death with them. Only two women, who had sequestered themselves with five children, remained to tell the tale. Whether or not Josephus had later met some of them personally is not known but it would seem more likely that the heroic speech he put into Eleazar's mouth prior to the murder-suicides represents poetic license. Nevertheless, it is only this speech which is currently being remembered and the previous atrocities of the sicarii are relegated to oblivion. Some modern Israelis are being accused of having a Masada complex. One can only devoutly hope and pray that this is not the case in responsible circles. Masada was not a fight in defense of religious liberty. It was a desperate attempt by murderous fanatics to hang on against better judgment.

Another popular myth is that, as a result of the lost war, the Jews were driven into exile from which they could return only about 2,000 years later. Those cities and villages which did not support the insurgents were left alone and the country continued to flourish for some time. The Romans

did not believe in a scorched earth policy, they wanted their provinces to be prosperous so that taxes could be collected. It was the Bar Cochba revolt from 132-135 A.D. which sealed the fate of the country and Jewry. Unfortunately, we do not have a Josephus to report the true antecedents. We do know that when Bar Cochba was proclaimed the Messiah by Rabbi Akiba, the Judean Christians did not join his cause, which to some extent cemented the final split between the religions. Although Bar Cochba managed to bring considerable portions of the country under his control for a few years, he was defeated and died in a "last stand" at the village of Bethar. The country lay in ruins and became soon thereafter a backwater of contending empires for the next two millennia. Nevertheless, at no time were Jews prevented from returning. The city of Aelia Capitolina, which had been erected by Hadrian in 132 on the ruins of ancient Jerusalem and peopled by Greco-Romans also received its original name back under Constantine. Apart from a few genuinely religious people who wanted to live and die in the Holy Land, the overwhelming majority of Jews remained voluntarily in the Diaspora because Palestine had nothing to offer politically or economically. It is perfectly understandable that human beings want to live where they can prosper. As the Romans somewhat cynically said: ubi bene ibi patria (wherever life is good there is my fatherland). Why should Jews be an exception?

Are there any lessons to be learned or will the disasters, so eloquently described by Josephus, repeat themselves? The state of Israel is now engaged in a rerun of ancient history and at this time one wonders whether or not the appropriate lessons have been learned. Zionism was founded on the model of the Maccabees but relatively few people seem to have read the events of those times either in the Apocrypha or in Josephus and are content to merely celebrate the mira-

cle of Hanukkah. It has never been more true than today, that those who don't know their history and believe instead in romantic myths, will be forced to repeat it. Inasmuch as weapons of mass destruction exist nowadays in that part of the world and America is committed to the defense of Israel, the knowledge of these ancient events – rather than the myths about them, which are steadily repeated – is vitally important for Jew and Gentile alike in the U.S. as well as in Israel. All of us are going to suffer the consequences if we let ourselves be guided by the propaganda which has evolved around these occurrences rather than taking the time to examine the events as recorded in the Bible and by Josephus.

The disasters which befell the Jewish people 2,000 years ago were not predestined; they could have been prevented numerous times before and even during the wars. Hate, greed and lust for power drove a few fanatics to exercise dominion over the truly religious and God-fearing people, thereby taking themselves and everybody else to ruin. These facts must be exposed and faced honestly. To regard the events of the Jewish wars against the Greeks and later the Romans simply as pursuit of liberty or religious freedom is wrong! Those who knowingly promote this propaganda may well lay the foundation for the next catastrophe.

CHAPTER 3

The Origin Of Zionism

One might assume that the struggle for a return of the Jews to Palestine, and therefore to ancient Israel, was initiated by Jews. The fervent wish to meet "next year in Jerusalem" is, after all, uttered regularly as part of religious ceremonies. Nevertheless, Jews were quite content to wait until the Lord's time had come. He would then send the Messiah, who in turn would lead them back into the promised land. Two hundred years ago there was no striving for nationhood. Jews in Poland and Russia were organized in their own communities under rabbinic law and those living in Central and Western Europe were struggling for "emancipation" - namely the lifting of government restrictions on life in the Diaspora. The question arises, therefore, who was responsible for this yearning for nationhood, and for what reason? At first blush one might say Herzl and anti-Semitism but that is not the case. One has to go back another one hundred years to revolutionary France.

During the period of the Directorate and after his victorious campaign in Italy, the twenty-nine year old general Bonaparte found himself at loose ends in Paris. There was, however, still a war with England and Napoleon was appointed to oversee and command the planned invasion. A close look at France's resources convinced him that this was

an impossibility because "Britannia ruled the waves" and the French fleet would be no match. He suggested, therefore, to strike at England in the East by occupying Egypt and threatening her routes to India. The Directorate agreed to the plan because they were just as happy to get him out of town before he could endanger their power. Napoleon set sail for Egypt with his army, as well as a retinue of scientists. Egypt was conquered and the scientific discipline of Egyptology was born. But in August of 1798, Nelson and his British tars sank "Bonie's" fleet at Abukir and he was stranded. He then began to administer the country, but since it actually belonged to Turkey, Constantinople declared war on France. In February of the following year Napoleon marched into Syria. He got as far as Acre, where he had his come-uppance. The fortress, aided by the British fleet, withstood his siege for three months. Without support from home, Napoleon had to break off the siege and march back to Egypt. Militarily, the expedition had been a disaster. He immediately returned thereafter to France, without his army, where his political career flourished to the extent that he eventually crowned himself Emperor. As an aside, one might mention that the rather high opinion of him - which is held in some circles today - was not uniformly shared in his lifetime when he was more commonly referred to as "the scourge of Europe." The Parisian broadsheets which were passed out in March of 1815 after Napoleon's escape from Elba speak volumes about the nature of the human race. Their titles are reprinted in Napoleon the Final Verdict by Haythornthwaite et al.:

The tiger has broken out of his cage. The Ogre has been three days at sea. The Wretch has landed at Fréjus. The Bussard has reached Antibes. The Invader has arrived in Grenoble. The General has entered Lyons.

Napoleon slept at Fontainebleau last night.

The Emperor will proceed to the Tuilleries today.

His Imperial Majesty will address his loyal subjects tomorrow.

Vox populi, vox dei? Or rather: "You just have to go with the flow" and "Nothing succeeds like success!"

In its heyday, revolutionary France had become *La Grande Nation* and she was determined to bring nationhood, freedom, and justice to all the other "oppressed" peoples of Europe who were dominated by Austrians, Russians and Prussians. As an aside, one might mention that only the terminology has changed. What used to be called oppression goes under the name of "human rights abuses" nowadays. This is the point where Jews come into play. While Napoleon was at Acre, he composed a "Letter to the Jewish Nation." It was to be issued from "General headquarters, Jerusalem, 1st Floreal, April 20th, 1799, in the year 7 of the French Republic." The title was:

Buonaparte, Commander In-Chief Of The Armies Of The French Republic In Africa And Asia, To The Rightful Heirs Of Palestine.

The salient portions are:

Israelites, unique nation, whom, in thousands of years, lust of conquest and tyranny have been able to deprive only of their ancestral lands, but not of name and national existence! [This is followed by the quote of Is. 35:10 which promises return to Zion] Arise, then with gladness, ye exiled! A war unexampled in the annals of history, waged in self-defense by a nation whose hereditary lands were regarded by its enemies as plunder to be divided, arbitrarily and at their convenience by a stroke of the pen of Cabinets, avenges its own shame and the shame of the remotest nations, long forgotten under the yoke of slavery, and also, the almost two thousand year old ignominy put upon you, and, while time and circumstances would seem to be least favorable to a restate-

ment of your claims or even to their expression, and indeed to be compelling their complete abandonment, it offers to you at this very time, and contrary to all expectations, Israel's patrimony!

The young army with which Providence has sent me hither, led by justice and accompanied by victory, has made Jerusalem my headquarters and will, within a few days, transfer them to Damascus, a proximity which is no longer terrifying to David's city....

It continues in this vein urging the Israelites as "rightful heirs" to "arise and take what is freely given" to them but to "hasten" because the time is now and the moment may not arrive for another thousands of years.

This document, which can be found on the Internet, is remarkable not only for its content. People who have had the misfortune to live under Hitler will immediately recognize the hyperbole and what Klemperer has called in his diaries the "Lingua Tertii Imperii" (language of the Third Reich). Substitute for France, Germany which has to shake off the yoke of shame and slavery of the Versailles treaty, exchange "Cabinets" for "Plutocrats" but keep "Providence," "the just cause," as well as "self defense" and this could have been written in Berlin just prior to World War II. Obviously it would not have been addressed to the Jews because the roles were now reversed but to the nations who in Nazi ideology lingered under Jewish yoke.

But "Providence" had other plans. As mentioned, Acre defied Napoleon and the "victorious army" had to beat an ignonimious retreat. Nevertheless, the seeds were sown and Gentiles as well as Jews watered them thereafter. What motivated Napoleon to write a letter of this type? Was it just love for Jews and the Lord? This is unlikely. Although a sense of justice may well have played some role, he was foremost a first-class politician and his prime goal was to annoy the British. If he could pry lose the English and Austrian

Rothschilds, who financed the war against France, he would have won, or so he probably thought. A two-thousand year old injustice would have made good propaganda but probably had little to do with *Realpolitik*. As an aside, one might mention that the Rothschild family hedged their bets, and the Parisian members supported Napoleon.

The Christians, mainly Protestants, who subsequently championed Jewish nationalism and a return to the homeland, had a different reason. Not only had the injustice to be redressed, but by helping the Lord with returning the Jews to Palestine, they would bring about the second coming of Christ, which, as per prophecy, is contingent upon the ingathering of the dispersed. Whether or not the rekindling of Jewish nationalism was a good idea will be decided by events in this new century, but the fact that biblical prophecies should have guided nineteenth and twentieth century politicians is deeply disturbing. Will somebody instigate a battle of Armageddon so that Jesus can come down and save the righteous? These self-fulfilling prophecies have nothing to do with genuine religion and are outright dangerous.

As far as the Jews were concerned, even if Napoleon had reached Jerusalem and issued his proclamation, they would not have flocked *en masse* to the Holy Land. The wealthy ones clearly had nothing to gain from moving into a swampy, mosquito infested desert, and even the poor ones were not interested because they believed in the Lord's and not Napoleon's timetable. The supposed yearning for a return to the ancient homeland was much overestimated by all the crusaders for justice.

Nevertheless, by the middle of the nineteenth century a groundswell for a return of the exiles began to appear in Poland and later on in Germany and Austria. Pinsker had written a pamphlet *Autoemancipation*, while Moses Hess wrote *Rome and Jerusalem*. Hess not only emphasized the

national but also the racial characteristics of the Jewish people:

The Jewish race [sic] is one of the primary races of mankind that has retained its integrity, in spite of the continual change of its climatic environment, and the Jewish type has conserved its purity through the centuries....The "new" Jew, who denies the existence of the Jewish nationality, is not only a deserter in the religious sense, but is also a traitor to his people, his race and even to his family....The race war must first be fought out and definitely settled before social and humane ideas become part and parcel of the German people, as was the case with the Romance peoples, which after a long historical process, finally defeated race antagonism.

Sadly enough the race war which he predicted was indeed fought eighty years later with a terrible toll of lives on both sides. Have we seen the end of it? Hardly! Who knows what the Middle East still has in store for us? Hess had pinned his hopes on the "Romance people," by whom he meant primarily the French. Napoleon, as noted above, had been one of the hopes of Israel, another was a Gentile Frenchman by the name of Laharanne, who had written an impassioned plea for the return of Jews to Palestine. His work is extensively quoted by Hess and exceeds in the praise of Israel what any Jew could have written. Had Hess known how the French would behave at the end of the century during the Dreyfus trial and during World War II, where they readily cooperated with the German occupation forces to deport Jews, he might have had to change his view of the "Romance peoples" to some extent.

Hess also raised the question whether or not the freed "nations" might not go to war against each other, but dismissed it:

To-day the real problem is how to free the various oppressed races and folk-types and allow them to

develop in their own way. The dangerous possibility that the various nationalities will separate themselves entirely from each other or ignore each other, *is to be feared as little as the danger that they will fight among themselves and enslave one another*[emphasis added].

Let us now make a detour from nineteenth century fantasy to twentieth century reality. The so-called Völkerkerker (prison of nations), as the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was referred to by its enemies, was, apart from Germany, the dominant power in Central Europe prior to World War I. In contrast to Germany it was, however, thoroughly multiethnic. Within its borders eighteen different languages were spoken and it was precisely the hatred of these "oppressed nations" which resulted in the first world war and the dismemberment of the monarchy after President Wilson had made freeing of the "captive nations" one of America's war aims. It is truly an irony of history that this "multiculturalism", which is so eagerly pursued now in America, was anathema one hundred years ago, and had to be abolished. Theoretically, as far as Austria was concerned, the treaty of St. Germain, which terminated the war, should have ended the problem because now each ethnic group would have its own country. What did happen in reality? Poland was restored and two brand new countries were created. In addition, the borders of existing nations were redrawn to accommodate the political wishes of the victors. Approximately a half-million German speaking Tyroleans became Italians and about three and a half million Sudeten Germans became Czechs. The two new nations were Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

The irony is, of course, that Czechoslovakia was likewise a *Völkerkerker* because it was far from ethnically homogeneous. It consisted of 51 percent Czechs, 14.5 percent Slovaks, 23.4 percent Germans, 5.6 percent Magyars and a smatter-

ing of Ukrainians, Poles, Jews and others. After World War II the ethnic Germans were expelled, but the country fractured into the Czech and Slovak republics. Thanks to the foresight of Czech President Vaclav Havel, this was accomplished peacefully.

The situation was even more glaring in the successor state of Yugoslavia which will plague us for years to come. At its creation the country consisted of 40 percent Serbs, 25 percent Croats, 9 percent Slovenes, 4.3 percent Macedonians, 2.9 percent Montenegrins, approximately 5 percent Bosnians and a smattering of other ethnic groups. This particular Völkerkerker did not disappear peacefully, but there are currently two new republics in addition to "rump Yugoslavia." Croatia and Slovenia have fought their wars of independence and whatever will happen to Bosnia is a good question. The rest of Yugoslavia may also fracture into Serbia, Montenegro, and Kosovo in the not too distant future, unless the latter gets integrated into a "Greater Albania". Will that be the end of it? Who knows? There are still the unfulfilled hopes of the Macedonians who might want to take some share of Kosovo, Bulgaria as well as Greece. The Macedonians were, after all, the nation that produced Alexander the Great, so why should there not be a "Greater Macedonia?" This is what unbridled nationalism can really lead to. Wilson's speech to Congress on February 11, 1918 may well continue to plague us in the future:

National aspirations must be respected; peoples may now be dominated and governed only by their own consent. 'Self-determination' is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of action, which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril.

These noble sentiments are those of a university professor who meant well but had little understanding of human behavior. It was another example of the road to hell being

aved with good intentions. If America were to persist in supporting every tiny ethnic group's wish for "Self-determination" under the guise of "human rights abuses" we will be engaged in tribal wars for ever and ever more. This wish also conflicts directly with the aspirations expressed in the next chapter.

After this side-tour, we can return to Jewish nationalism. The appeal of the above mentioned authors found no appreciable echo anywhere and was remembered only in 1893, when Nathan Birnbaum, a Viennese journalist, wrote Die Nationale Wiedergeburt des jüdischen Volkes in seinem Lande, als Mittel zur Lösung der Judenfrage (the national rebirth of the Jewish people as a solution to the Jewish problem). The subtitle was Ein Appell an die Guten und Edlen aller Nationen (an appeal to the good and noble of all nations). In this pamphlet, Birnbaum not only pointed to the necessity of solving the problem of anti-Semitism by Jewish migration to Palestine, he also repudiated the idea that the country could not support a large influx of settlers, and pleaded for any of the European powers, except Russia, to act as sponsor and protector of the immigrants. Three years later the Viennese journalist and playwright Herzl took up the cause and launched political Zionism. He adopted Birnbaum's suggestions including the term Zionism, although he never gave him credit for it, and stated that he had arrived independently at the same conclusions.

While covering the Dreyfus trial in Paris for his newspaper, the *Neue Freie Presse*, Herzl came face to face with anti-Semitic outbursts in the newspapers, as well as by mobs in the streets who shouted "à mort les Juifs" (death to the Jews). This led to his determination to do something about the *Judensache*, as he called it. His first idea was that the Austrian Jews should all voluntarily convert to Roman

Catholicism, the dominant religion of the country. He would go to the Pope and ask for his help against anti-Semitism. In return Herzl would lead a *grosze Bewegung* (great movement) towards a free and *anständige* (respectable) conversion of Jews to Christianity. It would be free and respectable because:

the leaders of this movement, I above all, would remain Jews and as Jews advocate the conversion to the dominant religion.... the conversion should take place on Sundays at twelve o'clock, in St. Stephen's cathedral, with festive processions and under the pealing of church bells.

It wasn't a very good idea and his friend and editor of the paper, Moritz Benedickt, who was also Jewish, promptly squashed it. Although Herzl abandoned this particular notion, he was not one to give up easily. The Jewish problem had to be solved one way or another and he would do it.

The Neue Freie Presse was in those days Austria's equivalent of the New York Times and as such known the world over. Herzl, therefore, used his credentials as a member of that newspaper to gain access to Jewish financiers, especially Baron Hirsch and the Rothschilds. Since no money was forthcoming for his plans from these sources, he subsequently approached the ruling circles of the major European powers. In Germany it included the Kaiser with whom he was actually favorably impressed, in Turkey the Sultan, and in Russia the Interior Minister Plehwe. In England he had to make do initially with Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain, father of the ill fated Neville who so seriously misjudged Hitler. The plan he proposed was simple: The Jews are a race (Rasse) in urgent need of improvement that can only be accomplished when they are given a piece of land upon which they can create a state of their own. To the question Napoleon had asked the Jewish

Sanhedrin, after he had become emperor, "are you a nation or a religion?" they had then declared: "we are a religion and loyal Frenchmen" knowing fully well that he would not condone a nation within a nation. Now, Herzl's answer was "We are both." Benedickt and Bacher, his editors, were again appalled because they felt no good could possibly come out of these ideas and forbade him to write any Zionist articles in their paper. Herzl remained a member of the staff but also founded his own journal, *Die Welt*, to give wider circulation to his ideas.

Not only were the assimilated Viennese Jews against his plan, so was the Chief Rabbi, Güdemann, whom Herzl had tried to enlist. Although Güdemann was initially sympathetic, he later turned against the idea and published a pamphlet Nationaljudentum, designed to "kill" Zionism. The reason for doing so was the perennial dilemma of the Jewish people - how to lead a distinct Jewish life as a small minority in host countries all over the world without arousing too much antipathy in the indigenous population. For Güdemann, who represented the majority view within the Jewish community, the solution aspired to was a world free of nationalism. As far as he was concerned, the Jewish mission, ordained by God, was to bring universal brotherhood. Only in a world that knows no borders would Jews really be safe. This is also the reason why Jews supported the international political ideologies of socialism and communism and why "political globalism" is championed today. For Herzl, however, internationalism was "an excuse of all those who are prosperous in their present domicile - but they are not the only ones." The poor Jewish masses needed a place of their own where they would not merely be tolerated, but where they would live as a free people on a free soil.

International brotherhood was Güdemann's official reason. Privately he expressed his misgivings to Herzl in these words:

In the Talmud it is written: 'Vengeance is great'; since the word 'vengeance' appears between two names of God, 'A God of Vengeance is God.' You do not seem to be aware of this at all. I am to go away from here and clear the way for our enemies, who constantly abuse and curse the name of Jew and all those who bear it, in order to grow vegetables in Palestine. No, ten thousand horses could not drag me away from here, until I have the satisfaction of seeing the downfall of our enemies.

Those were his real feelings as reported in the chapter "The Chief Rabbi and the Visionary" of Fraenkel's book *The Jews of Austria*.

The pamphlet *National judenthum* is no longer in print. It does reside in the Austrian National Library and in view of its importance for the current Middle East situation it may be of interest to read what the Chief Rabbi had to say in 1897:

The word *Nationaljudenthum* and the movement which is associated with it suffer from an inherent inner contradiction. Judaism, on account of its historic mission. does not have the task to support let alone worship the addiction to or hankering after nationalism, but much rather to work towards the removal of the individualism of all nations and the unification of all human beings in one family. If Judaism would awaken in all its members the desire to become once again a nation, it would commit suicide. In the best of cases it would give up the future for a rather questionable present....In case of a national restoration Judaism would sit even more between the chairs of other nations on the floor. It would have to worry a great deal more over the regained sovereignty than over the previously lost one. The means with which even mighty nations maintain themselves is evident from the military budgets which exhaust the treasury. Judaism, with cannons and bayonets, would reverse

the role of David with that of Goliath and would be a travesty. It would deny the spirit of our religion if we insisted and succeeded in a national restoration – even if Palestine were to be handed over and guaranteed by the major powers – we would agree with the opinion of those who regard our two thousand year long diaspora as evidence of our condemnation. That it is not, in spite of all the suffering, is shown by the divine assurance: 'Nevertheless, while they are in the country of their enemies, I shall not despise and reject them, grind them down, dissolve my covenant with them, for I the Eternal am their God' (IIIM.26 44)....One can only wish and hope that Jewish colonies, wherever they already exist or are formed in the future, be it in the Holy Land or somewhere else, will prosper. But it is utterly wrong [verkehrt] and in conflict with the spirit of Judaism and its history when this colonization effort, which is worthy of the highest praise, is amalgamated with nationalistic aspirations and regarded as the fulfillment of prophetic assurances. No, this it is not, never. The course of Judaism, which regards itself as the seal bearer of prophetic promises for all of mankind, can not end up in the recreation of a nation. This would be the realization of Horace's mocking phrase: 'Desinit in piscem mulier formosa superne' [The beautiful woman above, ends in a fish]....Let us not put the cuckoo's egg of nationalism in our nest, no good will come from what is hatched. What did Grillparzer [Austrian 19th century poet] say? 'From humanism through nationalism to beastialism.' This sequence the Jews can amply confirm by their experiences during the last decades and they are warned not to participate themselves.

The Rabbi ended his pamphlet with the words from Zechariah 14:9 "And the LORD shall be King over all the earth: in that day there shall be one LORD, and his name is one."

Güdemann clearly foresaw the difficulties Judaism would run into when it becomes a nation state and the treatise can be regarded as an Apologia for the Diaspora which is to be the savior of humanity.

The colonies Güdemann had referred to were those of Baron Hirsch in Argentina and Brazil which were not going all that well. Rothschild was supporting settlements in Palestine but on a gradual rather than massive basis. Herzl, with a flair for the dramatic, he was a playwright after all, needed immediate, drastic action. Since no money was forthcoming from the Jewish bankers, Herzl appealed to the Jewish masses and organized in 1897 a "World Congress of Zionists" that was to be held in Munich. The Jews of Munich. wanted no part of it and sent a formal protest. The venue was therefore changed to Basel. As mentioned, there was obviously no unanimity in Jewish circles about Herzl's ideas. Even long standing Zionists were not intrigued with this newcomer, and the Jewish Chronicle in London reported that the Zionist organization would not send delegates to the proposed Congress. Nevertheless, the Congress was a success and as Herzl wrote in his diary on Sept 3, after his return to Vienna: "In Basel I have founded the Jewish State." It would take another fifty years and a Holocaust for this to become reality, but in a way it was true. Herzl is now officially regarded as the father of the state of Israel. The major achievement of the Congress was that Jews from all over the world had met and defined (in the Basel program) the goal of Zionism, namely: "the creation of a home for the Jewish people in Palestine, secured by public law." The word "home," "Heimstätte" in the original document, was important because it avoided the more inflammatory term "State."

The project could not be put into immediate effect because Herzl didn't have the money to provide a massive loan to the Sultan, who in turn was then supposed to agree to open Palestine to large-scale Jewish immigration. But lack of money was only one problem. The Sultan also did not want to annoy his Muslim subjects by foisting on them

numerous European Jews. Inasmuch as immediate success seemed to elude Herzl, he published two books. One was the programmatic *Der Judenstaat* and the other a novel *Altneuland*.

Herzl was imbued with the then current European colonial attitude which saw itself as bringing the blessings of civilization to the ignorant natives who would be forever grateful. In the utopian novel *Altneuland* he described his vision of life in 1923 Palestine, which has been turned into a technological Garden of Eden. The relationship to the indigenous population takes up slightly more than one page out of the total 175 and is contained in a conversation between a rich German visitor and an equally wealthy local Arab. The German asks:

'didn't the former inhabitants of Palestine become ruined through the immigration of the Jews? Didn't they have to move? I mean, by and large.' 'What a question' the Arab replied 'it was a blessing. Of course foremost for the property owners who sold to the Society of Jews ... those who didn't have anything had nothing to lose, they could only have gained. And they have gained: opportunity for work, food and well being.' 'You are rather unusual you Mohammedans [replied the German| don't you regard these Jews as intruders?' 'How strangely you talk Christian' answered the amiable Reschid 'Would you regard someone as a robber who doesn't take anything from you but brings something? The Jews have enriched us, why should we be angry with them? They live with us like brothers, why should we not love them?'

This was Herzl's fantasy in 1902, but in real life the "Arab-Israeli conflict" was already in full swing by 1921. In the programmatic booklet *Der Judenstaat* published in 1896, Herzl had rejected gradual infiltration, as had been supported by Rothschild and others, because "the moment will come when the population which feels itself endangered

will urge the government to halt a further influx of Jews. Emigration makes sense only when it is based on guaranteed sovereignty." He was correct on the first point but failed to consider how "guaranteed sovereignty" would change the feelings of the locals. Herzl also ignored his own statement in the Introduction to *Der Judenstaat* "The Jewish Question exists wherever Jews live in considerable numbers. Where it is not, it is dragged along by immigrating Jews." Why this should not have happened when the Jews returned to Palestine, he did not want to consider. He deluded himself with the opinion that if the Jews were to emigrate *en bloc*, anti-Semitism would automatically, and permanently cease, because there are no more Jews to hate in the Diaspora. The fact that the majority of Jews wouldn't want to go, unless forced to, he disregarded also.

Although most of his friends and colleagues made it quite clear to him that he was embarking on a potentially highly dangerous enterprise, he was a visionary who would do his level best to bring his dream to fruition. As mentioned earlier, he concluded his book with the prophetic words: "This is why I believe a generation of wonderful Jews will emerge from the earth. The Maccabees will rise again." Unfortunately, he seems not to have read the history of the Maccabees as was recounted earlier and was simply guided by popular myths.

Although from 1897 on, there were annual Zionist Congresses – nothing much happened until the climate changed in official British circles. As a result of pogroms in Russia, to some extent caused by the assassination of Czar Alexander II in 1881, there had been a relatively large influx of Jews from that country into Britain. Ninety-five thousand had arrived between 1882 and 1902. Of these, 54,000 settled in London, mainly Whitechapel, the hunting grounds of Jack the Ripper. Now England found herself confronted with

anti-Semitic sentiments in the working class who felt exploited by the industriousness and to some extent the greed of the newcomers. A Royal Commission was appointed to look into the situation and Herzl was allowed to testify. He told the members that the problem of immigration would only get worse unless the Jews had a place which they could call their own and were allowed to settle there. A plan was therefore adopted by the Commission to investigate the possibility of colonizing some British possession close to Palestine, either in Cyprus or the El-Arish area of the Sinai.

Chamberlain, the colonial secretary, was sympathetic to Herzl's views, but killed the Cyprus idea because the Greeks and Muslims living there would not have been happy about an influx of Jews. For the Sinai he could not speak, since Egypt was not formally a colony and such matters belonged to the domain of the Foreign Office. They studied it and turned it down, ostensibly over lack of water, but more probably to avoid Arab resentment. A break in this stalemate came in 1903 when Chamberlain, who had just returned from a trip to Egypt, told Herzl that he had a land for him "and that's Uganda." This was obviously pretty far from Palestine, but it didn't just come out of the blue. Another Viennese with a similar name i.e. Hertzka had published in 1890 a utopian novel "Freiland" which envisioned an ideal communitarian colony at the foot of Mt. Kenya. It went even further. A group of Hertzka's followers had petitioned the British to be allowed to form this colony and were granted permission. It was established in Lamu but soon collapsed due to internal squabbles. The British were now offering to look with favor on another attempt without being deterred by the previous failure.

When Herzl read the Foreign Office letter to the 6th Zionist Congress the members were initially enthusiastic but he soon ran into resistance because Kenya, or Uganda as

it was then referred to, was nowhere near Jerusalem and that's where we belong! The proposal was turned down and it literally broke Herzl's heart because he no longer had credibility within his own organization. He died prematurely the following year in 1904.

The Original and Final Balfour Declaration

From then on the Zionist cause languished until WWI produced the famed Balfour Declaration in 1917. The antecedents and infighting that accompanied the birth of this document were carefully researched by Sanders and presented under the title The High Walls Of Jerusalem. The war was not going all that well for the British at that time and having the Jews as allies, especially the rich and influential ones in America, was appealing. There were also military considerations. Taking Palestine away from the Turks would secure the northern approach to the Suez canal and this would also facilitate overland routes to India. General Allenby as well as Lawrence (of Arabia) were already poised to give the Sultan's troops, which were commanded by German staff officers, serious problems. In addition, Lord Balfour the Foreign Secretary, as well as Lloyd George the Prime Minister, were devout Protestants and therefore very much in favor of redressing a 2000 year old injustice by helping the Jews to return to the Promised Land. As believers in Biblical prophecy, they were also convinced that this would usher in the second coming of Christ.

Balfour had been a long-standing friend of Chaim Weizmann, who was then in charge of the English Zionist Federation, as well as Lord Rothschild who had also become a declared Zionist. Thus, the time was ripe to energize the

quest for a Jewish homeland and Balfour asked for a draft proposal he could submit to the War Cabinet. Eventually a document emerged, drawn up by members of the Zionist organization, which was forwarded as a letter by Rothschild to Balfour and made public as a reply to Rothschild. It read: "His Majesty's Government accept the principle that Palestine should be reconstituted as the national Home for the Jewish people" and that "His Majesty's Government will use their best efforts to secure the achievement of this object and will be ready to consider any suggestions on the subject which the Zionist Organization may desire to lay before them." Success at last, or so it seemed.

The difficulty arose not with the War Cabinet, but another member of the government and its only Jew. Edwin Montagu, the recently appointed Secretary of State for India, had profound misgivings. He produced a lengthy memorandum for the government in which he stated:

Zionism has always seemed to me to be a mischievous political creed untenable by any patriotic citizen of the United Kingdom. If a Jewish Englishman sets his eyes on the Mount of Olives and longs for the day when he will shake British soil from his shoes and go back to agricultural pursuits in Palestine, he has always seemed to me to have acknowledged aims inconsistent with British citizenship and to have admitted that he is unfit for a share in public life in Great Britain, or to be treated as an Englishman.... I assume that it means that Mohammedans and Christians are to make way for the Jews, and that the Jews should be put in all positions of preference and should be peculiarly associated with Palestine in the same way that England is with the English or France with the French, that Turks and other Mohammedans in Palestine will be regarded as foreigners, just in the same way as Jews will hereafter be treated in every country but Palestine. Perhaps also citizenship must be granted only as a result of a religious test.

He recommended that Rothschild be told "that the Government will be prepared to do everything in their power to obtain for Jews in Palestine complete liberty of settlement and life on an equality with the inhabitants of that country who profess other religious beliefs. I would ask that the Government should go no further."

One may wonder at this point why Montagu had been so incensed over this proposal by his co-religionists. He was the son of Samuel Montagu, with whom Herzl had dealings during the years of 1895-98. Sir Samuel was at that time not only a Member of Parliament but also a person of great wealth and influential in British financial circles. Herzl was convinced he would be able to harness him for the cause and after their first meeting over dinner in Sir Samuel's house, Herzl wrote in his diary: "A wonderful old chap (prächtiger alter Bursche), the best Jew I have yet seen." His opinion changed, however, when Sir Samuel was not forthcoming with the money intended to buy off the Sultan, and by 1898 Herzl referred to him, as well as the other Jewish financiers who had left him in the lurch, as Lumpen (scoundrels). Thus, there was no love in the Montagu family for Zionism and Sir Edwin's interest in Judaism as a religion was also quite limited. He had married a young gentile woman who had to convert to Judaism in order that the family fortune could be retained by Sir Edwin, but it was merely a matter of expediency or "label" as they put it. The overriding consideration for Sir Edwin was his political ambition and his standing in the government. In addition, he was obviously worried how he could represent the crown in India if his first loyalty were to be perceived as owed to Zion rather than the King.

Well, it wasn't quite a return to the proverbial square one for Zionism but a definite setback. Eventually a compromise was arrived at and I present it here in full as it was published on November 2, 1917, because only the first part tends to be commonly quoted:

His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

Instead of the second comma, Zionists saw a period, ignored the rest and built on that. In addition, some Zionists have never fully accepted the difference between the first draft that said "Palestine should be reconstituted" as opposed to the final version "the establishment of a national home in [emphasis added] Palestine." The latter, which is the only official British declaration, left the size and nature of the "homeland" completely open. The organization which calls itself FLAME (Facts and Logic about the Middle East) regularly publishes oped pages in various journals and magazines wrote recently "Palestine was established as a national home for the Jewish people," and chided the British for having subsequently separated Transjordan which was regarded by FLAME as a breach of promise. This is an example of how the American public is being misled (Human Events November 3, 2000).

The end of the first world war brought the British Mandate over Palestine and the troops stationed there soon doubted the wisdom of the enterprise. Just as the Romans before them, the British were now regarded as an occupying force that could neither please the native Palestinians nor the immigrating Jews. The former accused them of not doing enough to protect their rights under the second part of the declaration and the Jews of not doing enough for the

first. It is another irony of history that Montagu, who had successfully torpedoed the first draft of the declaration, which was quite unambiguous, had joined the government only one day prior to the initial Rothschild letter to Balfour. Had he not been there it might well have been smooth sailing for the Zionists. On such slender threads the fate of nations hangs.

Herzl's dream came to fruition in 1948. Unfortunately it has not only failed to lead to a resolution of old conflicts, but in addition created new ones. These are not limited to Arab-Jewish relations but there are also animosities within the Jewish people on what the proper relationship of the Jews in the Diaspora, especially America, should be to those of Israel. Even within Israel there is no unanimity as to what the state is supposed to be all about. The meaning of Herzl's very word Judenstaat is under intense debate now because the state was built on his words. Is it supposed to be a state where Jews can live their own lives as free people in the land of Israel under a secular democratic constitution where all inhabitants of the country have equal rights regardless of ethnic origin? Or is it supposed to be a Jewish state under Jewish law exclusively for Jews? The term Judenstaat allows for either interpretation. Israeli governments have over the past fifty years studiously avoided this problem by not creating a constitution for their state. Thus, the state's relationship to the non-Jewish minority living within its borders has never been completely clarified. These internal problems will inevitably have to be dealt with once some modicum of peace with the neighbors has been achieved. Güdemann's prediction as to what would happen if the Jews were to get a state of their own have been amply fulfilled.

Hazony's recent book *The Jewish State* deals with the role Israeli intellectuals had played in the creation of what is called post-Zionism. He roundly condemns some of them

including Leibowitz whose book: *Judaism, Human Values, and the Jewish State*, is actually exceedingly valuable. The book consists of a collection of essays, published over several decades, and one meets here an authentic voice of Judaism which does not mince words, does not quote out of context, and does not compromise. Leibowitz struck me as an "improved" reincarnation of the prophets of old. I use the word "improved" advisedly because he does not shower doom, gloom, and curses upon his wayward people but merely points out what, in his opinion, Judaism ought to be about, and what is likely to happen if his advice is not heeded.

Leibowitz was born in Riga, in 1903, and studied chemistry as well as philosophy in Berlin. After receiving his doctorate in 1924, he spent several years at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute and then embarked on the study of medicine at Köln and Heidelberg. With the Nazis' rise to power, he obtained his M.D. degree in Basel and in 1934 emigrated to Palestine, where he taught chemistry at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He died at the ripe old age of 91 years.

Leibowitz incorporated within himself what may be regarded as the best of Judaism: Religious learning, scientific study, and concern for his fellow human beings. There was no conflict between science and religion in his soul, they complemented each other. Although he drew a clear line between Judaism and Christianity as being separate entities and rejected, as many other Jews do, the term "Common Judeo-Christian Heritage," his writings are remarkably free of rancor and hatred. He remained the physician who diagnoses and points the way to the cure.

Since in Judaism religion and politics tend to be closely linked, it is necessary to briefly mention Leibowitz's religious views before dealing with the political ones:

What characterizes Judaism as a religion of Mitzvoth is not the set of laws and commandments that was given out at the start, but rather the recognition of a system of precepts as binding, even if their specifics were often determined only with time. Moreover, this system of norms is constitutive of Judaism. The very being of Judaism consists in its imposing a distinctive regime on the everyday existence of the Jew, a way of life shaped by the Oral Law, which embodies human understanding, the understanding of men who aim at establishing the rule of Torah over their lives.... Most of the Mitzvoth are meaningless except as an expression of worship. They have no utility in terms of satisfaction of human needs....The Halakhah [the Law] thus addresses a man's sense of duty rather than his emotions and inclinations.

These sentences represent his religious convictions and need to be appreciated to understand his outlook on the nation state. He takes issue with Rabbi Kook's idea – which is shared by a great many others – that the "soul of the nation" is identified with the community of Israel. In Leibowitz's view:

There is no 'soul of the nation.' There are Jews who are living human beings. And the great crisis of the nation, 'The hurt of my people' (Jer. 8:21), is that today we cannot tell *what* it is that makes them Jews.

Precisely! is all one can say. When one reads some modern Jewish religious authors who are discussed in *The Moses Legacy*, it becomes very difficult to find what is specifically Jewish in their message. Leibowitz continues:

The Judaism of Moses is arduous. It means knowing that we are not a holy people. The Judaism of Qorah [more commonly spelled Korah the biblical rebel against Moses' authority] is very comforting. It allows every Jew to be proud and boast he is a member of the holy people, which is holy by its very nature. This obligates him to nothing. There is no greater opposition than that between the conception of *Am Segulah* (a chosen people)

as implying subjection to an obligation and *Am Segulah* as purely a privilege. He who empties the concept of the Jewish people of its religious content (like David Ben Gurion) and still describes it as *Am Segulah* turns this concept into an expression of racist chauvinism....The uniqueness of the Jewish people is not a *fact*; it is an endeavor....The Jewish people has no intrinsic uniqueness. Its uniqueness rather consists in the demand laid on it. The people may or may not heed this demand. Therefore its fate is not guaranteed.

The same logic applies to the "holiness of the land":

Exalting the land itself to the rank of holiness is idolatry par excellence....By contrast with the intrinsic Holiness of God, there is no holiness in the world except sanctification through Mitzvoth ('who has sanctified us with his commandments')....Ultimately: nothing is holy in the world [emphasis in the original] ... and every sanctity stems from a commandment of the Creator....In the new state of Israel, with its desiderata of strong defense, vigorous economy, honest administration, and the like, it is perfectly clear that religion, so far from being an aid to the state, is one of its most severe hindrances - a veritable stumbling block. In Israel today the Jewish religion does not unite us; it divides us.

Since the land is not holy *per se* the conquered territories are a burden rather than a blessing and ought to be relinquished. The passages Leibowitz wrote to this effect in 1968, a scant few months after Israel's decisive victory in the Six Day war, were indeed prophetic, but like the warnings of past prophets they went unheeded:

The crux of the political debate is 'peace and security.' If the term 'peace' is used here in its true sense, as a condition of coexistence between the state of Israel and each of its neighbors on the basis of a peace treaty adhered to by both sides, then there is no prospect of such a peace today or in the foreseeable future....In the present situation it is inconceivable that either side could freely propose terms of peace that would be freely accepted by the

other. Only the pressure of the great powers prevents war in our region today and tomorrow....'Security' is a reality only where there is true peace between neighin the case Holland/Belgium. of Sweden/Norway, the United States/Canada....There is no direct link between security and the territories. There are no 'secure boundaries'....Now that we have gained borders that, according to the 'experts,' are 'ideal from a security perspective,' we are forced to dedicate a much greater portion of our national income and state budget to defense than in the years that preceded the Six Day war, before we got these 'ideal borders'....We are condemned to live in our country without peace and security, just as the Jewish people have existed for thousands of years....Our real problem is not the territory but rather the population of about a million and a half of Arabs who live in it and over whom we must rule. Inclusion of these Arabs (in addition to the half a million who are citizens of the state) in the area under our rule will effect the liquidation of the state of Israel as the state of the Jewish people and bring about a catastrophe for the Jewish people as a whole; it will undermine the social structure we have created in the state and cause the corruption of individuals, both Jew and Arab. All this will happen even if the Arabs did not become a majority in the state (as a result of their high natural increase) but remained a third or 40 percent of the population. The state would no longer be a Jewish state but a 'Canaanite' state....The only concern of the monstrosity called the 'Undivided Land of Israel' would be the maintenance of its system of rule and administration.

Rule over the occupied territories would have social repercussions. After a few years there would be no Jewish workers or Jewish farmers. The Arabs would be the working people and the Jews the administrators, inspectors, officials, and police - mainly secret police. A state ruling a hostile population of 1.5 to 2 million foreigners would necessarily become a secret police state, with all this implies for education, free speech, and democratic institutions. The corruption characteristic of every colonial regime would also prevail in the state of Israel. The administration would have to suppress Arab

insurgency on the one hand and acquire Arab Quislings on the other. There is also good reason to fear that the Israeli Defense Force, which has been until now a people's army, would as a result of being transformed into an army of occupation, degenerate, and its commanders, who will have become military governors, resemble their colleagues in other nations.

Out of concern for the Jewish people and its state, we have no choice but to withdraw from the territories and their population of one and a half million Arabs; this action to be done without any connection with the problem of peace. I speak of withdrawal from the territories, not of 'returning them' because we have no right to decide to whom to return them to; to Jordan's King Hussein? to the PLO? to the Egyptians? to the local inhabitants? It is neither our concern nor our obligation nor our right to decide what the Arabs will do with the territories after we withdraw from them. We could continue to fortify ourselves in our Jewish state and to defend it. If we do not withdraw with honor - that is, of our free will and from an understanding of the true needs of the Jewish people and its state - the Americans and Russians will force us to withdraw shamefacedly.

Some thirty-odd years later filled with several wars, Intifadas, and the murder of a Prime Minister, the so-called "peace process" is currently in shambles with no definitive resolution in sight.

In 1988, Leibowitz returned to the problem in an essay entitled "Forty Years After":

That a subjugated people would fight for its freedom against the conquering ruler, with all the means at its disposal, without being squeamish about their legitimacy, was only to be expected. This has been true of wars of liberation of all peoples. We call the acts of the Palestinians 'terrorism' and their fighters 'terrorists.' But we are able to maintain our rule over the rebellious people only by actions regarded the world-over as criminal. We refer to this as 'policy' rather than 'terror' because it is conducted by a duly constituted govern-

ment and its regular army. The 'aberrant cases' of necessity became the rule, since they are not incidental to a conquering regime but essential to it....If we do not withdraw from the territories of our own free will, we may be compelled to relinquish them and thus be saved from the corruption by fascism and from all-out war. It may well be the irony of history that the Gentiles will save the state of Israel from the Jews bent on its destruction [emphasis added].

Leibowitz has been characterized as "the conscience of Israel" but as yet there is no evidence that any nation has ever listened to the voice of conscience rather than the clamor for expediency and the formula that "might makes right," which is camouflaged by humanistic slogans. Peace makers are not in great demand, especially in that part of the world. When Count Bernadotte of Sweden proposed a settlement in 1948 as part of his UN mandate, he was murdered by members of a right wing Israeli group headed by Itzakh Shamir who later became Prime Minister. When Prime Minister Sadat of Egypt made peace with Israel, he was murdered by some of his people soon thereafter. When Prime Minister Rabin was about to initiate a peace settlement, he was murdered by a young religious extremist who regarded Rabin as a traitor for giving up part of the holy land in order to gain peace. The issue of "land for peace" divides Israeli society right down the middle; Leibowitz's insistence that it is not the land that hallows people, but that it is the conduct of people which may lead to sanctity, has not made an impact. The book by Morris as well as that by Shlaim which deal with the history of the young state have not received very favorable press reports in the U.S., and have been labeled as "revisionist history." But they represent carefully researched facts as they evolved; to ignore them comes at the peril of inviting future disasters.

While Leibowitz can be called the voice of reason, there are others like Rabbi Meir Kahane, who speak with nationalistic fervor and advocate the opposite of Leibowitz's suggestion. In the Fall 1988 issue of *Judaism*, which was dedicated to *The Arab-Israeli conflict: Proposed Solutions* the Rabbi did not mince words when he wrote:

There is an insoluble contradiction between Zionism and its goal - a Jewish State, and Western democracy. A Jewish State, by definition, is a state that must always have a Jewish majority so that it will give the Jew the sovereignty, the independence, the self-determination, the mastery that he never had during 1900 years of brutal Exile. But Western democracy wishes nothing to do with a "Jewish" or "Arab" or any kind of predetermined, defined state. *Whoever* is the majority rules under Western democracy, and it is not relevant if one is a Jew or Arab. That is the contradiction between Zionism and Western democracy, and that is the schizophrenia that grips every Jewish leader and thinker.

Even a child can understand that not one Israeli Arab wishes to live in an Israel called the "Jewish State" any more than one Jew would enjoy living in Pat Robertson's Christian state. Not one Arab sees aught but racism in the basic Israeli Law of Return that applies to Jews only and not to Arabs. Not one Arab feels anything but coldness for his national anthem *Hatikvah*, that speaks of the 'soul of the Jew yearning' and, on Israeli Independence Day, not one Israeli Arab celebrates this defeat.

This is the problem. The immutable contradiction between Zionism and a Jewish state on the one hand and Western democracy on the other.

Rabbi Kahane's logic is faultless and he now faces the next problem: the proliferation of Arabs, by higher birth-rates, in Israel proper, especially in Galilee and in the territories conquered in the 1967 war. The babies are a ticking time-bomb which must be faced. They are "the terrible question from which all [Jewish politicians] flee." If the

state of Israel remains a democracy, sooner or later Arabs will be in the majority and therefore rule the Jews. For Kahane, there is only one solution:

Understand that there will be no peace with the Arabs, no matter what the concessions are. And understand that the Arabs of Eretz Yisrael, including the State of Israel, must be removed as part of an exchange of populations that began in 1948 when the first of 800.000 Jews from Arab lands came to Israel. And understand that this process must be made whether the Arabs agree or not, since Israel's existence is at stake.

And understand that the Arabs will be taken to southern Lebanon and Jordan and no one is asking the illegitimate state of Jordan (the product of the illegitimate 1922 defiance of the League of Nations) whether it agrees or does not. We speak of Jewish survival!...

And understand, once and for all, that America, the USSR, and world Jewry are not relevant to Israel's determination to survive. The U.S. does not back Israel because it is "good," but out of self-interest, and the Jewish establishment represents so few American Jews that its pretensions would be laughable if not scandalous.

And finally. And most importantly. And the crux of this paper. All of the above is clear, logical, truth. But all of it is unavailing except as part of the greater and ultimate solution, the only relevant one: the understanding by the Jew that his fate lies only in knowing that he is part of the Chosen People of God, bound to observe those laws and statues given at Mount Sinai. That Jewish destiny is not a sometime thing, not a poetic phrase, but a very real, and the most fundamental, truth in Judaism and Jewry. If we walk in His statutes there will be peace and redemption. If not, there will be no peace and redemption - but God forbid, there will be awesome tragedies and horrors, such as even we have not yet seen.

This is a truly remarkable document. The logic is unassailable. But let us not be swayed by rhetoric and let us look at what is really being said. This was Hitler's solution when he shipped the Polish Jews back in October of 1938, which led to Herschel Grynszpan's murdering the German embassy official vom Rath in Paris, and to the subsequent *Kristallnacht* in Germany.

Meir Kahane was murdered in 1990 by an Arab-American in New York, and his Kach party was forbidden in Israel later on because of its racist anti-democratic program. Nevertheless, Kahane's spirit still lives on and so do proponents of his idea. To make "Eretz Yisrael" Araber rein (cleansed of Arabs), just as Germany had to become Judenrein under Hitler, does not seem to be a valid option for rational human beings. But do politicians, and especially religious fanatics, really think through the consequences of their actions in a dispassionate manner? In addition to, or concomitant with, the wish of expelling the Arabs, there exists a political-religious faction in Israel - the "Temple Mount Faithful" which has as its goal the creation of the Third Temple. The fact that the site is occupied by some of Islam's holiest shrines is not regarded as a significant obstacle because the existing Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqsa mosque could readily be torn down and rebuilt stone by stone in Mecca. Groups like the "Temple Mount Faithful" are vigorously opposed to yielding any part of Jerusalem's Old City and with it the Temple Mount to Palestinian control. Their leader, Gershom Salomon, has vowed that blood will flow if any such attempt is made. Curiously enough these Jewish fundamentalists have allies in some Christian evangelical circles who firmly believe in, and lend help to this enterprise because they will thereby hasten Jesus' return! That this may not be in the best interest of the Jews

does not seem to concern them. Apparently the sooner Armageddon comes the better!

These are just some of the complexities and ancient hatreds which characterize Middle Eastern politics. America is thoroughly ensnared in them and valiantly tries to untangle this Gordian knot. The "peace process", as it was pursued from the American side by ex-President Clinton, was deeply flawed. It could satisfy neither the majority of Israelis nor of the Arabs. The creation of a group of autonomous Palestinian islands without contiguous borders, where traffic between them can be halted at a moment's notice by the Israelis can never be regarded as a long-term solution by either side. It is truly ironic that the state of Israel finds itself now confronted with Hitler's problem of what to do with a "foreign" minority which cannot be integrated into mainstream Israeli society. Hitler's options have been foreclosed and it will be interesting to see if the much vaunted Jewish ingenuity and intelligence will indeed find a solution which will be a blessing to the world.

While the Arab problem gets the headlines, the other fracture lines within the Israeli community, namely its relationship to religion and to Jews living in the Diaspora, are as yet not acute. They will become so once the most pressing external problem has achieved some type of solution. Religion has already been touched on and a full blown battle between "secular" and "orthodox" Jewry, which may tear the state apart, similar to Maccabean times, is not unlikely. What the successors of Meir Kahane's party, and others of similar persuasion, have in mind is an autocratic theocracy modeled after Simon Maccabeus. But the "democratic-secular" elements in the country are not likely to tolerate that. This would result in civil war like in olden times. Is America then supposed to step in like Pompey did 2000 years ago? Inasmuch as American TV screens will be full of

blood and gore, a "humanitarian mission" may well nigh be impossible to avoid. But once bloodshed is curtailed, then what? Are we to assume the role of the Romans and remain peacekeepers in that country forever?

Diaspora Relationships

The relationship of the citizens of Israel to Jews living in the Diaspora is currently not in the news, yet it may well become important later on. The state of Israel contains only about one third of the world's Jewish population, but ardent Zionists have always insisted that Palestine is the only legitimate place for Jews to live and work in. They feel that with the creation of the state of Israel the Diaspora has lost its raison d'être and the new state needs all the Jews it can get in order to survive in an Arab sea. As a result of the Holocaust, there are only two major Diaspora centers of Jews left in the world - The United States and Russia. Israel needs the U.S. for its very survival but also resents the intrusion of the Jewish cousins into Israeli internal affairs as well as its dependence on the "nanny" across the sea. Furthermore, there exists the feeling in some circles that an authentic Jewish life can only be lived in Israel. It is assumed that the American relatives are going to succumb to assimilation and will thereby be lost to the nation. Nevertheless, it is obvious that American Jews are not going to be very eager, either now or in the future, to leave the safe haven of the U.S. for an uncertain life in the Middle East.

While America is a forlorn hope as a reservoir for Jewish emigration to Israel, the situation is different in regard to Russia. That country has a long history of anti-Jewish sentiments and it would take very little to fan the embers. It was mainly Russian and Polish Jews who colonized Palestine in the first place, between the 1880s and 1930s. If Israeli

Jewish leaders were to feel that Jewish majority status in Israel was endangered as a result of Arab population growth, the Russian reservoir of Jewish people would probably look rather tempting. Since Jewish politicians are quite similar in their outlook to non-Jewish ones when it comes to survival, they may not shrink under these circumstances from some Machiavellian tactics. If Russian Jews would not want to leave voluntarily, it would not be very hard to provoke the authorities in Russia with a variety of demands. If these were not met, an international outcry might be raised against the "repressive regime." Russians would be alienated more, and pogroms might occur, which would, in the minds of some theorists, lead to an exodus into the Holy Land.

On the other hand, it is in no way guaranteed that the Russian Jews would opt for Israel when given a choice to leave. It is much more likely that they would come to one of the Western democracies, especially the U.S., as was the case during the exodus of 1974 to 1980. Goldberg presented the data in his book *Jewish Power*. In 1974, of the 20,628 Jews who left Russia, 19 percent ended up in the U.S. The numbers crept up steadily over the next six years and reached 81 percent of the 21,471 who left the Soviet Union in 1980. I have no evidence whatsoever that the Machiavellian scenario as imagined above will indeed come to pass, but knowledge of human nature surely does not rule it out. I am presenting this opinion merely in the hope that, if the time were to come, the option outlined above, would be rejected rather than accepted.

CHAPTER 4

Globalism

Globalism is the new panacea which is supposed to set everything right in this world. It is, however, nothing else than the task Güdemann and others have outlined for Jews more than one hundred years ago. The key word from the previous chapter which presented his views, is "völkerverschmelzend." What does this term mean? Translated verbally, it is an amalgamation of all nations and ethnic groups into one undifferentiated mass. I believe that Güdemann's choice of words came from the German Schmelztiegel (melting pot), which is the way America was described in the nineteenth century. That this melting pot is currently in danger of splitting along racial and ethnic lines might be taken as a warning for social planners who envision a U.S.E. – a "United States of Earth."

To live in an integrated world which knows no nations and no borders is an age-old dream of some Jews. The reason for the dream is the belief that, under these circumstances, persecutions would cease and everybody would, in the words of the fairy tales, "live happily forever after." But let us examine this notion rather than accept it uncritically. Dreams are never realized the way the dreamer imagines them once daylight breaks, and some dreams have a tendency to turn into nightmares. A reality check is, therefore,

in order. This is no idle exercise because the dream is actually vigorously pursued today by Jews as well as Gentiles in political and economic circles.

What is the real purpose of globalism, when stripped of all the humanitarian phraseology? To put it bluntly - globalism is pursued in order to make more money! Let us not delude ourselves. The name of the one god under which this world is to be united is "Mammon!" There is no doubt that some countries, especially in Africa, are in urgent need of improvement. The question is *how* this is to be achieved. The efforts to loan vast sums of money, which can never be repaid, have been demonstrably futile. Money cannot solve all problems. Unless this simple lesson sinks in, global planning can only produce more problems than it solves. Until the standard of living can be raised in the poorest countries through efforts of their own, and until they cease and desist from their tribal wars, paternalistic largesse from abroad will be both squandered and resented. Imagine for a moment what would happen if by the stroke of a pen all borders across the world were to be opened and all national jurisdictions abolished. A Völkerwanderung of unimaginable proportions would result, bringing chaos to the Western World. Even if, through the miracles of technology, all countries were to be equally wealthy, national pride in one's spiritual heritage would still have to be contended with. Are people really going to give up voluntarily their most cherished ancestral beliefs? Surely not. Will the supergovernment then force them to do so? Yes, in all probability.

Globalism In Actual Practice. A Preview?

When these lines were written originally, the people of Austria had become the first victims of globalism. A duly elected government was immediately ostracized by the European community, as well as by major countries around the world, before it was even sworn in. The reason was that it stood to the right of center and its enemies branded one of the coalition parties with the specter of Nazism. Since the average person cannot be expected to be familiar with Austrian internal politics, let me present the essential facts here. In doing so, let me also emphasize that it is not only Austria's fate which is at stake. These events are an example of what a supranational government can do.

The media furor over Haider's Freedom Party stemmed from two sources. One was the impression in some Jewish circles that Austria had not taken sufficient responsibility for the participation of some Austrian Nazis in the Holocaust, and that compensation for the victims had been inadequate. The other aspect was that the Socialists who had been in government for practically fifty years deeply resented having to give up power. The leftist media immediately jumped into the fray with sound bites like Haider "has praised Nazi policies and attacked Immigrants" or "has applauded aspects of the Nazi regime." These obscure the real and much more far-reaching problem. An excellent review of the history of the Freedom Party and Haider's most controversial statements has been presented by Melanie Sully in The Haider Phenomenon. If the former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright had read this simple straight forward book she might not have repeated media slogans and acted the way she did to the detriment of the Austrian people.

It is a fact that Haiders' parents were members of the Nazi party, but he was born five years after the war had ended. Nazism is not an inherited trait and the idea "once a Nazi always a Nazi" actually echoes Nazi politics of "Once a Jew always a Jew." It refuses to recognize that people can see the errors of the past and subsequently modify their conduct. It is true, however, that Haider had the unfortunate habit of making off-the-cuff remarks for which he subsequently apologized. But in the context in which they were made, they were not nearly as inflammatory as the media have reported.

The Freedom Party's victory in 1999 resulted from the fact that the socialists and the conservatives had formed the coalition government for practically fifty years. They had become entrenched; the country was regarded as their personal fiefdom, and abuses had become rampant. The Freedom Party (FPÖ) promised change – a lean government, limitation of the federal debt, privatization of certain industries, cutting taxes, combating crime, limitation on immigration and stemming the loss of rights to the European Union.

Partnership in the European Union had not brought the benefits the Austrian people had been promised prior to joining. Supranational regulations were imposed by unelected bureaucrats who wanted to extend their influence with the costs borne by taxpayers. The outflow of money to the EU was greater than the income which led to "Sparpakete" namely the slashing of benefits and an increase in the already high taxes. The anticipation of the admission of newly freed, but largely poor countries, to the EU raised fears that further "income redistribution" would be imposed from above and the countries which are relatively better off will have to support the poorer ones. While this may be regarded as social justice, it also creates resentment

by those who have to pay for bureaucratic largesse. After all, most people do work rather hard for their money and they hate to see it wasted, as is common when government agencies take over.

The "Xenophobia" Austrians were accused of, also needs to be seen in context. In contrast to America, which covers a continent, Austria is a small country, most of it mountainous and non-arable. As a result of the demise of communism and the turmoil in the Balkans, Austria had been flooded with immigrants. This produced a severe strain on the economy and was resented, but this had nothing whatsoever to do with Nazism or anti-Semitism. Since these simple facts were unpalatable to the Left the specter of Nazism had to be raised.

The FPÖ had been represented in parliament since 1957. In the October 1999 election it received 27.7 percent and the People's Party (ÖVP) 27.6 percent of the vote. The actual vote differential was 415 in favor of the Freedom party. The socialists remained the strongest party with 33.6 percent but they refused to enter into a coalition with the Freedom party. Talks between the socialists and the people's party had dragged on for several months with no end in sight. Since one cannot run a country without a government, the coalition between the FPÖ and the ÖVP became a necessity in February 2000, especially since the October vote outcome was a mandate for change. The second strongest party simply could not be excluded from a government coalition if one claims to live in a parliamentary democracy. How extreme right is this coalition government? Public opinion polls in Austria placed the FPÖ at 67 and the ÖVP at 54, the extreme right would have been 100. The FPÖ-ÖVP government is, therefore, by about ten points to the right of center!

Let us now look at what happened when the coalition was announced. Even before the government was sworn in, let alone started its job, the EU ostracized the country. Israel and the United States withdrew their ambassadors, Austria was threatened with a tourist boycott, Britain canceled an exhibit which was supposed to have been opened by Prince Charles, participation of foreigners in the Salzburg festivals was in doubt, vacation exchange programs for children were canceled by some countries, and even taxi drivers in Brussels were exhorted not to transport Austrian passengers. When ultra-Leftist hoodlums attacked the police in Vienna, they were called "Anti-Rightist Rioters" in *The Salt Lake Tribune*. When in the same week an anti-immigration riot erupted in the south of Spain, where a mob chased Moroccans and other immigrants from Africa through the streets with sticks and crowbars and torched buildings, our mainstream media did not report it and the EU remained silent.

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) also made its weight felt. A press release from New York of February 28, 2000, available on the ADL's Internet webpage, reports on a series of meetings by the National Chairman, Mr. Berkowitz, and the National Director, Mr. Foxman, of the ADL, with highlevel officials in Austria. The website states that Mr. Berkowitz and Mr. Foxman remained "deeply concerned about the decision by Chancellor Wolfgang Schuessel to include Joerg Haider's Freedom party as part of his coalition." The fact that Schuessel had no other choice, since the talks with the socialists had been deadlocked, is not mentioned. But as "admirable first steps the government has signed human rights declarations and made overtures toward establishing a program to compensate Holocaust victims." The declaration in regard to human rights is nothing special because Austria is a state of laws, and human rights are constitutionally guaranteed. There have never been systematic abuses. The compensation of Holocaust victims should also present no difficulties, they have been made for decades but on an individual rather than class action basis. This is precisely the crux of the problem. Lawyers need class action settlements because this is where huge amounts of money can be collected. On the other hand, it is not entirely clear what happens with all of it thereafter, apart from the fact that the lawyers do not regard their efforts as *pro bono* work.

The press release goes on:

We will continue to monitor the progress of the new government. We will be watching for signs that Austria remains committed to an open, prejudice free society, that does not discriminate based on ethnicity, religion or social status, or panders to base xenophobic fears.

We will not seek to isolate Austria; instead we stand behind the majority of Austrians who did not vote for Mr. Haider or for this coalition. Most importantly, we will seek to forge a partnership with the Austrian educational system. To that end we have been asked to share our expertise in anti-bias programs and Holocaust education initiatives in an effort to implement similar programs in schools across Austria.

Let us now consider how Israelis might feel if the above cited paragraphs were applied to their country. How would they react if they had to accede to a demand that UN monitors be appointed who would watch over the treatment of Arab-Israeli citizens to ensure that all their civil rights are met? How favorably disposed would they be to a UN commission which is appointed specifically to investigate possible human rights abuses by the Israeli Defense Forces in the occupied territories? Furthermore, how would the Israeli public feel if the UN dictated what their children have to learn in school about the history of their country? The answer is obvious, but this does not seem to have occurred to the officials of the ADL. They do not seem to realize that there cannot be two sets of moral principles depending on what country one is dealing with. If the ADL wants to pre-

vent a possible rise in anti-Jewish sentiments it would be well advised to limit its concerns to offenses which are currently occurring. When the ADL expand its mission to "preventive efforts" into areas which are the sole responsibility of the legitimate government of a given country, it fails to recognize the principles of national sovereignty and of freedom of speech which are, or at least ought to be, some of the major hallmarks of democracy.

What is really behind this entire tragedy and what are the implications for Europe as well as for the world? In Austria it was simply a turf-war. The Socialists were unwilling to give up the government jobs they had held for practically fifty years. The other socialist governments in Europe also feared for their positions and were concerned that voters in their respective countries might follow Austria's example. Furthermore, the EU bureaucracy wanted to see its influence and income expanded rather than diminished. Austria, therefore, had to be taught the lesson that democracy has limits by simply pronouncing a duly-elected government as being undemocratic!

It is this aspect which is the most important for America and the rest of the world. The question simply put is: do sovereign nations still have the right to form a government of their choosing, provided the members of that government are not known criminals?

Austria is the test case for globalization. It seems that nowadays a small country's sovereign rights can be violated with impunity but one cannot readily do it with big ones like China or Russia. The irony is especially glaring in regard to China. Although it is a communist totalitarian state, it had been elevated to the status of "strategic partner" by the Clinton administration. North Korea and Vietnam, countries which have an abysmal human rights record, were also

wooed. Thus, it is obvious that a double standard exists when it comes to the defense of "human rights."

Implications for the United States and Israel

Americans will have to face the question of how much freedom they are willing to give up to a world government run by the UN, World Trade Organization, or whatever auspices. This loss of freedom to foreign unelected officials is precisely the direction in which the Clinton administration was headed. An article in *Human Events* of February 11, 2000 by Terrence P. Jeffrey was headlined, "Undoing America at Davos." The author discussed a recently held meeting of world economic planners in Davos, Switzerland, where President Clinton appeared with a retinue of nearly half of his cabinet. Prior to the meeting, the President of the World Economic Forum (WEF), Klaus Schwab of Switzerland, who had founded the organization in 1971, gave an interview for *Forbes* magazine. Jeffrey writes:

'The sovereign state has become obsolete,' he told *Forbes* magazine last November, explaining that he arranged the Davos conferences, because, 'I recognized that neither business alone, nor government alone, can accomplish much.'

Forbes asked Schwab: 'But what if there were a world government and he were the prime minister? What would he do?' Answered Schwab: 'I would like to educate the world with a new set of Ten Commandments, ethical guidelines that would guide everyone in getting along.'

According to Jeffrey, Mr. Clinton said during the Davos meeting:

'We have a well developed WTO for dealing with the trade issues, the environmental issues, the labor issues,

and no forum within which they can all be integrated.' He also called for ... consideration of new 'institutional and organized mechanisms' to advance the era of globalization.

The demise of the nation state was not merely the idea of a Swiss industrialist but was shared by the Deputy Secretary of State in the Clinton administration, Strobe Talbott. He has been quoted as saying "Nationhood as we know it will be obsolete; all states will recognize a single, global authority." As has been mentioned earlier, a world without borders has been the messianic dream of a segment of the Jewish people ever since emancipation two hundred years ago. It now seems to be in grasp. But let us not forget for a moment that even super-governments are run by people! How are they going to be selected? What is going to be their core belief system? How are they going to exercise their vast power? Somebody will be in control of this supergovernment.

Let us assume for a moment that the people in charge will not be Jews. What happens then? Will the Jewish people at large be better off under those circumstances because there is indeed only one world, and there is no longer any place of refuge when laws are promulgated that threaten their faith? Is it not much better that some nation states continue to exist where, as has been shown in the recent past, if something happens in one country, there is refuge – if not for all, then at least for some – in another place in the world? Furthermore the wished for globalism, or *Völkerverschmelzung*, to use Rabbi Güdemann's term, would inevitably have to lead to assimilation in one common religion, even if it is atheism, and that is precisely what the Maccabees had fought their wars against. These are the points people who push for globalism should debate courageously.

In addition, there is another group of Jews who have different aspirations. The Israelis want to retain, develop, and defend their nation state very badly. They are very much against immigration of anyone who is not Jewish, and they don't want Arabs, who were displaced from their domiciles during the war in 1948, to return. Yet, when Austrians want to retain the ethnic structure of their country they are accused of Xenophobia and anti-Semitism!

Is it likely that the Knesset in Jerusalem, which fights so hard for territory conquered in the 1967 war, will relinquish its sovereign powers over Israel to a world made up of non-Jews? Will the Knesset be willing to be educated by Mr. Schwab and his fellow think-tank members in a new set of Ten Commandments and abide by it? Will the Muslim and the Hindu people, let alone China, Russia as well as all the other countries of the world, listen to Mr. Schwab's exhortations? Since this is obviously not going to work, what is the stick with which the non-compliants will be punished? Economic boycotts and/or bombs? Truly, for God's sake, let us sit back and think this through before rushing ahead into a catastrophe. People are not pawns on a chess board. They love their respective countries and will rebel when they feel their vital interests are threatened. If they are punished, like Austrians have been, they will grit their teeth, dig in their heels, and make do with less, or resort to force of arms. Good will, upon which any cooperative enterprise depends, can surely not be achieved in this manner.

A great deal is at stake again today. Most of all, it is a battle for individual liberty against an all powerful bureaucracy, which can strip away our rights one by one, and a leftwing press which distorts the views of its opponents. The assumption is that the state or a combination of states have to think for us and exercise judgment because the individual nations or citizens cannot be trusted. This is precisely what

Nazism and Communism was all about. Yet, to ignore the peacefully expressed wishes of the people has always led to revolution or worse. One can only hope, and fervently wish, that the politicians responsible for our future will reconsider their actions and start reading factual information rather than being guided in their outlook exclusively by what the media report or "opinion polls" dictate. In this connection the words ascribed to Churchill are important to remember: "There is no public opinion, there is only published opinion."

Those of our politicians who react to public opinion and the "media pundits" who produce it, ought to read Hayek's *Road To Serfdom*. Although written in 1944 towards the end of World War II, he has accurately predicted that globalization, even on a regional basis, is bound to lead to significant problems:

Those who at least partly realize these dangers [resulting from a planned economy] draw the conclusion that economic planning must be done 'internationally,' i.e. by some supernational authority....The problems raised by a conscious direction of economic affairs on a national scale inevitably assume even greater dimensions when the same is attempted internationally. The conflict between planning and freedom cannot but become more serious as the similarity of standards and values among those submitted to a unitary plan diminishes....Who imagines that there exist any common ideals of distributive justice such as will make the Norwegian fisherman consent to forego the prospect of economic improvement in order to help his Portuguese fellow, or the Dutch worker to pay more for his bicycle to help the Coventry mechanic, or the French peasant to pay more taxes to assist the industrialization of Italy?...

To imagine that the economic life of a vast area comprising many different people can be directed or planned by democratic procedure betrays a complete lack of awareness of the problems such planning would raise. Plan-

ning on an international scale, cannot be anything but a naked rule of force, an imposition by a small group on all the rest of that standard and employment which the planners think suitable for the rest.

In 1944 this was prophecy but based on a genuine understanding of human nature. Individual freedom to develop one's talents to maximal extent, on the one hand, and planning the direction a given society should take, on the other, are incompatible! Hayek's book should be a "must read" for our politicians and public opinion makers.

By September of 2000 the Europan community discovered that the precipitously leveled sanctions against Austria were counterproductive. Instead of making the people pound their chests in a collective *mea culpa*, the sanctions led to increased resentment by Austria's citizens against outside interference. Sanctions were, therefore, unceremoniously lifted on September 12. Even Madeleine Albright relented, and as of November 2000 Austria is again in the good graces of the United States although the "extreme right wing " government still continues in office.

The lifting of the sanctions was, however, not done simply to right a wrong, but financial considerations played a major role. Denmark was about to vote on abandoning its currency in favor of the Euro. With Austria's example as to what happens if small countries don't toe the line, there was serious doubt about the outcome of that vote. Austria has weathered the storm, for the time being, but the example which has been set by the European Union should raise warning flags for the proponents of the demise of nation states.

Conclusion

Prominent members of the Jewish community keep reiterating that the task of Judaism is to be "a light to the Gentiles" and "a blessing to the world." Jewish religious leaders also tell us that the main difference between Judaism and Christianity is that the former is based on deeds (*Mitzvoth*) while the latter relies on faith. At this time one can only say, "let words be matched by actions." But in order to achieve the desired result, these acts must take human nature, its emotions as well as demographics into account.

The Israelis live on an island in an Arab sea. No amount of chutzpah can overcome this simple fact. Common sense would seem to dictate that some accommodation with the neighbors ought to be the prime task of Israeli politicians. It will be argued that the Arabs don't want peace and reject any offer that has been made especially when it comes to Yasser Arafat's Palestinian leadership. Our newspapers keep repeating that former Prime Minister Barak has offered the most far reaching concessions yet to Chairman Arafat who rejected them and unleashed terrorism to gain a greater advantage. This may or may not be the case.

There is more than one reason why the Camp David proposals were rejected. We do know that neither ex-Prime Minister Barak nor Chairman Arafat were negotiating from a position of strength in regard to their respective peoples. The Israeli public is split right down the middle as to the type of peace they want and Arafat may or may not be able to restrain the passions of the extreme wing of his party. Furthermore, and this point is critical, to the best of my knowl-

edge the American public has never been shown the fine print of the agreement Arafat was supposed to have signed. As we all know, the devil lies in the details.

We have been told that Arafat was offered 94 percent of the West Bank and even parts of Jerusalem. We are told that he refused this offer but we have not been told whether these 94 percent of the West Bank represented a contiguous entity or a patchwork quilt where Jewish settlers would continue to live in close proximity with Arabs. We have also not been told whether or not Gaza was supposed to have remained detached in perpetuity from the rest of the Palestinian state. Under those circumstances the Israelis could halt traffic within the two sections of the state at a moment's notice. Let us remember that the second world war began ostensibly over Danzig and the Polish corridor which separated East Prussia from the main body of Germany as a result of the Versailles treaty. Since American taxpayers are footing the bill for the Israelis as well as the Palestinians, we ought to have a right to the information mentioned above.

The frantic rush of ex-President Clinton towards a Nobel Peace Prize legacy, which led to the collapse of the so called peace process, was doomed to failure. Had he known the history of that part of the world he would have proceeded more cautiously and with lower expectations. Fortunately, a new administration took over in Washington on January 20 with more seasoned individuals at the helm of our ship of state, and there is hope now that the new spirit which emanates from the White House will also reflect itself in our conduct towards the Middle East. On the other hand, the air strike ordered by President Bush on Iraqi targets (February 16, 2001) made one wonder whether or not this will indeed be the case. That the missile strike was carried out only a week before Secretary of State Colin Powell embarked on a

Middle East fact finding mission seemed to make it even more inappropriate. Why would one want to deliberately strain the already difficult relations to one's Muslim negotiating partners before one has even met them? Under the stewardship of ex-President Clinton, the display of American military might was obviously tied to domestic considerations in order to deflect public attention from embarrassing scandals, but this is clearly not the case now. This seems to suggest that even the Bush team may on occasion fail to appreciate the intensity of human emotions, and this is potentially dangerous.

As I have pointed out in War and Mayhem, diplomacy by bombs is an exercise in futility. As a recipient of American bombs during the second world war I am an expert witness on that topic. People who live under a totalitarian regime cannot rise against their leaders because they get shot! Believe me, the death penalty, when carried out immediately, is indeed a mighty deterrent! The second world war was not won by bombs but by troops on the ground, the Vietnam war was lost in spite of massive bombing, and the recent non-war in Yugoslavia was not ended by American and British bombs but by the pressure of the Russian government on Mr. Milosevic. Bombs or rockets cannot win wars. If a victory is desired, troops on the contested ground are needed, as exemplified by the Gulf war under President Bush's father. In that instance, the objective was limited to the restoration of Kuwaiti sovereignty. But if one wants to remove a tyrant one has to physically do so and one cannot rely on others in order to save one's own troops. "Surgical precision strikes" make nice propaganda but are considerably overrated in their real effectiveness and the unavoidable civilian dead and wounded are relegated to "collateral damage" status. Will this make the affected people any fonder of America? Or will they just regard us as a

schoolyard bully? Is it really a wise stance to permanently alienate the more than one billion Muslims of our world? There must a better way than bombs and rockets!

The ticking time-bomb of Arab babies which threatens Jewish majority status even in Israel, has already been mentioned, but it ticks here as well for the Jewish people. According to the Encyclopedia Brittanica of 1998, Jews form 2.1 percent of the population in the United States, but Muslims are close on their heels with 1.9 percent. Jewish mothers, of the secular variety, frequently chose to abort unwanted pregnancies, but this is not the case with Muslims who tend to bring all of their children into the world. The respective demographics will, therefore, shift even in the United States. Once the Muslims discover the power of their vote, as Jews have done, and create adequately funded political action committees of their own, the scales may well become balanced in the near future. Under those circumstances the "Israel is our friend" stance may no longer be politically profitable at elections.

What can be done now as far as the Middle East is concerned? It is useless to argue that one cannot negotiate until the slaughter stops. Acts of terrorism are likely to persist until people see that both sides are serious in their negotiating efforts. It has been reported that while Barak negotiated with Arafat about withdrawal of Israeli forces, the building of settlements continued on the West Bank. This is not conducive to promoting good will. It will also be argued that since all negotiations will require some concessions from Israel, and the Palestinians will always up the ante, there will be no peace anyway, regardless of how much Israel is willing to give. But what is the alternative to talking? Wishful thinking by either side about what might have been will not save the day. The Israelis will now be forced to choose a position somewhere between that of Leibowitz and that of

Kahane. The time for either has passed. The Palestinians will have to accept a solution where they receive only some part of their former land rather than all of it. The Arab world will have to come to recognize that they will have to tolerate a Jewish state in their midst and initially some kind of "cold peace" can be worked for. Thereafter, it will be up to the Jewish state – as a relative newcomer – to show that its presence in the Middle East is not a detriment for the other inhabitants of the region, but an advantage. Most people, apart from religious or secular fanatics, recognize and appreciate good will as well as tangible benefits. They will respond accordingly. The golden rule works both ways. "You will be treated by others as you treat them," tends to be a common human trait regardless of religion or nationality.

As an immediate concrete suggestion, it would be advisable that the rhetoric should be toned down by all sides. This refers especially to the mass media. To demonize one's opponent by painting him totally evil and onself as completely saintly has always led to disaster. As far as the United States is concerned, Secretary of State Colin Powell has taken an admirable first step towards a well meaning and impartial approach. As a follow-up, the United States should support an independent fact finding commission under UN auspices. This commission should, over a period of several weeks or even months, carefully study the conditions in the West Bank and Gaza. It should then publish a White Paper which establishes the facts without assigning blame to either side. Our media should publish this document so that the citizens of this country are indeed fully informed about the situation. As mentioned earlier - we are paying the bills, we are getting blamed and when things go wrong, we have to send our troops. The United States of America is not some nebulous entity but a country of free citizens who must demand

an accounting from their government, especially when it comes to issues of war and peace. If this were not the case, we might just as well live under a Hitler, a Stalin or a Saddam Hussein where questions are answered with jail or worse. When American weapons are used against Palestinian civilians, we have a right to be concerned. For these reasons we deserve an honest, factual report, which is not tainted by politics, about the true conditions in that part of the world.

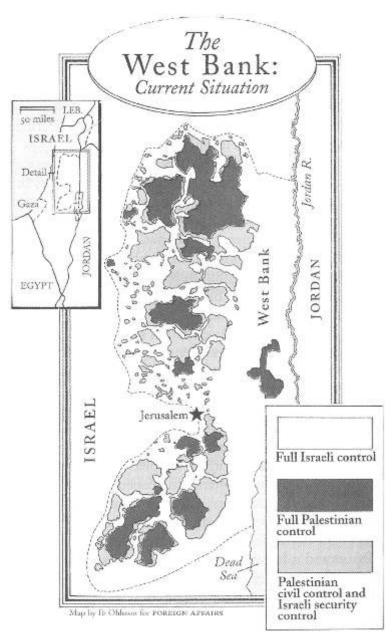
Keeping human nature in mind, the members of this commission should be as neutral as possible. This would exclude the United States and Russia, because power politics will inevitably come into play. Certain European countries which have been subjected recently to demands for "Holocaust reparations" also need to be excluded. These demands have not helped the image of Jews in those parts of the world. Since the Middle East is in Asia, citizens of countries like India, China-Taiwan, Singapore, South Korea and Japan might be most appropriate to serve on such a commission. They would have the additional advantage of not having been reared on the Bible or the Koran and they would thereby be able to look more objectively at the situation than they might otherwise.

Although the United States and Russia would be excluded from the fact finding commission and its report to the UN, they would have a major role to play thereafter. Only by joining forces and working with, rather than against, each other can the recommendations of the commission be honestly debated and whatever is reasonable for Israelis as well as Palestinians implemented. It would seem that only such a step by step approach has any hope of bringing a modicum of peace to that troubled region. It would also serve the immediate purpose of a decrease in the current level of violence

It is known that the Palestinians would welcome such a mission, but Israelis may need to be persuaded that this is indeed in their best interest and their only chance for a secure future. This is where the American Jewish community could be most helpful. Their members look with anguish at what is happening, but the time for action is now before the situation gets totally out of control. The Jewish people have always pursued justice and they are being tested now. If justice is applied to both sides of the conflict rather than only one, then there is hope for a solution.

As far as Saddam Hussein is concerned, it is important to remember that he does not have a common border with Israel. All he can do is send rockets, but as mentioned above, they do not win wars, and he knows it. If he were an utter fool and had produced no benefits whatsoever for his people, he might not have been able to stay in power as long as he has. The key to neutralizing him lies not in bombs or assassination but in cultivating good relations with the new rulers of Syria and Jordan, as well as the other Arab states in the region. If Saddam has no allies, he is isolated and a nuisance, but not a danger. We must realize that every rocket we send to destroy "his capacity for making weapons of mass destruction" is not only wasted because it cannot achieve this objective, but positively harmful because it will further inflame the Arab world against us. It is therefore essential that we displace him from the headlines and not turn him and the Iraqi people into martyrs for the cause of Islam

While this manuscript was sent to the publisher, an article by David Makovsky appeared in the March/April 2001 issue of *Foreign Affairs* under the title: The Once and Future Peace Process. The article contains a map of the current situation in the West Bank, which is reproduced here.



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Even for the uninitiated, one glance at this map shows the tremendous difficulties peace-makers are confronted with. The settlement policy which consecutive Israeli governments have pursued in the hope of creating a "Greater Israel" on the Maccabean model is now becoming a millstone around the neck of the Israeli people. Makovsky points to the reasons for the failure to achieve the goals set in 1993 by the Oslo accord and suggests as the only immediately viable option for the Israelis to disengage themselves from the majority of the West Bank and all of Gaza. He correctly insists that the territory assigned to the Palestinians needs to have contiguous borders, but how this can be accomplished even when the existing settlements are contracted into three distinct blocks, as he suggests, is not at all clear. He also does not address the question how Gaza can be integrated with contiguous borders into the Palestinian state. Makosky's intention is laudable but it is likely to founder on the rocks of Israeli nationalism. I believe that Leibowitz was probably right when he said that the Gentiles may well have to save the Jews from themselves.

On the eve of World War II Pope Pius issued an encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge* (with burning anguish) where he foresaw the disasters which would result from the Nazis' persecution of Jews. Hitler ignored it, the result is known. Will the Jews, both here and in Israel, who now hold our future in their hands be any wiser? or were the old Greeks right when they said that *Moros* (fate) is mightier than Zeus?

Postscript

April 21, 2004

As is apparent from the Preface I was full of hope in 2001 that the incoming Bush administration would take a more evenhanded approach to the Arab-Israeli conflict than the Clinton years had produced. Since politicians tend not to read long books I thought that by extracting the essential information for them in a readable form they might learn from the mistakes of the past. As mentioned, I did indeed send the book to all the members of the Bush administration, including the President himself, and all the members of the relevant committees of the House and Senate. In addition I handed it personally to the Representative of our district and one of our Senators. The other was incommunicado and I had to make do with his secretary.

This experiment in "grassroots democracy" was an utter failure. None of the books were returned as undeliverable but, with one exception, there was no acknowledgment of its receipt either. The single exception was a phone call from a staff member of one the senators from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He told me that "the senator does not accept gifts," and wondered what he should do with the book. Books obviously have only one purpose, namely to be read and the lessons, if any, absorbed. Furthermore, a \$15 item can hardly be regarded as a bribe. This is but one small example of how our government immunizes itself from the concerns of citizens and is loath to look at other viewpoints. The fact that our President, as he personally admitted, dislikes to read and prefers to receive his information in predigested form by those few people he trusts implicitly was then, of course, not known either.

After September 11, 2001 it became abundantly clear that the agenda of the Bush administration did not include even the slightest attempt to understand the roots of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Instead it aligned itself unequivocally with Sharon's vision of a Greater Israel where Palestinian rights do not exist. The press conference with Prime Minister Sharon on April 14, 2004 was the final nail in the coffin of the "road map for peace," to which Bush had reluctantly signed on merely to shore up the cooperation of Prime Minister Blair for the Iraq invasion. Sharon at least was consistent by always having rejected it.

The demise of the "peace process," over the past three years has been chronicled in the Hot Issues segments of www.thinktruth.com. The most relevant installments are: Arab-Israeli Conflict (April 2001), September 11th (October 2001), War on Terrorism (December 2001), The Holy Land -Propaganda and Reality (January 2002), Palestinian State or Israeli Protectorate? (April 2002), The Unholy Alliance (May 2002), Moral Clarity (July 2002), Israel the Fifty-First State (November 2002), and Wolfowitz-Man of the Year (November 2003). The facts, which are recounted in these pages, are deliberately withheld from the larger American public because the fiction that Sharon "is a man of peace," who has no negotiating partner must be upheld. The strategy to submerge the Palestinian struggle for self-determination in the War on Terrorism has been brilliantly successful for Sharon and those who think like him. It was a disaster originally for the Palestinians and is now becoming so for the United States.

By aligning himself completely and unreservedly with Prime Minister Sharon and the Likud policies President Bush has answered the question posed in the last sentence of this book. There is no wisdom in hawkish Jewish circles be they here or in Israel. But neither can it be found in those Christian Zionists who, like the President, believe that by supporting policies to create a Greater Israel the Lord will be pleased and Jesus' return be hastened. This seems so absurd that one wonders if this type of thinking really exists. Unfortunately it does, even in the highest circles of our land. The President genuinely believes that he is carrying out the work of the Lord and has assured us recently that, "Freedom is the Almighty's gift to every man and woman in this world. And as the greatest power on the face of the Earth, we have an obligation to help the spread of freedom." The irony of these words in regard to the Palestinians and even the Iraqis who are to be re-made in our image seems to have totally escaped him.

The Zionist dream is, therefore, bound to take on increasingly nightmarish proportions and only responsible, clear thinking Jews can prevent further disasters. As long as any criticism of the policies of the state of Israel is equated with anti-Semitism average Christians, to their shame, will be too afraid to speak out. We can see this fear already in the current presidential campaign where even the Democratic contender has endorsed and praised the Sharon position on the so-called "unilateral withdrawal" from Gaza. We have not yet seen the fine print but we do know that the removal of settlements and troop withdrawals are not to be completed until late in 2005. Even thereafter Israel will continue to control Gaza's air space, coastal waters and the border between Egypt and Gaza. In the meantime the wall, which will make a genuine Palestinian state on the West Bank impossible, is being built, partly with American money, and further "realities on the ground," as the President called it, are created. Americans agree, for the most part, with this violation of international law. They fail to see why the rest of the world has lost confidence in us and people in the Muslim, especially the Arab, world hate us. They should read this book, look at the demographics, and take the message to heart.

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