PEACE: THE ARABIAN CARICATURE
A STUDY OF ANTI-SEMITIC IMAGERY
Arieh Stav

PEACE: THE ARABIAN CARICATURE
A STUDY OF ANTI-SEMITIC IMAGERY
Contents

Preface .............................................................................................................. 9

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction .......................................................................... 11
• Has the Peace Process Really Dampered Arab Hostility? .................... 13
• Deification vs. Demonization: Unity of Contrasts in the
  Image of the Jew ...................................................................................... 18
• Unity of Contrasts — A “Rational” Perspective ....................................... 20

CHAPTER TWO: The Middle Ages: The Anti-Semitic Libel vs. Esthetic Innocence 23
• The Blood Libel and the Sacrament of the Eucharist ............................ 25
• The Dualism of Christian Dogma with Respect to the Jews .................. 34
• Denigrating Content vs. Restraint in Form ........................................... 35

CHAPTER THREE: The Modern Era — Unity of Form and Meaning .............. 39
• Caricature of Jews — Antithesis of the Esthetic Canon ....................... 47
• Liberalism and Philo-Semitism ............................................................ 47
• Jewish Radicalism ................................................................................. 52

CHAPTER FOUR: Nazism — Permission to Exterminate ............................. 57
• Ripping the Human Mask from the Jewish Devil ................................. 60
• Der Stürmer — The Graphical Creation of a Sub-Human ...................... 66

CHAPTER FIVE: Israel and the Ethos of Jihad — The Roots of Arab Hostility 75
• Jihad — War as an Ethos .................................................................... 77
• The Dhimma — Subjugation as a Principle ........................................... 80
• Israel as an Obstacle to Egyptian Regional Hegemony ...................... 83
• Israel — A Living Reproach to the Arab Failure in the Face of
  the Challenge of the West .................................................................... 85
• The “Islamic Fundamentalism” Issue: .................................................. 87
• A Methodological Note ......................................................................... 91
CHAPTER SIX: The Four Faces of Islamic-Arab Anti-Semitism ........................................... 95

1 The Fourth Conference on the Study of Islam .......................................................... 97
   • "Good Tidings beyond the Unseen" .................................................................... 99
2 Fifteen Years Later — "Arabs and Jews: Who Will Annihilate Whom?" ............ 101
   • Where is the Arab Emile Zola? ................................................................. 106
3 The Conference of Islamic States in Tehran ......................................................... 107
4 "We Swore, We Shall Continue the jihad to Jerusalem in the Way of the Suicide Bombers" ................................................................. 109

CHAPTER SEVEN: "There is a Definite Similarity between Islam and Nazism" .................................................. 113

• From Islam to the Middle Ages and the Modern Era ..................................... 115
• Nazism and Islam ....................................................................................... 117
• The Weapon Hoarding Craze .................................................................... 122
• The Holocaust — Justification and Denial ............................................... 124
• Zionism as a "Final Solution" According to Islam .................................. 125
• Why Does Nazism Have Such a Strong Attraction in the Arab World? ..... 128

CHAPTER EIGHT: Arab Caricature — A Note on Esthetics ........................................... 131

An Imitation of a Copy ..................................................................................... 134

CHAPTER NINE: Themes in Arab Caricature .......................................................... 137

a. The Peace Process as a Jewish Attempt to Destroy the Arabs .................. 139
b. The Peace Process as an Opportunity to Destroy Israel .......................... 162
c. Israel — A Judeo-Nazi Entity .................................................................... 183
d. Demonization ............................................................................................. 198
e. Zoomorphism ............................................................................................. 215
f. The Blood Libel ......................................................................................... 232
g. Israel — A Criminal Entity ...................................................................... 240
h. Israel and the United States ...................................................................... 258
i. Israel is a Grave ......................................................................................... 264

EPILOGUE ........................................................................................................ 269

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY ........................................................................ 275

• Selected Bibliography ................................................................................ 279

INDEX .................................................................................................................. 283

APPENDIX: About the Ariel Center for Policy Research (ACPR) .................. 288
To my children, Noga and Daniel
If for 2000 years everyone tells you that you have a long, crooked nose, then you have a long, crooked nose.

Jean Amery
Preface

Israel is in the midst of a search for a diplomatic settlement that is likely to decide its fate, for better or worse. Supporters of the peace process are fully aware of the fact that it will lead to an Israeli withdrawal to the 1949 borders, Syria will regain the Golan Heights, and a Palestinian state will be established west of the Jordan River. That is a high price, and one that clashes with a national consensus which had taken shape over many years. Proponents of the peace process feel, however, that as heavy as the price is, Israel can bear it; the global political scene has changed, a “new Middle East” has come into being before our very eyes, and the traditional hostility of the Arab world toward Israel has undergone far-reaching moderation.

The present book examines that last, very basic, assumption, one that goes to the roots of the controversy that is rending Israeli society. It is an examination conducted on a direct, authentic, aspect of the Arab communication media: the caricature.

It is my pleasure to thank a group of scholars in various fields who have helped me in the preparation of this book: Prof. Raphael Israeli and Prof. Moshe Sharon, Hebrew University Arabists who read the chapters on Arab anti-Semitism and made the comments they felt necessary; Dr. Aharon Ben-Ami, who helped me locate sources; Prof. Shlomo Sharan, who made valuable suggestions concerning methodology; Dr. Mordechai Nisan and Dr. Yoram Beck, who read chapters of the manuscript, and Dr. Ilan Avisar, for his comments on the chapter dealing with Nazi caricature. I owe many thanks to the librarian at Tel-Aviv University’s Wiener Library for her great patience in helping me locate long-lost source material; to the Arab Press Institute of the Dayan Center; to Eli Oren of Oren Printers, for his work on the complex task of the book’s design; to Leah Kochanowitz, ACPR’s Director of Publishing, for her help in the preparation of the English version of the book. I owe special thanks to Moshe Shamir, who encouraged me to write the book, and who read the manuscript with the discriminating eye of the experienced editor he is, and made his highly instructive comments. Last, but not least, my thanks go to my devoted secretary, Itta Horol, who labored over the hundreds of caricatures with a discerning eye. Nevertheless, the above acknowledgments notwithstanding, the author bears sole responsibility for the contents of this book.

Arieh Stav
Winter 1996
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION
Has the Peace Process Really Dampered Arab Hostility?

The subject of Arab hostility to Israel touches upon the foundations of the Jewish state and its ability to survive in the Middle East. Up until the early 1970s, the assumption that such enmity was both deep and all-encompassing, and that Israel could do little about it, had been commonly accepted.

The late Yehoshafat Harkabi, an Israel Defense Forces (IDF) chief of intelligence in the 1950s and later a professor of international relations at the Hebrew University, made the dominant academic contribution to substantiating the idea of unrelenting Arab hostility in his book, *Arab Attitudes to Israel*, (Tel-Aviv, 1968). Harkabi systematically surveyed the various vehicles of public expression in the Arab world: the electronic and printed news media, literature, folklore, religion, government propaganda, and education. Harkabi discovered a hostility the depth and comprehensiveness of which can only lead one to the conclusion that Israel would have no choice but to rely for its survival on force of arms for the foreseeable future.¹

An illustrative example of the national consensus among Jews in Israel concerning Arab intentions is the following excerpt from the autobiography of the late Israeli Prime Minister, Golda Meir:

I never for a moment doubted that the real aim of the Arab countries had always been, and remains today, the total destruction of the State of Israel, and that even if we withdrew far beyond the 1967 borders, to some tiny enclave, they would still try to destroy us... We are duty-bound to admit this truth, we are duty-bound to clarify it to all men of goodwill who are inclined to evade it. We must face this truth in all its harshness, so that we may continue to tap, among ourselves and among the Jewish people, all the resources necessary to overcome our enemies...²

However, with direct negotiations between the belligerents after the Yom Kippur War, and the relations that began to be engendered between Israel and Egypt with the 1975 Sinai Disengagement Agreements, the impression began to take hold that the wall of Arab hatred was beginning to crumble. An expression of this outlook was the Camp David Accords, pursuant to which Israel withdrew from the entire Sinai Peninsula, thus removing, to its own mind, the grounds for Egyptian hostility. In return, Israel obtained formal recognition from the most important and powerful state in the Arab world.

Thirteen years later, in November 1991, the wall of enmity appeared to have been breached yet again, when delegations from Syria and Jordan agreed to sit at the same table as an Israeli delegation in direct peace talks. Some eight year have passed since then, during which Israel has made three unprecedented departures:

---

¹ Despite these conclusions, Harkabi eventually became an enthusiastic proponent of territorial compromise, as a means of satisfying Arab demands and achieving peace.

1. Arab Unity, Tsawak el-Heir, Egypt, June 12, 1986
Israel, by its very existence, is a threat to the goal of the Arab nation — unity.

1. It has signed a peace treaty with Jordan recognizing the sovereignty of the Hashemite dynasty over former Mandatory Palestine east of the Jordan River. Jordan comprises two-thirds of the area earmarked for the Jewish National Home by the League of Nations, for the creation of which Home it had been mandated by the League to Great Britain.

2. It has signed a "Declaration of Principles" with the PLO, the implication of which was division of western Israel and a waiver of historic sovereignty in Judea and Samaria, the cradle of the Hebrew nation and the raison d'être of Zionism.

3. It has agreed to discuss its sovereignty over Jerusalem, which could lead to the city's division and the transfer of historic Jerusalem, the city of David, and the capital of to Israel, to foreign rule.

The "Zionist midget" is about to be annihilated between the powerful arms of Egypt and Syria. The destruction of Israel is a precondition for Arab unity, but the conflict is still regional in character. This illustration appeared on the day fighting commenced. That circumstance gives the caricature an air of legitimacy, as serving the war effort.

The illustration accompanies an article full of anti-Israeli invective, calling for war against the “Zionist entity” as a precondition for Arab unity. However, in contrast to 1967, the message goes beyond one relating to a regional conflict and takes on a global character: a) now, the target is not just Israel, but Jews in general; b) cutting up the Jewish snake is now a goal for all humanity, and the Arabs, under Egyptian leadership (note the world wearing a kaffiyeh), are the ones to put that goal into effect — this, 11 years after Camp David.

If all this were not enough, Israel has also declared its willingness to withdraw from the Golan Heights, either partially or completely, ceding them to its mortal enemy, Syria, which never tires of reiterating that the destruction of the Jewish state is its historic mission. Thus, Israel is willing to deprive itself of its sole strategic asset in its north.

Incidental to the sweeping concessions it has made, Israel will perform have to give up territorial control over two-thirds of its water sources; to accept an erosion of Jewish demographic preponderance in western Israel; to bear the enormous economic burden attendant to its withdrawals; and completely forgo the territorial component of military power. This is only part of the price implicit in a return to the 1949 armistice lines.

To the above concessions, which amount to a sweeping acceptance of the Arab slogan “Land for Peace”, one must add a matter of essence, of what is immutable, something equal in importance to all the territorial and material
concessions combined, namely, Israel's retreat from the foundation of historic justice which underpins its very existence.

Israel's basic contention against its enemies is that its wars with them have been in self-defense against those who wished to destroy Israel, and that the principles of justice that underlie international law permit a successful defender to keep territories it has taken from its attacker. That is what happened in the 1948 War of Independence, when the State of Israel significantly expanded its territory beyond what the UN had allotted it in the partition plan, and that was the way it was after the Six Day War. The return to the aggressor of territories that had served as staging grounds for an assault on Israel with genocidal intentions is, in effect, acceptance of the Arab claim in regard to Israel's aggressive intentions; namely, that the entire aim of the Zionist entity has been the conquest of Arab lands. Acceptance of that claim even undercuts Israel's right to exist within the 1949 armistice lines. It should come as no surprise, then, that in the course of the current peace talks, Palestinians have begun talking about an Israeli withdrawal to the November 1947 UN partition boundaries. 3

There is not a single Arab demand which Israel has not taken upon itself to fulfill within the framework of the current peace negotiations. One would think, then, that after making "the painful but necessary concessions for the great reconciliation with the Arab states" (in the words of the former Israeli Foreign Minister and Prime Minister, Shimon Peres), that is, after Israel removed all the obstacles to peace the Arabs claim it had raised, expressions of hostility such as those described by Harkabi would disappear, or would at least decline in intensity. However, a perusal of the relevant literature shows clearly that the basic assumptions underpinning the view of the Israeli establishment to the effect that Israeli concessions would result in Arab moderation are nothing more than wishful thinking. To get some indication of the depth of Arab hostility, that has undergone no real change, all one has to do is browse through the research of Rivka Yadlin, Raphael Israeli, or Bernard Lewis, 4 to mention just three of the outstanding researchers who have studied the scope of Arab hostility in the period after the peace accords with Egypt.

Among the most pungent modes of expression in the Arab world, particularly in the printed press, is caricature. Virtually all Arab regimes are totalitarian, and the press that functions in them should not be seen as free in the Western sense of the term. It is because the press in such countries is one that is pressed into the service of the ruling circles and serves as their mouthpiece, usually avoiding criticism when addressing itself to internal matters, it faithfully reflects sentiment both among the ruling clique and populace, when the object of its attention is an outside party. Nothing can match the caricatures that appear in that press as an indication of the opinions, perceptions, beliefs, myths, and public opinion in the Semitic domain.

---

3 See, for instance, the interview with Dr. Nabil Shaath, in the Autumn 1992 issue of *Journal of Palestine Studies*, pp. 70-77. In this interview, Dr. Shaath reiterates the plan of the leader of the PLO to dismember Israel in stages (the stages plan); according to this plan, a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip would serve as a springboard to the eventual complete dismemberment of the State of Israel. This plan also appears in PLO documents, which refer to the 1949 boundaries as "tentative borders subject to negotiation".

4 The three books in question (in chronological order of publication) are: Bernard Lewis, *Semitism and Anti-Semitism* (New York: Norton, 1986); Raphael Israeli, *Peace is in the Eye of the Beholder* (Berlin and New York: Mouton Publishers, 1987); and Rivka Yadlin, *Anti-Zionism and Anti-Judaism in Egypt* (Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center, 1988). While the Israeli and Yadlin books are devoted entirely to expressions of Egyptian anti-Semitism subsequent to Camp David, only one chapter is devoted to that subject in the Lewis book, which deals with a broad historical perspective of the Israeli-Arab conflict.
In this work, I have set out to examine how Israel and the peace process have been reflected in the mirror of Arab caricature, which is a direct, authentic, and highly influential expression of views in the Arab world, where nearly half the population is illiterate.

Deification vs. Demonization: Unity of Contrasts in the Image of the Jew

Caricature, as a graphical depiction that exaggerates the physical or spiritual traits of its object, rendering them laughable, absurd, peculiar, or different, goes back to the dawn of drawing. However, throughout the annals of caricature, from Greek and Roman burlesque to the venomous output of Honoré Daumier, from the grotesque images of Leonardo and Dürer, through 150 years of social and political caricature in England’s Punch, anti-Semitic caricature runs as a leitmotif, exceeding in both form and meaning the normal bounds of caricature, as anti-Semitism has exceeded the bounds of bigotry and xenophobia.

Anti-Semitic caricature is the only type that derives its contents from a unique synthesis of theological, moral, racial, social, and political negation. As such, it is not directed at individuals, but rather at the entire Jewish people. Furthermore, it is the only type of caricature that presents its object as the antithesis of the esthetic ideal of Western culture. Ultimately, anti-Semitic caricature is unique in that, particularly in its German-Nazi and Arab manifestations, it presents the Jew, both individually and in his generality, as an object for physical extermination.

Hence, anti-Semitic drawing has been entirely devoid of the element of humor that lies at the foundation of caricature as an art form. Humor, even at its most pungent and mocking, aims at preserving the delicate balance between the man and his surroundings by putting matters in a proper perspective and maintaining an appropriate sense of proportion. Satire, even at its most venomous, contains a strong constructive element. Thus, humor is a salient expression of humanism, tolerance, and rational thought. Comedy, in contrast to Aristotelian “fear and pity”, releases pent-up emotional tension by evoking laughter, rendering the objects of comic ridicule — such as Falstaff and Don Quixote — pathetic, and evocative of human empathy.

Needless to say, the anti-Semitic paradigm is the complete opposite of humor. The meaning is usually of secondary importance, since the form is the message. Sir Ernest Gombrich put the matter succinctly when he said that the caricature of a Jewish face is a visual interpretation of a

\[5\text{ From the Italian caricatura, "to overload", "to exaggerate".} \]
physiognomy which we can never forget and which the victim will always seem to carry around with him like a man bewitched. 6

Anti-Semitic caricature, like the yellow patch, is intended to attach the mark of Cain on the brow of the Jew. Hence, the very definition of the term "caricature", as it will be used throughout, is different from the anti-Semitic illustration; if I have used that term anyway, it is only for lack of a better expression.

★

The graphic depiction of the Jew in Western culture is divided between two polar extremes that complement each other in a fascinating dialectic of contrasts. On the one extreme is deification, as manifest in the endeavor to attain perfection in the iconography of Jesus and Mary, the Son of God and the Madonna. At the other extreme is dehumanization, which reached its peak in Nazi caricatures of the 1930s and 1940s, and in its Arab successor in our own time. 7 Since deification is actually a form of dehumanization, both polar extremes diverged from normative images. Thus, the two poles of the emotional spectrum were simultaneously concentrated in the Jew: unlimited veneration and absolute hatred. The luck of the Jews is such, though, that the veneration was the lot of a single Jew who was tortured and crucified long ago, while the hatred is the lot of all the others, whose torture and crucifixion has occupied and continues to occupy Christianity and its adherents as a theological, ethical, and political imperative to this day.

The portraits of Jesus and Mary are a separate motif in iconography, as they do not depict a defined image, but rather an abstraction that is the amalgamation of characteristics in the form of a man-God.

In the image of the two Jews, the son and his mother,

[Expression was given to the striving of the artist for perfection, for identity between the corporeal form and the spiritual content in an incomparable challenge, namely: How to copy onto canvas and stone the meaning of the Scriptural verse, "And God created man in His image." Never in the annals of art has such effort been invested in depicting pure spirituality as in the visages of Jesus and the Madonna. 8]

The enigma of the Jewish man-God received graphic expression in the attempt to analyze the divine perfection into its human components. Thus, the Jew Jesus was the epitome of "purity, nobility, love, grace, pity, generosity of spirit". 9 Hence, according to the Christian ethic of redemption, he was condemned to betrayal, ostracism, humiliation, and the pangs of death on the cross, and death.

★

7 Some have contended that anti-Semitic caricature in the former Soviet Union was on the same level as the Nazi and Arab varieties. Such an approach, however, is mistaken. Not only did Jews play an important role in the establishment of Communism and the Stalinist state, but Soviet anti-Semitic caricatures concentrated almost wholly on Israel, and was not one motif in an entire range of anti-Western caricature, as part of the Soviet ideological struggle with the West. While such caricaturization did adopt components of classical anti-Semitism, including imitation of Nazi caricature, it never obscured sight of the main ideological enemy, the United States and Western capitalism.
9 Among the many description by St. Augustine in his City of God.
4. Jesus' head, a detail from Leonardo da Vinci's *Last Supper* (1495-98), one of the highest achievements of Western art, in which Jesus is depicted as the embodiment of the definition of Croce and St. Augustine. There is irony in the fact that Leonardo painted the head of Jesus, the Christian Saviour, from a real Jewish model, while he painted Judas Iscariot on the basis of Savonarola, the epitome of Christianity.

**Unity of Contrasts A “Rational” Perspective**

Ironically, the dialectic principle of a unity of contrasts has also been maintained in secular anti-Semitism, which derives its legitimacy from its rejection of theological absolutism and adoption of enlightened rationalism.
5. The Jewish Satan, Philip Ruprecht, Der Stürmer, Germany, 1942.

"The man-God and the man-devil... the Jew is the opposite of man, his antithesis... the Jew is a hostile being, foreign to nature..." (Hitler)

Philip Ruprecht (Pipps), the well-known cartoonist for Der Stürmer, was unrivaled in giving graphic form to Hitler’s ideas. The Jew was “a devil in human form”, he was death itself “wearing a human mask”. His aim is the annihilation of the German people as a first step toward the extermination of the entire human race. Thus, his insignia are the skull, the gallows, and crosses on gravestones. Thirty years later, Arab caricatures of the Jews would compete with those of the Nazis as a perfect reflection of their own intentions toward the Jews, by projecting the ethos of jihad onto Israel.

Yet it is not maintained within the polarity outlined above (after all, deification was removed with the advent of rationalism), but solely within the negative, the surviving element of the old polarity. The Jew had concurrently to be something and its opposite, the particular something depending on the circumstances and aims of anti-Semitism at a given time. He was thus possessed of satanic power, endeavoring to subdue all humanity; hence, he was the symbol of evil. On the other hand, he was a despicable, miserable figure, dependent on the good will of his tormentors. He was an avaricious capitalist and a Communist who had no respect for private property; a benighted religious fanatic and a Godless atheist; a wretched coward and a homicidal, hobnail-booted soldier. The coexistence
of such blatant contradictions side-by-side is what underpins the theory of Jewish subversion, a world-wide plot by an omnipotent group that pulls the strings in government, the economy, culture, and the media throughout the world. The Protocols of the Elders of Zion is a myth intended to reconcile these contradictions, and at the same time to engender a focal point for popular hatred, and thus either divert attention from the failures of the current regime (Czarist Russia, the Communist world), or serve as a unifying agent pending embarking upon a national mission (Nazism, the Arab world). The amazing success of the Protocols, which have undergone innumerable editions in virtually every language, despite their being a crude forgery, is proof positive of the deceptive value of rationalism, which collapses in the face of the Jewish phenomenon and deep need fulfilled by anti-Semitism in the ethos of the individual and the nation, a need which crosses cultures, races, educational levels, and historical periods.

Anti-Semitism, “the longest hatred”, to use the phrase of Robert S. Wistrich, has taken different forms over the generations, but, taking a long historical perspective, can be seen as a given throughout Jewish history. Even if Arab anti-Semitism and its expression in caricatures are not an integral part of the image of the Jew that had taken hold in the West, they are nevertheless a continuation, and imitation of it. Hence, Arab anti-Semitism must be seen as a link (the latest, to date) in the historical continuum of anti-Semitism. Therefore, it behooves us to examine it under the backdrop of the three peak periods of Jewish hatred that preceded it: the late Middle Ages, the Modern Age, and the Nazi period.

★ ★ ★
CHAPTER TWO

THE MIDDLE AGES: THE ANTI-SEMITIC LIBEL VS. ESTHETIC INNOCENCE
The late Middle Ages are usually considered one of the peak periods of anti-Semitism. Indeed, beginning with the destruction of entire Jewish communities in the First Crusade, at the end of the eleventh century, and from there on to the wholesale massacres of European Jews during the Black Death in the middle of the fourteenth, and finally, the expulsions and pogroms that were the lot of virtually every Jewish community in Europe at the end of the fifteenth century and early part of the sixteenth, the late Middle Ages were certainly one of the darkest periods in the annals of the Jewish people, so much so as to justify the claim made by Dagobert Runes to the effect that “Christianity is not anti-Semitic. It is anti-Semitism.”

The Blood Libel and the Sacrament of the Eucharist

In the Christian phantasmagoria of the Middle Ages, the Jew was the Antichrist, a poisoner of wells, a sorcerer, the devil in human form, 

Ahasuerus — the eternal wandering Jew; he was the source of all imaginable (and unimaginable) human misery. However, there was one crime ascribed to the Jews that dwarfed everything else in the whole long litany of Christian allegations against them, namely, that of Jewish thirst for blood. The Jewish blood-lust was manifest in the kidnapping of Christian children, their murder, and the draining of their blood for the baking of Passover matzoth. The allegation of ritual murder was sort of an appendage to the mark of Cain the Jew already bore on his forehead as a Christ-killer.

The original sin of deicide was little more than an abstract memory for medieval man, the memory of an event that had transpired at the dawn of Christianity. While the tormented face and lacerated body of the Savior, looking down from the Cross, reminded him daily of the guilt of the Jews, something more concrete was required to maintain hostility toward them at a constant level, hostility which could be fanned when the need arose. What was needed was a daily threat that would help the medieval Christian internalize the crucifixion until he knew that he, too, as Jesus of old, was liable to fall victim to the most heinous form of Jewish wickedness. There was no better way conceivable of achieving this than the blood libel, which aroused a hatred commensurate with the depths of the dread it caused.

The blood libel was also needed by Christianity as a refutation of Judaism by means of a grotesque negation of the Jewish ethos which underpins the laws of kashruth and ritual purification. The Jewish attitude toward blood is set forth explicitly in the Pentateuch:

And ye shall eat no manner of blood, whether it be of fowl or of beast, in any of your dwellings (Leviticus 7:26)

Whosoever it be that eateth any blood, that soul shall be cut off from his people (Leviticus 7:27)

2. The most comprehensive, and best work on the subject remains Joshua Trachtenberg's The Devil and the Jews, even though it was written over fifty years ago (New Haven, 1943).
The sketches shown here were published accompanying the articles "Drawings of Jewish Interest in Some 13th-Century English Public Records". *Scriptorium*, XXVI, 1972. Their first publication accompanied an article by Cecil Roth in The Jewish Monthly in 1950.

1 - England, mid-13th century. These well-known sketches appear in much of the research on anti-Semitism as examples of caricatures of Jews in the Middle Ages,* but a greater mistake could not be made. These grotesque, and rather rudimentary, depictions on the margins of documents in the London Registry by an unknown monk were never viewed by the public; in fact, they were never viewed by anyone before modern researchers. They were in complete contrast to the motif that determined the image of the Jew, and which kept recurring in churches and cathedrals, municipal buildings, and in circulars. These were the places and the means that at once guaranteed wide dissemination among the people and integrated ecclesiastical and temporal authority. Moreover, the likenesses of non-Jews on the margins of documents were not much more “positive” than those of the Jews.
Die Judenspiss. wood engraving, Strassburg, 1541.
The picture is taken from an anti-Semitic pamphlet that lampoons Jewish moneylenders. While the artist who prepared the engraving was completely aware of its purpose, it betrays no attempt at denigrating the Jewish moneylender or members of his family through distortions of form. Actually, the opposite is true; the mother rocking her child in his cradle imparts to the plot an element of innocence and human warmth that softens the basic message. Since the Jews are in their home, the artist does not have them wear the yellow patch they wear in the street. Thus, there are no external signs of their Jewishness. The engraving, then, is a faithful depiction of a typical room in a family’s home, with objective description of detail and is altogether lacking in malice. Yet what the artist removed from the graphic depiction was added in the caption beneath it, which reproves the Jew for his wicked ways. The combination of an objective illustration and a venomous caption, which contains the explicit message the graphic lacks, is typical of anti-Semitic illustration in the late Middle Ages.
In this well-known wood engraving, depicting the blood libel in Trent, the anti-Semitic theological message is mellowed by various esthetic means. The figures depicted lack any dehumanizing features (the artist wrote the names of the Jews next to them, just to be sure); if not for the round patch on their clothing and the pointed hat worn by one of those shown, it would not be possible to distinguish them from non-Jews in their milieu. The details of Gothic architecture and the clothing worn are typical of the period, so that it can be fixed in time and place; this prevents the libel from taking on an abstract element that could render it an all-inclusive accusation. Neither does the engraving convey the idea of moral polarization, by means of deifying the victim in juxtaposition to the satanic appearance of his tormentors; the victim does not appear divine, nor his tormentors diabolical. The engraving depicts a heinous crime, but one which does not prevent its perpetrators from appearing human. Such deliberate disjuncture between form and meaning — an Aristotelian principle which has become an iron law in Western art — serves the dualism that underlies Christian dogma concerning the Jews.*

* Compare with the Nazi version of the blood libel, in chapter 4.
Therefore I said unto the Children of Israel: No soul of you shall eat blood, neither shall any stranger that sojourneth among you eat blood (Leviticus 17:12).

Only be steadfast in not eating the blood; for the blood is the life, and thou shalt not eat the life with the flesh (Deuteronomy 12:23).

The really absurd thing about the blood libel was what led the Hebrew philosopher Ahad Ha'am to see a positive side to it:

This libel is the one evil about which agreement cannot cause any doubt among us concerning whether “the whole world is guilty and we are innocent” ...Is it possible that “the whole world is at fault and the Jews are in the right?” It certainly is possible, and the blood libel is proof.\(^3\)

In order to establish the blood libel theologically, it had to be sanctified in a rite that was a mirror image of itself. Such is the rite of the Eucharist.\(^4\) The rite is based on the words Jesus spoke the night before his crucifixion:

Now as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed, and broke it, and gave it to the disciples and said, “Take, eat; this is my body.” And he took a cup, and when he had given thanks he gave it to them, saying, “Drink of it, all of you; for this is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins.”\(^5\)

The story appears in the New Testament in three other places as well: the Gospels of Mark and Luke, and Paul’s first letter to the Corinthians. The ceremony in which a Christian drinks the blood of a Jewish deity and eats his flesh is the mirror image of the Christian imputation of deicide to the Jew. It is natural, then, that of the seven sacraments recognized by the Catholic Church, the Eucharist takes place of honor. It is also the sacrament, along with baptism, that all Christians hold in common.

★

A large body of literature exists on the subject of the pathological aspects of Christian anti-Semitism. However, the source that most faithfully embodies the deep schism, even polarization, of the soul it involves is no doubt the sacrament of the Eucharist. As we have mentioned, the ceremony involves the drinking of wine — the blood of Jesus — and the swallowing of a thin wafer — his body; thus is the rite called, in a somewhat macabre twist, “the Lord’s Supper.” After being blessed, both wine and wafer undergo a material metamorphosis, or “transubstantiation”, becoming, upon ingestion by the believer, the flesh and blood of the Savior. It should be emphasized that an absolute identity is achieved between the believer and his Lord only on the condition of an absolutely physical metamorphosis of matter, untainted by any symbolism. Indeed, the Latin term for transubstantiation is altogether devoid of any metaphoric connotation, conveying the essence of a completely carnal realization. In order to obviate any heretical ideas on

4. The term “Eucharist” comes from the Greek for “thanksgiving”. The central rite of Christianity, it is also known by other appellations: the Mass, the Lord’s Supper, Holy Communion, or the Sacrament.
4 - Jews and Christians in a Religious Disputation. Germany, sixteenth century.
The motif of the religious disputation is another manifestation of esthetic innocence in the
description of the Jew in the late Middle Ages. The object of the controversy is the Talmud, the
epitome of odium to the Christians; nevertheless, the artist treats both contesting groups in a
balanced manner, the Jews being distinguishable only by external badges of identification.
The lack of any attempt by the artist to arouse hostility toward his Jewish subjects was in
macabre contrast to the occasional outcome of such debates, namely, the burning of the
Talmud along with its defenders.
the subject, the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 conferred canonical force to the principle that the wafer and wine become the flesh and blood, respectively, of Jesus, pursuant to an exhaustive treatment of the topic in the scholastic literature of the period. Typical of the dominant thinking of the time was that of Fr. Berthold von Regensburg, a Franciscan monk and one of the principal Christian preachers of the thirteenth century. He explained our not being able to see Jesus himself in the consecrated bread with the comment that “Who would like to bite off the little head, or the little hands, or the little feet of a little child?” It was no accident that the Lateran Council that conferred canonical force to the sacrament of the Eucharist was also the council that first mandated a distinctive mark for Jews: a pointed head covering in the Germanic section of the Holy Roman Empire, and a yellow patch in the Latin.

The issue was brought up again at the Council of Trent in 1551, at which the doctrine of transubstantiation was further backed by the threat of excommunication.

If anyone denies the wondrous and unique act of transubstantiation in the holy sacrament of the Eucharist, whereby the entire substance of the bread turns into His body and the wine completely into His blood [an act] for which the Catholic Church has found incomparable expression — transubstantiation — he [that same person] shall be excommunicated and shunned.

6. Trachtenberg, r., p. 110.
Such reaffirmation of Catholic doctrine was undertaken in the face of the challenges posed by the Reformation doctrines advanced by Martin Luther, John Calvin, and Huldreich Zwingli.\(^7\)

The sacrament of the Eucharist received formal ecumenical sanction by the Protestant branch of Christianity, despite the far-reaching revisions in doctrine effected by the Reformation, including repeal of five of the seven Catholic sacraments. (The other sacrament adopted by the Reformation, which unites the entire Christian Church, is that of baptism.) Hence, the sacrament of the Eucharist embodies a principle accepted by all Christendom, unifying Roman Catholics, Eastern Orthodox Christians, Protestants of all denominations, and Anglicans; it is a doctrine without which Christianity would not be Christianity.\(^8\)

The doctrine of transubstantiation was reiterated by the pope in late 1943. In that year, Pope Pius XII issued the encyclical *Mystici Corporis* ("Mysteries of the Body"), which reconﬁrmed the sacrament of the Eucharist along with a reaffirmation of the Lateran and Tridentine doctrine of transubstantiation. One inclined toward historical symbolism will note that in the very year the Church of Rome reaffirmed and reconsecrated a cannibalistic ritual, in which

7. Typical of such thinking was Calvin's scholastic remark, containing an idea and its opposite, to the effect that Jesus' presence at the ceremony of the Eucharist was 'a material, but spiritual, presence'. He was nearly excommunicated for that remark.

8. Except for the Salvation Army, which opposes any drinking of alcoholic beverages, including the symbolic sipping of wine for ritual purposes.
its believers drink a Jew’s blood and eat his flesh, the factory-like extermination of the Jews in Polish death camps reached its peak.

The rite of the Eucharist is basically a version of the partaking of matzoth and wine at the Passover seder. However, the imitation of that Jewish ritual, within the context of a general Jewish ritual and liturgical impact on Christianity, is an imitation of form only. The Eucharist is in essence a pagan ritual of human sacrifice which almost certainly derives from the Orphic mysteries (Jesus is “the lamb of God”), which found their way from the Greco-Roman world into Christianity during its first two centuries in a process that has come to be termed “the Hellenization of the Gospel”.9

Christianity then took from Judaism the eschatological principle of a messiah, but the story of the crucifixion and what came after it (a schizophrenic tale with considerable sado-masochistic and necrophilic content) was created by Christianity itself. The rite of the Eucharist, as Ernest Rappaport has pointed out, with its cannibalistic content, by means of which the individual literally absorbed hatred of the Jews into his flesh and blood, is the spiritual parent of the SS oath-taking rite. In both rites, 9. For a treatment of the cannibalistic roots of the Eucharist (the mysteries of Greco-Roman civilization), see the chapters “Eating Jesus” and “The Mysteries” in Robert Wolff’s Christianity in Perspective (Memory Books, 1987); see also his article “The Last Meal — The Roots of Jew-Hatred in Christianity’s Cannibalistic Ritual”, Nativ (April 1991), (Hebrew).
alumnae of anti-Semitic brainwashing carry forth the gospel of death: the one with the cross, the other with the skull and crossbones.\textsuperscript{10}

The Dualism of Christian Dogma with Respect to the Jews

The dominant majority group aims at assimilating the minority group, at swallowing it, so as to reduce the potential threat to its standing and power by the very existence of a minority group. Yet at the same time the majority seems to be striving for the exact opposite result, namely the preservation of an identifiable minority group by keeping it at a distance. The presence of a minority group is a symbol of the social dominance of the majority over another group, thus magnifying its position. The disappearance of the minority would remove an opportunity for the majority to demonstrate its social power to all and sundry.\textsuperscript{11}

The above principle, which has generally determined majority-minority relations, had proved especially valid in the case of a Christian majority and Jewish minority in the Middle Ages.

The dogma of the Christian Church with respect to the Jewish people, on both the individual and national levels, had been split, at least since the fourth century, by a doctrinal quandary. On the one hand, the Christian Church declared itself the heir of Judaism, but could not claim complete victory while Judaism was still in existence, just as an heir cannot actually inherit his legacy as long as the legator is still alive.\textsuperscript{12} Hence, complete fulfillment of Christianity’s legacy would require either the total destruction of Judaism, or the conversion of all Jews.

Such an ontological negation of the Jewish people, which served as the basis of the inference that they were worthy of annihilation, could be found in the writings of Bishop John Chrysostom of Antioch (345-407), one of the most influential preachers of his time.\textsuperscript{13} On the other hand, the final removal of Judaism would have meant the removal of the witness of Christianity’s triumph. The issue had been raised towards the end of the fourth century. The dominant Christian theologian of the time, St. Augustine (354-430), decided the matter in his famous statement, “Necessarii credentibus gentibus”, that is, the Jews were “necessary to bear witness”, and should not be annihilated. Such theological-cum-pragmatic considerations were what motivated such great Christian thinkers as St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Bernard of Clairvaux, two venomous anti-Semites in good standing (Bernard wrote that “the Jews are worse than beasts... they are the devil’s issue”), to intervene on behalf of the Jews when a repetition of the massacres of the First Crusade were imminent in their days. After all, according to St. Bernard, Providence

has not chosen to destroy the Jews, but rather permit them to live lives of poverty and degradation, sorrow and shame, for everlasting abhorrence, as punishment for rejecting the Gospel of Jesus, and as witness to the righteousness of the Church.\textsuperscript{14}
The final status of the Jews under Catholicism was settled by Pope Innocent III (1198-1216), one of the dominant figures of the thirteenth century papacy, in his bull Sicut iudaeis, according to which the Jews were intended for everlasting servitude (*perpetua servitudo*). This meant that physical injury to them was forbidden by order of Christ's vicar on earth, rendering the 400,000 Jews of Europe a protected critical mass of the Jewish people at a time of the greatest peril to Jewish survival.15

**Denigrating Content vs. Restraint in Form**

The extent of stylistic reticence imposed on the fine arts of the Gothic period, and their resulting lack of realism, was a product of the "spirit of the times", the Zeitgeist of medieval civilization, which saw the individual as part of a transcendent whole, as a granule in the universum. The aesthetic principle of unity of form and meaning, in its Gothic interpretation, thus prevented natural expression, freezing as it did the human image in the highly circumscribed frame of a Gothic mannerism animated by Scripture and Christian allegory.

Yet a marginal art existed alongside the central motifs of medieval iconography (one may recall the gargoyles, the grotesquely carved forms at the ends of gutters, at Notre Dame de Paris). In these carvings at the terminal points of accessories such as gutters and support columns, the artist of the period depicted — often with a shocking and powerful realism — those on the margins of society, the despised: beggars, clowns, prostitutes, the insane, cripples, the ill.16 The expressive ugliness, even distortion, of these figures raises the obvious question of why the Jews were not among them. After all, that the Jews had a status no less contemptible than the categories dealt with in marginal art, was an established principle of religion.

The answer to that question can be found in the theological dogma of hatred toward the Jews. The medieval artist had to confront a quandary involving content matter and esthetics rooted in the dualism, previously mentioned, in Christian dogma regarding the Jews. He had to portray the wileness of the Jew, on the one hand, without dehumanizing him, on the other. The solution consisted in a unique integration of anti-Semitic slander and graphic depiction without physical distortion.

As has been mentioned, anti-Semitic hatred reached a high-water mark in the late Middle Ages, to be exceeded only during the Nazi era. However, an observer inured to the portrayal of Jews in caricature as monstrosities is often surprised to find the illustrations of Jews from that period devoid of any distortion or outward mark that divorces him from his surroundings. In other words, religious opprobrium — yes, theological indictment — yes, but on no account dehumanization in the secular sense of the term; that might have

15. In the fourteenth century, there were approximately 400,000 Jews in Europe, or about one percent of the population. Had the Catholic Church wanted to exterminate the Jews, it could have done so without difficulty, particularly at the time of the Black Death, which was blamed on the Jews anyway. The Jews slaughtered by the Nazis were also equivalent to one percent of the population of Europe in 1939. While systematic methods of extermination were available to the Nazis, the number of those killed was 15 times the total number of Jews in the fourteenth century, and the extermination lasted only five years.


17. See, for instance, Bernhard Blumenkranz, *Le juif médieval au miroir de l'art chrétien* (Paris, 1966). Blumenkranz adduces examples of hostile iconography involving grotesque distortions of the facial features of Jews (especially the illustrations accompanying the London Registry; see Illustration 1a). However, such examples are actually the exceptions that prove the rule. On the other hand, Blumenkranz emphasizes the positive aspect of the portrayal of Jews in medieval times, particularly in illustrations of Scripture.
7a and 7b - Synagoga and Ecclesia. Bamberg, Germany, 1215.

The portrayal of earthly Synagoga, in contrast to divine Ecclesia, permitted the artist, probably for the first time in the annals of Christian art, to transcend the confines of frozen Gothic estheticism and religion and deal with the forbidden secular theme of young feminine beauty. There is irony in the fact that it is Synagoga, in other words Judaism, that is the embodiment of beauty, vitality, and youth, while Ecclesia, namely the Christian Church, manifests apathy, clumsiness, and lack of grace. Needless to say, Synagoga's beauty is in no way related to the fate of her people. Most of the Jewish community of Bamberg perished in the Rindfleisch massacres of 1298. What was left of that community was slaughtered by the Germans during the Black Death plague of 1348.
led to the negation of the Jews' very right to life, and thus bring to an end the existence of the Jewish people.

Thus, paradoxically, something of an esthetic innocence suffuses the anti-Semitic painting of the Middle Ages (the estheticism of the period's art renders the term "caricature" inapt). The image of the Jew, even in the cruelest and most heinous contexts from the Christian standpoint, such as the blood libel or the "Jewish swine" (die Judensau), retains its human form. The Jew is portrayed with absolute objectivity, being distinguished from others in his milieu only by such external marks of identity as the pointed hat or yellow patch on clothing.\(^{17}\) Needless to say, such a departure from the classical principle of unity of form and meaning is unique in the annals of Western art.

But beyond that, violating the principle of unity of form and meaning, which underpins the Gothic style, engenders a unique contrast that actually enhances the objective image of the Jew. The contemporary well understood the themes in the paintings he saw, themes which frequently showed the Jew in his suffering, as in paintings of massacres, expulsions, or burnings at the stake. The scream of anguish of a group of Jews at the stake, frozen in a stoic, reticent Gothic depiction, had more dramatic force than would a realistic painting that set out explicitly to portray the pain on their contorted faces and seared bodies. Paradoxically, then, the Gothic style itself lent added meaning in Christian eyes to the Jews' death. If to these factors are added the impact of the medieval code of chivalry, in all that pertained to honor and a willingness to self-sacrifice, it is reasonable to assume that paintings depicting the suffering of the Jews aroused a fair amount of empathy, perhaps even compassion, in the eyes of the beholder.

Another example which ironically puts Judaism in a favorable esthetic light, and in the age of medieval artistic flowering at that, can be found in juxtaposed sculptures of two women in the well-known theme of Ecclesia vs. Synagoga. Synagoga, defeated, blind to the Christian Gospel, with a broken scepter in one hand and shattered tablets in the other, stands next to the upstanding, triumphant Ecclesia. Such allegorical statues can be found in many Gothic cathedrals in Europe, although the two finest (and highly typical) examples date from the first half of the thirteenth century, in Bamberg, Germany, and Strassburg, France. And it is with the statue representing Synagoga that the artist is at his best. The figure of a young woman radiating vitality and charm, with a restrained smile and erotic body contours, she is imbued with an individuality that can certainly arouse the admiration of the beholder. The German art historian Otto von Simson sees in Synagoga's beauty an illustration of the Song of Songs, and claims that the Bamberg sculpture was the first instance since ancient times of the beauty of a female body being seen through transparent clothing.\(^{18}\)

Indeed, the realism and harmonic sweep of the Bamberg Synagoga (and that

---

19. A comparison with the works of Giotto, the great master and Renaissance fore-runner, serves to highlight this surprising fact.
20. This is indeed surprising, since there is widespread agreement, among both scholars and the general public, that the image of the Jew in medieval iconography was in fact satanic. The descriptions of the image of the Jew in the Middle Ages by three historians, Shmuel Ettinger, Robert Wistrich, and Elizabeth Revel-Neher, should suffice to establish the point. In his book, The Roots of Anti-Semitism in the Modern Period (Hebrew), Ettinger writes:

   Beside the proud and triumphant Church, stands the Synagogue, blind and depressed. The image of the Jew in his special attire is the image of the devil. There are cases of the Jew being depicted with a tail and horns like the devil, (p. 15).

Wistrich, after describing the venomous anti-Semitic allegations of the fourteenth century in his popular book, Anti-Semitism, the Longest Hatred (which was the basis of a documentary series on the BBC), continues thus:

As amply evidenced in medieval art, Jews were portrayed as agents of Satan with evil faces, horns and a tail, invariably striking grotesque poses, (p. 29).
Even more far-reaching claims on the topic were made by Revel-Neher in her book on the image of the Jew in Byzantine art. Revel-Neher wants to emphasize the difference between the poisonous anti-Semitism in Western and Central Europe, and the relative liberalism and tolerance in the polyglot melting pot of the Byzantine empire, which is the object of her research. In the chapter ‘Signs of identity and Signs of infamy’, Revel-Neher states the matter thus: The most striking of these characteristics, and the commonest, is the deformation of the features of the face. The Jew is ugly, heavy, thick-lipped, bestial — in short, repulsive. [The Jew] is a human caricature who first draws one’s attention and then causes one to turn away in horror (pp. 103-104).

Therefore, according to Revel-Neher, there is a clearly obvious line between the characterization of the Jew during the Middle Ages to the characterizations of the Jew in the Nazi era. As can be expected, the author supports her sweeping contentions with marginal sketches from the London Registry and the allegorical imagery of the Jewish Satan.

21. John 8:44.

22. The Merchant of Venice, Act III, Scenes I and II.
CHAPTER THREE

THE MODERN ERA —
UNITY OF FORM AND MEANING
1. *Kikeriki*. Vienna c. 1901*

This mythological monster, representing the Jew as a creature out to subjugate the entire world, was typical of an allegorical genre prevalent in Western art, especially in the nineteenth century. However, such allegory is mainly an abstraction, not something taken for reality. This is all the more so in this case, in which the artist let his imagination lead him into the realm of the absurd, creating a barrier of alienation between the caricature and the viewer. " Allegories do not incite pogroms," Julius Streicher wrote 30 years later.

* Kikeriki, one of the most venomous of anti-Semitic newspapers, until the appearance of Der Stürmer, was for many years under Jewish ownership.
The Emancipation in the late eighteenth century, with its extension of equal rights to a minority, the suppression and denigration of which had been a theological and social imperative in Europe for hundreds of years, engendered (as expected) a strong antagonistic reaction among the lower middle class. A then-nascent social stratum which owed its existence partly to the French Revolution, it would soon be the mainstay of European culture. It was a stratum whose members considered themselves to be more threatened than any other by competition from the Jews. Many factors combined to engender a rising wave of anti-Semitic sentiment, the depth, scope, and venom of which were in direct proportion to Jewish assertiveness: the rapid, unprecedented, penetration of Jews into European awareness by the late eighteenth century; the part they played in the expansion of British colonialism; their role in financing the wars of the Napoleonic period; their impact on German culture (and hence indirectly on pan-Germanic trends); their critical position in society and the arts in Vienna, the capital of the Hapsburg Empire; their contributions to the urbanization of Eastern and Central Europe, to accelerated industrialization, and the attendant development of banking in the modern sense.

1. Stephan Zweig's assertion, in his World of Yesterday, that "the Jews contributed nine-tenths of anything that had value in Austrian culture", may be an exaggeration. However, there can be no doubt that without Freud, Adler, Reich, Mahler, Schoenberg, Schnitzler, Kraus, Werfel, Wasmann, Zweig, Bauer... to mention only a few of the better known among them, Vienna would not have become the 'capital of the civilized world at the fin de siècle', in the words of Hugo Gold, a historian of the period.

2. Three Jews of the Great Synagogue Having a Meal, Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827). While Rowlandson lampooned Jewish dietary laws (which he considered the epitome of hypocrisy), the contempt he showed them was certainly not more offensive than his caricature of judges of the Appellate Court, one of Britain's most revered institutions, "We Three Loggerheads Be".
3. **We Three Loggerheads Be.** Thomas Rowlandson

The subjects of this drawing and the previous one — three gluttons and three loggerheads — is within the norm for the venomous caricatures fashionable in Rowlandson’s time. It should be noted that in the previous drawing, as the subjects did not wear yarmulkes or other means of identification of their Jewishness, the artist needed a caption. Such “equality in opprobrium”, to use Heine’s phrase, can be seen as a victory of sorts for the Emancipation.

The rise of anti-Semitism can also be seen from the perspective of the crystallization of national awareness among the peoples of Europe, then taking its first steps out of the amorphous structures of principalities, kingdoms, and empires, toward the new division of the continent into nation-states. The Jews, a recognizable minority who differed from their neighbors in culture and language, and had compatriots on the other side of national borders, were convenient to sacrifice on the altar of the rising nationalism. The Dreyfus Affair was a prime example of this aspect of anti-Semitism, which would before long manifest itself in allegations that Jews were a fifth column,
that they were a subversive threat out for world domination, as would eventually be described in The Protocols of the Elders of Zion.

The new secular anti-Semitism derived its "ideological" imprimatur from such philosophers as Fichte in Germany, from writers and thinkers who were among the leading lights of the French Revolution, including many of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's circle and some of the encyclopedists. The figure who towered above them all, though, in his venomous erudition, was Voltaire, who competes with Fichte for the honor of being the "father of secular anti-Semitism".²

It may be, however, that from the standpoint of long-term effect, no one engendered a more venomous anti-Semitism than did Karl Marx; it was he who conferred on the Christian motif of Jewish love of mammon, the satanic depth of portraying money worship as a very principle of Jewish existence. In Marx's eyes, the Jew symbolized the hated capitalist — the source of society's catastrophe. Hence, relief for the sufferings of humankind would come from liberation from its Jewish characteristics. In his paper Zur Judenfrage ("Toward the Jewish Question"), in which he criticized Bruno Bauer's book on the topic Marx wrote:

The nationality... of the Jew is the nationality of the merchant... What is the ritual of the Jew? Crooked dealing. Who is the Jew's god? Money. Emancipation from crooked dealings and money, and the like, from real, practical Judaism, will be the auto-emancipation of our age.³

Bauer, a Protestant theologian, opposed the emancipation of the Jews as long as they remained constant in their faith. However, renunciation of that faith was not sufficient for Marx, who rejected the Jew intrinsically, as a representative of capitalistic evil; thus, the racial component of Marx's anti-Semitism.

Marxism, which, along with the monotheistic religions was among the most widespread and all-inclusive of human dogmas, bore the venom of anti-Semitism in the image of the grasping Jew, the foundation stone of the myth of the Protocols. Thus, Karl Marx, the grandson of a rabbi and scion of a long line of Talmudic scholars, was one of those who laid the foundations of contemporary anti-Semitism in an ironic fulfillment of the verse in Isaiah, "Your destroyers and your ruiners will come from among you."

As befitted the Age of Enlightenment, the Christian motif of the blood libel virtually vanished altogether from Central and Western Europe, being replaced by a broad litany of anti-Semitic allegations that derived from enlightened secularism.

The Jew was now the enemy of the people, of society; he was the class enemy. A satirical journalism came into being, based primarily on highly fashionable anti-Semitic caricature. Among the better known of such popular journals were Vienna's Kikeriki, Munich's Simplicissimus, Libre Parole in Paris, and Pluvium in St. Petersburg.

4a. Uradel, Aubrey Beardsley,
With the discovery of the statue of Venus, in Melos, and its exhibition in the Louvre (1820), that Hellenistic work of art came to be considered the paragon of feminine beauty, and the exaltation of Greco-Roman classicism reached its high point in Europe. The proportions between the head of that statue, its torso, and limbs were measured precisely, and golden rules of physical perfection in accordance with those measurements were decreed. The jew was depicted as an antithesis of the canon of classical beauty, as in the example of Jewess “Uradel”, by Aubrey Beardsley (1872-1898). The black, short-legged mass, with fat arms and neckless head, and the bulbous, crooked nose that accentuates the ugliness of the profile, are a crude caricature of the ideal of beauty. Beardsley, who brought the mannerisms of late nineteenth-century decadence into the realm of the absurd, drew “Uradel” as the antithesis to his own style.

4b. Salome, Aubrey Beardsley.
The denigration of the living Jew was in sharp contrast to admiration for the dead Jew: "[The body of man] is the capstone of art," wrote Michelangelo. Indeed, in his statue, "David", particularly in the profile of the young man, the Renaissance ideal reached its ultimate expression. With the budding of neo-classicism and exaltation of the Italian Renaissance in the nineteenth century, "David" attained the status of the standard for physical perfection.
Caricature of Jews — Antithesis of the Esthetic Canon

The sharp change in the content of the anti-Semitic message, from the late Middle Ages, was accompanied by a far-reaching change in its graphic form; now, the cause of anti-Semitic slander would be served by the stereotypical Jew as a distortion of a human being. Thus, the esthetic principle mandating unity between meaning and form has come to fulfillment. In accordance with this view, the Jew would be depicted as the antithesis of the canon of beauty for both sexes in Greco-Roman classicism, which, along with the Italian Renaissance, had undergone a revival in all schools of the fine arts by the end of the eighteenth century: from the neo-classicism of Jacques Louis David during the French Revolution and Napoleonic period, to the pre-Raphaelites of mid-nineteenth century Britain, through the painters of the Belle Epoque at the end of the century. It is only by bearing in mind the ideal of beauty so ingrained in the nineteenth-century mind, can one understand the degree of denigration involved in the image of the fat, flabby, crooked-nosed and bow-legged Jew with a hairy body, protruding eyes, and salivating mouth.

Such caricaturization of the Jew focuses mainly on his “inborn characteristics”, his knavery, his grasping for gain, his covetousness, his cowardice (Jewish evasion of military service was a recurring theme with the formation of nationalism, following the “Springtime of the Nations”). The element of pornography, featuring the licentious Jew, became one of the salient themes of the day, playing on atavistic fears of the rape of innocent virgins by sinister, dissolute, wicked aliens. Such fears were fed, in no small degree, by the fact that many of the initiators of European decadence, particularly erotic radicalism, homosexuality, free love, and nudity, were Jews.

Thus, nineteenth- and early twentieth-century anti-Semitic caricature diverged from that of the late Middle Ages both in meaning and form. Nevertheless, the widely-held assumption that Nazi anti-Semitic caricature was merely a natural continuation of the nineteenth-century image of the Jew, only taken to an extreme, is fundamentally mistaken. In order to understand the subject at hand, one must take proper note of two powerful elements of Jewish reality in the modern era: a) liberalism and philo-Semitism, and, b) Jewish radicalism.

Liberalism and Philo-Semitism

European liberalism and philo-Semitic trends of thought, in Victorian England, in the Germany of Lessing and Mommsen, the France of Napoleon and Zola, were powerful factors that tended to neutralize, to an extent, the degree of anti-Semitism. The nineteenth century was, without doubt, the most successful period of the two millennia of Jewish dispersion. Nothing bears more convincing witness to this than demography: in 1820, the Jewish
6. Nathan Herschel, Head of the Jewish Community in Prague, Germany, late eighteenth century.

The esthetic principle of unity between meaning and form reach fulfillment in the anti-Semitic caricature of the Enlightenment. From now on, anti-Semitic slander would march in step with the physical grotesqueness of the object of that caricature; the graphic depiction of the Jew would be the antithesis of the classical Greek ideal which had, by and large, for two thousand years or more set the ideal for perfection in Western civilization.


The population of Europe numbered some two million souls, while in 1900 it reached 8.7 million. This represents a growth of 322 percent, while the population of the continent grew by only 222 percent (from 190 million to 423 million).
Two Jewish rag dealers, Kohn and Salo, want to buy a pair of old trousers from a housewife. They argue among themselves and the trousers are torn. After a police officer intervenes, they tearfully pay the price of the trousers—fitting punishment for Jewish avarice. The principal message of the illustrated tale, though, is not the banal moral lesson involved, but rather the threadbare and laughable appearance of the two Jewish rag dealers.
8. The Banker, Simplicissimus, Munich, 1907.

"The Banker", the polar opposite of the two rag dealers, is a prototype of the Jewish tycoon, the paradigm of which was Rothschild, that contains all the elements of anti-Semitic caricature that will appear regularly in the years ahead: obese, thick-lipped with greed, with a crooked bulbous nose. Cigar-smoking, arrogant, and cock-sure of himself, he is sunk into soft divan pillows decorated with Hebrew letters.

It would have been inconceivable before the nineteenth century to imagine a Jewish head of government (even if a baptized one) like D’Israeli, making an inspiring speech in the British Parliament on the superiority of the Hebrew race. The philo-Semitism of Lessing, as manifested in his play, Nathan the Wise, or of George Elliot, in her widely-read novel, Daniel Deronda, are the complete opposite of Jew-hatred as an ultimate principle in the consciousness of Western Christendom for nearly fifteen hundred years. The Dreyfus Affair may have been the high point of French anti-Semitism. However, it behooves one not to forget that Dreyfus was an officer on the general staff of the French army, something that would have been inconceivable only a few decades earlier. Heinrich Heine, a significant part of whose work is a glorification of Judaism, was a popular poet in his lifetime, and has in time come to be considered one of the four paramount poets of Germany, along with Goethe, Schiller, and Rilke. Athenaeum, perhaps the most important literary journal in Britain at the time, wrote about Heine in its issue of January 15, 1876, thus:

Jewish he was in his tenderness and, above all, in his hatred; Jewish in his versatility and world-wide sympathy; Jewish in his realistic conception of the
ideal, in the fashion in which he conceived the passion of love, which reminded one of the sensuousness of the *Song of Solomon*; Jewish in the proud consciousness of human dignity, in his nervous temperament, his incredible capacity for suffering, his wonderful endurance of sorrow; Jewish in the boldness and recklessness of his skepticism; Jewish, in fine, in never embracing for any length of time a belief which excluded every spiritual element. In his wit and humor also Heine was a true child of the Hebrew race.  

The topic of this caricature is the compulsive fixation of the Jews with Richard Wagner, one of the great anti-Semites of his time. "It seems that the more he loathes them, the more they admire him," his wife Cosima noted. That was indeed the case: from academic musicologists, to critics, through the audience in the balconies, Jews adored Wagner. Servile flattery and an inferiority complex as Jewish traits were also among the themes of anti-Semitic illustration during the period.

For the first time in the annals of Christendom, there is a genuine trend toward equality of rights, not merely lip-service to the spirit of liberalism, but a real willingness to accept the Jew and his heritage as an integral part of the European cultural legacy.

Jewish Radicalism

The nineteenth century, particularly the latter half of it, and the early part of the twentieth were a period in which the central themes of modern anti-Semitism, as we know them, took shape. The passage of time, though, and conflation of the term "anti-Semitism" with the horrors of the Holocaust, have sometimes combined to distort our historical perspective and moral
judgment. There is a tendency, then, to ascribe hatred of the Jew to the
Gentile and portray the Jew as a passive victim of an indwelling hatred. Such
hatred is seen as a verdict of fate, accompanying the Jewish people from the
dawn of monotheism, the destruction of the Temples, through the
crematoria of Treblinka and the attempt by the Arabs to destroy Israel. It
is difficult, perhaps impossible, to argue with such a claim from a broad
historical perspective. Nevertheless, close examination of one particular
chapter in the long continuum of anti-Semitism brings us face-to-face with a
complex reality, one in which it is difficult to evade the part played by the Jew
in fanning hatred against himself. Such is the chapter dealing with Jewish
radicalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Visceral hatred of the Jew, the product of a tradition going back hundreds of
years, was a durable element of the European heritage; it certainly was not
swept away with the granting of equal rights. Only now with the
Emancipation, the hitherto unheard-of element of Jewish radicalism was
added to Jewish assertiveness. When an Austrian, German, or French anti-
Semit claimed that Jews were incorrigible radicals, newcomers devoid of
roots who destroyed tradition, sowed anarchy, and wrought havoc with
public order, was he making entirely groundless charges?

When satirists in the German-speaking world lampooned the stupidity of the
farmer, the foolishness of the Junker, the hypocrisy of the middle class, the
vulgarity of the nouveau riche, and above all Austro-German militarism, they
were holding everything German up to contempt. Heinrich Heine, Mauritz
Sapir, Ludwig Berne, and Kurt Tucholsky were only a few of the more
noteworthy satirists engaged in such activity in German-speaking Europe,
and not necessarily the most venomous of them. Is there any wonder then
that they incurred the hatred of their victims? All four of the above-
mentioned were baptized Jews. Did they really think that conversion would
afford them carte blanche to spit into the well they wanted to drink from?

The claim “Jews control the press” was (and is) a recurring anti-Semitic
theme, but was most of the liberal press not in Jewish hands? Among the
more important such examples were the Berliner Tageblatt, Neue Freie Presse,
Frankfurter Zeitung, and Die Zukunft, the latter under the editorship of
Maximillian Harder, another converted Jew, who had set out on a campaign
to smear the arch-symbol of the German establishment, Kaiser Wilhelm. The
three papers mentioned above, and many others, were owned by Jews, and to
a great extent written by Jews, as well. Needless to say, the anti-Semitic claim
that support for social liberalism served the Jewish interest above all was
basically true, even if such service was not the intention of the newspaper
owners.

An example of a focal point of radical left intellectual activity (one among
many) was the periodical Weltbühne, in which Kurt Tucholsky, under the
characteristic pen name “The Tiger”, would rip everything conservative
Germans held dear to shreds. Here, too, the owners, editors, writers — and readers — were mostly Jewish.

The clarion call of the anthem of the International, “We shall destroy the old order to its foundations”, reverberated throughout Europe from the lips of such as Moses Hess, Karl Marx, Ferdinand Lasalle, Otto Bauer, Rosa Luxemburg, and Lev Bronstein (Trotsky). One need not be endowed with a particularly fertile imagination to figure out what went on in the minds of a Prussian Junker, an Austrian churchman, or a French industrialist at the sound of such a battle cry; a battle cry that was a stark threat, and one identified, with no small degree of accuracy, with Jewish radicalism.

As we approach the year 2000, at the end of a century in which libertinism and, above all, sexual permissiveness were among the hallmarks of Western culture, Freud and psychoanalysis are perceived as mere stages in the development of psychology. In the Victorian age, though, the idea that the basic cause of human pathology is sexual repression, and that release from sexual inhibition would bring relief to humankind, was a message that shook the foundations of social morality. And to rub salt in the wound, Freud claimed (at least by implication) that religion, too, was but a symptom of mental imbalance. Freud at least cloaked his claims in psychological idiom and the nebulous terminology of psychoanalysis, which were beyond the comprehension of the general public. Then enter his disciple, Wilhelm Reich, who — no more and no less — raises orgasm to the top of the order of social priorities. Freud had the sense to stay aloof from politics, but Reich rendered the phallus the provocative emblem of the militant left.

In historical perspective, whatever the value, standing, or importance of the social and cultural avant-garde, what is relevant to the matter at hand is the fact that Jewish radicalism clashed constantly with the values and national heritage of the peoples amongst whom the Jews lived.

Hugo Bergmann, who grasped the contribution of Jewish radicalism to anti-Semitism, wrote thus:

These talented Jews are prisoners of atheism and materialism, they are revolutionaries and demagogues. You will find them anywhere it is fashionable to be hyper-modern, that is to destroy values from ancient times. Jews, among them women, march in the van of those calling for repeal of marriage and families, and they are the leaders and participants in the revelry of perversion in urban society today. Where did these traits of theirs come from — members of the race known for the purity of its family life — how did such a turnaround take place in the space of three generations? The Jews have simply lost their spiritual balance... The Jews have not grown an organic growth in European culture... Hence, they do not understand the past of that culture, and hence, they challenge its foundations. For that reason not only are the fanatical racists anti-Semitic, but also those who ascribe importance to the past and oppose its destruction by the Jew.6

---

If a Jew, and Zionist no less, who cannot be suspected of self-hatred, sees Jewish radicals as threats to the foundations of Western culture and destroyers of a heritage from the past, can we complain about genuine anti-Semites? And who could be more genuine than Wilhelm Marr, who coined the term “anti-Semitism” in 1879, or Heinrich von Treitschke, whose slogan “The Jews are Our Catastrophe” became the Nazi battle-cry. Marr (whose wife was Jewish) was broad-minded and liberal, and fought for Jewish equality; he claimed that he “never felt one iota of hatred for the Jews”. 7 Marr eventually changed. When friends asked him to join the struggle for the granting of equal rights to the Jews of Bremen, he refused, explaining his refusal by insisting that the Jews assimilate into German culture. He stated the matter thus:

If the Jews want to live in our political organization and enjoy equality of rights, they must be as we are... The matter depends on the Jews, they should make themselves amenable to the people so that their demand becomes a requirement of the times in the consciousness of the people.8

Like Marr, Treitschke the historian, who was an enlightened Christian liberal, also demanded the total assimilation of the Jews as a precondition for their acceptance into the German nation. When Theodor Mommsen, the renowned German historian and humanist (who was himself a strong supporter of total Jewish assimilation) reproached him for his hatred of the Jews, Treitschke replied that although he had serious complaints about the Jews, they were untainted by “any prejudice toward the faith and sacred memories of the Jews from ancient times, for which we all have great reverence”.

It is by no means our intention to present Marr and Treitschke as philo-Semites; many pages could be filled with poisonous anti-Semitic quotations from either of them. However, presenting them as the connecting link between nineteenth-century anti-Semitism and Nazism, and as the spiritual forebears of Hitler and Goebbels, is entirely without foundation.

It should be stressed, though, that any link between Jewish radicalism and factory-like homicide, as a manifestation of Nazi pathology, is to be dismissed out of hand. The school of thought that posits such a linkage, and is espoused, among others, by Hannah Arendt and the German historian Friedrich Meinecke, 9 is a prime example of auto-anti-Semitism, as in the case of Arendt, or crude anti-Semitism which not even the Holocaust could expurgate, as in the case of the German Meinecke. On the other hand, there are those like Yitzhak Deutscher who laud Jewish radicalism and, above all, Marx. Deutscher believes that the source of the Jewish tragedy is the “precise diagnosis” made by Marx concerning Jewish identity. Thus, the Jews fell victim to their own national character, the character of stock market speculators, loan sharks, and amassers of wealth.10 Deutscher’s complete

9. The claim that Jewish radicalism served at least as a partial pretext for the incitement of Nazi anti-Semitism is made by Hannah Arendt in her book, The Origins of Totalitarianism (New York, 1966); and by Friedrich Meinecke in Die Deutsche Katastrophe (Wiesbaden, 1946).
ignorance of the contribution made by Marx to the poison of European anti-Semitism is typical of the "dialectical" analysis that is one of the hallmarks of the Jewish left.

★

The demand made by Marr and Treitschke that the Jews completely assimilate into "our political organization" was amply reflected in the venomous caricatures of the day. The anti-Semitic caricature lampooned the "traits" of the Jew, but it denigrated those traits and held them up, in as sharp a contrast as possible, to the reality and code of conduct deemed desirable by the milieu for which the artist was serving as spokesman. That caricature was a stinging, humiliating insult; yet it was at the same time a clear message that a radical change was called for in the conduct of the Jew as an individual; in other words, that it was incumbent upon him to become absorbed and assimilated. Yehuda Leib Gordon, the great Hebrew poet of that period, put it succinctly thus: "Be Jewish at home, and human when you leave it."

It is a matter of record that the majority of the Jews of Europe, and Germany in particular took the road indicated by Marr and Treitschke with enthusiasm. The slogan "The Jews from the East are our catastrophe" (Die [Ost] Jüden sind unser Unglück), in short order, became a mantra for assimilated Jews.11

There is one more important aspect to the subject which deserves attention. The venom of hostile caricaturization is not directed against the Jews alone. Sharp polarization of classes and the growth of nationalism engendered an unprecedented degree of nastiness in the graphic depiction of class and national enemies. The clergy, the monarch, and the nobility were frequent victims of the (often perverted) imagination of the artist. Thomas Rowlandson in Britain and Honoré Daumier in France were prime examples of caricaturists who were uninhibited in their pictorial distortions. Hence, the Jew, on the basis of "a trouble shared is a trouble halved," could come to terms somehow with the insult to his distorted image. It was small comfort, but still one which permitted no small amount of pride in being denigrated by the same criteria as Gentiles. After all, this was also one of the signs of equality of rights.

It was left to Nazi caricature from the 1920s to the end of the Third Reich to plug whatever outlets for escape were permitted by Christian dogma and the rationalism of the modern era, to say nothing of European philo-Semitism. Gone were the days of conversion and assimilation. What remained was physical extermination.

---

11. However, they shunned Heinrich Graetz, who answered Treitschke's anti-Semitic slanders. Graetz, the greatest of the Jewish historians of his age, was not invited to attend the committee of Jewish historians established in 1885 to write the history of German Jews. Only three years later, Graetz, one of the most determined historical expositors of Spanish anti-Semitism, received appointment as an honorary member of the Spanish Academy in Madrid.
CHAPTER FOUR

NAZISM — PERMISSION TO EXTERMINATE
There is the human divinity and the human devil...
The Jew is the opposite of a human being, his antithesis...the handiwork of another god... The Aryan and the Jew...are as far from each other as the beast from a human being... The Jew is a hostile being, foreign to nature.¹

Adolf Hitler

There is a problem in conveying the meaning of the above quotation to a contemporary reader. On the one hand, our contemporaries have been taught to think empirically, and on the other, they are unencumbered by Nazi millennialism. Hence, they are likely to have the impression that Hitler was speaking metaphorically, that a man crazed with hatred who let his imagination run wild was speaking figuratively.

Hitler was not speaking figuratively. Just as the medieval Christian was supposed to believe implicitly, with every fiber of his being, that the wafer and wine he partook in the Eucharist were Jesus' flesh and blood, so Hitler believed with his heart and soul that the Jew was a "different being", a being who carried a virus that was fatal to the Aryan race. Hitler's mania for racial purity, which in his eyes was the quintessence of the nation, the "volk", and the secret of its vitality (was he acquainted with the biblical imperative [Deuteronomy 12:23] "The blood is the life"?), led him to the conclusion according to which:

All great cultures of the past perished only because the originally creative race died out from blood poisoning... Thus cultures and empires collapsed to make place for new formations... Blood mixture and the resultant drop in the racial level is the sole cause of the dying out of old cultures, for men do not perish as a result of lost wars, but by the loss of resistance which is contained only in pure blood.²

Thus, Hitler was neither exaggerating, according to his own mind, nor speaking in parables, when in 1943 he explained to the Hungarian regent, Admiral Horthy, that the Jews were like tubercular bacterium. They were out to destroy the body by destroying its immune system; hence, they had to be exterminated as a preventive measure. The Jew, by his nature, was a spreader of contagion that aimed at annihilating Germany by, among other means, racial violation, either by intermarriage or rape of Aryan women — a recurring theme in anti-Semitic agitation, with its strong pornographic element. This theme was manifest in a particularly grotesque manner in the Nuremberg laws and through the assigning of levels of racial pollution by degree of family kinship. There is little wonder then that Hitler oft-times likened himself to Koch and Pasteur, two pioneering microbe-hunters.

¹ Hermann Rauschnig, Gespräche mit Hitler (Europa Verlag, 1940).
² Mein Kampf (English version) (Boston, 1971), pp. 289, 296.
Ripping the Human Mask from the Jewish Devil

Nazism, as an eschatological movement aimed at redeeming humankind, that is, the Aryan race, with its Thousand Year Reich, engendered a Manichean polarization between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness. The epitome of perfection, Nordic man, was confronted by the incarnation of evil, the “Jewish sub-human”.

Nazism created a radical synthesis between Christian hatred of Jews and Enlightenment anti-Semitism. From Christianity, Nazism derived the idea of the ontological guilt of the Jews, the original sin that is imprinted on the Jews both as a nation and as individuals who belong to it, whether a babe-in-arms or an old person on his deathbed. From European rationalism it derived the
The Nazi version of the blood libel was the antithesis, from an esthetic standpoint, of the Christian blood libel. While the medieval version of the blood libel somewhat softened the message by imparting to the act of ritual murder a dimension of time and place, the Nazi version involved no such limitation, rendering the message conveyed absolute. In the fifteenth-century engraving, the artist was meticulously objective about the way he depicts the jews, showing them as no different from their victim. In the Nazi illustration, the jews were made to appear evil; the dehumanization of the two jews shown was achieved by distorting their appearance to make them look like rats. Their young victims (angelic figures), typically Aryan children, are the quintessence of innocence. While other elements of medieval illustration (clothing, architecture, artifacts from the period) were devoid of any emotive charge, the only additional element in the Nazi caricature was the row of cemetery crosses, the object of the Jewish conspiracy. In contrast to the medieval version of the blood libel, that of the Nazis embodied the union of form and meaning.

idea of "Jewish" traits, ascribing to them genetic transmission. Thus, the Nazis gleaned ideas from both sources, amalgamating them into a racial doctrine as posited by Gobineau, Chamberlain, and Rosenberg.

Goebbels knew how to manipulate the entire German heritage using the Christian faith through folklore. The Holy Trinity, the quintessence of Christianity, was preserved and transfigured, thus:
The unity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit were rendered into the party principle of the father-nation, the race-son, and the spirit of the volk. The idea of the Jew as the symbol of the devil in Christianity made the metamorphosis of the Jew into the devil, the essence of the symbol, easier. From now on there was just one aim, and that was his extermination. When the Fuehrer replaced the Saviour, the Jew became the symbol of the anti-Christ, an object of unrestrained hatred. The new language was adapted to the old ideas.  

Hence, the Jew could be classified in a separate, category from Homo Sapiens, and inferior to it; he was the “sub-human”, the Untermensch or Rassenjuden, in the idiom of the day. He was not, however, the missing link between man and ape; that honor was reserved for the black race. The Jew was perceived as a shifty-eyed, scheming mutation of the sub-human. He was ever devising ways to destroy the German nation, as but a first step toward the destruction of all mankind. All this was spelled out in The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, a book the Nazi leadership considered one of the three sacred books of Judaism, along with Scripture and the Talmud. It might be worth mentioning here that the devil in human form, and the linkage between man and the devil, have made up a central and powerful theme in German folklore, art, and literature. From medieval demonology to Goethe’s Faust and the tales of the brothers Grimm, through the Teutonic myths immortalized by Wagner, the German heritage is replete with dread, sadism, themes of the grotesque, and macabre imageries on a scale that have no parallel in other national traditions.

The Nazis had to impart visual form to the abstraction of a Manichean life-and-death struggle between Aryan and Jew — the destruction of the one was a precondition for the survival of the other — which they accomplished by
creating an archtypical Jew. G. L. Mosse, an authority on Nazi ideology, has stated the matter thus:

Theories of racial distinctions were to be comprehended not only in a mystical sense; on the contrary, they could be made popular through the use of stereotypes. The Aryan was distinguished by a physical form that typified the Germanic ideal of beauty; the Jew was his very opposite. Symbolically, only to be too deeply believed later on, the two represented the polarization of God and the Devil.3

But before the Jewish sub-human could be properly dealt with, the mask had to be ripped off his face; the human camouflage had to be removed from the devil.

The two most effective means of ripping the human mask off the Jewish devil were the cinema and newspaper cartoons. In the cinema, a field with which Hitler, and even more so Goebbels, were compulsively preoccupied, the matter was dealt with in a series of films. Two such films, The Eternal Jew (Der Ewige Jude) and The Jew Süss (Jod Süss), played a particularly important role in Nazi anti-Semitic agitation, and basically are in a category of their own in the annals of anti-Semitism.6

In The Eternal Jew, filmed in Polish ghettos shortly after the Nazi invasion in 1939, the Jew is shown in his “natural habitat”. The filth, wretchedness,
5. The Destruction of Europe. Der Stürmer, 1943.
Even when treating his subject allegorically, Fipps was careful to instill only a credible dosage of satanic characteristics into the image of his Jew. Here, under the backdrop of the destruction of Europe and the theme of the crucifixion, which was relatively rare in Nazi caricature, looms the dark horizon, consisting of the black shoulders of the Jewish devil, looking with evil complacency over the destruction he has wrought.

ugliness, the comparison of the Jew with disease-bearing mice, his cunning and grasping, the inbred laziness of the Jew, and his xenophobia are presented to the viewer with the authority of a ―documentary‖, which derives the force of its expression from the objectivity of a camera lens zeroing in on the "truth". The film's recurring theme is the unqualified identification of the Jewish sub-human from the Polish ghetto with the German Jew with whom the viewer is acquainted under the gloss of the "cultivated German". Indeed, in the film's opening clip, the narrator issues the following admonition:

The cultivated Jew we know in Germany does not let us know more than an iota of his race's character. This film presents genuine pictures from Polish ghettos. It shows the Jews as they really are, before they have a chance to hide behind the mask of a cultivated European.
To do the unmasking, a group of Jews is photographed ‘before’ and ‘after’. A
smiling, cleanly-shaven, bare-headed young man with a suit and tie is likely
to be your friendly, harmless neighbor. But that is mere cover. The truth
comes out when that same Jew shows his true colors — when he grows a
beard, and wears a skullcap and caftan.

So also, The jew Süss described as a moneychanger from the Frankfurt Ghetto
who swindles and cheats his way into the position of chief tax collector of the
Duchy of Wittenberg. In his natural habitat, Süss is a thorough-going Jew,
replete with beard, sidelocks, caftan, and large skullcap. He has a sly,
cunning gaze, he is slippery, he gesticulates as he speaks in broken German,
and he bears himself in a grotesque manner. But in the court of the Duke of
Wittenberg, he is transformed, as if by magic, into a proper German
nobleman. Cleanly shaven, wearing a fashionable wig, decked out in
fashionable party clothes, he cuts the figure of the perfect courtier, the
embodiment of the local Rococo gentry. The glittering mask is intended for
one purpose only, to hide the indwelling wickedness of the Jewish devil;
when acting himself, he cheats his benefactors, robs and exploits the tax-
payers, rapes a young woman from a noble family (who then commits
suicide), and tortures her betrothed. Fortunately, Süss is caught before he
can bring the entire duchy to ruin, is tried and duly hanged in the market
square. Cinematically, The jew Süss is outstanding, mainly due to its brilliant
direction and the virtuoso acting of Ferdinand Marian, one of the greatest
actors of the German cinema in the 1930s, who played Süss. The film is
considered the greatest propaganda success in the history of cinema.

It is doubtful whether The jew Süss and The Eternal Jew would have been so
successful had the German public not been prepared for their reception by
nearly two decades of anti-Semitic newspaper illustrations prior to their
appearance in late 1940. The term “newspaper illustrations” is used here
advisedly, since the definition of the term “cartoon” does not comport with
the image of the Jew in Nazi newspaper illustrations, particularly those in Der
Stürmer. Cartoons, as they had developed in the nineteenth century and are
commonly encountered in democracies, aim at rendering the contours of the
subject’s face, and occasionally his body, ridiculous or absurd (see chapter 1).
This is understood by both the artist and his audience, and underpins an
implicit dialogue between them. In contrast, the illustrations in Der Stürmer,
like the Jewish images in the two films, do not aim at rendering the image of
the Jew absurd or ridiculous, they aim at telling the “truth” about him, at
exposing his satanic nature by getting at what is under the human mask he is
wearing. Hence, what is termed “Nazi caricature” (and, for want of a better
definition, that is what we will use henceforth), which became familiar to the
general public through the drawings of Philip Ruprecht (Fipps) in Der Stürmer,
Julius Streicher’s Nuremberg newspaper, is a faithful and accurate reflection
of Hitler’s ideas concerning the Jew as “the opposite of a human being”.

7. It was only in the 1930s that Hitler expressed his thoughts concerning Jews
being the antithesis of human to Rauschning. However, Hitler’s close
direct and problematic friendship with Streicher predated publication of the
first issue of Der Stürmer in 1922. Hence, it is immaterial which of the two
served as inspiration for the other.
After doing what he came for, the jew presents her with a 100 franc bill, a lot of money in those days, and asks for change. Knowing that she would not have the large sum necessary for change, the cunning jew has his way, in both senses of the term. Subsidiary themes in this illustration are the stinginess of the scheming jew, as well as his filthy, repulsive physical appearance, against the background of the girlish innocence(!) of the streetwalker. One should nevertheless bear in mind that jews were not the only objects of venomous caricaturesizations of class and economic exploitation; non-jews were also the objects of such illustrations in the period.

7. Der Stürmer, 1934.
In this allegorical caricature by Fipps, the Nazi revolution itself hangs in the balance. The sketch transcends time and place, and assumes apocalyptic proportions. The girl who has been caught in the net of the jew is symbolic of Aryan womanhood, and the angel of death playing a funeral dirge on his violin represents the end of Germany, if that country allows itself to fall into the trap of the Jewish race-desecrators.

Der Stürmer — The Graphical Creation of a Sub-Human

At first glance, the illustrations found in Der Stürmer may seem less vicious than the typical anti-Semitic caricature of the nineteenth century. While jews do appear as zoological specimens in Ruprecht's work (bats, monkeys, worms, snakes, octopuses), such instances make up but a fraction of his output. Fipps did not draw the jew as a mythological monster, as had been the case in Kikeriki in Vienna (see illustration 1 in chapter 3). The monsters in such drawings were allegorical, though, as allegory had also been the common vehicle of the period for conveying such ideas as wisdom, love, beauty, and fate. Allegory represents the ability of the intellect to differentiate
8. *The Warrior*, Arno Breker, 1939; 9. *The Naked Truth*, Philip Ruprecht, 1937. Arno Breker, a personal favorite of Hitler and the high priest of sculpture in Nazi Germany, was commissioned to create a representation of the ideal of Nordic manhood; such was *The Warrior*, which became an archetype reproduced in numerous variations. Ruprecht was charged with the task of depicting the antithesis to Breker’s ideal. The Warrior and the Jew sketched in *The Naked Truth*, taken together, represent the polarization between the images created to serve Nazi propaganda. Breker’s sculpture, which is part imitation of a Hellenistic statue and part Mr. Universe contestant, contains all the elements of National Socialist realism. The neckless, potbellied, crooked-legged Jew has at least one human trait left, shame; thus, he covers his private parts. Not so the ideal Aryan in the Breker statue, who radiates the trinity usually found in the art of the Third Reich: exhibitionism, pornography, and violence.*

between the material world and abstract notions. Allegory, which is devoid of the direct perception of the viewer, is, by its very nature, emotively distant from him. Hence, it is inconceivable that allegory could incite to murder, let alone to systematic extermination. More tangible and direct means than allegory are required for that end.

Hitler, Goebbels, and Streicher had entirely different aims from those anti-Semites who read *Kibrik* in Vienna, or *Libre Parle*, under the editorship of Drumont, in Paris. Hitler and his colleagues were not interested in abstract
11. Hitler, the Standard-Bearer, Hubert Lanzinger, 1938.

On the eve of war, both Hitler and the Jew take on mythological dimensions. The Jew, with gold in one hand, a whip in the other, and the Soviet Union under his arm, is now the main threat to humanity. Adolf Hitler, in the image of an unblemished Teutonic savior, bears the standard of Germany as it approaches its apocalyptic struggle.
ideas or intellectual distance; they wanted material realism, as had the
church in the Middle Ages. In that sense, the Nazis of the Third Reich
managed to take Germany back to the scholastic thinking of the Council of
Trent. As we have noted, Fipps’ drawings are intended to expose the Jewish
conspiracy. Fortunately for Germany, despite all his cunning, the Jew cannot
hide the devil in him; his cover is only partial, and it is incumbent upon Der
Stürmer, which has discovered the secret of the Jew, to expose his camouflage
and show it to the world.

The thousands of drawings Ruprecht had produced for Der Stürmer (during
the life of the newspaper, from 1922 to 1945, close to 3,000 of his caricatures
appeared) were a systematic attempt to pinpoint every conceivable aspect of
Jewish evil. This was done while meticulously maintaining the central theme
in the image of the Jew: the build of his body, the contours of his face, with
variations depending on what a particular instance called for.

Basically, the image of the Jew includes typically Semitic facial features,
according to the idea of the Rassenjude (Jew-by-race), accentuated to look ugly
and melancholy, threatening and evil. The exaggeration for effect, though, is
kept within tolerable bounds; Fipps maintains a degree of balance in his
Jewish facial contours that is in direct proportion, as it were, to the ability of
the Jew to hide the devil in him. Such Semitic features are particularly salient
when they are contrasted with the Nordic ideal, which is also exaggerated to
comply with the Nazi’s esthetic code.

One of the most successful of such depictions was a caricature dated April
1934 over the caption, “Springtime” (see illustration 10). Juxtaposed with
blond purity, innocence, pride, joy in living one’s young years, and erectness
of stature is the black, flaccid, hairy, evil, looming mass of the Jew. The
bespectacled Jew in bowler, looking mummified in a heavy overcoat, and suit
and tie, is the antithesis of the two vibrant youths, at one with nature and
radiating love of springtime. Highly effective use is made here of the simple
light-shade technique (chiaroscuro), which imparts to the image of the Jew
something of a bat’s dread of the light of day. The caricature is thus faithful
to Hitler’s definition of the Jew as “a hostile being, foreign to nature”.
Needless to say, the impact of such a caricature on a viewer is infinitely
greater than would be the impact of an allegorical drawing; the theme is part
of the everyday life of a typical German and is, hence, simple for him to
identify with. The double message contained in the caricature is conveyed
with full force. On the one hand, it engenders pride in, and a sense of identity
with, the physical beauty of the two young Germans. On the other hand, it
arouses fear and hatred — classical components of anti-Semitism — of the
Jewish devil.

Another central theme pursued by Der Stürmer, one which goes to the roots of
Nazi anti-Semitism, is that of the Jew as race-defiler. The violation of Aryan
virgins by Jewish sub-humans, a powerful pornographic element used to play

8. The “desecration of Ger-
man blood”, upon which
Hitler expands in Mein
Kampf, has clear parallels
with the doctrine of “the
purity of blood” (Limpieza
de Sangre) which under-
pinned the Spanish Inquisi-
sion.
both on atavistic fears and a sadism that may very well be a more widely immanent trait among Germans than others, did much to further sales of the paper. We have already mentioned that the rape of virgins was common in nineteenth-century anti-Semitic caricature. However, in the drawings in Der Stürmer, that theme took on apocalyptic dimensions as a threat to the very existence of the Aryan race and all that that implies — an existential threat to the Nazi revolution.

☆

Even when treating his subject allegorically, Fipps was careful to instill only a credible dosage of satanic characteristics into the image of his Jew. Here (see illustration 5), under the backdrop of the destruction of Europe and the theme of the crucifixion, which was relatively rare in Nazi caricature, 9 looming the dark horizon, consisting of the black shoulders of the Jewish devil, looking with evil complacency over the destruction he has wrought.

The end product was a virtually limitless repertoire of opprobrium, with every conceivable blame laid at the doorstep of the Jew. The crimes thus ascribed
to Jews are national and universal. The Jew is a fifth columnist, a dagger in the heart of the people, it is he who is behind the Versailles Treaty. The economic depression was his handiwork, as was every malady associated with the Weimar Republic. It was he who invented Anglo-American capitalism and it was he who invented Soviet Bolshevism. Above all, it was he who caused the First World War, with all the horrible suffering it brought down on the peoples of Europe, especially on Germany.

The instillation of hatred of Jews into the minds of Germans, in the most comprehensive and concentrated brainwashing campaign in history, was aimed at raising the Nazi war effort to the level of a moral imperative of the highest degree. Thus construed, World War II was a struggle between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness. Harnessing the German people to such a vast undertaking necessitated brutal and effective propaganda at the popular level. Der Stürmer was the perfect instrument for the task. In fact, it is doubtful if Goebbels could have accomplished his task had he not been able to avail himself of Philip Ruprecht’s anti-Semitic illustrations in that newspaper.

There were more talented artists in Germany than Ruprecht, and caricatures more sinister and more sophisticated than those that appeared in Der Stürmer. However, no one could compete with Fipps in reaching the most prevalent common denominators among the German people. Der Stürmer appeared, as mentioned above, for 23 years, without interruption. At the height of Nazi power, from Hitler’s rise to 1942, it had a weekly circulation of half-a-million. This was an extraordinarily high figure for a weekly totally devoid of any news value, and that tirelessly devoted itself to a single topic: anti-Semitic agitation. Leafing through old issues, one is struck, even more than by its miserable journalistic quality, by the relentless repetition of what had already been endlessly repeated, until every fine-grained nuance of anti-Semitic fare was ground out and served once again, week after repetitive week, month after month, year after year.

Like the dog that came back to lap up its own vomit and could not get enough of it, the German people would keep coming back for more, and yet another copy of Streicher’s weekly would go down like salted nuts with an eager German public. Fipps’ drawings were syndicated by local newspapers throughout Germany, were pinned on street bulletin boards, on entrances to party club-houses, factory dining rooms, government offices, and youth clubs, a living proof of Goebbels’ dictum that the more a lie is repeated, no matter how gross the lie, it will eventually sink in.

Der Stürmer fulfilled its task to perfection. By the end of the 1930s, the polarization between the Nordic ideal and its Jewish antithesis was complete. While the Leader himself attained the mythological stature of a Teutonic savior, the image of the Jewish “sub-human” as a devil in human form, which had to be extirpated as a precondition for the realization of the
Nazi vision, was firmly etched in the minds of the German people. The path was now open to the factory-like extermination of the Jews. This was not the case only because of total moral alienation, the opposite was the case: their extermination was now a moral imperative of the highest order.

Thus, Horst Wessel became the anthem of the Nazi party and the second anthem of the Reich, as Germans could sing with complete devotion and a clear conscience, "When Jewish blood flows from the knife / That does our hearts good, that does us good" (Und wenn das Judenblut vom Messer spritz / Dann geht noch mal so gut).

The means of effecting that extermination was Zyklon B gas, which was originally intended to kill bugs and lice (according to Brockhaus, the handy encyclopedia that every self-respecting German family kept at a place of honor on its bookshelves, next to Mein Kampf and the Bible in Luther's translation). It might be worth noting here that of the fifteen participants at the Wannsee Conference, eight held doctorates in the humanities, some of them in philosophy.11

No one, though, defined the extermination of the Jews as a categorical imperative and moral undertaking better than Heinrich Himmler. On October 9, 1943, in a speech in Pozen to death camp commandants and Einsatzgruppen commanders, the SS chief put the matter thus:

To have stuck it out and at the same time...to have remained decent fellows, that is what has made us hard. This is a page of glory in our history which has never been written and will never be written...Our spirit, our souls, our character, have not been harmed.12

Thus Nazism blocked the two alternatives that Christianity and the Enlightenment had left open to the Jews, conversion and assimilation. Now all that was left was extermination.

10. A conference held on January 20, 1942, under the chairmanship of Reinhard Heydrich, in the Berlin suburb of that name, to set policy concerning the "Final Solution".
11. Goebbels also held a Ph.D. in philosophy.
12. Nuremberg Trial document Ps-1919. By the time Himmler made these remarks, there was no longer any doubt about Germany's eventual defeat, a fact which could have been expected to dampen the determination to carry out such an undertaking and the efficiency with which it was carried out. Hence, Himmler's remarks certainly present the actions of the members of his audience as moral imperatives that transcended all considerations of military effectiveness or the attainment of the war's political aims.
CHAPTER FIVE

ISRAEL AND THE ETHOS OF JIHAD —
THE ROOTS OF ARAB HOSTILITY
The pinnacle of faith is the jihad.

**The Hadith**

The purest joy in Islam is to kill and be killed in the name of Allah.

**Khumayni**

We shall kill and be killed, we shall kill and be killed...our brothers, heroes of the Islamic Jihad.

**Yasser Arafat**

Jihad — War as an Ethos

Majid Khadduri, the Arab Middle East scholar, has defined the Islamic ethos of war, the jihad, thus:

The universality of Islam provided a unifying element for all believers, within the world of Islam, and its defensive-offensive character produced a state of warfare permanently declared against the outside world, the world of war. Thus the jihad may be regarded as Islam's instrument for carrying out its ultimate objective by turning all people into believers...Until that moment is reached the jihad, in one form or another will remain as a permanent obligation upon the entire Muslim community. It follows that the existence of a Dar al-Harb (House of War) is outlawed under the Islamic jural order. The jihad, accordingly, may be stated as a doctrine of a permanent state of war...³

Raphael Israeli, professor of Middle Eastern studies at the Hebrew University, adds the following to Khadduri’s definition:

From the dawn of Muslim history, the jihad basically had one purpose: military operations aimed at expanding the sphere of the Islamic domain. Upon Islam was placed the universal obligation of taking control of the entire world, by peaceful means, if possible, by war, if necessary... The jihad is an obligation for all Muslims...The obligation of jihad remains in force, actually, as long as Islamic rule has not spread throughout the entire world, that is, “until the end of the world”, or “until the resurrection”. The immediate conclusion is that a state of peace with non-Muslims can only be a temporary matter, which is defined as a cease-fire, but without any obligation on the part of Muslims not to violate such an agreement, if it is to the advantage of Islam.⁴

A corollary to the injunction of the jihad, and its manifestation in politics, is the territorial application of the sacred principle of waqf; the Dar al-Islam (House of Islam). This principle is in effect throughout territories under unchallenged Muslim ascendancy; the rest of the world is appropriately termed Dar al-Harb (House of War).

The Dar al-Islam extends over an area of some 14 million square kilometers, twice the area of Europe, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Persian Gulf, and

---

1. A collection of traditions, opinions, saying, and deeds attributed to the Prophet Mohamed and his companions, compiled and published in the ninth century.

2. Address broadcast on Palestine Authority Television on January 23, 1995, the day after a bus-bombing at Beit Lid that left 22 dead. Arafat's first reaction was to accuse Israel of perpetrating the massacre as a provocation; after the Islamic jihad took responsibility for the act, Arafat lauded it.


includes 22 countries on two continents. All minority nationalities and
religions that demanded territorial autonomy have been annihilated or
repressed. Those few who have survived are reduced in status to that of dhimmi,
or protected persons, tolerated minorities that live by the sufferance of
Islam. Within the broad expanse of this Middle East, bordered by two oceans
and three seas, is one sovereign non-Islamic entity, the Jewish state. As if this
violation of the ethos of jihad were not enough, not only have the Arabs not
been able to extirpate Israel, but every attempt they made to annihilate the
“Zionist entity” has met with defeat on the field of battle, an intolerable
affront to a proud civilization.

The State of Israel is, then, an anomaly that clashes with the ethos of Islam,
the jihad — it is geographically in the heart of the Dar al-Islam, while at the
same time, an extreme manifestation of the Dar al-Harb. Therefore, while the
common Arab epithets for Israel, “a cancer in the body of the Arab nation”, or
“a dagger in the heart of the Arab”, may sound outrageous to Israeli ears,
they are accurate descriptions from an Arab point of view.

Israel’s borders, then, are not the reason for Arab hostility. That is an
absurd contention in any case, as the Jewish State occupies only
approximately 1/500 of the Dar al-Islam. Arab hostility has been
engendered by Israel’s very existence. PLO spokesman Bassam Abu Sharif
put the matter succinctly, thus: “The struggle with the Zionist enemy is not
a matter of borders, but touches on the very existence of the Zionist
entity.”

★

The Palestinian National Covenant, the document which underpins the
struggle of the “Arab nation” against the Israeli anomaly, with the aim of
bringing Palestine back into the Dar al-Islam, is the epitome of the principle of
jihad in political dress. As such, the Covenant declares the unity of the land
and people, denies out of hand the legitimacy of the Jewish State, and
decrees pan-Arab cooperation in the extirpation of Israel in armed struggle.
The first clause of the Covenant provides a proper opening:

1. Palestine is the homeland of the Arab Palestinian people; it is an indivisible
part of the Arab homeland, and the Palestinian people are an integral part of the
Arab nation.

After a series of subsequent clauses which reinforce the opening declaration,
clauses 13 and 14 stress the linkage between the destiny of Palestine and
that of the entire Arab nation, thus:

13. Arab unity and the liberation of Palestine are two complementary objectives,
the attainment of either of which facilitates the attainment of the other. Thus,
Arab unity leads to the liberation of Palestine, the liberation of Palestine leads to

5. Kuwait News Agency, May
31, 1986.
Arab unity, and work toward the realization of one objective proceeds side by side with work toward the realization of the other.

14: The destiny of the Arab nation, and indeed Arab existence itself, depend upon the destiny of the Palestine cause. From this interdependence springs the Arab nation's pursuit of, and striving for, the liberation of Palestine. The people of Palestine play the role of the vanguard in the realization of this sacred goal.

Clause 15 is the operative conclusion of the above with respect to pan-Arab cooperation in the destruction of Israel:

15: The liberation of Palestine, from an Arab viewpoint, is a national duty and it attempts to repel the Zionist and imperialist aggression against the Arab homeland, and aims at the elimination of Zionism in Palestine. Absolute responsibility for this falls upon the Arab nation — peoples and governments — with the Arab people of Palestine in the vanguard. Accordingly, the Arab nation must mobilize all its military, human, moral, and spiritual capabilities to participate actively with the Palestinian people in the liberation of Palestine. It must, particularly in the phase of the armed Palestinian revolution, offer and furnish the Palestinian people with all possible help, and material and human support, and make available to them the means and opportunities that will enable them to continue to carry out their leading role in the armed revolution, until they liberate their homeland.

Clauses 16-18 give moral validity to the extermination expected to ensue. Clauses 19 and 20 then declare Israel's right to exist under international law null and void, thus:

19: The partition of Palestine in 1947 and the establishment of the state of Israel are entirely illegal, regardless of the passage of time, because they were contrary to the will of the Palestinian people and to their natural right in their homeland, and inconsistent with the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, particularly the right to self-determination.

20: The Balfour Declaration, the Mandate for Palestine, and everything that has been based upon them, are deemed null and void. Claims of historical or religious ties of Jews with Palestine are incompatible with the facts of history and the true conception of what constitutes statehood. Judaism, being a religion, is not an independent nationality. Nor do Jews constitute a single nation with an identity of its own; they are citizens of the states to which they belong.

Hence, the negotiations Israel is conducting with the PLO, whose very name — the Palestine Liberation Organization — implies an entity whose aim is to supplant Israel, an eventuality mandated by its covenant-constitution, are not pointless from the Arab standpoint. Those negotiations are the natural state of affairs in Arab eyes. This is so not only because deception is basic in warfare, but because the assertion that Arab ownership of the country is contingent upon Israel's destruction is an absolute imperative for the PLO and its raison d'être.
One imbued with Western civilization, who has internalized the tragedy of the Jewish people, and considers the Palestinian National Covenant "a more loathsome document than the Nuremberg Laws", as Abba Eban put it, should not forget that that document is the epitome of the Islamic-Arab ethos. Hence, the profound truth in the words of Ziad Abu-Ziad, a prominent Palestinian journalist and former PLO spokesman: "The Covenant for us is as the Bible for you. Would it be conceivable to demand that you repeal the Bible?" 

**The Dhimma — Subjugation as a Principle**

In the year 628, Mohamed attacked the Jewish tribe in Khaibar, an oasis northwest of Medina. After he defeated the Jews, Mohamed imposed his tutelage, or dhimma, on them. The dhimma was actually a contract by which the Jews would continue to work their land, but pay the Prophet half its yield as tax. Mohamed nevertheless reserved for himself the right to expel the Jews whenever he saw fit. It must be said for Mohamed that he kept his part of the bargain to the letter. It was not long, though, before the Jewish presence on the Arabian Peninsula came to an end; they were either expelled or massacred, their women and children sold into slavery, and their property confiscated and distributed among the Muslims. According to Bat Ye'or:

The dhimma of Khaibar, which determined the nature of the relationship between the victorious Muslims and the vanquished, was destined to serve as a model for contracts granted by Muslim conquerors to conquered peoples outside of the Arabian Peninsula.

Thus, the principle of dhimma, from which the status of dhimmi, or protected minority, derives, is a logical extension of the ethos of jihad. Whereas jihad is the imperative to conquer territories, transferring them from the Dar al-Harb into the Dar al-Islam, the institution of dhimma establishes the status of the peoples or ethnic groups so brought under Islamic rule.

In contrast to the precedent of Khaibar, and that of the Arabian Peninsula in general, it was neither practicable nor profitable to expel or exterminate the non-Muslim natives who dwelt in the vast stretches brought under Islamic control. They could be subjugated, though, rendered abased minorities, objects of economic and social exploitation, whose degraded circumstances bore witness to the superiority of Islam. In exchange, they had tutelage imposed on them. Prof. Moshe Sharon has put the matter as follows:

What is the nature of tutelage?...Tutelage and not equality. Therefore, tutelage assumes a condition of inequality... Tutelage is an act of grace by a ruler, not a right of the ruled. An act of grace is therefore at the sole discretion of the one who grants it...who decides whether to continue granting it or not. The principle which underpins the dhimma laws is that the Jew and Christian, in order to enjoy the protection of Islam, must actually accept the superiority of Islam... In fact,
they must accept and maintain...many discriminatory laws that are intended to
differentiate between themselves and the ruling class.9

Thus, the institution of dhimma was a formal expression and legal imprimatur
of the persecutions to which religious and national minorities have been
subjected throughout the Islamic world. Discriminatory laws under the
principle of dhimma have undergone many changes over the 1200 years or more
of the application of Islamic canon law in the Dar al-Islam. Implementation has
also varied from place to place over the vast area of the Islamic world.
However, the basic principle has generally remained constant.

The dāhimmi had to pay an indemnity in the form of a capitation tax, the jāzia,
which was intended both to fill the coffers of the ruler and serve as an
expression of subservience by the dāhimmi. The Qur'ān prescribes payment of
the jāzia in a ceremony intended to highlight the low, abased state of the
dāhimmi, during the course of which he is hit on the back of the neck. If the
dāhimmi was a farmer, he would be dispossessed of his land and rendered a
serf who continued to work the land on the basis of sharecropping. The
principle of collective punishment would apply to dāhimmis. If a dāhimmi
transgressed (for instance, if he had the temerity to sit on a saddle while
riding a donkey, rather than on a saddle cloth10), the entire dāhimmi
community would pay for it, often being pillaged in a communal assault. A
dāhimmi's oath had no validity in a court of law; hence, he was in effect guilty
even before he went to trial; as is written in the Ḥadith, "The infidel is corrupt
and a liar by his very nature, for he knowingly and obstinately denies the
superiority of Islam."11 The dāhimmi is prohibited from possessing weapons
under penalty of death; he is prohibited from employing Muslims, or riding a
horse or camel. He must wear distinctive attire, such as a yellow patch,12 or a
hat, belt, clothing or footwear of a distinctive color or shape; his women
must go abroad barefaced, as a sign of their disgraced status, or of their
being slaves or whores; marriage or sexual relations between Muslims and
dāhimmis involved the death penalty. The dāhimmi's home and place of worship
had to be abject, so as to advertise his miserable state. The dāhimmi had to
provision military forces, and army horses and camels could be put up in
churches and synagogues.

Under certain circumstances, thanks either to a particularly enlightened ruler
or greased palms, some of the more denigrating ordinances, such as those
requiring the cleaning of public lavatories on the Sabbath or removing
animal carcasses from public places, would be repealed. Such periods of
grace would usually be brief; the ruler would give in to a populace incited by
the mullahs and the dāhimmi would revert to his abject state.

Over time, the status of the Jewish dāhimmi became noticeably worse than that
of the Christian. The latter would ordinarily enjoy the consular protection of
a great power, above all, Britain, France, or the Holy See. The Jew, who was
stateless, had no such protection; at most, a Jewish merchant would pay for

9. Prof. Moshe Sharon in the
introduction to Bat Ye'or's
10. Ibid., p. 145.
11. Ibid., p. 52.
12. Caliph Harun al-Rashid
was the first to mandate
a yellow patch in the year
807.
the (unreliable and often illusory) protection of the local potentate. In addition to not having outside protection, hostility toward the Jew was nurtured by the Almighty himself. The Qur'an states explicitly, "You will find that the bitterest enemies of Islam are the Jews, and the closest friends of the believers are those who say, 'We are Christian.""

With the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire in the latter part of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, and the concurrent penetration of Anglo-French colonialism into the Middle East, an attempt was made to impose the Western ideas of human equality on the Islamic world. The result was a comparative emancipation for the dhimmis, which varied in impact from place to place. The greatest change took place in Egypt, which was particularly exposed to the West under the rule of Mohamed Ali; such westernization was not felt at all in such areas of the Islamic periphery as Yemen and some areas of the Maghreb. Paradoxically, though, not only did the formal end of 1200 years of dhimma not bring about an improvement in the circumstances of non-Muslims, it actually made them worse. Under Islamic canon law, the ending of dhimma constituted the violation of an agreement which conferred protection to the dhimmis; the termination of the agreement rendered him entirely without protection. As Bat Ye'or has put it, since protection had been extended

only within the framework of the particular political ideology of territorial conquest (jihad), and by no means by virtue of a universal value system that recognizes the rights of all men, it is obvious that the principle of equality of rights is considered a sacrilege."

The animus for Muslims to actually avail themselves of the opportunity to repudiate the responsibilities of dhimma derived, to a great extent, from the national awakenings and uprisings among non-Muslim peoples who had been subject to the yoke of Islam. The phenomenon began in the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire, spreading eastward to Persia and India. As could be expected, Islam reacted to assertive behavior with a heavy hand, including wholesale acts of butchery, forced conversions, and mass expulsions, culminating in the attempt to exterminate the Armenians in 1915.

After Islamic rule contracted to its present boundaries with the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, and the removal of Christian rule in Lebanon in the 1980s, only one sovereign non-Islamic entity remained in Dar al-Islam, the State of Israel. But, as we have already pointed out, to add insult to injury, not only have Arabs not been able to extirpate the Zionist state, but every time they tried to, the Jews won decisively and ended up subjugating millions of Muslims.

Such an insufferable affront to the ethos of jihad came from, of all people, the Jews. It is they who, in the Arab mind, are the lowliest of the protected peoples, who, in the words of the Qur'an, "shame and misery were stamped upon them." Such a circumstance constitutes a flagrant violation of the

13. The Qur'an, Sura 5, 85.
15. The Qur'an, Sura 2:61.
natural order and the laws of Allah. Little wonder then that the result has been a deep frustration among Arabs, engendering a venomous anti-Semitism that Bernard Lewis has compared with that of the Nazis. The historical image of the Jew as the lowest and most abject of the dhimmis now took on a demonic aspect; hence, the annihilation of their state, as spelled out in the Palestinian National Covenant, is a precondition for the unity, even the existence, of Islam.

With this in mind, one may more easily understand President Sadat, who in a radio address to the Egyptian people on April 25, 1972, the birthday of the Prophet Mohamed, declared solemnly:

We shall re-take it with the help of God out of the hands of those of whom the Qur'an said, "It was written of them that they shall be demeaned and made wretched." ... They are a nation of liars and traitors, contrivers of plots, a people born for deeds of treachery. ... They shall return and be as the Qur'an said of them, "condemned to humiliation and misery." 16

Thus, the principles of jihad and dhimma underpin the ethos of Islam, a foundation of civilization in the Islamic world that is unlikely to change in the foreseeable future. Upon this foundation must be added two other potent factors that are also unlikely to change in the foreseeable future: Israel's position in the long-term geopolitical strategy of Egypt, the key state in the Arab world; and Israel as a living reproach to Arab backwardness in the face of the challenge of the West.

**Israel as an Obstacle to Egyptian Regional Hegemony**

Israel, by its very existence, does more than prevent realization of the Islamic goal of complete hegemony in the Middle East. It also severs the territorial continuity of the Arab nation at the most delicate possible point: where Africa and Asia meet. Hence, in addition to what Abu Sharif said above about Israel's borders, which is basically true, one must also take into account the element of geographic location. Israel is a stumbling block to pan-Arabism, and a territorial barrier to Egypt, the main claimant to pan-Arab hegemony. This was the strategic consideration that underlay the Arab demand in 1949 (with US support) to sever the Negev desert from Israel and attach it to Egypt. It was also the decisive factor that moved Nasser, the paramount figure of pan-Arabism, toward war in 1967, and it was also the animus behind Sadat's otherwise inexplicably obstinate refusal to allow a single grain of sand at Taba to remain under Israeli sovereignty.

The matter was put forcefully by Hasanien Haikal, a confidant of President Sadat and among the most outspoken and articulate thinkers in Egypt:

Israel wants to be a barrier between Arab Africa and Asia, and that is the cause, the heart, of the conflict between the Egyptian national plan to create a link between itself and the Arab bloc, and Israel's plan to sever that link. So long as the peace agreement does not take that into consideration, the peace is not real.  

Needless to say, a territorial link between Egypt and that part of the Arab world that is in Asia is incompatible with Israel's existence. Haikal's remarks were made in response to an interviewer's question concerning the assertion by Israeli officials (Defense Ministry Director-General David Ivri and Chief of Staff Ehud Barak) that Egypt has not left the constellation of states hostile to Israel. For obvious reasons, Haikal did not mention the main reason Egypt wants a land link with western Asia, namely, access to Saudi Arabian oil fields. The war Nasser had conducted in Yemen in 1963-67 (during which the Egyptian air force also gassed targets inside Saudi Arabia), with the aim of reaching Saudi oil fields from the south, highlights this Egyptian ambition. The seizure of those fields by Egypt, one of the poorest countries on earth, is an economic precondition for conducting warfare on a scale necessary for the attainment of Middle Eastern hegemony and the logical derivative of such hegemony: the defeat of Israel. One need not have a particularly fertile imagination to realize what the military capabilities of a nation of 60 million would be if it had twice or three times Egypt's GNP, a development which seizure of Saudi oil would bring about.

That Israel's defeat in war is an Egyptian strategic goal, and that open preparations for that end take place, are openly discussed in Egypt.

One example among many is the January 23, 1995, issue of Rouz al-Yusuf. The popular weekly, widely recognized as President Mubarak's mouthpiece, devoted its entire issue to the future war with Israel. War Minister Hussein Tantawi openly declared, "War is inevitable... The war is on its way... The efforts and agreements being made today are leading to war."

Concurrently with its military preparations, Egypt continues to pursue its long-term strategic program of nurturing a Palestinian nationalism aimed at Israel's delegitimization. President Nasser created the "Palestinian entity", which eventually became the PLO, on January 13, 1964, motivated by practical implementation of his pan-Arab philosophy. Most PLO gatherings, first under Ahmed Shukeiry, and after 1969 under Arafat (who is Egyptian and Cairo-born), had been held in Cairo. President Sadat, Nasser's pragmatic and highly sophisticated successor, held the PLO close to his heart as a highly critical card in his struggle with Israel. It was he who changed the direction of PLO activity from terrorism as an aim in itself to a long-term political program, of which terrorism is merely one component. One of the products of this approach was the "Plan of Stages" adopted by the PLO at its conference in Cairo in June 1974. Three months later, Sadat forced the Arab
League to adopt the stages approach as the master-plan for the gradual destruction of Israel.

While relations between Egypt and the PLO were ruptured over the Camp David Accords, they returned to normal after Sadat's death (or more precisely, after the return of the Sinai to Egypt); under President Mubarak, the PLO reverted to its former role of an Egyptian political tool. Since the Oslo and Cairo agreements, crucial decisions have been made in the Egyptian capital and with the concurrence of its president. The establishment of an irredentist terror state west of the Jordan, in addition to the delegitimization of Israel, would confer on Egypt a critical military springboard from which to implement its long-range strategic goal, namely, as Haikal put it, territorial continuity between Arab Africa and Arab Asia.

President Assad of Syria's long-term strategic calculations are roughly analogous to those of Egypt. They are also underpinned by the destruction of Israel by a PLO subservient to Syria, which Assad has been trying to bring about through the ten terrorist organizations based in Syria. Egypt, however, thanks to the aid it has been receiving from Israel, its principal ally, is far ahead of Damascus.

**Israel — A Living Reproach to the Arab Failure in the Face of the Challenge of the West**

The global economy and communications between peoples and cultures on the threshold of the twenty-first century engender a web of interrelationships characteristic of a closed system. It would be difficult under such circumstances, perhaps even impossible, to remain sealed off from the swelling torrent of Western civilization, which largely dictates the world agenda. An example is the disintegration of the Soviet Union, where the ideological foundations of an empire that spanned half of humanity collapsed, ironically, as a dialectic illustration of the Marxist concept of economy.

The Arabs are able to tap the potent cultural reservoir of Islam, which is infinitely more authentic than the secular theology of Marxism. Nevertheless, prevailing economic and political conditions in the Arab world are much inferior to those in the Communist world when it collapsed. The average standard of living in the Islamic world is below that which prevailed under Communism in Eastern Europe, while in military or political power, there are certainly no grounds for comparison.

The State of Israel is a cruel, living reproach to an Arab world wallowing in the social and economic dunghill of its backwardness in the face of the challenge of the West. Israel, with a per capita gross national product of 16,000 a year, is among the 15 richest countries on earth. The oil-producing
20. Israel's GNP for 1995 amounted to NIS 265 billion, which, at a rate of NIS 3 — 1, was equivalent to $88 billion. The *World Bank forecast* for Jordan in 1995 was a GNP of 4.5 billion; for Lebanon, 4 billion; for Egypt, 18 billion; and Syria, 47 billion. Data for the four Arab states were obtained from the *World Bank forecast* of 1994 for 1995.

21. A quantification of these factors, averaged out over the years they have been in effect, yields a loss of three to five years of GNP. Foreign aid that Israel has received over the years (Jewish National Fund contributions, German reparations, US aid), is far less than the difference between its defense outlays (approximately 20 percent of its GNP) and the average for Western countries (in NATO, the average is 4 percent).

22. The generally accepted index of technological and scientific potential is the number of published articles in a representative sample of prestigious scientific publications, relative to population size. By this index, Israel ranks first in the world.

Arab states have an average annual per capita GNP of 5,000, while the figure for the non-oil-producing Arab states is approximately 800, low even by Third World standards. The four Arab states that border Israel (Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon), with a combined population of 82 million, have an aggregate GNP of approximately $73 billion, while Israel, with a population of 5.5 million, has a GNP of $88 billion.\textsuperscript{20} Such economic disparity is part of a trend that has been discernible since Israel's establishment. In the 1950s, the Israeli GNP was only 30 percent of the aggregate GNP of its neighbors. By the time of the Six Day War in 1967, the figure has risen to 50 percent, and by 1973, to 80 percent. In the late 1980s, when petroleum prices fell, parity was reached, and by 1995, as mentioned above, Israel's national output outstripped that of its four immediate neighbors combined by approximately 20 percent.

One may all the better understand the degree of Arab economic failure, and the frustration it has engendered, if one bears in mind that Israeli economic progress has been achieved despite serious hurdles the Arabs have put in its way. The Arab boycott, including of companies in third countries that trade with Israel, has almost certainly lowered Israel's GNP by several percentage points. Five wars have been imposed on Israel in forty years. The peace agreement with Egypt was so economically costly to Israel that it caused a severe recession in the early 1980s.\textsuperscript{21}

The past trends as outlined above pale in importance compared to the prognosis for the future. At the approach of the twenty-first century, the wealth of nations stands in direct proportion to their level of technological and scientific potential. Thus, the most scientifically advanced nations are the wealthiest. Israel's scientific and technological potential is among the highest in the world, and beyond that of all the Arab states combined in absolute terms.\textsuperscript{22}

\*\*\*

The vast economic and technological gap between Israel and the Arabs, is accompanied by a fundamental asymmetry of an entirely different character. This asymmetry, easily grasped with a quick glance at a map of the Middle East, imparts a theological touch to the "Zionist enigma", one that may seem absurd to a Westerner but goes to the roots of Islam in Arab eyes. The failure of the Arabs to perpetrate an act of genocide in 1948, only three years after the Holocaust, is presented by them, in a grotesque perversion of history, as the "Holocaust of '48". In 1967, when they made another such attempt, this time trumpeting their intentions far and wide in the modern mass media, and failed once again, they termed the result the "Catastrophe" (nakibba) or "Holocaust" (karat) of '67. Nasser put the matter in apocalyptic terms as far back as 1953, in reference to the 1948 war. "Never in the history of man has
there been anything like the holocaust of Palestine.” Two years later, he
spoke of Israel thus: “It is enough that you mention Palestine, and you
remind any Arab — nay, any free man — of the greatest international crime
that has been perpetrated in the annals of the human race.” 23

A large body of Arab literature exists dealing with the various aspects of the
two “holocausts”. Some of it has the tone of self-flagellation; some presents
Israel as a Western neo-colonialist avant-garde against which the Arabs really
fought in 1948 and 1967, rather than the “Zionist midget”; finally, there is the
theological claim that Israel’s existence is punishment from Allah for
Muslims’ having departed from the path of righteousness. 24 In this entire
body of literature, no evidence has been found of Arab willingness to accept
Israel as a sovereign state or Zionism as the liberation movement of the
Jewish people, let alone the moral or theological idea of the return of the
Jews to their land. Dr. Bhutrus G’hali, a Coptic Christian, one of Egypt’s
outstanding men of letters, and at the time of this writing Secretary General
of the UN, envisaged peace with Israel in the year 2000 thus:

Peaceful coexistence does not mean that the Arabs will reconcile themselves
with the existence of the Zionist entity in the heart of the Arab nation... It is
incumbent upon Arab thinkers to contemplate the image of Arab society in the
year 2000 and introduce into their minds and imaginations the idea that this new
society will include a Jewish minority that was led astray by the Zionist
ideology... so that it is blended into the melting pot of Arab nationalism. 25

Egypt’s deputy foreign minister, Dr. Mustafa Khalil, was no less explicit in a
lecture he delivered at Tel-Aviv University in December 1980. Warning his
audience that he was about to make “explicit, scientifically-founded”
remarks, he said:

We do not regard the Jews as a nation at all but as a religion only. The Jewish
religion is one of the three great religions, but when it comes to nationality, a Jew
can be an Egyptian Jew or a French Jew or German Jew. 26

Typical of the refusal to see Israel as anything but a passing phenomenon is
its non-appearance on Arab maps. Today, sixteen years after the signing of a
peace agreement between Egypt and “The State of Israel”, as the Jewish state
is unambiguously designated in the agreement, the Egyptian authorities
resolvedly refuse to include Israel in maps of the Middle East; the area it
occupies is designated “Palestine or ‘occupied land’.” 27

The “Islamic Fundamentalism” Issue

The commonly held view among the Israeli Left, and the one adopted by the
Israeli government that was in power between 1992 and 1996, is that “Islamic
fundamentalism” alone in the Arab camp has been trying to undermine the
peace process. It is these fundamentalists, claim the architects of the peace
process on the Israeli side, who form the opposition to the “Arab peace

24. The most extensive summary in Hebrew of this topic can be found in a
paper titled “Lessons Learned by the Arabs from their Defeat”, edited by Yehoshafat Harkabi,
27. The terms usula, religious fundamentalism, and alman, a secular person, are only recent additions to the Arabic language.
camp", above all, Syria and the PLO, as well as Egypt, which serves as honest broker between the parties. Thus, Israel is the natural ally of secular Arab regimes that have to contend with fundamentalist subversion, both domestic and external.

This is the reasoning that underpins the Israeli government’s far-reaching and highly risk-laden initiative, which involves giving up valuable territorial strategic assets in what from its standpoint is an irreversible process. If it transpires that the gamble was mistaken, Israel’s very existence will be at risk — thus, the importance of reexamining the above basic assumption concerning “Islamic fundamentalism”.

★

Basically, what came to be termed “fundamentalism” in the West referred to a reaction among believing Christians (mainly Protestants) to the winds of liberalism that began blowing in the mid-nineteenth century. Such reaction was largely centered on Darwinian claims and empirical thought, which clashed with traditional Christian dogma, animated by claims of the miraculous and prenatural.

Christian fundamentalism, which reached its height at the end of the nineteenth century and first three decades of the twentieth in the United States and Canada, was generally kept within fairly narrow theological bounds, mainly among Protestant churches. It had only marginal impact on the secular majority in countries whose constitutions keep religion and state separate.

Hence, the attempt to draw parallels between Christian fundamentalism and religious extremism in the Islamic world is based on false premises. Mohamed was a prophet, social reformer, and military leader. In his personality, he embodied the wholeness of Islam: a culture that cannot be divided from law and religion, the three of which constitute an indivisible whole. Therefore, the very term “Islamic fundamentalism” is a tautology, indicative of the structural failure of secular thought, predicated as it is on the assumption of separation of religion and state.

The term “secularism”, not to mention “atheism”, as the denial of the existence of God, is entirely foreign to the Islamic mindset; until recently, words for them had not even existed in the Arabic language. Non-Muslims had always been referred to as “infidels”.28

“The hand of the Muslim is in the hand of Allah when he awakes in the morning and does not leave it when he goes to sleep,” goes the old Egyptian proverb. Supposedly “secular rulers” such as Saddam Hussein, Assad, Qadhafi, or Mubarak are Muslim believers who rigorously observe the canonical hours, fast days, and fulfillment of the commandment of the Haj

28. See, for example, the pamphlets published by the Egyptian government during the economic conferences in Casablanca (October 1994) and Amman (October 1995). Both pamphlets contain maps on which Israel is not indicated.
(pilgrimage to Mecca). They are thus devout believers by any criteria recognized in the West.

Questions concerning the historical and social roots of Islamic extremism, whether that extremism is the reaction of a backward culture threatened by the surging torrent of Western civilization, or if it is proof of the structural unsoundness of "constitutional" regimes in the Arab world such as those in Egypt, Syria, or Iraq, are beyond the scope of this book. However, the common view that what is under consideration is a social process that threatens progressive and moderate Arab regimes should be dismissed out of hand. Shimon Peres' statement that "fundamentalism is the handiwork of poverty"\(^{29}\) has no basis in reality: it is at best an attempt to view through a Western, essentially pseudo-Marxist prism a reality that is completely alien to the West.

A random survey of the Middle East should be sufficient to lay to rest the notion that Islamic fundamentalism is nurtured by poverty. Ironically, in fact, the opposite may be the case. We have already mentioned that the average per capita GNP of the oil-producing states is greater than that of the non-oil states by five-fold or more. Kuwait, for instance, has a per capita GNP of 12,000, while Syria's is 1,200, comparative figures that reflect an accumulation of years of prosperity, on the one hand, and years of want, with all the attendant social consequences, on the other. One would expect, then, on the basis of Peres and his school, that Syria would be an extreme fundamentalist state, while Kuwait, with a per capita GNP greater than that of Greece or Portugal, and as high as Spain's, would be a Western-style democracy.

Reality is somewhat different. Kuwait, and like it Saudi Arabia and the Gulf emirates, are feudal, despotic Islamic regimes that subjugate their peoples by means of the shari'ah, Islamic canon law.\(^{30}\) Kuwait and Saudi Arabia are neither closer nor more distant from the values of Western civilization than Sudan or Iran, which have the image of "fundamentalist" states. In Syria, Iraq, and Egypt, the regimes at least go to the trouble of giving themselves the outer trappings of a constitutional imprimatur, which require the ruler to periodically go through with elections.

It is on the flag of Saudi Arabia, presented to the world as a "model of pro-Western moderation, the fundamental base on which the US is forming its strategic policy in the Middle East" (in the words of President Bush on the eve of Operation Desert Storm) that the Qur'anic verse, "There is no God but Allah, and Mohamed is His prophet," is emblazoned. Fittingly enough, beneath the script is a drawn sword, to manifest the ethos of jihad.

The difference between a Sudanese or Iranian fundamentalist and a Saudi Arabian is, therefore, not in the depths of religious faith or in the interpretation given to that faith in social matters. Neither is the

---

29. Prime Minister Peres bases his vision of a "new Middle East" on this principle.
30. Saudi Arabia is a good example. In the first seven months of 1995, 141 criminals were beheaded in the kingdom. Trials are conducted without right of legal counsel or appeal. Foreigners accused are not shown indictments in their mother tongue and are not told the meaning of the brief proceedings, after which they are conveyed to the executioner. Ha'aretz, (August 20, 1995).
difference in the totality of rejection of Western civilization or hostility to the United States as the embodiment of that civilization. What distinguishes one from the other is their degree of opportunism, the degree of their economic dependency on petroleum, and their military vulnerability to powerful neighbors that covet their reserves of black gold. For substantiation of this claim, one need look no further than the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

Iran, a focal point of Islamic fundamentalism, serves to confute the claim that “fundamentalism is the handiwork of poverty”. At the time it slid into the mire of Khumaynism, Iran had been among the wealthiest and comparatively best developed states in the Middle East. It was the very attempts by the Pahlavi dynasty to bring social and economic progress to Iran that provoked the reaction of the ayatollahs. One can see, then, that the claim that an economic crisis is what will bring Egypt to the abyss of fundamentalism has no more validity than that moving close to the ideals of Western democracy would obviate religious extremism. Egypt, where the Muslim Brotherhood had been founded, is also among the poorest countries on earth. On the other hand, Algeria, by virtue of its special relations with France, has been among the most Westernized countries in the Middle East. Yet Algeria, rather than Egypt, appears in imminent danger of sliding into the arms of the Islamic extremists, and, ironically, this is as a result of an experiment in free elections.

The experiments in democracy, in the sense of regimes based on representative and constitutionally-derived authority, have failed signally in Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. As the Arabist Elie Kedourie has put the matter:

The concept of national sovereignty as a legitimate basis for government, the idea of representation, elections, the issue of the right to vote for everyone, the idea of checks and balances given to political parties by laws created by the parliamentary councils; of an independent judicial system... All of these concepts are foreign to the deepest sense of Muslim political traditions.

Indeed, the political structure of Arab countries is at best “tyrannical regimes and grotesque imitations of constitutional government, which arose out of the ruins of the old conservative order that is so natural to Arab society.” An indication as to just what representative government means in Arab countries can be gleaned from the fact that in their last elections in 1994 and 1995, Mubarak, Assad, and Saddam all received over 99 percent of the vote.

What sets the radical regimes of Iran or Sudan apart from fundamentalist states such as Kuwait or Saudi Arabia is not their religious fanaticism or application of dogma to social policy. What sets them apart is the violence and determination with which they export their ideas, which they term “revolutionary”.

It is impossible, then, to gauge Arab hostility to Israel by any clear-cut criteria of political variables that can be used to analyze such events as the

31. Jordan and Saudi Arabia were among the band of states that consistently voted against the United States in the UN during the Cold War, even anticipating such Soviet satellites as Syria and Iraq. See UN Assessment Project Study 43, General Assembly, Overall Voting Coincidences with US/USSR, Background, The Heritage Foundation; May 1989. Arieh Stav, “The Myth of US Aid”, Nativ, (July 1990, p. 14).

32. This is a stinging slap in the face of the French Left, which set out to present Algeria as an “exemplar of socialist progress after liberation from the colonial yoke”, in the words of Frantz Fanon, a leading Marxist propagandist and hero of the Israeli Left.


34. Moshe Sharon’s introduction to Kedourie’s book, Ibid., p. 11.
collapse of the Soviet Union, the end of the Cold War, the emergence of a "new world order", or the first or second Gulf wars. The impact of such transitory developments upon Islam (or on any authentic culture, for that matter) is, at most, minor. It is in the hallowed ethos of jihad and its two ramifications — geostrategic hostility and cultural enmity — that one must seek the roots of Arab anti-Semitism. These are constant factors in all Arab countries, whatever their affinity or lack thereof for "Islamic fundamentalism".

A Methodological Note

So far, three comprehensive studies (by Israeli, Yadlin, and Lewis, as mentioned in the introductory chapter) have been undertaken on the subject of Arab anti-Semitism, particularly in Egypt, subsequent to the signing of the Camp David Accords. We shall deal with all three studies, and especially their conclusions, later. What is pertinent now, though, is that, despite their considerable merit, Israeli, Yadlin, and Lewis all deal with limited periods. Yadlin and Lewis write about a period of approximately seven years, from the signing of the Camp David Accords until the mid-1980s, while Israeli compares manifestations of Arab hostility before and after Sadat came to Jerusalem. In order to create more of a historical continuum within which to pursue the subject, to which chapter 6 is devoted, I have seen fit to include in the purview of this study four "quasi-canonical" focal points, the first of which is the Fourth Conference on the Study of Islam in 1968, and the last, Arafat's addresses calling for the destruction of Israel after the Oslo Accords.

Prof. Raphael Israeli has surveyed the Arab media, particularly in Egypt, at two points in time, before Sadat's visit to Jerusalem and the subsequent signing of the Camp David Accords, and after. Addressing himself to the question of whether there has been an improvement, he writes:

On the contrary, the anti Israeli/Jewish/Zionist maliciousness seemed to gather momentum, and the Arabs felt vindicated in their cultivation of certain Zionist/Jewish stereotypes...(p. 27).

In the final chapter of his book, after surveying a seemingly inexhaustible continuum of venomous manifestations of anti-Semitism in Egypt and other Arab countries in a variety of areas, ranging from the general to particular matters, such as Israel's defense establishment, the author reiterates:

The most striking surface impression one is tempted to form after digesting the above material is that Sadat's peace initiative has not really effected any change in Egyptian, let alone, Arab attitudes towards Israel. Moreover, judging from the Egyptian cartoons and articles written in the post November 1977 era, one might even be led to believe that the level of hostility Egyptians felt with regard to Jews and Israel may have been heightened.

35. Annex III, Article V (3) of which states that 'The Parties shall seek to foster mutual understanding and tolerance and will, accordingly abstain from hostile propaganda against each other.'

36. The four "canonical" focal points that have been chosen are: 1) The Fourth Conference on the Study of Islam (Cairo, August 1968); 2) The Economic al-Akram controversy in 1982-83; 3) The Conference of Islamic States (Tehran, October 1981); 4) Arafat's homiletics on Palestine Authority Television urging the destruction of Israel, (June-July 1995).

37. Raphael Israeli, Peace is in the Eye of the Beholder.

38. Ibid., p. 359.
Yet despite the conclusions Israeli has reached after analyzing hundreds of instances of anti-Semitic incitement, which could rival anything in the Nazi press, he goes on to the following astonishing conclusion:

Indeed, anyone who has followed the media coverage of the Arab Israeli conflict is struck by the mirror image reflected by each side with regard to the other. Most of the accusations and complaints hurled by Egyptian and other Arab newspapers against Israel were echoed vis-à-vis the Arabs in Israel's media. So although there were differences in degree, intensity and virulence, the basic perception of the other was about the same... We see from the above that both sides are obsessed with each other: they publish detailed "statistics" on the others' security, economy, political system, military power, etc... It would be futile to try to show that one side's view of the other is more "authentic", "scientific" or closer to the truth that the other's.39

An astonishing conclusion indeed, because throughout the entire 369 pages of his book, Israeli does not adduce a single example from the Israeli side to support it.

★

Dr. Yadlin's book is the product of a systematic study of the attitude of the Egyptian media toward Israel, Zionism, and Judaism in the seven years after the Camp David Accords. The author adduces

...documents that are examples of the work of serious Egyptian intellectuals of the front rank and do not deal with manipulation or organized propaganda.40

Indeed, the long list of authors Yadlin cites could make a roster of "Who's Who" in Egyptian thought and journalism. They include the editors-in-chief of establishment newspapers, the authors of best-sellers on various topics of public interest, the deans of university faculties, and "experts" on Judaism, among others.

As with Israeli (the two books overlap to an extent), here, too, one encounters a continuum of anti-Semitic opprobrium that could rival anything in the Nazi press, including Der Stürmer.

It is surprising that the author seems to recoil from the only logical conclusion reachable from her own research, refusing to label her findings "anti-Semitism". This comes out even in the subtitle, Anti-Zionism as Anti-Judaism in Egypt, and in her punctilious methodological distinction between anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism. While Yadlin addresses the question in the first chapter, "Is it Really Anti-Semitism?", she avoids giving an answer. At the end of the day, though, the answer is given in the secondary title of the book.

The spectacle of a researcher who systematically furnishes his work with a plethora of proof, only a fraction of which would suffice to prove the only possible conclusion deductible, and then denies that conclusion, is

39. Ibid., pp. 359-60.
reminiscent of the joke about the bird that quacks like a duck, waddles like one, swims like one — but isn’t a duck. The lack of consistency and coherence may possibly be because Yadlin (and apparently Israeli, although from a different perspective) is making a desperate attempt to be hopeful. Otherwise, if the hatred of the Egyptian elite for Israel is defined as plain anti-Semitism, one would fall into a trap set by the other side, which formulates its views on Israel in absolute terms of “who will destroy whom”.

Bernard Lewis calls the boy (or duck) by his proper name. It is Lewis’ considered view that the Arab world, including its leading country, Egypt, has been “since 1945, the only place in the world where hard-core, Nazi-style anti-Semitism is publicly and officially endorsed and propogated”.

In his book, which was published two months after the appearance of his Commentary article, Lewis, like Israeli and Yadlin, adduces a large and representative sample of anti-Semitic invective which, together with their findings, indicates a primitive and distorted world view. However, Lewis, himself a leading scholar of Arab affairs, concludes:

The level of hostility, and the ubiquity of its expression, are rarely equalled even in the European literature of anti-Semitism, which only at a few points reached this level of fear, hate, and prejudice. For parallels one has to look to the high Middle Ages, to the literature of the Spanish Inquisition, of the anti-Dreyfusards in France, the Black Hundreds in Russia, or the Nazi era in Germany.

The books by Israeli, Yadlin, and Lewis are thus a continuation and updating of Harkabi’s, and serve as proof that the conclusion to be drawn from his work in 1968 remains valid. Aside from changes in tactics for the transparent purpose of strategic deception, there has been no lessening of the degree of Arab hostility toward Israel, or change in the Arab yearning to see the Zionist entity extirpated.

42. Bernard Lewis, Semites and Anti-Semites, chapter 8, p. 195.
CHAPTER SIX

THE FOUR FACES OF ISLAMIC-ARAB ANTI-SEMITISM
The question is if Israel can pay the price for peace with its neighbors. The answer is yes. But under one condition — that Israel ceases to exist of its own free will.

Waji Abu Zikhrī

1. The Fourth Conference on the Study of Islam

Ever since the establishment of the State of Israel, the Muslim world has been imbued with the idea that Israel’s very sovereignty is an affront to the ethos of jihad, and hence a violation of the natural order and the laws of Allah. However, it was only after the shock of defeat in the Six Day War that Islam provided a theological response to the challenge posed by Zionism in a document that bore canonical force.

In September 1968, the Academy for the Study of Islam, an arm of Al-Azhar University in Cairo, the highest center of learning in Islam, hosted the Fourth Conference. The Academy itself was founded in 1961, by a resolution of the Egyptian National Assembly, and has ever since been attached to the office of the president of Egypt. The vice president of the country is its ex officio director. The Academy has 70 members, 50 of them Egyptian and 20 foreign, all of whom are appointed by the president of the country. The publications of the Academy are issued by the government printing office and marked as official government publications. Hence, what is under discussion is not an independent body, which expresses its own views on academic or religious questions, which cannot be taken as reflections of official thinking. The exact opposite is true; if one bears in mind that the sponsoring Academy is a statutory arm of the regime, there is no avoiding the fact that the resolutions of the Conference were genuine expressions of both Islam and the Egyptian government.

According to the opening remarks by the rector of Al-Azhar University, the Conference was called to

make a diagnosis of the misfortunes and sufferings... The bitterness was further intensified by the fact that the unexpected event occurred before a rogueous Zionism whose adherents had been destined to dispersion by the Deity. “And humiliation and wretchedness were stamped upon them and they were visited with wrath from God.”

After the rector’s opening remarks and a speech by Vice President Hussein al-Sha’‘aﬁ, the proceedings commenced. The Conference was addressed by a procession of Islamic scholars from Egypt, the Middle East, and beyond — Algeria, Syria, Uganda, the Philippines, and elsewhere — who regurgitated the hackneyed old cliches of anti-Semitic demonology.

The Jews, according to the most authoritative of Islam’s spokesmen and exegetes, are:

1. From the back cover of The First Terrorists — Our New Neighbors, by Waji Abu Zikhrī (Cairo, 1987). The book is dedicated “to the victims of Israeli terrorism”.

2. All quotations relating to the Fourth Conference on the Study of Islam have been taken from D. F. Green, Arab Theologians on Jews and Israel (Geneva: Les Editions de l’Avenir, 1976), which provides a condensed English-language version of the proceedings. The above quotations are from page 9.
Enemies of God, enemies of humanity, dogs of humanity... Jews manifest in themselves an historical continuity of evil qualities... they are a riff-raff and do not constitute a true nation... they are hostile to all human values... envy, hatred and cruelty are inherent in them... They destroy everything in their way whether they be human, an animal, a plant or an inanimate thing... their wicked nature never changes... breach of vows, and money worship are inherent qualities in them... they slay women, children and rip up pregnant women... their life is inherent with perfidy and evil... They are avaricious ruthless, cruel hypocrite and revengeful... they conspire, plot intrigues... they tell lies... practice malice and harmful activities... they stir up sedition and scatter seeds of corruption... they praise idols... they are hard-hearted and sinful...

And since the pure faith of Islam, although peaceful and calling for the avoidance of war [must] stand in the face of brutal imperialists and aggressors, giving their lives and fortunes to the cause of saving Jerusalem and the Aqsa Mosque blessed by God, and to liberate Palestine and all the Arab land from the grip of the criminal Zionists. Therefore we cannot resort to the peaceful means ... as long as they keep what they have abducted and usurped ... and as long as they form their state upon the ruins of an Islamic state.3

An analysis of the speeches leaves no doubt about the common denominator shared by all the speakers. All demonized the Jews, as a people and as people, in order to undercut the moral justification for their very existence. An effort was made to put the foundations of Arab anti-Semitism on a solid footing that involved hatred of the Jews throughout the ages and around the world. The speakers’ aims were twofold: a) acceptance of the idea that hostility toward the Jews has been a general human moral principle, and hence one anchored in the Islamic ethos; and b) acceptance of the view that Israel is an unusual phenomenon, one that contradicts the ways of Islam, and is hence a temporary phenomenon destined to pass from the world.

Universal hatred for Jews was described to the Conference by Mohamed Azzah Darwaza, an Egyptian member of the Academy, thus:

All people want to get rid of the Jews by hook or by crook... The atrocities of the Jews are so terrific that they curdle one’s blood... Therefore all races of mankind, throughout the world, always reject the Jewish actions and behaviour unanimously and this it is an evidence and a strong proof that their wickedness and bad manners are a result of the evil nature which is inherent in them.4

Darwaza dismissed out of hand any possibility of Jewish sovereignty, even if the Jews:

...leave some parts of what they have usurped and remain in the sections which the UN has allotted to the Jews. It is the homeland of the Muslims and the Arabs and thus the UN has no right at all to permit the Jews to possess any small part of it. None of the Muslims or Arabs have the right to accept that matter. Any pliancy or submission in this matter is a treachery to Allah, His Apostle and to the Muslims.

3. In the year following the Six Day War, the Israeli government investigated the possibility of peace in exchange for a return to the June 5, 1967 borders.

4. Green, Arab Theologians, p. 28-32.
Thus even if Israel was reduced to the boundaries of the UN 1947 Partition Resolution, it would not be acceptable. Its existence is rejected as a question of principle regardless of its size.

It is incumbent on the Muslims to strain every nerve and make all efforts in order to be well equipped by all means to fight the Jews. The Muslims should corner the Jews without feeling exhausted or tired as Allah enjoins upon them. The Muslims should spare no effort to exterminate their state and deliver every place of the Muslim's homeland from the Jews' desecration and keep it under the control of the Islamic authorities as it was. Any slight indifference to this matter, is indeed a shameful sin against religion.

The suffering of the Jews, the destruction of their kingdom in ancient times, their persecution from the Middle Ages to the Nazi Holocaust, are not denied; rather, they serve as evidence of the fact that the source of hatred of the Jews is the Jews themselves.

One might ask why so many disasters and calamities befell those people in particular. The answer to this question is not difficult. Their wicked nature, which has always alienated them from mankind, lies at the bottom of this fact. This is borne out by their history.\(^5\)

"Good Tidings beyond the Unseen"

Exceptional among the speakers, not for the depth of his hostility, but rather for the sophistication with which he adorned his anti-Semitic views, was "His Highness Sheikh Nadim al-Jasr, a Lebanese member of the Academy for the Study of Islam". Al-Jasr set out to prove that the destruction of the State of Israel is a theological imperative anchored in the tenets of Islam. Thus, the Jewish State is a seeming paradox, a state that exists only to be exterminated, an entity destined to be the capstone of the annals of Islam, without which there would be no salvation for Islam and the "Day of Resurrection" could not come. This, according to the speaker, is the "the good tidings beyond the unseen".\(^6\)

As we have pointed out, al-Jasr had set out to prove that Israel's existence has no basis other than as a divine plan for the realization, through its destruction, of the message of Islam. Hence, he believes the claims of Islam should be (for a change, here he takes a veiled swipe at the emotional outbursts which preceded his address) based on "cold logic, without exaggeration and flights of imagination, in accordance with the principles of the Qur'an, the tradition of the prophets and the basic laws of nature", which in his view are "the struggle to exist and the survival of the fittest".\(^7\) On the basis of his diagnosis,

The new State of Israel, being a forced and artificial creation is quite unqualified and incapable of survival, particularly in Palestine. This verdict is deduced from the fundamental law: the struggle for existence. In such a struggle, it is greatly

---

\(^5\) Kamal Ahmad On, Deputy Dean of the Tanta Institute in Egypt. \(\textit{Ibid.}\), p. 17.

\(^6\) \(\textit{Ibid.}\), pp. 27.

\(^7\) The similarity between Islam and Naziism in their crude Darwinist interpretation of history and the relations among nations, as set forth by al-Jasr, is obvious. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that World War II, as the embodiment of a radical Teutonic interpretation of Darwinism, was a watershed event concerning the worldview of the struggle to survive and the survival of the fittest. Islam, by the available internal evidence, has not yet passed such a spiritual watershed; it is openly and explicitly imbued with a spirit that predates any such event.
handicapped, because it is totally deprived of the two main elements most requisite for survival: adequate territory and the right number of population.

One of the central claims made at the Conference, as an explanation for the Arab defeat, was that patronage from the Christian West, and its support, made possible the Israeli victory in the Six Day War. Al-Jasr rejects this claim out of hand, vigorously taking to task those speakers who advanced it. "Such patronage", he contends,

...is either provided through sympathy or interest. As to the former, there is nothing of the sort. The attitude of Christians, towards the Jews, reveals an uninterrupted record of persecutions, extending as is well-known throughout two thousand years from the massacres perpetrated against them by the Romans up to the Nazi gas chambers and crematoria.

As far as interests are concerned, what interest can the West have in a "miniature entity 'despised and hated'", devoid of any prospects for long-term survival "as an islet in the wide expanse of the Arab and Muslim world".

Thus, since history progresses according to "the laws of logic and fundamental laws of nature", and since he has demonstrated that Israel's existence cannot be proved with the tools of reason, al-Jasr seeks an answer in Islamic tradition.

Al-Jasr then goes on to quote copiously from the Hadith, the collection of tales about the Prophet and his companions, to prove that the capstone of Islam, on the "Day of the Resurrection", will be a war to the death with the Jews, in which Islam will triumph and the Jews will be exterminated. For instance, he invokes the following verse: "The Day of the Resurrection shall not come, unless you go to war against the Jews. And the rock shall say, 'Oh, Muslim, a Jew is hiding behind me. Come kill him.'" This well-known verse has long posed a serious theological problem for exegetes of the Hadith; how is it that the destruction of the Jews, of all people, the basest and most contemptible of the dhimmis, is a prerequisite for the ultimate triumph of Islam? Sheikh al-Jasr solves the difficulty by portraying Israel as part of a divine plan. Thus, even if Israel's existence has no rational basis, it is part of a long-term divine strategy, as the Hadith has shown from a distance of 1,200 years.

Therefore, contends al-Jasr, the Six Day War was only one stage — albeit a difficult one for the Arabs — in an apocalyptic struggle with Judaism, a struggle in which Islam is assured victory; these are the "good tidings beyond the unseen".

The theological principle expounded by al-Jasr, rooted both in the Arab heritage and the Arab view of the groundlessness of Israel's existence, was destined to be received well by its target audience. It would come to explain the existence of Zionism, seen as a divine plan for the ingathering of the Jews to Palestine, so that they could be cut down when the time came.
2. Fifteen Year Later — “Arabs and Jews: Who will Annihilate Whom?”

The Fourth Conference on the Study of Islam was held in the wake of the Six Day War, after the shock of a defeat the likes of which Islam had not endured in modern times. It is possible, then, that the outburst of anti-Semitism at the Conference was a result of anguish that precluded rational analysis.

Underlying this claim, which is frequently made on the Israeli Left, is the assumption that Arab anti-Semitism is not absolute; it is simply the result of circumstances. If circumstances change, then Arab hostility toward the Jews will abate.

And circumstances have indeed changed. In the two decades that elapsed between the Six Day War and the period under discussion in this chapter, the mid 1980s, two events of far-reaching effect, and which could have been expected to dampen Arab hostility to Jews, had transpired: the Yom Kippur War and the peace agreement between Israel and Egypt.

This is not the place to go into the frequently-made claim concerning the centrality of what is termed “shame and honor” in Arab culture, beyond mentioning in passing that it is analogous to a salient characteristic of underworld morality. However, even if we accept the twisted logic behind that claim, and its importance to the rehabilitation of the self-image of the Arabs, we cannot be oblivious to the Yom Kippur War. The Middle Eastern imagination managed to render that war “a magnificent military victory” which “restored to the Arab nation its abased honor”, in the words of President Sadat. Indeed, many in Israel, both on the Left and Right, termed the peace accords with Egypt as “a peace of the brave”, and saw it as a coming to terms, by the Arabs, with the existence of Israel; to them, it was the first step in a great process of reconciliation.

Needless to say, the Oslo process, the peace agreement with Jordan, and the advanced negotiations with Syria on withdrawal from the Golan Heights could be expected to be a continuation of the trend begun with Egypt.

★

While the Fourth Conference on the Study of Islam defined anti-Semitic theological doctrine, it appears that what came to be called the Economic Al-Ahram controversy, in 1982-83, faithfully reflected the anti-Semitism prevalent among Egypt’s intellectual elite, subsequent to the signing of the Camp David Accords.

Lufti Abd al-Attim, editor-in-chief of Economic Al-Ahram (the economic supplement to Al-Ahram, the principal newspaper in the Arab world),


9. All the quotations in this section are from Yadlin, An Arrogant, Oppressive Spirit — Anti-Zionism and Anti-Judaism in Egypt, pp. 130-82.
published an article entitled “Arabs and Jews — Who Will Annihilate Whom?” on September 9, 1982. As could be expected, the article elicited a lively response among readers, resulting in a controversy that lasted close to a year. Two aspects of the controversy deserve notice. First, letters to the editor in response to al-Attim’s article were written by a broad cross-section of members of the Egyptian intellectual elite, among them theological, social, and political thinkers of the front rank. Second, one should bear in mind that *Economic Al-Ahram*, one of Egypt’s principal newspapers, gives expression to official thinking; this is a fact of particular importance in an authoritarian regime such as Egypt’s. Thus, the *Economic Al-Ahram* controversy both faithfully reflects the spiritual world of the Egyptian elite, and constitutes a clear, if unpleasant, message from the regime to the general public regarding the peace with Israel.

Al-Attim opens his article with the claim that the doings of “master-hangman Begin, and his mad dog Sharon” are part of a Zionist plan to overpower the Arab world. Their aim is to “instill fear in the Arabs, to make them terrified, to shake, to be fearful of the Zionist wild animal”. Since Egypt is not

outside of this low, sanguinary Jewish plan...I prefer to be the killer and not the killed, and I should not be expected to sit and wait until the crazy dogs of Israel catch up to me and rip me to pieces, and cut up my wife’s and children’s stomachs... This is a war of extermination in the full sense of the term.

One letter writer assures his fellow readers that al-Attim’s remarks are not just the result of circumstances prevailing at the moment (the war in Lebanon); they are relevant for all time. This writer, one Magdi Ahmed Hassin, goes on thus:

The Jew is a Jew...the baseness, meanness, slyness, the disregard for all moral values...the eating of human flesh and drinking of blood for a paltry sum. The Jewish merchant of Venice is no different from the archbutcher of Dir Yasin... They are both similar examples of inhuman baseness... From that standpoint, there is no difference between the terrorist gangs that rule Israel and the Jewish lobby throughout the world.

Neither does Hassin spare the Israeli Left.

Arabs should not allow themselves to be misled by protests in Israel... This is nothing but a show with a good division of roles. Differences of opinion within Jewish circles are, at most, over the best method — putting the victim to sleep before murdering him, or his brutal extermination. Because the shedding of Arab blood is a matter over which there is agreement among all the Jews, and disagreements are merely over the means.

Another writer, defined by himself as an “anthropologist” explained to his fellow readers the metamorphosis of the Jewish character. Violence runs in his blood because of the wars and conquests he had endured since ancient times; eventually, the massacres perpetrated on them by the Babylonians
and Romans changed their nature altogether. Since then, violence has become slippery subversion, with the Jew of today attaining his despicable ends through flattery, slyness, and by defrauding his fellows.

In the long exchange of letters that followed, which, as has been mentioned, lasted close to a year, there was not a single letter that took exception to the demonology expounded in the original article, unless such an exception was needed to highlight something that had to be added about the Jewish rats and the danger they pose to the Arab nation. Thus a Leftist who joined the fray, one Ahmed Hamrosh, criticized al-Attim on the grounds that in his total negation of Jewry, he forfeited allies among the Jews themselves, allies who could serve the Arab effort to destroy Israel, only from within (Bruno Kreisky, Nahum Goldmann, “Peace Now”). Hamrosh brought down on himself a torrent of criticism for having the temerity to put some Jews in a “positive” light, even if it was only for tactical purposes. Hamrosh himself was attacked as alien to the spirit of Islam. Furthermore, the Egyptian Left was accused of ulterior motives; after all, “the Left are the proteges of the Jewish Marxists”, and hence are nothing but “executors of a brilliant Zionist scheme in the region”. They are a Trojan horse that goes through the motions of trying to find Israeli allies, while they themselves serve Israeli intrigues.

Little wonder, then, that in a subsequent letter, Hamrosh toed the general line. One letter writer who had challenged Hamrosh’s views had an original suggestion of his own. He recommended that six million Egyptians (equivalent in relative population terms to the 400,000 Israelis who supposedly took part in a famous demonstration against the Lebanese war) set out on a war of extermination against the “Zionist entity”. Hamrosh, in his retraction, was not to be outdone. “Not six million, but 152 million Arabs...”.

Another thinker, one Sa‘ad Mahmud Hagres, refutes the claim of the Jews to Palestine as a historical right. Hagres sets out to prove that the Jews are not a nation at all, but rather a “confessional community”, and their return to their homeland is nothing but a colonial conspiracy of racist Zionism. Hence, only a Jew who opposes Zionism and supports the dissolution of the Jewish State can be an ally of the Arabs. Hagres understands the paradox implicit in his demand, and hence writes:

If a Jew wants to be a Leftist, he must rebel against his own occupation and imperialism and persecution and exploitation, in other words, against himself. And is it possible he do that?... It is not enough... that he declares that he is not a Zionist, but must struggle against the Zionist entity and for its annihilation.10

But since a human being cannot work for his own destruction, the conclusion reached by the participants in Economic Al-Ahram controversy was that Arab-Israeli hostility is trapped in a dead-end street. While the Arab struggle is not against Jews as such, but Zionism, since all Jews are Zionists, the Arab struggle is against all of Jewry — thus, the apocalyptic element of the War of

10. Hagres, who is unaware of the existence of Jewish self-hatred, assumes that a person cannot declare war on himself.
the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness. With this foundation established on solid logic, there remained little for the participants in the controversy to do but wear thin the matter of the evil character of Jews as individuals and as a community. Little wonder then, that Economic Al-Ahram described the Jews thus:

These are their traits: intolerance, vileness, racism, duplicity, oppressiveness, stinginess, egoism, meanness. It is on these traits that their policy around the world is based, and woe be to the world if it is not careful in its dealings with the descendants of the murderers of the prophets.

Rivka Yadlin summarizes the matter thus:

The Jews are described spontaneously, and declared axiomatically to be contemptible, now as in the past. They are murderers, overbearing, cruel, sly, sycophantic, base.

Indeed, Yadlin's book, like those of Israeli and Lewis, is a long and monotonous inventory of expressions of opprobrium about Jews, expressions that are essentially the same as the shopworn Nazi-vintage stereotypes.

Sometimes the title of a book or article is enough to know all that needs to be known about its contents: The Israeli Conspiracy Against the Egyptian Mind, Secrets and Facts (Cairo, 1986); Penetration into the Egyptian Mind (Cairo, 1986); "The Distribution of Pornographic Films and Drug Smuggling into Egypt to Destroy Egyptian Youth", Mayu, (January 4, 1985).

New editions of The Protocols of the Elders of Zion are regularly printed in Egypt, where it is unquestioningly accepted as authentic, and a summary statement of Zionism as an expression of the international Zionist conspiracy. (Confirmation of the authenticity of the Protocols is usually based on quotations from Mein Kampf.) Needless to say, Zionist attempts to portray the Protocols as an anti-Semitic forgery only serve to further enhance its credibility.

Thus, when an Egyptian Publisher decided to translate Shimon Peres' book, The New Middle East (Cairo, 1995), as a service to the Arab reader, in the spirit of "know your enemy", the editor-in-chief saw fit to write an introduction that included the following:

When The Protocols of the Elders of Zion was discovered 200 years ago and translated into different languages, including Arabic, the International Zionist Organization tried to deny the existence of the conspiracy and claimed it was a forgery. The Zionists even tried to buy all existing copies to prevent their being read. But now Shimon Peres proves conclusively that Protocols is authentic, and the absolute truth. Peres' book is nothing but another step toward implementing this dangerous conspiracy.
Aside from Protocols, neither have many “Jewish experts” forsaken the old canard about ritual use of blood by Jews, which is widely accepted as an unimpeachable fact. The foremost of such “experts” is Anis Mansour, a prolific and well-known writer and journalist, confidant of the late President Sadat, one of Egypt’s leading intellectuals, and editor-in-chief of the weekly Rouz al-Yusouf, the principal organ of the ruling party, and Mubarak’s mouthpiece. The central topic in his hundreds of books and thousands of articles is, as has been mentioned, “the Jewish question”, and it is on this subject that Mansur has earned his reputation as Egypt’s preeminent Authority on Jews, with a capital “A”. Writes Mansour:

The Jews usually do not butcher the person. They only pierce the skull and then the heart, and drink the blood of the head and the heart together. Then they discard the corpse anywhere!  

This last quotation is typical of Mansour’s level of writing. As far as is known, the idea of simultaneously drinking blood from the head and heart (the Mansur cocktail) is the man’s sole original contribution to the blood-libel canard; ordinarily, Egypt’s “Authority on Jews”, plagiarizes his ideas from the repertoire of classical anti-Semitism, particularly from Rohling and Der Stürmer. Mansour invokes the Roman-era historian Josephus Flavius as “conclusive” proof that Jews drink the blood of their victims. Mansour writes, “The famous Jewish historian Josephus was the first to have revealed to the whole world that the Jews need the blood of other people to make their matzoth for their holidays.” Needless to say, Josephus Flavius says the exact opposite of what Mansour attributes to him, in an argument with Greek anti-Semites over Apion’s charge that Jews sacrificed human beings in the Temple. The matter of mixing human blood in matzoh for Passover was never raised at all. The distinguishing characteristics, then, of Egypt’s preeminent Authority on Jews are a predilection for spreading libel, grotesquely distorting the writings of Josephus Flavius, and a wild and completely perverted imagination.

In another book, Israel and the Talmud (Cairo, 1990), Ibrahim Halil Ahmad expands on how the Jewish “custom of slaughtering children goes back to the usage of children’s blood by the Jewish magicians in the past”. After discussing the issue of Jewish “extraction of the blood of non-Jewish children for the unleavened bread of the Passover festival”. Halil Ahmad goes on to inform his readers that, among their other distinguishing habits, the Jews are well poisoners and currency forgers.

In The Jewish Personality on the Basis of the Qur’an (Damascus, 1987), Dr. Salah Abd al-Fattah al-Khalidi sees fit to pour the following torrent of abuse on the Jews:

The Jews are liars. The Jews are corrupt. The Jews are envious. The Jews are cunning, fraudulent, traitors, stupid, despicable, cowards, misers; they break agreements and treaties, cause injustice in the world;

15. Ibid.
Later in his book, he states:

We encounter a problematic Jewish mentality whose threads are interlocked and saturated with treason and hatred, and envy, and egoism, and arrogance...There is not one bad quality which has not been represented in the Jews, and no base nature which has not been born in them... 

Where is the Arab Emile Zola?

The torrent of anti-Semitic abuse continually pouring from the Arab world, only a fraction of which has been gleaned in this chapter, is evidence of the totality of Arab hatred. The fount of that hatred is to be sought in cultural pathologies, such as were prevalent in the later Middle Ages or the Nazi period. Given the axiomatic negation of the Jews, as human beings and as a community, as a state and a nation, one can arrive at only one conclusion: such demonology is intended to negate the moral legitimacy of the Jewish State. When that negation is attained, it will be possible to effect Israel’s extermination, not only without moral inhibitions, but as a categorical imperative.

The question arises: Where is the Arab Emile Zola?

When the great Egyptian writer Nagib Mahpuz had the temerity to make a statement, if only hesitantly, in favor of coexistence with Israel, he was condemned as a traitor and his books were banned by the Arab League. It should be noted that Mahpuz did not stand up for his views, and did nothing to remind one, in any way, of Emile Zola when he took up the cudgels in the Dreyfus Affair. This is in no way to belittle the courage shown by Mahpuz, but rather to stress how fatal it is to say anything, even only once and hesitantly, on behalf of Israel in Egypt (or any other Arab country).

Germany is usually considered the cradle of European anti-Semitism, and with reason. However, when the Jewish apostate Johann Pfefferkorn (that “Jewish villain who became a Christian criminal”, in the words of Erasmus) defamed the Talmud in the early sixteenth century, the German humanist and scholar Johann Reuchlin defended the Jews.

When the German academic August Rohling published his anti-Semitic tract Der Talmudjude in 1871, he was challenged by a group of Christian humanists led by Franz Delitsch, a leading Protestant and Oriental scholar of his day. Rohling was forced to leave the German University in Prague in disgrace, and subsequently vanished from the public scene.

When the historian Heinrich von Treitschke coined the phrase, “The Jews are our misfortune,” he was attacked by Theodor Mommsen, the dean of
nineteenth century German historians. Mommsen saw anti-Semitism as a “dreadful plague, like cholera. There is no way of explaining or curing it.”

Reuchlin, Delitsch, Mommsen, Zola, and many others were not philo-Semites. They were representative, though, of a broad humanistic trend in Western culture that completely rejects anti-Semitism, both on rational and moral grounds. Can one imagine anything remotely comparable in any Arab country, including Egypt?

True, the ultimate yardstick for judging anti-Semitism is the Holocaust wrought by the Nazis, with the factory-like mass murder they planned and directed. But could one imagine the Arabs acting any differently if they had the chance? One only need recall the threats of the rulers of Egypt and Syria on the eve of the Six Day War, or the order of the day issued by King Hussein to his troops when war broke out: “Kill the Jews wherever you find them. Kill them with your hands, with your nails, with your teeth.” Or a similar appeal by the Grand Mufti, Haj Amin al-Husseini, over Radio Berlin; or the remarks made by Saddam Hussein, on the eve of the Gulf War, when he promised to scorch half of Israel; or the article published by Uday Hussein, Saddam Hussein’s son, on June 3, 1995, in which he promised to exterminate all Jews in Israel in the next war, thus: “To exterminate the last of them, on land, and not to throw them into the sea, because some of them know how to swim.”

Or Yasser Arafat’s enthusiastic support for blowing up buses, with their Jewish occupants, after he signed a peace agreement. Is the murder of a Jew as a criterion for membership in the Fatah any different from the morality of the SS?

It seems that there is no conclusion, difficult, even cruel as it may be, other than the one reached by Bernard Lewis, namely, that Arab anti-Semitism is comparable to that of the Nazis. However, it exists without the safety net, thin and illusory as it may be, of Western humanism and philo-Semitic trends in European thought.

3. The Conference of Islamic States in Tehran

The Conference of Islamic States convened in Tehran on October 20, 1991.

The date was not chosen at random; the Islamic conference was deliberately intended to be held at around the same time as the Madrid Conference (October 29) so as to make known the real intentions of Islam, convened in its authentic capital, in contradistinction to the public relations ploy being conducted in a Western capital.

Forty-five countries took part in the Conference of Islamic States (compared to three Arab countries at Madrid), including Syria, Jordan, Egypt, and the PLO. Syria sent a high-ranking delegation from its

19. Uday’s remarks were made in response to rumors about peace negotiations reportedly being conducted between Israel and Iraq.

20. The Conference of Islamic States is an annual gathering that has been held ever since the attempted arson of the Al-Aqsa Mosque in 1969. Their pan-Islamic decisions are not binding, just as the decisions of the Arab League are not binding on member states. Nevertheless, with the general trend toward extremism gaining momentum, the moral and spiritual impact of these gatherings on public opinion in Muslim countries has been on the rise.

21. It is not by chance that the enemy chose Madrid, the capital of Arab Al-Andalus, which was robbed from the Arab nation by force of arms, as the venue of the conference called to dictate the terms of degradation and surrender. 

wrote the Libyan daily Al-Jihad (note the name of the newspaper), on October 25, 1991. Madrid, which lies 200 kilometers north of the Sierra Morena mountains, the northern boundary of Andalusia, had never been the capital of that region. However, in order to enhance the symbolism of the occasion, the Libyan paper rendered the Spanish capital the stolen capital of Islamic Europe.
"parliament" to Tehran, which conveyed greetings from President Assad. Jordan sent a large parliamentary delegation, which included the speaker and deputy speaker, which conveyed a message from King Hussein. The PLO delegation was headed by Sheikh a-Sayakh, speaker of the Palestinian National Council (PNC) and second in the PLO hierarchy only to Arafat.

The dozens of addresses and lectures delivered over the four days of the Conference's deliberations contained the usual torrent of anti-Semitic abuse, without letup. The speaker of the Jordanian Parliament, Sheikh Mahmad Abd a-Rahman Halifa, spoke of the need to "uproot the cancerous growth of Zionism." The director of the Islamic Institute of London, Halim Zidki, described the "patently illegal" status of Israel, which is "a dagger stuck in the heart of the Arab nation". The leader of Afghanistan's Mujahedeen, Hugat Muhtsawi, also described the Zionist entity as a "cancerous growth that must be excised in a radical operation from the afflicted body of Palestine". Ibrahim Shukri, leader of Egypt's Socialist Labor Party(!), warned against the "Zionist conspiracy to expand into the Arab world". This last mentioned luminary further chimed in that "Zionism is a bacillus that is destroying the healthy fabric of Islam." A synopsis of the remarks made by the other speakers would require more space than the present chapter, or book, would permit.

At the end of the four days of deliberations, a series of resolutions were adopted, prefaced by the following:

The Conference proclaims that the Zionist regime is a fictitious, illegal entity. Its establishment in the heart of the Islamic domain is a plot of International Zionism... The racist Zionist entity is a crime against humanity. Any contact with this entity stands in opposition to the interests of the states of the world in general and of Islam in particular. The Conference condemns, with all words of condemnation, the UN decision to annul the resolution equating Zionism with Racism; the Conference emphatically condemns the criminal purposes of the racist Zionist regime in Al-Quds, the capital of Palestine... The Conference calls on the Muslim world as a whole to do everything in order to thwart the immigration of Jews to Palestine...

After denying the right of the "Zionist entity" to exist (the name "Israel" was not mentioned once in the entire document), the Conference called for an "all-out jihad", an "economic jihad", the establishment of funds to support the Palestinian people in their struggle to "liberate all of Palestine from the yoke of Zionist occupation", and the like. Among other things,

The Conference resolutely supports the historic rights of Palestinians and the undisputed sovereignty of the Palestinian People over the whole territory of Palestine... Supports the liberation of the occupied lands as a condition for the liquidation of Zionist existence...

22. All the information and quotations from the Tehran Conference are from Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran in English, (October 22, 1991), according to FBIS-NES, (October 23, 1991).
In order to implement its declarations and resolutions regarding the “annihilation of Zionist existence”, the Conference called upon Islamic states “to establish standing military units for the establishment of a liberation army to be called ‘the Army of Jerusalem’.”

★

The conference in Tehran was not conducted in secret; it was attended by full coverage and commentary in the news media throughout the Islamic world. In some instances, for example in the more popular press in Egypt, coverage of the Tehran conference exceeded coverage of the talks in Madrid.

The exact opposite was the case in Israel. Media coverage of the conference in Madrid was delirious. Entire issues of daily newspapers were devoted to a minute description of everything that transpired in the Spanish capital, including such trivia as the full menu at the gala banquet at the Conference’s opening. Yet Israel’s media ignored the proceedings in Tehran as if they did not exist. It was as if the spectacle of 45 members of the UN deciding on a war of extermination against the Jewish State was not worth notice by the Israeli public.

4. “We swore, we shall continue the jihad to Jerusalem...in the way of the suicide bombers”

_Arafat, July 31, 1995_

“Peace for us means the destruction of Israel.” This statement by Arafat, which he had reiterated _ad nauseam_, is described as something from the past. After the signing of the Oslo Agreement and the handshake between Arafat and Rabin on September 13, 1993, we are told, the head of the PLO forsook his original intentions to serve as the advance guard of a pan-Arab effort to destroy Israel. However, a close examination of reality on the ground, and of Arafat’s public statements, reveals that there has been no change in the idea that guides him; the destruction of Israel was and remains the _raison d'être_ of the PLO.

The Declaration of Principles signed in Oslo recognizes the rights of the Palestinian people “in the West Bank and Gaza Strip” (Article 1), which meant, in practical terms, cessation of the Israeli occupation and withdrawal of Israel to the 1949 cease-fire lines. With the removal of the reason for war with the Arabs, there should commence a stage of historic reconciliation between the two peoples. However, while Israel is bringing its “rule over an alien people” to an end, the other side should also have to fulfill its part of the bargain, in at least three areas.

23. In an interview with the Venezuelan newspaper _El Mondo_, (February 12, 1980).
24. On August 18, 1994, Arafat told a gathering of PLO representatives from around the world in Tunis that as long as he lived, not one letter of the Covenant would be changed. Ziad Abu-Ziad, a senior PLO spokesman, dismissed out of hand the possibility of changing the Covenant, and went to the extent of comparing it to Scripture. "For us," he said, "the Covenant is like the Bible for you. Would any of you even contemplate disowning the Bible?"

25. These figures are for the deaths of Israeli civilians and military personnel, excluding fatalities, either military or civilian, on the Lebanese border, or overseas. The escalation of attacks on the Lebanese border since the commencement of the peace process, and the bombing of a Jewish community center in Buenos Aires on July 18, 1994, which left 98 dead, have brought the total of Israeli and Jewish fatalities, military and civilian, in Israel and abroad, since the commencement of the peace process to 331! From the commencement of terrorism against Israel in April 1949 until September 13, 1994, 1,029 Jews, military and civilian, in Israel and abroad, lost their lives in terrorist attacks. Thus, the two years of the peace process have claimed 32 percent of all the fatalities of a 43-year terrorist campaign against Israel. Source: IDF Department of History, as published in Hataror ha’Aravi ve’Kishonim (Arab and Islamic Terrorism), Ministry of Defense Publications, (August 1994) (Hebrew). The data for April 1994 to September 1995, courtesy of the IDF Spokesman.

i. Repeal of the Palestinian Covenant — It is altogether absurd that one party to the agreement would be constitutionally obligated to destroy the other after the signing of a peace agreement.

ii. Cease terrorism — After all, the justification for resistance has been removed.

iii. Prepare public opinion for reconciliation and peace in a public relations and educational campaign — This is, in fact, the aim of the Oslo Agreement, as spelled out in the preamble to the Declaration of Principles, according to which the two delegations:

...agree that it is time to put an end to decades of confrontation and conflict...and strive to live in peaceful coexistence and mutual dignity and security.

Have the Arabs honored the Agreement?

A. The Palestinian Covenant

Not only has the Palestinian Covenant not been repealed, but the leadership of the PLO, including Arafat, continually emphasize that the Covenant never will be repealed.24

B. Terrorism

Over a two-year period, from the signing of the Oslo Agreement and the "historic handshake" between Yitzhak Rabin and Yasser Arafat on September 13, 1993, and the signing of the Interim Agreement on September 28, 1995, Arab terrorism claimed 164 lives. That is an average of 82 deaths a year. To this figure one must add the many wounded, some of them seriously, including amputees and serious burn victims, some of whom continue to fight for their lives at the time of this writing.

A comparison with previous periods indicates an unmistakable upsurge in terrorism since the signing of the Oslo Agreement, both in the number of terrorist attacks and their severity. In the decade between 1978 and the beginning of the intifada in December 1987, 114 Jews were murdered, an annual average of approximately 11. In the five years of the intifada, from 1988 to 1993, 155 Jews lost their lives in terrorist attacks, an average of 31 fatalities a year.

Thus, in the "era of peace", Arab murder has jumped 265 percent compared to the very violent five-year period immediately preceding it, and 745 percent over the calmer decade before that. Yet, throughout the 15-year period preceding Oslo, the terrorist organizations were in a state of open hostility with Israel.

Furthermore, one must take into account the nature of terrorist acts since the signing of the Oslo Agreement, namely, car bombs and the blowing up of buses with their passengers. It was attacks such as these involving planned mass carnage that have exacted most of the price in blood in the period under discussion.25
C. Preparation of Public Opinion for Peace and Reconciliation

The Israeli Ministry of Education declared the 1995-96 school year the “Year of Peace”. A considerable part of the public school curriculum was devoted to “peace studies”, the centerpiece of which is Jewish-Arab fraternity, the aim of which is the removal of residual hostility toward Arabs in general, and toward the PLO in particular. Shimon Peres, foreign minister of Israel during the period in question, has described the casualties due to terrorist attacks as “the victims of peace”; the late prime minister, Yitzhak Rabin, had seen fit to tell the public that those losses were the price Israel had to pay for peace, and that any alternative would be worse.

Has the Arab side made any effort to expound the peace as part of a process of Arab-Israeli reconciliation? The answer to that question is to be found in addresses made by Yasser Arafat on Palestinian Authority Television, which began its broadcasts at the end of 1994. Below is a random selection of quotations from televised speeches delivered by the PLO chairman. All but the first, which was made in January, were delivered in the period July-August 1995.

We shall kill and be killed, we shall kill and be killed...our brothers, heroes of the Islamic jihad.\(^{26}\) Generation after generation. We are at war for a hundred years already; not a day, or a year or two years, but a hundred years... The war is difficult and long... Blessed are you, blessed be the battle, blessed be the jihad on the land... Long and hard is the war for Jerusalem, capital of Palestine... We have sworn, we shall continue the jihad...in the way of the suicide bombers,\(^{27}\) in the way of battles, on the way to victory and glory, until a Palestinian child unfurls the banner of Palestine on the walls of Jerusalem...

This is the intifada that commenced 30 years ago, its soldiers are the sons and grandsons of Izz a-Din al-Qassam [the name of the Hamas murder squads], Abd al-Kader Husseinii and the other leaders of the sacred jihad... Here I say to the suicide bombers who have died and the suicide bombers who still live, we say to them that we are faithful to our oath to continue... We are all suicide bombers... We all seek death, suicide bombers on the way to the truth... [In Jerusalem, in Jerusalem, in al-Aqsa, we shall all meet... Greetings Abu Ayad [the commander of Black September, which murdered 11 Israeli athletes at the 1972 Olympic games in Munich; it was his crowning achievement], greetings Abu Jihad, prince of the struggle against the enemy [Abu Jihad commanded most Fatah terrorist operations, including the massacres at the Savoy Hotel and a hijacked bus on the coastal road north of Tel Aviv]... Greetings Delal Mahrivi, heroine, revered commander, who landed on the coast and established the first Republic of Palestine in an enemy bus [Mahrivi was in the murder squad that hijacked a bus on the coastal road north of Tel Aviv, and machine-gunned 34 vacationers returning home]... Greetings to our brothers in the Islamic jihad... We shall kill and be killed, we shall kill and be killed... You have complaints about the Oslo agreements? For every complaint you have, I have a hundred. But do not worry, my brothers, remember the

\(^{26}\) He said that the day after a suicide car bombing, on January 22, at Beit Lid in which 20 soldiers were killed. Arafat had originally accused Israel of perpetrating the massacre as an anti-Arab provocation. However, after the Islamic jihad took responsibility, the PLO chairman sang hosannas to the suicide squad responsible. The following October 24, at a special General Assembly session marking the 50th anniversary of the UN, Arafat accused “right-wing circles in Israel” of collaborating with Islamic jihad extremists in the Beirut Lid massacre.

\(^{27}\) The term used in Arabic means literally, “Those who die for the sanctity of the Lord”.
Peace of Hudeivia, the peace of Hudeivia which was called the “contemptible peace”, remember him... whoever does not learn from history, I say to him that he will end up drinking sea water in Gaza.

28. The Peace of Hudeivia, considered by Muslims as an example of brilliant strategic deception, was a 10-year peace agreement the Prophet Mohamed signed with the tribe of Oureish, then rulers of Mecca. While Oureish was lulled into complacency by the agreement, Mohamed took advantage of it to build up a strong army. Two years later, under the pretext of a quarrel between two Bedouins, one from Mohamed’s camp and one from that of Oureish, Mohamed accused Oureish of violating the agreement, attacked Mecca, captured it, and wiped out the tribe of Oureish. Ever since his “Hudeivia speech” in Johannesburg on May 3, 1994, Arafat has continued to mention this historic precedent, by way of reassuring his listeners what the fate of the peace treaty with Israel will be.

29. Arafat is quoting here the Caliph Omar, who refused to accept even the Hudeivia peace, calling it “the contemptible peace”.

30. The relevant videotapes were viewed courtesy of Sonia Bayefsky, director of the Middle East Television Archive in Jerusalem.
CHAPTER SEVEN

“THERE IS A DEFINITE SIMILARITY BETWEEN ISLAM AND NAZISM”
There is a definite similarity between the principles of Islam and the principles of Nazism.

Haj Amin al-Husseini, Former Mufti of Jerusalem

The Hatred of Jews is a spiritual national necessity for Arabs.

Anis Mansour

From Islam to the Middle Ages and the Modern Era

The antagonism of Islam towards Judaism does not have theological roots, as is the case with Christianity. Mohamed was not a Jew, nor does Islam hold the Jews responsible for his death. Thus, Islam has never accepted the original sin of decile; the Qur’an rejects the divinity of Jesus, as well as the story of the crucifixion, which, it contends, was nothing but an instance of sorcery and fraud. Since there are no grounds for decile, neither are there any for collective, hereditary guilt, as in Christianity.

Islam, as the most recent monotheistic faith, does deem itself the successor of the two branches of monotheism that preceded it. However, it is not the antithesis of Judaism, and while it aims to succeed it (and Christianity), that succession is not conditional upon Judaism’s destruction, either physical or spiritual, as with an heir who cannot come into his inheritance while the legator still lives.

The inheritance is effected by means of a sweeping, historical view the Jewish heritage, and of Judaism itself, which, according to Islam, betrayed its God and prophets. While that betrayal is adduced by the Qur’an as evidence of the wickedness of the Jews, it constitutes no more than a secondary theme in Islamic theology. While the Land of Israel is a province of the Dar al-Islam (House of Islam), no special importance is attached to it, and it certainly does not have the status of a holy land, a terra sancta, and Jerusalem, a city of no importance during the period of Islam’s founding, is not mentioned at all in the Qur’an. Hence, the depth of hostility in Islam towards Judaism is a far cry from the pathology-laden ideas and ontological negation that encumber the Christian view of Judaism.

The allegation of ritual Jewish use of blood, which first appeared in the Semitic domain in 1840, was made by the Capuchin order in Damascus; in other words, it was still a Christian libel. Acceptance of the blood libel and its becoming a powerful motif in Arab anti-Semitism occurred only after the establishment of the State of Israel, and especially in the wake of the Six Day War. Yet even in its current expression, the blood libel is totally devoid of its

3. There are indications, however, that Jews have begun to assume responsibility for his death. In The Soul of Radical Islam, (Midstream, April 1995), Monroe Rosenthal claims that a Jewish woman, one Zainab, poisoned Mohamed. “That”, he contends, “is a historical fact.”
4. For a discussion of the creation of the myth of Jerusalem in the Arab consciousness, as part of the struggle against Zionism, see Arab Political Myths (in Hebrew), by immanuel Sivan, Tel-Aviv, 1988.
5. An extensive literature exists on this topic. In particular, Joshua Trachtenberg’s The Devil and the Jews (New Haven, 1943) may be consulted with profit.
pathological Christian roots, as reflected in the sacrament of the Eucharist (see chapter two).

Classical Islam had never known the Christian dread of the Jewish Devil, nor the demonology of well-poisoning and the purveyance of plagues, that had come into being in medieval Europe. While such ideas had existed at times in the Semitic domain, they never came near to having the metaphysical content they bore in Christianity.

The compulsive preoccupation of Christianity with theological dogma concerning the Jews, as attested to by the doctrinal writings of the Church fathers, by papal bulls, and the records of the Church councils, is also absent from Islam. The prescribed station of the Jewish dhimmī at the bottom of dhimmītude, was so lowly, so degraded, and the danger he posed so negligible, that he was deemed unworthy of theological consideration at all, beyond what was written about him in the Qur‘ān and Ḥadīth.

★

The Emancipation of the Jews, and the cultural and economic challenge the Jew posed his environment, were also rather foreign to Islam. The abrupt transition that took Europe from the late Middle Ages to the Emancipation ("abrupt" in terms of historical duration) is an unfamiliar phenomenon in the Semitic domain, which had never witnessed an earthquake remotely comparable to the French Revolution. The principle of equality had already been set forth a century before that revolution (in 1689) by John Locke, thus: “Neither pagan nor Mohamedan, nor even a Jew, is to be deprived of his civil rights in the community because of his faith.” Principles such as that could never be entertained in Islam, either in the past or today.

Just as the Islamic world, and its Semitic domain, had not experienced a transformation of values such as that engendered in Western culture by the French Revolution, neither had it undergone an economic quantum leap such as that experienced by the West in the wake of the Industrial Revolution. Without an intermediate petty bourgeois stratum that was in direct conflict with Jewish assertiveness, a secular anti-Semitism similar to that which took root in nineteenth-century Europe had never developed in Arab countries. Furthermore, the Arab imagery of that period did not include an anti-Semitic archetype of a Jew. For example, the racialism of the Gobineau-Chamberlain school never caught on in the Arab world, if for no other reason than that anti-Semitism, in the sense meant by Wilhelm Marr and his generation, had not yet differentiated between the Jew and the Semitic race.

At the same time, Islam has also been devoid of those liberal and philo-
Semitic currents that softened the impact of anti-Semitism and made it
possible for Jews to assume such a central role in the cultural and economic
development of Western civilization in the past two centuries.

Except for a handful of unique individuals, exceptions who proved the rule,
the Jewish communities of Arab lands reposed, sans civil rights, in the
slumber of dhimmitude, within the overall backwardness of the Arab milieu.
One may generalize with Bernard Lewis that the history of the Arab lands has
known neither the dread leading to medieval Christian anti-Semitism, on the
one hand, nor the winds of liberalism that attended the Jewish
Emancipation, on the other.6

However, in contrast to the late Middle Ages and the modern period, Nazism
and Nazi anti-Semitism received an enthusiastic reception in the Arab world.

**Nazism and Islam**

The claim made by Haj Amin al-Husseini to the effect that there is a
“definite” similarity between the principals of Islam and those of Nazism
cannot be dismissed out of hand, even taking into account Husseini’s
sycophancy toward his masters in Berlin. In fact, that claim contains a deep
truth.

There is, of course, a vast difference between Nazism as a radical ideology, an
extreme instance of European fascisn, and Islam as a religion, a law, and a
culture. They are indeed far apart in their historical roots and cultural points
of reference. Nevertheless, they have much in common, both in their
ultimate goals and methods of achieving them. War, which in Nazism is both
a means and an end, and constitutes the supreme test of both individual and
national fulfillment, is viewed similarly in Islam through the ethos of *jihad*.

Hitler, who with good reason entitled his book *Mein Kampf*, often spoke of
“the struggle which is the essence of life”. His favorite expression, “war is the
foundation of existence”, is not essentially different from the dictum in the
Hadith, that “*jihad* is the pinnacle of faith”. While *jihad* as an ethos and the
German *kampf* (struggle), as an interpretation of social Darwinism, lack a
common cultural origin, they have in common a radical imperialism
animated by eschatologically engendered aims.

If the ethos of *kampf* and *jihad* is comparable, so are many of their associated
principles. It is not hard to see parallels between the German urge to
conquer, particularly the Drang nach Osten (the urge eastward), and the Dar al-
Harb (the House of War) to be extinguished by *jihad*; between Lebensraum (living
space) and the Dar al-Islam (the House of Islam); between the enslaving of
subjected peoples by the Nazis and the principle of dhimmi practiced in Islam;
between the totalitarian world view of the Nazis and the absolutist mind-set
of Islam; between the Reich that one day will rule the entire world, in which
“a master race will rule by virtue of its omnipotence”, as Hitler put it, and the

---

“Muslims and Jews”.  

117
chosen Umma Muhamedia (Nation of Mohamed), which, Islam posits, will spread its "patronage" throughout the entire world.\textsuperscript{7} between the Führerprinzip, which gives a tyrant absolute life-and-death control over his subjects, and the principle of ta'ar, which compels a Muslim toward blind obedience to his ruler, and finally, between the Nazi principle of Judenrein, and its parallels in the Arab world.\textsuperscript{8}

By every one of the above criteria, Nazism and Islam are fundamentally different from the eschatological principles of Judaism, Christianity, and Marxism, as well as from the aims of Western (British and French) imperialism.

\*\*

Arab admiration for Nazism in the 1930s, after Hitler came to power, should be seen against the backdrop of such an identity of values. The explanation usually given for such admiration, namely, that a common antipathy toward France and Britain pushed the Arabs into Hitler's arms, is only a partial explanation. Furthermore, as a fundamental explanation, it is overly simplistic to the point of being a perversion of history.

Arab admiration for Hitler and his movement, which predated his accession to power by a decade, erupted with enthusiasm as soon as he came to power in 1933. Hitler's first telegram of congratulations from abroad came the day after he was named Chancellor from the German consul in Jerusalem, Wolff. That was shortly followed by warm telegrams from throughout the Arab world. While Hitler's violation of the Versailles Treaty was a crude slap in the face of Britain and France, it came much later — in 1936, with German rearmament, and in 1938, with the Anschluss of Austria. From 1933 at least until the German attack on Poland in September 1939, there were no grounds for assuming that Hitler, an Anglophile who based his long-term strategy, as outlined in Mein Kampf, on Anglo-German cooperation, would be the one to save the Arabs from British colonialism. As the Middle East was mostly under the British sphere of influence, Hitler viewed it at the time of his accession largely as secondary to his overall plans; German attitudes then could be summed up by Bismarck's aphorism, "The entire Eastern question is not worth the bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier."

Furthermore, while Jews were the victims of Nazi anti-Semitism, that anti-Semitism included all Semites, at least at the "anthropological" level. Nazi contempt for Arabs is amply reflected in expressions of racist revulsion toward them, and of the embarrassment engendered among the Nazi leadership by the courtship toward them by Haj Amin al-Husseini, at least prior to the outbreak of the Second World War.

\*\*
Immediately upon Hitler’s accession to power, parties emulating National Socialism were formed throughout the Arab world. One such party, established in Syria by Anton Sa’ada, adopted all the outer forms of Nazism with alacrity. Sa’ada, who presented himself to the world as “Fuehrer of the Syrian Nation”, included in his party’s platform the claim that “Syrians are a ‘master race’ by their very nature”.

Hitler himself was Islamized, acquiring the new appellation of “Abu Ali” (and in Egypt, for some reason, “Mohamed Heidar”).

Similar parties were also established in Iraq, Tunisia, and Morocco. However, the one party on the Nazi model in the Arab world whose impact transcended the period of the 1930s and which, to a considerable extent, fashioned the regime in the principal Arab land subsequent to the Second World War, was the Green-Shirted Young Egypt, which specifically copied the forms of the Hitler Youth and the Brown Shirts of the SA. The party was founded by Ahmed Hussein in October 1933 on the German model, replete with raised-armed greetings, a general staff, storm troopers, torch-light parades, and Nazi slogans (including a literal translation into Arabic of “One Nation, One Party, One Leader”, and “Egypt über alles”), gangs of strong-arms to deal with opponents, and, needless to say, the status of “Fuehrer” for Ahmed Hussein. Nazi anti-Semitism was also incorporated into Young Egypt, including a boycott of Jewish businesses, physical harassment, and incitement to violence. As Dafna Alon has stated, “Nazi anti-Semitism — theory, practice, and policy — fit the needs of Arab nationalism [in the 1930s] like a glove.”

During the war, Young Egyptians supplied Rommel with intelligence, and some, including a young lieutenant named Anwar Sadat, were court-martialed for high treason and sent to jail. In time, Sadat and his fellow Young Egyptian Gamal Abd al-Nasser became part of the nucleus of the officers’ movement that seized power in Egypt in 1952.

Sadat expressed his admiration for Hitler in an open letter to him in the Egyptian daily Al-Mussawar, on September 18, 1953, thus:

Dear Hitler,

I bless you with my whole heart, because even though you are usually thought of as defeated, you were the real victor... Germany is victorious... There will never be peace until Germany is restored to the full measure of its greatness... Concerning the past, I am convinced that you made mistakes in a number of matters, such as opening too many fronts during the war...but all these will be forgiven you in recognition of your faith in your land and in your people. The very fact of your becoming immortal in Germany is sufficient reason for pride. And we shall not be surprised to see you again in Germany, or a new Hitler in your place.

Anwar Sadat
The year was, as mentioned, 1953, only a short time after the revelation of the horrors of Nazism at the Nuremberg trials. Such open adulation for Hitler, such total obliviousness to Nazi war crimes and open yearning for Hitler's reappearance, are not considered morally perverse in Egypt. They are a true indication of the degree of identification with Nazism felt by Sadat, who was a faithful embodiment of the Free Officers' revolution. Indeed, the first act of the new regime after taking power on the night of July 22, 1952, was the banning of all political parties (including the one founded in October 1933 on the Nazi model).

To this day, Egyptian officialdom practices ceremonial vestiges of Nazism that had been popular among Arabs in the 1930s. Members of the Presidential Guard wear Wehrmacht helmets and goose-step as they receive visiting heads of state at Cairo airport. The figure of Menahem Begin, a Holocaust refugee, walking among the rows of the honor guard as a man in a trance was among the surrealistic scenes from the Peace Process with Egypt. A gesture no less crude, or sarcastic, was Sadat's appearance in the Knesset wearing a tie covered with swastika prints.

Arab adulation for Nazism in the 1930s has been given faithful, and somewhat nostalgic, expression by Sami al-Jundi, one of the founders of the Syrian Ba'ath party, thus:

We were racists, we admired the Nazis. We used to be steeped in Nazi books and of [books that served] as a source for the spirit of Nazism... We were the first who thought of translating Mein Kampf. Anyone who lived in Damascus at the time was a witness of the inclination of the Arabs toward Nazism.\(^{13}\)

Needless to say, there was implicit Arab identification with Hitler's definition of Zionism in Mein Kampf:

It doesn't even enter their [Zionists] heads to build up a Jewish state in Palestine for the purpose of living there; all they want is a central organization for their international world swindle, endowed with its own sovereign rights and removed from the intervention of other states: a haven for convicted scoundrels and a university for budding crooks.\(^{14}\)

The above-quoted passage, which is invoked endlessly in anti-Semitic hate literature in the Arab world, is considered a serious corroborating authority, conferring on the writings of an author who invokes it the imprimatur of ultimate authority. Such is the case, for instance, in discussion of The Protocols of the Elders of Zion. When an author takes issue with the ('Zionist') claim that Protocols is a forgery, he is wont to invoke Mein Kampf (which is regularly published in the Arab world in general, and Egypt in particular), thus ending the discussion. After all, Hitler's status has long been accepted as unchallengeable. Little wonder then, that

the myth of Hitler is fostered in the (Arab world) at the popular level. He is lauded and praise is heaped upon the Holocaust he wrought on the Jews, an idea

\(^{13}\) Quoted by Elie Kedourie in Arab Political Memoirs and Other Studies, (London, 1974).

\(^{14}\) Mein Kampf, Boston, 1971, English translation, pp. 325.
that is received with much enthusiasm. There are even those who believe that Hitler did not die. There is an expectation of his return, so that he will liberate the Arab world from Israel.\textsuperscript{15}

Arab countries were not the only place of refuge for escaped Nazi war criminals. However, only in the Middle East, and above all Egypt, were Nazis given political asylum based on total, unqualified identification with their ideology and goals. Nasser gave asylum to hundreds of war criminals, among them Oskar Dirwanger, a general who commanded an SS Einsatzgruppen engaged in the wholesale murder of Ukrainian Jews, and who became his confidant and bodyguard. Hundreds of Nazis were pressed into the effort to wipe Israel off the map, some working on weapons systems development, while others contributed to the indoctrination of the armed forces personnel. One prominent example was Alois Bruner, the official responsible for the Final Solution in Salonika and later Slovakia, who for many years had served as a senior advisor to the Syrian general staff.\textsuperscript{16}

The activities of the Grand Mufti, Haj Amin al-Husseini, that most authentic of Arab Nazis, have been well documented in numerous studies.\textsuperscript{17} There is no need to labor the point that the Mufti was among the most heinous of war criminals, even by Nazi standards. Dieter Wisliceny, Adolf Eichmann’s deputy, has testified to the blood lust of Husseini, who visited the gas chambers at Auschwitz incognito, and was given to reproaching the Germans for lack of determination in exterminating Jews. For instance, he vociferously protested various Nazi barter schemes that involved saving Jews, such as one to save 4,000 Bulgarian Jewish children, or the mooted “trucks for Jews” transaction in Hungary. Tragically, his protests usually proved successful, the Jews being sent to “a place where they would be under strong and vigorous supervision — Poland, for instance”, in the words of the Mufti, who often used Nazi code words.

What is relevant to us now is how the Nazi war criminal has been viewed in the Arab world since the war. The Allies never put the Mufti on trial, as they were afraid that such a move against an Arab national hero would ignite a storm. Haj Amin al-Husseini was in fact received as a hero in Egypt after World War II, and played an important role in instigating the Arab attack on Israel in 1948. Thus, he embodied the connecting link between two recent attempts to exterminate the Jews: the Nazi and the Arab. There is little wonder, then, that a place of honor is reserved for the Grand Mufti in the PLO pantheon:

Arafat viewed the Mufti as an educator and guide. In 1985, at a conference marking the thirtieth anniversary of the Bandung Conference... Arafat lauded the Mufti, paying him great homage, and said that he was “proud no end” to be walking in his footsteps; he emphasized that the PLO is continuing to march on the path paved by the Mufti.\textsuperscript{18}


\textsuperscript{18}Official letter of conference commemorating the Bandung Conference, April 24, 1985, quoted by Binyamin Netanyahu, A Place Among the Nations (Hebrew, Tel-Aviv, 1995), p. 186.
Adolf Eichmann was defended by the entire Arab world during his trial in Jerusalem, his apprehension by Israel being described as a “crime against humanity” (a claim later repeated in connection with the Entebbe rescue operation). In its “Open Letter to Eichmann” of April 24, 1961, the English-language Jordanian daily Jerusalem Times congratulated him on his massacre of the Jews and promised that the remaining millions would be similarly dealt with when the time came. The Lebanese paper Al-Anwar published a caricature of Israeli Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion and Eichmann shouting at each other:

Ben-Gurion: You deserve the death penalty for murdering six million Jews.

Eichmann: Many would agree that I deserve that penalty for not finishing the job.

A-R’al, Jordan’s principal newspaper (and owned by the royal family), congratulated Eichmann to the effect that his death at the hands of the Jews would not be in vain, as he had annihilated six million “members of the race of dogs and monkeys”. The headline of the Saudi paper Al-Bilad on March 31, 1960 ran: “The Capture of Eichmann, Who Had the Honor of Exterminating Five Million Jews”.19

The ties of the PLO with proto-Nazi and neo-Nazi terrorist organizations are well documented.20 Given the close relations between the Israeli and Jewish Left (particularly in the United States) and the PLO, the leadership of that terrorist organization has been careful lately not to be too public about its admiration for Nazism. Still, old habits die hard. Graduates of the “police course” (in other words, the nucleus of the future PLO army) in Jericho took their oaths with raised-armed salutes in August 1995! Fawzi Salim al-Mahdi, an officer in “Force 17”, Arafat’s Praetorian Guard, is known as “Abu Hitler”; he had named his two sons Eichmann and Hitler.

The Weapon Hoarding Craze

Acceptance of war and violence as principles of life, and the worship of power, which are so deeply impressed in the ethos of both jihad and kampf, have been reflected in militaristic policy in both Nazi Germany and the Arab world — in unprecedented levels of armaments manufacture in Germany, from 1936, and in compulsive weapons hoarding in the Arab world since the early 1950s. Such hoarding has taken place without any correlation to real defense needs or proficiency in the use of the acquired wherewithal, should war actually occur. Two extreme examples, which differ from one another at the practical level but are identical in aims, serve to illustrate the point.

Egypt is one of the poorest nations on earth, with a per capita annual GNP of $750. Since the signing of a peace agreement with Israel, Egypt has been the only state in the Semitic domain that has faced no strategic threat, not even potentially, rendering its strategic circumstances similar to those of NATO subsequent to the disintegration of the Soviet Union, after which NATO

---

members reduced defense spending to 2 percent of their aggregate GNP. Once could have expected that Egypt would have done likewise, diverting its meager resources to developing its backward economy.

Yet the exact opposite has transpired. Egypt is currently in the midst of an accelerated military build-up. At the time of this writing, Egypt's standing military numbers half a million, making it the largest military establishment in the Middle East and fifth largest in the world.\(^1\) Egypt has begun to assemble the US M1A1 Abrams tank, the costliest main battle tank in the world, and is building up its air force at a rate that will render it the largest and most sophisticated in the region within a few years. Egyptian military expenditures have been in the range of 28 percent of its GNP, or 9 times the average for NATO members — a level of allocation typical of nations at war. It is also an intolerable financial burden, obviating any possibility of Egypt extricating itself from its economic backwardness.

In 1986, Saudi Arabia's armed forces numbered 50,000 and its defense budget stood at $17.77 billion.\(^2\) This represented an average annual expenditure of $354,000 per serviceman. In the United States, which at that time maintained military bases around the globe and a seven-sea navy, replete with nuclear aircraft carriers and submarines, as well as long-range bombers and nuclear-tipped ballistic missiles, defense spending was $130,000 per serviceman.

In countries unencumbered by the geo-strategic commitments of superpowers, outlays per serviceman tend to be much lower. For example, in 1986, the IDF spent an average of $33,000 per serviceman.\(^3\)

 Needless to say, Saudi Arabia's absurd defense outlays, offer no guarantee of combat effectiveness. This was amply attested to during the Second Gulf War, when that country (that is, its oil wells) were saved from the clutches of the Iraqis only by outside (Western) intervention.

It is illustrative of the Arab weapons hoarding craze that the Middle East accounts for 43 percent of the world arms trade.\(^4\) in other words, over 12 times the world average!\(^5\)

★

While the dangers inherent in the acquisition and hoarding of conventional weapons are limited by the very nature of such weapons, such is not the case with weapons of mass destruction. Much has been written about what could have happened if Germany beat the United States in the race for atomic weapons in the Second World War, but Islam seems to be succeeding where Nazism failed. Key states in the Semitic domain have been vigorously stockpiling the wherewithal of ABC (atomic, biological, and chemical) warfare. The Arabs can be expected to implement the lessons learned from

\(^{1}\) Until its defeat in the Second Gulf War, the armed forces of Iraq, another example of Arab imperial lust, had been larger than Egypt's.


\(^{3}\) According to the IISS, the 1986 IDF budget was 6 billion. The IDF numbered 150,000, and for the purpose of computing average outlays per serviceman, 1/12 of the military reserves were added, for a total of 180,000.

\(^{4}\) On average, over the ten-year period of 1983-1993.

Germany's factory-like homicide by gassing. Three Arab states — Egypt, Syria, and Iraq — are the only countries in recent times to have exterminated defenseless populations by gassing. In the 1960s, Egypt wiped out villages in monarchical Yemen with mustard and phosgene gas.\textsuperscript{26} In 1982, during fighting in the city of Hama between the regime of Hafez al-Assad and the Muslim Brotherhood, homes were sealed and cyanide gas injected into them with pipes, leading to the deaths of 20,000 people.\textsuperscript{27} Toward the end of the First Gulf War in 1988, the Iraqi government annihilated rural Kurdish villages in the north of the country. Syria's chemical weapons stockpiles are the third largest in the world, after those of the United States and Russia, while those of Egypt and Libya are not far behind. \textit{New York Times} columnist William Safire termed Libya's chemical stockpile at Rabta "a desert Auschwitz". Several Arab states are in the midst of acquiring or developing biological weapons, particularly anthrax bacilli, which has life-destruction capacity comparable to that of nuclear weapons. And concerning nuclear weapons, one may reasonably assume that had Israel not knocked out Iraq's nuclear reactor in 1981, that country would now possess a nuclear option.

If one takes into account that Arab states are expected to possess over 2,000 accurate surface-to-surface missiles with ranges in excess of 1,200 km. by the year 2000,\textsuperscript{28} then before long, Athens and Rome, two NATO capitals, will be within the range of Arab ballistic missiles with chemical or biological warheads. In this regard, it may behoove policy-makers to pay close attention to what Mu'ammar Qadhafi said after the attack on Tripoli by the American fleet in 1986: "If I had missiles I could attack London or New York with, I would destroy them both."\textsuperscript{29}

The Holocaust — Justification and Denial

What makes the abstract parallels between Nazism and Islam concrete is hatred of Israel. "The Final Solution", as a prerequisite to the attainment of Nazism's aims and the redemption of Aryan man from the malignancy of Judaism, is essentially the same as the destruction of Israel as a necessary precondition for the redemption of Islam and the unity of the Arab nation. Hence, there is no more reliable yardstick for gauging the anti-Semitism of Arabs than their attitude toward the Holocaust, an event which is (still) viewed in Western civilization as a reflection of the lowest depths of depravity in the history of man. Deniers of the Holocaust are (still) on the margins of society.

 Needless to say, matters are altogether different in the Arab world. It should be pointed out at the outset that the term "Holocaust", ("shoah" in Hebrew, or "shuut" in Arabic) is understood by Arabs to refer to the “holocaust” they “endured” in 1948, with the establishment of the State of Israel and their defeat in Israel's subsequent War of Independence. Such inability to annihilate the Jews a mere three years after the Holocaust is, in their eyes,
the Holocaust. Such an attitude, which may sound somewhat macabre to Western ears, goes to the root of Arab morality and anti-Semitism.

There is little wonder, then, that the Arab attitude toward the Jewish Holocaust in Europe takes two diametrically opposite routes: justification and denial.

Those who justify the Holocaust see it as fitting punishment of the Jews. Its deniers claim it is a myth fabricated by the Zionists to sponge the German people for money, on the one hand, and to justify the massacre of Palestinians, on the other. Thus Waji Abu-Zikri, who describes himself as someone who has “conducted a deep investigation of the issue the Jews term the ‘Holocaust’”, states:

The tale the Jews keep repeating about six million murdered by the Nazis is nothing but a legend... Hitler built crematoria only to burn the bodies of those who died in plagues, to prevent their spread.\(^\text{30}\)

Between the polar extremes of justification and denial, there are sundry and diverse variations animated by varying degrees of hostility toward the Jews, but nowhere is there any mention of objective research. Any mention of the Holocaust in literature or cinema in which the Jew is portrayed as a victim of anti-Semitism is censured, or even rejected out of hand. The most recent Arab “research” into the subject, The Other Side: The Secret Connection Between Nazism and Zionism, by Mahmud Abu Abbas, purports to refute “the fanciful Zionist lie to the effect that six million Jews were murdered”, and puts the actual figure at 890,000. Abu Abbas goes on from there to claim that these were victims of a Zionist-Nazi plot. The book is packed with quotations from Holocaust deniers such as Robert Faurisson, as well as grotesque distortions from the writings of such historians as Raoul Hilberg.

The “research” conducted by Abu Abbas is neither of higher nor lower quality than many other such publications that frequently see the light of day in the Arab world. What does make it unique is that Abu Abbas, better known as Abu Mazan, is the “architect of the Oslo Accords”, presented to the world as the epitome of moderation in the Palestinian camp, and signatory, along with Arafat, of both the White House Accord on September 13, 1993, and the Second Oslo Accord on September 28, 1995.

**Zionism as a “Final Solution” According to Islam**

As mentioned, Holocaust denial is merely the other side of the same coin that posits the Holocaust as a proper punishment of the Jews for their wickedness. Mahmud Abbas al-Akadi, an Egyptian philosopher and among the greatest Muslim theologians of the past generation, states the matter explicitly.

\(^{30}\) The First Terrorists — Our New Neighbors. (Cairo, 1987); publications on Egyptian Anti-Semitism of the Wiesenthal Center, 1988.
The Jews made the whole world hate them, to shun them, and to wait in ambush for them. They engendered hatred toward themselves, and it is incorrect to say that the world is their enemy because it hates them.\textsuperscript{31}

Thus, the basic identity between Islam and Nazism regarding the Final Solution to the Jewish question. But while the goal is the same, there is a difference in logistics: while the Jews had to be dragged against their will to Auschwitz, they are immigrating of their own free will to the “Palestine” that has been slated as their burial ground. This commonplace and convenient explanation of the enigma of Zionism was first raised at the Fourth Islamic Conference in Cairo in 1968. One of the more articulate speakers at that conference, Sheikh Nadim al-Jasr of Lebanon, made the theological claim that the very establishment of the Zionist entity constituted a challenge by Allah to the Muslim world: their redemption would come only after the destruction of Israel, (see pages 99-100). Al-Jasr’s theological point was expanded upon in Egypt during the 1980s from a general “humanistic” perspective. The annihilation of the Jews now exceeded the bounds of both Muslim theology and a Middle East “regional conflict”, becoming an imperative for all humanity, whose deliverance would come with the extirpation of the “cancerous growth which spread throughout the body of humankind”. Hence, the very existence of the State of Israel has been to effect an ingathering of all the Jews to one place, where they could be all the more easily exterminated.

Dr. Yihye al-Rahawi has given serious consideration to the matter in the Egyptian liberal (!) daily Al-Ahrar:

When the State of Israel was established and granted recognition by many, in both East and West, one of the reasons for such recognition was the latent desire of many in both the East and the West to rid themselves of as many representatives as possible of that mistake of humanity called “the Jews”. Behind that motive was another, secret one: to concentrate them in one place, so that they could be extirpated when the moment was right.

In this conflict, we cannot help but see before us the image of that great man, Hitler, may Allah have mercy upon him, the wisest of men, who confronted this problem...and he, out of compassion for the plight of man, tried to annihilate every Jew, but gave up trying to cure this cancerous growth that spread throughout humankind.\textsuperscript{32}

The failure of “that great man Hitler” in curing the Jewish cancer, the author goes on, resulted from the logistical difficulty in concentrating all the Jews in one place, and from the fact that he could not bring himself to descend to the same level of evil as the Jews and fight them on their own terms. But where Hitler, “may Allah have mercy on him”, failed, the Arabs will succeed, as the Jews of their own free will have concentrated in Palestine, a small place, one where “they could be extirpated when the moment was right”. As far as the means the Arabs would use to fight, “they will have to become


\textsuperscript{32} Al-Ahmar, July 19, 1982.
“Judaized” for a while, in other words, “to be cruel, without inhibitions, cheat, and be without conscience.”

The October 22, 1986, issue of Al-Nour quotes Sheikh Yusuf Badari, one of Egypt’s premier religious scholars:

We are awaiting the moment when all the Jews assemble in Palestine, and that will be the day of a tremendous massacre. The Jews will hide behind rocks and stones, but these will call out to the Muslims and say, “A Jew is hiding behind me, come kill him.”

★

Hitler is admired in the Semitic domain not only because he showed how easy it was to kill Jews, but above all because he rendered their annihilation outside the bounds of rational discourse or of consideration of what was worthwhile. Even as the logistic effort involved proved an impediment to the attainment of Nazi war aims, particularly after the tide turned with the Nazi defeat at Stalingrad in February 1943, Hitler kept at the task.

The logistics required for the systematic destruction of the Jewish people by industrial methods required a large-scale and expensive transportation network, particularly rolling stock, and was also highly taxing on manpower. But nothing stood in the way of the Germans in their war with the Jews, certainly not the transportation requirements of Wehrmacht generals, who wanted priority given to sending equipment and men to the front.

As with the Nazis, the destruction of Israel takes top priority among the Arabs. However, while Hitler could annihilate the Jews without worrying about retribution, the Arabs are very much aware of Israel’s power and what they can expect after any attempt to destroy it. Therefore, they make sure to mention the number of casualties they would be willing to sacrifice to attain their end.

In the 1950s, King Ibn-Saud of Saudi Arabia declared that he would be willing to have six million Arabs sacrificed, if that was what it took to destroy Israel. (Since that was roughly the Saudi population then, one may assume that the good king was mainly volunteering losses from outside his country.) On the eve of the Yom Kippur War, President Sadat said he would be willing to sacrifice a million Egyptians (according to another source, two million) to erase “the disgrace of the defeat in the 1967 war”, a war instigated with the express aim of destroying the State of Israel. Thus, when his people’s plans for genocide ran afoul, Sadat was willing to sacrifice one or two million of them to erase the resulting “disgrace”.

When Saddam Hussein declared in 1990 that he intended to burn half the State of Israel, (a remark made on the occasion of Arafat’s visit, and was obviously endorsed heartily), he was not just making another statement

typical of the “modern-day Saladin.” It was a faithful illustration of the imperative to destroy the Jews which takes precedence over all rational consideration, because it was clear to Saddam that the price of such an effort would have been the destruction of Iraq, with millions of his countrymen paying with their lives for the extermination of two-and-a-half million Jewish Israelis.

The fact of the impossibility of burning half of Jewish Israel without also roasting half-a-million Arab Israelis did not prevent the head of the PLO from enthusiastically supporting Saddam Hussein, just as a similar thought did not prevent Palestinians from dancing on rooftops over the spectacle of Iraqi Scuds landing on Israeli cities.

As the level of the Middle Eastern arms build-up was taking a quantum jump with the acquisition of weapons of mass destruction and information about Israel’s nuclear capability began receiving publicity, one could discern a tone among Arab leaders reminiscent of Hitler in the bunker. Hitler spoke of the annihilation of Germany as a fitting punishment for a nation that failed to fulfill its destiny. In a 1982 interview, Ahmed Ben-Bela invoked the spirit of Hitler’s outlook, whether consciously or not, when he said he would be willing to have all, or most, of the Arab world destroyed, if such a development was accompanied by the destruction of Israel. “If there is no other solution”, he said, “let it be a nuclear war, and that will be the end of it once and for all.”

Why Does Nazism Have Such a Strong Attraction in the Arab World?

The principle of jihad, decreeing Islamic hegemony over the world, clashes directly with the radical imperialism of the Nazis, whose well-known formula concerning their own plans was, “Today Germany, tomorrow the whole world”. Hence, there would seem to be no more implacable enemy of Islam than Nazism.

Furthermore, the deep, racially-motivated contempt (“Oriental rug salesmen”, “Asiatic rabble”, “Persian bazaar vendors” were frequently used epithets for Arabs among Germans of the Nazi period) that the Nazi leadership felt for Arabs can easily lead to the conclusion that Hitler’s (hesitant and limited) willingness to avail himself of Arab support in the war was merely a tactical move. Had Rommel managed to conquer the Middle East, the fate of the Arabs would have been similar to that of the Slavs, if they were lucky. Therefore, one ought not seek ordinary political explanations for Arab adulation of the Nazis; an explanation is to be sought by means of identifying with Nazism through values and as a model of emulation regarding a radical solution.

34. This is a widely used description of the Iraqi leader throughout the Arab world, though one replete with irony, in that Saladin was not an Arab but a Kurd, whose descendants Saddam tried to exterminate in 1988. For more on the mythology of Arab herosim in the wars against the Crusaders, see Sivan, op. cit., chapter 1, “History as a Witness for the Defense”.
35. Bat Ye’or, op. cit., p. 120.
Life in the Semitic domain has been based for hundreds of years on a slothful, feudalistic grasping for gain. The resulting social character imprinted upon Arab man has concurrently contained the soul of an overlord with that of a willing slave. The mosque and the Qur'an perpetuated the Arab's spiritual seclusion and froze his intellectual creativity. The illusion of the "glorious past" and its deceitful image exacted a heavy price in the engendering of the "oriental imagination", which is little more than a capacity for self-deceit, plain and simple. These are the real reasons for the political, economic, and cultural backwardness of the Arab world, which finds hiding its shame behind its depleting oil-driven glitter increasingly difficult.

Nazism cast so strong a spell on the Arab world because it was a radical solution, seemingly permitting Germany with one audacious leap to transcend the ruinous state associated with Weimar democracy, the disgrace of defeat in the First World War, the shame of the Versailles Treaty, an economic depression, political factionalism, social decay, and, above all, the cancer of Jewry. Germany was catapulted from all that into the arms of a glittering Nazi tyranny, embodied in the mythological personality of the Fuehrer.

Hitler, a worthless, nondescript individual, who dictated Europe's destiny, trampled over his enemies with blitzkrieg, the acme of jihad, was the archetype and model of emulation for tyrants such as Nasser, Saddam Hussein, Mu'ammar Qadhafi, and Hafez al-Assad. Adulation of Nazism is therefore the fantasizing of the failure, by someone who wants to sever the Gordian knot of his backwardness with one slash of his sword, a slash that will restore the glory of a mythical past and put him back on the historical stage, if not in the leading role, then at least as an equal with the great powers of the day. Such was the essence of Nasser's pan-Arabism, and such had been the intention of Saddam Hussein in invading Kuwait and preparing for the "mother of wars". Arabs perceive Israel as the advance guard of the West in its schemes to destroy the Arab world. Thus, if the Gordian knot is cut, the ailments of Islam will find relief, Arab factionalism will vanish, and the coveted Age of Unity will appear. Then, Islam will regain its lost youth under the command of a latter-day Saladin against the latter-day Crusaders, namely, the West.
CHAPTER EIGHT

ARAB CARICATURE —
A NOTE ON ESTHETICS
Islam, like Judaism, expressly forbids the making of “any graven image or likeness”. Classical Islam had rigorously observed that proscription, channeling the creativity of its adherents into such areas as ornamentation and architecture, that is, the applied arts. Figurative and naturalistic art depicting the human body in public places are unheard of in the Islamic tradition, and few and far between in private areas. Renderings of the human body with Eastern stylistic influence and erotic stress are to be found in the harems, bath houses, and bedrooms of Islamic noblemen. In the Alhambra, in Granada, images of kings, knights, and troubadours from the late Moorish period (fourteenth century) have been preserved; their style, however, clearly betrays Gothic influence.1

Such examples do exist in the Islamic world are the exception that makes the rule. The visual arts as a central element of culture in the Western sense of the term has been a relatively recent phenomenon in the Semitic domain, going back no more than a few decades. (The first school for the fine arts in the Arab world was established in Cairo in 1908.) It is because of this very artistic void, as Westerners understand the term, that the Islam lacks the two critical elements of the “artistic experience”2 that transcend mere esthetics and are among the distinguishing characteristics of culture itself: empathy and sublimation.

Esthetic empathy is a measure of the reciprocal interplay between a work of art and the one who contemplates it. Even without objective criteria upon which to base esthetic judgment, it would be a defensible proposition that such empathy, evoked to a greater degree by figurative than abstract art,3 is a precondition for the engendering of the “critical cognitive mass” necessary for the discernment of quality. The slow but comprehensive absorption over a period of some 2,500 years of schools of thought, styles, and the works of rare creative geniuses is what created a stratum of connoisseurs3 in the Western world, through whom an awareness of quality trickled down to the general public. This is the process by which is created that subtle selector in human judgment, by means of which the chaff is separated from the grain and a culture is cushioned against vulgarization.4

Esthetic sublimation means, particularly in its psychoanalytic sense, the neutralization, the refinement, of the urge to violence, and the channeling of energies thus released toward artistic creativity. Even those who take issue with Freud’s sweeping assertion that “we owe the most profound achievements of our civilization to the energy released this way,”5 cannot gainsay the contribution of artistic creativity as a sublimation of the instinct to violence and aggression; and neither can he deny the converse: that lack of sublimation as a source of violence.6

The two areas of art that had traditionally been pursued under Islam, ornamentation and architecture, contributed little to making up for the deficiency in the acquired culture of figurative art. In fact, the opposite may

1. As marginal and scanty as Christian influence was in Moorish Spain, its very existence stands in marked contrast to the lack of Byzantine impact on the Islamic tradition of the Ottoman Empire.
2. The phrase was coined by the Polish philosopher Roman Ingarden. Concerning the multifarious power and scope of such “experience”, see the chapter “Przeżyć Estetycznych” in his book Studia z Estetyki (Warsaw, 1970). The essence of the esthetic experience is explained by Pepita Hazrati in On Contemplative Activity (Jerusalem, 1965) (Hebrew). See especially chapter 7, “The Perfect Esthetic Response”.
3. The term “esthetic empathy” is used here in the sense of the German term Einfühlung employed by Theodor Lipps in his treatise Ästhetik (1903), as well as in the theories of Freud and Jung.
6. Freud, who wrote this sentence at the turn of the century couldn’t take into consideration the German anomaly.
be the case. Ornamentation is an entirely formalistic pursuit, and hence is devoid of empathy. Furthermore, the main motive of Islamic architecture is the design of mosques. The central feature of a mosque is the minaret, which bears an unmistakable resemblance to an erect phallus (including the glans), a stark manifestation of an unconquered Oedipus complex which screams violence out to the high heavens (and not just figuratively).\footnote{7}

Thus, Arab culture in its artistic sense is uniquely devoid of both empathy and sublimation. Therefore, the Arab tradition lacks the critical cognitive mass necessary for the discernment of quality which is the only possible bulwark against the inundation of a culture with spiritual trash. Lack of sublimation imparts to the spiritual poverty its violent content, which is so cruelly and crudely manifested in Arab caricatures.

By Western esthetic standards, the imagery conveyed in Arab caricature is, above all, perceived as little more than primitive scribbling that evokes revulsion; the observer is disgusted by the spectacle of a low-grade imitation of Der Stürmer serving as the message of an entire culture in the latter part of the twentieth century.

However, anti-Semitic Arab caricatures are not intended for the newspaper reading public in the West, but rather for the local consumer, who, to judge from the inexhaustible supply of such material offered him, identifies unqualifiedly with what he sees.

**An Imitation of a Copy**

In the collective awareness of the Arab elites, to say nothing of that of the masses, there is no place for Praxiteles, Botticelli, or Jacques Louis David, for the Pre-Raphaelites, Renoir, or Alma-Tadema, to name just a few of the more outstanding figures who fashioned the ideal of physical perfection in the West. As Raphael Patai put the matter,

> The Westernized Arab painter and sculptor thus cannot find any roots in his own cultural tradition, and has no choice but to relate his work to Western traditions, with which he must first become well acquainted.\footnote{8}

However, reference to the Western tradition, i.e., heritage is patently impossible, since the term “heritage” refers, by definition, to an historical continuum and an organic growth that are entirely lacking in the Arab tradition. The inevitable result is imitation, and as with any imitation missing authentic contribution, Arab painting and sculpture lack the elementary degree of esthetic value that would entitle them to be designated “art”.\footnote{9}

The lack of an ultimate standard of beauty, an esthetic ideal, removes the very underpinning of anti-Semitic caricature; such caricature is the very antithesis, in form and meaning, of that ultimate standard, and derives its legitimacy (and potency) from its dialectic negation of it. Thus, for example, only by

---

comparison with the heroic splendor and exalted gesture portrayed by a neoclassicist such as Jacques Louis David, the portrayal of a shifty-eyed, cowardly Jew derives its ability to rouse the degree of loathing its portrayer intended. The physical ugliness of the Jewess Uradel, by Aubrey Beardsley (see illustration 4, chapter 3), derives only from its deliberate contrast with, and negation of, the refined mannerisms that were so typical of the belle époque.

Not only is the esthetic ideal not part of the visual memory of an Arab’s own culture, neither is the negation of that ideal. The archtypical Eastern European Jew with sidelocks, wearing caftan and black hat, who served as the prototypical Jew of anti-Semitic caricature from the early part of the nineteenth century, is a complete stranger to the Middle East. That was not the traditional dress of Jews in Arab lands, and it certainly is not how the typical Israeli, with whom the Arab of today is in contact, dresses. The contemporary Egyptian caricaturist who portrays Jews thus is copying an image from Central European demonology, not depicting a contemporary he had ever met.

The objective image of the typical Israeli is no different from that of the average Westerner; it is totally devoid of any external identifying marks (clothing or headgear) or racial characteristics that could be used as the basis of a stereotype. Not only does availing himself of an “off-the-shelf” caricature free the Arab cartoonist from the trouble of creating an authentic prototype of his own; it is a convenient way of serving the central aim of Arab propaganda — the demonization of the Jew as a human being. Thus, such propaganda becomes an integral part of the mainstream of anti-Semitism. Arab anti-Semitic propaganda conveys the message of an absolute identity between Israel and the Jews as two sides of the coin of evil; after all, it is well known that Israel’s only raison d’être is to serve as an advance post of the international Jewish conspiracy, as described in The Protocols of the Elders of Zion. In this way, the Arab war effort against Israel is made to transcend regional boundaries, becoming a global cause with the Arabs in the role of an advance guard of humanity against the Jewish blight.

In terms of time span and geographic extent, Arab anti-Semitic caricature surpasses anything we have ever come across heretofore. Never before has an entire civilization, spread over 22 countries, made a constant, daily, effort on the pages of hundreds of newspapers, to defame Jews as human beings and Israel as a pariah state. Even if our yardstick is the intensity of vituperation, then Arab caricature would still surpass anything that had preceded it, including that of the Nazis, generally considered the acme of anti-Semitic malice.

It is because of the very eclecticism of Arab anti-Semitism, and the lack of its roots in the artistic heritage of its native civilization, that it can be taken as a summary expression containing most of the components of the anti-Semitic manifestations that had preceded it. Its content matter is partly anti-Semitic

---

10. The prominent Israeli cartoonist Cariel Gardosh ("Dosh") created an archtypical native Israel in the 1950s, who wore a sunhat with a pointed crown and brim turned downward. Whether consciously or not, in the pointed hat Dosh revived a medieval identifying mark of the Jew.
libel dating from the late Middle Ages. The ugliness and physical grotesqueness of the Jew are traceable to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, while the demonization of the Jew, undertaken in preparation for his extermination, as a precondition for the redemption of Islam, is derived from the Nazi era. Nevertheless, Arab caricature takes an additional stride beyond this. The Arab pupil goes beyond his mentor in Der Stürmer in openly stating what his ultimate intentions are, something in respect of which even the Nazis felt inhibited. That is, he freely gives graphic expression to the intended extermination of Israel, a project he will undertake as soon as an opportunity presents itself.

It is commonly known that Nazi persecution of the Jews, let alone their physical extermination of them, was kept secret from the German public. Actually, in a grotesque inversion of roles, the German people were depicted as the victims of Jewish hangmen. A substantial portion of the thousands of caricatures in Der Stürmer were devoted to that motif, conveying the idea of an unavoidable need for the Jewish devil to be eliminated. But such was the reader's inescapable conclusion, not an explicit proposal spelled out black on white. Matters had actually come to the point where there were demands for the closure of Der Stürmer, whose messages were becoming too explicit for the Nazi leadership, as well as too crude for the more fastidious among the Germans. Beyond domestic considerations, the Nazis kept the extermination secret for fear of world opinion, an approach they remained constant in even after learning of the West's lack of interest in the fate of the Jews.11

Tactical considerations and the fine points of reasoning of the sort described above are completely foreign to the Arab mindset. Crude graphic depiction of what the Jews have in store for them on the day that marching orders are given is a central theme in anti-Semitic Arab caricature. Recurring as a leitmotif are such portrayals as the Zionist dwarf being cut to ribbons by an Arab coalition that has completely surrounded it; the Jewish bug exterminated by Saddam Hussein's binary gas; Eichmann leaping laughing to his grave with satisfaction at having exterminated six million Jews; the peace process in the form of a dove that aims at pushing the Jews over the abyss; the Arab, as the advance guard of humankind, cutting open the head of the Jewish snake; Palestine as the burial ground of Jews who immigrate to it; etc., ad nauseam.

Arab caricature, as a vehicle for both stoking the flames of hatred and reflecting it, plays a critical role in releasing the sense of frustration of a backward society caught in a fatal trap of hatred and fear. In the particular case of Arabs, though, there is the additional element of jihad, as previously described. Israel is an enemy, and relations with it are those of war. Agreements signed with it are, at most, tactical moves designed to deceive an enemy. Thus, Arab caricature is based on the service of a war effort and, during wartime, agitating for the extermination of the enemy is legitimate.

11 Surprisingly, Julius Streicher, the publisher and editor of Der Stürmer, was placed under house arrest in 1940 and not permitted to leave Franconia.
CHAPTER NINE

THEMES IN ARAB CARICATURE
In the pages ahead are 115 caricatures, organized into nine primary themes and further divided into subsidiary topics. Such division, although artificial to a certain extent as there is some overlapping of topics, is for methodological purposes only.
A. The Peace Process as a Jewish Attempt to Destroy the Arabs

We are already acquainted with the editor-in-chief of *Economic Al-Nahram* (see chapter 6), who has described the peace process and relations with Israel as a choice between only two possibilities: "Who will annihilate whom, they us, or we them." Arab caricature has embraced this view, resulting in a treatment of the peace process that is evenly divided between that view's two components: a) The "peace process" is a Zionist plot, a trap for ensnaring the Arabs; and b) The process is an opportunity to destroy Israel that has landed in the laps of the Arabs.

1. While the naive Arab discusses peace with the Americans, the Jew strangles the dove of peace and makes off with all of Palestine.

2. The Jewish monster is about to devour the dove of peace.

3. Change of governments in Israel. Yitzhak Shamir goes and Yitzhak Rabin comes, but the dagger dripping with Arab blood remains. The only difference is that Rabin camouflages it with an olive branch.

4. The Madrid Conference is an Israeli plot to destroy the peace. (The "Square Peace", *Al-Nahram* [the preeminent newspaper of the Arab world, often called "the New York Times of the Middle East"], is referring to Prime Minister Shamir's proposal for a four-party peace that would include Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, and the Palestinians.)

5. Rabin's "Red Carpet" is an effusion of Arab blood. Rabin, with a swastika on his forehead, appears in uniform, while the Arab next to him is in a suit

6. Both Shamir and Rabin are depicted with likenesses of themselves, so they may be identified. However, as soon as a Jew becomes a symbol, he is rendered the epitome of ugliness and evil, which come out with particular starkness in contrast to the respectable-looking, reserved, and rational Arab. Israel's courtship of peace is depicted here as deceptive obsequiousness, while the truth about him is shown in the image of a hawk, juxtaposed with the Arab dove.

7. The Palestinian child is the victim of Israel, shown here in the image of two cannibals who are about to cut him to pieces with their knives and apparently devour him (note the saliva dripping from the mouths of the two). The simplicity and crudeness of the message, and the polarization of form between the innocent and frightened child, and the wickedness of the two monsters, are among the distinguishing characteristics of Arab caricature (for its complete antithesis, in form and content, see illustration 13b).
8. The idea of Israel as a partner in a worldwide plot against the Arab world is among the central themes of Arab caricature. Thus, US aid, on the one hand, and Jewish immigration from Russia, on the other, are aimed at subjugating the Middle East by Israeli conquest. The caricature appeared in Jordan's principal newspaper, A-Ra'i, which is owned by the royal family and is the king's mouthpiece.

9-10. In both illustrations, the Jew sticks knives into the symbol of peace: in one, into a bound angel who is still alive, and in the other, a crucified dove who has apparently died already. Neither illustration deals with current events; their only purpose is the maintenance of a constant level of hatred toward Israel. That goal is attained through the ugliness of the Jew, in contrast to the angelic innocence of peace (wings and all), along with the motif of the cross and the dollar.

11-12. The Jew, who wants to slit the throat of the dove of peace, or to shoot it, does not do so because of any special circumstances, but simply because he is evil. Thus, the meaning is not the message, but rather the wickedness ingrained in the image of the Jewish monster.

13-14. Israel in the image of a soldier wearing a Wehrmacht helmet, with a Nazi flag over his Star of David, is the trademark of the veteran caricaturist of the Egyptian newspaper, Rouz al-Yousef (who draws for other papers as well). The sole purpose of Israel's existence is to murder the Arabs by means of the peace fraud and to poison the tender sapling of peace.

15. Arab caricature avoids putting part of the Israeli public (or Jewish people) in a positive light. The driving of a wedge in enemy ranks and cultivation of a fifth column are a basic principle of psychological warfare. However, the fundamental rejection of Jews as human beings denies the Arabs this important tool in their war. While there are no degrees of good, there are different degrees of bad, on which scale the settlements in Judea and Samaria rank as particularly evil, constituting a dagger in the heart of the dove of peace. (It is possible that concerning the settlements, the Arab world has come to realize the deep-seated hostility of the Rabin government to the settlement undertaking, which it damns as an "obstacle to peace", and as such is making an attempt to carp on a common antipathy.)

16-17 The declarations of then-Foreign Minister Shimon Peres concerning Israeli economic integration into the region are perceived as a transparent Zionist attempt to get control of Arab financial resources. Shimon Peres, and especially his book, The New Middle
East, are depicted (see chapter 6, page xx) as acts of intrigue analogous to *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

18. One may get to realize the extent of the anxiety and lack of faith in the peace process from this illustration, which depicts the end of that process: Israel swallows up the naive Arabs, as they hold the olive branch.

★
16. The Summit of the Middle Eastern Market, Rouz al-Yusouf,
Egypt, November 14, 1994.
17. Israel is Intervening in the Region, Economic Al-Ahram, Egypt, December 1, 1994.
B. The Peace Process as an Opportunity to Destroy Israel

1. 1a As mentioned previously, Arab caricature takes a step ahead of its Nazi counterpart in its revelation of true intentions. An illustration in Der Stürmer shows a Jewish gas tank for exterminating humanity. Arab caricature turns the matter around. In an Iraqi illustration dated April 1990 (which was reproduced in the press throughout the Arab world), an Arab gas tank for exterminating the Jewish pest is shown.

2-3 The “peace process” is a deception aimed at ensnaring Israel in the trap of its physical destruction. Expressions of this theme are shown in two caricatures, from the Saudi and Lebanese press.
In the Lebanese illustration, an Arab gives his Jewish companion an olive branch, but only for the purpose of deception. In reality, he intends to slash his face and put him to the sword of Islam.
In the Saudi illustration, the Jewish monster is running away from the pursuing doves, shouting that they want to devour him. But the Jew, who is looking back, does not realize he is running straight over a cliff, from which he is going to fall and break his neck (the height of the cliff is emphasized by the snow-capped peaks in the background). So the choice facing Israel in the peace process is between breaking its neck or being devoured by a “Pax Arabica”.

4. In the period between September 13, 1993, when Rabin shook hands with Arafat, and the publication of this caricature on November 22, 1993, Arabs had murdered 14 Jews. The caricature contains a Star of David and swastika, with Prime Minister Rabin drowning in Jewish blood, and only his head visible for identification. At this time, Israel was already conducting advanced negotiations for a peace treaty with Jordan.

5-9. While the previous caricature (4) indicates the overall goal of terrorism, the five that follow depict various terrorist attacks, for instance, the attack in May 1992, when two elderly people were murdered on a park bench in Jerusalem. (5) A-Ra'i saw fit to show them skewered on a knife that was an ornamental drawing of the word “Al-Quds” (Jerusalem, in Arabic). See also the cases of terrorist strikes in Gaza (6,7) and Jaffa (8). The script in the Jaffa caricature states, “The Fruits of Peace”, a sarcastic take-off on Jaffa oranges. The murder of Meir Kahane is depicted as the cutting off of the first branch, that is, as a first step in the extirpation of Israel, which is “Zionist terrorism”.(9)

10. This picture is appropriate to the entire series.
11. *Al-Akhram*, shows Gaza and Jericho as two tender branches, in the wake of which the entire tree-trunk (Palestine) will follow.

12-13. Until the Six Day War, Israel had been perceived as a nuisance, the destruction of which was only a matter of time. Hence, it was depicted as a “dwarf” or the “Zionist midget”. In the wake of that war, perceptions were completely altered, and the Jewish State became a satanic threat to the entire Middle East. The element of fear was added to that of hatred, and the Israeli was portrayed as a monster armed from tip to toe. However, in recent years this has undergone reversal, with Israel reverting to its “natural size”, in the words of President Sadat. Two illustrations present this trend in thought: The powerful arms of the Arabs of the Galilee, Gaza, the West Bank, and the Triangle, are strangling the Zionist snake in the form of Yitzhak Shamir. Two children from the West Bank and Gaza are getting ready to cut the trembling Zionist dwarf with their knives (see the opposite of this theme in illustration 7 in the previous section).

14. The entire essence of the Arab “dove of peace” is that of a flying bomber, symbolizing the unity of the Arabs of ’67 and ’48, who are united in their desire to destroy the Zionist Satan, in the form of Yitzhak Shamir.

15. Each October, the weekly *October* devotes a special edition to the lessons of the Yom Kippur War (known in Egypt as the “October War”). In its 1994 edition, the foot of an Egyptian soldier is shown trampling over Israel.

16. UN Resolution 242, according to-*A-Ra‘i*, is the end of Israel.

17. The various stages of Israel’s destruction, beginning with stones, then knives, and ultimately firearms, is depicted by the caricaturist of the Egyptian newspaper *Al-Akhram*, the organ of the Liberal Party!

18. “Peres’ visit in Cairo” and “His reception” are portrayed as a blatant Egyptian deception, with the end result that Peres ends up dangling with his tongue hanging out.

19. “To withdraw, or not to withdraw? To withdraw, or not to withdraw?” asks the Jew as he slides down the knife blade on his buttocks. The anti-Semitic image and pornographic theme are not beyond the limits of the acceptable in Arab cartoon, with one difference: this caricature was published in the weekly *A-Sinara*, which is published in Nazareth.

★
1. Jewish Poison, Der Stürmer, April 22, 1944.

15. The October War was Not the Last War, *October*, Egypt, October 1994.
C. Israel — A Judeo-Nazi Entity

In light of the admiration of Nazism that is prevalent in the Middle East, the denigration of Israel by means of its sweeping identification with Nazism — which has reached the point where the swastika has become an almost everyday symbol for the Jewish State in the Arab press — would seem surprising at first glance. Indeed, from the standpoint of what meets the eye, especially after the Six Day War, the idea of “NaZionism” has become generally accepted; it was a central theme of the Soviet press, which had had considerable impact on Egypt and Syria, as well as in the Western press, particularly during the Lebanese war and the intifada.* Comparison of the Jews to Nazis is no longer taboo, as it had been for a generation of grace after the Holocaust, and the Arabs, not surprisingly, are in the vanguard of this trend. However, in the case of the Arabs, a reason is also to be sought in the psychological recesses of a double identity, one of concurrent hate and admiration. Either way, the “Judeo-Nazi” motif is among the central themes of Arab propaganda.

1. (9-13) A recurrent motif in connection with “NaZionism” is the Arab tradition of decorative ornamentation, which is put to use to effect a graphic integration of the swastika and Star of David. The fact that the swastika is the basis of the ornamentation, and the Star of David its periphery, permits a number of graphic possibilities, such as the use of severed arms (11) to complete the symbol. The anthropomorphization of the swastika, as in the Kuwaiti illustration (12), or those from Morocco (13, 10), lack any current-events content and are aimed solely at maintaining a constant level of hatred.

2. The wickedness of Rabin (seen holding the severed hand of an Arab child) exceeds even that of Hitler, who committed suicide for fear that his shameful deeds would become known, something that does not even dawn on Rabin, “who is not ashamed of his deeds”. The illustration, in A-Dastur, one of the two most important newspapers in Jordan, was published on June 22, 1993, during advanced peace talks, and subsequent to the Israeli declaration of its willingness to recognize Jordanian rule on the Temple Mount.

3. The list of Israeli crimes is longer than that of the Nazis. The caricature, entitled “The Crimes of Israel Compared to the Crimes of the Nazis”, appeared in the Syrian newspaper Tiskrin, on April 15, 1993, in other words after the Israeli government declared its willingness to withdraw from most of the Golan Heights, on the basis of the assumption that “Syria has made a strategic decision for peace with Israel,” in the words of Shimon Peres.
4. Israel is a Nazi entity that swears with the Nazi salute, tramples on skulls, and dispatches its army, depicted as a goose-stepping *Wehrmacht* soldier, on expeditions of conquest. The caption of the caricature, published on May 25, 1994 (fourteen years after signing the peace accords with Egypt), in the widely read pro-regime newspaper *Al-Gumhuria*, reads, "Israel *Über Alles*".

5. Aggression is the *raison d'être* of the Judeo-Nazi monster.

6. "Intransigence" is the very point of the Israeli delegation to the peace talks, the delegation sent by the Judeo-Nazi government.

7. Israel is a fascistic, Judeo-Nazi entity which gets its orders from settlers and passes them on to the army.

8. In addition to being a criminal fascist entity, Israel is also a female monkey which refuses to disguise its actions, as the Americans advise. The United States is thus an accomplice of Israel, although, in contrast to the Israeli monster, the caricaturization of "Uncle Sam" is not malicious or dehumanized.

2. Hitler: 'I also preferred suicide to having my shameful deeds become known.' — Rabin: 'We are not ashamed of our actions.'; A-Dastur, Jordan, June 22, 1993.
3. The Crimes of Israel Compared to the Crimes of the Nazis. Tishrin,
Syrian, April 15, 1993.
5. I am an aggressor, therefore I am, A-Sha'ab, Egypt, October 30, 1990.
We'll be able to cure his mind after we destroy all of Palestine.

April 21, 1989.

Ahna 'muken nisbat taqasma ba'du ma takhlas 'alai 'all al-filastiniyen.
8. They said to the female monkey — ‘Wear a veil,’ and she says, ‘There’s no need, this face is used to scandal.’ Al-Ahali, Egypt, May 30, 1990.
D. Demonization

The demonization of the Jew is a motif with a long history, familiar from the medieval symbolism of the Jewish devil (chapter 2, illustration 8); nineteenth century allegory (chapter 3, illustration 1); and the exposure of the Jewish devil hiding behind his quasi-human mask, as in Nazi caricature (chapter 1, illustration 5). The demonization of the Jew was aimed primarily at showing the Jew as an anti-human with satanic powers, war against whom is part of the struggle of the forces of light against the forces of darkness. Arab demonization is a continuation of this historical trend.

The Jewish Devil (Illustrations 1-5)

1. The appearance of this caricature in Iraq, a “rejectionist” state, renders it “legitimate”. This raises the question of how the Jewish devil looks in countries that are conducting peace negotiations with Israel.

2. The Prime Ministers of Israel (Peres, Shamir, Begin, Meir, Ben-Gurion) were nothing but quasi-human masks, behind which stood the Satan of terrorism. Cairo’s Rouz al-Yusuf, is a pro-regime weekly which faithfully reflects the views of the president.

3. This grotesque illustration of a (dancing?) devil contains all the recognizable symbols of Judaism: a yarmulke, Star of David, a menorah, and Bible. This is how A-Thawra, one of the two newspapers published by Syria’s ruling party, sees Israel a year-and-a-half after the commencement of peace talks.

4. This image of the Israeli devil wearing Rabin’s head was published by the Jordanian A-Dastur during advanced negotiations, and a short time before the signing of the peace treaty.

5. Israel in the image of Frankenstein is the original contribution of the Arabs to this genre of demonization. One should not necessarily assume that the Arab caricaturist read Mary Wolstonecraft Shelley’s book, Frankenstein. The sound of the name apparently led him to believe the monster was Jewish.

The “Ghost” and the “Angel of Death”; “The Grotesque” (Illustrations 6-14)

6. This illustration, in which the Jew is a weird-looking image from the world of ghosts, an odd combination of a head and palm, is something of an étude in the inexhaustible continuum of demonization.

7. The Jew as the symbolic death’s head, in imitation of the SS Totenkopf.
8. The Jew is the Angel of Death camouflaged by the human hand extended in peace.

9. He is the Angel of Death flying on the wave of immigration to Israel.

10. The Jew is a distorted grotesquerie. That is the way the settler is portrayed, his nose is a drawn as a gun.

11. The settler is a hairy monster with the teeth of a shark.

12-14. Unidentified monsters, products of the artists' imaginations

15. The late Middle Eastern scholar Elie Kedourie once remarked about this caricature (whether seriously or in jest is not certain),

    One should see the positive side to this drawing. The child is asking his father to teach him degeneracy. In other words, in contrast to Nazi racism, which ascribes the stamp of evil to Jewish genes, here evil is acquired. So there is hope for the Jews if we only know how to educate them properly.*

E. Zoomorphism

The identification of the object of hatred with “inferior” animals is intended to engender an instinctive hatred that transcends reason. Such identification is with animals that excite atavistic fears, or with pests that have to be exterminated, or with a combination of the two. In any event, the aim is the negation of the object’s humanity, thus rendering his annihilation a necessity implicitly understood, just as locusts or rats are exterminated: such acts are performed without moral inhibition or pangs of compunction.

Zoomorphism, in the sense used here, was entirely marginal to medieval anti-Semitic caricature. In the nineteenth century, the identification of Jewish capitalism with octopuses and snakes became common, and that motif received a boost with the publication of The Protocols of the Elders of Zion early in the twentieth century. Zoomorphism came into its own during the Nazi era, when the octopus and snake motifs underwent unprecedented development, and were joined by bloodsucking vampires and bats. The purpose of the Aryan race was the salvation of mankind from the Jewish race. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that very often, the identification of Jews with animals that had to be destroyed was indirect and circumstantial, rather than explicit. Thus, for instance, footage of rats scrabbling through rubbish immediately followed by a picture of a Jew from a Polish ghetto, left it to the viewer to make the obvious link himself — thus, the role of awareness and logical inference in Nazi propaganda. Arab caricature does not bother with such fine reasoning. The content, to the extent that it exists at all, is entirely secondary; the form is the message. Needless to say, in both range and quantity, the Arabs exceed all their predecessors in this genre.

1-4. The Jewish snake is the most commonly encountered image in Arab caricature. Its destruction is a prerequisite for Arab unity. The snake, in the form of a Star of David, devours the dove of peace. Russian immigration is a snake (combined with Satan), that aims to devour the Arabs and their land (all of the Land of Israel). The year 1992 is the “Year of the Jewish Snake”.

5-7. The cloud of locusts that lays bare grain fields, and rats, carriers of plagues, are among the oldest sources of fear in the rural society of the Middle East. Thus, Jewish immigration from Russia is likened to a swarm of locusts that destroys Arab land. Someone who wants a close-up of an insect can see one in action. Identification of Israel with rodents by Egypt, one of the poorest countries on earth, which is being crushed by the burden of a population explosion, is a typical example of the logic and sense of proportion in anti-Semitic denigration.

8. The dog is one of the basest images among Arabs.
Octopuses, spiders, multipeds. The octopus grips the world press in his arms; he threatens to blow up the dilapidated dinghy in which the whole world is sailing (g-16); strangles Lebanon and Jerusalem; spies on the world. An illustration of an octopus nearly always adorns editions of The Protocols of the Elders of Zion. The spider (in the form of Yitzhak Shamir) ensnares the world in its web.
F. The Blood Libel

As shown in chapter 7, even though the blood libel, in its Christian sense, does not have theological roots in Islam, it has become a recurring motif of anti-Semitic propaganda in the Arab world.

The man responsible for the "canonical" status which the blood libel has attained, is Syria's long-time minister of defense, Mustafa Tlas. Tlas conducted "research" into a blood libel case in Damascus of 1840, which had been a cause célèbre involving the European powers, and after substantiating all the allegations made, wrote a book entitled The Matzoth of Zion. The blurb on the back cover states that

"this study describes in fine detail, and with scientific precision, the blood rite of the Jews, who slaughter Christians and Muslims so they can mix their blood into the matzoth they use on Yom Kippur!(sic.)"

Tlas was awarded a Ph.D. on the basis of his "research"; the book, published by the Syrian government printing house, became a best-seller throughout the Arab world and required reading in the Syrian army.

1. The Jews may argue among themselves, but they are united in the drinking of Arab blood. Here Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Shamir raise glasses filled with Arab blood.

2. The Prime Minister's wife asks two soldiers not to waste the blood of an Arab child they are trampling on, because she needs it for matzoth.

3. Israel is shown as a Zionist soldier baking (!) a Palestinian child in an oven.

4. The Jordanian A-Dastur, in March 1994, presented an Israeli soldier giving his mother a present for Mother's Day: A bottle filled with the blood of a Palestinian Child.

5. The Jews drinking the blood of the American people with a straw.

6. Israel the Ripper cuts open the Arab's body, while the world makes believe it does not see.

7. The previous illustration shows criminal negligence on the part of the "world," since immediately afterward it will be the turn of all of humanity. This is apparent from the present drawing, depicting the Jewish cannibal just after he has finished chewing up the bones of the entire human race (note the map of the world on the cannibal's napkin [he apparently cares about cleanliness and hygiene]).
الحلول المرتبطة للأزمة الإسرافية...
2. Mrs. Shamir: ‘Why are you throwing out the girl’s blood before you use it to bake matzoth’, Al-Bian, Bahrain, March 18, 1990.

Jordan, March 22, 1994
G. Israel — A Criminal Entity

The theme of Israel as a criminal entity, whose sole purpose is evil, often contains subsidiary themes that have already been treated, such as Nazism, the blood libel, demonology, etc. However, the main thrust of the message here is the delegitimization of Israel as a sovereign state, since by its very existence it is posing a threat to the peace of the world.

1-2. Israel is a drunk soldier dreaming of world conquest and, as such, is holding an atom bomb (1). Mountains of skulls are the results of his evil deeds, and his symbol, the swastika, this from an important Egyptian newspaper 11 years after the signing of the peace treaty.

Israel complains in the UN about terrorist attacks (a slight nick on the finger), while leaving in its wake mountains of corpses of its Arab victims (2).

3-4. The deeds of the Jews in Palestine (all of Israel) are murder, torture, settlement, and expulsion (3). Israel is a nuclear-armed monster that plans to “devour” Arab land (4).

5-9. Judaism, epitomized by the Torah (or perhaps the Talmud, or The Protocols of the Elders of Zion), is a dagger, pistol, hand grenade, or dynamite stick (5). The Jews are roasting the whole world on a low flame (6). The Jews are the ones behind the intrigues of Iran and Sudan (7). The Jew is the one who pulls the strings and Khumayni, Assad, and Qadafi are nothing but his puppets (8). Newspapers in Libya, Syria, and Iran show, in complete symmetry to the above, caricatures of Egypt, the PLO, and Jordan as puppets in the hands of Israel. The basic idea is always the same, with the fertile imaginations engaged in the production of caricatures changing their output in accordance with the shifting alliances of Middle Eastern politics. Thus, a newspaper in Kuwait depicts Israel as the real invader of that country, with Saddam Hussein merely a tool for implementing the plot (9).

10-11. The Jewish monster is what is preventing the Arabs from having water. The two caricatures were published in Egypt, where the per capita water supply exceeds that of Israel by 400 percent, and in Syria, which has a per capita water supply 800 percent in excess of Israel’s.

12-14. In June 1992, a conference on ecology and environmental protection was held in Cairo, at which the dangers of air pollution were discussed. It did not take long for the Egyptian press to find the guilty party. The spectacle of the world holding its nose is almost certainly use of the medieval motif of “the Jewish stench”.
15. Israel's 43rd independence day is a cause of concern, since Israel's very existence is a cause of global disintegration. A year and a half later, in December 1992, in the wake of a severe earthquake in Egypt, the widely read Cairo paper Al-Wafd described the disaster as the work of Israel's intelligence bureau, the Mossad, and called upon the Egyptian government to file damage claims with the International Court of Justice in The Hague (December 27, 1992).

16. If not for the Jewish octopus trying to crush the decrepit sailboat, the world would be able to sail on to the coveted state of peace.
2. Israel, A-Tramara, Syria, February 21, 1990

[Cartoon image with text in Arabic]

Themes in Arab Caricature
صوت سيده!!
8. The Three Scoundrels
Al-Qanuni, Egypt, September 5, 1987

"مع الاعتذار للفيلم"

الاشقياء الثلاثة!!
H. Israel and the United States

The theme of Israel and/or the Jews and the United States continues the well-beaten path of Soviet caricature, with Arab elements added. In principle, the American people in general, and the administration in Washington in particular, are nothing but tools in the service of Jewish schemes. Hence, as a rule, the American, whether as a symbol of the United States or as represented by the incumbent president, will not be depicted in a manner that exceeds acceptable bounds, while the Jew will always be shown as a monster.

The Clinton-Rabin meeting (5) is a typical example. While the contours of President Clinton’s face are drawn with mild exaggeration (the shock of hair, the chin), the stereotypical monster beside him bears no resemblance to Prime Minister Rabin. The newspaper reader connects the two only by means of the caption.

The Jew sucks the blood of the American people (see F. 5 above). The Jew holds the candidates for president, including the president himself, in his pocket (1); The Jew declares himself the permanent president (2); Israel manipulates the US presidential elections through the Jewish vote (3); Congress, which is nothing but an extension of Israel (note the Star of David), extorts money for Israel while threatening the President by holding a gun to his head (4); Israel holds a “meeting” with the President (5).
Egypt, April 7, 1984.
إفراحكم بدل ما نسبب لكم إجراح كل شوية أدونا الفيتو واحنا وقت اللزم نبقى نستخدمه!!

محادثات أمريكية إسرائيلية
I. Israel is a Grave

The theme of "Palestine" as a grave for Israel and the Jews is, as noted previously (see chapter 5), a means of evading Arab distress over Israel's very existence, prosperity, and the enhancement of its strength, all of which clearly violate the tenets of Islam. The theme of the "grave" is a graphic reflection of the claim made by Dr. Yihye al-Rahawi in Al-Ahrar (July 19, 1982), a daily published by the Egyptian Liberal Party:

When the State of Israel was established and granted recognition by many, in both East and West, one of the reasons for such recognition was the latent desire of many in both the East and the West to rid themselves of as many representatives as possible of that mistake of humanity called "the Jews". Behind that motive was another, secret one: to concentrate them in one place, so that they could be extirpated when the moment was right.*

Thus, the grave motif is a fitting graphic summation of Arab anti-Semitism, which dwells on Israel's destruction as a precondition for the salvation of Islam and the unity of Arabs, toward fulfillment of the goals of jihad.

* For the full quotation, see chapter 7, p. 100.
2. To Israel, Al-Afrahm, Egypt, February 17, 1990.
EPILOGUE
In the historic relay race to destroy the Jewish people, the Arabs have taken up the torch, and are the ones who currently give meaning to the verse from the Passover Hagadah, “In every generation there are those who rise against us to destroy us.” It was Yehoshafat Harkabi who best expressed the intentions of the Arabs, on the one hand, and Israel’s blindness, on the other. In 1980, writing in a tone of despair and disappointment, he put the matter thus:

My writings have not had much influence, and the criticism leveled by a number of Israelis against my treatment of anti-Semitism made it seem controversial and dubious... No Israeli prime minister has seen the need to devote a political statement, a speech, or even a sentence in a speech to these revelations, at most, they were mentioned by the way. When the Iraqi government published The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, Israel remained mum. It seems to me that such tolerance toward Arab anti-Semitism has been among the factors that have made it possible for Western anti-Semitism to rear its head. This has been an omission for which Israel bears a heavy responsibility... My contention is that it is the duty of Israel to the Jewish people to condemn anti-Semitism whenever it appears to be government sponsored... Israeli scholars have a part in such failure to note Arab anti-Semitism.1

★

The Begin government tried to correct the oversight with which Harkabi charged his predecessors. The Prime Minister’s sensitivity to anti-Semitism was well-known, and he had government secretary Elyakim Rubinstein compile detailed annual reports entitled, Manifestations of Anti-Semitism. On February 6, 1990, in other words, after Lewis, Israeli, and Yadlin had published their studies describing the depth and scope of Egyptian anti-Semitism, Rubinstein submitted his report for 1989.

With regard to Egypt, which according to Bernard Lewis has been a focal point of Nazi-like anti-Semitism, the report stated: “Continued use of these [anti-Semitic remarks, A.S.] in the Egyptian media, establishment and opposition, is regrettable”2 — one sentence, which in the original Hebrew was eight words. In comparison, concerning anti-Semitism in Sweden, most of which involved opposition to kosher slaughter, the report devoted 72 words. The last report was submitted in 1993. When Rubinstein left his position, the monitoring of anti-Semitism ceased. At that very time, Foreign Minister Shimon Peres ordered all Israeli legations abroad to shelve the Palestinian Covenant; it was no longer to be displayed as an anti-Semitic document.

★

1. See Harkabi’s article, “Again to Arab Anti-Semitism”, in the anthology Sin at Yisrael Leboroteh (Hatred of Israel over the Ages), pp. 255-54 (Hebrew).

All universities in Israel have departments and centers for the study of the Holocaust and anti-Semitism. The Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Anti-Semitism at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem is the largest and most important of such centers. With the exception of Yad Vashem, an institution dedicated mainly to Holocaust documentation, the publications of the Sassoon Center exceed those of all the other centers and university departments combined. A perusal of the list of the Center's publications, and of ongoing research being conducted there, shows such titles as "Anti-Semitism and Nationalism in Quebec in the 1930s", "The State of Research and Documentation on the Socio-Economic Structure of Jews in France in the Years 1870-1914", "Anti-Semitism in Cuba from 1933 Until the Rise of Castro", "Anti-Semitism in Science Fiction in the Soviet Union", and so on. Of 89 titles, only three deal with manifestations of Islamic anti-Semitism, and only one (!) — the English translation of Yadlin's book — dealt with anti-Semitism in Egypt; in other words, not even a study, but the translation of a book which had been published in Hebrew two years previously. In the same period, six studies were published on anti-Semitism in Argentina.

During the 18 years of its existence, the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University has produced a stream of publications, and conducted dozens of conferences, symposia, and lectures. The majority of these have naturally been devoted to issues related to Israeli-Arab relations. In recent years, the Jaffee Center has concentrated on various aspects of the peace process. The issue of Arab anti-Semitism, as an unvarying principle of Arab relations with Israel, has not been dealt with or even received a single mention.

Like the more senior institution at Tel Aviv University, the Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies at Bar-Ilan University deals with issues related to Israeli-Arab relations and the Middle East. A list of 32 position papers published by the Begin-Sadat Center, as well as dozens of conferences and lectures it has sponsored, does not mention Arab anti-Semitism even once.

On October 19, 1995, an exhibition at the Ramat Gan Museum opened featuring the caricatures contained in this book. Eighty-six journalists from all of Israel's print and electronic media were invited to the opening. Invitations were also sent to Yad Vashem, the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Anti-Semitism, and all the research and documentation centers on anti-Semitism and the Holocaust in Israel. Not a single one of those invited arrived. Two days after the opening, on October...
21, three journalists came. Two of them immediately declared that the exhibition was right-wing propaganda; the third said he was very impressed with what he saw, but since his editor would not let him publish anything about it, he saw no point in taking notes. During the 30 days the exhibition ran, it was not mentioned in the press even once.

On the eve of the opening, the Ramat Gan municipality discussed a proposal to conduct a public discussion on the subject. An impressive team was proposed, including scholars of Arab affairs, experts on anti-Semitism, and politicians, with a popular broadcaster as moderator. The proposal was shelved, though, when it was realized that few people would come, due to lack of public interest.

★

Prof. Ben-Zion Dinur, a historian and education minister under Ben-Gurion, wrote:

Is it really the case that this misfortune came upon us suddenly? Have we not been sitting for generations on smoking volcanoes, and every time the earth quakes and the volcanoes spew out the lava of accusations that destroy us, we stand there dumbfounded, astonished, because we shut our eyes and kept loudly declaring that the volcanoes have long since been extinguished, that no smoke is coming up from their mouths, but only morning mists, and that they are not at all dangerous.  

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY
The great majority of the caricatures in this book — 99 out of 118 — were taken from Hatzav, a publication of the Israel Defense Forces intelligence corps which reproduces published material from the Arab press, including caricatures. Twelve illustrations were taken from the books of Yadlin, Israeli, and the publications of the Wiesenthal Center mentioned in the text. Several caricatures have been furnished courtesy of Prof. Moshe Sharon.

The time frame and area covered in this book parallel the peace with Egypt and the peace process; in other words, concerning Egypt, from the Camp David Accords, and for the other Arab states involved in negotiations, from 1991 (with several exceptions), in the course of which the Madrid Conference (November 1, 1991) was prepared.

Thus, caricatures from Arab or Muslim states in what has been termed the "rejectionist front", such as Iran, Iraq, Libya, and Algeria, have not been included, with one exception (d 1) for purposes of comparison.

While the author has purposely taken these restrictions upon himself, so as to obviate allegations of selectivity that supposedly serve political ends, in truth, such restriction was not necessary to begin with. The assumption that a volle face has transpired in the roots of the hatred of Jews in the Middle East, because of the recent political process, is an insult to Islamic civilization, and would be to any self-respecting civilization that would not rush to sell its spiritual and material assets for a bowl of lentils composed of the illusory doings of politicians.

Hence, not only is press caricature in "rejectionist states" not more venomous than that which appears in states with which Israel is conducting negotiations, it is actually more moderate. The central theme there is the foolishness of the Arabs, who fall prey to the knavery of Israel. However, the demonization of the Jew as a human being in the press of Egypt, Syria, and Jordan, both in the level and quantity of vilification, definitely exceeds that found in the press of Libya, Algeria, or Iraq.

This is the case both by geography and over time. Anti-Semitic caricature in Egypt never reached the intensity of hatred of Israel as it has since the Camp David Accords (except in proximity to the Six Day War; as attested to in the books of Lewis, Yadlin, and Israeli cited above).

★

Little exists by way of a systematic literature dedicated to anti-Semitic caricature. What can usually be found are marginal comments on caricature or anti-Semitism in general literature. Thus, for example, Severin Heinisch (see the bibliography below) devotes only a few lines to the anti-Semitic imagery in Der Stürmer in his book on caricature. The subject of caricature is
not mentioned at all (!) in Harkabi's comprehensive book, even though he set out to deal with as many aspects of Arab anti-Semitism as possible. Of the three works frequently cited in this book, those of Yadlin, Lewis, and Israel, only the last devotes one small chapter to the subject, fittingly called, "A Sample of Cartoons".

Collections of caricatures occasionally appear in the publications of organizations involved in the fight against anti-Semitism, such as the Wiesenthal Center or the Anti-Defamation League, as well as Israeli government pamphlets, such as that issued by the foreign ministry to describe anti-Semitic caricature on the eve of the Six Day War.¹

Encyclopedias classify the information they provide according to an order of priorities based on public interest. Thus, general encyclopedias are a faithful yardstick for judging the importance ascribed by the general public to various issues. The Encyclopaedia Britannica, the most comprehensive and popular compendium of knowledge that exists, is certainly as good an example as any for the purpose. In its article "Caricature" (1966 edition), there is not a single mention of anti-Semitic caricature from the Middle Ages to the present.

The Encyclopedia of the Holocaust (Tel-Aviv: Yad Vashem and Sifriat Poalim, 1992) did not see fit to devote a separate article to the subject of caricature; anti-Semitic drawings appear only under secondary titles such as "Anti-Semitism", "Racism", and "Der Stürmer".

The article "Caricatures" in the Encyclopedia Judaica (1972) and its appendices on "Anti-Semitism" in effect are completely oblivious to Arab caricature.

As mentioned above, the only documentation of caricature in the Arab press was published by the IDF intelligence corps. As far as the author knows, those collections have never been the subject of any systematic study.

Articles, studies, or systematic collections that focus on the image of Jews in anti-Semitic illustration are few and far between. The bibliographic list below includes six of them.
Selected Bibliography

Anti-Semitic Caricature

Blumenkranz, Bernhard, *Le Juif medieval au miroir de l’art chrétien*. (Paris, 1966). Immediately upon publication the book became a classic in its field serving as a source and a reference for most of the studies published since the late 1960s. Blumenkranz displays the objective side, lacking formal malice, in Jewish image, as well as the intentionally physical perversion.

Fuchs, Eduard, *Die Juden in der Karikatur*. (München, 1921). A basic study on anti-Semitic caricature, Fuchs’ collection contains an extensive list of anti-Semitic illustrations which have since become an asset of permanent value in research on anti-Semitism. The weakness of the study is in the author’s pseudo-Marxist interpretation of the very phenomenon of Jewish hatred. Fuchs’ study appeared, a year before publication, of Der Stürmer, therefore Nazi caricature, as it developed in Julius Streicher’s publication does not appear in his book.


Israel Reflected in Arab Caricature, (Tel Aviv, 1993), (Hebrew). A collection of caricatures, classified according to the Arab states, covering the years 1990-1992. No editor or author is mentioned. There are no foreward, comments or captions, just a date and the name of the paper.

Anti-Semitism, General

The following list includes basic books on the subject that have appeared over the past five decades. During this period, the classic anti-Semitism has been interwoven with anti-Zionism; the antagonism toward the Jewish State becoming a central motive in anti-Semitism.


Shmuel Almog (ed.), *A Hatred Through the Ages*. (Jerusalem, 1980).

**The Middle Ages: The Anti-Semitic Libel vs. Esthetic Innocence**


**The Modern Era — Unity of Form and Meaning**

Bauer, Bruno, *Die Judenfrage*. (Brunswick, 1843).


**Nazism, Permission to Exterminate**


Hitler’s Secret Conversations, translated and edited by R.H. Stevens and Norman Cameron, (New York, 1953).


Wulf, Joseph, *Die Bildenden Kunste in Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation*, (Gutersloh, 1963.)

**Arab Anti-Semitism**


Bat Ye’or (pen name of Gizelle Littman), *HaDhimim — B’nei Hasut*, (The Dhimmis — Protected Peoples), (Jerusalem, 1986).


Harkabi, Yehoshafat, *Arabs Attitudes to Israel*, (Tel Aviv, 1968).


Israeli, David, *Palestine in the Foreign Policy of the Third Reich*, (Bar Ilan, Ramat Gan, 1968).


Kedourie, Elie, *Democracy and the Arab Political Culture*, (Jerusalem, 1993, pp. 18-19).


Netanyahu, Binyamin, *A Place Among the Nations*, (Tel Aviv, 1995).
Sivan, Immanuel, *Arab Political Myths*, (Tel Aviv, 1988).

**The Middle East Military Balance**, (Iaffee Center for Strategic Studies for the years 1988-1994).


### Arab Caricature — A Note on Esthetics

Lipps, Theodor, *Ästhetik*, (Hamburg, 1903).
Rosenkranz, Karl, *Aesthetik des Hässlichen*, (Königsberg, 1853).
INDEX

A
A-Dastur 146, 148, 177, 183, 185, 186, 198, 203, 232, 236, 262, 265
A-Djir 170
A-Difa 204
A-Naswa 231
A-Nour 127, 219
A-Rafi 22, 140, 149, 151, 156, 161-163, 167-169, 171,
179, 195, 209, 210, 212, 217, 218, 223, 244
A-Rafi al-Am 235, 250
A-Sayakh, Sheikh 108
A-Sha'ab 16, 144, 176, 189, 255
A-Shark al-Wast 229
A-Siasta 226
A-Sinara 163, 182
A-Thawra 198, 202, 222, 243, 251
Abd-al Nasser, Gamal (see Nasser, Gamal abd-al)
Abu Abbas, Mahmud 125
Abu Ali (see Hitler, Adolf)
Abu Ayad 111
Abu Ijhad 111
Abu Mazan (see Abu Abbas)
Abu Sharif, Bassam 78, 83
Abu Zikhri, Waji 97, 125
Ahad Ha'am (Asher Hirsh Ginsberg) 29
Akkbar al-Kisali 220
Akkbar al-Yam 225, 259, 260
Al-A'lid 142
Al-Akali 155, 192
Al-Akrar 101, 139, 150, 163, 174, 227, 252, 261, 266
Al-Akrar 126, 163, 180, 213, 264
Al-Akadi, Mahmud Abbas 125
Al-Akkat 143, 166, 256
Al-Akkat al-Yam 224
Al-Altam 194, 197
Al-Assad, Hafez (see Assad, Hafez)
Al-Attim, Lufti Abdi 101-103
Al-Balad 165
Al-Bian 230, 233, 234
Al-Bilad 122
Al-Gunehura 192-193, 184, 188, 191, 221, 238, 242, 248,
249, 263
Al-Husseini, Amin, Haj 107, 115, 117-118, 121
Al-Istiqlal 159
Al-Ittikha 237, 247
Al-Iasr, Nadim 99-100, 126
Al-Jundi, Sami 120
Al-Kabus 208
Al-Khalidi, Salah Abd al-Fattah 105
Al-Mahdi, Fawzi Salim 122
Al-Masa 160
Al-Mawakef al-Arabi 181, 205, 206
Al-Mussawar 119
Al-Osma 147
Al-Pegal, Zvi 121
Al-Qadus 164
Al-Quds 175
Al-Rahawi, Yihye 126, 264
Al-Rashid, Harun, Caliph 81
Al-Sha'afi, Hussein 97
Al-Wafl 172, 211, 224, 241, 245
Ali, Mohamed 82
Alma-Tadema 134
Almog, Shmuel 55
Alon, Dafna 119
Anti-Semitic Newspapers
Der Stürmer 21, 41, 61, 64-67, 70-72, 92, 134, 136, 162
Kikeriki 41, 44, 49, 70
Libre Parole 44, 70
Pluvium 44, 51
Simplicissimus 44, 50
Aquinas, Thomas, Saint 34
Arafat, Yasser 91, 107-112, 121, 127
Arendt, Hannah 55
Assad, Hafez 85, 88, 90, 124, 129, 240
Augustine, Saint 19, 20, 34

B
Bavel 200
Badari, Yusuf, Sheikh 127
Balfour Declaration 79
Bamberg, Cathedral (Synagoga and Ecclesia) 37-38
Barak, Ehud 84
Deutscher, Yitzhak 95
Die Zukunft 53
Dinur, Ben-Zion 273
Dirwanger, Oskar 121
D'Israeli, Isaac 50
Dreyfus Affair 43, 50, 106
Dürer, Albrecht 18

E
Eban, Abba 80
Economic Al-Ahram 91, 101-103, 145, 158
Eichmann, Adolf 121-122
El Mondo 109
Elliot, George 50
Erasmus, Desiderius 106
Eternal Jew, The, (Der Ewige Jude) (film) 63, 66, 69
Ettinger, Shmuel 37
Bucharist, Christian Sacrament 25, 29, 31-33, 59

F
Fanon, Frantz 90
Faurisson, Robert 125
Pichte, Johann Gottlieb 44
Fipps (see Ruprecht, Phillip)
Flavius, Josephus 105
Fourth Lateran Council 31
Franfurter Zeitung 53
French Revolution 44
Freud, Sigmund 42, 54, 133

G
Ghali Bhutrus 87
Gitlis, Baruch 63
Giotto, di Bondone 37
Gobineau, Joseph Arthur 61, 116
Goebbels, Joseph 55, 61, 63, 67, 70, 72-73
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang Von 50, 62
Goldmann, Nahum 103
Gombrich, Ernest, Sir 18, 19
Gordon, Yehuda Leib 56
Green, D.F. 97
Grimm, Brothers 62

H
Ha'ezrahi, Pepita 133
Hagres, Sa'ad Mahmood 103
Haikal, Hasnein 83-84
Haley, David 122
Halifa, Mahmood Abd a-Rahman, Sheikh 108
Hall Ahmed, Ibrahim 105
Hamrosh, Ahmed 103

C
Calvin, John 32
Camp David 13, 16, 17, 85, 91, 101, 277
Canaan-Kedar, Nurit 35
Caricature,
Blood Libel 232, 233, 234, 236, 240
Criminal Entity 240
Demonization 198
Esthetic 131-136
Israel and the US 258-263
Israel is a Grave 264-267
Judeo-Nazi Motif 183
Unity of Form and Meaning 39-56
Zoomorphism 215
Chamberlain, Neville 61, 116
Chrysostom, John, Bishop 34
Clinton, William Jefferson, President 258
Commentary 93,
Croce, Benedetto 19

D
Darwaza, Mohamed Azzah 98
Daumier, Honoré 18, 56
David, Jacques-Louis 47, 134-135
Da Vinci, Leonardo 18
Delitsch, Franz 106-107
Der Stürmer (see Anti-Semitic Newspapers)
INDEX

Haramati, Yohanan 84
Harder, Maximillian 53
Harkabi, Yehoshafat 13, 17, 87, 93, 271, 278
Hassan, Magdi Ahmed 102
Hauser, Arnold 133
Heidar, Mohamed (see Hitler, Adolf)
Heinisch, Severin 277
Heine, Heinrich 43, 50-51, 53
Hertzberg, Arthur 44
Hess, Moses 54
Heydrich, Reinhard 73
Hilberg, Raoul 125
Himmler, Heinrich 73
Hitler, Adolf 55, 59, 63, 67-72, 117-119, 121-122, 125-128
 Mein Kampf 59, 70, 73, 104, 117-118, 120
Horchem, HJ 122
Horthy, Miklos, Admiral 59
Hussein, Ahmed 119
Hussein, King 107-108
Hussein, Saddam 88, 90, 107, 127-129
Hussein, Uday 107
Husseini, Abd al-Kader 111

I
Ibn-Saud, King 127
Ingarden, Roman 133
Innocent III, Pope 35
Intifada 110
Iscariot, Judas 19
Islam,
 Dar al-Harf 77-78, 80, 117
 Dar al-Islam 77-78, 80-82, 115, 117
 Dhima (Dhimmi) 78, 80-83, 100, 116-117
 Ethos of War 75-94
 Ikhad 20, 77-78, 80, 82, 89, 91, 97, 108-109, 111, 117, 122, 128, 129, 136
 similarity to Nazism 113-130
Islamic States in Teheran, Conference of 107-109
Israel, Raphael 17, 77, 91-93, 115, 271, 277-278
Istiklal 267
Ivri, David 84
Izz al-Din al-Qassam 111

J
Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University 272
Jerusalem Times 122
Jesus Christ 19, 20-21, 29, 31, 34-35, 59, 71
Iew Süss, The, (jud Süss) (film) 63, 65, 66
Jews,
 as Angel of Death 198, 199, 208
 as bacterium 59, 108
 as cancerous growth 108
 as dogs 215
 as insects 215, 216, 221, 222, 229, 230
 as monsters 139, 198, 199, 211, 231, 240
 as an octopus 215, 216, 226, 227, 241, 257
 as rats 61, 223
 as Satan (devil) 20, 37-38, 60, 62, 64-65, 116, 163, 198
 as snakes 136, 163, 215, 217, 218, 219, 220
 as swine 31, 37
Ikhad (see Islam)

K
Kahane, Meir 162
Karpi, Daniel 121
Katz, Shmuel 87
Kedourie, Elie 90, 120, 199
Khadduri, Majid 77
Khalil, Mustafa 87
Khunayni, Ayyatullah 240
Koch, Robert 59
Kreisky, Bruno 103

L
Lanzinger, Hubert 68
Lasalle, Ferdinand 54
Leibowitz, Yeshayahu 34
Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim 47, 50
Lewis, Bernard 17, 83, 91, 93, 107, 117, 119, 122, 127, 271, 277-278
Lipps, Theodor 133
Liptzin, Solomon 51
Littman, Gizelle (see Bat Ye’or)
Livingston, Neil 122
Locke, John 116
Luddy, A.I. 54
Luther, Martin 31-32, 73
Luxemburg, Rosa 54

M
Madrid Conference 107, 109, 139, 277
Mahpuz, Nagib 106
Mahrvi, Delal 111
Mansour, Anis 105, 115
Marian, Ferdinand 66
Marr, Wilhelm 55-56, 116
Marx, Karl 44, 54-56
Meinecke, Friedrich 55
Meir, Golda 13, 198
Michelangelo, Buonarroti 46
Mohamed 77, 80, 83, 88-89, 115, 118
Mommsen, Theodor 47, 55, 106-107
Mosse, G.L. 63
Mubarak, Hosni 84-85, 88, 90
Muhttsawi, Hugat 108

N
Napoleon, Bonaparte 47
Nasser, Gamal abd-al 83-84, 86, 119, 121, 129
Nativ 33, 54, 77, 84, 90, 121, 124, 184, 271
Nelson, Walter Henry 83
Netanyahu, Binyamin 121
Netter, Ron 105, 272
Neue Freie Presse 53

O
October 163, 178
Omar, Caliph 112
Oslo Agreements 91, 101, 109-111, 125

P
Pasteur, Louis 59
Patai, Raphael 134
Peres, Shimon 17, 89, 104, 111, 140, 183, 198, 232, 271
Pfefferkorn, Johann 106
Pine, Shawn 84
PLO 78-80, 84-85, 87, 108-109, 111, 122, 128, 240, 267
Plan of Stages 84
Plutonium (see Anti-Semitic Newspapers)
Pius XII, Pope 32
Porat, Yehoshua 84
Praxiteles 134
Pryce-Jones, David 119

Q
Qadhafi, Mu'ammar 88, 124, 129, 240

R
Rabin, Yitzhak 109-111, 139-140, 162, 183, 198, 258
Rappaport, Ernest 34
Rauschning, Hermann 59, 70
Reich, Wilhelm 54
Reine, Huyshe 133
Renoir, Pierre Auguste 134
Reuchlin, Johann 106-107
Revel-Neher, Elizabeth 37-38
Rilke, Rainer Marie 50
Rohling, August 106
Rommel, Erwin 119, 128
Rosenberg, Alfred 61
Rosenthal, Monroe 115
Roth, Cecil 26
Rousseau Jean-Jacques, 44
Ruz al-Yusuf 15, 84, 105, 140, 154, 157, 190, 198, 201, 254
Rowland, Benjamin 134
Rowlandson, Thomas 42-43, 56
Rubinstein, Elyakim 271
Runes, Dagobert, D. 25, 34
Ruprecht, Philip (Fipps) 20, 64, 66-67, 70-72

S
Sa'ada, Anton 119
Salah al Khir 214
Sadat, Anwar 83-84, 91, 101, 119-120, 127, 163
Anwar and Hitler 119
Safire, William 124
Saladin (Salah a-Din) 128-129
Sapir, Mauritz 53
Saut al-Arab 173
Saut al-Kuwait 196, 239, 246
Savonarola, Girolamo 19
Schechtman, Yosef 115, 121
Schiller, Johann Christoph 50
Shaat, Nabil 17
Shakespeare, William 38
Shamir, Yitzhak 139, 163, 198, 216, 232
Sharan, Shlomo 34
Sharon, Moshe 80-81, 90, 277
Shelley, Mary Wollstonecraft 198
Shoham, Dany 124
Shukeiry, Ahmed 84
Shukery, Ibrahim 108
Simplicius (see Anti-Semitic Newspapers)
Simson, Otto von 37
Sivan, Immanuel 87, 115, 128, 272
Stav, Arieh 90, 124, 271
Streicher, Julius 41, 70
Study of Islam, Fourth Conference on the 101

T
Tantawi, Hussein 84
Tisrur 183, 187, 193, 207, 257
Tlas, Mustafa 232
Trachtenberg, Joshua 25, 31, 115
Treibsche, Heinrich von 55-56, 106
Trent, Council of 31, 70
Tritiere, Terrence 82
Trotsky (see Bronstein, Lev)
Tucholsky, Kurt 53
INDEX

V
Vidal Sassoon International Center, The 272
Voltaire, Francois Marie 44

W
Wagner, Richard 52, 62
War,
  of Independence (1948) 17, 124
  Six Day (1967) 17, 86, 97, 100-101, 107, 115, 127, 163, 183, 277
  Yom Kippur (1973) 13, 101, 127, 163
Weltbühne 53
Wiesenthal Center 277, 278
Wilhelm, Kaiser 53
Wisliceny, Dieter 121
Wistrich, Robert 22, 37, 54
Wittenberg, Duke of 65

Wolf, Robert 33
Wolf (German Consul in Jerusalem) 118

Y
Yad Vashem 272, 278
Yadlin, Rivka 17, 91-93, 104, 271, 277-278
Yavets, Zvi 55

Z
Ziad, Abu-Ziad 80
Zidki, Halim 108
Zimmerman, Moshe 55
Zionism, as a "Final Solution", Islam Style 100, 125-126
Zola, Emile 47, 106-107
Zweig, Stephan 42
Zwingli, Huldreich, 32
The Ariel Center for Policy Research (ACPR), established in 1997, is a non-partisan organization committed to stimulating debates concerning those policies which are an outcome of the Peace Process.

...We have established an academic research center, the Ariel Center for Policy Research. This Center is headed by well-known figures, Israelis and non-Israelis, scholars and former military experts. This institute will conduct comprehensive research into many vital security issues facing Israel today. It will also analyze imminent threats to the security and stability of other democracies around the world... Being itself a prime target for hostile acts from its neighbors for many decades, Israel has, unfortunately, been forced to accumulate vast knowledge and experience in this field. Thus the Center will be able to draw on the best sources and experts in the world on a wide range of security issues.

Yitzhak Shamir
Former Prime Minister of Israel

ACPR activities to date (April 1999) include:

A. Publications:
   1. Books:
      ISRAEL AT THE CROSSROADS
      POLITICAL STRATEGY IN AN ERA OF CHAOTIC CHANGE (Hebrew)
      BALLISTIC MISSILES — THE THREAT AND THE RESPONSE (Hebrew)
      PEACE: THE ARABIAN CARICATURE, A Study of Anti-Semitic Imagery by Arieh Stav
      ISLAMIC ANTI-SEMITISM AS A POLITICAL INSTRUMENT by Yossef Bodansky
      HAMAS AND THE OSLO PROCESS by Dr. Yechezkel Shabat
   2. Policy Papers:
      The ACPR has published over 70 research and policy papers to date.

B. Forums, Hearings and Round Tables in Israel and Washington.

C. NATIV — the leading periodical on strategic issues in Israel.


E. ACPR’s Internet website can be seen at www.acpr.org.il