DO THE PALESTINIANS DESERVE A STATE? THE PATHOLOGY OF POLITICAL NIHILISM AND THE STRATEGY OF DESTRUCTION

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Since and even before the founding of Israel in 1948, there has been continuous conflict, much of its violence, between Israel and the Palestinians. Large portions of each side deny the political legitimacy of the other side. This essay pursues the notion that the Palestinian position in its essence does not accept Israel, in either its current or possibly revised territorial extent, as legitimate. This posture has increasingly viewed the conflict in religious and even existential terms: Israel as a Jewish state has no right to exist in any form. The Islamic terror organization that controls Gaza, Hamas, stipulates this very position in its Covenant while the Palestinian Authority, in its occupation of substantial parts of Judea and Samaria, has consistently refused opportunities to establish its own state if doing so means or even implied that Israel's continued existence must be recognized by an independent Palestine. The essay's conclusion suggests that the Palestinians, a community forged by hate and resentment with no national history or culture to speak of, is neither successfully capable of administering a state nor deserving of one until or unless it divests itself of the toxic impetus of hatred and focus, instead, constructing a political democracy able and willing to live alongside its neighbor.

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INTRODUCTION

The paper is the result of interviews conducted over the last three years with Israeli Arabs (Christian and Muslim), Jews, and Palestinian Muslims, several of whom are quoted here. In some instances, interviewees are also published authors whose works relevant to this topic are cited. Interviews and presentations from primary sources include journalists, teachers, retired intelligence officers, and municipal officials. Part I, Prefatory Remarks, the essay summarizes its focus by providing an abbreviated history of the conflict. Part II, “The Transition from Palestinianism to Islamism” traces the evolution of the conflict from mostly political one that has assumed over the last quarter century to a greater religious dimension that includes the possibility of a genocide of the Israeli citizenry. Part III, “The State of Hate” examines the toxic impact of a political movement and agenda that is essentially founded on an intense hatred of those viewed as inferior to Muslims and seen as occupying a land that is to be “restored” to the Umma, or the Islamic community. Part IV, “The Alacrity to Terminate Israel” explains the ultimate goal of the Palestinian leadership. Part V, “An Elusive Solution” begins to examine the ways in which those Palestinians who really desire to live in peace with Israel can be pursued. Part VI, “How to Deserve a State” summarizes the essential circumstances that must prevail for two distinct and often conflicting cultures to live harmoniously with one another.

I. PREFATORY REMARKS

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is a seemingly perennial one. Large segments of each side are genuinely convinced that the other has made and is continuing to make fictitious claims to identical territory. Most Israelis maintain that there has been a Jewish presence in what is today Israel proper (the pre-June, 1967, lines) as well as Judea and Samaria (frequently referred to as the West Bank since the 1950s) for three and a half millennia.¹ Arabs, both Christian and Muslim, by and large argue that today’s Israelis are interlopers and invaders who arrived from Europe and parts of the middle

¹ The first Israelite commonwealth was established by 1000 BCE and probably earlier. An Israelite presence has been established by archeological evidence as early as the 1200s BCE. Moreover, Jerusalem has been the capital of a Jewish state only—Judah, Judaea, and Israel—over the last three millennia. See Lee Bender, *Four Facts That Everyone Should Know about the Palestinian Arab War on Israel*, <http://blogs.timesofisrael.com/four-facts-that-everyone-should-know-about-the-palestinian-arab-war-on-israel> (last visited Feb. 9, 2015). Collectively, the State of Israel and Judea and Samaria can be referred to as the Land of Israel, a point that will be returned to later in this paper.

east no more than a century or so ago, while there has been an Arab presence for nearly 14 centuries. Moreover, each side has, over the last two decades, hardened its position. Ironically, the intransigence has steadily increased since the Oslo Accords were formulated and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Palestinian Authority President Yasir Arafat shook hands at the White House in 1993. By and large, the Israelis, nearly across the political spectrum, have increasingly assumed that the Palestinians don't seek peace as much as they seek the destruction of Israel. Therefore, territorial concessions are wasted and dangerous to them. For their part, the Palestinians, after at least three generations of institutionalized hatred of and contempt for Israelis, assume that their struggle can only end with the demise of what they refer to the occupation.²

There is no historical dispute that there existed an independent Israelite kingdom that dates back more than three millennia and that flourished for centuries before being overwhelmed by one after another of the various superpowers of the day, most notably and enduringly, the Roman Empire. The Romans put an end to Jewish political existence at the conclusion of the Bar Kochba Revolt (132-135 CE). No Jewish state functioned again as a distinct and sovereign political entity until 1948, more than eighteen centuries later.³ Historians tend to agree that the term "Palestine" is most likely a version of the ancient Philistine people who disappeared from history three millennia ago and who certainly were not Arabs, but invaders who arrived, probably from southern Europe, around or a little after the time the ancient Jews did. The Emperor Hadrian was intent on eradicating any Jewish presence in Jerusalem (the Second Temple had been destroyed in 70 CE) and renamed the city Aelia Capitolina. By imperial decree, no Jews were allowed to live or worship in Jerusalem for the next 250 years. Apparently, an unknown but significant number of Jews did live in Jerusalem and/or its environs during this period, but managed to do so secretly. In the middle of the fourth century the last known pagan Roman

² How much of Palestine is occupied is less and less debated. Most Palestinians are convinced that Tel-Aviv is occupied territory while most Israelis are persuaded that the Palestinians simply want them dead and are, in the meantime, illegally occupying most of Judea and Samaria. One observer has correctly pointed out that "There never has been a Palestinian state. Ever. The West Bank was Jordanian, the Golan Heights were Syrian and the Gaza Strip was Egyptian". Bassam Tawil, *The Palestinians' Real Enemy: Europe*. Available at <http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/4991/palestinians-enemy-europe> (last visited Jan. 2, 2015).

³ It is important to define a few terms before proceeding further. The "State of Israel" includes the territory and population within the 1949 cease fire lines plus the Golan Heights and eastern Jerusalem. The "Land of Israel" includes the previous two areas in addition to Judea and Samaria, occasionally referred to as the "west bank", a term that had no political relevance until the seizure of this territory during 1948-1949 by the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan's military.

emperor (361-363 CE), Julian, encouraged their return and promised assistance to rebuild the Temple, but, after ruling for only twenty months, Julian died before the promise could be redeemed. The decision to rebuild the Temple was reversed by his successor and not revived during the Roman occupation period.

Roman/Byzantine authority endured until the middle of the seventh century, CE. It was permanently ended by the arrival of an Arab/Muslim army that received the surrender of Jerusalem and most of Judea and Samaria in 637. Except for the relatively brief interruption of the crusader kingdoms during the eleventh century, the region was occupied by a succession of Islamic rulers that culminated in a nearly 450 year status as an Ottoman province. The Ottomans were expelled in 1917 by the British who remained in control until their departure in 1948 under a mandate provided by the League of Nations. It's important to note that no Palestinian state existed during any period of the time under discussion.⁴ In fact, there has never been a Palestinian state at any time in history. A so-called flag for the Palestinian mandate, circa 1939, featured a Star of David. Moreover, no Palestinian state has been formed since 1948, though several countries in Europe and the Middle East have or are counted on to soon recognize a state of Palestine.⁵ The United Nations 1947 Partition Plan was never actually implemented because of the adamant refusal of the Arab side to accept this or any previous partition plan that would result in the appearance of a Jewish state in any shape or form.

The establishment of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1964 (for all practical purposes, the predecessor of the current Palestinian Authority (PA) that was created nearly three decades later) enabled the anti-

⁴ It is not an exaggeration to mention that no Palestinians existed during this time either. Most of 1.3 million Arabs living inside the British Mandate did not have a developed sense of nationalism, but felt loyalty to their village or clan and, occasionally, even to Jewish towns nearby. A substantial number lived in peace with their Jewish neighbors. Most of the Arabs fighting in the Mandate territory against the Israeli military during 1948-1949 were from the outside. And many of these coerced Arabs indigenous to the area to join various militia to combat the Israel Defense Forces (IDF). See EFRAIM KARSH, *PALESTINE BETRAYED* (Yale University 2011). Those most violently opposed to Israeli statehood included Haj Amin al-Husseini, a Nazi ally and personal friend of Heinrich Himmler. His long record of murdering political opponents, mostly Arab and Muslim, did not endear him to most of the Arabs living in the Palestine Mandate and he wasn't popular, except with Nazis. His ultimate desire was not only to destroy the Palestinian Jewish community before 1948, but Israel after 1948 and to slaughter its Jewish citizens, a goal repeatedly endorsed by current Islamic organizations such as Hamas, Islamic Jihad and Hizbollah. See Andrew G. Bostom, *A Salient Example of Hajj Amin-al-Husseini's Canonical Islamic Jew Hatred* and Khaled Abu Toameh, *Why Abbas Will Not Condemn Terror Attacks*. Available at <http://gatestoneinstitute.org/4871/abbas-terror-attacks> (last visited Nov. 12, 2014).

⁵ The Palestinian Authority (PA) established a full embassy in Stockholm in February, 2015, after the PA received diplomatic recognition by Sweden.

Israel movement to gain some sort of cache. However, the PLO from its beginnings was an advocate of the destruction of the Israeli state. In its early pronouncements, the PLO was not genocidal, but clearly determined to remove the most if not all of the Jewish presence from the area. Its various gangs committed terrorist acts, though most of these involved moderate loss of life. Each of the PLO's failure, however, seemed to lead it or its occasional spin-offs into more extreme measures and its franchises or spin-offs competed with one another to commit an even worse outrage than what had occurred previously. The decimation of the PLO's militias by the Jordanian armed forces during September, 1970, for example, resulted in the formation of the notorious Black September, the terror group that perpetrated the Olympic massacre of Israeli athletes in Munich two years later.

It's important to note that the PLO as well as other Palestinian terror gangs were, during most of the closing decades of the twentieth century, basically secular groups that were generally associated with and often supported by the European radical left. The Soviet Union sponsored and financed several radical regimes as well as the PLO and gangs such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and even provided them with logistical help. While some members of these groups were practicing Muslims, others were Christian Arabs and, by and large, were secular in their orientation. The common goal of destroying Israel remained but the intent was (usually stated) to ultimately result in the establishment of a secular state, though Jewish immigrants since 1917 would be expelled.

The capture, trial, and execution in Jerusalem of Adolf Eichmann, one of the most wanted living Nazi criminals, during 1960-1962, was carefully covered by the Arab media, nearly all of which expressed the regret that Eichmann had not finished the job of slaughtering Jews that would then have allowed them to avoid the establishment of Israel. It was now up to the Arabs in particular and good Muslims in general to do so. The distance between Israelis and Arabs could not be Starker: a war criminal that was tried in Jerusalem and became the only person to be executed by the State of Israel is considered as a hero to the latter. "Martyrs" who have murdered Israeli children have had streets named after them in Arab cities such as Ramallah and their families frequently receive substantial sums of money as a reward for their crimes against defenseless civilians. They become public heroes to be emulated by their younger siblings.

II. THE TRANSITION FROM "PALESTINIANISM" TO ISLAMISM

During the closing years of the twentieth century, both Israel and the

West became gradually confronted by the (re)appearance of Islamic radical groups, most of which were dedicated to terror, but also demonstrated a sophistication and agenda far more advanced than the PLO or PFLP or other terror organizations. At the same time, something else was going on that encouraged the various hopes to replace Israel with a Palestinian state. The anti-Zionist movement in Europe and North America was quickly gaining momentum in the guise of BDS—boycott, disinvest, and sanctions of Israel products. Anti-Semitism, once thought to be completely discredited after World War II, gradually reappeared barely and ineffectually disguised as hostility toward Israel and Zionism. By the twenty-first century's second decade, Jew's hatred in Europe was becoming increasingly apparent, violent, and lethal.

The acceleration of this hostility began soon after Israel won the Six Day War in June, 1967.⁶ Over the next several decades, as the Israeli's presence in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza continued, Israel became widely labeled, mostly by the Arab media and leftist parties in Europe and elsewhere, as an occupying power. The First and Second Intifadas (1987-1993 and 2000-2005, respectively) revealed the rampant hostility toward Israelis and Jews (in any country) among Arab Muslims as well as Muslims in general in both the Middle East and within the European Muslim communities.⁷ The Palestinian Muslims are encouraged this time to an unprecedented extent in most European countries, where Jew's hatred never really died⁸ and, in most places, has a seventeen-century long history. During the early years of the twenty-first century, anti-semitism became increasingly vicious and lethal in several European countries, in great part because of the large and growing Muslim communities that by this time were producing killers who had little or no connection with the Palestinian cause, but saw it as their moral obligation to murder Jews. Increasing numbers of European Jews are leaving.

A Third Intifada may currently be unfolding. It seems that each successive Palestinian generation reinforces and hardens the intensity of the

⁶ For an excellent treatment of this nearly half century phenomenon, see JOSHUA MURAVCHICK, *MAKING DAVID INTO GOLIATH: HOW THE WORLD TURNED AGAINST ISRAEL* (New York: Encounter Books 2014).

⁷ Apparently, there really is such a thing as anti-semitism without Jews. Turkey under the Erdogan regime has steadily increased its hostility toward Israel and Jews since it came to power in the early years of the twenty-first century. But even before Erdogan, Jew hatred in Turkey had a long if less than endearing history that can be traced back at least to the time of Kemal Ataturk. See, for example, Uzey Bulut, *Ethnic Cleansing of Jews in Turkey: How a Population Dropped to Two*. Available at <http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/4937/turkey-ethnic-cleansing-jews> (last visited Dec. 15, 2014).

⁸ See Denis MacEoin, *Will Fact Ever Displace Anti-Israel Fiction?* Available at <http://gatestoneinstitute.org/4617/israel-fact-fiction> (last visited Sep. 5, 2014).

hatred and animosity of the previous generation. The third intifada generation is the most hate-filled and also, at least potentially, the most violent. Many Palestinians are currently inspired by the rise of the Islamic State that is relentlessly Judeo-phobic in both its rhetoric and plans for Israel. It seems to make no difference to these Palestinians that the Islamic state has been slaughtering thousands of Muslims simply because they were Shiite or Kurdish.

The “two-state solution” evolved from the Oslo Accords and, by 1993, polls suggested that most Israelis were willing to trade land for peace, end the Israeli’s presence in much of the West Bank, and live next to a state of Palestine with the hope of sustaining durable economic, technological, and cultural relations that would be mutually beneficial. During the ensuing years, Israeli enthusiasm for Palestinian political sovereignty dimmed because of the realization that any Palestinian state on Israeli borders would simply be a launching pad for terror attacks against Israeli civilians. But the western democracies persisted in their denial of Palestinian duplicity and deceit and, by 2013, were beginning to officially recognize the existence of a Palestinian state even though it did not currently exist or had ever existed. The concept of a new twenty-third dysfunctional, corrupt, and violent Arab state was not considered.⁹ In effect, nothing had changed since the 1948-1949 first Arab-Israeli war when the Secretary General of the recently formed Arab League announced that the conflict with Israel “will be a war of extermination, and a momentous massacre.”¹⁰ It wasn’t but the rhetoric hasn’t changed since it first appeared.

The Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement (referred to here as the Hamas Covenant) was promulgated on August 18, 1988. Its preamble states that “Israel will exist and will continue to exist until Islam will obliterate it, just as it obliterated others before it.” This is an uncompromising statement: there is no mention of swapping land for peace, economic and political relations between Israel and Palestine, or the desirability of a peaceful resolution to the conflict. But such a posture for Hamas is also understandable. There is and can be no middle ground. Islam’s founder is recorded as stating that “I have been sent with the

⁹ The PA’s president, Mahmoud Abbas, is currently in the tenth year of a four-year term. Democratic norms and values do not seem to be criteria for the establishment of a Palestinian state.

¹⁰ Akbar al-Yom, Egypt, October 11, 1947, quoted in David Barnett and Efraim Karsh, *Azzam’s Genocidal Threat*, MIDDLE EAST QUARTERLY (Fall 2011). Azzam’s comment was delivered less than two and a half years after the Holocaust. He wanted his own slaughter of Jews to be every bit as annihilationist as the Mongol invasions during the Middle Ages were to much of the Islamic world. Seventy years later, Azzam’s goal remains very much present in the Palestinian outlook regarding Israel.

shortest expressions bearing the widest meanings, and I have been made victorious with terror.”¹¹ Hamas and other terror gangs such as Islamic Jihad rely on Islamic scripture and sanctioned commentaries to justify violence that includes mass slaughter and torture.¹²

Hamas itself may not be highly regarded among all Palestinians, but its sentiments have a widespread endorsement. The steady and institutionalized diet of hatred has had serious and long-term consequences: “78% of Palestinians believe that Jews are responsible for most of the world’s wars while a whopping 88% believe that Jews control the global media and still more believe that Jews wield too much power in the business world.”¹³ The Israelis actually allow Islamic imams and sheikhs within their jurisdiction to proclaim that “Jews are apes and pigs” and that Muslims must slaughter Jews at any and every opportunity. This enthusiastic encouragement is regularly endorsed by many if not most Islamic clergy and scholars.¹⁴

All of this should be sufficient for most Israelis to want to avoid the eventuality of a Palestinian terror state within easy driving distance of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. However, for the Palestinians, it gets even worse. There apparently is no reason for them to believe that their fellow Arabs are at all interested in assisting them to either acquire or to help sustain a state. One Israeli Arab journalist has pointed out that “it is much easier for Palestinians to receive medical treatment in Israel, Turkey and Germany than in most of the Arab countries.”¹⁵ Many do so, including family members of leading Palestinian terrorists.

But Israel’s humanitarian gestures change nothing. No amount of decency can redeem Israel and Jews in the opinion of those that crave their destruction. In fact, the increasing Islamization of the so-called Palestinian

¹¹ Sahih Bukhari 4:52.220.

¹² Ibn Ishaq 515.

¹³ Ari Lieberman, *Western Indifference to the Palestinian Culture of Hate*. Available at <http://www.frontpage.com/2014/ari-lieberman-indifference-to-the-palestinian-culture-of-hate> (last visited Dec. 15, 2014).

¹⁴ “Abu Huraira reported Allah’s Messenger (*saas*) as saying ‘The last hour would not come unless the Muslims fight the Jews.’ The Jews would hide themselves behind a stone or a tree and a stone or tree would say, ‘Muslim, or the servant of Allah, there is a Jew behind me; come and kill him.’ Abdalla Sahih Muslim, *Kitab al-Fitan wa Ashrat as-Sa’ah*, Book 41, 6985.” Quoted in Bassam Tawil, *The Palestinians’ Real Enemy: Europe*. The violence increasingly associated with and committed by Islamists is difficult to exaggerate and for good reason: “The political violence of the Koran is eternal and universal. The political violence of the Bible was for that particular historical time and place. This is the vast difference between Islam and other ideologies. The violence remains a constant threat to all non-Islamic cultures, now and into the future. Islam is not analogous to Christianity and Judaism in any practical way.” Quoted in Uzay Bulut, *Islamic Terrorism: The Taboo Topic*. Available at <http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/5119/islamic-terrorism-taboo> (last visited Jan. 26, 2015).

¹⁵ Khaled Abu Toameh, *Why a Palestinian State Will Become a Source of Instability*. Available at <http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/4917/palestinian-state-stability> (last visited Dec. 1, 2014).

national movement has done little more than reinforce the determination of destroying the Israeli state and annihilating its over 8.3 million citizens. The reinforcement is daily observed in mosques and schools which is to be expected but also in the media. Apparently, for serious journalists, even for those who are very critical of Israeli policies, the harassment by Hamas and the Palestinian Authority to curtail objective reporting intimidation as well as arrest and jail time “is nothing compared to the threats coming from the Islamic State, a bloodthirsty, savage group that killed journalists, relief workers, and thousands of innocent civilians”¹⁶ and that Hamas, despite its protestations to the contrary, feels compelled to emulate. Palestinian journalists, in providing objective and factual analysis of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, previously could be accused of disharmony and perhaps even treason. The charges have now been changed to apostasy, a sin so serious in Islam that the ultimate punishment is death.

III. THE STATE OF HATE

The usage of hatred as a political stratagem should not be underestimated. The Koran provides clear advocacy for hatred by Muslims toward Jews. The Koran insists, for example, that Jews are at all times the enemy of Muslims.¹⁷ One scholar has written that Koran condemns Jews who

“[S]trive to do mischief on earth”—that is, *fasaad*, for which the punishment is specified in 5:33: “They will be killed or crucified, or have their hands and feet on alternative sides cut off, or will be expelled out of the land.”¹⁸

There is ample support for this perspective well beyond the Palestinian community. Anti-semitism in Europe is increasing steadily and many Jews, particularly in France, the third largest Jewish community in the world after Israel and the United States, have either departed from Europe or are

¹⁶ Khaled Abu Toameh, *Islamic State Joins Hamas, PA in Threatening Journalists*. Available at <http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/5180/threatening-palestinian-journalists> (last visited Feb. 5, 2015). The crackdown on journalists has another important consequence: Palestinian reporters engage in self-censorship and then feed the international media on what is almost exclusively anti-Israel “reportage”. *Ibid.* It is certainly understandable that Palestinian journalists are concerned for their well-being, but the acknowledgement that they regularly refrain from accurate reporting is almost never mentioned by the mainstream media in Europe or in the United States.

¹⁷ Apologists for Islam will insist that the Koran actually contains verses that are complimentary of Jews. There are a few verses in the “Mecca Koran”, formulated when Mohamad believed he could persuade Jews to accept him as their (final) prophet, that actually accomplish this. However, the “Medina Koran”, formulated after Mohamad had established his power base in Medina after 622, is consistently derogatory toward Jews and contains more Jew hatred than Mein Kampf.

¹⁸ Robert Spencer, *The Complete Infidel's Guide to the Koran* (Regnery), at 116.

considering doing so. That Jews were hated in Europe well before the current Islamic invasion can be observed in the almost institutionalized bias in the media and in government circles on behalf of the Palestinian cause. “While radical Islam has been gaining strength and influence, Europe has been increasingly helpless regarding its Christian and Jewish populations, and has been seriously demonizing its Jews.”¹⁹

This perspective is not new, of course, but its lethality is growing. “The truth is that the Europeans do not really care about the Palestinians, only about destroying Israel.”²⁰ The miserable plight of the Palestinians is generally accepted throughout Europe as one for which Israel bears responsibility and legitimizes hatred of Israel, not the terrorist gangs such as Hamas, Islamic Jihad, as well as the corrupt and incompetent Palestinian Authority. Europeans, of course, are of limited support in that they have not quite gone to the extreme of Hamas and Hizbollah that regularly interchanges the term “Israel” with “Jews.” The embarrassment of the Holocaust is not yet completely gone. Instead, Europeans issue condemnations of “Zionist” occupation and usurpation of Palestinian land and regularly criticize Israel for defending itself against Islamic inspired and authorized terrorism.

But hatred of Israelis is essentially an accepted institution in the Palestinian media, educational system, and overall culture. The hatred is also historical and spans generations at least from the time of the Islamic supremacist, Haj Amin al-Husseini, the Mufti of Jerusalem until his collaboration with the German Nazi regime during the time of the Third Reich (1933-1945).²¹ After World War II, al-Husseini never ceased his emphasis on the importance of eradicating the Jews. His hatred was reinforced with the establishment of Israel in 1948. More recently, Hassan Nasrallah, Hezbollah’s third and current general secretary, stated in 2013 that Israel “is a cancer that must be eradicated”. He had earlier suggested that “If [the Jews] all gather in Israel, it will save us the trouble of going after them worldwide” or “If we search the entire world for a person more cowardly, despicable, weak and feeble in psyche, mind, ideology and religion, we would not find anyone like the Jew. Notice I didn’t say

¹⁹ Bassam Tawill, *Europe’s Real ‘Resistance’*. Available at <http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/1556/europe-real-resistance> (last visited Jan. 28, 2015). Apparently, Europeans have accepted the notion that Jews are the worst enemies of Muslims (5:82).

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ See DAVID G. DALIN & JOHN F. ROTHMANN, *ICON OF EVIL: HITLER’S MUFTI AND THE RISE OF RADICAL ISLAM* (New York: Random House 2008).

Israeli.”²²

At least Nasrallah is being candid about his and Hizbollah’s desire for and goal of genocide. And he wants as many as possible to hate Jews/Israelis. This is why he supported the Hamas attack during the summer of 2014 against Israelis. More than 2000 Gazans lost their lives during this conflict. At least half of them were combatants. Others were civilians that Hamas insisted be used as human shields, sometimes in their own homes. Hamas leaders quickly left Gaza as hostilities began in order to reside comfortably in five star hotels in Qatar and, between sumptuous meals and spa treatments, instructed Gazans to suffer and die to increase the Palestinian body count in order to blame the Israelis and make them more hated.²³ Hatred does feed on itself and it must be constantly augmented and enhanced.

The immediate sources for this hatred are the Koran and the Hadith. In the former, passages such as Jews being characterized as people who sow corruption (5:64) are frequent. In the Hadith the call for genocide of the Jews is more precise: “on the Day of Judgment, the trees will say, ‘Oh Muslim, Oh servant of G-d, here is a Jew hiding behind me. Come here and kill him.’”²⁴ And Jews have also been condemned to the status of apes (2:65, 5:60, and 7:166), hardly a complimentary term, let alone one that is conducive to the peace process. Finally, many if not most Palestinians, taught from the beginning of their lives that Jews are the enemies of Islam, are kept mindful of the admonition of Muhamad from his deathbed that Jews are to be killed wherever they are found.²⁵ There are, in this sense, no good Jews unless they are former Jews who have converted to Islam.

The Jews living in the Land of Israel in the enjoyment of their own state, security, and destiny is an abomination. They rejected Mohamad and must pay the penalty for their arrogance. And Israel’s destruction is not sufficient in any case. Jew’s hatred does not necessarily have any limitations.

If the Jews left Palestine to us, would we start loving them? Of course

²² Quoted in Alan M. Dershowitz, *Confronting European Anti-Semitism*. Available at <http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/5167/confronting-european-anti-semitism> (last visited Jan. 30, 2015).

²³ Charles Krauthammer, *The Truth about Gaza*. Available at www.nationalreview.com (last visited Jul. 17, 2015). Hamas fired rockets from Gaza into Israel. The rockets were stored in homes, schools, shopping centers, and mosques to insure that if the Israelis retaliated to take out the launch sites there would almost certainly be Gazan civilian casualties.

²⁴ Hassan Nasrallah in 2008 stated that Israel was established by “the grandsons of apes and pigs—the Zionist Jews...to the murderers of the prophets, the grandsons of apes and pigs, we say... ‘Death to Israel.’” Quoted in Mitchell Bard, *DEATH TO THE INFIDELS: RADICAL ISLAM’S WAR AGAINST THE JEWS* 6 (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2014).

²⁵ Nonie Darwish, *Why Muslims Hate Jews*, AMERICAN THINKER (last visited Aug. 3, 2014).

not. We will never love them. Absolutely not. The Jews are infidels—not because I say so, and not because they are killing Muslims, but because Allah said: “The Jews say that Uzair is the son of Allah, and the Christians say that Christ is the son of Allah.” These are the words from their mouths. They imitate the sayings of the disbelievers before. May Allah fight them. How deluded they are [9:30]. It is Allah who said that they are infidels.²⁶

IV. THE ALACRITY TO TERMINATE ISRAEL

The hatred focused on Israel in particular and Jews in general is relentless, but it is also indicative of the hurry Arabs and other Muslims are to destroy Israel. They literally can’t wait. Their goal has been reinforced of late by the undeniable collapse of several (mostly artificial) countries in the Middle East. Iraq, Lebanon, Yemen, and Syria are in chaos and are being partitioned into statelets that are often in conflict with one another. While the assistance that Arab regimes provided to the Palestinians was often miserly or even non-existent, it may well be reduced even further as countries in the region dissolve into civil war. Only a fraction of the aid pledged for the re-construction of Gaza has been forthcoming. Moreover, a significant proportion of educated Palestinians are emigrating.²⁷ They are quite understandably fleeing a stagnant economy, dysfunctional and corrupt government, and what can be most accurately described as overall brutality and torture.

In this sense, the Palestinian population reflects what is happening elsewhere in the Middle East in both Arab and non-Arab countries. The population growth rate of Arabs residing in Judea and Samaria (the West Bank) was 4.41 percent in 1964; half a century later the growth rate had halved to 2.19 percent. In the meantime, the Israeli fertility rate has gradually increased among both secular and orthodox Jews and is significantly higher than the rate in Judea and Samaria, though about even with the rate within the current State of Israel.²⁸ These demographic data have important implications for the future. By 2059, according to the Israel Bureau of Statistics, the Jewish population in the Land of Israel (which

²⁶ Imam Muhammad Hussein Ya’quob, quoted in Robert Spencer, *The Complete Infidel’s Guide to the Koran* (Regnery).

²⁷ Palestinian emigration has averaged around 10,000 annually since 1967. See David P. Goldman, *The One-State Solution Is on Our Doorstep*. Available at <http://www.meforum.org/4753/israel-one-state-solution> (last visited Jul. 14, 2014). In the meantime, immigration to Israel is increasing as large numbers of Jews, particularly in France, leave or, more appropriately, flee Europe. See also Yakov Faitelson, *A Jewish Majority in the Land of Israel*, MIDDLE EAST QUARTERLY 15—27 (Fall 2013).

²⁸ *Ibid.*

includes the current State of Israel plus Jews living in Judea and Samaria) could be approaching 16 million compared to 6.3 million in 2014. The Arab population would reach around 2.8 million or around 17 percent of the total population, a proportion similar to what it is today²⁹ and also similar to what it has been since Israel's founding. If safety in numbers matters, and it certainly does at least for Israelis, it is becoming more difficult on a daily basis for their enemies to annihilate them.

Hatred, of course, is the great motivator to genocide and Israel's future as a secure and sovereign state is not guaranteed. The Nazi regime in the closing stages of World War II, when it was becoming increasingly clear, that time was rapidly running out for Germany and most Nazis understood they could not win the war, remained relentless in pursuit of the policy to slaughter as many Jews as possible before the end came. Personnel and materiel remained dedicated to the extermination of European Jewry even if this preference helped the Nazis lose the war. The Palestinians are disconcertingly similar. After the Israeli evacuation of Gaza in 2006, there was an opportunity for the region to evolve into a Middle Eastern Singapore. Gaza could have become a tourist haven and a banking capital for the region. Instead, Hamas insisted on the destruction of most of the infrastructure established by the Israelis. Hamas in essence created a terror state and the sole purpose of which was to be, literally, a launching pad for rocket strikes on Israeli population centers in the hope of demoralizing and terrorizing the Israeli population while murdering as many Israelis as possible.

The counterpart of Hamas in the Palestinian occupied areas of Judea and Samaria, the Palestinian Authority (PA) also and enthusiastically did its part to insure the economic under development of its citizenry by providing tens of millions of dollars, much of which came from the United States, to the families of "martyrs" and "heroes" who murdered Israeli civilians.³⁰ These monies could have been devoted to building the infrastructure for a more mature economy as well as better and more schools and hospitals. But

²⁹ Faitelson, *A Jewish Majority in the Land of Israel*.

³⁰ Itimar Marcus and Nan Jacques Zilberdik, *PA Allocates \$46 Millions More for Terrorists in 2014*, PALESTINIAN MEDIA WATCH (February 12, 2014). The practice of murdering Israeli civilians in cold blood has a long tradition. When Arab Muslims first invaded and occupied Israel in 632 CE there were few if any peaceful overtures. Instead Muslims engaged in "destroying, burning and taking as many captives as they could". The University of Texas at Tyler. Martin Slann, Professor of Political Science, The University of Texas at Tyler. Research fields: Israeli-Arab conflict and Political Terrorism. MOSHE GIL, *A HISTORY OF PALESTINE* 31—32 (Cambridge: Cambridge University 1997). We should also recall the frequent chant Muslim assemblages in Europe and the United States that refers to the defeat of a Jewish at the Khaybar oasis by Mohamad in 628 CE: *Khaybar, Khaybar, YaYahud: Jaysh Muhammad sa-ya'ud*—Khaybar, oh You Jews: The Army of Muhammad Is Coming Back!

dedicating funds to productive ends is not within the political culture or strategy of either Hamas or the PA since the primary objective of both is the destruction of the Israeli state and the annihilation of its citizens or, at the very least, the reduction of any surviving Israelis to the status of *dhimmitude* where they would be systematically immiserated both economically and socially. This status is prescribed in the Koran³¹ and has certainly been a cornerstone of the state of Jewish communities in Islamic countries before as well as after the creation of Israel.

In this regard, the Islamists of Hamas and the leaders of the PA remain medieval in their belief system regarding Jews. After Arab Muslims successfully invaded and occupied most of the Middle East during the seventh and eighth centuries, both Christian and Jewish communities were allowed to survive,³² but were given the choice of conversion, death, or the especially egregious jizya tax that frequently amounted to half of a family's income. The Islamic State, currently [early 2015] in control of a territory the size of the United Kingdom and approximately 8 million people in large swathes of Iraq and Syria, is applying the same sort of archaic and medieval regime.

Perceived grievances tend to take on a life of their own. More than a decade after his death, there is still a Palestinian commission of inquiry charged with determining what killed Yassir Arafat. According to the head of the commission, Tawfik Terawi, "We have managed to identify the person who put poison [in Arafat's food]. We just need some time to confirm our investigations. But of course we know that Israel was behind the assassination operation. But we are searching for the person who was directly involved."³³ It's safe to say that such a person doesn't exist since there is no evidence that Arafat was murdered, but the Palestinians are the

³¹ 2:89.

³² With the exception of the Arabian peninsula where Mohamad, close to his death in 632 CE, admonished his followers to forbid any religion there except Islam. To this day, no places of worship can be constructed in Saudi Arabia unless they are Islamic. Until around the middle of the twentieth century there were substantial Christian and Jewish communities throughout the Middle East. By the middle 1950s, most of the Jewish population of nearly 1 million had fled to Israel or Europe to escape persecution. Perhaps a total of 10,000 Jews remain in Iran, but these are essentially hostages who are not allowed to leave the country. Christians since the beginning of the twenty-first century have been quickly and drastically reduced in size. In 1950, Christians were nearly 25 percent of the Arab world. By 2015 that proportion had been reduced to less than 3 percent. Egypt still retains a large Christian minority of perhaps 8 million or about 10 percent of the total Egyptian population. The second largest number is living, often precariously, in Lebanon.

³³ Khaled Abu Toameh, *The Palestinians' EU-Funded Campaign Against Israel*. Available at <http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/5216/abbas-eu-funding> (last visited Feb. 16, 2015). Toameh goes on to observe that "Tirawi did not reveal the identity of the person allegedly involved in the death of Arafat. Nor did he provide any evidence that Israel was behind the alleged assassination". But within the Palestinian culture, it is permissible and, indeed, encouraged to blame Israel for everything that goes wrong from tsunamis to bad hair days.

people whose automatic reflex to anything that might be amiss is to blame Israel and to immediately conclude that Israel is an overwhelming evil that must be destroyed. Palestinians live on fictions that are as toxic as they are self-defeating.

Some Palestinians are even joining the Islamic State because, apparently, Hamas has become too “moderate” in its dealings with Israel.³⁴ Even the most naively optimistic cannot believe that the Islamic State is composed of individuals who simply need to be engaged in discussions with the promise of good jobs, medical benefits, and retirement plans. Unknown numbers of Palestinians are joining the Islamic State because it is the Islamic State that is actually taking action and murdering opponents on a serious scale and Koranic scale. They believe this is what should and will be done to the Israeli enemy if the opportunity can be made available.³⁵

V. AN ELUSIVE SOLUTION

It seems safe to say that if the Israeli-Palestinian peace process exists, it is in name only. In the current circumstances of institutionalized hatred and malevolence, it cannot exist in any other form. For there to be any genuine progress the Arabs residing in Judea and Samaria will have to essentially do two things: 1. They will have to de-islamize their political culture; and 2. They will have to accept the legitimacy and permanence of a Jewish state. Neither their leadership nor the rank-and-file population is currently prepared to do either. Hamas has repeatedly stated that it intends to destroy Israel and the Palestinian Authority has publically indicated its refusal to consider Israel as a Jewish state. The culture of hatred and contempt for Israel is thoroughly ingrained and institutionalized. Numerous generations of intense and relentless Jew-hating propaganda could not, in any case, be quickly expunged from the Arab/Islamic culture. That this hatred has nearly one and half millennium of tradition suggests that its permanence is a safe assumption for the foreseeable future.

And Jew’s hatred is not the only obstacle to any sort of peace framework. One Palestinian commentator, Bassam Eid, has observed that “In East Jerusalem, the PA is so mistrusted that most Palestinians would prefer to live under Israeli rule than under PA rule...”³⁶ Eid and other

³⁴ See *Some Gazans opt for ISIS over Hamas*. Available at <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4563729,00.html> (last visited Feb.17, 2015).

³⁵ See Ralph Peters, *The Joy of Killing for Allah*. Available at <http://www.nationalreview.com/node/391186> (last visited Oct. 14, 2014).

³⁶ Bassam Eid, *We Palestinians Hold the Key to a Better Future*. Available at www.timesofisrael.com (last visited Feb. 12, 2015).

Israeli/Palestinian Arabs understand that Israel is not going to go away simply because terrorists work day and night to murder its citizens. Nor does he view Israel as an implacable enemy of the Palestinian Arabs. Instead, he argues that the Arabs could learn and benefit from the Israelis,³⁷ an argument frequently made by many Israelis. However, since Judaism is considered by Muslims to be spiritually inferior to Islam, a supremacist ideology, and the very idea of Jewish state abhorrent, Eid's point of view is unlikely to be widely held.

Of course, given their actions and support for terrorism, such views do not represent a majority point of view. A global poll conducted during the spring of 2013 by Pew revealed that "Palestinian Arab Muslims polled highest [of all Muslims] in favor of suicide bombings (40%) as a justifiable means 'to defend Islam.'"³⁸ And more than twice as many, 89%, favored the application of sharia law to both Muslims and non-Muslims.³⁹ These are certainly ominous signs for the cause of peace.

But there is also something else going on here. Turmoil and rampant violence in Lebanon, Syria, Yemen, and Iraq are actually creating some sympathy for Israel or, at least, the growing recognition that Israel isn't really responsible for all the problems of Palestinians, let alone for the entire Arab world.⁴⁰ In several ways, it may be that the Palestinians, who have strong support from Iran, have increased their alienation from much of the Arab world that fears Iran much more than it does Israel.

After all, Israel is the one country in the region that enjoys and sustains political stability. Israel is not creating millions of refugees in the Middle East; the Assad regime, ISIS, and a variety of Sunni and Shi'ite militias are doing that as they carve out statelets for themselves. Nor do most Arabs

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Pew Poll: Palestinians Favor Suicide Bombings, Sharia Law*, THE ALGEMEINER (May 1, 2013). The wording is interesting and instructive: suicide bombings are supported because they are thought to "defend Islam" rather than Palestine. Muslims apparently abhor what they believe to be Islamic land that is under the control of a Jewish regime, an affront that cannot be tolerated and must be remedied by all means.

³⁹ *Ibid.* Sharia law and the Qur'an insist on the legal status of Jews as dhimmis, or what amounts to second class citizens (at best). Again, this is not a condition of or for a permanent peace between two conflicting sides that consider each other as a co-equal. See Jay D. Hornick, *Palestinians in a State*. Available at <http://spectator.org/articles/61861/palestinians-state> (last visited Feb. 24, 2015). In fairness, this percentage is not unusual in the Islamic world. Most Iraqis, 91 percent, also "believe that sharia should be the law of the land." Dennis Prager, *Has an American President Ever Denied the Existence of the Greatest Threat to Our Country?* Available at <http://www.nationalreview.com/node/414290/> (last visited Feb. 24, 2015). "Only" 29 percent of Egyptians believe suicide bombings are justified, a proportion that is lower than the Palestinian one, but a still highly disturbing one.

⁴⁰ Aaron Goldstein, *Even Al-Arabiya Thinks Netanyahu Is Right*. Available at <http://spectator.org/print/61963> (last visited Mar. 4, 2015).

have any real interest, time, or patience for or with the Palestinian issue. Even the Palestinians themselves are becoming weary and wary of the seemingly endless struggle with Israel. The perennial issues of corruption and incompetence have impacted the economy in Palestinian Authority areas of Judea and Samaria. Many younger and college-educated Palestinians are seeking to emigrate and many of these are doing so.⁴¹ Those who are staying are often found in the construction industry where Israeli wages are at least three times than those in areas controlled by the Palestinian Authority. The skills and talents, these Palestinians possess are going with them. None of this, of course, is making the Palestinians or other Arabs better disposed toward or accept Israel, but it does suggest that some of them at least are recognizing that they have bigger problems than Israel's continued existence.

VI. HOW TO DESERVE A STATE

Before Israel became a sovereign state, its population had dedicated nearly three generations toward building and sustaining a viable infrastructure. The Yishuv, or Jewish community in Palestine, purchased and then made agriculturally productive land that was usually vacant, abandoned, or considered otherwise as an unsuitable choice for farming. The Yishuv also established new cities, roads, school systems, modern health care delivery, and electronic and print media outlets. To pretend that these accomplishments occurred without harassment from the Arab community is unrealistic. But Arab-Jewish relationships ebbed and flowed. There were friendships and even business partnerships between families that were established and that are still strong continue to this day. It would be misleading to assume that there is a monolithic description of Arab and Jewish behavior and perspectives toward one another.⁴²

⁴¹ <http://jcpa.org/article/syrian-war-is-reshaping-the-region> (last visited Jun. 17, 2014).

⁴² A well-known and popular restaurant in Haifa, Maxim's, has been co-owned for three generations by Arab Christian and Jewish families is one encouraging illustration. Maxim's was blown to bits on October 4, 2003, by a female Palestinian suicide bomber who entered the restaurant, was seated, and ordered lunch. She then got up and stood between two tables occupied by young families and detonated a bomb. The blast killed twenty-one Christians, Jews, and Muslims including fifteen patrons and six restaurant employees and injured many others. Months later the restaurant was re-opened with the same families as owners and managers. Another example has to do with a young Muslim Palestinian woman who currently teaches mathematics in an Arab middle school in East Jerusalem. She prefers to work in Israel because of the high wages and benefits and mentioned in an interview that the Palestinian Authority is completely corrupt and incompetent. She also prefers to send her child to a Christian school since the educational process, in her opinion, is more enhanced than the one provided in Muslim schools.

Israel recently conducted a national election (March 17, 2015). It remains the only democracy in the Middle East and the only country in which Arabs cast ballots for the party of their choice without fear of retaliation. In fact, the party with the third largest representation in the new Knesset (or parliament) is the United Arab List, a combination of four smaller and predominantly Arab parties. There are in the new Knesset more Arabs holding seats than in any previous Knesset. Several of these members are openly hostile to the idea of a Jewish state and regularly preach that Israel should give way to a state that combines Arab and Jewish communities in Israel proper, Judea, and Samaria or that Israel should evacuate Judea, Samaria, and East Jerusalem and allow a sovereign and completely Arab Palestinian state to become established.

In actuality, neither scenario is likely. Both Hamas, the de facto authority in Gaza, and the PA in Palestinian-occupied portions of Judea and Samaria have no desire to live with Jews or in an Israel that remains mostly Jewish or in a completely Arab state that has good relations with Israel. Moreover, neither Hamas nor the PA has any reason to refrain from their goals of terminating Israel and slaughtering its citizenry. They are encouraged to do so by a Europe that is at best feckless and, at worst, hostile to Jews and Israel.⁴³ Arabs outside of Israel proper and many inside can see no reason to desist from hostility and demonization of Jews because there is no incentive to do so.⁴⁴ For the Palestinian Arabs to genuinely deserve a state, this nihilism has to be ended, but there is little likelihood that it will be.⁴⁵ They have too much invested in the timeless hatred and contempt for Israel that has been a part of their culture for generations. If Palestinian leaders sanctioned a policy of moderation, their reason for existence would cease. They would have to begin to produce sound economic and social policies and the rule of law instead of hysterical polemics and calls for Israel's destruction.

⁴³ Bassam Tawill, *Europe's Real Resistance*. See also, Jeffrey Goldberg, *Is It Time for the Jews to Leave Europe?* THE ATLANTIC (April, 2015).

⁴⁴ Islam may be divided into sects, but it cannot be reliably observed that one has different views on Israel and Jews than the others. In March, 2015, a Shi'ite mosque in Yemen and its congregants were blown up by a Sunni Muslim suicide bomber while they were chanting "death to America, death to Israel, and kill the Jews".

⁴⁵ Palestinian officials have gone on record to insist that they will not countenance any Jews living in any future Palestinian state, a perspective similar to the one announced by the Nazi regime in Germany during the 1930s when it was decided to rid the country of all Jews. The applied term then was *judenrein* or cleansed of Jews. This perspective is in stark contrast to the fact that approximately a fifth of the Israeli citizenry is Arab and Muslim. See, for example, Oren Dorell, PLO ambassador says Palestine state should be free of Jews, <http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/world/story/2011-09-13>. Given the hostility regularly displayed toward Jews, Palestinians should not feel put upon.

The notion that Jews and other non-Muslims deserve death and should be killed is taken seriously by many Palestinian Muslims even if killing non-believers results in “martyrdom”. This road to martyrdom is unequivocally advocated in several Quranic passages.⁴⁶ The issue is therefore two-fold: politically, Palestinians cannot accept the existence of a Jewish state and spiritually, for Muslims, Jews must be killed or, at the very least, subjugated, economically exploited, and humiliated on a daily basis. Ignoring or repudiating such admonitions requires both courage and effort, neither of which Palestinians, or at least their leaders, are currently willing to demonstrate or even consider.

Thus, the short answer to the question posed in the title of this paper is “No”. Palestinians don’t deserve a state at this time and shouldn’t receive one unless or until they are willing, even begrudgingly, to accept and live with the reality of a Jewish state as peaceful neighbors. Israel is understandably behaving as any sovereign state would do to secure its safety by refusing to placate those who suggest that an independent Palestinian state would resolve all the problems that they insist on connecting to Israel. Israeli Arabs may feel legitimately discriminated against in Israel in certain areas (though, unlike Jews in Arab states, they have not been driven out by or murdered in pogroms), but they are also experiencing a rising standard of living and increasing opportunities. Moreover, they can and frequently do successfully sue the government over discriminatory practices and, most telling, Israeli Arab citizens are not flocking to Palestinian controlled areas to live. Some even voluntarily serve in the Israel Defense Forces. They do not consider Israel as an intolerable place. They are the most viable evidence that Arabs and Jews can live in mutual if imperfect harmony.

CONCLUSION

The Palestinians will not make progress, whether politically, economically, or socially, unless they determine to accept Israel as a neighbor and to take full advantage of a relationship that can be productive for both sides. Tens of thousands of Palestinians already work, for three times the wages they would earn in Palestinian controlled areas, in Israel proper as well as in Judea and Samaria and are in a real sense already integrated into what is emerging as a bi-national economy. They need also to locate and support new leadership that is pragmatic and secular as well as uninterested “settling scores” or advancing a toxic and hate-filled agenda that is mostly self-destructive for Palestinians while simply a nuisance for

⁴⁶ Sura 3:169—170, 9:111, and 22:58.

Israel. Finally, they must shed a political and religious culture that is inherently self-destructive and that has essentially accomplished nothing positive for them over the last century.