

Counterintuitive, brash, original. All are good ways to describe Caroline Glick. Her latest book, advocating for one state, both for Israelis and Palestinians, may be her most inventive argument yet

ONE STATE FOR PEOPLES?

BY Yonoson Rosenblum
PHOTOS Flash 90, AFP/ImageBank

NOW I CAN FINALLY ANSWER

affirmatively one of the questions I'm asked most frequently. Whenever I'm introduced as a *Jerusalem Post* columnist prior to delivering a speech, I can count on at least one member of the audience approaching me afterward and asking, "Do you know Caroline Glick?" Glick is the paper's superstar, its must-read columnist, and her popularity extends far beyond Israel's borders.

Last week I spent several hours with her discussing the imminent release of her new book, *The Israeli Solution: A One-State Plan for Peace in the Middle East*. I always find it easier to interview people if I have some feel for who they are. Fortunately, Glick and I quickly found enough common elements in our background to ease the subsequent discussion.

She grew up in the same Hyde Park neighborhood of Chicago where I spent four years in college at the University of Chicago. Her family attended the same synagogue where my grandfather and great-uncle served as president. And we had similar Zionist upbringings.

While still in grade school, she tells me, she grew disillusioned with American Jewry in the aftermath of the 1982 Sabra and Shatila massacre, in which Christian Phalangists killed Palestinians in revenge for the assassination of newly elected Lebanese president Bashir Gemayel. She was appalled by the readiness of American Jewry to accept blame upon Israel for not having anticipated a possible Phalangist attack.

Immediately after graduating from Columbia University in 1991, Glick made

aliyah and enlisted in the Israel Defense Forces, where she served as an officer for over five years. Initially, she was in the IDF legal corps, where she edited and contributed several chapters to *Israel, the Intifada, and the Rule of Law*, a volume making Israel’s case under international law. After the signing of the 1993 Oslo Accords, she served as coordinator of negotiations with the Palestinians for civil affairs.

Oslo was a major turning point for her. “Oslo was a strategic error of Biblical proportions,” she tells me. “When I read the accords for the first time, I lost my faith in Israel’s leaders. They had conceded so many of Israel’s core rights that until that point had even never been subject to debate — Jerusalem, our national rights to Judea and Samaria, the freedom of action of our military.

“Until then I had idealized the IDF in a very childlike way, imagining that all soldiers were Yoni Netanyahu [commander of the Entebbe raid], and that Israel’s leaders were modern-day King Davids. At that moment, I grew up. I felt I could have done better and realized that I had to trust myself.”

As coordinator of civil affairs, she used to drive around Judea and Samaria alone to think through the implications of what was being discussed, so she could base her arguments on facts. While these trips brought modest improvements in Israel’s negotiating positions, another project she took on herself met with less success.

Glick regularly documented Palestinian violations under the Oslo Accords and distributed the reports to all of Israel’s senior security brass and political leadership.

But no one was interested, and some got angry that she was calling attention to Palestinian shortcomings. No one wanted to deflate the high hopes that surrounded the agreement. As US peace negotiator Dennis Ross put it, “Every time there was a behavior, or an incident, or an event that was inconsistent with what the peace process was about, the impulse was to rationalize it, finesse it, find a way around it, and not allow it to break the process.”

THE ISRAELI SOLUTION might be viewed as Glick’s response to the experience of the two decades since Oslo. In her view, the quest for a two-state solution that lies at the heart of the Oslo agreement — and similar plans since — is misbegotten, for it rests on a false premise: that peace between Israel and the Palestinians depends solely on Israeli concessions, primarily territorial. Israel is the problem, the thinking goes, and the less of Israel there is, the smaller the problem.

Instead, the book argues, the United States, Israel, and world powers should reorient themselves to a new plan that would see the creation of one binational state.

By extending Israeli law to Judaea and Samaria, Glick writes, Israel would no longer find itself sharing authority with competing security forces. That would dramatically improve the IDF’s counterterrorism capabilities, increase the IDF’s deterrence vis-à-vis potential invaders, and lead (though perhaps not without confrontation) to the disbanding the Palestinian Authority’s 60,000- to 70,000-man security forces, including troops trained by America capable of a high degree of coordination. It would also still the perpetual pressure on Israel for harmful concessions, like the recent release of 1,000 security prisoners with blood on their hands.

The one-state solution would also free both Israel and the US from phantasmagorical



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paradigms that have no hope of ever becoming reality. But most important, it would transform the entire manner in which Jews relate to their patrimony in Judea and Samaria. Rather than viewing themselves as usurpers of another people’s land, they would seem themselves as rightful claimants to their own homeland.

Strangely enough, those hostile to Israel on the political left have mostly pushed the one-state idea, including some prominent Palestinian advocates. Pro-Israel supporters, on the other hand, have long seen the proposal as a veiled attempt to destroy the Jewish state: By welcoming millions of Arabs who live in the West Bank and Gaza as citizens, Israel would eventually be overrun by an Arab majority and would lose its character as a Jewish homeland.

But Glick counters that most Arabs would not take Israeli citizenship if it were offered to them. She points to the experience on the Golan after Israel extended sovereignty in 1981 as a case in point. Few local Druze have applied for Israeli citizenship in the decades since the passage of the Golan Law, in large part out of fear of ostracism or worse within their own communities. And she estimates the same would likely happen in Judea and Samaria.

Still, Glick is acutely aware that the solution she urges comes with many attendant dangers. Extension of Israeli sovereignty over the entirety of Judea and Samaria would likely lead to ramped-up sanctions by the European Union, Israel’s second-largest trading partner. This, even though in doing so Europe would be cutting off its nose to spite its face: Israeli high-tech products and know-how are crucial to many European businesses, and the entire continent would greatly benefit from access to Israel’s natural gas reserves, which are just beginning to be developed.

In addition to the boycott threat, the Palestinians might mount a mass terror attack and Hezbollah may rain down missiles. On

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a more mundane level, Israel's welfare rolls would be swelled by hundreds of thousands of impoverished Palestinians who would gain permanent residence status.

Glick strives to diminish the magnitude of each of these threats, but does not claim that they are negligible. She argues, for instance, that vast new markets are opening up for Israel in India and China that could partially replace the European market.

To the dangers that she points out, I add a few of my own. Under Glick's plan, Palestinian residents of Judea and Samaria would automatically achieve permanent residence status and would be eligible for Israeli citizenship if they had no current or past membership in terrorist organizations. As permanent residents, they would be entitled to travel freely throughout Israel.

I wonder whether hundreds of thousands of Palestinians who have been whipped into a frenzy of hatred for Israel since the inception of Oslo would not constitute a huge security risk.

Glick replies that the crucial determinant of the security threat is whether or not Israeli security forces operate exclusively of any other overlapping security forces. Thus, Israeli Arabs and Palestinian residents of the West Bank express almost identical hatred of Israel in opinion polls: yet almost all terror attacks on Jews are perpetrated by Palestinian residents of the West Bank and not by Israeli Arabs.

The difference? The lack of a competing security force to shelter Israeli Arabs in the same way that Palestinian security forces frequently provide shelter from the IDF.



KERRY WAS SHUTTLEING BETWEEN ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIANS AS IF HE WERE HENRY KISSINGER AFTER THE YOM KIPPUR WAR WHILE ESSENTIAL AMERICAN INTERESTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST WERE IGNORED



Dennis Ross, Abu Mazen, John Kerry... no matter who the players, says Glick, the premise of a willingness to make peace has no credibility

THE PROBLEM WITH the two-state solution, she writes, is that it “treats the Arabs and the broader Muslim world as objects to be acted upon rather than as actors whose actions, beliefs, and choices determine their fate.” Yet it is precisely the Arabs’ beliefs that make a two-state solution impossible. For from the beginning, the Palestinians have never been interested in their own state, but rather in destroying the state of the Jews.

Adolf Hitler’s collaborator, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, conditioned his cooperation on being granted a “free hand to eradicate every last Jew from Palestine and the Arab world.”

Article 19 of the PLO charter proclaims, “This struggle will not cease unless the Zionist state is demolished and Palestine completely liberated.” And Hamas’s charter announces the same genocidal intent with respect to the Jews of Israel and around the world.

Prevalent mythology, according to Glick, has it that Bill Clinton came close to successfully concluding an agreement at Camp David in 2000 and that henceforth “everyone knows” more or less what the parameters of the final agreement will be. Nonsense, says Glick. Arafat never even bothered to make a counteroffer. Neither did his successor Mahmoud Abbas, to an even more generous offer from Israeli prime minister Ehud Olmert in 2008.

In May 2013, US Secretary of State John Kerry announced a new American initiative to provide the Palestinian Authority with \$4 billion in investment funds, with the goal to increase gross domestic product by 50 percent

over three years and cut unemployment by two-thirds. Rather than expressing gratitude, Abbas contemptuously rejected the offer, and stated there would be no negotiations with Israel until it agreed to withdraw to the 1949 armistice lines, released all Palestinian prisoners, and acknowledged the “right of return” for millions of descendants of Arabs who left Israel during the 1948 War of Independence.

As Glick puts it, it makes no difference whether Abbas is a moderate who would like to make peace but can’t or really has no desire to do so. Either way, the whole premise of US diplomacy — that he is willing and able to make peace — has no credibility.

I ask Glick whether she is afraid that Abbas might one day announce, under the Muslim principle of *taqiyyah*, or permissible deception, that he recognizes Israel as a Jewish state.

No, that is not her fear, she responds: “Bibi has more faith in Abu Mazen [Abbas] than he does in Kerry.” And she shares that faith — “Recognizing any Jewish national rights would be a bridge too far in Islam,” for Abbas to ever do so. Glick points to the published discussions of Palestinian negotiators at Camp David in 2000, from which it is clear that the moment they “acknowledge any historical connection of the Jewish People to the Land, their entire narrative unravels.”

If that’s the case, I press her, why shouldn’t Prime Minister Netanyahu just play along with the charade of negotiations, as if he really believed that there was a chance for a viable two-state solution, and in that way avoid the full force of international condemnation and likely sanctions that would follow an Israeli declaration that it was extending its sovereignty over the entirety of Judea and Samaria? After all, at present terrorism is way down, the economy is one of the fastest-growing in the developed world, and Israelis remain among the world’s most optimistic people.

But for Glick the price of Israel being continually placed in the role of the “guilty party,” from whom ever-new concessions are constantly sought, is too high.

“With each new attempt at achieving a

two-state peace deal,” she writes in her preface, “the Middle East has become less stable, more violent, more radicalized, and more inimical to American values and interests.” And as she demonstrates, Israel’s position has been similarly weakened, and the forces of delegitimization strengthened, with every round of negotiations.

The perpetual search for a two-state solution has led to an obsession with Israel akin to the traditional anti-Semites’ obsession with the Jews. At the same time that the death count from fighting in Syria reached 100,000, and Egypt was undergoing its second revolution in two years, what was the focus of EU diplomacy? Sanctions on any Israeli organization or institution engaged in any form of activity in Judea and Samaria. And Secretary of State Kerry was shuttling between Israelis and Palestinians, as if he were a Henry Kissinger at the end of the Yom Kippur War, while essential American interests in the Middle East were ignored.

For its part, Israel found itself seeking to win favor through concessions such as the release of 1,000 Palestinians with blood on their hands, just as Jews once tried to figure out how to get the anti-Semites to stop hating us.

Glick recalls something Elie Wiesel once told her: “Anti-Semitism has nothing to do with the Jews. Anti-Semites choose to hate us.” I ask her how she understands Jew hatred.

She replies simply: “If we exist, G-d exists.”

GLICK REFERS TO her two young sons throughout our conversation. Her greatest fear as a mother, she tells me, is that she will not be able to protect them. And it is clear that she views the writing of her new book, and the five months that she intends to spend in the United States promoting it, as a way of securing their future.

She shares that she is raising her sons as Orthodox Jews. She admits, “I don’t know the Jewish sources very well, but I can’t deny that to my children. They have to know our texts.”

Among other things, she sees herself as



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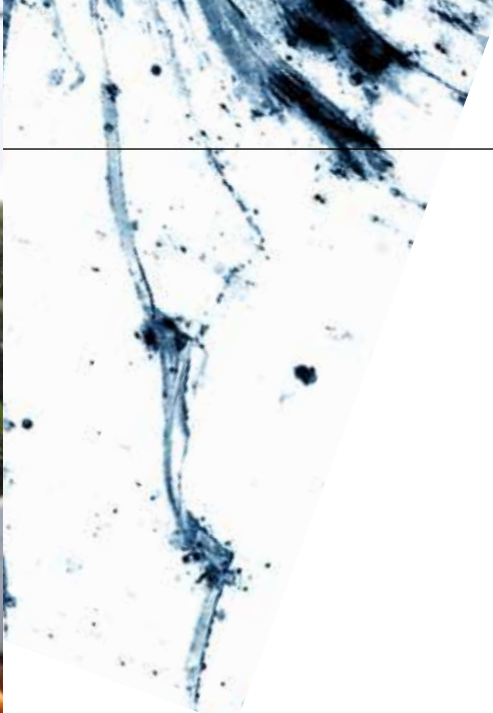
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I ASK GLICK WHETHER SHE DOESN'T FEAR THE FATE OF CASSANDRA WHOSE DARK PROPHEESIES WENT UNHEEDED. "SHE WAS GREEK, I'M JEWISH. I HAVE GREAT CONFIDENCE IN MY PEOPLE"



engaged in a battle with those who seek to de-Judaize Israel. "Since emancipation, there has been an effort by certain secular Jews to destroy religious Judaism, and the fourth aliyah brought many of those ardent secularists to Palestine in the 1930s," she says.

A visceral rejection of Judea and Samaria, the heartland of Biblical Israel, is one manifestation of de-Judaization in her eyes.

Part of her battle with the post-Zionist elements in Israeli society was the creation of Latma, a satirical news program, that revealed a hitherto unknown side of Glick. Early on in the Oslo process she observed the power the leftist elite exerts over policymakers. "They offer you the feeling akin to being in the 'in-crowd' in high school," which causes policymakers and politicians to seek their approval.

Latma, which ceased broadcasting recently for lack of funding, was designed to break the spell of that same elite through satire. "You don't fear what you laugh at," Glick explains to me. "The Left had never been mocked before."

Despite the left-wing dominance of the media, the trend in Israeli society, as she views it, is very much toward greater religious observance and interest in the Jewish sources. The Gaza expulsion, which was designed "to fundamentally weaken religious Zionism," proved, ironically, to be a turning point in the other direction. Many of the young soldiers sent to remove the Jewish residents of the Gaza Strip ended up embracing them. And when they completed their army service they went to live on settlements in Judea and Samaria, rather than heading off for India or

South America. *Ha'aretz* writer Avirama Golan has already noted that trend with alarm.

Glick also points to rising fertility rates among Jewish women in Israel — by far the highest in the developed world — as another indication of greater Jewish interest. "When you have kids, you start thinking about different things," she says.

EVEN THE MOST ardent readers of Caroline Glick's columns — a group in whose ranks I'm included — would not call them a fun read. They tend to be filled with gloomy forebodings as she contemplates the folly of various political leaders.

I ask Glick whether she doesn't fear the fate of Cassandra, a character in Greek mythology whose dark prophesies went unheeded, to the great detriment of her audience.

"She was Greek, I'm Jewish. I have great confidence in my people," she responds.

Glick does not anticipate bringing about

a complete paradigm shift overnight. And it is doubtful whether she thinks Israel could even contemplate implementing the one-state solution during an Obama administration that might well join European sanctions against Israel.

But she points to a variety of factors that make the time ripe for a Kuhnian paradigm shift. A recent Ariel University poll found that 79 percent of Israelis would support the implementation of Israeli law in all or parts of Judea and Samaria. She considers that finding to reflect both a rejection of the failed two-state formula and a response to the Obama presidency.

The quest for a two-state solution, and concomitant pressure for Israeli territorial concessions, has been American policy since the Nixon administration.

In the past, Israelis were willing to play along because American pressure was always tempered by strong support for Israel in other realms. Moreover, since Israelis were convinced that the United States "had their

back," a sort of psychological dependency was created, according to Glick, that made Israel highly susceptible to American pressure.

But most Israelis do not have that feeling about President Obama. His approach to the Iranian nuclear program and the alacrity with which he abandoned longtime US ally Hosni Mubarak have convinced Israelis that he cannot be relied upon for support of traditional allies. Passivity in Syria has also cost the United States the confidence of Israelis.

Glick lists for me a slew of Israeli politicians who already support, or — like defense minister and potential prime minister Moshe (Bogie) Yaalon — are likely to be sympathetic to her one-state solution.

No less important, she expects a complete revamping of American foreign policy in the wake of the Obama presidency. America will emerge considerably weakened and less capable of projecting power or protecting any of its core interests in the Middle East, she predicts, from the Obama years. And both Democrats

and Republicans will be rethinking the foreign policy doctrines of the past.

On the Republican side both the neo-isolationism that led to 9/11 and the neoconservatism that failed in Iraq stand discredited. At least one prominent Republican, John Bolton, a likely candidate for secretary of state in a Republican administration, has given his approbation to Glick's book.

So while she knows that her ideas will not gain traction — much less be implemented — overnight, she feels that the time is auspicious. If she did not believe in the power of ideas to change minds, she would not be taking her children to the United States and preparing for a lengthy book tour.

As a way of illustrating the importance of steadfast, long-term efforts, Glick speaks of her father, who passed away last summer. "My father was a cardiologist, not a cardiac surgeon. A cardiac surgeon can sometimes completely transform the patient's prognosis with one operation. A cardiologist, by contrast, is left with the Sisyphean task of managing his patients' care and keeping them alive and maintaining their quality of life for the duration."

"There is no instant gratification in being a cardiologist. But to me it is more heroic to be a physician than a surgeon, because it requires dedication to others as a way of life, not as a transient event."

Like father, like daughter. Caroline Glick is in for the long haul and does not intend to rest until she has succeeded in changing the traditional ways of thinking about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. ●

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