## **Toward an Open Tomb**, by Michel Warschawski Monthly Review Press

"A meticulously documented, yet intensely personal meditation by a leading dissident on the political psychosis currently gripping large segments of the Israeli population." — NORMAN FINKELSTEIN



Since the breakdown of the Oslo peace process in 2000 and the beginning of the second Intifada, conflict has escalated in Israel/Palestine and come to seem irreversible. The overwhelming power of the Israeli military has been unleashed against a

largely defenseless population in the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza, driving Palestinians to despair and to desperate measures of retaliation. Michel Warschawski, has for many decades been active in building alliances of Jews and Palestinians to oppose the Israeli occupation. In this book, however, he focuses especially on the effects of the occupation on the occupiers—that is, on Israeli society—rather than its victims.

Warschawski describes the atrocities of the occupation—from the sack of Ramallah to the massacre in Jenin, the razing of houses and refugee camps, shooting at ambulances and hospitals, the use of Palestinian civilians as human shields—showing how each of these pushes back the boundaries of what was previously thinkable.

He documents the resulting shifts in Israeli political thought, citing Ariel Sharon, army officers and even rabbis who begin by describing Palestinians as Nazis and end by relying on the German army's tactics for subjugating the Warsaw ghetto. *Toward an Open Tomb* then seeks to explain the forces within Israeli society and culture that are leading to this self-defeating result.

Warschawski has the keen eye of an Israeli insider. He develops a powerful critique of Israeli policies with a persuasive power drawn from his own Jewish origins and his deepening devotion to what he regards as the best Jewish traditions.

## Table of Contents

Preamble—History of a Plague

One: Green Fire for a Massacre

From Muhamed el-Dura to the destruction of Ramallah

. . . And to the Jenin massacre
On the misuse of "self-defense"

Two: A Double Dehumanization

Interlude—The Walls' turn to speak

Three: The New Face of Racism
Brutality without borders
Delirium
The perverse return of the Shoah

Four: The Wall
A new ghetto
Unilateral separation
The wall and the bomb

<u>Five</u>: Counter Reformation
Putting Arab citizens back in their place
National revolution
Degeneration

Interlude—Christmas in Bethlehem

<u>Six</u>: A Burdensome Legacy
The big lie
The worm in the Oslo apple
The treason of the intellectuals
Fewer rights, more humiliation

Seven: The End of an Interval Choosing normality Forces of resistance National reconciliation

Interlude—The End of an Era

Eight: The New Israel
A fake democracy
A new political class
New ideology for new regime
The Left gives up