
on the other community." Efforts to get at these "paramilitary godfathers" through the courts are of no use, he says, because evidence against them is always unobtainable.

Internment did not work in Northern Ireland in 1972, when it was applied on a mass scale but only to Catholics. That led to Catholic mass protests throughout the world. But now, O'Brien argues, the circumstances are very different: "Today, there are two terrorist campaigns, equally ferocious and indiscriminate, which between them hold the whole of Northern Ireland in fear, and can strike far beyond the borders of that province. There is every reason to believe that the great majority of people in Northern Ireland, in both communities, would rejoice to learn that both sets of godfathers were safely under lock and key." All terrorism would not end, O'Brien acknowledges, but "a sustained and determined counter-terrorist effort" will eventually bring peace.

Israel Returns To Its Roots

"Israel and the End of the Cold War" by Shlomo Avineri, in *The Brookings Review* (Spring 1993), 1775
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The end of the Cold War has transformed politics in the Middle East. The radical Arab forces have lost their Soviet patron, and the Israelis feel less threatened. But a second, less obvious consequence of the Soviet empire's collapse is also making for greater stability in the region, according to Avineri, of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. This development is the reforging of cultural ties between Israel and Central and Eastern Europe.

The Jewish people and the Zionist movement, which gave birth to Israel as a nation in 1948, have deep roots in the region, Avineri points out. "Before 1882, when the great mass of Jewish immigration from the Russian Empire to the West and to Palestine started, more than 80 percent of the world's Jews lived in two countries:

the czarist Russian Empire and the Hapsburg Austro-Hungarian Empire. And the great national and social upheavals in these areas gave rise to the cultural and intellectual renaissance, the Jewish *Haskala* (Enlightenment), that later led to Zionism."

Budapest-born Theodor Herzl and other Zionists were greatly inspired by 19th-century Polish, Czech, and Hungarian nationalism. The revival of Hebrew literature in Eastern Europe owed much to Polish romanticism and the Russian literary tradition. The revival of Hebrew as a literary and spoken language, not just a sacred tongue, owed much to the central role that language played in Polish, German, Czech, and Hungarian nationalism. Even the Israeli national anthem, *Hatikva* (which begins, "Our hope is not yet lost") was fashioned after the Polish anthem (which begins "Poland is not yet lost.")

The Holocaust and then the explicitly anti-Israeli and anti-Jewish communist regimes in Eastern Europe cut off Israelis from their heritage, Avineri says. In the minds of many Israelis, Poland became identified with Auschwitz and the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. "That Jews have lived in Poland for almost a thousand years, have survived despite repeated persecutions, and have created a rich Jewish culture that to a large extent became the defining factor in modern Jewish identity, was mostly forgotten."

Now, many Israelis are returning to their roots. "Younger Israelis are traveling to Eastern Europe to find the villages and *shtetls* of their parents or grandparents—not out of nostalgia, but out of keen interest to understand better their own origins, their own family history, their own identity," Avineri says. The removal of the immense barrier, in part psychological, that for decades prevented this rediscovery of European cultural roots may not have immediate political consequences, he acknowledges, but it is likely to be significant in the long run. Although many Jews in Israel are from other traditions (Yemeni, Moroccan, Kurdish, Iraqi), those with roots in Central and Eastern Europe predominate. As their ties to their heritage are re-established and strengthened, the eventual result is likely to be an Israel "less alienated . . . from some of the formative elements of its own identity." That in itself, Avineri believes, is likely to be a contribution to peace in the Middle East.