Eurabia
The Euro-Arab Axis
By the Same Author


Eurabia

The Euro-Arab Axis

Bat Ye’or

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To David, my companion in life and work
Preface

Broad historical movements that profoundly transform human societies are difficult to discern in the short term. They extend over decades, often centuries, and affect the social fabric in multiple ways that are scarcely noticed by contemporary commentators but become perceptible in times of accelerated social change. This pattern of historical development applies to the dynamic of Islamic jihad. For over a millennium, jihad has been a potent political force that has subjugated and in some cases extinguished once powerful centers of Judeo-Christian, Hindu, Buddhist and other civilizations in Asia, Africa, and Europe. This historical process can be observed today on all three of these continents. In the 1970s, jihad reappeared as a powerful factor in European affairs but, for nearly three decades, the revival of jihad passed with little comment in both popular and academic journals. European statesmen remained silent. The murderous September 11, 2001 jihadist attacks in America broke the silence. President Bush’s war on terrorism forced Europeans to take sides, while investigations revealed the presence of extensive and well-established networks of jihad terrorists throughout Europe. The Madrid bombing of March 11, 2004 heightened awareness of this grim reality. However, constructive public debate has been hampered by profound ignorance of the jihad dynamic and by the tendency of Europe’s political elite to continue to appease jihadist driving forces.

This book describes Europe’s evolution from a Judeo-Christian civilization, with important post-Enlightenment secular elements, into a post-Judeo-Christian civilization that is subservient to the ideology of jihad and the Islamic powers that propagate it. The new European civilization in the making can be called a “civilization of dhimmitude.” The term dhimmitude comes from the Arabic word “dhimmi.” It refers to subjugated, non-Muslim individuals or people that accept the restrictive and humiliating subordination to an ascendant Islamic power to avoid enslavement or death. The entire Muslim world as we know it today is a product of this 1,300 year-old jihad dynamic, whereby once thriving non-Muslim majority civilizations have been reduced to a state of dysfunctional dhimmitude. Many have been completely Islamized and have disappeared. Others remain as fossilized relics of the past, unable to evolve.
For over a millennium, following the seventh-century Muslim military offensives against Byzantium, European powers instinctively resisted jihad—militarily when necessary—to protect their independence. The response of post-Judeo-Christian Europe of the late twentieth century has been radically different. Europe, as reflected by the institutions of the EU, has abandoned resistance for dhimmitude, and independence for integration with the Islamic world of North Africa and the Middle East. The three most apparent symptoms of this fundamental change in European policy are officially sponsored anti-Americanism, antisemitism/anti-Zionism and “Palestinianism.” These increasingly visible aspects of European policy are merely components of an overall vision for the transformation of Europe into a new geopolitical entity—Eurabia.²

The decisive shift in European policy came as a result of the oil crisis of 1973 when the European Economic Community (EEC), at the initiative of France and the Arab League, established the Euro-Arab Dialogue (EAD). Since then, the EAD has been in the vanguard of engineering a convergence between Europe and the Islamic states of North Africa and the Middle East. The EAD promotes a specific conception of international politics that determines Europe’s relations with the Arab/Muslim world, and with America and Israel. It has also formulated a vision of European history, religion and culture, both past and future. Under the rubric of “dialogue,” the EEC and its Arab League partner created a formidable political and legal superstructure that encompasses the entire Euro-Arab relationship and fostered increased joint Euro-Arab diplomatic initiatives.

The following chapters describe the origin and development of the little-known EAD. EEC and subsequently EU documents reveal the development of a new ideology that is producing demographic and cultural change for the purpose of creating conditions for the fulfillment of the Eurabian vision. Eurabia’s cultural preconceptions include the “new Judeophobia,” as well as resurgent anti-Americanism. The intensity of Judeophobia and anti-Americanism reflects increasing Islamic penetration of Europe and its growing influence on European policy. Judeophobia has been a characteristic of European and Islamic societies since medieval times. The Islamic elements of the modern European Judeophobia, together with its related anti-Americanism, have been incorporated into policies emerging from the EAD. They are as much anti-Christian and anti-Western as they are anti-Jewish. I do not believe that Judeophobia and anti-Zionism are common among the majority of Europeans. These attitudes, instead, are imposed nolens volens on an often reluctant public by political, media, and religious elites through methods that I will elucidate.

It is now obvious that Islam in Europe has not followed a process of Westernization; instead, the West becomes increasingly compliant to accommodate the religious and political norms of Muslim immigrants out of a fear
of social unrest and terrorism. Policies aimed at the integration of Muslim immigrants and their offspring have generally failed. Many Europeans have perceived this profound civilizational shift. A significant minority of Europeans have responded by voting for rightist or even extreme right-wing political parties. Despite popular protests, European immigration policies were not substantially altered until 2003.

Observing this disturbing phenomenon, one gets the impression of a sinking continent, a colossal Titanic wreck, where the passengers run from one desperate situation to another. Indeed the situation does seem hopelessly compromised, as the European political authorities responsible for a state of affairs that they have knowingly created refuse obstinately to confront it. Instead, they tend to escape into a virtual world of rhetoric that replaces reality.

Over the past three decades, the EEC and the EU’s political and cultural organizations have invented a fantasy Islamic civilization and history. The voluminous historical record of violations of basic human rights for all non-Muslims and women under the *shari’a* (Islamic Law)—throughout the past, and in contemporary Muslim societies—is ignored, or dismissed. Immunized from criticism by this fabricated historical construct, Europeans could engage in mutually fruitful business transactions and diplomatic ventures—particularly at the United Nations and other world bodies—with dictatorial regimes. It is in this context of international relations—pompously called “international legality”—that “old Europe” driven by France, the main architect of this policy, opposed America and supported Palestinian terrorist organizations.

In this book, Euro-Arab Judeophobia will be examined only as an indicator of the common Euro-Arab culture that is permeating, even overwhelming, all levels of West European society. It is no easy task to avoid an analysis of the current European Judeophobic trend. Under the euphemism of “peace process,” the EU has made Israel the cornerstone of its relations with the Arab states, with the USA, and of its own security—as a quid pro quo against Islamist terror. Hence, from whatever angle we observe these three positions, we find that Israel is at the core of Europe’s strategies. In fact, as it will become clearer in the following pages, under Arab pressure, the EU has willingly made Israel hostage to its own Arab policy and its security.

Fostering and promoting such hate through policies, speeches, and the media impact both the elite responsible for its expression, and the larger society. For Jew-hatred, as abetted by EU policy decisions, does not concern only the Jews, but also non-Jewish Europeans—either as active or passive supporters of this dynamic, or in opposition to it.

Judeophobia does affect the way Europeans—whether Christian, “post-Christian,” or atheist—understand their past and conceive their future.
This understanding of history, and conception of the future, is also influenced by European anti-Americanism. The nexus between European Jew-hatred and anti-Americanism becomes apparent when Americans resist Islamization and perceive their identity and culture as an emanation of biblical history and values—a heritage scorned by contemporary Eurabia.

The recurrence of antisemitism across Western Europe is mentioned here as a reliable indicator of more fundamental changes that impact, ultimately, all of Western civilization. It relates to a profound structural transformation of the western part of the European continent that affects its demography, culture, and religious orientation. These tectonic shifts have deep sociopolitical divisions, which came to the fore during the acrimonious public debates and demonstrations that surrounded the American-led Coalition War against Iraq in Spring 2003.

European anti-Americanism is not a new phenomenon. During the Cold War, it was perceived as an almost exclusively, albeit widespread, Soviet-inspired phenomenon. However, a contemptuous anti-Americanism among some Europeans—particularly certain French and Germans trends—reflected a sense of cultural superiority and compensated for the Nazi, Fascist, and Communist defeats. The collapse of the Communist system exposed other currents of anti-American hatred, manifested by Third-Worldists, neo-Communists, and Islamists reoriented into a powerful jihadist coalition against Western democracies and their values. This recast ideological war is deeply rooted in a Euro-Arab political alliance and growing cultural symbiosis, which propagates—and expresses, often unabashedly—virulent antisemitism and anti-Zionism.

The Euro-Arab Dialogue implemented in the 1970s a new sociopolitical and cultural conception, which has now affected profound changes within Western Europe. In the following pages, I use the terms “Europeans” and “Eurabians.” Eurabia designates a new entity—with political, economic, religious, cultural, and media components—superimposed on Europe by powerful governmental lobbies. While Europeans live within Eurabia’s constraints, few are really conscious of them on a daily basis, beyond a somewhat confused awareness. Eurabians are the agents and enforcers of this all-encompassing new Eurabian policy and culture. The tension between Europeans and Eurabians arises from fundamental and uncompromising differences over political, societal, and cultural values, as well as core religious identities. This tension is also apparent in disputes regarding the strength and durability of the European-American transatlantic alliance and the cohesion of what we still call Western civilization. The divisive European-Eurabian arguments over the war in Iraq, or the larger global war on jihad terrorism, reflect a deeper religious and cultural confrontation between Western and Arab/Islamic civilizations where, con-
Consciously or not, Eurabians have become the agents of Islamic political ambitions in Europe.

This book will elucidate the origins of contemporary European dhimmitude and examine its propagation. Similar developments, at a much more inchoate stage, have been discerned in America, through examination of school textbooks and university curricula.5

Switzerland, October 2004

Preface to the Seventh Printing

The seventh printing of Eurabia contains three additions. One illustrates the logo of “Eurabia” from the back page of a French journal founded in 1975 (Eurabia, no. 3, September 1975). Its reproduction on page 62 is followed by an explanation on page 63.

Another (Postscript, page 270) refers to the Alliance of Civilizations launched by Spanish Prime Minister Zapatero in March 2005, and to the Danish cartoons.

The third (Appendix 10, page 323), relates to the 1st Euro-Arab Dialogue Forum that took place from 26–28 April 2006 at the Paris Institute of the Arab World (Institut du Monde Arabe), under the theme: “Propects and Contents of a Euro-Arab Strategic Partnership.” This Forum was first announced in a new bi-monthly French and Arabic review, Partenaires Franco-Arabes (September–October 2005, no. 4). The cover page shows King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia shaking hands with French President Jacques Chirac, and the caption: “Arabie: La terre de la Grande Promesse / Forum du Dialogue Euro-Arabe.” (Arabia: the land of Great Promise/Forum of the Euro-Arab Dialogue). President Chirac was initially scheduled to deliver the final address at the Opening session on 26 April; subsequently, only Foreign Minister Philippe Douste-Blazy was listed to speak. The website: www.forumeuroarabe.org provided substantive prior information in French, Arabic, and English.

The initial French text referred to the Forum’s target (“objectif”) in this format and these words:

Objectif

Relancer le dialogue Euro-Arabe conformément à de nouvelles perspectives stratégiques pour constituer le futur pôle bilatéral d’équilibre international et participer à la création d’un nouvel ordre mondial.

[To relaunch the Euro-Arab Dialogue in conformity with new strategic perspectives in order to constitute the future bilateral pole of international equilibrium and to participate in the creation of a new world order.]

(B.Y. translation)
The English version on the website of the Forum, under the title: “target” was not the same as the French “objectif” above, which was subsequently modified. Among the new “objectives” listed was an English version posted on the Opening Day of the Forum, Wednesday April 26, 2006.

This forum, which will take place every year in an Arab or European capital, intends to take advantage of the different existing experiences in the partnership, the dialogue and the cooperation as the Euro-Mediterranean partnership, which 10th anniversary is celebrated this year, and the European Union-Golf (sic) Cooperation Council countries Dialogue; this is all in order to strengthen the existing institutional structures and assert a wider Euro-Arab dimension. It is considered that all these structures complement one another.

* * *

On April 28, in the leading French conservative daily Le Figaro, Ivan Rioufol commented in his widely-read Friday column on the current situation in France (“La tyrannie des falsificateurs”) [The tyranny of the falsifiers]. Under the subheading: “Adepts of camouflage,” he referred indirectly to the Forum and directly to Western “dhimmitude,” quoting from the newly published French edition of Eurabia:

The temptation to dissimilate suits the falsifiers well. With a clear conscience, they disqualify any clarity concerning Qu’anic ideology and its justifications of terrorism. These censors illustrate the spirit of ‘dhimmitude’ (submission to Islam), which can be seen in a Europe having denied its Judeo-Christian roots and which is striving for a ‘new Euro-Arab world order’—being discussed this week in Paris—a policy now brilliantly denounced by the expert Bat Ye’or (Eurabia: l’axe euro-arabe, Editions Jean-Cyrille Godefroy).

Bat Ye’or: “The frantic rhythm of wild declarations obfuscating Islamism (is) a clear indication of the deliberate blindness of the European Union representatives (. . .) In consequence, the cynicism with which they persist in deceiving their fellow citizens indicates an incredible contempt for them. One may wonder if the ministers take their voters for ignoramuses and imbeciles or if they no longer have any other alternatives than submission to the orders of the Islamists and the Arab League.”

[B.Y. translation]

Switzerland, May 2006
Acknowledgments

This book was written directly in English, a daring enterprise for a French writer. I am most grateful to all those friends who carefully read through the manuscript and gave useful grammatical, editorial, and other advice.

Without the constant support and encouragement of Dr. Andrew Bostom this study would never have been written. He also provided me with some additional research material and documentation. I am deeply indebted to him for his trust and precious help till the end.

Lastly, I wish to thank my husband, who undertook the difficult task of reading and correcting the early and final manuscript several times, offering his experienced suggestions which allowed me to improve the final version.

It is my earnest hope that this venture into an unexplored domain will serve as an introduction for more comprehensive research projects on the long-term political, cultural and ideological geopolitics of dhimmitude that led Europe toward Eurabia.

Author’s Note

Quotations from the Qur’an are taken from Richard Bell’s authoritative translation of The Qur’an, with a critical re-arrangement of the Surahs (1937), and occasionally from The Koran Interpreted (1964), by Arthur John Arberry.

The word “antisemitism” is spelled throughout following the preferred usage initiated by Dr. James Parkes in his pioneer work, The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue. A Study in the Origins of Antisemitism (London, 1934). An alternative word, “Judeophobia,” is sometimes used with the same significance.

Appendix 1 and 5 contain extracts published in Euro-Arab Dialogue. The relations between the two cultures (1983). These, and other passages quoted in the main text are reproduced with the kind permission of the editor, Derek Hopwood and Taylor & Francis Books Ltd. London.
### Abbreviations

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<td>AIPU</td>
<td>Arab Inter-Parliamentarian Union</td>
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<td>CFSP</td>
<td>Common Foreign and Security Policy</td>
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<td>CIE</td>
<td>Council on Islamic Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>CMIP</td>
<td>Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace</td>
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<tr>
<td>DAI</td>
<td>Documents d’Actualités Internationale</td>
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<tr>
<td>EAD</td>
<td>Euro-Arab Dialogue</td>
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<tr>
<td>EC</td>
<td>European Community</td>
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<td>ECF</td>
<td>European Cultural Foundation</td>
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<td>ECSC</td>
<td>European Coal and Steel Community</td>
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<td>EEC</td>
<td>European Economic Community</td>
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<td>EIB</td>
<td>European Investment Bank</td>
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<td>EPC</td>
<td>European Political Cooperation</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<td>EURATOM</td>
<td>European Atomic Energy Community</td>
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<tr>
<td>EuroMeSCo</td>
<td>Euro-Mediterranean Study Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>FEMIP</td>
<td>Facility for Euro-Mediterranean Investment &amp; Partnership</td>
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<tr>
<td>GATT</td>
<td>General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade</td>
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<td>IEA</td>
<td>International Energy Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICRC</td>
<td>International Committee of the Red Cross</td>
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<tr>
<td>IFRI</td>
<td>Institut Français des Relations Internationales</td>
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<td>IIIT</td>
<td>International Institute of Islamic Thought</td>
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<tr>
<td>IPU</td>
<td>Inter-Parliamentary Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>JHA</td>
<td>Cooperation in the Fields of Justice and Home Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>MEDA</td>
<td>Euro-Mediterranean Partnership Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>MEDEA</td>
<td>European Institute for Research on Mediterranean and Euro-Arab Co-operation</td>
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<tr>
<td>MEP</td>
<td>Member of the European Parliament</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Nongovernmental Organization</td>
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<td>OCDE</td>
<td>Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development</td>
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<td>OIC</td>
<td>Organization of Islamic Conference</td>
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<tr>
<td>OLAF</td>
<td>European Union Fraud Office</td>
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<td>OPEC</td>
<td>Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries</td>
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<tr>
<td>PA</td>
<td>Palestinian Authority</td>
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<td>PAEAC</td>
<td>Parliamentary Association for Euro-Arab Cooperation</td>
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<td>PLO</td>
<td>Palestine Liberation Organization</td>
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SEA Single European Act
TEU Maastricht Treaty on European Union
UAR United Arab Republic of Egypt and Syria
UDHR Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNCHR United Nation Commission on Human Rights
UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNRWA United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East
WCCP World Conference of Christians for Palestine
WHO World Health Organization

Journals, Press, and Others

ADL Anti-Defamation League (New York)
AI Antisemitism International (Jerusalem)
AFP Agence France Presse (Paris)
AP Associated Press (New York)
CMIP Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace (Jerusalem)
FPM FrontPageMagazine (New York)
IHT International Herald Tribune (Paris)
JCPA Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs (Jerusalem)
JC Jewish Chronicle (London)
JP Jerusalem Post (Jerusalem)
Le Temps Le Temps (Geneva)
MEMRI Middle East Media Research Institute (Washington, DC)
MEQ Middle East Quarterly (Philadelphia)
NRO NationalReviewOnline (New York)
NYT New York Times (New York)
OMJ Observatoire du Monde Juif (Paris)
Reuters Reuters (London)
REP Revue des Etudes Palestiniennes (Paris)
Eurabia
The Euro-Arab Axis