

ANTI-ZIONISM = ANTISEMITISM



Special issue:

Leading figures including Amb. Nikki Haley and German Envoy Felix Klein weigh in

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FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK

Kristallnacht to 'From the River to the Sea'

e are pleased to bring to you this special issue of the Magazine, focused on the burning question of the day: Is anti-Zionism the new antisemitism - and how to address it?

While given Oct. 7, the answer may seem obvious to many – yes, of course, anti-Zionism and antisemitism are one and the same, with anti-Zionism being the wolf in sheep's clothing – the topic remains ever more complex. The Magazine therefore asked a number of experts from around the world to offer their perspectives, tackling the issue from various angles.

Ambassador Nikki Haley brings her experience to the UN, a breeding ground of anti-Zionism, and offers bold solutions to address antisemitism masked as anti-Zionism on college campuses and elsewhere.

Felix Klein, the German government's commissioner for the fight against antisemitism, shares his insight into the battle against anti-Zionism from Germany's front lines, clarifying that "antisemitism is antisemitism" - whether it is Israel-related or otherwise.

Col. Richard Kemp, former commander of British forces in Afghanistan, shows how Hamas successfully mobilized global Jew-hatred, using Israel both as its target and its primary weapon and taking advantage of the "post-truth world."

(Marc Israel Sellem)

Gol Kalev, author of *Judaism 3.0 – Judaism's Transformation to Zionism*, argues that anti-Zionism is not only an existential threat to Judaism but also a threat to global stability; therefore, it must be treated by the Biden administration as a matter of national security.

Gina Ross, head of the Los Angeles-based International Trauma Center, places anti-Zionism in the context of collective trauma – linking the Oct. 7 events to the invocation of the trauma of the Holocaust embedded in the Jewish people, and arguing that a new strength emerges when the collective body and soul are united.

Barak Sella, an expert in Israel-US relations currently studying at the Harvard Kennedy School, brings in an insider look into campus antisemitism, sharing the loneliness of social isolation as an Israel supporter, and observing how young students around him are being "practically brainwashed."

Aaron Poris frames the issue by recounting highlights from a symposium held right before the current war about the imminent danger the anti-Zionism ideology poses, and how to address it. Who would have thought that this would become so relevant so soon?

Yael Rozenman-Isamel, a single mother of Palestinian Muslim and Jewish heritage, writes a letter to her two-month-old daughter, born in Israel during the war and now raised in Bolivia, explaining the perils of anti-Zionism that she was born into and will have to face.

This Magazine follows the special issue we published a year ago about Zionism morphing into the anchor of Judaism, in which various thinkers, including President Isaac Herzog, expressed their views on the Judaism 3.0 thesis that Judaism is transforming and Zionism is becoming its most relevant aspect. That followed other special issue Magazines we have done on cutting-edge topics, from the future of Europe to the legacy of Theodor Herzl.

We hope this *Magazine* triggers a broader conversation about the subject at hand.

Ever your proud Zionist and editor, Erica Schachne





Anti-Zionism – the new antisemitism?

• FELIX KLEIN

sentiment often heard in debates about Israel and the Middle East conflict is "I'm not antisemitic, I'm just anti-Zionist." But what I hear when people say this is "I'm not antisemitic, I'm just antisemitic." Yes, you read that correctly. I'm firmly convinced that anti-Zionism isn't the "new" antisemitism because anti-Zionism is just plain antisemitism. It's nothing innovative or particularly novel; it's just the same old anti-Jewish hatred in a new guise.

Israel is treated differently than every other country in the

First of all, yes, it is true that in the history of Zionism there was a discourse within the Jewish community that included voices of opposition to the project of establishing a national home for the Jewish people. Anti-Zionist Jewish voices exist today, too. But at least since the Shoah - which was not the decisive factor in the founding of Israel but nonetheless starkly demonstrated the need for a protected space for Jewish people - these voices have been marginalized.

What they often have in common today is a broader affinity for extreme positions. Many of them either occupy the leftmost extreme of the political spectrum or are religious fundamentalists. In any event, such positions are found very rarely, if at all, in the Jewish mainstream anywhere on Earth. Not all Jews are explicit Zionists, but very few

are hostile to the notion of a Jewish and democratic Israel.

So when present-day antisemites, masquerading as "anti-Zionists," invoke Jewish support for such a position in order to evade accusations of anti-Jewish hatred, this is unfair and disingen-

WHAT, THEN, are the grounds for my conviction that anti-Zionism is just ordinary anti-Jewish hatred in a veiled

Over the course of history, hatred of Jews has shown itself to be remarkably adaptable. Antisemitism adeptly shapes itself to fit the context of a given country or society. But the tactics of antisemitic narratives always remain the same: different treatment, demonization, and delegitimization.

When Christianity was the major influence on society - and often on politics as well - in Europe, antisemitism correspondingly expressed itself in religious terms. Jews were demonized as Christ-killers who murdered Christian children and, accordingly, were treated differently: They were not permitted to practice certain professions, were confined to living in ghettos, and generally had fewer rights than other members of society. Ultimately, their very humanity was denied, and numerous pogroms deprived them of the right to live.

With the advent of the Enlightenment, science and politics became more influential in society as spheres accessible to all. Anti-Jewish hostility adapted to this shift: Jews were then demonized in pseudo-scientific terms as "parasites" and, at the same time, in political conspiracy theories as secret rulers of the world; they were treated differently from others, for example, in being denied equality before the law, in suffering extensive societal discrimination, and ultimately in being forced to wear a yellow Star of David which made their Jewish identity visible to all. Here, hatred of Jews culminated in the deepest, most fundamental form of delegitimization: industrial mass murder with the intention of ending the existence of all Iewish life.

Both forms of antisemitism continue to exist. The primacy of human rights and the democratic norms which have become ever more important - at least in Europe and North America since the end of the Second World War - have, however, caused these open forms of hatred to retreat from the political and societal mainstream.

But this doesn't mean that antisemitic narratives are less prevalent. They have simply found a new form of expression as they did many times before. They now refer primarily not to "the Jews' as such but to the State of Israel as a Iewish collective. This is reflected in a name that very deliberately purports to have nothing to do with antisemitism, claiming rather that it is solely directed against Zionism - that is, the striving of the Jewish people for a national home.

Demonized without any factual basis as a child-murdering, genocidal apartheid state, Israel is treated differently than every other country in the world. In international organizations, for example, it is subjected to especially harsh scrutiny and is singled out for criticism; its governmental action is held to higher moral standards than any other country in the world.

The slogan "From the river to the sea" is ultimately one of many forms of delegitimizing Israel's right to exist; it is a call to annihilate the Jewish state and its population. This delegitimization also takes place in indirect ways; for example, by denying Israel the right to self-defense that every country has. A

country that is not permitted to defend itself and its people will perish sooner or later. Considering Israel's geographical location and its neighbors, it seems likely this would happen sooner rather than later if Israel were to stop defending itself.

ALTHOUGH THEIR justifications shift over time, the patterns of antisemitism have remained the same for centuries, if not millennia: It's the same set of ideas, the same narratives. And today, they are applied to Israel - not exclusively, but frequently.

Since Oct. 7, we have been seeing in real time how purported anti-Zionism actually expresses itself as antisemitism. Unlike so-called anti-Zionists, the Hamas terrorists make no bones about their clear antisemitism. In their public statements, they generally refer to "the Jews," not to Israelis or Israel; and as soon as they had the opportunity, they followed their genocidal words with horrific deeds.

And even outside of Israel, theoretical musings on the fact that anti-Zionism is actually just ordinary antisemitism play a rather minor role in real life. Because for Jews in Germany, France, the UK, the US, and elsewhere, it doesn't make any difference to their practical reality whether it's called anti-Zionism or antisemitism

What they have had to endure since Oct. 7 is a hatred justified primarily by their purported opposition to Israel. A hatred that has been expressed in arson attacks on synagogues, in calls for violence, in hate speech, physical assaults, and even in planned terrorist attacks against Jewish people and institutions.

According to RIAS, an NGO that monitors antisemitic incidents in Germany, antisemitic incidents increased by 314% between October 7 and November 9. Almost all of these incidents were connected to the Middle East conflict. Or, to put it in another way, almost every one of these acts was committed in the name of anti-Zionism.

So I stand by my conviction that antisemitism is antisemitism is antisemitism, regardless of how it's dressed up. I'm glad that I am not alone in my understanding of this issue. In 2017, Germany's Federal Government endorsed the International Holocaust Alliance Remembrance working definition of antisemitism. This definition clearly and unmistakably names Israel-related incidents antisemitism. It offers a foundation for us to protect Jewish life from every form of antisemitism - including anti-Zion-

The writer is Federal Government Commissioner for Jewish Life in Germany and the Fight against Antisemitism.



FELIX KLEIN (2nd R) attends an international gathering on combating antisemitism in Berlin last January. Present (L to R): Deborah Lipstadt, US special envoy for monitoring and combating anti-semitism; US First Gentleman Douglas Emhoff, husband of US Vice President Kamala Harris; US Ambassador to Germany Amy Gutmann; and Katharina von Schnurbein, **European Commission** coordinator on combating antisemitism and fostering Jewish life. (Sean Gallup/Getty Images)

Anti-Zionism proves why Israel matters

NIKKI HALEY

've seen antisemitism. I confronted it every day at the United Nations. And I know that the Jew-haters try to hide it by saying they only hate Israel.

All it takes is 24 hours at the UN to realize that anti-Zionism is just a modern name for the ancient evil of antisemitism.

The worst-kept secret at the UN is that antisemitism is operating just beneath the surface. I saw it in my first few days on the job as US ambassador to the UN, after I met with Israel's ambassador. I broke with precedent, putting Israel ahead of many countries that US ambassadors typically meet with first. For me, it was more important to show my support for Israel, one of America's closest allies and dearest friends.

The broader UN views Israel differently. How could I possibly call Israel a friend? They think Israel is a pariah, different somehow from every other country. But what, exactly, makes the world's only Jewish state different? When you put the question like that, it answers itself.

No other country is treated like Israel. The UN Security Council had a monthly meeting on "the situation in the Middle East," which was clearly designed to attack Israel. I refused to go along, using the meeting to discuss the actual situation in the Middle East – Iran's ambitions, Syria's brutality, and the evil of ISIS. Yet while I covered real threats and crises, other countries singled out Israel for things it doesn't do. It's accused of oppressing Palestinians, despite being the only democracy in the Middle East – one that respects the rights of Arabs, Jews, and anyone else who lives within its borders.

For that matter, Israel is singled out for things that every country does. Only Israel is denounced for choosing its capital. Only Israel is censured for defending itself from rocket attacks and suicide bombers. Apparently, it would be better if Jews let themselves be killed. The double standard clearly indicates something deeper at work – something far more hateful.

THIS VEILED antisemitism continues to this day. Last year, the UN General Assembly passed 15 resolutions condemning democratic Israel. It passed 13 resolutions condemning all other countries combined, in a world that includes murderous tyrannies like North Korea, Communist China, and Vladimir Putin's Russia.

Then there's the so-called UN Human Rights Council. It has a standing agenda item devoted solely to Israel. No other country gets that kind of treatment. We withdrew the US from the Council because it tolerates and even celebrates antisemitism and blatant human rights abusers. We also pulled out of UNESCO, which denies Jewish heritage, even as it claims to protect diverse cultures. And then there's UNRWA, which we stopped funding with American taxpayer money. UNRWA teaches Palestinian children to despise the Jews.

Now we know exactly where that leads. October 7, 2023.

Before Hamas's initial assault was over, anti-Zionists were already trying to justify the killing spree. It was the worst slaughter of Jews since the Holocaust. Only an antisemite could defend or apologize for such obvious evil.

And it's now clear that antisemitism, masquerading as anti-Zionism, is far more widespread than most people realized. It's on college campuses. It's in major cities across the West. It's even in parts of the US Congress.

When students, doctors, and elected officials praise Hamas for fighting the "oppressors" and "colonialists," they're tacitly saying it's fine to kill Jews. When they say, "From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free," they're essentially advocating another Holocaust.

I hope that most people who say these things don't realize that. But I fear that many know exactly what they're saying. Israel exists to protect the Jews. That's why its enemies call for Israel's destruction.

Now is the time to confront this evil worldview with



moral clarity and unapologetic action. We need university presidents who denounce the anti-Zionist charade. We need business executives who refuse to hire people who condone violence against Jews. And yes, we need elected leaders who stand with Israel.

That starts with the president of the United States. We don't need a leader who promises to fight antisemitism while failing to condemn anti-Zionism, like the current president. We shouldn't have rejoined the UN Human Rights Council and UNESCO or restarted funding for UNRWA, which happened in the past three years. And under no circumstances should we be silent or timid in the face of antisemites in elected office, like Joe Biden has been with his fellow Democrats. Evil is evil, and it must be called out or else it will spread.

The Jewish people – and the Jewish state – are at greater risk today than at any point in the past 75 years. They need America to lead the fight against antisemitism, in all its forms. It's time to make clear in federal law that anti-Zionism is antisemitism, pull the tax status of universities and nonprofits that engage in Jew-hatred, and permanently end all taxpayer support for international bodies that stoke this evil.

There should be no doubt that America stands with Israel. We should give Israel everything it needs to defeat those who would destroy it, starting with Hamas.

The stakes are clear. The Jewish state needs to exist because the Jewish people have a right to survive. Two years ago, in the wake of Israel's last war with Hamas, I traveled to Israel's border with Gaza. I went to Sderot. I walked through Ashkelon. As I stood outside a home that had been destroyed by terrorist rockets, a woman walked out of the rubble. She started yelling. Then she started running toward me. She threw her arms around me, hugged me, and invited me into the ruins of her home.

She showed me where she was when the rockets hit. She was holding her baby grandson when she was thrown against the wall. I could see the outline of where they hit it. Her hair was embedded in the plaster. It's a miracle she survived.

Two years later, that woman is still in mortal danger. Her life is threatened by those who hate the Jewish people and the Jewish state. We owe it to her, and so many others, to ensure that evil never wins – no matter what name it goes by.

The writer is running for president of the United States. She was the US ambassador to the United Nations from 2017-2018 and is a former governor of South Carolina.

NIKKI HALEY, then-US ambassador to the UN, listens during a UN Security Council emergency meeting on Syria, in New York City.

(Drew Angerer/Getty Images)

Before Hamas's initial assault was over, anti-Zionists were already trying to justify the killing spree

NEW YORK City: Anti-Israel protesters in 2021. (Luke Tress/Flash90)



Anti-Zionism is a threat to global stability

Not just an existential danger to Judaism but to US national security

GOL KALEV

e are in the midst of a large-scale assault on the Jewish nation. Like previous large-scale assaults, the attack is being funneled through the most relevant aspect of Judaism at the time. In our era, it is Zionism that has become the anchor of Judaism.

Zionism is not the cause of the assault on the Jewish nation. It is the vehicle through which age-old opposition to Judaism is now carried.

More dangerously, the anti-Zionism ideology is expanding beyond Zionism and Israel. Anti-Zionists keep their expansion plans no secret: Right next to the banners "From the river to the sea" are the banners "Globalize the intifada."

In the last two months alone, the anti-Zionist movement has triggered a series of "global" conversations that have nothing to do with Zionism or Israel. ranging from Muslims' rights in Europe to the possible end of the concept of universities. Anti-Zionists even reversed a century of progress for women's rights by placing some degree of "context" on the action of rape.

The Gaza war gave the anti-Zionism movement momentum, structure, funding, and legitimacy from credible media and politicians. That credibility has been deployed to the "globalization arm," and from there one can do the simple math of what could come next: "From the Atlantic to the Black Sea, Eurostan will be free.

Last summer's riots in France, which resulted in

over 5,000 cars burned and 1,000 buildings damaged, did not "happen in a vacuum," to use UN Secretary-General António Guterres's terminology about Hamas's action. Indeed, the Oct. 7 massacre raised fears of similar attacks in Europe.

As discussed in a previous Magazine article ("That night in Basel," September 24, 2022), the lethal component of Western anti-Zionism does not come from the aggressive Israel-bashers in demonstrations but from the polite Israel-bashers-light in positions of

(While the common term is "anti-Zionism," the more precise term used in my analyses over the last decade has been "Israel-bashing." By now, those two terms can be used interchangeably.)

TAKE THE case of Spain. Generations of Spaniards have been taught about the "Reconquista," the process of kicking out Spain's Muslim invaders who inhabited Spain for 800 years.

It is due to the mainstreaming of anti-Zionism that this narrative now gets challenged. There is no "re" in the conquest of Spain, so the argument goes.

If one gives legitimacy to the term "Reconquista," based on a questionable theory that the people who completed the conquest of Spain in the 15th century were somehow related to the people who lived there 800 years ago, then one gives legitimacy to Zionism, which represents a much more historically sound story about a nation coming back.

In other words, one can only be anti-Zionist if one is anti-Spanish.

Moreover, unlike in Zionism, in the Spanish case there was a complete displacement of the Muslim population from Spain. That is why there is an active conflict in Israel and not one in Spain. Spaniards live in peace today, thanks to the war crimes of Ferdinand and Isabella. Israelis do not live in peace because they refused to commit the atrocities Europeans have been

committing for centuries.

Add to that other unresolved conflicts in Spain, such as Basque and Catalonian's quest for independence, and suddenly, the anti-Zionist movement triggered the "Spanish Question," which remained dormant for over 500 years.

Indeed, for years, members of the so-called conflict-industry (employees of the UN, EU, and NGOs in Ierusalem) have joked that the two-state solution is merely a laboratory experiment for such a construct in Europe.

Now that the two-state solution has been reincarnated, one must wonder whether it should be considered in Europe in order to de-escalate mounting tensions with its Muslim population and accommodate new realities on the ground. Is it time for Europe to concede that they are no longer in the 1970s? Residents of Malmo, Sweden, are not listening to ABBA, and the people of Luton, England, are not watching Benny Hill. Did the Israel-bashing and anti-Zionist ideology also awaken the "Europe Question"?

STATING THE obvious, anti-Zionism is not pro-Palestinian. "Ceasefire now" - the third banner of the Israel-bashing movement next to "From the river to the sea" and "Globalize the intifada" - is anti-Zionists imposing on Gazans the rule of Hamas. This, along with blocking Palestinians' employment in Jewish-owned businesses, is just an example of why anti-Zionism is, at its core, a colonialist movement housing elements of European supremacism.

Ceasefire does not only mean more Oct. 7s but also more Israeli retaliation against Hamas and, inevitably, more humanitarian crises in Gaza.

Let's be clear: Hamas is the one responsible for the humanitarian crisis in Gaza, but secondary culprits are the United Nations, the media, and those pressuring Israel to refrain from destroying Hamas in previous rounds and now.

And still, shockingly, 13 out of the 15 members of the UN Security Council voted to force Israel to stop its counteroffensive. This is akin to those countries voting to stop the Allies' counteroffensive against Germany in World War II and prolonging the Holocaust ("Six million were not enough").

Anti-Zionism destabilizes global stability and is a threat to the survival of Judaism, but it has an Achilles heel

Addressing anti-Zionism: Conflict management

The contemporary assault on the Jewish nation is perpetrated with a sword and a shield. The sword is anti-Zionism and Israel-bashing, the shield is Judaism 2.0 – the notion that Judaism is merely a religion – and hence one can advocate zero tolerance to traditional antisemitism (the existential threat to Judaism in the 20th century) while actively engaging in anti-Zionism (the existential threat to Judaism in the 21st century).

Once there is a paradigm shift – a broad global recognition that Judaism has transformed and Zionism is now its anchor (Judaism 3.0) – that shield gets decimated, and the anti-Zionism threat gets reduced.

After all, the Jewish state was born through such a paradigm shift: Theodor Herzl defied the conventional wisdom that Jew-hatred was ending, since Europeans of the 1890s were no longer religious. He concluded that European opposition to Judaism would evolve based on changing Jewish and European circumstances. A Jewish state would be a suitable construct to manage such opposition to Judaism. ("Conflict management," not "conflict resolution".)

Herzl understood that the nascent antisemitic ideology of his time was a natural reaction to the thriving of emancipated Jews in Europe in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Similarly, today's anti-Zionism ideology is a natural reaction to the thriving of Zionism and the State of Israel in the 21st century.

But antisemitism (a new term used in Herzl's time to describe this new form of Jew-hatred) did not just affect the Jews. It was the primary strategic threat to the French Republic, as expressed in the Dreyfus Affair.

Antisemitism was a national security threat to Europe

As patriotic Jews rose up the ranks of the French military, a Jewish officer, Alfred Dreyfus, was framed in 1894 for spying for Germany. He was convicted and exiled to Devil's Island.

Years later, once it became evident that he was innocent, French society became dangerously torn between two polar camps: the Dreyfusards and the anti-Dreyfuses.

This was no longer about the underlying question of was Dreyfus guilty? This question was as irrelevant as the question of whether Israel bombed a hospital in Gaza. The Dreyfus Affair was a referendum about Jews in France and, by extension, in Europe.

This is just as anti-Zionism today is a referendum about the Jews – in America, in Europe, and in Israel.

Back then, popular media such as *La Libra Parole* ("free speech") were instrumental in the campaign against Dreyfus and the Jewish nation, who were accused of polluting humanity. Today, popular media, such as the BBC and *The New York Times*, are instrumental in the ideological campaign against Zionism and the Jewish nation, who once again are accused of committing crimes against humanity.

Therefore, it is no surprise – then and now – that when someone rose up to protect humanity from the Jews, there was broad receptivity.

The Nazis could not have succeeded without the collaboration of the French and other Europeans, indoctrinated by the antisemitism ideology.

Similarly, the modern-day Nazis - Hamas - could



THANKING US PRESIDENT Joe Biden for his support on Jerusalem's Emek Refaim Street. (Marc Israel Sellem)

CARICATURE OF a Jew, 1893, in 'La Libre Parole' – a political newspaper that became the organ of Parisian antisemitism during the Dreyfus Affair. (Wikimedia Commons)



not succeed without the collaboration of de facto partners in the media and the UN, which indoctrinate the world with Israel-bashing ideology, which in turn puts public pressure on Israel to stop its operation and deliver Hamas the victory.

Twentieth-century antisemitism to Nazis is what 21st-century anti-Zionism is to Hamas: an independent, uncoordinated ideological assault on the Jews, which is an enabler for the physical assault on the Jews and a primary destabilizer of global security.

And yet, anti-Zionism is viewed in the context of antisemitism. This is akin to Israeli wines, now winning top awards in international competitions, being shelved in wine stores under "Kosher." (Yes, they are kosher, but that's not the point.)

Anti-Zionism is a national security threat to the United States

Anti-Zionism needs to be reclassified as a national security issue – a strategic threat to the US and to global

stability. Therefore, President Biden should consider appointing an anti-Zionism director to the National Security Council.

When Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau accused the Jewish state of the "killing of women, of children, of babies," he fueled the anti-Zionist movement and hence contributed to the range of global destabilizing events described above.

The US must act by, for example, reprimanding the Canadian ambassador. This way, other world leaders would be deterred from succumbing to their indoctrinated populace.

Indeed, the Spanish prime minister, in a reminder to Americans to "remember the *Maine*," attacked sacred American values by slandering Jews in Israel, accusing them of indiscriminately killing thousands of Palestinian boys and girls.

"America is an idea." That was what President Biden stated when he announced his run for president in 2019. This idea is now being attacked through the construct of anti-Zionism.

"Anti-Zionism" is a euphemism for "anti-Americanism." America was founded as a rejection of the oppressive dogmas of the European past, the renewal of an ancient promise, a utopian return to freedom. From the onset, Americanism was a form of abstract Zionism.

Biden also stated that he was prompted to run for president by mobs in Charlottesville, Virginia, "chanting the same vile [statement] heard across Europe in the 1930s: 'Jews will not replace us.'"

Those chants have since traveled from Charlottesville to college campuses in America and to public squares across Europe.

The murder, rape, and beheading of Jews in their own homes, along with the backwind it gets from the anti-Zionism movement, is the ultimate expression of "Jews will not replace us," in defiance of the essence of Americanism

Biden is now president and leader of the free world. His courageous support for Israel, defending itself and the world from the physical threat of Hamas, is admirable. Now it is time to defend America and the free world from this mushrooming ideological threat of anti-Zionism.

The writer is author of Judaism 3.0: Judaism's Transformation to Zionism (Judaism-Zionism.com) and chairman of the Judaism 3.0 think tank. For his geopolitical articles, visit EuropeAndJerusalem.com

Anti-Zionism is antisemitism: Recent proof

• GINA ROSS

he trauma of Oct. 7 is still reverberating in the Israeli and the Diaspora's collective nervous systems.

It has awoken many Jews to the unbreakable bond between Israel, Judaism, and the Jewish people. It has confirmed the belief that anti-Zionism is antisemitism. Again, Israel under threat immediately affected Jewish safety worldwide.

But this time, the massacre triggered the Holocaust trauma. After decades of Jewish disunity within Israel and with the Diaspora, a new Jewish collective emerged. Every Jew now knows from the inside and outside the intrinsic connection between Jews, Judaism, Israel, and

As Hamas's barbaric violence shocked the Jewish world, the immediate connection between Jews, Judaism, and Israel came from within. Some young Iews, lost in the West's internal civilizational convulsions, have not gotten the

The sheer magnitude of the numbers calling for gassing the Jews stunned the lews and the West, which had convinced themselves they were fighting antisemitism. This was the inescapable call for Western Jews who saw themselves as Westerners first, then Jews. Jews may deny their connection to Judaism or Israel, but the world will never allow it.

This connection is the precious silver lining to October's horror. A new strength has emerged from having the collective body and soul united.

The Jewish people in Israel, the physical manifestation of the Holy Land and Covenant, the return to Zion, are the physical expression of Zionism.

To help ourselves (and the world) move out of the dark forces that took over, we need our full power and to trust our Jewish DNA that we will survive, no matter what.

We must insist that, by definition, anti-Zionism is antisemitism. Only we can define who and what we are: a historical people, a religion, a culture, and a land. This is why we remained strangers in the hosting countries - the wandering Jew around the globe. We had a land, which we lost and to which we knew we belonged and would return, and we did return.

Jews, the Abrahamic religions, and other nations knew that Zionism was the fulfillment of this eternal covenant. Anti-Zionism is antisemitic because it seeks to cancel the lewish covenant and history. Because Israel recognized the right of Arabs to be part of that land, it



'BUT THIS time the massacre triggered the Holocaust trauma': Yad Vashem's Hall of Names. (Yonatan Sindel/Flash90)

has not colonized anyone. But Islamic dogmas and Western antisemitism made Palestinians refuse to share the land, leading to their misery. Jew-hatred also overlapped with hatred of the West.

ACCUSING ISRAEL of being an apartheid state, a colonizer, or an oppressor is just another creative antisemitic expression. After the Holocaust, it was impolite for people to admit they hate the Jews. The "Palestinian cause" became the new, justifiable code of Jewish hatred, regardless of how much it hurt the Palestinians. They annulled or distorted Jewish history and denied Arab-Palestinian ongoing violence.

We have much to do to repair this situation. We must heal our collective

We must be fierce and unapologetic when using defensive force. We must deeply ground our newly found unity in our language and actions, re-educating ourselves to stop the polarization, and let go of hatred and demonization between the different sides. To secure our unity, we must understand and value how each group is a part of the collective Jewish, Zionist soul.

While the traumatic massacre and the worldwide unfair reaction to it are seared in our collective consciousness, we must make sure to release our traumatic emotions to free ourselves from trauma's yoke.

In my daily contact with Israeli students and families, I notice that, while the traumatic shock is still significant. the collective psyche is starting to get a grasp of the situation. The miracle of the spontaneous return to national unity, the return of many hostages, and the IDF's military advances in Gaza are all starting to reduce the traumatic activation that is essential for the recovery of our collective nervous system.

Yes, there is a tremendous collective sadness floating almost physically over Israel. As one client who recently visited Israel said, "There is silence in Israel. There is not the regular noise in the streets." The grief is a collective grief, emanating from this recovered sense of peoplehood, intrinsically united. When one part is hurt, we are all hurt.

American Jews still express their shock at the spread of antisemitism among American academic, political, and media elites. Nothing denounces more clearly that anti-Zionism is antisemitism than the rush of hostility that immediately sprang up in the anti-Israel camp on Oct. 7 and 8, before any Israeli response. Their instant joy at Jewish suffering, and the calls for more violence (intifada, genocide) worldwide are living proof of it.

America and its Jews woke up to the fact that many of these elites believe that being anti-Zionist and supporting calls for the death of all Jews is not antisemitic. The Jews realized that many, whom we regarded as allies, supported Hamas's massacre. They were not our allies - another confirmation that anti-Zionism is antisemitism.

WHAT IS hopeful is that this fight does not belong only to American and European Jews but to all Westerners interested in traditional Western values: compassion, freedom, equality, and tol-

Jewish students were helplessly subjected to the Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) movement's malevolence for years. Congress hearings with university heads, a stark example of lack of moral clarity and shameless antisemitism among the educational elites, were the coup de grace that outraged the Jewish community. Consequently, it is now determined to fight antisemitism and for Israel, one more time showing the indestructible tie between Judaism, the Jewish people, and Zionism.

JEWS KNOW they are in for a long ride. Thus we must strengthen our physical, emotional, and moral stamina. Hamas's jihadi violence and the outrageous support it received opened our eyes. We must have moral clarity about right or wrong, just or unjust. Without any doubt or hesitation, we must declare our rightful claim to our land and forgo any need to belong to progressive politics at the cost of our Jewishness or support of Israel.

This Jewish catastrophe has also opened the world's eyes, forcing it to confront the dangers facing it. Jews as the canary in the coal mine is followed by an immediate danger for all. The West has been astounded by the moral damage their universities have unleashed upon their students. It finally recognizes that virulent antisemitism makes Jewish students feel physically

More devastating is the moral turpitude of the country's elite faculty and students. They find raping women, killing babies, decapitating, and burning people alive justifiable. Congress is trying to address this repulsive turpitude. It is a complex fight that involves the West, not just the Jews.

Arab countries realize how this massacre and the ensuing war would threaten their own security if Israel did not destroy Hamas. They need a strong Israel and are trying to defuse the tension, sending discreet signals for connection with Israel, despite fearing the Arab

The massacre has also brought into focus the role of misguided or ideological media promoting misinformation and fueling violence - a theme to also address.

There are many pieces to the puzzle of bringing antisemitism and anti-Zionism to tolerable levels. We must all address each piece carefully and methodically. We have friends and allies to help. Let's take a deep breath and dive in to help wherever we can!

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Hamas weaponized anti-Zionism

• COL. RICHARD KEMP

amas is by far the most successful antisemitic entity in the world today. Beyond all competition, it has mobilized Jew-hatred around the world, using the State of Israel both as its target and its primary weapon. By waging war against Israel over many years, Hamas has inspired and energized international organizations such as the UN and the EU; governments and parliaments; the Western media; university authorities, professors, and students; human rights groups; businesses; and large sectors of the general population.

All dance to its pernicious tune: some out of malevolence, some out of ignorance, and others blindly jumping on the virtue-signaling woke bandwagon.

Consequently, the global scope and scale of Hamas's antisemitic influence dramatically exceeds even the Nazis from whom it takes much of its own inspiration.

The foundations of Hamas's success lie in the Soviet Union. Back in the 1950s and '60s, when Israel aligned with the West rather than the USSR, the Soviet leadership decided to undermine American and British influence in the Middle East by fomenting a war of national liberation against Israel. Moscow invented a Palestinian national identity in order to turn religious malice against the Jews of Israel into a struggle over land, a cause it correctly understood would gain much greater traction and support in the West than a religious war.

That developed into the most successful slur campaign in history, giving rise to accusations of land theft, unlawful occupation, illegal settlement, apartheid, and all the other lies and distortions that are now accepted as undisputed facts by so many around the world. Decades of this anti-Israel propaganda have taken us to the dangerous position we are in today.

That means that whatever is done to Israel and its Jews is justified as legitimate resistance. I've even heard some saying that the people of Israel brought upon themselves the undiluted evil and savagery of Oct. 7. They had it coming. By the same token, any action taken by Israel to defend its people is unjustified, unlawful, and unacceptable. Like so much else in our post-truth world, facts and reality don't matter. If the "oppressed" Palestinians are doing anything, it's justified and understandable. If Israel is doing anything, it's intolerable and wrong.

EVER SINCE Israel attempted a two-state solution in 2005, unilaterally pulling every soldier out of Gaza and uprooting every last Jew from the territory, Hamas has used all of its energies to intensify and expand this global anti-Zionist paradigm. Hamas has always known it does not have the military power to achieve its objective of eradicating the Jewish state or even coming close to it. Instead, it has weaponized Israeli self-defense to its own advantage.

Every attack against Israel has been designed with the overriding purpose of eliciting a military reaction. It has deployed its weapons, communications sites, command posts, fighters, and leaders in places where Israel would have to kill innocent civilians in order to protect its population from them – despite the unparalleled measures the IDF takes to minimize collateral damage. Added value is gained by positioning terrorist infrastructure in locations protected under international humanitarian law, such as schools, hospitals, and mosques.

Hamas's aim is to maximize Gazan civilian deaths,



RICHARD KEMP: Every Hamas attack against Israel has been designed with the overriding purpose of eliciting a military reaction. (Wikimedia Commons)

Hamas's aim is to maximize Gazan civilian deaths

especially of women and children, in order to provoke accusations of war crimes and crimes against humanity; to delegitimize Israel; and to vilify and isolate it across the international community. This plan comes together every time, and Israel's necessary defensive action, rigorously adhering to the laws of armed conflict, is always accompanied by and followed up with outright condemnation in the UN Human Rights Council, by human rights groups and by hostile governments.

In what is the true cycle of violence in the Middle East, such denunciations in turn embolden and encourage Hamas to attack again and again.

These Hamas-provoked condemnations of Israel are amplified in the media and on campuses, including by the BDS movement and their like, as well as by the armies of useful idiots that slavishly follow Hamas's depraved agenda. The objective of these malignant groups is not so much to damage Israel directly, but more to intimidate Jews in the Diaspora. They seek to bully the strongest backers of Israel internationally, to coerce them to either abandon their support or to directly turn against the Jewish state.

Those who succumb to such manipulation do so both to avoid intimidation and to gain social acceptance in an environment where Jew-hatred posing as anti-Zionism is increasingly fashionable. It is particularly effective on university campuses, where the student targets lack intellectual maturity, experience, and depth of knowledge. And where life-long standpoints often take root. It has been well documented that the level of Jew-hatred is multiplied when Jewish anti-Israel organizations – themselves created through such harassment – are present on campus, which they are in increasing numbers.

POLITICIANS TOO are susceptible to anti-Zionist hate campaigns, especially when large numbers of Muslims are among their voters. Even those political leaders who support Israel will often seek to appease their anti-Israel voters. For example, in this war, the likes of US President Joe Biden and UK Prime Minister Rishi

Sunak have repeatedly called on Israel to observe the laws of war and to avoid killing civilians.

They say this time and again, despite knowing full well that Israel already does exactly that. This is especially dangerous because their words imply that Israel is, in fact, carrying out war crimes, and their "confirmation" serves to incite even greater Jew-hatred

Thus Hamas and its supporters, in a carefully orchestrated campaign, stoke antisemitism around the world and feed off its malign effects. Terminating Hamas in Gaza, and hopefully elsewhere around the world, will have a major impact for as long as a successor to the terrorist group is not allowed to take hold there.

But although Hamas today is an antisemitism brand leader, it is of course far from the only major player. For its leading competitors, we don't need to look any farther than Judea and Samaria and, indeed, to the Islamic Republic of Iran, whose controlling hand lies behind so much of it.

The current conflict has caused a profound spike in Jew-hatred in the West, and there is no doubt that after the war, the steady-state level of antisemitism will settle at a new high. That should be of immense concern to governments in Europe, the US, and elsewhere, with their Jews facing this growing prejudice. It is their responsibility to suppress antisemitic hatred by defunding or shutting down those groups that are responsible, and taking a much harder line against the arch-offenders – the UN bodies in New York and Geneva.

As well as that, governments should be working to actively counter anti-Israel propaganda with the truth about Israel, rather than turning a blind eye or even fueling it as they so often do, even if inadvertently.

Here they could apply the same very effective approach that many of them took to persuade their electorates of the need to support Ukraine in its resistance to Russian aggression.

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