

**THE BLUE MANUAL
AGAINST ANTISEMITISM
AND DISINFORMATION**

RAPHAEL JERUSALMY

Summary

Preface.....	3
Essential concepts.....	4
The Jewish People.....	5
Judaism.....	7
Zionism.....	10
Israel.....	13
Jerusalem.....	16
Antisemitism.....	18
II. Current threats (and how to face them).....	20
Transmutations.....	21
The Resources.....	24
Freedom of Speech.....	27
Social networks.....	29
Freedom of worship and the right to be Jewish.....	32
III — Disinformation (and other lies).....	35
Disinformation.....	36
The boycott.....	39
The mystifications.....	43
Israel's security, the strategic equation.....	46
Arabs, Islam, Palestine.....	48
A few truths.....	50
Epilogue.....	52
Biography.....	57

Preface

It is urgent!

Facing disinformation and constant attacks targeting the Jewish people is essential today to defend the democracy we live in.

In order to fight against hatred and discrimination, you just need to know some truths that we offer you here. Truths intended to edify those who would like to know and understand better, and also would want to respond better.

In addition to these data that will help you fight lies and prejudices, there is a panoply of means of action easy to carry out by everyone, citizen initiatives permitted by law, legal structures, associations and other official institutions at your disposal. Here you will discover the main ones as well as tips on how to put them to good use.

Knowing better, understanding better in order to better defend justice and truth, such is the principle of this brochure.

Raphael Jerusalmy

Essential Concepts

What is customarily called the “Jewish question” is a subject that covers a very precise reality frequently hidden, obscured, distorted, or even rejected.

Let’s shed light on the components of this subject.

THE JEWISH PEOPLE

Persecutions, even genocide did not give the Jewish People its special place throughout history. Other people have suffered similar afflictions. However none have been made responsible for so many of the world ills. This distinction is not the result of bad luck but of strategic design.

1 — At the time of King Saul according to the bible, or around 1500 BCE according to archaeologists, the Israelites, a nomadic people divided into 12 tribes, settled in the land of Canaan, on the east coast of the Mediterranean Sea. They founded the united kingdom of Israel and Judea with Jerusalem as its capital. During a millennium of sovereignty the Israelites enjoyed relative stability. However, the people of this small semi-desertic country will experience one of the most tragic destinies in history.

2 — In Jerusalem, King Solomon built a Temple to shelter the Ark of Alliance containing at the time the two stone tablets on which Moses wrote the Law dictated by God on Mount Sinai. The Temple was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar II in 587 BCE. The Israelites were exiled to Babylon where they consolidated their faith which later became Judaism. Rebuilt, the Temple of Jerusalem was again destroyed, this time by the Roman emperor Titus in the year 70 of the Christian era. The Israelites were expelled from their land. So far their fate, as bitter as it is, is that of any nation defeated by Rome.

3 — Everything changed when the Emperor Constantine converted to Christianity on his deathbed. Jews were then labeled “God Killers” and this accusation had long lasting consequences. Implied in certain passages of the New Testament, this accusation only gained influence with the institutionalization of the Church. At the end of the 4th century, in his “Adversus Judaeos”, Jean Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople, decreed that Jews carried the guilt of their fathers and were therefore collectively responsible for the death of Christ, son of God. It is this charge of deicide that forever distinguished the Jewish People from all others. Demonized, they became prey of an incessant religious persecution reaching its peak ten centuries later with the Spanish inquisition.

4 — It should be noted that during this same period, important Jewish communities flourished across the Arab world, in the Ottoman Empire, in Persia and even Africa and East Asia. The Jewish People were not subjected to the systematic oppression experienced by their brothers in the Catholic world.

5 — Often victimized in Europe, Jews contributed to the advancement of the countries where they lived, in areas as diverse as commerce, art and medicine while being peaceful and respectful of local customs. They were expelled from England, France, Spain and Portugal. Christian Poland offered refuge to European Jews as early as the 10th century CE.

6 — For many centuries, Jews were persecuted in order to «avenge the death of Christ». This demonization of Jews represented a precious political tool. It channeled the resentment of oppressed classes and allowed Catholic lords and priests to consolidate their power. So much so that this obsession with Jews exceeded the religious domain and were held responsible for famines, plagues, and even for fluctuations of the economy.

7 — Some enlightened sovereigns will allow Jewish communities to flourish and experience relative lulls. But it was not until the Enlightenments of the French Revolution of 1789 that the process of Jews emancipation began. We see the birth of the “Haskala”, a Jewish movement declaring openness to modernity and social progress. Little by little, Jews accessed professions previously prohibited to them. They obtained civic rights, including the right to vote. However, there still existed an underlying malaise highlighted during the Dreyfus Affair, which began in 1894 and suddenly threatened all these achievements. At the same time, a wave of bloody pogroms swept over Russian and Eastern European Jews. This sudden resurgence of antisemitism gave birth to the idea of Zionism, that is to say the movement for the creation of a National Jewish home or state. The first Zionist congress was held in Basel, Switzerland in 1897.

8 — Although the Twentieth Century began under signs of progress with the Universal Exhibition in Paris, it became the most violent and cruel humanity had ever known. Tens of millions of men and women perished in two world wars, but also in all kinds of regional uprisings and conflicts. However, the Jewish People paid the highest price for this madness. In two stages: In the first stage, from 1940 to 1945, the Nazi regime committed the deadliest genocide in history, the Shoah, which will remain engraved forever in the memory of men. More than 6 million men, women and children died, for the mere reason of being Jewish.

The second stage took place the day after the creation of the State of Israel in 1948 and during the 50's. Under the aegis of Pan-Arabism, nearly one million Jews were expelled from countries in the Middle East and North Africa where they had lived for centuries.

9 — Nowadays, several currents are taking over from the inquisitors and crusaders, Cossacks and anti-Dreyfusards. The rise of Islamist fundamentalism, the revival of far-right parties, the emergence of anti-Zionism from the left parties, and a certain uneasiness in Europe, are all causes for concern.

10 — Despite the wrenching from its land, the dispersal of its members, the many persecutions it has endured, the Jewish People has held on. Today the number of Jews in the world is about to return to the number before the Shoah, of about 16 million. From an historical point of view the most striking character of the Jewish People is therefore its resilience.

But to what does the Jewish People owe this amazing capacity for survival?

JUDAISM

Judaism is more than a religion. It is a way of being and thinking that influences all aspects of life, like a beam of light radiating in several directions. How much light does it bring? How far does it shine?

1 — Whether it is the fact of Abraham breaking the idols or that of the Jewish metaphysicians who laid the foundations, historians and theologians agree to attribute the paternity of monotheism to the People of Israel. This principle forever revolutionized the vision that man had of the world and himself. The first implication of monotheism being that, if all men are created by the one and same God, therefore they are brothers.

2 — So, why is there a “chosen people”? This expression is often misunderstood and evokes a notion of superiority. The fact that the People of Israel is «designated» for a specific task does not give it any superiority compared to other peoples. No mark of submission or veneration is actually expected from them. Judaism is not a missionary religion. And even less conquering. It sticks to a defined geographic space: The Promised Land.

3 — This attachment of Judaism to Israel, that is to say of a philosophical system to a land, proves to be crucial for human thought because it brings together the spiritual and the material, the abstract and the concrete. This is exemplified by the constant dialogue that God maintains with His creatures, in the stories of the Bible. But the Bible is not a simple transcription of this dialogue. It is the line of communication between the celestial and the terrestrial. This is the reason why the people of Israel is also called «People of the Book».

4 — According to Jewish tradition, this «book» was dictated to Moses by God on Mount Sinai. It is called «Torah», which means «teaching». It is around this teaching that Judaism is articulated, both as thought and as a way of life. And it inspired two religions, followers of monotheism: Christianity and Islam. But also other branches or extensions emanating from an internal dynamic in Judaism itself. Judaism is by no means a fixed dogma, its essence being a constant quest, an infinite interrogation.

5 — Exile and dispersion, instead of causing a decline in the Jewish faith, gave it a surprising vital impulse. Fearing that their misfortunes and peregrinations would lead them to the gradual loss of their identity, the Jews undertook a huge rescue operation. They put in writing all the teachings of their oral tradition, that is to say all the comments and interpretations, all the edicts and precepts inspired by the written Law or Torah. Begun in the aftermath of the destruction of the Second Temple, this operation continued for more than four centuries, giving birth to a gigantic work, generally known as the Talmud. The Talmud is a compilation of rabbinical discussions which aim to translate the teaching contained in the Torah into regulations and codes of conduct relating to civil law as well as to ethics, hygiene and pedagogy or study. But it should be remembered that what matters in the Talmudic debate is above all the question and not the answer we give. Paradoxically, it is this spirit of controversy that will maintain the cohesion of the Jewish People.

6 — This cohesion is also due to the fact that the rabbinical debates and their study, in Safed, in Babylon, in Rome, in Krakow, were always conducted in one and same Judeo-Aramaic idiom, Hebrew. The Jewish People owe their survival to their common language, Hebrew. It welded them despite their dispersal. Land can be conquered and burned, books confiscated and burned. But how do you destroy a language? For centuries thanks to the study and uninterrupted recitation of the Talmud, but also to the incessant polemic between different schools and Judaism movements, Hebrew will remain a living language.

7 — And Judaism, a living thought. But what are the proponents of this thought, debating about? To a stranger, who came to ask him to expose the essence of the Jewish faith standing on one leg, Rabbi Hillel objected: «What is detestable in your eyes, do not do it to others. This is the entire Torah, the rest is just commentaries. Now go and study.” This concept of reciprocity expressed by Hillel is the foundation of what is known today as «Human Rights». And that the Hebrew designated by the word Tsedek, meaning «equity». For medieval Maimonides as for the Moses Mendelssohn of lights, for Rabbi Akiva of ancient Yavne as for Martin Buber and Emmanuel Levinas, it is this aspiration for equity which is the major concern. Far from remaining internal, this thematic gives rise to an opening to the world. Maimonides disputed it with the disciples of Avicenna. Mendelssohn consulted about it with Rousseau, and so on. Making Judaism an essential interlocutor for anyone who is concerned with the human condition.

8 — Over the centuries, Judaism explored new directions and took different forms. We will only mention two movements, being both the most striking and the most opposed, illustrating both the diversity of Jewish thought and the extent of its reflection. The first is Kabbalah, which is dedicated to uncovering the hidden meaning of each passage, each word, each letter of the Bible. Mysterious and secret, it is reserved to a few scholars. The second is Hasidism. Open to all, even the least erudite. And that preaches a joyful communion with God. Both by study and by ecstasy, both by prayer and by dance. This multiplicity, these one thousand and one ways of living as a Jew, ranged today from ultra-Orthodox Judaism to progressive Judaism, passing by the intermediate degrees of liberal, reform, or conservative movements.

9 — Although diverse, Judaism harbors a community of spirit and a particular sensibility. A particular affectivity of which the most obvious manifestation is its artistic creativity. When we talk about Jewish artists, we are not talking about their religious denomination but of their sensitivity or «Judeity» emanating from a special tradition and culture. We discover it with Modigliani as well as with Chagall, Mahler and Leonard Cohen, Kafka and Saul Bellow. With Claude Lelouch and Steven Spielberg.

10 — This particularity is also revealed in other areas. Applied to science, the critical approach and reflexive mechanisms resulting from Talmudic reflection will provide many Jewish researchers and theorists with work orientations and points of view that will lead them to memorable discoveries. To this we can add the close links between Kabbalah and pure mathematics, the kosher hygiene prescriptions with medicine. The theory of relativity illustrates this kinship between scientific activity and

Judaism insofar as both have the purpose of reducing the gap that separates the intelligible from the unintelligible. Hence the metaphysical dimension of Einstein's work.

The bond that unites the Jewish people to the Torah is unbreakable. It has, if not ensured its survival, at least preserved its identity for centuries.

Just like its unwavering attachment to the land of Israel.

ZIONISM

Zionism is the political translation of the Jewish People's attachment to the land of Israel. Its aim is to build a National Home for the Jewish People and restore to this land its state status of which the successive conquests and occupations have deprived it for 21 centuries. As a movement, Zionism was born out of a very precise historical context which motivated its creation. As an ideal, it is part of a two thousand year old aspiration, dating from the first hour of exile: The aspiration to «return».

- 1 — To this enduring aspiration is added the sustainability of a Jewish presence in Jerusalem and throughout Israel, even after the destruction of the temple by the Romans. It is in the flourishing study centers of Yavne, Safed, and Tiberias, that most of the Talmud will be written. Pockets of Jewish population practicing agriculture and crafts continued to reside in the villages of Judea or Galilee (including that of Péki'in, often cited as an example of this uninterrupted Jewish presence to the present day). Not to mention the constant influx of immigrants returning to settle in the Holy Land, long before the birth of the Zionist project.
- 2 — Beside the Jewish notion of «return» exists the notion of «restitution» advocated by many non-Jewish thinkers. The most famous being undoubtedly Isaac Newton. Newton considered this «restitution» from a theological point of view, situated in the divine plane as a prerequisite for the advent of messianic times. Millions of Christians around the world share this doctrine, mainly preached by Protestantism and Evangelism. But at the political level, this restitution turned out to be much less conceivable. The possession of the land of Israel is an issue that the nations have quarreled about for a long time. The Catholic kings wanted to possess it, crusades after crusades. As well as Muslim sovereigns and heads of states, who covet it until today. Domination of the Holy Land was an invaluable asset for anyone who wanted to declare himself champion of Christianity or master of Islam. This small country was also victim of colonial expansion because it represented a serious strategic advantage, being at the juncture of three continents and trade routes connecting the east to the west as well as one of the key points from which to exercise tactical control over the Mediterranean basin.
- 3 — Jews had for a long time considered the «return», or «restitution», to be utopian. Deprived of the most basic civil rights and of any access to military professions, they were not in a position to confront the successive invaders who seized their ancestral land. Nor to exert any political pressure. But the Enlightenment and Industrial Revolution brought marked improvement in the Jews conditions and restored their dignity and freedom of which they had been deprived for so long. One of the most tangible signs of this reversal was the army ranks opening to the Jews and the appearance of the first graduates, including Captain Dreyfus.
- 4 — The Dreyfus Affair is famous. The resounding trial at the center of the affair, triggered a controversy which divided France, then the rest of Europe, and remained in history as a crucial stage in the struggle for the defense of individual rights against power. But, due to its anti-Semitic nature, this judicial scandal had another crucial consequence. Drowned in the crowd, the Paris correspondent for a Viennese newspaper was following the trial with interest. At age 34, author of several plays, he was

dreaming of literary glory. His name was Theodore Herzl. He did not know that his actions would lead to the creation of the State of Israel.

5 — For some years, «return» initiatives had been undertaken. Moses Montefiore, a wealthy English Jewish patron, had traveled to Israel in 1827. He returned several times to assist the poor Jews who lived there and to encourage persecuted Jews of Europe to come settle in Israel and live a better life. In 1855, Montefiore financed construction of the first houses outside the walls of the old city of Jerusalem, and a mill to provide a source of employment and income for the pioneer families. His example was followed by Baron de Rothschild who acquired land in Ottoman Palestine, from 1882, and helped establish agricultural communities such as the Zichron Yaakov winery on Mount Carmel, intended to welcome the Jews of Russia hunted by pogroms. During the same period, the first structured organizations were created. The most important founded in Odessa in 1881, is called the Lovers of Zion. It created a land purchase fund and encouraged Jewish youth to train in the agricultural and industrial trades. Very soon, the return to Zion took on a socialist and community character, the most famous expression of which was the kibbutz (or collectivity). In the shadow of the increasingly severe persecutions, especially in Russia and Eastern Europe, rabbis such as Rav Kalisher, showed their support to the idea of «return», thus becoming the precursors of «religious Zionism».

6 — Theodor Herzl, for his part, was neither religious, nor patron, nor member of a militant group such as ones existing in Ukraine or in Russia. Yet it is he who most clearly formulated the objective, «a permanent shelter for the Jewish People», and the path to reach it, in a work called the manifesto of Zionism: *Der Judenstaat*, meaning, Jewish State (1896). The title shocked, of course. And virulent opposition to the idea arose immediately. Anti-Zionism was born, at least in its primary form.

7 — Herzl is much more than the theorist of Zionism. It is he who put the project on track. He waged an international campaign to win the powerful and elites of Europe to his cause. And also the Jews themselves. He sought political support (obtaining that of Emperor Guillaume II), he collected funds, held annual «Zionist congresses» whose aim was to define modalities and principles of the state to come. One of these principles stated that the Jewish Nation could not be rebuilt on any other land than that of Israel. In 1905, the Zionist congress declined the offer of the United Kingdom to erect a Jewish State in Uganda.

8 — In the years that followed, several waves of Jewish emigration arrived in the Promised Land, which had become a refuge for European Jews fleeing from growing oppression which peaked during the Holocaust. These population movements are designated by the Hebrew term *Aliyah* (the rise). The JNF (Jewish National Fund, founded in 1901) aimed to acquire land and properties to accommodate these populations. The Histadrut (Federation of Workers) trained and supervised the Zionist pioneers, and provided them with basic medical, social and educational aid. The Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Organization (created in 1922) were responsible for grouping and assisting all these refugees but also for representing them politically on the international scene and in front of the British government under the boot of which lived the so-called mandatory Palestine.

9 — On the political plan there were many obstacles. But they failed one after the other. Written by the British in 1917, the declaration Balfour was the first official recognition of a «Jewish National Home». This home existed anyway, because pioneers and refugees had at the time, already founded and populated multiple localities and kibbutzim. This diplomatic legitimacy was confirmed at the conference in San Remo (1920) and then by a mandate from the League of Nations (1922). These decisions corroborated the reality on the ground. Tel Aviv, founded by a handful of immigrants in 1909, had already 150,000 inhabitants in 1937. The creation of the State of Israel is commonly presented as being linked to a «restitution» which would have been conceded because of the Shoah. On November 29, 1947, when the United Nations voted to partition Palestine, it just validated a hundred years of efforts and struggles, and put its stamp on the de facto existence of a national entity then strong with 650,000 souls, and possessing its language, its institutions, its agriculture, its industry, its culture.

10 — As a movement, having set itself the goal of creating a Jewish state, Zionism historically ended on May 14, 1948, the day of the birth of that state. But a second work signed by Theodore Herzl, gave Zionism an additional dimension, that of an ideal. Published in 1902, *Altneuland* (old new country) is a story evoking an utopian country and asking questions that remain current. It is against this ideal that the Israelis are often judged. Above all, how they judge themselves when they take a look at their society and discuss their national values. In this case, the «return» would only be the first step for Zionism. The second being the pursuit of an ideal of society.

The Zionism right to «return» principle is not invoked in the name of any territorial claim but in the name of filiation. Simply put, the Jewish People do not own the Promised Land. They are the ones who belong to it.

That is why they are named «the children of Israel»

ISRAEL

From its earliest hours, the new Jewish State was faced with innumerable moral, political, strategic, and religious dilemmas. It had to make choices. It continues to do so today. These are choices that determine its identity as a Nation. The first of them being that of its denomination. Although built by the «Zionists», and defined as «Jewish», it is not called Zion or Judea, but Israel.

1 — In the bible, Israel appears for the first time as the name that God gives to the patriarch Jacob, son of Isaac and grandson of Abraham, for fighting with an angel, in a fight from which he emerged victorious. Israel has two possible meanings in Hebrew: «he who jousts against God» and «God triumphed». This ambiguity may be wanted. Jacob will have twelve sons from which the Twelve Tribes of Israel descend. In archeology, the first known mention of Israel is engraved on Merenptah funerary stele (dated around 1200 BCE) commemorating Egyptian military victories, including that on Israel (or the «Israelites»), in Canaan.

2 — The united kingdom of Israel and Judea experienced many other conflicts and was attacked repeatedly. By the Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, and Greeks. However, it was the Romans who inflicted the most decisive blow. Not by their military superiority, nor even by banishing most of its inhabitants. But by renaming the country and erasing from the memory of men the association between Israel and the Jewish People (this ultimate punishment followed the revolt led by Shimon Bar-Kokhba between 132 and 135 CE). The country of Israel was henceforth redesignated under the name Palestine. Over time, the Romans ended up being overthrown by other conquerors, including the crusaders who baptized it the Holy Land.

3 — «Palestine» changed hands many times and the British were its last masters. During the twenty centuries of enslavement which separated the revolt of Bar-Kokhba from the Zionist struggle against Turkish and then English domination, no liberation movement was ever born in Palestine. No national aspiration whatsoever was expressed. No uprising or acts of resistance were undertaken. The local population was composed of several minorities - Arab, Jewish, Druze, and Bedouin, all weak and resigned. It is from 20th Century Europe that a wind of independence came blowing, with the arrival of young emancipated Jews, animated by egalitarian sentiments, and a liberating flame that will put an end to centuries of oppression and foreign domination in the land of Israel.

4 — It would be presumptuous to suggest that the successes achieved by this group of young Jews have, if not shown the way, at least given food for thought to the Arab youth of the time. During the years after the Second World War, the Arab world began a similar historical process, ending decades of western colonization in the Near East and in North Africa. Also overturning certain old dynastic regimes, such as the Egyptian monarchy. The nationalist parties leading this process advocated an Arab hegemony, known as pan-Arabism, of which emerging Israel quickly became the target.

5 — However, it was well before the rise of this ultra-nationalism, and even before obtaining its own independence, that Israel saw itself confronted with the Arab

population's hostility which reached its first height of violence in 1929 with the Hebron pogrom, followed by bloody anti-Jewish riots in the rest of the country. This pogrom ended a millennial of Jewish presence in Hebron and sowed the first seed of Arab nationalism in Palestine. It was therefore in an already tense atmosphere that the plan to divide Palestine into two states, one Jewish, the other Arab, was announced in 1947. Although the partition placed the major part of Judea under Arab control, a civil war broke out immediately against the Jews (while the British mandate was still in place). When the State of Israel's independence was proclaimed on May 14, 1948, five Arab nations united and launched their first assault that failed. The successive Israel-Arab wars (1956, 1967, 1973) led, unexpectedly, to a transfer of Judea, the Golan and the Sinai to the victor on the ground, Israel.

6 — The Sinai was returned to Egypt as part of peace it signed with Israel in 1979; The Golan Heights, on the other hand, was annexed in 1981. The 1993 Oslo Accords conceded the administration of part of Judea-Samaria and the Gaza Strip to the Palestinians. Peace with Jordan was concluded a year later (1994). Nowadays, ultra-nationalism has given way to religious fundamentalism, and the pan-Arabism of the time of Nasser to a pan-Islamism of which Shiites (Iran at the head) and Sunnites (under the aegis of Saudi Arabia) compete for supremacy. The same goes for terrorism, the preponderance of which has passed from various «fronts of freedom» to Islamist groups glorifying jihad. The Palestinian Authority is not spared from this phenomenon as shown by the violent dissensions between the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) and Hamas. So much so that, alongside efforts at conciliation between Israel and certain Arab nations, we observe the disturbing progression of destructive forces that could plunge the region into chaos and even destabilize the rest of the world.

7 — The current strategic equation does not work in Israel's favour. Iran's ballistic arsenal is today superior to that of NATO. Setbacks experienced by countries like Syria, Iraq and Libya allow terrorist organizations to deploy there. Based in Lebanon, Hezbollah has more than 120,000 missiles, a significant part of which can reach any locality in Israel. Saudi Arabia is undertaking increasingly massive purchases of sophisticated equipment while Israel remains disadvantaged by its lack of strategic depth and the constant need to mobilize a large reserve force.

8 — The State of Israel also faces many internal challenges. Defining oneself as a «Jewish and democratic state» has given rise to a debate of society far from being settled. Dealing with the mosaic of the many communities formed by different waves of Jewish immigration and the problems of integration into a society that wants to unify them into a single mold, while preserving their specificities.

9 — In fact, the largest concentration of refugees in the Middle East is found in Israel. More than 2,500,000 refugees from the former USSR, Ethiopia, Arab countries, and Europe. None of these refugees have received international assistance. Neither from the United Nations nor from the Red Cross. The vast majority were repatriated by the Jewish Agency with the support of Jews around the world. Operations are still underway to rescue Jews whose security is threatened (such as those of Iran) or who are experiencing economic difficulties.

10 — Israel currently has more than 9,000,000 inhabitants (2019), 20% of whom are Arabs of Muslim or Christian faith. The country is in full technological and economic boom although it continues to have to devote about 6% of its GNP (15% of its annual budget) to defense. The recent difficulties encountered by the poorest and those of the middle class, mainly in the area of housing, have placed social justice, health and education issues at the top of the Israelis' concerns.

While reviving a very ancient tradition, today's Israel is in search of an identity. It is while thinking of this identity that the founders had to debate the name by which to designate this State. Zion, Judea or Israel?

However, the name of its capital was never subject to any discussion.

JERUSALEM

Jerusalem is the epitome of Jewish identity. Many have sought to deprive those who claim it, believing that Jerusalem could be conquered, when it should be earned.

1 — Apart from the Bible, the first known mentions of Jerusalem are found in Egyptian texts dating from 2000 BCE. Etymologically, this term comes from two Chaldean roots: yeru (city or residence) and shalem (completeness), ancestor of the Hebrew shalom and the Arab salam. It appears 660 times as such in the Tanach (Old Testament), to which are added other names, such as «city of David» or «daughter of Zion». It is found 146 times in the New Testament, and not once in the Qur'an, although the city is considered the third holiest place in Islam (after Mecca and Medina).

2 — For the Jews, the mount on which the city was built has been a privileged place since biblical times, as an encounter between heaven and earth. God speaks to the patriarchs there. The city was both the religious center of Judaism and the political capital of the Hebrew kingdom. The people of Israel used to go there on pilgrimage three times a year, during the three great festivals of Pesach (Easter), Succoth (tabernacles), and Shavuot (Pentecost). During their long exile, the Jews affirmed and celebrated these feasts with the famous wish «next year in Jerusalem». Three times a day the practicing Jews turn in the direction of Jerusalem to bless it and sing their return to the heart of the city.

3 — The relationship of Christians to Jerusalem is mainly linked to the stages in the life of Jesus (going up to the Temple, Crucifixion, and Resurrection) and the apostles. Roman and Byzantine Emperors erected many shrines and places of worship. It became the Capital of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem from 1099 to 1187. Crusades in the Holy Land lead thousands of Christian pilgrims in their wake, who continued to flow well after the crusades era. And Jerusalem held the status of patriarchy as did Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople.

4 — It was from Jerusalem that the prophet Muhammad, riding on his horse, flew to Heaven on his nocturnal journey. And it is in Jerusalem that Muslims will assemble on the Day of the Last Judgment. In the course of its history, Jerusalem was dominated several times by Islamic dynasties but none taking it as its capital. As the Temple Mount for the Jews or the Holy Sepulcher for the Christians, al-Aqsa, the great mosque of Jerusalem, is a high place of pilgrimage for the Muslims.

5 — In 1948, the great Mufti of Jerusalem called for the massacre of the Jews. At the end of the ensuing war, the western part of the city remained in the hands of the Israelis who made it the capital of their State in 1949, while the eastern part fell under Jordanian occupation. During this Jordanian domination, Jewish places were systematically destroyed, including dozens of synagogues and study centers, and also cemeteries, whose tombstones were used as building material.

6 — In 1967, during the Six Day War, the Israeli army captured eastern Jerusalem. Reunified, the city fell entirely under Israeli control. However, Muslim Holy places were entrusted to WAQF (Muslim religious foundation) and placed under

the aegis of Jordanian kingship. This commitment was renewed in 1994, when peace treaties between Jordan and Israel were signed.

7 — In 1980, a vote of the Knesset (Israeli parliament) established Jerusalem as the «permanent and indivisible» capital of the State of Israel. But the international community did not recognize neither the annexation nor the status of capital voted by the government of Israel. In fact, no foreign embassies (except that of the United States in 2018) settled in Jerusalem, the eastern part of which is considered occupied and not annexed. This attitude constitutes an attack on the sovereignty of Israel and an interference in its internal policy. For its part, the Palestinian Authority voted and then ratified a law establishing Jerusalem as the capital of a future Palestinian state (2002).

8 — The Oslo Accords stipulate that the question of the status and possible partition of Jerusalem is to be settled only at the final phase of the peace process. It cannot therefore appear as a prerequisite for the continuation of negotiations. For the simple reason that it is a source of tension and poses a brake on any attempt at dialogue as shown by the recurring incidents on the esplanade of the mosques, built on the Temple Mount, just above the Wailing Wall.

9 — There is a fragile status quo regarding the regulation of prayers and visits that take place on this esplanade. The rabbinate of Israel prohibits access to the Jews, who risk trampling on the remains of the sanctuary of the Ark of the Covenant which was housed in the Temple. Some practicing Jews adopt an opposite position, claiming the duty to reaffirm the Jewish character of the place and to build there the «third Temple». Their visit to the esplanade give rise to clashes with faithful Muslims. These visits are not prohibited from a legal point of view. But they can be subject to restrictions both by Waqf decree and by decision of the Israeli security services. Although authorized and having taken place without incident, deputy Ariel Sharon's visit made on this esplanade, in September 2000, was followed by violent riots kicking off the second Intifada. In recent years, the resurgence of jihadism has given rise to the exploitation of these tensions calling for riotous, even terrorist, violence. Despite all of this, a fact is important. Jerusalem today enjoys absolute freedom of worship, the likes it has never known in its history.

10 — On a daily basis, the vast majority of Jerusalem inhabitants, all confessions combined, live in peace. All go to the same businesses, the same parks, in a de facto coexistence. Certain districts, such as Abu Tor, are mixed. Like the rest of Israel, the hospital or municipal staff, the student population and the campus teachers, are made up of Jews and Arabs alike, studying and working together. Today, there are also multiple initiatives for dialogue and understanding between Israelis and Palestinians, and joint projects, both cultural and artistic, medical and educational. This everyday reality is the basis for hopes of peace, much more than the salon discussions. This shows that Jerusalem, rather than being the reason, is in fact the key to the problem.

It is undoubtedly in the same spirit of peace and dialogue that, on October 13, 2016, UNESCO adopted a resolution denying any link between the Jewish People and the Temple Mount of Jerusalem. This resolution is so absurd that one wonders what could have motivated it.

ANTISEMITISM

Antisemitism has long been perceived as inexplicable or aberrant. However, its symptoms allow us to establish an accurate diagnosis. Or rather, a clinical assessment.

Because antisemitism is a disease.

1 — Freud sees it primarily as a mental illness of an obsessive nature. The anti-Semite fixes on Jews, devoting excessive attention to them. One of the most recent manifestations being the disproportionate media interest in the Israeli-Palestinian subject in relation to other crises and conflicts around the world. According to the famous adage: Jews is News.

2 — To this neurotic behavior, Freud adds the psychic act by which society operates a projection of its own guilt, and of its own libido, on the Jews. Prolongation of the syndrome of the «deicide» people, the current transfer is the result of a certain sickness in civilization. It emanates from post-traumatic feelings such as those that arose long after Freud's death, in the aftermath of the Shoah and the colonialist era, to which Europe reacted by a usual process of repression.

3 — In his reflections on the Jewish question, Sartre joins Freud's analysis by insisting on the fact that, in its libidinous dimension, antisemitism expresses above all a hatred of self or self-detestation rather than the hatred of the other, that characterizes classic racism. It should be noted that Jews are not exempt from this self-hatred disorder which, in the case of the «shameful Jew», is accompanied by complexes of Oedipal nature.

4 — The fact that antisemitism is classified separately from other forms of racism constitutes a discrimination in itself. It was a German journalist, Wilhelm Marr, who coined the term «antisemitismus» in 1879, when an «anti-Semitic league» was founded foreshadowing Nazism. The use of this new word marked a turning point in the history of Judeophobia (a more recent term still). Traditional Jew-hatred, essentially of a cultural and religious character, was therefore enriched with pseudo-scientific foundations underlying a racial doctrine, as well as unprecedented socio-political connotations.

5 — With the publication of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion (1903), the great classic of anti-Semitic literature «disclosing» the existence of a conspiracy by Jews to take over the world, Jews turn out to be powerful, expansionist, «domineering» (said President De Gaulle in 1967). What distinguishes antisemitism from mainstream racism is that Jews are portrayed as «superior», «clever», «intelligent», while Blacks and Arabs, even if also considered dangerous, are classified as «inferiors» or «primitives».

6 — The new emerging terminology abandoned the religious lexicon. It innovated. But its goal remained the same: to demonize the other to innocent oneself. To get rid of the weight of sins. To be relieved of an endemic bad conscience. Jews were called Bolshevik, imperialist, anarchist, capitalist, and freemason endorsing the obsession of the moment.

7 — The measures taken against the Jews have also evolved over time, at least in Europe. Ghetto, numerus clausus, prohibitions and sanctions of all kinds have gradually fallen into disuse. Jews hatred has also modernized itself. Nowadays, it mainly manifests itself through media and social networks. And, in order to escape any legal or moral penalties, it bears new names and takes new forms. Almost no one is openly «anti-Semitic» today. Traditional antisemitism is outdated.

8 — But above all it is punished by law. Legal efforts undertaken to thwart the misdeeds and to prohibit any form of its expression are becoming increasingly severe and effective. Racism and antisemitism have never been fought more than since the beginning of the 21st Century. The European countries at the head of this combat, also carry out civic and educational campaigns in order to silence «the foul beast» that points its nose again.

9 — In the years following the Shoah, a deceptive silence gave hope that «it would never happen again». However, for the past few years, the Shoah has continued to be trivialized, minimized, and even denied. While, at the same time, a cynical and concerted importation of the Israeli-Palestinian problems, propagating tensions rather than seeking to appease them, pours its bile on Israel and tries to make it «the Jew of the Nations». To this is added an unstable European economic situation, to say the least, which we know is infallibly accompanied by racism, antisemitism, and the rise of extremism. Ultranationalist parties and radical Islamist movements are enjoying growing support which is not without concern for the proponent of democracy. And for good reasons, antisemitism is a dangerous political and propaganda tool that has already proven itself.

10 — There have always been men and women who have stood up for, and even protected, victims of antisemitism, sometimes at the risk of their own lives. If they did it, it was not only out of compassion, but also in order to preserve their own dignity. It is clear that the threat remains but many countries are today equipped to face it by offering their nationals a variety of legal, media, pedagogical and technical tools to help them combat it.

It's up to us to make good use of it!

Current threats

(and how to face them)

Antisemitism is today a crime punishable by law. And it is «frowned upon» by society. This is why the current anti-Semite insists on not being designated as such. Ironically, he is driven by the deep desire to appear «correct», honest, endowed with impeccable intellectual and moral righteousness. It is not only to evade justice that he wears a mask, but to avoid any doubt about his integrity. To do this, he must adapt, change his face, his language register, the people he wants to reach.

What are the new formulas and new forums advocated by today's anti-Semites? And what are the laws in place, possible citizen actions, group or individual initiatives, which make it possible to combat anti-Semites?

TRANSMUTATIONS

Since the beginning of the 21st Century, Europe has experienced a spectacular increase in the number of incidents and acts of aggression of an anti-Semitic nature. Physical attacks on people, depredation of places of worship and cemeteries, insults, hate speech campaign. What is the cause of such an aggravation?

The answer is simple: new forms of antisemitism have been added to existing forms.

1 — Traditional antisemitism persists in most European countries. And this, despite the declaration *Nostra Aetate* of Vatican Council II (1965) rejecting forever the notion of a collective responsibility of the Jews in the crucifixion of Jesus. There are nonetheless fundamentalists who continue to affirm the contrary. In a document from the Commission for Religious Relations with Judaism (dated December 10, 2015), the Vatican acknowledges that antisemitism has not disappeared and that it even resurfaces in certain contexts.

2 — Nowadays, antisemitism of Catholic origin is competing with the emergence of an Islamic radicalism gaining ground. Although the Salafists range of action is not limited to Jewish communities, they remain a favorite target (as shown by the attack on the kosher supermarket perpetrated at the same time as the attack against *Charlie Hebdo* magazine in Paris in 2015).

3 — In the shadow of the influx of migrants, the economic and political crisis, the wave of terrorist attacks, the resurgence of ultranationalist movements, right-wing antisemitism is picking up. But it is in competition with a leftist antisemitism, less narrow-minded, which wants to be politically correct and of good will. While their ancestors accused Israel of «deicide», these anti-Semites charge Israel with «genocide» (the Palestinian people playing here the same role as Jesus), and use the same type of hijacking and racist intellectual acrobatics approaches to demonstrate they are definitely not racist.

4 — We will come back to these language tips. Let us mention here only that of antizionism, label inducing an account to be settled only with the «Zionists», not the Jews. And let us quote Pope Francis: «Attacking the Jews or Israel is a matter of antisemitism» (October 29, 2015). We will return several times to the advantages that the anti-Semite derives from this dissociation between Israeli Jews and other Jews, based on the assertion that «they are not the same».

5 — Criticizing Israel is not necessarily antisemitism. On the other hand making the headlines more than any other countries are indeed signs of «special treatment». And therefore discrimination. Which is done at the expense of humanitarian crises and sufferings no less important but not benefiting from this particular obsessive attention. This excess of journalistic zeal is all the more suspect since a number of press agencies persist in adopting scabrous terminology used among «anti-Zionists» and other editors of anti-Israel propaganda rather than employing the usual lingo of their profession.

There is a distinct editorial language for dealing with Israel. Just as the Church of yesteryear had its formulas dedicated to speak about the Jews. We will return to this new lexicon and its related psychic mechanisms (see Ch. III).

In the meantime, let's not kid ourselves, the Palestinian cause owes its «media stardom» to the attention paid to Israel. Yellow star turned blue, target of the same procedures of demarcation, isolation and demonization as those employed in the Middle Ages. Those procedures are even more harmful because of the increasingly rapid and extensive spread of information or lies which, in its media form, is designated by the term of «disinformation».

6— In the newspaper *Le Monde* of June 12, 2002, Françoise Giroux, woman of letters and French politician, wrote: «I believe that the entire Christian people never came to terms with the Shoah». But regarding Israel, she continues: «Once again we have the right to speak ill of the Jews». After a certain embarrassment or reticence after the war, denial and trivialization of the Holocaust took place, especially at the time of the second intifada (which served as a pretext and cover). People spoke of «genocide» of the Palestinian people, «crimes against humanity» of the Israeli army, and compared more than one Israeli prime minister to Hitler. Thus giving birth to negationist speeches which, with a rare cynicism, compared Palestinians to Jewish victims of the Nazi period.

7— This brings us to antisemitism at the level of nations and states. To count the regimes practicing an obvious antizionism, you need only to refer to the anti-Israel resolutions submitted either to the UN Security Council or General Assembly. You would be able to see which countries vote systematically in favor of their adoption. Which countries are more concerned about the «wrongdoings» of Israel than about all the atrocities committed daily in other parts of the world (such as in Syria and Yemen, for example). At its annual general meeting of December 1, 2015, the UN adopted 6 resolutions out of the 20 proposed against Israel, compared to 3 resolutions for the rest of the world! On December 16, 2016, the outgoing Secretary General, Mr. Ban Ki Moon, publicly acknowledged before the Security Council that «decades of political maneuvering have resulted in a disproportionate amount of resolutions, reports and committees against Israel»

8— Desire to discriminate and isolate Israel takes a more down to earth form with boycott practices of Israeli products, but also of artists, intellectuals, and researchers who are denied access to a festival or a congress under the pretext that they are nationals of a country «guilty of crimes».

9— Protests of hatred targeting Israel, directly or indirectly affect Jews in the Diaspora. Jewish students are constantly asked to respond on university campuses. Whether they answer for or condemn «Zionist state abuses», they are expected to take a stand. Therefore they have to be concerned, whether they like it or not. The proof that such an amalgam constitutes a racist and discriminatory behavior is that those who constantly ask questions to members of the Jewish community about Israel warn us against linking members of Muslim communities with Arab and Islamist regimes.

10— Some Jews join the detractors of Israel, animated by a conviction that no one doubts their right to express it freely. It is, however, regrettable that they do not take into consideration the nine points mentioned above. Nor the fact that their statements are continuously exploited by anti-Semites. Not even that their right to speak is exercised to the detriment of other members of their community. Do they really see nothing suspicious in the fact that the press grants them this right much more often than to other Jews, when the Jewish detractors of Israel constitute a minority?

Are we really witnessing a resurgence of antisemitism? Or is it possible that antisemitism has just diversified and modernized, benefiting from political and media complicity and the legitimacy of «the right to criticize» Israel?

Is anti-Semitic persistence within our societies an indication of a moral stagnation? Three recent factors mark a visible progress in the treatment of this plague, indicating a progression of mentalities of which Europeans should be proud:

- 1- Admission and denunciation of anti-Semitic persistence;
- 2- Measures taken by countries to combat its harmful effects;
- 3- Legal tools available today to those who are target of antisemitism;

THE RESOURCES

Today most forms of antisemitism are punishable by criminal sanctions. It is everyone's duty to report them to the justice system and, if necessary, to prosecute them before the courts. However, the law is not the only defense. There are citizen actions, both collective and individual, offering alternative ways of denouncing, combating and protecting oneself.

1 — Although each country has its own judicial bodies, a set of directives applicable throughout Europe has been established in order to combat racism and xenophobia in general (2003), and antisemitism in particular. In 2007, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted resolution 1563, entitled «Combating Antisemitism in Europe», which calls on member states to implement legislation criminalizing the various manifestations and expressions of antisemitism as well as the Holocaust denial speeches.

2 — The first offense to be considered is general and concerns racist behavior and speech. That is to say any discrimination of a person or a group of people because of ethnicity, color, ancestry, or religious denomination. Generally, the offense must have been committed in public to be punishable as hatred incitement. Any alleged victim has the right to submit a complaint within the court which will decide whether there has been an offense. If so, the victim can then file a civil action. As the procedure is often complex, it is recommended to contact an antiracist or human rights association for advice and, if necessary, to obtain possible legal support.

3 — The anti-Semitic nature of Shoah denial and trivialization is recognized by numerous cases which have established jurisprudence. This includes Nazism apology, negation of either all or of certain aspects of the Jews extermination (such as denying the use of gas chambers), as well as minimization, approval or justification of the genocide. All offenses are liable for criminal sanctions. The great majority of the negationist thesis being conveyed by way of publication, can therefore constitute a press offense.

4 — Sheltering behind the principle of freedom of opinion and expression is more and more difficult for an anti-Semite, and news organizations are increasingly being held responsible for the content they publish and disseminate. In other words, in many cases, the author of anti-Semitic remarks is no longer the only one incriminated for press offenses. The publisher, broadcaster, editor-in-chief, producer of a radio or television program can also be the subject of legal proceedings.

5 — The same goes for the Internet and social networks. Host and Internet service providers have an obligation to contribute to the fight against the dissemination of racist or denialist remarks. Following a protocol, issued in 2003 by the Council of Europe, requesting member states to criminalize the dissemination of racist content on any computer medium, there are currently cybercrime police in most European countries, as well as web ethics bodies. Twitter and Facebook are not spared. Finally, incriminating screenshots and incident reports taking place on the Web can be used as proof.

6 — Faced with these media or computer press offenses, the public has a right of reply. Although it is strongly recommended to use this right as often as possible, caution is advised. The media uses various tricks to respond, the main one being to open their microphones to speakers «shocked» by your words and who will contradict you in order to make you the accused. These speakers will most often have double the time or space allocated to your response. The aim being to discourage you, but it is imperative to make use of your rights despite everything. One way to consolidate your intervention is to invite other people or organizations to co-sign or circulate the offense in the form of a petition before communicating it to the editor. Here is a tip: the media is particularly interested in dysfunctions and financial scandals, so that talking about «who pays» and «how much it costs taxpayers» will surely increase your chance of being cited. This also applies to the open media letter, *carte blanche*, and letters to readers. It should be noted that one can reach a very large audience through women's media or professional press, the (widely read) TV magazines and leisure programs, rather than speaking to a major daily newspaper. Newspapers and magazines such as *Pèlerin*, *Elle* or *Telerama*, reach a much wider and varied audience than *Liberation* or *Le Monde*, that have a targeted and therefore more restricted audience. Be as factual and concise as possible. Never state anything for which you are not absolutely sure or whose source you haven't verified. Above all ask questions and challenge the interviewer.

7 — The principle of the open media letter or any alert posted on computer sites and forums make it possible to place the victim in a position of attacker. The more publicized the anti-Semitic incident you report, the more the offender will be on the defensive and will need to show accountability. He or she will fear to report you for slander or defamation because a lawsuit will publicize even more the incident. This tactic is particularly recommended for situations where the anti-Semite has ensured that there were no witnesses. The «neither seen nor known» being the best ally of the racist, he must be deprived of it at all cost.

8 — It is important to take to the streets. Street events and rallies must receive prior authorization from the locality where they will take place as well as from security services. A «responsible organizer» should be appointed (preferably an organization or a group as the authorities rarely grant a license to demonstrate to an individual). Demonstrating without authorization is illegal. But a «fortuitous» gathering around an event in progress, such as the opening of a trial or a ceremony, is less so. If a «spontaneous assembly» does not disturb public order, a summons to the police station and a fine are the maximum risk incurred. The dangers of organizing gatherings come mainly from their being infiltrated by so-called uncontrolled elements, hence the need for a security service (which should not intervene in any case but alert the relevant services).

9 — Racism and antisemitism are to be treated under a zero tolerance policy. However, societies are still far from being able to absorb all injustices. We must therefore set an example, offer alternatives, create precedents that will become cases, educate young people, inform the public, and seek to appease rather than ignite. A moral problem nevertheless arises. How to judge by yourself if an act or a statement is of an anti-Semitic nature? In conscience! The law after all, also emanates from men's

conscience. Since what is lawful is in no way free from errors, it cannot prevail over humanity.

10 — This brief inventory would not be complete without mentioning the use of humor. Humor is one of the best ways to convince and rally to your cause. It is used to appease a situation, to break down barriers and reduce tensions, to make fun of the most sordid enemies.

The rights that we have just asserted and the laws that try to guarantee them emanate from a system of values threatened today, just as much as the minorities it protects. One of the main dangers facing liberal and democratic societies is the misappropriation of these values in favor of processes which are their very negation. Racists display their own sense of humor when they take shelter behind these values.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH

The European Court of Human Rights stipulates that freedom of expression is a fundamental right extending to speeches that «Hurt, shock or disturb the government or any segment of the population». There are, however, restrictions designed to avoid the encroachment of this right on other rights no less fundamental.

There is therefore a red line not to be crossed. But which one? And how can we decide without infringing on freedom?

1 — A comparison of the two scenarios that follow illustrates this dilemma: Remarks made by the French comedian Dieudonne (from 2012 to 2016) and caricatures of the prophet Muhammad, published in a Danish newspaper (the Jyllands-Posten of September 30, 2005). The remarks were condemned by the courts both for inciting racial hatred and for negating the Holocaust, whilst the latter were not as they did not fuel a detestation of the other, nor did they constitute, as in the Dieudonne case, a «specific, gratuitous and repetitive» attack inviting hatred of the other.

2 — When in 2005, Dieudonne appeared on television disguised as an ultra-religious Jew in a sketch with anti-Semitic overtones, the courts were lenient on him, considering that his performance was in the register of mockery and satire. Most European countries, being secular, do not consider «blasphemy» as a legal offense. On the other hand, the courts penalize discrimination against people because of their religious faith.

3 — However, the courts are far from being consistent in their decisions. They often tolerate the holding of far-right rallies, in which clear calls for hatred and violence are made. These gatherings are authorized in the name of democracy, which is repudiated by these groups. The Karlsruhe Constitutional Court rejected (in January 2017) a request to ban the overtly pro-Nazi German National Democratic Party (NPD). Thomas de Maziere, the Federal Interior Minister reacted to the verdict by saying that the prohibition or not of NDP does not prevent the fact that «the far right is advancing in people's minds».

4 — This is a crucial remark. Dieudonne-type antisemitism does not happen in a vacuum, nor does it happen spontaneously. It is the emanation of an ambient atmosphere that makes it possible. Or even fashionable. Dieudonne did not invent the trivialization of the Shoah. He read it in a newspaper, in the many articles using the term «genocide» wrongly. Dieudonne also did not invent the comparison of Zionism to Nazism. It was practiced long before him in certain intellectual and political circles, both Arab and European.

5 — In addition to the Shoah trivialization, they openly make an apology of terrorism, also prohibited by law. Riyad Mansour, the UN representative of the Palestinian Authority, killed two birds with one stone, by declaring that the use of the term «terrorist» by Israel evokes the use of the same term by the Nazis to depreciate the resistants of the Warsaw ghetto (April 27, 2016). Mr. Mansour operates a demonization of Israel coupled with an apology of terrorism, while trampling on the memory of the

victims of Nazism. In his doctoral thesis, defended in 1982, Mahmoud Abbas, who later became president of the Palestinian Authority, says that Zionists have exaggerated the number of Holocaust victims (which would be less than a million, according to him) and accuses Zionist leaders of complicity with the Nazi regime. Freedom of expression is exceeded here by the freedom to lie.

6 — Dieudonne does not hesitate to make an amalgam between Israel and the rest of the Jews. Whether incitement to hatred of Israel emanates from antisemitism or not, it constitutes in all respects a form of racism and discrimination against a group, here perceived as national rather than ethnic or religious. But the principle remains the same.

7 — Ignoring the «Jewishness» of Israelis is a flagrant denial of their identity and a convenient way to evade any accusation of antisemitism. It is also a negation of the filiation of the Jewish Diaspora with Israel, when a large part of Jews assume it entirely. This does not prevent them from having their opinion and expressing their disagreement or not, regarding the decisions taken by the successive Israeli governments.

8 — One of the main reasons of Dieudonne's conviction was the repetitive and recurrent manner of the charges made against the Israelis, as well as Jews. Incitement is usually conducted in the form of a campaign. It works according to the principle that a lie repeated a thousand times ends up appearing as the truth.

9 — It should be noted that the State of Israel is a sanctuary of freedom of expression. Various Arab and far left deputies and media outlets are given free rein sometimes to extreme virulent antagonism, without suffering any sanctions. Although their words are very often identical to those made by the humorist Dieudonne.

10 — Freedom of expression must be defended and protected above all. This freedom is also ours, beyond that of celebrities and opinion makers. It is everyone's duty to protect the right to speak by denouncing any racist, anti-Semitic or negationist statement, especially if it is proclaimed from the top of a stage or printed in a newspaper. So that free speech remains as a means to communicate, not to divide.

Freedom of expression allows hate speeches to make use of it. However, it is out of the question to let the supporters of hatred claim their right to free speech to spread their venom. Especially at a time when IT resources allow them to do it so easily.

Using the same technology, we can stop them.

SOCIAL NETWORKS

Social networks are intended to unite and bring men together. However, these networks are currently suffering from a cyber-antisemitism infection leading sometimes to murder.

Are large IT companies doing everything necessary to stem this tide of hate? What about governments? How about us? Here are the elements to understand the magnitude and the complexity of the phenomenon. As well as some recommendations to internet users wishing to act.

1 — Cyber-antisemitism is used on various computer platforms, the most obvious of which are those of official websites, mostly Islamist (although some are neo-Nazi). Any self-respecting terrorist organization operates one or more. It presents its doctrine, the objectives it wishes to achieve (including the destruction of the Jewish State), and invites internet users to join its cause. The most violent of such sites belong to the jihadist movement.

2 — The second practice used by cyber-antisemitism is intrusion. Its «activists» and followers interfere in as many forums and discussion spaces as possible. This mode of action is particularly advocated by the BDS movement calling for a boycott of Israel (see Chapter III).

3 — The third technique used is by far the most dangerous and the least controllable. It is called the «dark web» which, although clandestine and illegal, represents the vast majority of published content. It advertises weapons and explosives to acquire or make yourself, pages of pedophilia, concrete calls for attacks and murder. These sites have encrypted addresses and are often changed at very short intervals, making them virtually untraceable, but in any case, the competent authorities do not have enough personnel or means to track them down and neutralize them all.

4 — It is the combination of these three modes of action that gave birth to the lone wolf phenomenon, recruited and manipulated remotely by the hatred sown in their minds. Jews are one of their main targets because Jews belong to various categories depending on whether they are associated with Zionism, Western capitalism, American imperialism, employers, but also progressivists making them infidels.

5 — To reflect on how to deal with these threats, an international conference on cyber-antisemitism was held in Jerusalem in April 2016. Aside from the need to put pressure on both governments and large internet companies, and to formulate adequate legislation, the participants in this conference considered as essential the action carried out individually. As shown in the following examples and recommendations.

6 — Once again it is essential to create precedents to set jurisprudence. One pioneering case is the trial against Yahoo in 2000, by the International League against Racism and Antisemitism (LICRA) and the Union of Jewish Students of France (UEJF). They discovered a site selling Nazi objects on Yahoo while French penal code

prohibits the public sale of such objects. French justice, by giving reason to the plaintiffs, established then, that the law of a given country applies to any Internet site even if it is headquartered abroad. Yahoo, appealing to the first amendment of the US constitution (relating to the freedom of expression), requested an American judgment which played in Yahoo's favor. But LICRA and UEJF appealed this decision. In August 2004, the American court ruled that Yahoo must submit to the laws of the countries in which it chooses to develop its activities. Since then, hosts and internet providers have been forced to comply with the law of each country and the measures it adopts to combat cybercrime and the publication of racist content.

7 — Despite this obligation, the way in which companies, such as Yahoo, manage the control and moderation mechanisms intended to prevent the spread of illicit messages leaves much to be desired. UEJF, SOS Racism, and SOS Homophobic activists, carried out in France, from March 31 to May 10, 2016, the first mass testing of social networks by reporting all racist, anti-Semitic, negationist, homophobic content, or of terrorism and crimes against humanity, published on Yahoo during this period. Of the 586 content reported, 4% were deleted by Twitter, 7% by YouTube and 34% by Facebook. In practice, large web companies are condemned only if they do not remove illegal content within a «reasonable time». Hence the importance of constant vigilance on our part to report illicit content in the shortest possible time.

8 — In general, the same legislation applies to what is broadcast on the web and to what is written and printed. In other words, anyone who posts anti-Semitic comments on their Facebook page can incur the same prosecution as well as the author of a book containing comments of the same nature. But, again, the law is not clear enough. It must therefore be consolidated by reporting as many cases as possible to the courts.

9 — A number of speakers at the Jerusalem conference on cyber-antisemitism insisted that the fight against racism should and must also be done on a daily basis by Internet users themselves. A few clicks are enough to report an anti-Semitic site or forum to the competent authorities in your country (in France, the DILCRAH, for example), and to police units specialized in cybercrime. You can also use forms made available to you online by Facebook, twitter, or YouTube. In forums, do not hesitate to ban or block users who utter anti-Semitic, racist, or homophobic insults, or whose sole purpose is to sabotage the discussion. Always take care to notify social media or associations that are dedicated to the fight against racism, antisemitism or homophobia online or/and in general.

10 — Above all, never forget that digital tools and platforms were created with the aim of promoting dialogue and rapprochement. Use them to denounce hate-mongers to other Internet users and make them aware of the danger of social networks. But also to collect declarations of support and friendship from the friends of the Jewish people and Israel. Be in regular contact with them in order to strengthen the web of dialogue and brotherhood, rather than that of discord.

European Jews security is currently being questioned in an alarming manner, recalling dark times that we thought to be past. Periods during which the Jewish communities were often deprived of freedom to worship and prevented from preserving their customs and their cultural heritage.

It is once again the case in some countries of the European Union.

FREEDOM OF WORSHIP

Article 9 of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms stipulates the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. Including the freedom to manifest one's faith and convictions, individually and collectively, in public or in private, by worship, teaching and rites performance. However, certain Jewish religious practices are subject to restrictions or prohibitions in several European countries.

The criteria by which these restrictions are imposed are the subject of much debate. But is it only the simple rite exercise that is at stake?

1 — Shehita (or ritual slaughter) is often presented as a crueler practice than ordinary slaughter, while comparative studies are inconclusive and the opinion of experts remains divided. We will not settle here the question of opinion to be adopted from a scientific point of view, although some countries have hastened to do so. Shehita has been banned in Norway since 1930. However, the countries which prohibit Shehita on their soil allow the import of meat slaughtered according to the same rite.

2 — If it is true that the method of shehita deviates from the standards recently adopted by the Council of Europe (requiring the animal to be stunned beforehand), it is the subject of an official derogation under freedom of worship. Nowadays, shehita is carried out in commercial slaughterhouses subject to the same controls as those carried out in non-religious slaughterhouses. The example of countries authorizing ritual slaughter (such as France) shows that a procedure reconciling tradition and new regulations is quite possible.

3 — Shehita prescribes to avoid animal panic and suffering for compassionate considerations and to ensure a swift slaughter. It is ironic that the proponents of a method that was one of the first in human history to regulate slaughter and to take into account animal behavior, is accused of their mistreatment. Jewish communities have worked for centuries to harmonize their way of life within the societies in which they lived. Historically, on the other hand, a good number of countries, at one time or another in their history, have ferociously molested these minorities, by seeking to deprive them of their identity by prohibiting their ritual practices.

4 — Shehita is a component of the food laws that together constitute the kashrut, which cannot be observed if the shehita is not made according to the rules. A large part of today's Jews practice kashrut out of respect for traditions rather than religious devotion. In other words, shehita and kashrut are the elements of an ethnic heritage and a tradition similar to folk and popular customs that our societies strive to preserve. They also play a role dedicated to perpetuating the memory of those prohibited to observe this ritual throughout history, who sometimes paid with their own lives. The ban on shehita is therefore much more than an attack on freedom of worship. It indicates a depredation of the historical and cultural integrity of the Jewish people.

5 — The controversy concerning the brit mila (circumcision ceremony taking place on the eighth day after the birth of a boy) illustrates this problem even better. From a medical point of view, circumcision, if carried out under the required hygienic

conditions, is recommended by most health organizations, including WHO (World Health Organization). On the civic level however, the Jewish circumcision being practiced on newborns, some see it as an infringement of the child rights, contesting the legitimacy of the parents to decide on an irreversible bodily modification, whose medical necessity they question. Prohibition of the brit mila, directly affects the identity of any Jew who considers himself or identifies himself as such. Here we are again confronted with an ambivalent scale of values. To demand the abolition of the circumcision goes against the duty of respect for the other.

6 — The removal of the foreskin, in addition to its preventive nature comparable to the removal of the tonsils, does not constitute mutilation like the excision inflicted on girls in certain regions. It is the sign of a connection with an ethnic identity and the assertion of a cultural identity. Wanting to abolish it amounts to obliterating signs of belonging and dissipating this identity. As the kashrut, the brit mila ensures the longevity of a culture and preserves the cultural existence of those who practice it. The philosopher Spinoza wrote: «The sign of circumcision seems to me to be of such consequence that I believe it capable of being in itself the preservation principle of the Jewish people» (Treatise Theologico Politicus, 1670).

7 — In the case of wearing a kippah (or skull cap), this confusion reaches its peak. The kippah designates the wearer as a member of a community and a practitioner of a belief. However, it is neither the symbol of this belief, nor a badge this faith forces you to wear. It is not mentioned in the Bible or the Talmud. And the rabbinical debate on whether or not to cover the head is far from over. Some wear it only to pray, others permanently. It is not an ostentatious sign of a religion but a minhag, a custom. It is a traditional head covering just like a turban or a fez. It is therefore wrong to compare wearing the kippah to wearing the chador or the cross. But to what is such confusion due?

8 — Diderot, the great philosopher of the Enlightenment, attributed prejudices to ignorance. Yet, prejudices have not disappeared with the spread of information and knowledge. Before ruling on whether or not to wear a kippah, legislators and magistrates consulted rabbinical authorities and experts. It is therefore with full knowledge of the facts that they chose to designate this traditional and folkloric piece of clothing as an “ostentatious religious badge”.

9 — Although the basis for this decision is wrong, it should not be viewed as malicious. It was taken for the sake of not exempting the Jewish community from sanctions imposed on others in the name of secularism. It is «by extension» that the kippah fell under the scope of the law. Although this reasoning is less subject to suspicion than the one held by the critics of the brit mila and shehita, it leads the current thoughts on a dangerous path. Because if restrictions on wearing a kippah are not «serious», the very fact of this «reasoned extension» of the law is cause for concern. What is the next object or symbol of Jewish folklore, after the kippah, to which this «extension» could apply?

10 — In the case of the kippah, the response of the Jewish community was that of conciliation. The need to cover the head does not imply the obligation to wear a kippah. A hat or cap will do just as well. This being said, the misunderstanding of the role of the kippah, combined with the steps taken to deprive Jewish community of certain

aspects of its tradition and way of life, calls for vigilance. Because, these restrictions emanate from preconceived ideas and mechanisms, and we know where they led to in the past.

The principle of secularism implies a separation between the civic domain and the religious one, and not a banishment of the latter.

In the same spirit, the aim of the fight against racism and antisemitism should not be to eradicate differences but to accept them.

In any case, priority should be given to the protection of the plurality that makes the breadth of our societies and constitutes the heritage of humanity.

In this context, the Jewish People is a model. It maintained its individuality against all odds, whilst adapting to the most diverse societies, immersing itself in new cultures and contributing to them. It is this mixture of singularity and universality that undoubtedly best characterizes the Jewish People and over time, has established the identity we know today.

Some try to denigrate this identity.

Disinformation

(and other lies)

The Israelization of the Jewish question has allowed antisemitism to get a facelift. This change was essential to avoid any accusation of racism and discrimination, especially after the Shoah.

If these camouflage efforts have been able to deceive some in the past, they are now futile. The anti-Semite has acquired such an assurance that he no longer hides, or even uses a semblance of intellectual or moral goodness, as shown by the cases analyzed below.

This phenomenon would not deserve much interest if it wasn't for the fact that it is responsible for countless manifestations of violence and hatred, including murder. In addition, this phenomenon legitimizes rhetoric and acts, which unfortunately are nothing new.

DISINFORMATION

Operating in the same mode as propaganda, mechanisms of disinformation can be easily dismantled. Numerous studies and legal proceedings have exposed them. These mechanisms are the work of the press and the media, which rather than informing the public, aim to «manufacture» opinions. This aspiration is not illegitimate in itself, as long as truthful data is submitted to the public.

- 1 — The most basic disinformation consists in distorting the initial information by revealing only part of it: «the Israeli army has killed a Palestinian ...» and by changing the order of events «... after he attacked a soldier. « The aggressor becomes a victim by simple grammatical inversion of the sentence. But also by the use of the term «Israeli army» which, by magnification effect, minimizes the threat posed by the isolated individual killed by «a soldier» or «a patrol».
- 2 — The choice of terms used changes according to the nature of the subject. Like the term «militant», rather than «terrorist», or that of «killing» rather than «neutralizing», or that of «separation wall» rather than «security wall». Or constantly repeating the «esplanade of the mosques» while that of the «temple mount» is systematically avoided.
- 3 — There is a whole register from which to draw to speak of «Zionists», a register mainly established by propagandists from countries openly anti-Semitic and hostile to Israel. Isn't it strange that the propaganda practiced in the Middle East appears as journalistic professionalism? The expression of «Israeli State terrorism» commonly used by the nationalist Arab press acquires legitimacy and credibility when picked up from the pen of an eminent colleague of the European press, using the same terminology. The same rhetoric whose demagogic accents are reminiscent of those of the Goebbelsian school.
- 4 — It is without any scruples that a certain press awakens the old demons of the Hitler period and compares the Palestinian refugee camps (but not the Sudanese or Syrian camps) to the Nazi concentration camps. Or resort to the term genocide by evoking Israeli secular policy and maintenance of order in the face of Palestinian riots and attacks. This is a trivialization of the Holocaust, of course. But also of the atrocities committed against Armenians, Tutsi, and Tibetans. The same goes for the use of the word apartheid which introduces the next phase.
- 5- The outright lie and spread of unverified rumors, of which the most notorious examples are the alleged rapes of Palestinian women by Israeli soldiers (Nouvel Observateur of November 8, 2001), and the case of Mohamed Al-Dura in which a journalist truncates a filmed report to make believe the Israeli army shot a child. Although they were punished by justice, it must be admitted that they resemble the accusations of ritual murders pronounced against the Jews in the Middle Ages. Here however, the lie propagators are not inquisitors but respected members of the press. The obsessive ardor animating them is in any case the same as that of their medieval ancestors. The same goes with the excessive media coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian

problem while many conflicts around the world are far more deadly and just as urgent to resolve.

6 — Asymmetry is found in editorial choices and in the attention given to a single point of view. How many images have you seen of crying Palestinian mothers on the front page of your newspapers compared to those of Israeli or even Iraqi mothers? Ten times more civilian victims die in Iraq every three months than in the rest of the Middle East.

In addition, there is an unbalanced distribution of airtime or speaking time allocated to each camp. This distribution is all the more inequitable since the opinions most sought after from Israelis or Jews in the diaspora are those of the ideological fringe corresponding to the political orientation of the press hostile to Israel. The press justifies this process by claiming a «concern for objectivity» compared to the Israeli version of the facts which they take care to specify that it is «official».

Any asymmetry has two sides. The Palestinians are shown as a tiny population abandoned at the mercy of the «great Israeli power», while they are abundantly armed and supported by the Goliath of the Islamic world against whom Israel is the real dwarf. In 2016, the Palestinian population (estimated at 4.8 million by the Palestinian Authority) represented half of the Israeli population (8.7 million). While the population of Israel is 50 times smaller than that of the Arab world and Iran combined (448 million).

Let's not forget that, in this media war, Arab countries and Iran, have huge budgets compared to their rivals including Israel, and who in addition practice censorship and control of their media.

7 — Political control of the press, from which Europe is far from exempt. In France, for example, most major media benefit from state subsidies and their almost exclusive source of information is the government press agency (AFP). There is also a political hold on the media because the professions which are attached to it are exercised in majority by the disciples of journalistic schools advocating a partisan press of opinion, and therefore carrying opinion and ideological themes rather than journalism dedicated to the faithful transmission of information and respect the principle of objectivity.

8 — Then, where and how can you obtain reliable information? First, by ensuring that the media or IT body disseminating information is neither politically affiliated nor financially dependent on interests capable of corrupting its professional integrity. Second, by verifying that its sources are authenticated, or corroborated and cross-checked by others. Today there are associations and websites monitoring media probity (or watchdogs) to which to refer.

9 — Disinformation is not only caused by the media but also by certain political parties, and therefore by governments, when these parties come to power. It should not be forgotten that, in most European countries, Muslim communities represent a much larger number of voters than the Jewish communities (500,000 Jews versus 9 million

Muslims in France). The strategy of using the Arab-Israeli conflict to win the Muslim community voices is clearly discriminatory («all the same» or «in the same boat») and an insult to intelligence. This strategy serves as a subterfuge to channel frustrations, especially among young people, facing everyday realities.

10 — The third vector of disinformation, after the media and political institutions, is that of certain NGOs (non-governmental organizations).

There are three types of NGOs hostile to Israel.

Those who are openly showing their support for either the jihadist movement or the Palestinian cause.

Those who, acting under the guise of civic and peaceful activism, systematically accuse Israel of human rights violations. Among them are Israeli NGOs (including B'Tselem) receiving grants from Arab countries as well as from the EU and several of its member states, and often these funds are used to fuel tensions (funding for the publication of «textbooks of hatred» written in 2002 by Hamas) more than initiatives of conciliation and dialogue. Sometimes these funds are simply diverted in favor of terrorist activities (as indicated by several reports from the European Court of Audits such as in 2004 and 2014).

Finally, there are NGOs, although having no political connection in general or to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in particular, that discriminate against Israel, excluding it from their activities, verbally attacking it or calling for boycotts (Oxfam, in 2013, went so far as to accuse Israel of poisoning Gaza's water).

Whatever their operating mode and motives, all these NGOs have a common goal: to isolate Israel and ban it from the family of nations.

Does the constant stream of lies spreading over Israel manage to drown the truth and fool public opinion? Or does it only feed an existing obsession, rooted in the collective subconscious of anti-Semitic people?

These people form a league to be tackled head-on.

In parallel to the need to fight against disinformation, it is essential to help an open minded public eager to form its own opinion. Because despite millions of squandered petrodollars for anti-Israeli propaganda and the massive assault of politicized media, general opinion has held firm. It is up to us to remain confident in its ability to judge fairly and to provide the elements of knowledge to do so.

The recent wave of attacks that has swept across Europe shows the consequences of disinformation campaigns, irresponsible speeches, and all forms of incitement to hate the other. It would be a mistake to forget that Hitlerism owes much of its impact on people's minds, to the rhetoric of Goebbels and to the constant verbal and concerted disinformation that is still used today by Israel's detractors.

Overtime, these verbal sabotages and intellectual attacks have given birth to a wave of violence which today puts our lives in danger.

Over time, terrorist acts of aggression spread from Israeli soldiers to Israeli civilians, to Jews living outside of Israel, and then reaching non-Jews across the whole of Europe.

THE BOYCOTT

The current anti-Israeli boycott campaigns were born out of blacklisting practices at a time well before the creation of the State of Israel when the Jews had neither land nor state.

Let us not forget that, despite the restrictions imposed on them, the Jewish communities have contributed for centuries to advances in medicine, commerce, philosophy and science across Europe. Periods of liberalization and social progress of Western societies have always coincided with the humanization of the treatment of Jews. It was the case in the Florence of Laurent the Magnificent and the Medici at the dawn of the Renaissance.

Today in spite of incessant calls for boycott and blacklisting of Israel, the whole world benefits and makes full use of Israeli inventions such as the USB key, the camera in pills, Waze, drop by drop irrigation, to name but a few. Israeli talents and achievements are recognized and rewarded in countless festivals and congresses including the Nobel Prize.

This makes the boycotters even angrier.

1 — The anti-Israeli boycott was officially launched on December 2, 1945, when the Arab League made a formal appeal to boycott «Jewish» and «Zionist» goods. In the years that followed, this boycott was extended to all foreign firms trading with Israel. Some gave in (Pepsi-Cola), others did not (Coca-Cola). Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and the Gulf States have since left the boycott ranks, but not Lebanon, Syria or Iran.

2 — Even if it calls for it, the Palestinian Authority itself does not participate in the boycott. Its trade with Israel represents 58% of its imports (and 84% of its exports) with an economic growth rate of 3.2% for 2015. The wages of Palestinians working both in Israel and in «settlements» (target of European boycotters) represent an essential source of income for the Palestinian population and their economy. Palestinian workers and farmers are the first victims and most affected by boycott campaigns. Then the traders. This is the true but hidden goal of these campaigns, to increase unemployment to stir up dissatisfaction and shatter any hope of cooperation.

3 — Ms. Frederic Mogherini (European Union foreign policy officer) said that «the EU rejects attempts by the BDS campaign (Boycott Divestment Sanctions) to isolate Israel, and opposes any boycott of Israel» (September 15, 2016). However, the EU and some member states practice a «selective» boycott targeting Israeli products from areas subject to territorial disputes between Israel and the Palestinian Authority. These products are labeled according to clear political and discriminatory criteria, devoid of any humanitarian aims, while goods from many countries where the human rights of men, women and children are constantly flouted, are not submitted to the same label.

4 — To economic boycotts are added academic, cultural and sporting boycotts which should be exempt by nature. However, despite some victories here and there, calls for boycotts are rejected by the majority of institutions. And not out of sympathy for Israel but for obvious ethical reasons and for freedom of thought and independence of spirit without which these institutions have effectively no *raison d'être*.

5 — Many peace activists disapprove of boycotts. Let us quote for example these sentences from The Peace Now movement, condemning the scientific boycott: «many among us, members of the scientific and academic community, are active in The Peace Now movement and in the new Israeli-Palestinian Coalition for Peace. Others have opposite opinions, of course. Anyway, we would all consider a boycott of Israeli academies and universities as an inappropriate and immoral act of collective punishment, unworthy of our colleagues in the European academic community » (January 15, 2002). The fact is that no advance towards peace with the Palestinians, however small, has ever resulted from any boycott. It has more often come from various initiatives of openness and dialogue.

6 — Let's look at the main boycott campaign against Israel: BDS (Boycott Divestment Sanctions), in order to detect their deep motivation, but also the real danger it represents. The economic damage caused by this movement is relatively limited, but BDS sows its seeds of hatred among students, who are the decision-makers and managers of tomorrow, and among youth in general. In other words, BDS threat weighs more heavily on the future than on the present. It is based on a long-term strategy.

7 — BDS is not a spontaneous outcry in favor of the Palestinian cause. It is an operation, with its headquarters in Ramallah, created by Omar Barghouti, a declared opponent of the «two peoples, two states» solution. The official BDS manifesto, written in July 2005, proclaims wanting to fight against Israel in order to «put an end to its occupation and the colonization of all Arab lands». A phrase that Barghouti himself clarified by wishing that Israel «once again become a pure Muslim land free from Zionist domination». In fact BDS is heavily funded by existential enemies of Israel including Qatar (sponsored and host of The Big BDS-Qatar Conference in August 2016).

8 — The actions of BDS seek to discourage any attempt at conciliation, as exemplified by the case of Soda Stream, a firm whose factories located in the heart of Judea and Samaria employed Israelis and Palestinians in an indiscriminate manner and at equal pay. Its declared purpose was to contribute to rapprochement and to peace. Extremely upset by the success of this initiative, BDS activists began a fierce campaign against this Israeli firm. Despite the best of wishes and faced with a significant drop in sales in several countries, Soda Stream was forced to relocate its factories in the Negev desert. More than 500 Palestinian workers lost their jobs.

Actress Scarlett Johansson had to give up her role as ambassador of the Oxfam association (2014) for having participated in a Soda Stream advertisement. The ad was deemed too controversial and was deprogrammed from the Superbowl final. Despite all these pressures, Scarlett Johansson listened only to her conscience and continued to represent the Israeli firm and their ideals that so bothered pro-BDS.

9 — After a worrisome progression, BDS and other boycott bodies appear to be losing support. Since 2016, we have witnessed an awakening of consciousness and a demarcation of boycott groups. In August 2016, the University of Leipzig student council passed a resolution condemning BDS for «antisemitism». The students affirmed that BDS represents a threat to academic freedom and that the movement clearly reminds them of the «do not buy from Jews» of the Nazi period. This council finally stipulates that BDS goals are «the state of Israel abolition». Some BDS supporters are retracting today and find that BDS approaches are counterproductive. Bank of Ireland, Commerzbank of Germany, Crédit Mutuel Francais, have closed BDS accounts for the same reason. However, the EU is far from having adopted the necessary resolutions.

10 — BDS loss of speed is due to two additional factors: the counterattack by Israel, carried out since 2014 in the media, on the web and at diplomatic level, by Israel Foreign Affairs Ministry. But above all, the action of leaders and forums of Jewish Communities who alerted their national and European elected representatives, and the Institutions of their countries, by reminding them that the use of boycott undermines the very foundations of democracy.

BDS is accused today of antisemitism not only by Jews. Let BDS supporters prove the opposite!

In the fight against racism, it is not good to be solely on the defensive. You have to know how to attack. Be proactive. This is the lesson to be learned from the famous «J'accuse» by Emile Zola, at the time of the Dreyfus affair.

So accuse freely! Accuse all enemies of peace and all racists (they are generally the same).

Mainly accuse them of lying.

Because what they boycott above all is the truth.

MYSTIFICATIONS

There is no moderate racism.

Racism is excessive in nature. It is excess, intemperance, physical brutality, verbal debauchery. Among anti-Semitic «enormities» which illustrate the outrageous nature of racism, we have chosen those where this excess reached its climax.

Let's recall that many times in the past, this kind of verbal nonsense was concretely translated into massacres and pogroms. Because when the violence of words cannot go further in excess, the transition to physical brutality is inevitable.

1 — According to resolution 3379 of the United Nations General Assembly (voted in 1975), Zionism is a form of «racism and racial discrimination». This resolution, however aberrant, was not revoked until 1991, in a laconic fashion. Here is the full text of this revocation (46/86): «the general meeting decides to revoke the decision contained in the resolution 3379 of November 10, 1975». In fact it is neither an excuse nor confession of an error, but a diplomatic maneuver to convince Israel to participate in the Madrid Conference. It was not until June 21, 2004, on the occasion of the opening of the first United Nations Conference on Antisemitism, that we heard General Kofi Annan say: «We must recognize that the actions of the United Nations Organization in matters of Antisemitism have not always been up to its ideals. It is deplorable that the General Assembly adopted in 1975 a resolution in which it assimilated Zionism to Racism ... ». If we recall this «deplorable» event it is because it will reappear like a devil out of its box in 2001 at the Durban Conference Against Racism.

2 — From its opening, the conference was diverted from its objectives by a handful of Arab countries demanding the reinstatement of resolution 3379 mentioned above. The majority of the debates were devoted to this theme, to the detriment of all other causes and victims around the world (starting with the Tibetan disaster). In itself, this «preferential treatment» already represented a manifest form of racism and discrimination. Just like the virulent vocabulary of which only Israel was the target, while states practicing notorious religious or ethical segregations, and even slavery, were spared.

Most of these states are those which demanded and voted for sanctions and resolutions condemning Israel, and continue to do so until today. Among them are essential «models» of contempt for human rights, such as Sudan and Mauritania, and especially against women, such as Saudi Arabia, and Afghanistan or Qatar.

3 — A new term then came into use in the lexicon of anti-Semitic hatred: apartheid. Here we are again in the register of the trivialization of the sufferings of Jewish people, but also of those undergone by the Blacks of South Africa or the southern states of the USA. The cynical use of the word «apartheid» has a double effect. It dissociates the destiny of Israel from that of the Jewish people. And so attacking Israel, or even destroying it, has nothing to do with the rest of the Jews.

To this is added a new instigation, frankly discriminating, since it distinctly targets Blacks, awakening this bitter feeling towards Afrikaans and Whites in general, and transferring this feeling against the Israelis. It is indeed an exhortation to hatred.

Speaking of «genocide», anti-Semitic propaganda made the Palestinian «the Jew» of a new Holocaust. By a pirouette of genius, it also made him «the Black» of a new apartheid.

4 — This embarrassing slippage from the 2001 Conference was corroborated by the refusal of many countries to attend that of 2009, still in Durban; other countries conditioned their participation on «absence of any stigmatization of Israel» (France) and «refusal of the Durban process of Holocaust trivialization or negation» (Great Britain). But, for their part, anti-Semites of all stripes have also learned the lesson of Durban and UN resolutions: that of the survival capacity of lies.

5 — The ultimate degree of anti-Semitic perversion is Jews identity negation. By tearing them from their roots in the land of Israel, as Romans did. By depriving them of their traditions and rites as did Nazis. By cutting all ties of kinship between Jews and the Jewish state, as do «anti-Zionists».

But UNESCO has just invented a new formula, whom Titus and Hitler had not thought of. Titus had taken the objects of Jewish worship to Rome and burned the temple. Hitler had ordered to destroy the slightest vestige of Judaism and Jewish culture. UNESCO is simply denying its existence and is lying like no one had dared before.

6 — In October 2016, UNESCO published the text of a «decision» concerning holy places located in the «occupied territories». By its statement and the choice of terms used, this text denies any link of the people of Israel with Jerusalem. And obscures the Jewish character of the Temple Mount. The Wailing Wall (which is the Temple western wall) is only designated under its Arab denomination. This text not only avoids any allusion that might evoke the Jewish character of these holy places, but announces also a request to interrupt the archaeological excavations carried out under the esplanade of the mosques and under the Wall that this esplanade overlooks. This request is all the more interesting since lawyers of the Palestinian cause reject any notion of territorial precedence or seniority of presence, on the land of Israel as a justifying right to this land. So why does this excavation of ancient remains so bothersome to them?

7 — And why is it supported by UNESCO, whose supreme vocation is Heritage preservation? The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, established on November 16, 1945, aims to «contribute to the maintenance of peace and security by strengthening, through education, science and culture, collaboration between nations...». And to encourage restoration of monuments and vestiges, carrying out archaeological excavations and conservation of cultural treasures. This includes preservation of names that various cultures, long disappeared or not, gave to the sites which were their cradle (like the Indian names of American sites).

8 — Now not only does UNESCO require the «occupying power» to stop excavations on one of the most significant sites in human history, but it distorts this history by omission and verbal censorship, even against his mission. Bévues aggravated by the fact that UNESCO never sanctioned any degradations committed from 1948 to 1967, under Jordanian occupation, during which the Wailing Wall was used as a rubbish dump and public urinal. Jordan was given the «guardianship of Muslim holy places» in Jerusalem (sorry, we should say Al-Quds) when she became capital of Israel.

9 — The dilemma that arises when reading the declarations of UNESCO, Durban or BDS, is that of ignoring the insult or fighting it. How necessary is it to rectify blatant statements of bias? Or should we expose lies that only ignorant people and people of bad faith can pretend to believe?

After all, use of anti-Semitic slander and selective oversight, is a clear admission of imposture. It is by lack of arguments that they lie. Because if truth was on their side they would not need to distort it.

10 — To be satisfied with one's own conscience and to hide behind one's own rights is to forget that all this hatred will eventually overtake us sooner or later. At the tip of a cannon or a knife. In Tel Aviv or in Nice. It is to forget that the focus on Israel and the Jews diverts the attention from innumerable injustices committed to other peoples and nations who do not benefit neither from solidarity rallies nor from support committees, nor financial aid, that the Palestinian cause enjoys plenty.

It is to forget a duty of memory towards all victims of this infernal line of detractors and liars, of which UNESCO and BDS are only the last offshoots.

Moreover it is to forget our duty towards the generations to come.

Duty all the easier to accomplish because the truth is simpler to say than any lie.

ISRAEL'S SECURITY, THE STRATEGIC EQUATION

The Middle East is today divided into two camps, Sunni and Shiite, whose antagonism constitutes a risk of destabilization in the region, which can extend to the rest of the planet. The threat is all the more concrete as the Axis of Evil (Iran-Iraq-Lebanon-Syria), broken during the fall of Saddam Hussein, is now restored.

At the same time, many Arab nations are forging ties with Israel, including Saudi Arabia, the Oman sultana, the Emirates at a time when negotiations with the Palestinian Authority have stalled, especially since the split between Hamas (Gaza) and the PLO (West Bank).

1 — The current strategic equation is characterized by the fact that Israel's technological advantage over its adversaries is less than in the past. Iran and Saudi Arabia have a highly sophisticated, precise and destructive military arsenal.

2 — Israel has no strategic depth. Its population and industry centers are less than 60 seconds flight from its borders for a missile or a combat aircraft. Hence the need for preventive actions in enemy territories.

3 — Israel has no economic depth. Given the need to mobilize its active population to serve in the reserve and because of its economic structure, Israel cannot support a prolonged war effort. Any war lasting more than a few weeks would plunge the country into an economic downturn.

4 — In Israel, the decision to enter into conflict must be approved according to the democratic process, by the cabinet and the Knesset. In neighboring nations, heads of state can make this decision without consulting anyone.

5 — In the event of conflict, Israel will have to protect its civilian population (shelters, gas mask) which is primarily targeted by the enemy. Most Arab nations use their civilian population as a shield, placing their military facilities near schools and hospitals.

6 — Iran is the main military threat to Israel. But in terms of terrorism, Iran is a threat on a global scale, as demonstrated by the terrorist attacks sponsored by Teheran in France and Denmark in 2018 and that were foiled with the help of the Mossad.

7 — In Lebanon, Hezbollah, armed by Teheran, has an arsenal of more than 120,000 missiles and enough launching pads to fire 1,000 projectiles a day at Israel, in bursts of several dozen at a time.

8 — As during the Cold War, the United States and Russia are currently engaged in a dangerous showdown in the Middle East.

19 — South of Israel, Hamas constitutes a second front, both terrorist and military, with a strike force estimated at around 7,500 missiles.

10 — In 2018, Israel foiled just over 500 attempted attacks from the Palestinian Authority, which pays «compensation» to terrorists and their families and promotes violence and the «suicide of the martyr» among youth, through social media and the school system.

However, the public is unaware that the enmity between Israelis and Palestinians is the work of extremists and that it doesn't account for daily reality.

Trade and cultural exchanges, initiatives for dialogue and peace, gestures of good abound. Every day, tens of thousands of Palestinian workers go to workplaces and construction sites located in the heart of Israel.

ARABS, ISLAM, PALESTINE

The West suffers from a flagrant misunderstanding of Islam and by a lack of knowledge of certain realities specific to the Arab world. Today, in the shadow of Islamic terrorism, this reality is becoming more present, more concrete. The threat against Israel is now spreading to the rest of the planet. What is its origin?

- 1 — The most sacred duty of the religion founded in 570 by Muhammad is to ensure domination of the Islamic faith or «sharia» over the world. Jihad is a spiritual, cosmic combat that allows the use of force (Koran, 9: 5, 4:76, 2: 214, 8:39, etc.). This is especially true for Wahhabism which is the rigorist tendency of Islam as opposed to Sufism and Maraboutism that are its more flexible forms.
Islamism today is an extremist politicization of the religious laws of Islam.
- 2 — Many leaders aspire to be at the head of the Islamic world. The war against Israel is one of the instruments of this ambition. It also serves to divert people's resentment towards their leaders.
- 3 — Apart from the schism between Sunnis and Shiites, the history of Islam is strewn with bloody conflicts. To understand the Arab world, one must not consider nations and their borders as much as the intricate mosaic of clans and tribes engaged in ancestral enmities.
In addition there is a systematic oppression of Coptic (Egypt), Christian (Sudan, Syria, Palestine) or Jewish minorities as well as the widespread oppression of women.
- 4 — Today there are a few democratic Muslim countries but there is not even one Arabic country amongst them.
- 5 — Jerusalem was never the capital of any Arab or Muslim state. Apart from the Al-Aqsa Mosque, built in 691CE, none of the Muslim dominions resulted in any urban improvement in the city.
On the other hand during the Jordanian occupation of East Jerusalem between 1948 and 1967 a great number of Jewish sites were destroyed and desecrated.
- 6 — Jewish resistance, from the rebellion of Bar Kochba against the Romans to the Zionist struggle against the British Mandate, has been the only opposition (never from other local populations) to the various invasions of the Holy Land.
- 7 There has never been a territorial or national entity bearing the name of Palestine. The expression «Palestinian people» dates from 1967. It is the name of a political entity defined by its opposition to the Zionist project.
- 8 — On the eve of the 1948 war, Hajj Amin al-Husseini, the Palestinian leader, opposed the Arab invasion project of the territories allocated to the Zionist project. He proposed the establishment of an «autonomy» over the part allocated to the Arab population. The Arab League refused and King Abdullah established a military government in the West Bank.

Before 1967, what is now called «occupied territories» were therefore occupied by Egyptians in Gaza and Jordanians in Judea-Samaria.

- 9 — It is not the solution to the Palestinian problem that will bring peace. It is peace that will bring a solution to the Palestinian problem.
- 10 — Israel does not question the existence of Arab nations. While many Arab and Palestinian leaders question the existence of Israel.

We tend to forget that there is day-to-day evidence of the possibility of peaceful coexistence between Jews and Arabs.

The vast majority of Muslim citizens of Israel are not only peaceful and law-abiding, but also endowed with an undeniable patriotic sense. Their parades commemorating 1948 or 1967 are never accompanied by violence.

Recruitment by Salafists among young Arab Israelis ended in failure.

The Muslim population is present in all areas of the country's active and cultural life. Even the army gradually offers the possibility of performing national or military service.

It is enough to walk in Israel during major Muslim or Christian festivals to see the freedom and well-being of Arab nationals and the absence of tensions between them and their fellow Jews.

A FEW TRUTHS

There are truths which are never said enough.

In the melee of debates and analyzes relating to antisemitism and anti-Zionism, we sometimes lose sight of the basic statement without which any debate is sterile, and any analysis is in vain.

Here are some elements of this statement.

- 1 — Israel is the only democracy in the Middle East and the only state to guarantee freedom of expression and worship to all its citizens without exception.
- 2 — It is not because Israel occupies territories that its enemies make war on her. It is because her enemies wage war against her that Israel occupies territories.
- 3 — Israel has neither the intention nor the means to annihilate the Muslim world, part of which has the means and has declared intention of annihilating Israel.
- 4 — The tiny amount of ink dedicated to opinions and information in favor of Israel is equivalent to the amount of ink you need to draw the map of this tiny country.
- 5 — No cause can justify the use of terrorism or any incitement to violence.
- 6 — Palestinian children throwing rocks. Queen Silvia de Suede, creator of the World Children's Foundation, and major child protection organizations, has formally denounced the use of Palestinian children in riots.
- 7 — Blockade of Gaza. There is a sea and air blockade applied by Israel in accordance with international law, due to its security necessity. But there is no ground blockade. In addition to drinking water, electricity, networks and telecommunications provided unconditionally by Israel, Gaza is also supplied daily by trucks with merchandise, food, medicine, construction materials.
And this despite the fact that Hamas diverts a large part of it for the construction of tunnels and the production of armaments intended to attack Israel.
Hundreds of children and patients from Gaza are regularly treated in Israeli hospitals (daughter and granddaughter of the head of Hamas government, Ismail Haniyeh).
- 8 Settlement. As stipulated in the Oslo agreements, the problem of settlements is to be resolved during the phase known as the «final status». They are therefore not in breach of the agreement, or of any phase of the negotiation of this agreement. The additional units which are built regularly correspond, above all, to a natural demographic growth of these localities.
- 9 — Security wall. Since its construction following the 2002 wave of attacks, the number of victims of terrorism has dropped by more than 10 times (no attacks on Israeli soil in 2009 and 2010). This decline contributes significantly to ease tensions. The concrete

part of the wall represents less than 20% and the rest intersects with crossing points, making it mainly a barrier and not a wall.

- 10 — Israel has the largest concentration of refugees in the Middle East: that of Jewish (but also non-Jewish) refugees from around the world.

Are those who challenge these truths we have talked about in this study, doing it in bad faith?

And are they necessarily anti-Semitic? Some of them, ill informed, may fall victims of racists.

The problem is to know if they are still able to listen to the one who is so demonized.

No one holds the monopoly on truth.

And it is not essential to know who is wrong and who is right.

What really matters is to be in the only good camp there is: that of dialogue.

Epilogue

The fate of Europe and that of Jews who have lived there for almost 20 centuries, and will continue to live there for many centuries to come, are inextricably linked.

In Europe more than elsewhere, the struggle of Jews for their rights served as a model for other minorities.

It is no coincidence that many Jews have embraced socialism and took the lead in various egalitarian and libertarian movements.

It is no coincidence that others were entrepreneurs and financiers who contributed to the economic development of Europe.

Others still participated both in cultural and artistic influence as well as in scientific and medical advances.

From Spinoza to Primo Levi, from the Rothschild's to Leon Blum, from Mahler to Chagall, from Hanna Arendt to Simone Veil, via Proust, Freud, Einstein, the spirit of Europe took shape just like with Descartes, Da Vinci, Jaures, Mozart, Suzanne Valadon, Pasteur and Marie Curie.

But these famous names should not make us forget the other contributions. That of small hands, Jewish craftsmen and workers, tailors or watchmakers, vendors and shopkeepers, who dotted the human landscape of the whole of Europe and participated in the folklore of its regions.

It is Europe's duty to preserve this Jewish heritage which is an integral part of the civilization it has built and continues to build, ensuring its continuation and fulfillment in the future.

If there is one lesson to be learned from the history of European Jews, it is that of survival, courage and resilience. Of an indefectible confidence in mankind. It is this confidence that inspired Judeo-Christian beliefs but also humanist convictions which are the pillars of European civilization.

Faced with such achievements and hopes, it is out of the question to leave the slightest expression of antisemitism unchecked. Especially at a time when there is no excuse for ignorance, and when society offers legal, technical and pedagogical means to combat all forms of antisemitism.

The fight against antisemitism is unfortunately far from being over, as we have seen.

This little manual is one of the tools that can help you lead this fight.

RAPHAEL JERUSALMY

SHORT BIOGRAPHY

Raphael Jerusalmy was born in 1954 in Paris. His father's family were deported and exterminated in Auschwitz.

He graduated from high school at 15 years old and despite his desire to go live in Israel, his parents wanted him to complete his studies before making Aliyah.

Immediately after graduating from L'Ecole Normale Supérieure, he left for Israel, entered the Israeli military intelligence (IDF) where he remained for the next 17 years. Most of his military career was related to the IDF's relations with foreign armies, first those of Asia and Latin America, then Egypt, Jordan (before the peace treaty), Syria, Lebanon and the Palestinians. During this period, he and his commander were the only Israeli officers empowered to create direct contacts and maintain continuous working relations with Arab counterparts in order to discreetly resolve all kinds of problems (security, but also humanitarian or ecological).

Raphael Jerusalmy was sent to Rwanda during the massacres to coordinate on site the IDF medical rescue operation for refugees.

Upon retiring from the army, Raphael was the Campaign Director for Keren Hayessod in Belgium and Luxembourg (1996-2000) for the rescue of Jews from Iran, Belarus and Ethiopia.

From 2000-2003 Raphael was the Director of a «task force» against disinformation, a period during which he wrote the «Little Blue Book» and «Legal, Illegal», translated into several languages. He was also involved in the organization of protests and the defense of the IDF soldiers in a trial against the newspaper «Le Nouvel Obs» with the support of M Goldnadel (lawyer).

Today he divides his time between his responsibilities as a defense and security analyst for i24 news channel and writing novels.

Raphael Jerusalmy is author of several novels including “Shalom Tsahal” (NM7, 2002), “Et si...nous étions frères” (Labor, 2006), “Sauver Mozart” (Actes Sud, 2012), “La Confrérie des Chasseurs de Livres” (Actes Sud, 2013), “Denis Diderot: Non à l'Ignorance” (Actes Sud Junior, 2015), “Les Obus Jouaient à Pigeon-Vole” (Edition Bruno Doucey, 2016), “Évacuation” (Actes Sud, 2017), “La Rose de Saragosse” (Actes Sud, 2018), “Bibliodyssées” avec Kamel Daoud (Actes Sud, 2019).