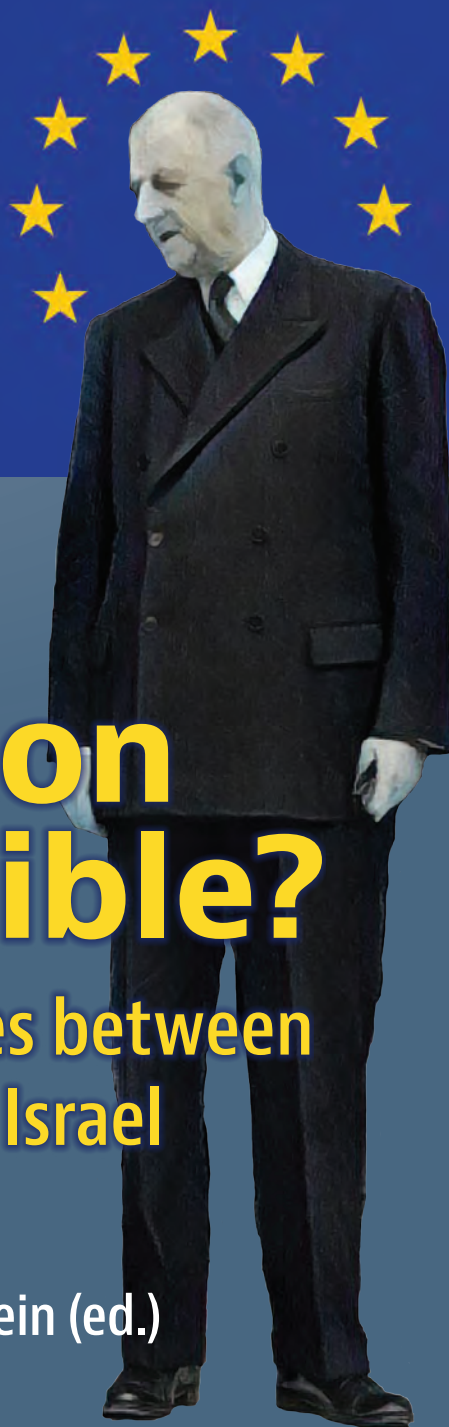




Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs



Mission Impossible?

Repairing the Ties between
Europe and Israel

Fiamma Nirenstein (ed.)

Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs
Working Group on Europe-Israel Relations

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Foreword

Fiamma Nirenstein

On March 27, 2018, a group of officials, politicians, and intellectuals from Europe and Israel met at the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs for a day-long discussion on relations between Israel and Europe. We aimed to engage in a discussion about the conflicting attitudes and misunderstandings we have vis-à-vis one another and to attempt to resolve these issues. We called our assembly a “working group,” giving it an ongoing aim: defining a new pattern in Israeli-European relations.

What you will find here for the first time is a European-Israeli mix of ideas. We asked the participants to write essays about what each of them considered as the most important issue – as candidly and spontaneously as possible.

The results of this endeavor are multifaceted, and we consider it a gateway to discussing the subject for anyone interested in advancing a new diplomatic approach.

The passion that you will find in each essay shows that the relationship between Israel and Europe is something even deeper than friendship,

dearer than the affinity between Israelis and Europeans. It goes beyond economic, scientific, medical, technological, and security interests that are all, of course, addressed in this text.

It is also a relationship that involves a shared interest in the history of humankind itself, intertwined with historical, moral issues based on the fact that many Israelis are also of German, Italian, French, or British origin.

If you look at it from a European's perspective, you will see the same view from the other side of the coin: what many Israelis represent in the European mind is the natural outcome of European history. They harbor the same fundamental idea of democracy, the same origin of thought about the right of self-determination and nation-states (yes, even if we are aware of how much this has changed in Europe since the end of World War II). Unfortunately, we are also tightly wed to each other by the tragic event that befell the Jewish people on European soil, which should be a main part of the European conscience since the time of the Holocaust. But this has not happened, unfortunately, as the huge rise of anti-Semitism shows.

Another side of the coin shows an unbelievable misunderstanding from the side of a big part of the European Union vis-à-vis Israel, a totally unjustified so-called clash of values that believes that Europe differs from Israel in its rejection of any kind of war as unjustified aggression. These Europeans ignore the fact that Israel has been engaged only in wars of defense and that human and civil rights have never been forsaken by the Jewish state. Europe has refused to consider Israel's steadfast faithfulness to its own values in the face of a most difficult situation, namely the territorial and ideological siege it faces daily and the Palestinian refusal to engage in discussions that could bring about peace.

Here we chose to opt for an open and friendly debate with people who have varied experiences, from a chief of the police in Brussels to a former Israeli general in the military's intelligence service, from a Green member of the Bundestag to the president of the Jerusalem

Center, who also served as the Israeli ambassador to the United Nations and director of the Israeli Foreign Ministry. We include, as well, several Israeli retired ambassadors to European countries, historians, and journalists.

Readers will find here a detailed and complete examination of the mistakes, wrongdoings, and basic reasons why Europe sometimes cannot or does not want to understand Israel. That said, what you will also find is a friendly search for solutions. Sometimes, the wrongdoings involve anti-Semitism or a kind of politically correct conformism that closes European eyes to a point of blindness. Our conviction is that mutual sympathy and goodwill can still be found in Europe.

The issues of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, Hamas, Iran, Hizbullah, Syria, territories, and new political forces in Europe were part of these discussions and conclusions of the guests who participated at the Jerusalem Center meeting in March 2018. All of these issues seem to require unique solutions.

What surfaced from our talks is that there is a fundamental historical affinity to truth. The future is pushing us in the direction of mutual understanding for the sake of our common welfare, the development of poor countries, entente with the Islamic world, and the fight against global terrorism. All these goals require that Israel and Europe find common ground and work together.

Preface

A New Israel-Europe Dialogue

Dore Gold

Israel and Europe may best be described as “in a relationship” that defies casual description. From the Roman assault on Judea and enslavement of much of its population to the revival of Jewish life during the Enlightenment, the Jewish people’s tumultuous history within Europe evolved. Today, there is a vibrant tapestry of thriving trade and exchange between European states and the modern State of Israel. Israel also enjoys excellent bilateral relations with its counterpart European governments.

Yet it is no secret that when it comes to EU positions on political issues related to our region, serious disagreements arise. One obvious example is the EU – and Europe’s – softer approach with respect to Iran and its insistence on maintaining the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) with Iran. Neither is Israel’s concern a secret when it comes to rising incidents of anti-Semitic rhetoric and attacks against Jews on European soil.

European policies on the Arab-Israeli conflict have been a constant source of friction between the two sides. When the United States decided to airlift emergency military supplies to Israel during the 1973

Yom Kippur War, only Portugal provided landing rights to American aircraft, and then only in the Azores, rather than on the European mainland. The European Union began to demand the labeling of Jewish products from the West Bank, which could restrict their commerce, though it overlooked placing the same limitations on trade with states with diplomatically disputed territories, from the Western Sahara to Northern Cyprus. To many Israelis, this looked like a double standard.

Finally, the European Union promoted Palestinian construction projects in areas of the West Bank that required Israeli zoning permits, according to the Oslo Agreements, which the European Union itself signed as a witness. When Israel decided to dismantle these illegal structures, particularly if they were located in militarily sensitive areas, EU criticism was voiced. Under such conditions, how could Israel make the European Union a partner in peacemaking and the stabilization of the Middle East?

Against these negative trends, from time to time there are indications that Israel and Europe could increase their cooperation in the future. For example, in November 2018, it appeared that Israel, Cyprus, Greece, and Italy were advancing toward an inter-governmental agreement for undertaking a feasibility study on building a pipeline for moving Eastern Mediterranean gas to Europe, which was seeking to diversify its sources of energy. Whether these preliminary studies might lead to new attitudes in Europe remains to be seen.

This publication represents the fruits of a first-time initiative. Under the expert eye of our senior fellow Fiamma Nirenstein, the Jerusalem Center convened an unprecedented and distinguished group of academics, authors, and former and current public officials to explore the issues where disagreements exist. In a spirit of trust and good will, discussants offered diverse perspectives on the essence of these issues, and their opinions on how they may be bridged.

Too often, as some of our discussants noted, harsh public statements critical of Israel are voiced, while in private, Europeans express near-overwhelming empathy with Israel, with a growing capacity

to identify with many of the situations it faces. The following essays are presented in the hope that, notwithstanding the complexities of the Europe-Israel relationship, we may develop the path to move these private expressions of understanding to the public sphere.

Overview: The Sources of a Fractured Relationship

What Is Shared Is Stronger than What Divides

Freddy Eytan

On March 20, 2018, the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs held a significant discussion on the future of relations between Israel and Europe. As part of a closed forum, it hosted strategic and diplomatic experts from several European countries, including the EU ambassador to Israel. Over two days, we discussed misunderstandings regarding Israel's position, and why there is no fundamental consideration for what happens in Israel every day. Why is there so much apparent naivete among decision-makers in Brussels? Why, at times, is there unjust hostility and automatic condemnations made against Israel? What is causing relations with a friendly, democratic country like Israel to erode? Why is there such a double standard and hypocrisy regarding the Palestinian issue? And of course, what is Europe's true policy? How do they deal with two currently worrying topics – the war on terror and the migrant problem? We Israelis tried to understand why the Europeans conduct such head-in-the-sand diplomacy and why they believe that the nuclear deal signed with Iran in July 2015 is really a good agreement that will not be breached in the future.

At the end of the discussion, Israelis felt that most of the participants had listened with utmost attention to our claims and even understanding



for our position, with an honest concern for the future of the security of the State of Israel and its legitimate right to live in peace with all of its neighbors.

We reached the initial conclusion that in Europe there are essential differences between the positions of the professional echelon and the political leadership and especially between honest, informal discussions and official debates and forums.

Why does this gap exist? Why are European countries not bold enough to formulate clear policies? Why do they continue to speak in feeble language and even conduct hypocritical policies, especially regarding a solution to the Palestinian problem and human rights? This was recently expressed regarding Israel's Nation-State Law, which was passed in the Knesset on July 19, 2018. The strong criticism that appears in most of the European media about Israel discriminating against the Arab minority also shows here a basic misunderstanding of the State of Israel and its very existence as the only Jewish democratic country in the world. There is a misunderstanding in the Palestinian context and confusion among the Europeans, who still think Judaism is only a religion and therefore the Jews have no right nor claim to a national homeland. Europe's ignoring the close, historical connection over thousands of years between the Jewish nation and the Land of Israel and Jerusalem arouses surprise and even anger, especially when

the European countries vote at UNESCO and other international organizations in favor of delusional, false Palestinian initiatives.

Looking to Europe or to the United States?

The Israeli Foreign Ministry has been holding feverish debates to formulate a clear policy for Europe. Most experts emphasize the importance of maintaining bilateral relations, but the tendency of most Israeli governments has been to reach out to the United States. Rightly, it has been stated that important fateful decisions have only been made in Washington, and that the United States, the world's strongest superpower, can handle the resolution to the conflict with the Arabs. This is in contrast with Europe, which is leaning on a weak reed from the diplomatic point of view. The United States is a loyal strategic ally.

On one level, this assessment is correct and justified, but it is not perfect. It is appropriate to mention that until the outbreak of the Six-Day War in June 1967, Israeli governments preferred, for various reasons, to



EU Foreign Policy chief Federica Mogherini and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu in New York (*Avi Ohayon/GPO*)

strengthen relations with Europe at the expense of the United States, who at one time imposed an embargo on weapons exports to Israel. It should not be forgotten that in the early years after independence, France made an essential contribution to the State of Israel's security by supplying modern armaments and erecting a nuclear reactor.

At the end of the 1967 war, when the territories were acquired, there was a shift in France's traditional position of supporting Israel since its establishment. This trend became – especially in France – pro-Arab and even hostile at times. Following the energy crisis that broke out after the Yom Kippur War, the European countries surrendered to the pressures and extortions of the oil distributors, preferring to sacrifice Israel on the altar of petrodollars.

Over the years, Europe experienced many ups and downs, and the European Union went from being six states to nine. Today it has 26 members after the United Kingdom's withdrawal. The European Union today represents more than half a billion people. As the years have passed, it has also made some strategic mistakes. The first of these was "expanding the club" to all states in Europe and outside of it. Five additional countries, including Turkey, officially offered their candidacy. It is clear there is a very big difference between a united Europe composed of nine to 12 countries and a Europe with 26 countries or more. An additional mistake was the removal of borders, which put an end to commercial protectionism and led to a flood of cheap goods from China. This, in turn, led to the closure of European factories and growing unemployment. Removing the checkpoints and the borders also led to the free immigration of foreigners and to many internal disputes, and new challenges emerged, such as the struggle against terror and the absorption of migrants.

Can Israel ignore Europe? Widespread among many Israelis is the approach that the Europeans are fundamentally anti-Semitic and therefore their relationship with Israel and the Jews will never actually change. Is that correct?

Don't Paint Europe with a Wide Brush of Hate

It is correct that anti-Semitism has never departed from the world, but Europe is not a single unit. Many anti-Israelis and anti-Semites exist throughout the political spectrum, from the extreme Right to the extreme Left, and the proof of this is the intensive activities of the BDS campaign and other non-profits and organizations. But when viewing the situation through the prism of *realpolitik*, is it not worthwhile to study the entirety of interests calmly, objectively, and without responding from the gut? It is clear that the past should not be forgotten, and much can be drawn from it for a better future. This was the thought at the time when German reparations were accepted, and it was decided to build full, flourishing diplomatic relations that have proven themselves to be beneficial until this day.

For this reason, to repair relations between the European Union and Israel, we must re-evaluate them correctly and pragmatically and not hang onto pre-conceived ideas.

First, we should separate between the classic countries of Western Europe, such as France, Spain, and Italy, and those countries that used to be governed by the Communist bloc. These latter countries have a very varied population and different interests. They are certainly less involved or interested in resolving the Middle East conflict than France, for example. Last but not least, the countries of eastern and central Europe have a close relationship with Hungary, Romania, and the Czech Republic, which did not hesitate to abstain on resolutions supported by Europe against the transfer of the U.S. embassy to Jerusalem. Similarly, Israel's relations with Greece, Bulgaria, and Cyprus have grown significantly. In other words, there is a positive trend that could not have existed in the past, and we should take note of it and welcome it.

Second, there should be a clear distinction between EU leaders and the officials sitting in Brussels. The cumbersome, uncompromising, bureaucratic, group-thinking administration composed of clerks from 26 different countries and committees not elected by the public is given

the highest authority in Brussels to make important resolutions on every issue, especially foreign policy issues connected to the Middle East and policy toward Israel. For example, Chancellor Angela Merkel's response to Israel's Nation-State Law that she would not interfere in the internal matters of the State of Israel was intelligent, and it would be better if this line were accepted among the other leaders of the European countries.

Third, there should be a separation between bilateral political relations and multilateral relations, especially regarding anything related to the process of finding a solution to the Israeli-Arab conflict. Today, there is an understanding that this separation is important for both sides. It should also be noted that Israel has bilateral relations in all areas with each of the EU member states. With some, these relations are close and friendly, and with others, they are less so and could be improved. We should emphasize that Israel is also a member of the prominent and respected organization, the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development). It has signed many agreements and has common interests in every economic, scientific, and energy-related field. It will also continue to be an active member of the Horizon 2020 project, and for the first time, it has representation in the NATO headquarters in Brussels.

More United than Divided

Israel has more shared interests than differences with Europe, more that is positive than negative. It has been joined at the hip to Europe since ancient times, from the Greek and Roman empires. Most of the Jewish people whose families were wiped out in the Holocaust lived in Europe even before the expulsion from Spain in 1492. In other words, the geography of the Mediterranean Basin and the historical past are strongly intertwined with Europe, and it is impossible to separate them and ignore these basic details. Furthermore, Judeo-Christian values overcome the obstacles and denunciations of the extremists.

In the international arena today, Israel has many strategic, vital assets that can contribute to strong cooperation and strengthen its position. In light of Europe's weakness and the strengthening of ties with the United States under President Trump and Putin's Russia, the time is especially appropriate. For example, understandings on the Syrian issue, Iranian entrenchment, and the future of the Golan Heights are subjects that Europe cannot deal with diplomatically in the face of the persistence of the two superpowers. At the same time, the Palestinian issue should be dealt with in a similar way, and pragmatic, economic solutions should be found for Gaza, which Europe is interested in and can act upon on condition that this is well coordinated with Israel.

In light of everything stated above, Israel must strive for a memorandum of understandings with the states of Europe. The first memorandum of its kind would facilitate proper relations in all areas between Israel and the Europeans where each side would know its interests from the start, as well as its limitations. There should not be a situation where each resolution or Israeli initiative automatically receives a reprimand or a moral lecture. It is also necessary to work to remove all boycotts and attempts to impose sanctions on Israel and prevent the European Union from indirectly financing hostile bodies and organizations, some of which support terror.

This issue should be clarified because a fundamental mistake was made when the Israeli government decided to transfer authorities and budgets from the Foreign Ministry to other ministries. There was no justification for this, just like it is not possible to transfer Israeli PR to other or private bodies. It is a shame that political and personal considerations have overruled *la Raison d'Etat*, the interests of the country. It should also be explained that today there is no government ministry, such as the Foreign Ministry, with its many representatives around the world and its rich diplomatic experience, that can deal with the specific challenges raised by everything connected to the European Union, where it has its special embassy located in Brussels.

Israel can contribute on many levels, thanks to its strategic assets, knowledge, and experience. This includes economic and humanitarian

cooperation with the European Union in improving the situation of the Palestinians and providing aid to Africa. Joint treatment at the roots of the problems, at the source, will prevent the mass movement of migrants to the European continent. Of course, this includes cooperating as much as possible on the intelligence level and the war on terror. We recall the recent intelligence passed on to France about an Iranian attempt to commit a mass-casualty terror attack, as well as other warnings from the Israeli security services of potential terror attacks on airports and airplanes that ultimately prevented the loss of innocent European citizens. On this issue, we should hope for public and official recognition from the governments in Europe.

We can certainly improve and strengthen our relations with the European Community, and the sooner there are positive, cooperative actions, the better.

In summary, we would like to say that without any doubt, what is shared with Europe can overcome the divisions, and we can handle in the future any unnecessary rivalries or disputes.

Even-Handed or Heavy-Handed Relations?

Daniel Schwammenthal

The state of the EU-Israel relationship would make an ideal topic for an Oxford Union debate. Cite the fact that the European Union is Israel's biggest trading partner, that Israel is integrated into many exclusive EU programs, or point out how the "Open Sky" agreement has lowered airfares while boosting tourism between the two sides, and you can convincingly argue that they are the best of partners. But an equally convincing case can be made for the exact opposite motion. Cite the long list of Israel-critical EU statements, the disagreement about the Iranian nuclear deal, and the European public's negative image of the Jewish state, and it looks like a relationship in crisis.

Both versions accurately describe the same complex reality. But even if one were to describe this reality as a glass more half-full than half-empty, there are real risks the glass could empty out. That's because many of the positive elements of the relationship are narrowly compartmentalized, with only a few people aware of their benefits. EU-Israel cooperation projects in the areas of security or research are such examples. But the tensions between the two play out in the open, generating negative feedback that could undermine this relationship in the long run. Israel-critical statements can reinforce Israel's negative

image among Europe's public, which in turn would make it more difficult for European politicians to advocate for closer relations with Israel or to support its right to self-defense. This, in turn, can feed even more negative attitudes among the public.

Even more alarmingly, surveys show not only Israel-critical sentiments among the European public, but also views that cross the line and express modern forms of anti-Semitism. When segments of the European population compare Israel with Nazis or hold Jews collectively responsible for Israel's actions, real or imagined, more than just the future of bilateral trade is at stake.

A Myopic View of the Conflict

Further fueling tension is the European Union's propensity to look at its relationship with the Jewish state through the prism of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. That conflict, or to be more precise, Europe's disagreement with Israel over its root causes and specifically the settlement policy, impacts almost every aspect of the bilateral relationship. Even such positive elements as cooperation agreements, for example, must include, on the European Union's insistence, so-called territorial clauses ensuring that the terms of the deal do not apply to what the European Union considers occupied territory.

What's worse, in 2009, the EU Council effectively froze plans for an upgrade of Israel's Association Agreement, linking any progress on this front to progress in the peace process. This decision implied that Israel is not only the stronger party in this conflict, but that it has the power to end it unilaterally. The European Union thus ignored the old dictum that it takes only one to make war, but two to make peace. It also ignored 80 years of repeated Palestinian refusals to end this conflict through a territorial compromise, starting with the 1937 Peel Plan. At the same time, the EU Council decision ultimately rewarded Palestinian intransigence by giving them veto power over the EU-Israel relationship.



Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy Federica Mogherini greets PA Chairman Mahmoud Abbas. (Yves Herman/Reuters)

What seems to be missing from the EU analysis of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is an evidence-based review of why, 25 years after the Oslo accords, there still is no Palestinian state. Even if one ignored that Gaza is controlled by a group the European Union itself considers to be a terror organization and focused instead just on the Palestinian Authority, Israel's purported peace partner, severe shortcomings are evident on the Palestinian side. The Palestinian Authority has repeatedly refused serious Israeli peace offers, continues to incite its public against Israelis and Jews in general, and has so utterly failed in the state-building process that it is incapable of signing any realistic peace deal, let alone implement one.

Even when the European Union does acknowledge some of these problems on the Palestinian side, it often draws very different conclusions. Citing the lack of stability in the Palestinian leadership, European officials argued in previous years that Israel ought to hurry to make peace with the Palestinian Authority because nobody knows

who may come after Chairman Mahmoud Abbas. What was interpreted by Europeans as an incentive for Israel to come to a quick agreement was interpreted by Israelis as the exact opposite. Not surprisingly, Israelis consider the fact that Abbas could conceivably be succeeded by a Fatah member who will resort to violence again, or that the entire Fatah leadership could be swept away by Hamas (as has happened in Gaza), as a liability, not an opportunity.

European efforts to address such Palestinian liabilities tend to lack the seriousness with which Brussels addresses the obstacles to peace it identifies on the Israeli side. This imbalance undermines Europe's position as an honest broker in the eyes of many Israelis. And in addition, Europe is missing an opportunity to help resolve the conflict.

While EU criticism of Israel is usually explicit and detailed, criticism of Palestinian incitement, for example, tends to be rare and circumspect. Moreover, while the European Union has developed very elaborate policies such as the territorial clause and labeling guidelines to oppose Israeli settlement policies, no similarly exhaustive policies exist to confront Palestinian obstacles to peace.

Take, for example, the PA payments to jailed Palestinian terrorists and their families. These salaries are linked to the length of the Israeli prison sentences, meaning the more gruesome the crime, the more money the convicted terrorists or their families receive. These payments, often a multiple of the average Palestinian salary, not only reward past terrorism but create a clear incentive to carry out future terror attacks. At the same time, by wasting an astonishing seven percent of the PA budget on these perverse salaries, the Palestinian Authority is depriving its population of scarce resources. It is difficult to imagine a policy more at odds with EU values and the stated EU goal of achieving peace between Israelis and Palestinians. And yet it is equally difficult to find public European condemnations of this practice, let alone concrete plans to put an end to it.

The European Union's reluctance to confront Palestinian obstacles to peace contradicts its often-voiced complaint that Europe is only

a “payer and not a player” in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. If the European Union isn’t a player, it’s mostly because it refuses to touch the (Palestinian) ball. Because the European Union is such a big payer, i.e., economic and diplomatic supporter of the Palestinian Authority, it could exert tremendous influence in Ramallah. By failing to make full use of this influence to steer the Palestinian Authority and society in a more peaceful direction, Brussels is missing a huge opportunity to help solve the conflict. At the same time, this reluctance also undermines Europe’s influence over the Israeli political scene. Because Europe is seen as one-sided, it is domestically easier for Israeli politicians to ignore its criticism.

The Necessity to Rebalance the EU-Israel Relationship

Rebalancing the EU-Israel relationship would offer Brussels (the EU headquarters) numerous advantages. By cutting the connection between progress on the conflict and upgrading its Association Agreement with the Jewish state, Brussels could deepen a mutually beneficial relationship. By devising effective policies designed to confront Palestinian obstacles to peace, the European Union could contribute significantly to Arab-Israeli reconciliation and at the same time improve its own standing before the Israeli public as an honest broker. A more realistic appreciation of Israel’s many security challenges could not only advance Israel’s safety but also greatly enhance regional stability. By discouraging more forcefully Israel’s opponents, the European Union could help prevent the outbreak of hostilities, saving lives on both sides. Each time, though, the European Union appears “even-handed” when commenting on unprovoked Hamas attacks and legitimate Israeli defense measures, or when it prematurely calls for “independent” investigations into Israeli actions, it plays into the terrorist propaganda strategy, encouraging only more attacks, leading to more casualties on both sides. And each time the European Union remains silent when Iranian leaders call for Israel’s destruction or appears unwilling to confront Iranian crimes at home and abroad, it increases the likelihood of a major confrontation. And it

ultimately also deeply disappoints its Israeli ally, further undermining Europe's standing in the Jewish state.

The day such an evidence-based policy review enters into European decision-making vis-à-vis the Middle East will be the day when the state of the EU-Israel relationship won't be up for debate anymore. It may also be the day that ushers in fresh hopes for the Israeli-Palestinian peace process.

Understanding the European Narrative

Amnon Lord

The European community upgraded itself and became the European Union in 1992–1993, roughly at the same time the Oslo accords were launched. There is a correlation between the two projects. Prior to this development, which came about on the heels of the collapse of the Soviet Union, the fiber of Israel-Europe relations was based on the fraternity of the Socialist and Social-Democratic parties, mainly in the framework of the Socialist International. The Israeli Labor party was on excellent terms with its Socialist sisters in Sweden, Norway, France, West Germany, and Spain.

However, since the late 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, the Socialist parties in Western Europe went through a significant transformation. As a result of Socialist failures, and the Vietnam War, the new generation had become radicals. The great expert on political warfare Stefan Possony writes that in the early 1970s these Socialist radicals entrenched themselves in Brussels – the European Community of that period. Led by Olaf Palme, Willy Brandt, Bruno Kreisky, and the like, the Social Democrats became avid supporters of the PLO, while taking a soft anti-Israel stance. This was a complete turnaround from their Zionist position of the 1920s on. In the 1970s, ideology mixed



PLO leader Yasser Arafat (left), Bruno Kreisky (center) and Willy Brandt in Vienna, July 8, 1979. (*Bettmann/Getty Images*)

well with oil interests (the oil embargo post-Yom Kippur War), Soviet pressure, and the great blackmail of international terrorism led by Palestinian organizations.

Great efforts were vested in getting Israel into an arrangement with the PLO through the Labor Party and the Israeli Left. Israel and Europe became more and more estranged after the electoral change of government in 1977 and the rise of the Likud led by Prime Minister Menachem Begin.

Despite the peace agreement between Israel and Egypt, the Palestinians led by the PLO had become the epicenter of Israeli-European relations. Still, the European Union and its largest governments were shy to go out in the open with the PLO, although recognizing it as a national liberation movement had become a cornerstone of European ideology. Whereas Zionism was always ambivalent in the European consciousness, the PLO as a liberation movement had become more

and more central in the core beliefs of the Europeans. The European Union was anticipating that the PLO would be legitimized by Israel itself.

And so the Oslo accords of September 1993 were a kind of triangular marriage. European regard for Israel became dependent on the Palestinians. The Palestinians, to a large degree, controlled the psychological, political, ideological, and cultural channels that connected Europe and Israel. Obviously, that situation led to the reemergence of anti-Semitism on the Continent.

The Oslo accords were dependent in many ways on the Labor Party in Israel and its allies on the Left. The New Israel Fund was established in 1979. A year before, in 1978, Shalom Achshav [Peace Now] was launched. The Israeli Left was realigned and dug in for this political change in Israel led by Begin. This, despite the fact that Likud signed the historical peace with Egypt, the biggest of Israel's enemies.

An extra-parliamentarian opposition was established. It seems that Europe jumped aboard that Leftist bandwagon and started a long-term campaign to re-educate what they viewed as the backward Israeli public. After Oslo, and especially after the reelection of a right-wing government in 1996 led by Netanyahu, it appeared that the Europeans saw the PLO as a constant and what was needed was a change in the Israeli mindset. When Israel's internal security collapsed with waves of unprecedented terrorist attacks, many Israelis perceived the Oslo agreement as a grave mistake. Leftist NGOs were established to convince Israelis that they had no choice but to accept the terrorist reality because the occupation had to end.

The Real Goal

Gradually, the Leftist organizations were discovered for their true nature: a strategic arm for political warfare which aimed for three major goals.

1. Destabilization of the Israeli society.
2. Delegitimization of Israel in Western societies.
3. Paralyzing Israel's military response to the terrorist enclaves inside the country.

All this activity was heavily financed by the European Union and various member states. But there was an unintended effect to this campaign: it revived anti-Semitism. The relentless barrage of photos of Palestinian victims, usually children and all victims of the terrorists' using civilians as human shields, was the catalyst for anti-Semitism, with the constant drumbeat of Israel in the headlines and news media.

Which brings up the issue of the two kinds of anti-Semitism. The first is the classical sort. You hate Jewish persons or collectives. You can't stand the hearing of the intermediaries of the diplomatic process because their names are Greenblatt, or Kushner, or Friedman, if not Shapiro. That type of hatred is relatively rare nowadays. But the second kind is very important, and this is the strategic use of anti-Semitism. The Nazis used that strategy, then the Soviet Union, and now the Palestinians and their allies, who want to weaken and delegitimize the Western democratic system.

Israel was discovered by its enemies to be a useful substitute for the former collective of "the Jews." When you play on the Zionist and Israeli themes relentlessly, you achieve the same results as the enemies of democracy and the free world always sought to achieve. Their narrative doesn't have to be just, "Israel kills children." It can be Israeli soldiers' stories from last summer's operation. Pick your favorite summer. It can be a "Jewish" state means a racist state. Undemocratic. The delegitimizing narrative can be about the Western Wall or Oriental Jews; of course, when the summer is too quiet, there's always "The Nakba."

The results of using the ploy of strategic anti-Semitism are splitting society and the political sphere; polarizing society; and achieving

unlikely alliances between radical forces who are incompatible otherwise. The intersectionality joins feminists and Jihadists, liberals, gays, Greens – all marching together with terrorists who pollute the air, hang gays on the streets, and abhor dissenting opinions or the rule of law. This is why the leader of Hamas thanks all the liberal forces in the West for their support of Hamas in its struggle against Israel.

This is why for their own good the Europeans should find a way to combat anti-Semitism of the strategic type. The European Union has a definition for anti-Semitism which recognizes anti-Israel propaganda as a form of anti-Semitism. But it doesn't work if the European Union simultaneously sends messages supporting various degrees of the boycott. For instance, posting signs on Israeli products.

Europe should recognize that the organizations that it finances inside Israel do not improve freedom and democracy in Israel, but rather they sow hatred, fear, and friction inside Israeli society. It encourages anti-Jewish nationalism and irredentism among Israeli Arab citizens.

The Europeans should take into consideration the damage that it imports into the continent. Some of the extreme right-wing forces that erupted lately are spawned by Islamist extremism, which is fueled among other issues by anti-Israel hatred. Financing anti-Israel NGOs, Palestinian lawfare, and propaganda ultimately leads to internal European troubles.

No matter what awesome changes take place in Europe, one thing remains frozen like the people of Pompeii. The EU bureaucracy is stuck in its cold hostility toward Israel.

Western Europe and Israel have taken two different historic courses. Israelis watched Europe's once vaunted economic structure, political system, social experiment, and cultural development all fail. Israel, on the other hand, is the antithesis of the European Union's central core: Israel is nationalistic, multi-cultural, and tolerant of other cultures – even the enemy's. In its economic policies, Israel is flexible and was

able to emerge from the 2008 economic collapse even stronger. The rigid EU economy has still not recovered.

Demographically challenged, Europe has tried for many years to become an immigrant society like Israel. It failed, especially in the last wave, which destabilized the continent.

The Common Market evolved into the European Union. For many years it seemed a great success, especially under the American security umbrella. The secret code was: keep America in, keep Germany low, and keep Russia out.

But Europe did not absorb well the shockwaves of the 2008 financial collapse. It completely shattered that schematic structure. The political structure of the European Union didn't cope successfully with the economic crisis and its political consequences. The social and cultural experiment of multiculturalism failed, by many accounts. The defense concepts and preparedness were inadequate, to say the least, in the face of ISIS and al-Qaeda terrorism, to say nothing about the Russian challenge in Ukraine and the Middle East.

Israel is a proud national society. It is a unique Jewish civilization that proved successful as an immigrant society; it proved flexible enough to accommodate a nationalistic Arab minority; its democracy has proven resilient in the face of enormous external and internal challenges. Its economy was not only relatively resilient to the September 2008 crisis but snapped back to the high growth rate in less than a year. Israel defends jealously its sovereignty, borders, and citizens. In other words, Israel is quite the opposite model compared to Europe. The economic flourish is complemented by cultural growth, and Israel's democracy remains open and lively despite the propaganda claims otherwise.

Europe should abandon the stale narrative about Israel being a retrograde nationalistic project, a leftover from the colonial era with colonialist ambitions and an occupying force. When the security of Israel becomes unchallengeable, chances for peace will grow

immeasurably. No, it's not the other way around, that peace comes first and then security.

Unfortunately, Europe gave the Palestinians the impression for many years that the destruction of Israel is negotiable.

Europe's NGO Proxy Wars vs. Israel

Gerald M. Steinberg

For two decades, the European Union and western European governments have been providing large budgets to “civil society organizations” for campaigns targeting Israel. Research shows that approximately €100 million (\$114,000,000) is transferred annually under frameworks for human rights, development aid, and peace-building to organizations leading the BDS (boycotts, divestment, and sanctions) and lawfare efforts. This policy is a primary example of the use of “soft power” through its NGO dimension in the effort to impose European perceptions, interests, and prescriptions on Israel.

This NGO funding is distributed both directly by foreign ministries (including embassies) and aid agencies, and indirectly through government budgets provided to humanitarian organizations, such as Oxfam, Misereor (Germany), Christian Aid (United Kingdom and Ireland), ICCO (the Netherlands), and similar aid subcontractors.

In the European Union, the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) is a significant mechanism for funding the NGOs’ leading anti-Israel campaigns. Recipients include highly politicized Palestinian groups, such as Al Haq, Addameer, and PCHR;

Israeli groups such as Yesh Din, Adalah, B'tselem, and Breaking the Silence; and allied NGOs based in Europe, such as the Norwegian Refugee Council, Oxfam Novib, and Medical Aid for Palestinians.

These groups, working together and in coordination with Palestinian and allied officials, play a central role in organizing boycotts and in leading lawfare campaigns against Israel at the United Nations Human Rights Council, the International Criminal Court (ICC), and similar platforms. Every year, tens of NGO projects funded by Europe are active in campaigns that Israeli leaders, including Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, criticize as designed to interfere with counterterrorism policies and isolate Israel in the international arena.

For example, “Who Profits,” an Israeli NGO that identifies companies for targeting by BDS, is in large part funded by aid mechanisms in Ireland, Sweden, Norway, Germany, and Switzerland. And Breaking the Silence, whose leaders travel the world alleging human rights violations by the IDF, receives two-thirds of its funds from Europe, including direct grants from the European Union. Another example is the network of aid NGOs largely funded by government frameworks which pressed for EU adoption of product labeling (“differentiation”) as an initial step toward official adoption of product boycotts.

Although the European Union and individual governments officially oppose boycotts of Israel, these governments are the primary enablers of the BDS movement.

In parallel, Europe funds Palestinian NGOs, including Al Haq, Al Mezan, and PCHR that are active in lawfare, pressing for prosecution of Israeli “war crimes” at the United Nations and ICC. Although these Palestinian NGOs do not publish complete financial information, the visible donors are European, and EU diplomats are seen coordinating strategy with these NGOs, particularly at the UN Human Rights Council.

The decision-making processes of the various European agencies involved in this NGO funding are highly secretive. Parliaments are

not provided with budgetary details, and Freedom of Information requests for relevant documents are routinely denied, citing vague “security issues.” As a result, it is not possible to assess the degree of due diligence exercised by the funding governments, and there are many cases of double-dipping (duplicate funding mechanisms supporting the same NGO). In response to tens of parliamentary and media inquiries, EU and state officials use the standard claim that they fund NGO projects, and not the NGOs themselves – a meaningless distinction as “project” funding goes to salaries, public relations, rent, and social media. Furthermore, most state funders lack the resources to monitor the conduct of their grantees, relying instead on NGO self-reporting, which is highly unreliable.

Embarrassing Abuses Exposed

As a result, European funding agencies and officials have been embarrassed by recent revelations concerning uses and abuses of the budgets they have provided to political NGOs. After parliamentary committees in Switzerland, Spain, Denmark, the European Union, and elsewhere received independent reports (provided by NGO Monitor) on their governments’ NGO funding, they forced major policy changes. Four donors to a Ramallah-based “international law” consortium (Denmark, Sweden, Netherlands, and Switzerland) ended the \$25 million multi-year NGO budget after learning that substantial amounts went to a number of “highly regarded” Palestinian NGOs affiliated with the PFLP terror organization. Similarly, Spain, the United Kingdom, Norway, and the European Union quietly ended some NGO funding and changed guidelines in response to learning of various abuses, although the damage had already been done. These cases are evidence of due diligence failure accompanying European funding for advocacy NGOs active in the conflict. However, the NGO alliances continue because they give Europe a means of exerting leverage over Israel, thus outweighing other considerations.

To understand the unique importance of the NGO dimension in Europe’s troubled relationship with Israel, it is also important to

examine structural factors. European funding to selected political advocacy NGOs began after the Oslo agreements between Israel and the PLO in the mid-1990s. The United States had emerged as the primary interlocutor, and Europe – particularly the European Union – sought to prevent an American monopoly and to offset what they saw as U.S. bias toward Israel. This was one of the factors in the European Union's Barcelona (also known as Euro-Med) project, which provided a large budget and created the frameworks for NGO funding as a form of influence. Most EU member states, as well as non-members Norway and Switzerland, followed by setting up similar NGO alliances and funding frameworks. These frameworks were viewed as core strategic assets, which also explains the high level of secrecy.

Although largely ineffective, the original objectives of the NGO support strategy, as perceived more than 20 years ago, continue to dominate the actions of many European officials, including those in the European Union's External Action Service (EEAS).

For the European Union, these carefully selected NGO allies are also sources of information and analysis to make up for the comparatively thin EEAS capacity. Many European Commission documents and statements on the most complex and sensitive topics, such as borders, negotiations, and Jerusalem, contain excerpts from the reports of their NGO allies, including glaring factual errors and ideological spin. This reflects the mutual dependency, which, in the absence of checks and balances, leads to fundamental errors in judgment and adds to the underlying problematic relationship.

Based on the Barcelona framework, the European Union became one of three primary funders of the infamous NGO Forum at the UN Durban Conference in 2001, which featured blatant anti-Semitism and launched the BDS movement. While the other core funders – Canada and the Ford Foundation – conducted investigations and took steps to prevent a recurrence, no such review took place in the European Union.

For the European Union and at least its western state-members, these NGOs are also the preferred means for attempting to impose favored

policies on Israel. From the 1980 Venice Declaration through the current situation, Europe has sought to impose on Israel the creation of a Palestinian state, based on the pre-1967 armistice lines, as the only “solution” to the conflict. European governments have also stridently opposed Israeli policy in the West Bank and Jerusalem and worked closely with like-minded NGOs to oppose these policies.

Over the years, these policies led to considerable and increasing friction with Israel, at different levels. In 2009, the Knesset began discussions that led to foreign funding transparency legislation, in response to European secrecy. Later, draft laws were introduced to label Israeli NGOs funded by Europe as foreign agents.

In addition, Prime Minister Netanyahu and other top officials put funding for radical NGOs leading demonization campaigns high on the agenda in meetings with European officials. Netanyahu canceled meetings with German Foreign Minister Sigmar Gabriel over this issue, and Belgian Prime Minister Charles Michel’s embrace of radical Israeli NGOs B’Tselem and Breaking the Silence created a diplomatic incident. In June 2018, Netanyahu reportedly canceled a meeting with the European Union’s Frederica Mogherini, in parallel to the discovery of a new EU NGO project collecting “testimonies” for lawfare cases targeting vital Israeli counterterrorism operations in the West Bank.

For all of these reasons, the European support for radical NGOs that promote the demonization of Israel is a major source of friction in the relationship. Two decades after Europe adopted this approach to Israel, in the shadow of the Oslo process and the Euro-Med framework, a complete review of the unique NGO funding policies as applied to Israel, and their impact, is long overdue.

Anti-Semitism in Europe Today Comes Mostly from the Left

Fiamma Nirenstein

Against all odds, after only 70 years since the Holocaust's massacre of six million Jews, including two million children on European soil, anti-Semitism is dramatically on the rise in thought, rhetoric, and deed. This time around, however, hatred for the Jews has taken a nationalistic, ethnic character that is supported by obsessive incitement, which uses classical styles of anti-Semitism – both religious and political – and transforms the latter into the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) campaign. Together, this has led to daily incitement against the state of the Jewish people, Israel, and also extends to Jewish communities in the Diaspora.

In 2016, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) reported 1,661 anti-Semitic attacks, 240 of which directly targeted individuals.¹ Data from the Anti-Defamation League describes a situation in which one in four individuals in Western Europe harbors anti-Semitic attitudes.² However, it is not only a matter of attitudes, but also of an uninterrupted trail of blood: in 2012, a teacher and three children were gunned down in front of a Jewish school by the French-Algerian Mohammed Merah; in 2014, four people were slaughtered at the Jewish Museum in Brussels by Mehdi Nemmouche, an ISIS

terrorist; in 2015, four more were left dead at the Hypercacher kosher supermarket in Paris, again at the hands of an Islamic extremist linked to the Kouachi brothers, who perpetuated the Charlie Hebdo massacre two days earlier. Many cruel murders have, with heinous determination, been carried out against individuals solely because they were Jews: Ilan Halimi, Sarah Halimi, Mireille Knoll, etc.

An anti-Semitic post appears in Europe every 83 seconds on Twitter and other social media networks, like Facebook and YouTube. In 2016, more than 382,000 anti-Semitic posts in 20 different languages were uploaded; in June 2018, Berlin allowed a rally “against the existence of the Jewish state,” which was managed by Hizbullah, where signs with the words “Death to the Jews” were seen. Boycotting episodes erupt at sports events, campuses, theaters, supermarkets, and cinemas; important European actors and singers boycott Israel; genocidal terrorist incidents have taken place in Jerusalem, Paris, Toulouse, and Brussels without anyone saying a single word about Jews being specifically targeted.

A study conducted in 2012 by the German-based Friederich Ebert Stiftung Foundation shows that 63 percent of Poles and 48 percent of Germans think that “Israel is waging a war of extermination against the Palestinians,” along with 42 percent in Britain, 41 percent in Hungary, and 38 percent in Italy. According to a survey by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), 48 percent of the European Jews interviewed have heard or read charges that “Israelis behave like Nazis toward the Palestinians.”

The growth of the European Right in our time is observed under a magnifying glass in the international debate because the Right in the past has certainly hosted, nurtured, propagated, and acted on anti-Semitism. However, a more thorough analysis provides us with another picture that we will examine: not only the anti-Semitic and Israelophobic Left, but also the Islamic communities in Europe are becoming more and more radicalized.

Anti-Semitism Yesterday and Today: From Racial Stereotypes to Israelophobia

In September 2018, the Trump administration announced plans to change the way the U.S. Education Department investigates allegations of discrimination against Jewish students and is adopting a new definition of anti-Semitism. In recent years, several government agencies in Europe have taken similar steps, including the foreign and justice ministries of Britain and Germany. They already have policies that deem anti-Zionism a discriminatory practice because it solely denies Jews the right to govern themselves. But the policy of the U.S. State Department specifies the test used to define anti-Semitism is that of “three Ds,” delegitimization, demonization, and double standards applied to Israel. Natan Sharansky crafted this definition.

The term “anti-Semitism” dates back to the 1870s, and it’s the ethnic-racial modernization (according to new secular and scientific theories in vogue) of confessional anti-Judaism.

“Semite” is a purely linguistic term, which includes Hebrew, Arabic, and Aramaic, as well as Babylonian, Assyrian, and Ethiopian languages. The Aryans, in contrast to the Semites, were the invaders of India, who also call themselves so for linguistic, non-ethnic reasons. They have nothing to do with the Germans.

Christianity was the first actor to attribute to Judaism a cosmically evil quality – more than Islam – since it intended to replace Judaism, the religion of Jesus, and its texts, all of them linked to the Old Testament.

Conspiracy, murder, and blood libel – the far-fetched invention that Jews drink their neighbors’ blood – are accompanied by the equally deadly fantasy, on the secular side, of conspiracy theories, of the “cosmopolitan without rules,” the viper in the bosom of society and nation, and he who is ready to lie without shame. In addition to Hitler’s well-known genocidal theories, are the terminology and political discourse used by the Soviets, who introduced the idiom

of mass culture that came to include terms like: “racist,” “genocide,” “fascist,” “occupation,” and “peace camp.”

These stereotypes have not disappeared but have shifted overwhelmingly to the State of Israel and the collective Jew. It’s enough to remember the outrageous Arafatian invention – which was embraced by international bodies like UNESCO – that the relationship of the Jews with Jerusalem and the Western Wall is fiction. These international organizations rejected the well-documented historical memory of Tacitus, Josephus, the Bible, and the Gospels. They never saw the Arch of Titus in Rome, with its incredibly realistic relief portraying the expulsion of the Jews in 70 C.E. They claimed the Jew-Jerusalem connection is an ad hoc invention to occupy a land they yearned for because of colonial greed.

The new anti-Semitism we see today is linked to a pathological form of Israelophobia. This anti-Semitism is also very dangerous for the society that harbors it. Terrorism is the twin brother of this racial hatred, and although the Jews are its favorite prey, its lethal poison spreads to all surrounding societies.



The sacking of the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem portrayed on the Arch of Titus in Rome

Demonization occurs when the actions of Israel are inflated beyond all proportion. An unfortunate and increasingly common example is the comparison of Auschwitz to Gaza, as made by the Nobel laureate José Saramago and composer Mikis Theodorakis. There is a double standard when the United Nations, its organizations, or the European Union repeatedly targets actions of the Jewish state while ignoring greater offenses committed by other states. Delegitimization of Israel, declared by Arab and Palestinian organizations and the BDS movement, denies the Jewish state's fundamental right to exist. For example, the BDS movement demands solutions that would necessarily lead to the disappearance of the State of Israel. BDS' connection with Islamic organizations that incite or endorse terrorism shows its violent backdrop, revealing it as an undemocratic movement. BDS' claim that Israel is a racist or apartheid state like the racist South Africa suggests they believe that Israel must be destroyed as apartheid South Africa was.

The most acutely anti-Semitic movements today express the same sense of frustration that Germany did in the 1920s and 1930s, when it was reduced to humiliation following the Treaty of Versailles after World War I. Nazism went on to use anti-Semitism within its ideological framework for its war of conquest. Today, it rises from ideologies that have been defeated in the West and from a terrorist war on the eastern front. Europe in crisis is increasingly becoming anti-Israel.

The Left and Israelophobia

The best example of the links of this new anti-Semitism with terrorism concerns an important Western leader of the Left, Jeremy Corbyn, secretary of the British Labour Party. A photograph of Corbyn that appeared in the international press at the end of July 2018 goes together with his refutation of the definition of anti-Semitism outlined by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) that, with 11 examples, follows Sharansky's 3 Ds definition.



Corbyn at the wreath ceremony in Tunisia in 2014. Circled is terrorist Fatima Barnawi, who died in 2016. (*Tunisian press*)

Corbyn, in the name of “freedom of speech” (an important theoretical point that defines the whole issue of today’s anti-Semitism), rejected the definition based on the formula of the “3 Ds.”

But several photos taken in Tunisia in October 2014 showed him laying a wreath of flowers at the grave of the Palestinians who perpetrated the massacre of 11 Israeli athletes at the 1972 Munich Summer Olympics. Posing alongside Corbyn in another photograph was Fatima Barnawi, who tried to blow up the Zion cinema theater in Jerusalem in October 1967.

In other circumstances, Corbyn proudly called Hamas his “brothers,” and crowned his anti-Semitic public career by claiming after a trip to Gaza that he saw the same kind of destruction that the Nazis had brought to Stalingrad and Leningrad in Russia. At other times, he participated in conferences with Holocaust deniers.

Corbyn's refusal to accept the international definition of anti-Semitism, which he subsequently modified slightly, helps clarify the nature of today's anti-Semitism. Simultaneously, Corbyn calls for the freedom to criticize Israel and the right to support the fight "for the liberation of the Palestinian people."

How Did This Happen?

The German war across Europe and the *Shoah* crushed every appearance and claim of human rectitude. The legitimacy of self-defense as a corollary of the "Thou shall not kill" commandment collapsed, while the goal of "peace" became an intimate, overwhelming dogmatic standard for the Western individual, the democratic citizen. The peace campaigns of those years, invented by the USSR during the years of the Cold War in the 1950s, dispatched men and women with banners of all stripes who marched for peace against the United States and the atomic threat, as well as in defense of the Cuban revolution, pro-Soviet African revolutions, and then the Palestinians.

The Jews, at the beginning, were considered allies among the Communist sympathizers, given what they had suffered during World War II from the Right, the Nazis, and the Fascists. The Jews, for their part, sought a relationship with the Left to feel themselves at home in Europe again after the *Shoah*. The Communist persecutions and Siberian confinement were set aside. Becoming Left-wing for many Jews was a matter of identity and memory.

The semantic value of the word "peace" soon incorporated all the values of human and civil rights, only that it was seized by an illiberal political party.

Historian Joel S. Fishman recalled that in December 1968, British philosopher Bertrand Russell penned a famous open letter to the Polish Prime Minister Wladyslaw Gomulka against a new wave of anti-Semitism just one year after the Six-Day War: "By some twisted logic," Russell wrote, "all Jews are now Zionists, Zionists are Fascists,

Fascists are Nazis, and Jews, therefore, are to be identified with the very criminals who only recently sought to eliminate Polish Jewry.”

Pravda published the following on October 4, 1967: “Zionism is dedicated to genocide, racism, betrayal, aggression, annexation [...]” The late great Middle East historian Bernard Lewis reported that at the World Conference of the International Women’s Year held in Mexico City in late June and early July 1975, the “Declaration on the Equality of Women” repeatedly stressed the participation of women in the struggle against neocolonialism, foreign occupation, Zionism, racism, racial discrimination, and apartheid.

Peace in the Middle East became a giant playground of rhetoric and lies for the global Left, with the bad “colonialists” and warmongers on one side, i.e. Americans and Israelis, versus the good Palestinians and Arabs (allies of the USSR after having been allies of Nazi Germany) on the other side, in a monstrous revision of the history and the entire Israel-Arab narrative.

But why was the USSR so successful? Because the Europeans, and later their main institution, the European Union, undertook to cancel the memory of the European travesties of war, Nazism, Fascism, nationalism, and borders. In their place, a creed devoted to human rights writ large was established. It made acceptable, as a matter of fact, every illiberal aspiration connected to the USSR camp (the “peace camp”) that wanted to help “oppressed people” wherever they were politically useful to them, portraying dictators and terrorists as desperate fighters for a better life against colonialism.

Still, Israel has seen anti-Semitic hatred and European disapproval increase despite it being targeted by more and more terrorist attacks. Israel’s wars of defense against Hamas or Hizbullah have been condemned by the European Union and in Europe’s public squares while Israel undertook purely defensive military actions.

Israel is openly treated by the European Union, in clear violation of the three D’s, as a violent, aggressive state, as a country to

discriminate against, seen as always on the brink of catastrophe, of disappearing, even though its economy and socio-cultural strengths suggest otherwise. The official European attitude has been such that a popular lexicon has been compiled among the Europeans: “apartheid state, child-killer, colonialist, and genocidal,” while the number of Palestinians grows vertically. They believe that Israel is unworthy of existing and with it every Jew in the Diaspora who is sentimentally or politically attached to it.

It is sad to say, but today international organizations, first and foremost those of the UN – from the General Assembly to the Commission for Human Rights – and then the European Union, incessantly condemn Israel as their leitmotif, presenting a new kind of anti-Semitism in which “human rights” are used as masks to hide discrimination of Israel and the Jews.

The indisputable origins of Israel as the homeland of a people who sought to return to Jerusalem for centuries are unrecognized, used, instead, as the symbol of oppression and colonization of the Palestinians.

The word “Zionism” has been turned upside down to the point of mockery and horror, synonymous with all Jewish perversions invented by anti-Semitism: lying, blood libel, conspiracy, racism, apartheid, and ethnic cleansing.

Contemporary anti-Semitism is anchored in the 1975 UN resolution, “Zionism is racism,” a perverse and brilliant formulation despite its total lack of connection with reality. Its implication is clear: Israel must be destroyed just like racism in the post-World War II world. The resolution in effect endorses the genocidal hatred propagated by the Palestinians, Arabs, and later also by the Iranians (“Israel is a cancerous tumor that must be eradicated,” repeats Iran’s Supreme Leader Ayatollah Khamenei).

Mistaking the Concept of Human Rights

The process that led to this new type of anti-Semitism linked to a human rights paradigm has decisively influenced the relationship between Europe and Israel. The premise is that Israel still belongs to the West that is guilty of appropriating territories, of nationalism, exploitation, and oppression. This led Europe first and foremost to an astonishing detachment from the horrific terrorist attacks against Israel and the incessant aggression that it must face: the thousands of victims of Palestinian terrorism inflicted against entire families, bystanders, infants, children, pregnant women, and children (the notorious kidnapping and execution of three teens on the street on their way back from school in the territories in June 2014 is sadly one such example). The European mind pays them little heed, just minimal ritual attention, without regret or any genuine disapproval of the terrorists.

The European Union has taken many anti-Israeli initiatives based on double standards, as in 2015 the “guidelines” to outlaw products from the “occupied territories,” a discriminatory and therefore anti-Semitic decree, never used against Moroccan interests in Western Sahara, Indian Kashmir, or the part of Cyprus occupied by Turkey.

The New European Right

And this is the moment, however challenging it may seem, for a difficult conceptual shift: today, despite the lively debate about the new Right-wing populism that is asserting itself in Europe, even with the remarkable anti-Semitic bumps in the unexplored terrain, the new populist governments in Europe don’t exhibit any signs of a growth in anti-Semitism. It’s safe to say that as these movements have become entrenched, their most extreme factions have been removed or neutralized.

Hungary’s Prime Minister Viktor Orban is not Marton Gyöngyösi of Hungary’s Jobbik party, as Austria’s Sebastian Kurz is not the late

Right-wing Jorg Haider; France's Marine Le Pen is not her father, Jean-Marie Le Pen, and Italy's Right-wing Lega Party is not the far-Right Forza Nuova. In fact, in Italy, the Lega doesn't seem to partake in any negative mythologies about Israel, nor are any anti-Jewish attitudes attributed to this party. On the contrary, at Lega leader Matteo Salvini's rallies, as well as during his visit to Israel, the press noted that Salvini expressed strong words of sympathy for the Jewish State. However, this is not the case with the other major political force that sits in the new Italian government: The Five Star Movement has often shown signs of acute impatience vis-à-vis Israel and support for the Palestinians.

It has emerged in repeated meetings with the Israeli government, that the Central European Visegrad countries (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia) hold steadfast in their commitment to crush any anti-Semitic resurgence (as opposed to Spain, France, England, and some of the Northern European countries). The Visegrad Group has so far shown their resolve despite the concerns of a possible emergence of anti-Jewish sentiments in the context of new ideologies that place national borders and identities at the core of their political agendas.



Prime Minister Netanyahu met leaders of the Visegrad Group – Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia – July 19, 2017. (Haim Zach, GPO)

Particularly significant were the meetings between Benjamin Netanyahu with various governments of Eastern Europe, as well as the interest of the Czech Republic and Bulgaria to move their embassies to Jerusalem and to establish cultural centers in Israel's capital.

The visit of the Austrian Chancellor Sebastian Kurz to Israel in May 2018 was particularly significant: Kurz visited the Western Wall and declared that his countrymen must take responsibility for their past crimes against the Jews, reaffirming Austria's unwavering commitment to the Jewish State. Even Heinz-Christian Strache, also in government with a strongly right-wing party, the Freedom Party of Austria (FPO), hasn't escaped unscathed from these Caudine Forks. [*Editor's note: The Caudine Forks is a narrow pass in the Apennines, in southern Italy, where the Roman army was trapped, surrendered, and subjugated by the Samnites in 321 BCE.*]

Hungarian Prime Minister Victor Orban has ostracized the anti-Semitism that the Jobbik Party expressed. Orban said during a visit to Israel in July 2018, during which he was put under a magnifying glass in order to determine his views, that his country made a fatal mistake by not defending Jews from the Nazis during the World War II. He continued to state that anti-Semitism in Hungary today has been beaten, that he will continue to fight it decisively, and that his country's relationship with Israel is devoid of any shadows.

Poland, in turn, strongly (and rightly so) criticized for a law that forbids mentioning Polish complicity in the Holocaust, reversed its position through a goodwill gesture on behalf of its entire parliament at Israel's request, although in a deceptive manner, and in a sadly ridiculous manner for those who know the role the Poles played in the Nazi extermination. Still, this kind of negationism, even if deceptive and wrong, does not show signs of anti-Semitism, but reiterates a rejection of an eclipsed past.

Orban affirmed during his visit to Israel in July 2018 that Western Europe is more anti-Semitic than Eastern Europe. His remark identifies a nascent reality: in a fearful Europe that finds itself in the ideologic

grip of a leftist ideology and of Islamic anti-Semitism (stubbornly denied by its politically correct elite and institutions) the Visegrad Group and the countries that have openly opposed this status quo tend to accept Israel and the Jews today, because they understand a situation in which boundaries, identities, and even self-defense are admissible; something the globalist champions in the European Union simply can't understand.

Looking at recent history, it is evident that the former Communist countries desire to distance themselves from their hated Soviet past and from Third Worldist, anti-colonial, and anti-capitalist doctrines that selectively favored a so-called pro-human rights approach and made the United States and Israel the worst enemies of the humble and exploited.

This is also true in today's terms: Trump's policy vis-à-vis Israel is much easier for Eastern European and nationalist countries to digest than for the supporters of European antagonism toward the United States, especially Trump's version. Therefore, there is a consensus in Eastern Europe supporting Trump's policy that takes a new stance toward Iran and its proxy Hizbullah and a new attitude toward Israel expressed by the decision to move its embassy to Jerusalem. Even on Russia, the attitude is different. The new governments in Europe perceive the international framework as an alternative universe to the ideological structure that gave birth after the World War II to the European Union, with its anti-Israel, pro-Arab, pro-Palestinian foreign policy.

From the ideological point of view, the very basis of traditional anti-Semitism that paints the Jew in anti-Semitic Nazi-Communist hues as a parasite of Western society and a secret enemy is totally out of sync with the new "sovereign" countries. Today, Israel and the Jews of the Diaspora are perceived as custodians of Western values. Even more, because of the incessant Muslim incitement against Jews, they are seen as solid Westerners, tied to the Judeo-Christian Western culture, and great enemies of international terrorism.

Today, we have never heard – as during every other anti-Semitic resurgence – that the Jews bear responsibility for the economic crisis, or the troubles facing the euro and Europe's rampant unemployment. The classic anti-Semitic accusation of an economic plot doesn't seem to be part and parcel of the European Right's perspective, which blames the European Union for the economic crisis.

Even more, the Eastern European countries have respect for Israel's resolve to defend itself against the radical Islamic dangers that attack it. They believe that much can be learned from Israel's experience in the fight against terrorism. Israel is world-renowned for its excellence in security and counterterrorism. Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu revealed several times in 2018 that Israel thwarted terrorist plots around the world. In July 2018, he called on Europe to stop appeasing Iranian terrorism, revealing that an Iranian attack had been blocked by Israel on French soil just a few days before.

Screenshot of an attack
by an Arabic-speaker on
kippa-wearing Israelis in
Berlin, April 2018.



The Islamist threat that Israel confronts daily is still obstinately belittled by the European Left. But as the common awareness of that threat grows, its denial is faltering more and more in the face of every new terrorist attack. The idea of nation, identity, and defense today inspires a pro-Israeli policy that has never before flourished in the European Union.

There is reasonable concern that we may forget the atrocious acts that the Right has perpetrated against the Jews historically, including the racial laws and deportations. But it does not exempt us from seeing with dazzling clarity that on the Left and in the Muslim world contemporary anti-Semitism, linked to Israelophobia, has become a large and multifaceted danger. The hate is nourished by the post-war thinking of European intellectuals such as the Nobel Prize winner Jose Saramago, Mikis Theodorakis, and Günter Grass.

Islamic Anti-Semitism

Islamic anti-Semitism is a significant part of the great wave of contemporary anti-Semitism. Haj Amin al-Husseini, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem (1921–1948), attempted to coordinate the extermination of the Jews with Hitler (meeting him in November 1941) and offered him an Islamic brigade. Husseini left an enormous impact on the Arabs of the Middle East, including Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, and of course Palestine.

Islamic terrorism has at its core the goal of annihilating Jews, erasing them from the face of the earth. *Shahids*, or martyrs, are considered heroes and celebrated both in Palestinian society and among believers scattered across Europe.

The Hamas charter enshrines genocide. The leader of the Muslim Brotherhood, Yusuf al-Qaradawi, calls for the killing of Israeli civilians and promises that the next Holocaust will take place at the hands of the believers.³ The Iranian establishment promises daily that the Zionist “cancer” will be wiped off the map.

Raised with the psychological brainwashing that the Jew is an enemy of Islam who has usurped the lands of the *Umma*, many Muslims in Europe exhibit or harbor anti-Semitism. Acts of hatred against synagogues and Jews wearing a kippa or a star of David are the order of the day, to the point that leaders of Jewish communities across Europe, for example in Denmark, advise Jews to avoid wearing them.

Islamic attacks against Jews have already been described at the start of this paper: nothing compares to the extreme hatred of Jews that promotes a genocidal anti-Semitism. It is a sentiment that fuels suicide terrorism and encourages young people to become *shahids* because this guarantees them eternal life, while their community exalts them by dedicating schools, squares, and institutions in their name.

Approximately 1,600 Jews were killed in suicide attacks in the second Intifada.

Both in Israel and in Europe, the proclaimed reasons are the same: hatred for Israel and hatred for the Jews. After the trial of Abdelkader Merah, brother of the French-Algerian Mohammed Merah, who killed three Jewish children and a teacher in Toulouse, France, and three French paratroopers, *L'Express* wrote, "In the absence of love and attention, the Merahs indeed fed their children with the hatred of Jews." Abdelkader received 20 years in prison for the role he played in the attack. Another brother, Abdelghani Merah, told interviewers, "My mother said that Arabs are born to hate Jews."⁴

Sadly, the EU Commission under Italian Prime Minister Romano Prodi covered up a 2003 report on anti-Semitism commissioned by two researchers from the University of Berlin that found an Islamic and Left-wing background behind most of the hatred against the Jews in Europe. Yet the statistics are disconcerting: the aforementioned Anti-Defamation League report attributes half of the world's anti-Semitism to Muslim sources (the other half are sourced to Christians, atheists, Hindus, and Buddhists). In the Middle East and North Africa, 74 percent of individuals harbor anti-Semitic feelings.⁵ Equally high figures come from a survey conducted in 2011 in Belgium, a country

that has recently become a hub for Islamic terrorists throughout Europe and has become sadly known for the Molenbeek Muslim ghetto neighborhood (among others), where 50 percent of its Muslim pupils in elementary schools hold openly anti-Semitic attitudes, against 10 percent of Christians. The results do not change in the Muslim samples in France, the Netherlands, and Germany. Everywhere, there's a direct correlation between Islamic affiliation and anti-Semitism.⁶

Conclusions

Israel's government must, as I believe it does, keep defending itself and the international Jewish community from any kind of anti-Semitism. Israel has a duty and right to choose to have commercial, scientific, and security relations solely with those countries that prove to be sincerely engaged in combating anti-Semitism.

Right-wing governments, since their constituency is diversified and contains anti-Semitic fringes, are confronted with a direct and difficult task. They must respond to the danger of anti-Semitism, not just to foster relations with Israel, but also to protect and build a civilized culture. Anti-Semitism of every kind must be relentlessly banned by Western governments to a much greater degree than what has been done to date; they should contemplate equating Israelophobia with anti-Semitism. Europe must embrace the goal of changing its policy.

The fact that this request is being directed to the Right today does not at all exonerate the European Union from changing its path. The aims must be clear and rigid, directed against the stereotypes of Islamic anti-Semitism and all connivance with terrorism.

But let us close on a positive note. Recently, the Belgian government cut financial assistance to Palestinian schools, noting that the Palestinian Authority has named schools and cultural institutions in honor of terrorists. Europe finances the worst of terrorism when it does not sufficiently control the use made by the Palestinian Authority of donated funds to incite and foster terrorism.

Here we have positive gestures that can contribute to the goal of winning the fight against anti-Semitism today while honoring the debt to the past.

Notes

1. <http://hatecrime.osce.org/what-hate-crime/anti-semitism>
2. <http://global100.adl.org/#map>
3. <https://www.memri.org/tv/sheik-yousuf-al-qaradhawi-allah-imposed-hitler-upon-jews-punish-them-allah-willing-next-time-will>
4. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=twqSHAFKxi8>
5. <http://global100.adl.org/#map/meast>
6. <https://www.jpost.com/Opinion/Op-Ed-Contributors/Muslim-anti-Semitism-in-Western-Europe>

Tzedek, Tzedek Tirdof – Anti-Semitism Needs a New Fight

Gideon Falter

“Tzedek, tzedek tirdof – Justice, justice you shall pursue.” This is how the Torah exhorts a three-word command that encapsulates the basis of Western civilization.

These simple words were radical. At a time when power was wielded through the sword and by wealth, the idea that justice should be the ultimate goal of every person and the worthiest form of power was bold and new. It goes to the essence of what civilization is: without justice, we cannot thrive. We cannot consider ourselves civilized.

In Europe today, we are faced with a question: how far will Europe tolerate intolerance? In other words, will Europe pursue justice? Will it enforce justice?

Events answer that question. Law enforcement against extremists cannot wax and wane. If you let hate thrive for decades and decades, then you eventually pass a point of no return. The terrorist attacks we are witnessing around Europe were born in a vacuum. They were born in a vacuum of law enforcement, where extremism was tolerated with

minimal disruption by acquiescent liberal states, fearful of causing upset.

We talk so much about immigration into Europe that sometimes we forget to look at who is leaving, and the Jews are leaving. Thankfully, there is no global database tracking the migration of Jews, but Israel does count the number of people availing themselves of the Law of Return, which guarantees Jews unconditional safe haven. Since 2000, 6 percent of the Jewish population of Europe has emigrated to Israel. In 2014, the rate of Jewish emigration doubled to its highest ever level and remained high. Leaving your home is not a snap decision, and for it to have sped up so much shows that it has gathered momentum. For many of those who emigrate, it will have been a decision that was 10 years in the making. And in addition to that 6 percent, there are more Jews still who are leaving mainland Europe and going to the United Kingdom or the United States.

The famous lawyer Alan Dershowitz posed an illuminating question in the wake of the January 2015 terrorist attacks in Paris. Had the only terrorist murders in Paris been the four Jews doing their weekly shopping at the kosher supermarket, and not at the office of the *Charlie Hebdo* magazine, would there have been a million people demonstrating in the street? Well, we know from the shooting at the Jewish Museum in Brussels and the horrific shooting of three Jewish children and their teacher at a Jewish school in Toulouse that million-strong demonstrations don't happen when it is "just Jews." After further terrorist attacks in Paris in November 2015, people started saying "everyone is a target," but they were already a target. When Jews start leaving, it is the surest possible sign that society itself is collapsing.

But Jews are not just leaving because of the major terrorist attacks that make the headlines. They are leaving because of stories like that of Samuel and Diana Blog, both Holocaust survivors in their late eighties. One night in 2015, two men noticed the Jewish mezuzah on their front door in Amsterdam. They pretended to be police officers and barged in. As they shouted "dirty Jews," they beat Samuel until he was blind.

They broke Samuel and Diana's bones until they were wheelchair-bound for life.

Deadly Catch-22

There is only one way to look at this. You may have read or heard of Joseph Heller's book, *Catch-22*. As the war rages, the protagonist, an airman called Yossarian, exclaims, "They're trying to kill me," to which his comrade answers, "They're trying to kill everyone!" Yossarian replies, "What difference does that make?"

They are trying to kill me; they are trying to kill the people I love; they are trying to kill you.

So, what can we in the United Kingdom learn from the rest of Europe? We could comfort ourselves. We could use Jews as a gauge of our society's health, and our country is one of the best places in the world to be a Jew. We are offering a haven to the afflicted. Some London synagogues are now conducting their services in French for new members from France.

Beware of such conclusions.

Six years ago, two British Islamists, Sajid and Shasta Khan, were caught by a total fluke. They had been building bombs in their front room and planned to attack the Jewish community. One day, they had an argument, and the neighbors overheard and called the police. That is how close we came to a bomb attack on British Jews.

Each week, synagogue-goers pass airport-style security that has been the norm here for decades. But in 2014, when anti-Semitic attacks here broke all records during the Gaza war, people tried to explain it away as some sort of rage against Israel. But then how do we explain from where that anti-Semitism came? Why, in the following year, 2015, did the Campaign Against Anti-Semitism's National Anti-Semitic Crime Audit discover that anti-Semitic crime had jumped 26 percent to a new

record high? Why, in the absence of the convenient excuse of a war in Gaza, did violent attacks on Jews surge again in each subsequent year?

The answer is that at the same time as anti-Semitic crime was breaking new records, the prosecution of anti-Semitic crime dropped. The Crown Prosecution Service has proudly announced that it is prosecuting more hate crime than ever before, around 15,000 cases per year. However, of those cases, each year we know of only about two dozen prosecutions for anti-Semitic hate crimes.

Britain has one of the strongest legislative frameworks in Europe for fighting hate crime and extremism, but we are not using it effectively. For all the talk about cracking down on hate crime, we have seen no evidence of any meaningful action against resurgent far-Right groups, the anti-Semitic extreme-Left has taken over the Labour Party, and it has taken over 20 years for us to finally silence the Islamist preacher Anjem Choudary who was convicted for ties to ISIS and sentenced to five years in prison.

There is the political will to enforce the law against anti-Semites and extremists, but the breakdown occurs in the police forces and the Crown Prosecution Service. Anti-Semitism is rarely a hot topic for long, and in competition with domestic violence or benefits fraud, anti-Semitism is often left to fester, which is exactly how it thrives. The consequence is that we are treating the cancer of growing extremism only when it is already strong and at its most violent. We are not ripping it out by its roots.

The Campaign Against Anti-Semitism is working to change that. We have earned the support of Theresa May and her team, precisely because we hold the authorities' feet to the fire, even taking them to court when necessary. We have forced the Crown Prosecution Service, against its will, to prosecute and convict anti-Semitic criminals. The time has passed for quiet pleading. This is the fight for our country, and we must not lose.

The words are as true now as they ever were. *Tzedek, tzedek tirdof.*

The Corbyn Threat to Britain and Beyond

William Shawcross

It seems unbelievable that anti-Semitism should be raising its hideous head in Europe, after 70 years of promising “Never Again.” But there are ugly signs of it stirring from the filth. In April, an elderly Holocaust survivor was murdered in Paris; some 20,000 French Jews have fled to Israel in the past decade. One of the reasons many of them give for this is the growth of the Muslim community in France.

In Germany, Jewish school children are suddenly being abused much more often by their classmates – the police registered 1,452 anti-Semitic incidents in Germany last year, more than in five of the previous seven years. And it is believed that less than half of such incidents are reported. “I fear that a new generation of anti-Semites is coming of age,” said Josef Schuster, president of the Central Council of Jews in Germany.

Levi Salomon, the head of the Jewish Forum for Democracy Against Anti-Semitism in Berlin, told the *Wall Street Journal* that most violent incidents against Jews in Germany are now committed by Muslims. One must, of course, be very careful not to make generalizations about communities (especially in an article on racism against Jews), but as

Salomon said, “To say there is no specific problem is even worse. We need to devise urgent strategies to deal with this.”

Heinz-Peter Meidinger, head of Germany’s teachers association, said there was a tendency amongst Arabic- and Turkish-speaking communities in Germany to view Jews in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. That, unfortunately, is true throughout Europe.

Opposition to Israel’s policies gives many people a new excuse to indulge in traditional anti-Semitism. When you hear the protestation, “I am not an anti-Semite, but I am an anti-Zionist,” beware.

Anti-Semitism in Britain

For the extremes of anti-Israel bias within the European political classes, you need to look no further (alas) than Jeremy Corbyn, the leader of Britain’s Labour Party.

His views are closer to those of Stalin than to Clement Attlee, the first postwar Labour prime minister. In the three decades and more that Corbyn has been a back-bench Labour MP, constantly betraying his own party (and common decency), it was easy enough to ignore him. No longer.

This hard Left admirer of the Soviet Union, Venezuela, self-proclaimed “friend” of Hamas and Hizbullah, and enemy of Israel was elected, almost by mistake, as leader by Labour Members of Parliament in 2015. Now he could be elected prime minister of Britain. This would be a catastrophe beyond imagination.

Corbyn always presents himself (and is presented by his allies in the media and politics) as “a man of peace.”

For Corbyn, “peace” appears to mean appeasing all the most extreme enemies of the West, and of Israel in particular. That has been the pattern of his entire public life.

The self-proclaimed man of “peace-promoting dialogue” usually meets with only half of the parties to any conflict – nearly always those who hate the West as well, of course, as loathing Israel. He never bothers to speak to the other side of the dialogue – those who suffer from terrorism and try to resist, if not defeat, the terrorists.

He has never met with a single Israeli official, and he made a show of refusing to meet Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu during his recent visit to London.

In 2011, Corbyn said feigningly on *Press TV*, Iran’s English language propaganda channel, “I think there is a bias towards saying that Israel is a democracy in the Middle East, Israel has a right to exist; Israel has its security concerns.”

Indeed, say I, but Corbyn was clearly insinuating that he believed all those clear truths were mere propaganda.

Throughout his career as a “peacemaker,” Corbyn has been a self-declared friend, not only to Hamas and Hizbullah and, it seems, Palestinian Black September, but also to the IRA (Irish Republican Army). He invited IRA leaders to tea in Parliament shortly after they had tried to murder Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in 1984 (and succeeded in killing five people and maiming another 31), and he has spent much of his time ever since cozying up to them.

Most recently, photographs surfaced showing him at a 2014 wreath-laying ceremony at the Tunis grave of members of the Black September terrorist gang who tortured and murdered Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics in 1972.

Such pilgrimages (paid for in this case by the Tunisian government) were constant occurrences in his life as an extreme Left-wing backbencher and passed almost unnoticed in Parliament and the press until he was, astonishingly and horrifyingly, elected Leader of the Party in 2015.

The front page of the Daily
Mail (UK)



At first, he denied he had been in Tunisia; then his office had the effrontery to declare that “the Munich widows are being misled!”

Then he concocted the sort of defense a child might make after being accused of playing with matches. “I was present at the wreath laying. I don’t think I was actually involved in it.”

This seems to be the story of his life – wandering around from one grim anti-democratic function to another, in a self-induced state of credulity, never exercising any moral judgment at all.

In the same vein, he first defended on free-speech grounds a large anti-Semitic mural on the wall of a London street depicting Jewish tycoons enslaving the world – and then, when challenged, claimed he had not really looked at it.

One writer compared him to Forrest Gump, a bemused spectator at events. But for Corbyn, bemusement is a cover. Forrest, by contrast, had a moral core of decency that led him to search for the truth. No such luck with Corbyn.

Corbyn claims that he was in Tunisia at the “celebration” in 2014 to remember “everyone who died in every terrorist incident everywhere.”



Mural on a London Street.
(Mear One/Twitter)

These are airy generalizations, but he never remembers the actual victims of Palestinian Black September, like Ami Shachori, for instance, the agricultural attaché at the Israel Embassy in London who was murdered by a Black September parcel bomb in September 1972.

Corbyn claimed he had come to the 2014 conference in Tunis only to remember those Palestinians killed in an Israeli airstrike on the PLO headquarters in the city in 1985, which killed more than 30 people.



Corbyn's hand gestures, as he participated in Muslim prayer for the Munich terrorists.

Another photo showed him with his palms upward in a gesture often associated with Muslim prayer. He said he was just being polite, not praying.

And the continual answer from Corbyn himself and his supporters was that “he is a man of peace.” Therefore, he must meet with people of all sorts – even people associated with mass murders of athletes.

Remember that Black September’s monster-terrorists viciously tortured the Israeli athletes before murdering them, and Hamas denies Israel every right to exist, claiming “Palestine is a land that was seized by a racist, anti-human and colonial Zionist project.”

All this is nothing to Corbyn and his allies in the Labour Party. The awful thing is that, despite cries of revulsion from the press, and horror from moderate Labour MPs at the way their party has been hijacked by the left-wing thugs of Momentum who are trying to force out moderates, he may well get away with it. [Momentum is a far-Left movement within Labour of grassroots supporters of Corbyn.] In these days of Fake News, “post-truth” politics, and information (and misinformation), most people are overloaded and too busy to study the details of every political claim, denial, assertion, and promise that politicians make.

But the truth is clear to those who wish to see it. The magnificent novelist and columnist Howard Jacobson recently wrote:

The incantatory repetition of the charge that Jews cry anti-Semitism only in order to subvert criticism of Israel or discredit Corbyn is more than fatuous and lazy, and it is more than painful to those many Jews who own an old allegiance to the Labour Party and who are not strangers to criticizing Israel. It is the deepest imaginable insult...

Corbyn Is Not Just a Jewish Concern

It's not just Jews who should be worried. Britain's allies all over the world are alarmed by the approach of Corbyn – particularly in the United States and in the Gulf. Stephen Pollard, editor of the *Jewish Chronicle*, wrote recently that the Gulf States are deeply concerned, to say the least, about the prospect of a Corbyn government. In the Middle East region, Corbyn admires only the Muslim Brotherhood and the government of Iran.

(In 2014, he praised Iran's theocratic dictatorship as a beacon of decency, lauding its "tolerance and acceptance of other faiths, traditions, and ethnic groupings in Iran.")

Saudi Arabia, by contrast, he loathes, and he would undoubtedly end defense co-operation between Britain and the Saudis. Intelligence sharing would cease as well – and Britain could no longer expect to receive the invaluable Saudi information that has assisted Britain in foiling scores of terrorist plots. Prime Minister Theresa May has said that this intelligence may have saved hundreds of lives in the past.

One senior Gulf diplomat told Pollard, "Corbyn in Downing Street would mean having to treat the UK as an enemy."

Rod Liddle, one of the most frank (and funny) British writers, defined the Corbyn problem well in the *Spectator*:

The dialogue for peace stuff is a downright absolute lie. He is an anti-Semite who, furthermore, is happy to suck up to whatever foul ideology is opposed to this country's interests or the interests of western democracy. Cuba, Venezuela, Soviet Russia, Black September, Hamas, Hizbullah, the IRA. You name a crock of purulent, murderous, anti-democratic, racist shit – and he'll be for it.

More and more is exposed every week to add to the evidence that Liddle and other critics are correct about Corbyn. Shortly before this article went to press, the *Daily Mail* uncovered a video of Corbyn at

a 2013 meeting in which he appeared before various anti-Semitic and anti-Israeli characters, including the Palestinian ambassador whose speech Corbyn praised. The words Corbyn uttered drew wide and loud condemnation.

This was dutifully recorded by the thankfully silent Zionists who were in the audience on that occasion, and then came up and berated him afterward for what he has said. ... They clearly have two problems. One is that *they don't want to study history, and secondly, having lived in this country for a very long time, probably all their lives, don't understand English irony.* [Emphasis added.]

Irony has never seemed Corbyn's own strong suit – he does not seem sharp enough to wield it.

But the statement was revealing: British Jews ("Zionists" to Corbyn) may have lived in the country and been British citizens all their lives, but they are aliens among us.

That is as stark a rendition of Corbyn's anti-Semitism as one could ever not wish for.

The only good news is that this and all his other racist statements have endeared him to the extreme Right-wing British Nationalist Party and other Right-wing extremists who have Tweeted their appreciation of his views. One hopes that such endorsement will lead to more and more of his colleagues turning away in disgust and demand his departure.

A Rabbinic Retort

In an interview with the *New Statesman* at the end of August, the Chief Rabbi Emeritus, Rabbi Jonathan Sacks, said, "Corbyn defiles our politics and demeans the country we love," and that his statements were the most offensive since Enoch Powell's "Rivers of Blood" speech in 1968.

(That was a sharp arrow. Powell was a senior Conservative politician who intended his hyperbolic speech to awaken Britain to the dangers of mass immigration. Its actual effect was to make mass immigration a subject which no one could criticize for decades without being tagged “a Powellite racist.”)

Shortly after that, one of the most respected Labour MPs, Frank Field, who had been a Labour Party member since 1960 and the Member of Parliament for Birkenhead near Liverpool since 1979, declared that he was resigning the Labour whip in the Commons in protest against Corbyn’s anti-Semitism.

Mr. Field, a man of great courage, who is revered by politicians of all parties, asserted that under Corbyn, Labour is becoming “a force for anti-Semitism in British politics.” He went on to say that Britain “fought the Second World War to banish these views” and yet now, sadly, Labour is “increasingly seen as a racist party.”

Mr. Field warned that Labour was now a party dominated by “a culture of intolerance, nastiness, and intimidation,” which has made life intolerable for all those MPs and party members who do not accept the hard-Left dogma of Corbyn and the thugs in Momentum.

Throughout the country, traditional “moderate” Labour MPs are finding that their local party organizations have been taken over by the hard Left. Momentum-types are demanding that the moderates be “deselected” for their inadequate enthusiasm for the leadership of Jeremy Corbyn.

Unless a large number of moderate Labour MPs follow Frank Field’s brave lead, it will be very hard for future Labour leaders to reverse this takeover. The dangers are clear: for a long time to come, Labour will be dominated by an anti-Semitic, undemocratic clique that wishes to overturn the basic tenets of Parliamentary democracy and end the defense of the values of the Western world.

Mission Impossible? Repairing the Ties between Europe and Israel

If Corbyn's Labour secures national power, that faction's ambition will be to destroy the Britain that stood alone against the Nazis in 1940. It is that serious.

Past, Present, and Future

Germany and Israel: Truth and Promises

Volker Beck

Political relations between the Jewish State of Israel and the Federal Republic of Germany will always have aspects that transcend normal foreign relationships.

The Federal Republic of Germany is identical with the “*Deutsche Reich*” of the past as a subject of international law. This is the legal standpoint, as well, of the Federal Constitutional Court¹ of the German Federal Government.² It has legal and political consequences. As former German President Joachim Gauck said: “One thing is absolutely clear: our normal relations are to remain forever special. Israel and Germany are inextricably linked by the memory of the *Shoah*. We Germans are aware of our moral obligation to the Jewish people and the State of Israel, and we will not let this awareness fade.”³

So far, so good. In official speeches, Germany is a champion of friendship between Germany and Israel. But often there is a lack of concrete steps to match the high standards of ceremonial speeches. German-Israeli relations started in 1952 with the Luxemburg Treaty. This treaty was of mutual interest. The Federal Republic sought international recognition and acceptance, and Israel needed support

Mission Impossible? Repairing the Ties between Europe and Israel

Israel's modern submarines
are made in Germany.

(Kobi Gideon/GPO)



for the double challenge of developing the new state with its economy and the military with its hostile environment. As the consequence of the developing relations established in the Luxemburg Treaty, Israel received military aid from Germany, which was guaranteed in a further informal agreement.⁴ The obligation is still vital today: Israel ordered several advanced submarines for its defense, especially against the Iranian threat. Israeli military demands are financially subsidized by the German federal budget.⁵ Chancellor Angela Merkel made her position very clear in her speech to the Knesset in 2008 when she defined "Germany's special historical responsibility for Israel's security. This historical responsibility is part of my country's *raison d'être*."⁶

I would say that her conviction never changed, but in the current environment and the administration of the Foreign Ministry, you will also find a very different attitude today.

Eroding Public Opinion

After World War II, German-Israeli relations were a project of the political elite in Germany to help Germany integrate into the family of nations despite its horrible and criminal past. Relations with the nation-state of the Jewish people were an indispensable tool for this purpose. Likewise, the younger generation within the German civil society of that era took up the question of the German responsibility for the *Shoah*. The *Deutsche-Israelische Gesellschaft* and the *Gesellschaft für christlich-jüdische Zusammenarbeit*, two concrete non-partisan projects, were motivated by this approach of responsibility.

Today, 77 percent of the German population believes history should be put to rest; the younger generation today supports this idea even more strongly.⁷ About half of the German population does not want the German government to endorse Israel's position in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. More than two-thirds of the population oppose German weapon supplies to Israel, Germany's only concrete action to defend Israel's existence.⁸ Whereas classical anti-Semitism in Germany is declining among the younger generation, negative attitudes toward Israel are slightly higher.⁹

In the 21st century Germany, responsibility for the past is no longer a popular central motif motivating good relations between Israel and Germany.

As the aspect of responsibility for the past loses importance, the image of Israel's role in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict weakens the support for Israel's security among the German public.

- The public is not well informed about the history and presence of Israel. More and more, a narrative has taken over that decontextualized the conflict between Israel and the Arab-Palestinian neighbors. In the mind of the many, the history started with the occupation of Gaza and the West Bank. Forgotten are the War of Independence against the attacking Arab countries that denied the Jewish people their own state, the Arab aggression

before the conquest of the Jordanian-occupied West Bank and east Jerusalem, as well as the Egyptian-controlled Gaza Strip.

- The German media often portrays the actual conflicts between Israel and Gaza or actions in the territories unfairly or absurdly.¹⁰ Headlines like: “Israel threatens with self-defense”¹¹ are not uncommon. Often, only the Israeli response to Palestinian attacks finds its way into the headlines.¹² By this, Israel is portrayed as the aggressive occupier.
- Political analysts of the most important German foreign policy think tank *Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik* (SWP) tend to focus only on EU pressure on Israel. They highlight the settlements in the West Bank and the settlement policy of the Israeli government as the main obstacle for peace.¹³ The idea of pressure by the European Union on the Palestinian Authority to stop sponsoring directly or indirectly terrorism is mainly out of sight.¹⁴
- Projects of the actual Israeli political coalition, e.g., the NGO law, the discussion about the nation-state bill, or the regularization law, are perceived as shrinking the space of Israel’s civil society or promoting nationalist settler positions, nourishing German doubts about Israel’s willingness to achieve peace. They also discredit Israel’s vital security interests. These problematic projects make the international and German public forget that Israel has always chosen “land for peace” if there is a realistic chance for it, as was done in the Sinai with Egypt, in Lebanon, and in Gaza, even though this has not always met with success. Here, the majority of the Knesset could be clearer about Israel’s identity as a Jewish AND Democratic state¹⁵ than it was in this current legislative session.

Holocaust education today is insufficient to fight anti-Semitism and encourage friendly relations between Germany and Israel. Besides countering anti-Semitic, anti-Zionist attitudes, it is crucial to teach the history of the Zionist movement and the founding of the Jewish and democratic state, as well as the history of the conflict between Israel and its neighbors.

We have to stabilize our relations with the perspective of the future, with common values and common interests.

2013–2018 – A Period of Ups and Downs in the Bilateral Relationship

During the last German legislature session, Israel and Germany celebrated 50 years of mutual diplomatic relations. But the same period saw a freezing of bilateral relations – twice. The German government canceled a joint cabinet meeting in May 2017¹⁶ over Israel's settlement policy, and German Foreign Minister Sigmar Gabriel intentionally sparked a diplomatic scandal during his inaugural visit to Israel as foreign minister.¹⁷

For some in Germany, Gabriel's diplomatic *faux pas* was the welcome sign of a long-desired change in attitude toward Israel.¹⁸ Even before this incident, political analysts of the German foreign policy SWP think tank had speculated about such a welcome development.¹⁹

It is evident that in Germany there is a deep – I would not say misunderstanding but – “not understanding” of Israel's security situation. For Germans, security is mostly about burglary and theft, very rarely about terrorism like the horrific truck terror attack on *Breitscheidplatz* in Berlin in 2016, and certainly not about war. That security in Israel means survival and defending its existence seems very far away. The ignorance toward this challenge is fueled by a German narrative how a non-aggressive foreign policy could work out for the good.

One of the consequences in Germany after World War II in 1945 was: “*Nie Wieder Krieg!* [No more war!]” This attitude was best expressed in the German “*Entspannungspolitik* [policy of détente]” under the slogan “change through rapprochement,” a concept of foreign policy drafted by the foreign policy expert of the Social-Democratic Party, Egon Bahr.²⁰ This concept has deeply influenced German policy concepts of all parties. What worked very well with the Communist

East is now often applied also toward Putin, Erdogan, and Iran. The Bahr approach in German foreign policy, as well as a geopolitical situation surrounded by peaceful neighbors, results in a deep lack of understanding of Israel's situation – both in public as in the political class.

The term “proportionality,” applied so often in Israel's conflicts, is not perceived as using force most delicately and only as the last remedy, but strictly as a comparison in the number of victims. By this, since its victory in 1967, Israel is seen as the strong giant with nothing to fear. If there is no peace agreement, according to this attitude, it is because of the lack of Israel's will and not the lack of a responsible and reliable Palestinian leadership and a security framework for the implementation of any achievable agreement.

After the disastrous diplomatic developments of 2017, Germany's new foreign minister, Heiko Maas, showed a different attitude than his predecessor. Stating that he entered politics because of Auschwitz, Heiko Maas denies the gestures of Gabriel teaching Israel the definition of democracy. Maas goes back to the fundamentals of German-Israeli relations as a reflection of responsibility for the past.

The future will tell if Maas will take over the Foreign Ministry or the ministry will take over him. Statements this summer on Iran show no change until now on subjects where Israel's security is concerned. On the Iran issue, Maas seeks to defend the existing JCPOA agreement without challenging Iran on Hizbullah and its armament program.²¹ He even warned on Twitter²² that a regime change in Iran would bring “radical and fundamentalist forces” to power.

Germany Could Do More than It Is Doing

1. We should advocate for fair treatment of Israel in international bodies. The German government does not need to love Prime Minister Netanyahu and Israel's current government. As our countries are both diverse democracies, we can continue to discuss issues

like *Heimatministerium*,²³ the nation-state bill, or others in a non-confrontational way. Despite these controversies, we should respect the Israeli government as democratically elected and stand up when Israel is singled out in international forums: in the UN Human Rights Council, UNESCO, ECOSOC,²⁴ the General Assembly of the United Nations, and elsewhere.

Recently, on the 70th anniversary of Israel's existence, Germany failed to endorse Israel's pursuit of a seat on the UN Security Council and favored its own ambitions instead. A good friend would ask why Israel, as the only democracy in the Middle East, was never a member of the Security Council while Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan were – some of them even several times. Germany should seek another chance to fight for Israel to serve for a term on the Security Council or at least in another UN body. Success in this question would create normality in the United Nations and thereby endorse Israel's very existence.²⁵

2. We should stop Palestinian terror incitement. Germany is always very outspoken about its legal standpoint on the Israeli settlement issue, which, by the way, is in accord with the positions of UN bodies and the European Union. But international law is also very clear if it comes to terrorism and incitement to violence.²⁶

The European Union²⁷ and Germany²⁸ pay a huge share to the budget of the Palestinian Authority. According to Israel's prime minister, the Palestinian Authority pays \$350 million to terrorists and their families.²⁹ The Palestinian Authority and the PLO have two pension systems for endorsing prisoners and the surviving relatives of so-called martyrs.³⁰ And this is an incitement to terrorism. The German government excuses itself in arguing they do not directly fund those terror pension systems. But it is evident that only because of foreign aid, the Palestinian Authority has the financial flexibility to act like this. Stopping this terror financing system³¹ should at least be a condition for future payments from the budget of Germany, as well as from the budget of the European Union.

3. We should engage more actively against the Iranian threat to Israel. If Germany wants to remain within the E3's nuclear agreement with Iran, it should at least try to address the problem of the Iranian missile program and the Hizbullah issue. Being a friend of Israel and declaring its security as a German *raison d'état*, Germany cannot close its eyes any longer in the face of this existential threat to Israel's existence.

4. In the European Union, we should lobby for labeling all goods of occupied and disputed territories or none. According to the legal standpoint of the German government and European Union, the territories outside the 1967 borders controlled by Israel are occupied territories. Even if their status is unclear because they were occupied before by Jordan or controlled by Egypt, international law forbids the settling of citizens of the occupying power in such territories. In trade, there must be a differentiation between goods of the states and the territories they control. The European Union, therefore, asked for labeling products of the territories differently from the products from the State of Israel. However, there are other unresolved conflicts like this, such as the Kingdom of Morocco and Western Sahara. In none of these conflicts has the European Union demanded the labeling of the products of the occupied entities. Therefore, if the European Union is applying international law, then it should be done for all comparable cases. If it is only demanded from Israel, the Jewish and democratic state, then it is anti-Semitic, and Germany should put a stop to it.

Notes

1. The Federal Constitutional Court has stated in settled case-law that the subject of international law "German Reich" has not perished and that the Federal Republic of Germany is not its legal successor, but identical with it as a subject of international law (BVerfGE 36, pp. 1, 16, see also BVerfGE 77, pp. 137, 155).
2. Bundestagsdrucksache 18/5178 15.06.2015 p. 4; Bundestagsdrucksache 18/4076 20. 02. 2015, p. 10.
3. Speech of Federal President Joachim Gauck at the state banquet on the occasion of the visit by President Reuven Rivlin of Israel. Berlin, Schloss Bellevue, 11 May 2015. http://www.bundespraesident.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/Reden/2015/05/150511-ISR-Staatsbankett-englisch.pdf?jsessionid=323B2FA697ECC28BC7380EDEE88619C8.2_cid362?__blob=publicationFile

4. Rainer Blasius, "Das längst fällige Bekenntnis," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, February 01, 2005. <http://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/deutsch-israelische-geschichte-das-laengst-faellige-bekenntnis-1213343.html>
5. The latest submarine demand is subsidized with €540 billion. The corruption suspicion against Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu is endangering the acceptance of this military supply framework in the German political class.
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8. Ibidem, p. 68.
9. Ibidem, p. 41 .
10. Christian Meier: Terroranschläge in Israel und "halbe Wahrheiten", *Die Welt*, November 28, 2017. https://www.welt.de/print/die_welt/politik/article171022284/Terroranschlaege-in-Israel-und-halbe-Wahrheiten.html
11. Irans Atomwaffen: Israel droht mit Selbstverteidigung – FOCUS Online, 22.01.2006 https://www.focus.de/politik/ausland/atomstreit_aid_103917.html
12. Georg Hafner, Esther Schapira, "Medien und Israel – Es ist kompliziert," *Jüdische Allgemeine*, January 4, 2018. <https://www.juedische-allgemeine.de/article/view/id/30489>
13. They are not: Ori Mark showed that the settlements are not a main obstacle to peace. Ori Mark: How Many Settlers Need to Be Evacuated to Make Way for a Palestinian State, *Haaretz*, 18. 8.2018. <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium.MAGAZINE-how-many-settlers-need-to-be-evacuated-to-make-way-for-a-palestinian-state-1.6386939>.
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26. Also in UNSCR 2334 it is laid down: "6. Calls for immediate steps to prevent all acts of violence against civilians, including acts of terror, as well as all acts of

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 30. According to Mena-watch €134 million were paid to families of martyrs in 2017. "Sieben Prozent des palästinensischen Haushalts gehen in Terrorrenten," *Mena-watch*, Wien, January 13, 2018. <https://www.mena-watch.com/sieben-prozent-des-palaestinensischen-haushalts-gehen-in-terrorrenten/>
 31. *Sozialhilfe für Gewalt und Terror? Die Zahlungen der Palästinensischen Autonomiebehörde an palästinensische Häftlinge und sogenannte Märtyrerfamilien 2017*. (Mideast Freedom Forum Berlin, Berlin, 2018).

The Czech Republic and Israel: A Unique Friendship

Tomáš Zdechovský

The Czech Republic is viewed by many people as a country with a very long and friendly relationship with Israel. The era of Communism, when Czechoslovakia was under Soviet influence, cannot be included in this respect, because an independent sovereign foreign policy was then virtually impossible. For most of the time between 1948 and 1989, the Soviet Union maintained close relations with Arab countries hostile to Israel, and Moscow's satellites were forced to apply the same policy in the Middle East.

As Czech security analyst Irena Kalhousová observes, "After the fall of the Berlin Wall, good relations with Israel became a symbol of the formerly Communist countries' freedom and also a confirmation of their Atlantic position." Yet, she adds, the Czech Republic is an outstanding case. Is there any explanation of such extraordinarily good relations with Israel? We can find the answer in modern Czech history.

In this paper, I would like to focus on the most important moments in the history of Czech-Israel relations. The Czech lands gave the world many notable supporters of Israel and the Zionist movement. Three of these supporters, in particular, are considered to be the most important

for the positive development of relations with Israel and they deserve our attention. The first one is the first Czechoslovak president Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk; the second is his son Jan Masaryk; and last, but not least, is Václav Havel, the first democratic president after 1989. All of them were great personalities who played an immensely important role in Czech history, and they were all friends of the Jewish nation. Thanks to these three figures, the history of freedom and democracy in Czech lands is also a history of good relations with Jews and Israel.

In the first half of the 20th century, the first Czechoslovak President Tomáš G. Masaryk was well known for his sympathy toward Zionism. Moreover, long before he became president, he had fought anti-Semitism in the Hilsner Affair in the early 1900s, when Leopold Hilsner, a Jewish vagrant, was falsely accused of murdering two young non-Jewish women for ritual purposes. He was also a staunch sympathizer of the Zionist movement and pleaded for the creation of a Jewish state. It is also worth mentioning that in 1927 he was one of the first state officials to visit the then-British mandate of Palestine. This event was undoubtedly a great moment for the Zionist cause, even though his visit was unofficial. Thus, the roots of Czech strong pro-Zionist, or pro-Israel, sentiment lie in the thoughts and policies of Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, who influenced the way of thinking of future generations of democratic politicians in the Czech Republic.

Tomas Garrigue Masaryk, president and founder of Czechoslovakia, visited the Old City of Jerusalem with Rabbi Yosef Chaim Sonnenfeld, 1927. (*Central Zionist Archives, Harvard University Widener Library*)



How Czechoslovakia Helped Israel Win

The commencement of very close relations between Czechoslovakia, or the Czech Republic, with Israel dates back to tumultuous times before the establishment of the Jewish state. Jan Masaryk, son of Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, and then foreign minister, followed in his father's footsteps. He was also an ardent supporter of the Zionist cause, and in 1947 Czechoslovakia was one of 33 countries to vote in favor of the UN partition resolution recommending the establishment of a Jewish state. Czechoslovak support for Israel continued even after the Communist *putsch* in February 1948.

On May 18, 1948, four days after Israel's declaration of independence, Czechoslovakia was among the first countries to recognize the State of Israel. Diplomatic relations between the two countries were established on July 3, 1948.

Czechoslovakia provided not only political but also military support, which was crucial for Israel's victory in the first Arab-Israeli War. Under an embargo imposed by the United Nations, the Jewish forces were short of arms and ammunition, and Czechoslovakia was then the only country willing to sell weapons to the Yishuv after World War II. The newly established Israeli state, therefore, bought military aircraft and weapons from Czechoslovakia. Twenty-five Avia S-199 fighters, 61 Supermarine Spitfire fighter aircraft, and other weapons and ammunition were sold to Israel. The exact numbers are hard to find due to lack of records, but during the year 1948 Israel purchased from Czechoslovakia 34,500 Mauser P-18 guns, 20,000 bayonets, almost 50 million bullets, 5,515 Spandau MG-34 light machine guns with 10,000 ammo belts, 500 ZB-26 light machine guns, 900 ZB37 heavy machine guns, and 500 CZ vz. 27 pistols with ammunition.

Another problem Israel had to face, beside the arms shortage, was the shortage of trained and experienced air force pilots. Training Israeli pilots in Czechoslovakia was thus also highly important for the new Israeli army. Specifically, 82 pilots and 69 ground specialists were trained in Czechoslovakia. Training was conducted in air bases in

České Budějovice, Hradec Králové, and Prostějov. Many of these pilots later became part of the First Fighter Squadron of the Israeli Air Force. One of these people was the future commander of the Israeli air force and Israel's president Ezer Weizman.

The eloquent words of the first Israeli Prime Minister, David Ben Gurion, show the significance of help from Czechoslovakia: "They saved our country. I don't doubt it. The Czech weapons were the most important help that we got. They saved us, and I doubt very much that we would have survived the first month without them." And he is not the only Israeli official known for making such a claim. For instance, Yitzhak Rabin, an IDF commander in Israel's War of Independence and later Israel's prime minister, said, that "without the arms from Czechoslovakia... it is very doubtful whether we would have been able to conduct the war."

Communist Black Chapter

However, in February 1948, Communists seized power in Czechoslovakia, and the country fell under the Soviet sphere of influence. Under these circumstances, Czechoslovak support for Israel had to conform to the Kremlin's political line. An independent foreign policy in the Eastern Bloc was nearly impossible.

After 1948, it was becoming obvious that Israel would not become a part of the Eastern Bloc, and Israel-USSR relations began to deteriorate. In the eyes of the USSR, Israel ceased to be an ally and became an agent of American imperialism in the Middle East. A logical consequence of this development was that support for newly established Israel was denied and former Soviet support for Zionism turned into open enmity.

Anti-Zionism became common all over the Eastern Bloc, and even Czechoslovakia did not avoid it. In this respect, the infamous Slánský trial of 1952 must be mentioned. Rudolf Slánský was secretary-general of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and the second most powerful man in Czechoslovakia after President Klement Gottwald.

His Jewish origin was one of the main reasons why he was chosen to be the showcase in this show trial. Along with 13 other high-ranking Communist officials (11 of whom were also of Jewish descent), he was accused of a Zionist-Titoist-Trotskyist conspiracy and charged with high treason. All the defendants were forced to plead guilty for spying, treason, sabotage, and disclosure of military secrets. In this show trial, Rudolf Slánský and 10 other accused people were sentenced to death and hanged. The remaining three people received a life sentence. Show trials like this were not uncommon in the Eastern Bloc. They were inspired by trials in the USSR, and similar trials had also been staged in Poland, Hungary, and Bulgaria.

Anti-Semitic moods were on the rise at that time, and Czechoslovakia's Communist government blamed Israel for disrupting the Czechoslovak state and its economy. That was the reason why two Israelis, Simon Orenstein and Mordecai Oren, were arrested and forced to testify in the Slánský trial. Eventually, both were found guilty of being agents of Western imperialism and traitors to the Communist regime and sentenced to many years of imprisonment. Fortunately for both of them, the former was released and expelled to Israel in 1954 and the latter two years later.

Another blow for relations with Israel came in 1967. All the Communist countries in the Soviet Bloc except Romania completely severed their diplomatic ties with Israel after the Six-Day War. For this reason, for more than 20 years, there were no official relations between Czechoslovakia and Israel. These years belong to the darkest chapters of modern Czech history and Czechoslovakia-Israel relations.

Following Masaryk's Tradition after 1989

The fall of Communism in 1989 was the beginning of a new chapter in Czechoslovak- (and later Czech-) Israel relations. The election of Václav Havel on December 29, 1989, itself was a turning point. Three days after his election, the new Czechoslovak president said in his New Year address that he would be happy if diplomatic relations with

Israel were established before the elections. His wish was fulfilled soon thereafter. In those euphoric times, diplomatic ties were renewed in February 1990, and two months later, President Václav Havel was the first head of the post-Communist countries to visit Israel.

“As a newly forming democracy, we sympathize with Israeli democracy,” Havel said on the occasion of the reestablishment of relations with Israel. He also appreciated the contribution of Jews to Czech and Slovak culture. Václav Havel followed the legacy of Tomáš G. Masaryk, who was not afraid to act in the Hilsner affair and stood up decisively against anti-Semitism. We can say that Havel continued with the friendly policy toward Jews and Zionism set by both Tomáš G. Masaryk and his son Jan Masaryk.

Václav Havel’s activities to support Israel continued after leaving presidential office in 2003. Together with many other personalities from political and cultural life, he became involved with the Friends of Israel Initiative, which was founded by former Spanish Prime Minister José Maria Aznar. It aims to “seek to counter the attempts to delegitimize the State of Israel and its right to live in peace within safe and defensible borders.”



Czech President Vaclav Havel's 1997 meeting with Israel's President Ezer Weizman in Jerusalem. (*Sa'ar Ya'acov/GPO*)

After Václav Havel, his successors Václav Klaus and Miloš Zeman continued in his pro-Israel policy. The same applies to all governments since 1989.

Close and outstanding relations with Israel are a priority and where there is a unanimous consensus between democratic parties it does not matter who is in power. The Czech Republic is one of the closest allies to Israel within the European Union, where a friendly attitude toward Israel is not common.

Here are a few recent examples of Czech support for Israel: In 2006, when Israel fought Hizbullah, the Czech Republic, unlike many EU countries, stressed the right of Israel to defend itself. More than two years later, at the turn of 2008–2009, the Czech Republic was also one of the few countries that did not condemn Israel's Operation Cast Lead against Hamas in Gaza. And when it comes to voting in the UN General Assembly, the Czech Republic is one of a few countries that usually does not vote in favor of anti-Israeli resolutions.

Not only political, but also economic relations have been flourishing since 1990. Israel is a producer of cutting-edge technologies and thus a very attractive business partner for many Czech companies, while on the other hand, strong relations with the Czech Republic are strategically important for Israeli companies. The Czech Republic allows Israeli companies to enter the European market.

Recent military cooperation must be mentioned, too. For instance, in late 2008, Israel was the only country that agreed to help train Czech helicopter pilots and crews in desert conditions for their upcoming mission in Afghanistan. The training was conducted in the Negev Desert. Israel considered this an opportunity to express its gratitude to the Czechs for training Israeli pilots during the first Arab-Israeli war.

Even though the geographical distance between the two countries is more than 2,600 km, we cannot find a European country with closer relations with Israel than the Czech Republic. Maintaining and strengthening the existing ties between the Czech Republic and Israel

is desirable and necessary. Good mutual relations are, in many aspects, in the best interest of both democratic countries.

How European Attitudes toward Israel Are Affected by Shifting U.S. Attitudes

Alex Traiman

The election of U.S. President Donald Trump has effectively reversed eight years of American policy toward Israel and Palestinians, in which former President Barack Obama called for “daylight” between the United States and Israel on key issues, staunchly criticized Israeli settlement building, and held in contempt Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. This reversal of policy has been among the most important of the various factors that are shifting European views toward Israel.

Since taking office, Trump moved the U.S. embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, following through on bipartisan U.S. legislation requiring the move, initially passed into law in 1995 during the presidency of Bill Clinton. Trump pulled the United States out of the Iran deal. The U.S. Congress passed the Taylor Force Act, requiring the United States to cease foreign aid to the Palestinian Authority so long as terrorists and families of so-called martyrs continue to receive financial stipends for their acts of terror. The United States similarly cut funding to UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees) by \$300 million, and pulled out of UNESCO and the UN Human Rights Council, over the agencies’ actions to distort truths and harm Israel’s



Departing President Barack Obama and incoming President Donald Trump in the Oval Office.

standing within the international community. Trump appointed a staunch defender of Israel, Nikki Haley, as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations. And President Trump publicly called into question the long-held view that the preferred solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is a two-state solution.

These major policy shifts have eliminated any such “daylight” created during the previous U.S. administration and have reaffirmed Israel’s place as America’s staunchest ally. Yet, the impact of the Trump administration’s moves can be felt well beyond the borders of both the United States and Israel.

Europe has had little choice but to adapt to America’s new Middle Eastern policies. Trump’s positive stance toward Israel, Israel’s newly discovered natural gas resources, as well as nationalistic sentiments gaining popularity throughout Europe – most notably the Brexit – have all caused European nations to reconsider their approaches toward Israel.

The Two-State Solution and Israeli Isolation

Former U.S. President Barack Obama's views toward Israel and the Middle East were often aligned with prevailing European views. Obama openly questioned Israel's willingness to enter into a peace agreement with the Palestinian Authority – whom he and Europe view as a legitimate peace partner despite decades of incitement to terror and the refusal to acknowledge Israel as the national homeland of the Jewish people.

Israelis significantly doubt the Palestinian Authority's willingness or ability to reach a meaningful and lasting peace accommodation with Israel.

Following Israel's unilateral withdrawal from the Gaza Strip in 2005, Israelis fear that any withdrawal from portions of the West Bank, which closely border Israeli population centers in the greater Tel Aviv region and Jerusalem, would lead to instability, increased terror, and Jew-hatred. Furthermore, the social costs of withdrawal from lands with well over 300,000 Jewish residents, on sites that are central to Israel's ancient Biblical narrative, would be too enormous a cost for the flimsy prospects of peace.

Despite Israeli sentiments, Obama pushed forward a peace plan toward the end of his presidency in 2014. Obama warned Israel of the dire consequences of failing to reach a final peace accord with Palestinians, the primary among those threats being Israel's "isolation" from the international community.

Recognizing Israeli hesitancy, the United States looked to Europe and the United Nations to provide diplomatic leverage. Then-U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry held talks in late 2014 with Palestinian negotiator Saeb Erekat and European leaders in Rome, just weeks after France's Parliament voted symbolically to recognize Palestinian statehood. Similar resolutions were passed in the prior weeks by the British and Spanish parliaments. These local resolutions passed with the full support of – if not backchannel promotion by – the Obama

Administration. Simultaneously, the United States threatened not to veto European-backed resolutions supporting an independent Palestinian state at the United Nations.

Yet, the threats did not push Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu closer to an accord. Rather, Netanyahu embarked on a campaign to improve relations with major powers and smaller nations around the world.

Recognizing that the United States and EU member-states might not be counted on as long-term Israeli allies, Netanyahu – acting as both Israel’s prime minister and foreign minister – worked to improve relations with world powers Russia, China, India, Japan, Canada, and Australia. Additionally, he strengthened ties with nations in South America, Africa, and Eastern Europe.

The result is that the Obama doctrine failed to isolate Israel. Today, Israel has more friends and allies than in any time in its history.

New Sheriff at the United Nations

After Obama and Kerry’s peace initiative failed, in the final days of the Obama administration, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 2334 condemning Israel’s settlement activity, calling Jewish communities in the Biblical regions of Judea and Samaria a “flagrant violation” of international law.

Then-U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Samantha Power – an Obama appointee – abstained from the vote, failing to use the U.S. Security Council veto and allowing the passage of the resolution. Historically, the United States blocked resolutions in the UN Security Council that were considered anti-Israel. Israel was worried that the near-automatic veto provided by the United States would eventually disappear under the Obama administration. Indeed, the United States chose to allow the resolution’s passage as a parting shot, just days before the Trump administration was to be inaugurated.

Both the United States and Israel viewed the passage of the law as a punishment for rejecting the failed peace initiative.

In appointing South Carolina Governor Nikki Haley as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, President Trump sought to restore America's longstanding defense of Israel at the United Nations. Haley spoke out against the passage of UNSC Resolution 2334, calling the vote's passage "a stain on America's conscience" and an "impediment" to peace.

Since the election, President Trump has called into question the very essence of a two-state solution, stating at a joint press conference with Netanyahu that, "I'm looking at two-state and one-state and I like the one that both parties like."¹

Recognizing that Trump is not as keen on promoting a two-state solution as his predecessor (so long as Israel is not inclined to push toward such a result), European states have been less aggressive in pushing for a resumed peace process. Similarly, European states recognize that the U.S. veto of anti-Israel resolutions is firmly back in place. As such, European nation states have not been as quick to advance such resolutions.

Furthermore, Europeans have rejected Palestinian efforts to push for a unilateral statehood without the support of the United States. Recently, French President Emmanuel Macron stated that while he is still committed to a two-state solution, he would not advance any peace initiative not supported by both Israelis and Palestinians, or by the United States, and added that he did not believe it was prudent to "unilaterally" recognize Palestinian statehood at this time.

Brexit

The UK Brexit vote in June 2016 for the United Kingdom to withdraw from the European Union has also led the United Kingdom closer to Israel. The United Kingdom is Israel's third largest trade partner. With

the uncertainty that arises from the United Kingdom's trade status with the European Union that it is divorcing, the United Kingdom has been on a campaign to stabilize and improve trade relations with friendly nations, including Israel and its largest trade partner, the United States.

While critical of President Trump's move of America's embassy to Jerusalem, British PM Theresa May has been outspoken in her support of Israel in its fight against terrorism and in her disapproval of efforts of nations or companies to boycott or divest from Israel.

Natural Gas

Israel's vast natural gas discoveries in the eastern Mediterranean Sea have led to significant partnerships with Greece and Cyprus. Recently, the nations signed a memorandum of understanding to build the world's longest and deepest underwater pipeline to bring natural gas to mainland Europe via Italy. The need for additional natural gas in Europe and for the diversification of gas providers offers a continued incentive for Israel and European partners to improve relations.

Rotating EU Presidency

Recently, Austria's newly-elected Chancellor Sebastian Kurz visited Jerusalem. He publicly acknowledged Austria's participation in some of Germany's worst crimes against Jews in the Holocaust. Kurz vowed to fight against the delegitimization of Israel in Europe. Just this month, Austria assumed the rotating presidency of the Council of the European Union. Unburdened by decades of failed peace prospects between Israelis and Palestinians since the signing of the Oslo Accords – when Kurz was just seven years old, Kurz' friendship with Israel may prove critical in advancing Israeli and European relations in the next year.

Cultural Collaboration

Cultural collaboration between Israel and Europe continues to strengthen. Recently, the *Giro D'Italia*, Europe's second largest bicycle race, came to Israel. This was the first time the international race came to a state outside of Europe. Racers stressed how they were welcomed with open arms in Israel, providing a unique counter-narrative to claims of Israeli oppression or apartheid.

Similarly, singer Netta Barzilai's victory in the Eurovision song contest was yet another recent demonstration of Israel's shared cultural values with Europe. The arrival of the contest in 2019 to Tel Aviv represents a unique opportunity for Europeans to see Israel as a nation that loves culture and feels as a close partner to Europe.

Note

1. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-prime-minister-netanyahu-israel-joint-press-conference/>

The Religious Side of Europe

Tomas Sandell

The battle for Jerusalem is no longer fought in the trenches of the Judean Hills, but in courtrooms in the International Court of Justice in The Hague or UN conference halls in New York and Geneva. The Israeli Foreign Ministry has called the fight “diplomatic terrorism.” Others call it “international lawfare,” and as in any war, the first casualty is the truth.

Friends of Israel need a strategy today to defend Israel from this web of vicious lies, slander, and manipulation of international law. The first step in such a strategy is to recognize the fact that the war is in progress and that Israel runs the risk of losing it.

By using the tactic of “lawfare,” the Palestinians can pre-define their borders without ever having to bring the question to the negotiating table, simply by manipulating international institutions. Once Palestine is recognized as a sovereign member state in the United Nations, with east Jerusalem as its capital, the consequences for Israel will, of course, be disastrous.

Tomas Sandell, director of the European Coalition for Israel. (ECI)



If there had not been a change of political direction in the White House in 2017, this prospect would still be on the table. Still, the new Trump administration will not be in place forever.

Israel is threatened militarily on more than one front. However, this should not prevent us from also taking the “soft war” conducted by international lawyers, diplomats, and activists seriously. Their final objectives are no different from those of militant Islam, namely the destruction of the Jewish state. To prevent this from happening we need to take action now.

The Religious Side of Europe

Is Europe, where the “soft war” takes place most frequently, a lost case for Israel, or are there any reasons for hope?

It is no secret that much of the political elite of Western Europe have chosen sides, and their sympathies are not with Israel. Their convictions, however, are not driven by international law or human rights. In fact, the first time the European Community formulated a

common position on the Israeli-Palestine conflict was in 1973, after the Yom Kippur War and the subsequent oil embargo. Today's EU position, which calls on "Israeli withdrawal from occupied Palestinian territories," is a direct copy and paste from the Arab League's plan. The EU statement was a clear act of appeasement toward the oil-rich Arab world, not a sudden "Eureka moment" in understanding international law. Forty years later, the oil weapon may have lost some of its clout, but Europe has a growing Muslim population that is quickly becoming a political force to be reckoned with.

But when most observers only see the Muslim immigration into Europe, they miss the influx of Christian immigrants from Africa, Latin America, and Asia, who consider support for Israel a vital part of their faith. This growing constituency could become a strategic ally in the pro-Israel camp in Europe.

Another factor that may work in favor of Israel is the current soul-searching within some of Europe's intellectual classes. Faced with the threat of radical Islam, some have re-discovered Europe's Judeo-Christian heritage, perhaps not as a vibrant faith, but as a cultural marker. In the Visegrad countries, in particular, opposition to receiving Muslim immigrants has been motivated by the need to preserve the country's Christian character. The Czech Republic's president and close friend of Israel, Milos Zeman, has been a vocal proponent of this theory. Ironically, the Czech Republic is one of the most secular countries in Europe, but, as a cultural marker, faith is now becoming an important asset.

The church in Europe has often been considered a sleeping giant. As long as there were no immediate threats on the horizon, the church was mostly at ease. Today, the church is increasingly squeezed between militant Islam on the one hand and radical secularism on the other. Could it be that Europeans could again find attraction to the church as a rallying point for identity and hope? The role of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland and the Reformed Church in Romania in bringing down the Iron Curtain is well documented. Could the church once more become a force for social change?

When the EU leaders presented their ambitious Lisbon Treaty in 2007, there was no mention of Europe's Judeo-Christian past. Since then, there has been a clear shift. Nobody illustrates this shift toward religion better than Austria's new Chancellor, the 31-year-old Sebastian Kurz, who is a practicing Roman Catholic and has expressed open support for the Jewish state. Furthermore, the junior partner in the government considers Jerusalem to be the capital of the State of Israel.

If Sebastian Kurz is the future of the largest political entity in Europe, the Christian-Democratic movement that he represents, then Israel has a bright future also in Europe.

But Kurz also illustrates a great dilemma that Israel is facing. After having formed the most pro-Israel government in the history of Austria, the government in Jerusalem long refused to talk to Kurz's administration due to the fascist past of its junior government partner, the Freedom Party. Still today, European Jewry keeps a cool distance.

How Many Legions Does the Pope Have?

For the last 15 years, I have been privileged to lead a Christian organization called European Coalition for Israel. As people of faith, our first calling is to pray for the peace of Jerusalem. Though some may smile at this rather unorthodox approach to international lawfare, they would do well to remember the lessons of the Cold War. Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin once sarcastically asked his advisors, "How many legions does the Pope have?" implying that the religious leader lacked any real influence. A few decades later, the Communist system was brought down by a Catholic workers' revolt inspired by the late Pope John Paul II. The Pope and the Christian workers had no military power, but they had the gift of faith, prayer, and perseverance to stand for what they believed to be the truth. In an increasingly hostile environment in Europe and around the world, we need these same qualities.

There is a reservoir of hundreds of millions of Christian believers around the world who love Israel and want to speak on its behalf. It

is no secret that this constituency has been the driving force behind embassy relocations to Jerusalem both in the United States and in Guatemala. If African nations are soon to make the same move, it will again be thanks to these first-generation Christian believers.

The New Christendom

In his groundbreaking book “The Next Christendom,” Phil Jenkins asserts that by the year 2050, only one Christian in five will be a non-Latino white person and that the center of gravity of the Christian world will have shifted firmly to the Southern hemisphere.

In 1980, more Christians were found in the global South than the North for the first time in 1,000 years. Today, the Christian communities in Latin America and Africa, alone, account for 1 billion people.

Over the past 100 years, Christians grew from less than 10 percent of Africa’s population to its nearly 500 million today. One out of four Christians in the world presently is an African and the Pew Research Center estimates that this will grow to 40 percent by 2030.

Asia is also experiencing growth, as world Christianity’s center has moved not only South but also East. In the last century, Christianity grew at twice the rate of the population in that continent. Asia’s Christian population of 350 million is projected to grow to 460 million by 2025

The global picture would not be complete without mentioning China. In 1949, Christianity was banned in Communist China. Today, there are between 70 and 100 million believers. It is estimated that, even with a moderate growth rate, the number could grow to 250 million in 2032, which would make it the world’s largest Christian population.

Geopolitical Consequences of a Changing Global Christian Landscape

What does this have to do with Israel? What characterizes these first-generation Christians (in comparison to nominal Christians from the West) is their almost literal belief in the Bible, including God's everlasting covenant with the Jewish people. This genuine appreciation for Jewish culture and heritage can no longer be found in most of the historical Christian denominations in the West, which instead are promoting BDS and other anti-Israeli policies. These religious denominations have experienced a long period of secularization and are today losing both members and influence. There are today three times more Protestant Hispanics in the United States than Episcopalians. Whereas the Episcopal Church has been championing boycotts against Israel, the Protestant Hispanics recently formed the Hispanic Coalition for Israel to better articulate their support for the Jewish state.

This same trend can also be seen in Europe, where the so-called ethnic churches (consisting primarily of people born outside Europe) today make up the largest local churches in many, if not most, major European cities. In London, the Nigerian-led, Christ the Redeemer Church brings together more than 45,000 worshippers for all-night prayer meetings. (In Nigeria, the same church is reported to bring together over a million worshippers at similar prayer meetings.) Out of the ten largest local churches in London today, the majority are African.

How can this translate into growing support for Israel on the international arena?

Sooner or later, this changing trend in Global Christendom may also translate into growing political support for Israel on the international arena and in particular in international organizations, such as the United Nations. But this will not happen automatically, and it needs a strategic push.

- Religious believers need to bridge the gap between what they conceive as “Biblical Israel” and today’s modern and secular State of Israel.
- Official Israel, on the other hand, needs to be sensitized to this group of Evangelical supporters who feel as equally strongly about family values and life issues as they do about Israel.
- The Biblical supporters of Israel lack nothing in passion and enthusiasm but need to also understand the legal arguments for the State of Israel and its position as a modern secular society. In other words, Israel is legitimate, not only because the Bible tells us so, but because it has legitimacy under international law.
- For these new Christian legions to become a potent political force, there needs to be training and mobilization. In many Latin American countries, the growing church is currently undergoing a similar development as in the United States in the early 1980s when the so-called Christian Right helped propel Ronald Reagan to power. Similar to the United States in the 1980s, the Evangelicals in Latin America and Africa today have the numbers to help influence national elections.

Change at the United Nations?

The potential for a stronger Christian pro-Israel influence on the international arena is real. Nowhere is this more needed than at the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA).

Today, African countries in the UNGA are organized in several regional groups who remain hostile to the interests of the Jewish state. Apart from the African Union, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, Non-Aligned Movement, and the Group of 77 play an important role in defining the voting pattern for many African nations at the United Nations. However, in recent years there has been a crack in the facade, as some countries have broken rank with these groups. However, to

become a more potent force at the UNGA, they would ultimately need to create a new group.

Also, the African Union could change for the better now that Libyan strongman Qaddafi no longer exercises economic influence over the region. Today, South Africa still poses a problem by consistently keeping Israel out of the African Union as an observer state. But given Israel's growing presence in some African countries, this attitude is no longer sustainable, and sooner or later we can expect a warmer embrace of Israel.

Also in Latin America, the tide is turning toward Israel. It is no coincidence that the two nations who were the first to follow the U.S. decision to relocate their embassies to Jerusalem after the United States were from Latin America (Guatemala and Paraguay). Several other Latin American nations, such as Brazil, are currently considering a similar move. It is no secret that the Evangelical movement is at the core of this quiet revolution.

Conclusion

If this global trend continues, and research seems to indicate that this is the case, we may soon see a paradigm shift also in the United Nations General Assembly, where the eight "permanent" supporters of Israel could soon become 80 if and when the Global South rallies behind Israel.

Whereas the historical church in the West still controls global institutions, such as the World Council of Churches in Geneva, they have recently had to scale down their activities, due to lack of funding. In the Southern hemisphere, the church may currently lack the international clout which comes over time, but it has the numbers, and it represents the future.

With the help of these new Christian legions, Israel's diplomatic war can be won.

Investigating the Common Enemies

Creating a Real “Special Partnership”

Giulio Terzi

The Jerusalem Center Working Group’s inauguration on March 17, 2018, as noted by Fiamma Nirenstein in her conclusions, was a seminal event with the mutual goal of defining a new pattern in Israeli-European relations.

Since the Working Group last met, critical elements of these relations have further developed as a consequence of decisions taken by Israel and the United States – the opening of the U.S. Embassy in Jerusalem, new Israeli construction in the West Bank, and President Trump’s withdrawal from the JCPOA Iran deal. In addition, the period saw initiatives undertaken by “external players,” including Iran, Russia, and Turkey, which were detrimental to Israeli security and, in a wider sense, Western interests and concerns.

In response to the external players, different opinions exist in Europe, not always in parallel with Israel’s, about the impact that the deployment of Iranian “proxies” and militias in the Golan Heights, Syria, Lebanon, Yemen, and Iraq – without any visible objection from Moscow – have on the security of Israel and the future of the region. The uprising cynically planned by Hamas in Gaza in March 2018, with



Experts from the Jerusalem Center and visitors from Europe at the Working Group's inauguration.

the tragic loss of lives and the many casualties it triggered, immediately became a thorny subject in Brussels.

The existing European mood can be summarized by the positions expressed by the European Union on the "settlements" and JCPOA issues:

On "settlements," the EU Commission recently stated: "May 30, 2018, Israeli authorities approved and advanced plans for the construction of nearly 2,000 settlement units in the West Bank. At the same time, the Israeli authorities have stated their intent to demolish the Palestinian community of Khan Al-Ahmar in Area C, which is the main land reserve of a viable and contiguous Palestinian state. These developments, alongside other related actions taken in recent months, seriously undermine the viability of a negotiated two-state solution and the prospects for a lasting peace. Building new settlements for Israelis while demolishing Palestinian homes in the same area will only further entrench a one-state reality of unequal rights, perpetual occupation, and conflict. In line with our long-standing position on Israel's settlement policy, illegal under international law, and actions taken in that context, such as forced transfers, evictions, demolitions, and confiscations of homes, the European Union expects the Israeli

authorities to reconsider and reverse these decisions. This issue has been raised directly with the Israeli authorities.”

Concerning the JCPOA (Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action)

The U.S. withdrawal from the JCPOA nuclear deal has changed the situation surrounding EU policies toward Iran. But the change has perhaps been less dramatic than some in Europe expected. Dealing with the Iranian regime has always been a much larger issue than the nuclear deal itself. So, while the United States and Europe may seem like they are pursuing different priorities than Israel, regarding the JCPOA itself, they do not have to be at cross purposes: especially when it comes to Iran policy in general, to regional stability, and the need to react to the behavior of a regime that supports international terrorism and exploits the sanctions removal to finance military interventions abroad instead of helping its own population. With or without the JCPOA in force, Tehran’s future depends upon the collective actions of Western powers and the international community. And while those various actors may disagree about the nuclear issue, that does not necessarily undermine their prospects for agreeing on a new approach toward Iran, one that is multi-faceted and based on a position of strength.

Up until this point, the mullahs have exploited the financial windfall that resulted from the JCPOA. They have used it to pursue destructive policies, including further suppression of the Iranian people, intensifying their exportation of terror and extremism, developing ballistic missiles in violation of international resolutions, and contributing to the bloodshed in Syria, Yemen, and elsewhere.

Contrary to expectations laid out at the signing of the JCPOA, the average Iranian did not get any benefit from the agreement. Their hardships have continued unabated, as evidenced by escalating labor protests that express such basic demands as the payment of months of back wages. Many Iranians have gotten poorer, as unfrozen assets

and public income were plundered by regime officials and especially by the Iranian Revolutionary Guard.

During the weeks leading up to the U.S. decision, European leaders, like President Macron, Chancellor Merkel, and Prime Minister May, tried to convince Tehran that a different path was needed: implementing UN Security Council Res. 2231 on missile proliferation and putting an end to military and sectarian interference in neighbors' affairs. The mullahs' response confirmed their absolute unwillingness to engage in any form of cooperative attitude toward these broader issues. If there is a chance to avoid a dangerous conflagration as an outcome of irresponsible Iranian behavior, a united transatlantic community is needed. It should be united in asserting the common objectives set by the three EU leaders for a new Iranian policy. Working now in the opposite direction may please the mullahs and further encourage already risky economic transactions that major companies and financial institutions are increasingly keen to avoid. A situation where EU officials engage in pro-mullah propaganda against the West's common interest and values would be uncomfortable both for the European and the Israeli public. A common platform of cooperation and objectives between Europe and Israel should be found as far as the overall "Iranian strategy" is concerned.

How far can a "political alliance" between Europe and Israel go? How useful could the definition of a true "special partnership" be for both sides?

It seems strange that seven decades after the foundation of the State of Israel, and 63 years after the first Treaties of Rome, we are still discussing how to improve political ties between Israel and Europe.

Since the very beginning of their existence, both Israel and the European Economic Community (EEC) felt that they had a common destiny, having been born out of the same anxieties, the same quest for peace, human values, freedom, and security for all in Europe and the Jewish world.

In 1957, thanks to the impulse of David Ben Gurion, Israel was on its way toward full membership in the European Community. The following year, it was the first country to establish formal relations. The European Union has been a top trading partner of Israel for many years, on an almost equal footing with the United States and the second-biggest source of R&D funding for Israel.

Recently, European neighborhood-policies have increasingly been influenced by the disappointment of the European public and political environment in Israeli-Palestinian negotiations. Their stalemate was generally attributed more to Israelis than to Palestinians. Brussels has declared time and again that a further strengthening of the neighborhood policy with Jerusalem had to be seen in the broader context of the Palestinian issue, while no parallelism or conditionality has ever been stated in similar terms for the Palestinian side.

The initial European offer of a “Special Partnership” has not been followed by detailed and structured proposals. Still, over the past decade, Israel’s public perceptions vis-a-vis the European Union did not seem to be particularly affected. Even if anti-Israel campaigns – such as BDS – and increasing anti-Semitism in segments of European society may discourage those who put forward the “European perspective,” many Israelis are profoundly attached, culturally and personally, to the countries their ancestors, parents, families, and they came from. According to some estimates, 9 percent of Israeli citizens also hold a European passport, while 47 percent consider themselves potential European citizens because of their ancestry. A second reason relates to shared values that the European Union staunchly supports and promotes. A third motive is the understanding that many Israelis have about European convictions: that Israel is an indispensable and vital part of our civilization; Israel is the only real and stable liberal democracy in the entire region; huge benefits exist in each step toward closer EU-Israel relations; and Israeli ingenuity provides the best laboratory for many innovations.

The “Special Partnership” should involve EU institutions, member states and their civil societies, commission, councils, and the European

Parliament. Commission services actively involved with intelligence, security, and immigration sectors would deepen their cooperation with Israeli counterparts.

Over the last four years, the United States and the European Union have been put on a back foot due to Russian intervention in Ukraine, the annexation of Crimea, Russian and Iranian support for Syrian President Assad and Iraqi prime ministers, the Iranian nuclear program, and destabilizing activities in the whole region, Palestinian maneuvers at the United Nations, and attacks from Hamas and Hizbullah. A widespread narrative has been disseminated to weaken and confuse public opinion and leaders. In many instances, a mixture of obfuscation, disinformation, and surprise has prepared and accompanied aggressive behavior and the use of force. Combatting jihadist terrorism, such as ISIS, has been hindered by conflicting agendas among those actors, and other regional players that oppose Western interests and values.

An Information Command Center

More than ever before, since the end of the “Cold War” the need is felt for effective coordination between the European Union, NATO, and Israel on the use of information warfare. Moscow presides over a command center that includes the general staff and virtually all arms of government, from media and internet regulators to supervisors of sanctions and transportation. Similar efforts are undertaken by the Iranian government, the Syrian regime, and non-state actors like ISIS. They operate through a vast, sophisticated, well-funded web of agencies, NGOs, think tanks, media organizations, individuals whose common denominator is anti-American, anti-European, and anti-Israeli, with frequent binges of anti-Semitism and hate propaganda. This vast web of “influencers” has been so successful that nowadays Putin is one of the most respected leaders for large segments of European public opinion, Rouhani and Khamenei are seen as moderate reformist leaders, and even Assad is considered as a viable answer for the future of Syria.

The positive atmosphere around a “Special Partnership” seemed to evaporate in July 2013, when the EU Guidelines established the ineligibility of European funds for Israelis in the territories, and again in 2014, when a European Court removed Hamas from the list of terrorist organizations. European criticism against new constructions in the West Bank came up again, drawing caustic remarks from Israel’s Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Education Minister Naftali Bennett, such as “Israel is strong and simply doesn’t need Europe,” or “the EU Court decision will make Europe irrelevant.” The massacre at the *Hypercacher* and *Charlie Hebdo* in Paris, the rising number of anti-Semitic events, and the appeal launched by Prime Minister Netanyahu encouraging French Jews to emigrate to Israel added new tones to a cooling trend vis a vis the partnership.

The “Special Partnership” needs to be put back into the center of EU-Israel relations. While it is time to give substance to common security and political objectives, scientific cooperation is an important stepping stone. European and Israeli scientists have fought hard to bring Brussels and Jerusalem to sign the “Horizon 2020 Framework.” The opportunities were proven by a Competitiveness Report of the World Economic Forum, which put Israel at the very top positions in a list of 144 countries for “innovation” and “sophistication.”

Outlawing Hizbullah Action

Dan Diker

In recent years, the Iranian regime and its terror proxy Hizbullah have conducted ideological and political warfare against Israel in Europe.

While the European Union has outlawed Hizbullah's military wing, the European Union and nearly all member states have refused to outlaw Hizbullah's political wing. EU lawmakers have permitted Iranian regime and Hizbullah demonization hate speech and have refused to pursue anti-terror legislation, or properly monitor and prosecute Iranian, Hizbullah, and Hamas-affiliated nonprofit organizations.

EU fears over possible reprisals by the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps' (IRGC) Quds Force and Hizbullah operatives and concerns over burgeoning and radicalizing Muslim populations in France, Italy, and the United Kingdom have compounded the challenge to Europe.

Some European leaders fear that failing to outlaw Hizbullah's military and political wings as a single organization may well result in Iran and Hizbullah targeting Europe itself. The 2013 Hizbullah suicide bombing in Burgas, Bulgaria, is a reminder.

As recently as July 2018, German police arrested an Iranian diplomat, reported to be the head of intelligence in the Iranian embassy in Vienna, for allegedly masterminding a bombing in Paris. This terror plot was foiled by the Belgian security forces, who arrested two Belgian-Iranian nationals.¹

As this article reveals, the implications of Europe's slack response to Iran's and Hizbullah's political operations across Europe are too far-reaching to ignore.

Since the early 1980s, Iran has used terror and political warfare against Europe. In 1983, Iran-backed terror groups carried out suicide bombings against French and American military personnel, as well as French, American, Italian, and British peacekeeping forces in Lebanon, killing more than 400. Iran-backed Hizbullah also kidnapped British, French, American, Swiss, and West German civilians.



The Islamic Center in Hamburg, Germany, an Iranian-funded cultural center and mosque and an important source of Shiite recruitment for regime-sponsored activities in Europe. (Zairon/CC BY-SA 4.0)

In Europe, as early as 1983, France's internal security service revealed that Iranian regime propaganda was "circling clandestinely in the immigrant workers' centers or their mosques, engaging in violent criticism of the socialist government of France, attacking the social, economic, and financial policy of the president of the Republic as well as his pro-Zionist and anti-Arab international policy."²

The Shiite Iranian regime worked to recruit Sunni minorities in France, the United Kingdom, and West Germany for Hizbullah terror operations. Many of these recruits were immigrants from Turkey, North Africa, and South Asia. After receiving training in Iran, many returned to their home countries or recruited terror operatives via regime-sponsored sites hidden in mosques and cultural centers.³ By the early 1990s, the Islamic Republic had established a fully-developed Western European terrorist network.⁴

Hizbullah and Western Europe

By the 1990s, Iranian regime-backed terror against Europeans and its propaganda networks in Europe became firmly rooted. Author Ronen Bergman noted that "Iran helped raise money for Hizbullah in Germany, Britain, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, and Holland."⁵ Britain also warned Hizbullah to cut ties with the Irish Republican Army, including funding for weapons and possible training.⁶ In 1996, German and Belgian authorities discovered advanced weaponry and ammunition in an Iranian cargo ship intended to attack Jewish and Israeli targets in Europe.⁷

Italy, Germany, and the United Kingdom have outlawed Hizbullah's military wing. However, these EU member states have allowed Hizbullah's political wing to operate, arguing that Hizbullah could moderate.⁸ European diplomats witnessed a "stunning" electoral victory by Hizbullah in Lebanon's 1992 elections in which, as Arab analyst Nizar Hamzeh notes, Hizbullah "concentrated more on the ballot box than on bullets and military victories."⁹

Believing Hizbullah is a legitimate political party in Lebanon, European government officials have been hesitant to ban Hizbullah's political activity in Europe, including demonstrations in European cities. Hizbullah operatives have exploited Europe's hesitation and have used Europe as a preferred site for arms procurement, recruitment, logistics, and fundraising, taking advantage of the continent's open societies and borders.¹⁰

Ironically, Hizbullah leaders such as Deputy Secretary-General Naim Qassem have publicly rejected any differences between Hizbullah's political and military wings. Qassem stated in 2012, "We don't have a military wing and a political one; we don't have Hizbullah on the one hand and the resistance party on the other."¹¹ Both wings follow the directives of the *Vilayat-e-faqih*, or the rule of the Islamic Jurisprudent, meaning Iran's Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei.¹² The Netherlands is the only EU member nation that has banned both



Hizbullah Secretary General Sayyed Nasrallah speaks on a broadcast of *Al Manar TV*, Hizbullah's Iran-funded satellite television station, which broadcasts across Europe. (*Al-Manar*)

Hizbullah's military and political wings. According to a 2004 Dutch intelligence report, "Hizbullah's political and terrorist wings are controlled by one coordinating council."¹³

Some European states have refrained from outlawing Hizbullah's political wing, fearing reprisal by its operatives against European interests, not only in Europe but also abroad. Austrian and French officials expressed concern that Hizbullah would target European UN peacekeepers in Southern Lebanon.¹⁴ *Verfassungsschutz*, Germany's domestic intelligence agency, warned that Hizbullah operatives could launch reprisal attacks against German targets.¹⁵ Notably, European concerns over possible Hizbullah retribution are not shared by all Western countries. Terror analyst Benjamin Weinthal notes, "The Dutch, the Americans, and the Canadians have yet to experience violent retaliation despite blacklisting Hizbullah in its entirety."¹⁶

The Iranian regime's propaganda in Europe has raised concern among some European groups. According to Community Security Trust, the British security organization that monitors anti-Semitism and radical Islam, Hizbullah's Iran-funded satellite television station, *Al-Manar TV*, "disseminates anti-Semitic conspiracy theories, glorification of terrorism, and incitement to violence."¹⁷ However, *Al-Manar TV*, though banned by France, Spain, and Germany, still broadcasts via satellite across the European continent. In Germany, *Al-Manar TV* broadcasts in hotels, but not private homes, in contravention of Germany's law banning public incitement to hatred and violence.¹⁸

Similarly, the Iranian regime-funded *Press TV* station, which has a London bureau, the Arabic language *al-Alam* satellite channel, and *HispanTV*, Iran's Spanish language station, all broadcast in Western Europe. In 2016, it was reported that Spain's far Left "anti-corruption" Podemos Party received five million Euros in laundered campaign contributions from the Iranian regime via Mahmoud Alizadeh Azimi, an Iranian *HispanTV* executive based in Madrid.¹⁹

Iranian Regime-Sponsored al-Quds Day

EU policy loopholes regarding Hizbullah and other Iran-funded terror proxies and terror-supporting NGOs have enabled Iran's international al-Quds [the Muslim name for Jerusalem] Day marches to take place throughout Western Europe, particularly in Britain, Austria, France, and Germany. Al-Quds Day is an annual event that was established by the Iranian regime in 1979, the year of its Islamic revolution. Held on the last Friday of the Muslim Holiday of Ramadan, al-Quds day has served as an international platform to demonize Israel and demand its destruction.

Al-Quds Day serves as an example of the Iranian regime's global political and ideological warfare strategy against Israel and the West.²⁰ Demonstrations have denounced the West as "arrogant powers that will be defeated" and Israel as "a cancerous tumor that will be destroyed."²¹

Since 1979, the Iranian regime has trumpeted anti-Semitic discourse globally, calling for the destruction of the "Zionist Entity" and liberation of the Middle East from all Western "colonial powers."²²



The Hizbullah flag flew at London's 2016 Al-Quds Day demonstration (*Christians United for Israel*)

In the United Kingdom, it is legal to support Hizbullah's "political wing." In Germany, demonstrators have flown Hizbullah flags and displayed other pro-Hizbullah imagery during marches. The Berlin State Senate finally banned the practice in 2016.²³

Iranian regime and Hizbullah-supporting protest organizers have still been granted permits and police protection for al-Quds Day protests across Europe. They frequently lease public spaces such as billboards and advertisements on public transportation to advertise marches.

In addition to demonstrating public support for Hizbullah, Islamic Jihad, Hamas, and Iran, and calling for the annihilation of Israel, Al-Quds Day parades in Europe have also employed anti-Semitic images, the burning of American, British, and Israeli flags and effigies of Israeli political leaders, and speeches that promote anti-Semitic conspiracies and Holocaust denial.²⁴

For example, at the June 2018 al-Quds Day march in London, Nazim Ali, director of the Iran-connected Islamic Human Rights Commission, a legally-sanctioned British charity, accused "Zionists" of working with the British Conservative Party to start the 2017 Greenfell Tower fire in London, which killed 72.²⁵

At the 2017 Berlin al-Quds Day march, protestors held Farsi signs that said "Jihad Imad," calling for revenge against Israel for the 2008 assassination of Hizbullah arch-terrorist Imad Mughniya.²⁶ Other posters and speakers trumpeted quotes by Ayatollah Khamenei calling for Israel's "speedy destruction."²⁷

Some European legislators have confronted this radical Islamic political activity. Volker Beck, a member of the German Green Party and head of the German-Israeli parliamentary group, demanded that al-Quds Day participants such as activists from Hamas, Hizbullah, and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) be arrested for violating German hate speech laws and terror group affiliation.²⁸ Other German politicians, such as Anti-Semitism Commissioner Felix Klein, have favored a ban of al-Quds Day marches in Berlin. However, Berlin



Protestors at Berlin's 2014 al-Quds Day demonstration expressing support for Hizbullah and its Secretary-General Sayyed Nasrallah. (*Micki Weinberg*)

Mayor Michael Müller ignored these calls and allowed the Iranian regime-sanctioned demonstrations to proceed each year. Al-Quds Day protests continued in Berlin, but without Hizbullah flags, which were banned by the municipality in 2016 after being flown for years.²⁹

Regardless of these measures, Germany's Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, to which all regional intelligence agencies report, has estimated that some 950 Hizbullah members still operate in the Federal Republic.³⁰

Germany's bifurcated approach to Iran's Hizbullah proxy continues. As of March 2018, Germany rejected a U.S. demand to designate Hizbullah's political wing as a terrorist organization.³¹ Germany's support of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) Iran nuclear deal and its commercial reengagement with Iran since 2015 has handcuffed Germany from taking decisive political action against Iranian proxies.

In the United Kingdom, Iranian political warfare manifests itself in support for Hizbullah activists, al-Quds Day marches, and other forms of anti-Israel propaganda. Iran's political warfare activity inside the

United Kingdom includes a London bureau for the Iranian regime-sponsored *Press TV* station and Iranian regime funding of UK-based registered charities and nonprofits that support Hamas and Hizbullah terror organizations and their campaigns to delegitimize and demonize Israel.³²

The UK Quds Day protests include Hamas and Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated organizations such as the British Muslim Initiative, Palestinian Return Center, and Palestinian Solidarity Campaign.

The Iranian regime has similarly coordinated with some Italian nongovernmental organizations and has even penetrated into the Italian Parliament.³³ Advisors to Syrian President Bashar Assad and affiliates of Hizbullah's political wing have met with Italian officials and members of the Italian Parliament. Guglielmo Schiavone, Secretary-General of the Center for Peace in the Mediterranean, or Asadakah, an NGO financed by the Iranian embassy in Rome, has been credited with facilitating these meetings.³⁴

Former Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Terzi di Sant'Agata expressed concerns to the author that Hizbullah's political wing has been mainstreamed and legitimized by Italian governments and its legislature. He noted that Italian legislators were unaware of Iran's



A child wears a Hizbullah flag at London's al-Quds Day parade. (*Innovative Minds*)

malign influence on the Italian Parliament in line with the legitimacy accorded to Guglielmo Schiavone and his “peaceful” nongovernmental organization.³⁵

The European Union’s Conciliatory Policy Toward Iranian Influence

The European Union has undertaken efforts to reengage with the Iranian regime, particularly following the signing of the 2015 JCPOA deal to limit Iran’s nuclear program. The European Union was a signatory of the compromise agreement. During a June 2016 official visit to Iran, EU High Representative and European Commission Vice-President Federica Mogherini declared,

“We aim at a dialogue between the European Union and Iran that is comprehensive in scope, cooperative in the fields where we have mutual interest and our citizens have mutual interest, a dialogue that can be critical and open in the areas where we know we disagree,



EU High Representative and European Commission Vice-President Federica Mogherini and an EU delegation meet in Tehran with Iranian Minister of Foreign Affairs Mohammad Javad Zarif and senior Iranian officials in Tehran to discuss European-Iran trade and diplomatic relations, 2016. (*Tasnim*)

looking for common ground, and overall constructive in tone and in practice.”³⁶

Reestablishing trade ties with Iran following the signing of the JCPOA has motivated EU reengagement with Iran, legitimizing the regime. In 2017, UK-Iran trade grew by 153 percent,³⁷ France-Iran trade grew 118 percent, trade between Italy and Iran grew by 117 percent, and the European Union became Iran’s third-largest trading partner, after China and the United Arab Emirates.³⁸ EU imports from Iran grew 83.9 percent during 2016–17 and exports grew at a rate 31.5 percent.³⁹ Upon the 2015 signing of the deal, European Parliament President Martin Schultz announced, “After years of sanctions and tense relations, this agreement makes everyone better-off.”⁴⁰

Conclusion

European refusal to outlaw Iran-funded NGOs and Hizbullah political activity has encouraged the Iranian regime and Hizbullah. Moreover, EU hesitations to enforce its ban on Hizbullah’s political wing have further weakened Europe in the eyes of Iran and Hizbullah leaders. This perceived weakness has left Europe more vulnerable to terror actions against European targets such as Hizbullah’s 2012 Burgas, Bulgaria bombing, carried out by a Lebanese-French terrorist.

However, there are indications that Europe may be taking a tougher stand. In June 2018, UK Home Secretary Sajid Javid announced that he would take “decisive action” against Hizbullah in the United Kingdom and had plans to outlaw Hizbullah entirely in Britain later in the year. His calls echo London Mayor Sadiq Khan, who called for a national Hizbullah ban in July 2017.⁴¹

The United States, France, the Netherlands, Canada, and Australia have shown that outlawing Hizbullah as one single organization without distinguishing between its military and political wings has stymied the organization’s terror financing efforts and other malign political activity.⁴² This has also sent an important message to the Iranian regime.

Accordingly, the European Union and its member states including Italy, Germany, and the United Kingdom would be advised to follow this example and outlaw Hizbullah in its entirety.

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The Iran-Hizbullah Terrorist Network

Benjamin Weinthal

July 18, 2018, was the sixth anniversary of the terrorist attack in which Hizbullah murdered five Israelis and their local Muslim driver in Burgas, Bulgaria. The interior minister of Bulgaria implicated the Lebanese organization in 2013 as responsible for blowing up the Israeli vacationers' tour bus.¹

According to Bulgaria's then-Interior Minister Tsvetan Tsevtanov, "There is data showing the financing and connection between Hizbullah and the two suspects."²

After Bulgaria pinned the blame on Hizbullah, the European Union approved a bifurcated terrorism designation of Hizbullah in July 2013, by adding the Lebanese Shiite organization's so-called "military wing" to the EU terror list, while allowing its "political" wing to continue operating openly in the European Union.³

The partial proscription of Hizbullah as a terrorist entity permitted the Lebanese organization to continue its fundraising, recruitment, and other illicit activities work in Europe. As a result, European authorities never prioritized Hizbullah structures across the Continent and in the

United Kingdom for intensive surveillance and for measures against financing of terrorism.⁴

It is unclear whether the growing momentum within the British Home Office toward outlawing Hizbullah in the United Kingdom later this year will have a domino effect and upend the consensus among the major EU powers, leading to the full classification of Hizbullah as a terrorist organization. The United Kingdom's new Home Secretary Sajid Javid appears amenable to a full ban of Hizbullah. Javid will undoubtedly face resistance from the British Foreign Office, which, like its counterparts in Germany and France, views Hizbullah as an important stabilizing partner within Lebanon's government.

The *Jerusalem Post's* diplomatic correspondent, Herb Keinon, reported about Paris's opposition to Hizbullah's inclusion on the EU-terror list, writing shortly after the Burgas attack: "According to one official, the main country blocking these efforts is France, which has historic ties with Lebanon and feels its influence there would be diminished by such a move."⁵



The tour bus that was destroyed by a bomb in July 2012 at Burgas Airport in Bulgaria.
(AP Photo/Impact Press Group)

Tony Badran, a leading expert on Lebanon at the Foundation for Defense of Democracies, wrote in 2013, shortly after the European Union's designation of Hizbullah's military wing, about Hizbullah's role in Syria and Lebanon:

The proposition that targeting Hizbullah would negatively impact Lebanon presupposes that the group currently contributes to stability. Such a view requires quite the suspension of disbelief. In reality, Hizbullah has thoroughly subverted the country and its citizens in virtually every aspect. Left unmolested, Hizbullah not only undermines Lebanon's security, institutions, and political system, but is also set track to compromise its foreign relations, ruin its financial system, and destroy whatever remains of its social cohesion.⁶

The United Kingdom banned Hizbullah's "military" wing in 2008, after the Lebanese militia attacked British troops in Iraq.⁷

Hizbullah has exploited Europe's porous borders over the last several years to conduct meetings to plan terrorist attacks. In addition, the Burgas terrorists traveled through Poland and other Eastern European countries.⁸

Hossam Taleb Yaacoub, a Hizbullah member who resides in Cyprus and is a Swedish-Lebanese national, met with his Hizbullah handlers in Lyon in France and in Amsterdam in the Netherlands.⁹ A Cypriot court convicted Yaacoub in 2013 for planning to murder Israelis on the Mediterranean island and sentenced him to four years in prison.¹⁰

The only EU country to have outlawed Hizbullah in its entirety was the Netherlands, in 2004. The country's General Intelligence and Security Service report that year states:

Investigations have shown that Hizbullah's terrorist wing, the Hizbullah External Security Organization, has been directly and indirectly involved in terrorist acts. It can also be concluded that Hizbullah's political and terrorist wings are controlled by one coordinating council. This means that there is indeed a link between

these parts of the organization. The Netherlands has changed its policy and no longer makes a distinction between the political and terrorist Hezbollah branches. The Netherlands informed the relevant EU bodies of its findings.¹¹

After Tsvetanov announced Hezbollah's link to the Burgas terrorist attack, the Dutch Embassy in Israel said, "The Netherlands has been calling for Hezbollah to be included on the EU list of terrorist organizations since 2004, and has consistently urged its EU partners to support such a move."¹²

In addition to the Netherlands, Canada, the United States, Israel, and the Arab League have classified Hezbollah's entire organization as a terrorist entity.

While blame for the most glaring Hezbollah terrorist attack on European soil in this century has revolved around the Lebanese organization, it is worth recalling that a day after the Burgas attack, a senior Israeli official told the *New York Times*, the "Burgas attack was part of an intensive wave of terrorist attacks around the world carried out by two different organizations, the Iranian Quds Force, an elite international operations unit within Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps, as well as by Hezbollah."¹³

Sigal Mandelker, the U.S. Treasury Department's under-secretary for terrorism and financial intelligence, said in June 2018 that "Iran provides upwards of \$700 million a year to Hezbollah."¹⁴ Previous estimates showed Tehran was providing Hezbollah \$200 million a year, before Hezbollah's intervention on behalf of the Assad regime in the Syrian civil war.¹⁵

Europe's insistence that Hezbollah is an independent political entity with a separate military wing belies overwhelming evidence, including statements from top Hezbollah officials.

Mohammed Fannish, a member of the so-called "political bureau" of Hezbollah and a former Lebanese energy minister, declared in 2002,

“I can state that there is no separating between Hizbullah’s military and political arms.”¹⁶

Hizbullah deputy leader Naim Qassem told the *Los Angeles Times* in 2009 that the “same leadership that directs the parliamentary and government work also leads jihad actions in the struggle against Israel.”¹⁷ Again, in October 2012, Qassem stressed his organization’s view of its mission: “We don’t have a military wing and a political one; we don’t have Hizbullah on one hand and the resistance party on the other.... Every element of Hizbullah, from commanders to members, as well as our various capabilities, are in the service of the resistance, and we have nothing but the resistance as a priority.”¹⁸

Hizbullah Is a Wholly-Owned Subsidiary of the Islamic Republic of Iran

Germany, along with France, has been the most reluctant among the Western European powers to enact a full-blown designation of Hizbullah as a terrorist entity. According to German intelligence, there are 950 active Hizbullah operatives in the Federal Republic.¹⁹ In the months prior to President Donald Trump’s May 2018 withdrawal of the United States from the 2015 Iran nuclear deal, Germany again refused to ban all of Hizbullah. U.S. President Barack Obama and former presidential candidate Hillary Clinton have also urged Europe to proscribe Hizbullah’s entire organization a terrorist enterprise.²⁰

Chancellor Angela Merkel’s administration refused to agree to an important U.S. demand, to designate the whole of Hizbullah as a terrorist organization, as part of talks to end Iran’s nuclear program in 2018. A U.S. State Department spokesperson at the time reiterated Trump’s demand from January: “They [Europeans] should designate Hizbullah – in its entirety – as a terrorist organization.” The demand was ignored by the German media.²¹

The spread of the Iranian regime’s strategic partner – Hizbullah – should cause alarm in Europe.

A 2017 intelligence report from the state of North Rhine-Westphalia revealed that Hizbullah combatants entered Germany since 2015 as part of the wave of refugees from the Middle East. North Rhine-Westphalia's intelligence agency noted an increase in Hizbullah membership, from 100 in 2015 to 105 in 2016.²² The chairman of the Hizbullah-affiliated Islamic center Al Mahdi in the German state urged his supporters in 2017 to wage "resistance" against Israel.²³

"Israel is the enemy – we carry out resistance," said Hassan Jawad, chairman of the Al Mahdi cultural center in the city of Münster. Jawad's Shiite cultural center is building a meeting center for 800 to 1,000 religious believers in Bad Oeynhausen, a spa town in the state. The Al Mahdi center has served as a key center for Hizbullah activity for more than 20 years.²⁴

German authorities, aside from some superficial monitoring in North Rhine-Westphalia, remain largely nonchalant about the developing Hizbullah network in the Federal Republic's most populous state.

A telling example of the joint Iran-Hizbullah project in Europe is the annual al-Quds Day marches that take place in European cities, calling for the destruction of the Jewish state. The founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Ayatollah Khomeini, created al-Quds Day in 1979 as a worldwide demonstration to protest Israel's existence. In June 2018, 1,600 anti-Israel demonstrators turned out in Berlin at the al-Quds rally. Hizbullah flags were on display at the London al-Quds protest.²⁵

Ayatollah Hamid Reza Torabi, a representative of Iran's Supreme Leader Ali Hosseini Khamenei, appeared at this year's al-Quds Day rally in Berlin. Torabi heads the Islamic Academy of Germany – part of the Iranian regime-owned Islamic Center of Hamburg – and is a key organizer of the al-Quds event. The Islamic Center bused Hizbullah and Iranian supporters to the annual event.²⁶

Last year, then-German Foreign Minister Sigmar Gabriel welcomed Torabi to a ministry event promoting "religious peace." The German government furnished €283,150 to a radical pro-Iranian regime Shiite

umbrella organization as part of a program to counter extremism. The Khamenei institutions in Hamburg fall under the rubric of the Shiite umbrella organization. The funds will support the activities of the Shiite Communities of Germany (IGS) through the end of 2019.²⁷

The mainstreaming of the Iranian regime and Hizbullah in Germany – and across Europe – reflects increased tolerance for a terrorist entity and a rise in lethal anti-Semitic ideology.

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Penetration of Islam on the Continent: For Whom the Bells Toll

Zvi Mazel

There are now an estimated 30 million Muslims in Europe – precise figures are hard to come by because of the number of illegal and undocumented immigrants. Their numbers are growing fast through birth rate and immigration. They have brought with them a culture rooted in the supremacy of Islam and negative views regarding Christianity and Judaism. They do not accept Western values on human rights, which makes it hard for them to integrate. Most of them aspire openly to impose their religion and their way of life on their host country, often aggressively.

Europe has yet to come to terms with the situation and appears unwilling – or perhaps unable – to address the threat. Does it mean that it is losing its ability to control its fate or that it has already lost it? What about the European Union, whose creation was accompanied by such great expectations? It was meant to promote democracy and to enshrine human rights, freedom of expression, and gender equality. Will it break down into its component states? In short, will rich and prosperous, but tired and weak Europe eventually slide into the submission to Islam so eloquently described by French writer Michel Houellebecq in the book of that name, *Soumission*, in 2015?



Demonstration in London, 2009. (Peter Macdiarmid/Getty Images)

In the 1960s and 1970s, immigrants were welcomed in Europe. Dwindling birth rates across Western Europe meant that new sources of workers were needed for thriving industries, and Europeans were no longer prepared to do difficult manual tasks. The first newcomers were from former colonies in Africa and North Africa – most, but not all of them Muslims, and from Commonwealth countries for Great Britain. It quickly became evident that they intended to remain. In the 1960s, Germany started recruiting Turks for work, but those “guest workers” were expected to leave at the end of their contracts. It did not happen. In recent years, wars in the Middle East triggered a massive influx of Muslim refugees. Most of these are neither ready nor willing to adapt to the values of Western society. European “political correctness” – accepting the “other” and “pluriculturalism” (coexistence of several cultures) – made it hard for the host countries to cope.

Europeans fail to realize that cultural pluralism means that Muslims do not have to assimilate into the host country and encourages them to maintain their traditional ways. As a result, the immigrants tend to live together. Their growing numbers make for greater self-confidence and the development of Islamic institutions and power

centers led by militant and extremist organizations such as the Muslim Brotherhood and, the lesser known but no less virulent, *Hizb el Tahrir*, or “Liberation Party.” Their clergy and preachers urge the faithful to reject assimilation and democratic values and to fight for the implementation of Sharia law and the Islamization of Europe – by toppling their host countries from within. The message that is relentlessly drummed through Arab television channels, mosques, local organizations in major cities, Muslim social media, and Muslim schools has a major impact on populations brought up on the teachings of Islam, a religion that is both a culture and a way of life. Obviously, many Muslims have successfully integrated, but it is not enough to stop the insidious process of Islamization.

Imposing Muslim Sharia Law

Closed communities are implementing Sharia law even though it often violates the laws of the land. A parallel culture emerges, which includes setting up Sharia courts and enforcing female genital mutilation (FGM) – expressly forbidden in Europe. Also prevalent are so called “honor crimes,” a modesty police, and forcibly returning young women who had fled family tyranny, arranged marriages, or abusive husbands. In hospitals, male doctors and nurses are violently prevented by irate husbands to attend to their wives. There is mass unemployment and crime is rampant.

In France, 60 to 80 percent of prison inmates are Muslims, and they are being increasingly radicalized – including previously moderate Muslims and even many non-Muslims. There are attempts through lawsuits and intimidation to curtail freedom of expression when it comes to criticizing Islam. Pressure is brought to bear on the workplace and in schools to serve only halal food, to allow breaks for prayer, and to reduce working hours during the month of Ramadan. Women going through predominantly Muslim areas are often harassed if their attire is not considered modest enough.

Muslim influence is felt most strongly in schools, though at various levels in different countries. Lessons about the Holocaust and World War II are stopped by vocal protests; Hitler is revered as a hero for his persecution of the Jews. Teaching evolution, which is contrary to Islamic narrative, or even science and nature, is almost impossible. Throughout Western Europe, education ministers and ministries faced by the same phenomenon are afraid to act. In many establishments, boys and girls are separated for sports and swimming lessons.

I can attest personally to the situation in Sweden; when I was ambassador there I met a number of teachers, some Jewish but not all, who complained that the relevant authorities were turning a blind eye. In France, a collective of teachers led by Jewish historian and publicist George Bensoussan published in 2002, *The Lost Territories of the Republic*, an explosive description of what was happening in French schools.¹ Tellingly, the teachers chose to remain anonymous, and Bensoussan took an assumed name.

French media was reluctant to review the book and no comments were forthcoming from the Ministry of Education. It was nevertheless a huge success and was reprinted at least twice at the time; a new and revised version appeared in 2015. No longer anonymous, its authors came to the bleak conclusion that things had become worse, not better. Not only has the Republic lost ground in schools, there are now predominantly Muslim suburbs where the police are afraid to intervene – “no-go zones.”

It was not only intolerance and extremism that Islam brought to Europe, but also blatant anti-Semitism and hatred for Israel, which helped revive traditional Christian anti-Semitism. Being an anti-Semite is no longer taboo if it can be draped in the guise of “legitimate criticism of Israel,” accused by Arabs and Muslims of committing “a Palestinian genocide,” as well as a host of other imaginary crimes. Unfortunately, they are slowly penetrating government circles and endangering relations between Israel and Europe. Violence against Jews has become rampant to the extent that synagogues, schools, and Jewish institutions throughout Europe have been given police and military protection.

Demonstrations against Israel supported by the extreme Left often degenerate into violence and vandalism against Jewish sites.

Massive terror attacks in Paris, London, Berlin, Stockholm, and Nice, no longer targeting Jews and Jewish institutions but the public at large, did not, as could have been expected, bring Europe closer to understanding what was happening. Some of the perpetrators were recent Muslim immigrants, but most were homegrown terrorists, born and raised in Europe. Conclusions were not drawn. Defense budgets were increased, more policemen recruited, state-of-the-art techniques were introduced to prevent further attacks. Making ordinary citizens safe was indeed a primary imperative, but what of the roots of the problem? Governments across the board refrain from pointing the finger at radical Islam. As long as one does not identify the enemy, one cannot tackle the problems it creates. It is not merely a question of security but essentially a social, economic, and political issue. Bold measures are needed, such as direct intervention in the educational system, uncompromising dialogue with Muslim institutions to bring incitement to an end and obtain their support for the policy of the government, and strict supervision of what goes on in mosques and what is being said by preachers and Imams.

Immigration will remain a major problem since there does not appear to be an easy fix. Taken by surprise by the seemingly endless flow of refugees pouring into Europe from the Middle East, Afghanistan, and Africa as well, EU countries scrambled to find ways to block them. Open borders were closed again, and border controls reinstituted in apparent violation of the Schengen agreements. Border controls were also established on the vaunted Oresund Bridge over the straits of that name between Danish Copenhagen and Swedish Malmö. A new Danish law restricts the number of potential immigrants. The old freedom of movement between Scandinavian countries is no more. There is less and less solidarity between the countries of the European Union, which are squabbling about cost and quotas of refugees to be admitted. Italy and Greece, through which most of the refugees arrive, are complaining of being treated unfairly. Central European countries such as Hungary flatly refuse to comply with what they see as diktats

from Brussels. Turkey demanded – and received – \$6 billion from the European Union to stop refugees from departing from its shores, as well as a promise to waive visa requirements for Turks, which is yet to be redeemed. The problem is more or less under control, but for how long?

Human rights organizations and European media effectively hamper a suitable response to the threat of Islam. They exert their considerable influence to persuade western governments to absorb the refugees without taking responsibility for the potentially disruptive social and political consequences of such a move.

It would therefore appear that Europe has lost the will to fight and is also losing its ability to control its destiny. The bells may be tolling, but no one is listening.

Note

1. <http://www.jcpa.org/phas/phas-gerstenfeld-on-brenner-f05.htm>

Facing the Same Hydra Monster

Tommaso Virgili

The European Union has a very complex relationship with Israel, characterized simultaneously by strong links and generalized antipathy. This happens, not just because of issues related to the conflict, such as the settlements, the borders, and so on, but because the European Union, enveloped in multiculturalism, Marxism, and postmodernism, still struggles to understand the dynamics of radicalization in the Middle East, which is mostly drawn in Islamist shades.

The case of Hamas is emblematic. The fact that this Islamist organization is still blacklisted by the EU Council as a terrorist entity does not imply by any means a full understanding and consequential rejection of the ideology underpinning the Palestinian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood.

A case in point concerns anti-Semitism. It is well known that the 1988 Hamas Covenant contains explicit anti-Semitic statements drawn from the Islamic scriptures, including a *hadith* anticipating a final Holocaust at the hand of believers:



Hercules and the Lernaean Hydra, 3rd century Roman mosaic (National Archaeological Museum of Spain). (*Luis García/Flickr*)

“The Day of Judgement will not come about until Muslims fight the Jews (killing the Jews), when the Jew will hide behind stones and trees. The stones and trees will say O Muslims, O Abdulla, there is a Jew behind me, come and kill him. Only the Gharkad tree would not do that because it is one of the trees of the Jews.”¹

While Hamas attempts to show a more accommodating face with the less virulent “Document of General Principles and Policies” of May 2017, the EU High Commissioner Federica Mogherini has correctly acknowledged that the new statement “clearly does not replace the original founding Charter of 1988.” She continued, “The EU does not see a case for a change in policy towards Hamas nor considers it appropriate to draw a distinction between its military and civilian wings.”²

However, it is necessary to ask oneself what the ideological roots of this anti-Semitism are, as this would clarify the bigger picture. Hamas’

anti-Semitism is no different from the overall ideology of the wider Muslim Brotherhood (MB), to which it explicitly belongs.

The Muslim Brotherhood Origin

The Islamist movement, the Muslim Brotherhood (MB), was founded by the Egyptian Hassan al-Banna in 1928. There is evidence of al-Banna's admiration for Adolf Hitler and Jerusalem's Grand Mufti Amin al-Husseini, who was Hitler's ally. Al-Banna declared: "What could Arab youth ever do [...] to deserve a hero like you, who challenged an empire, battling Zionism with Hitler's help? Hitler and Germany may be no more, but Amin al-Husseini will fight on."³

With Sayyid Qutb (the MB ideologue who is considered the spiritual father of modern jihadism), anti-Semitism made a qualitative leap. In *Ma'rakatuna ma'a al-yahud* ("Our battle against Jews"), he undertook, according to Bassam Tibi, a total "Islamization of anti-Semitism."⁴ In this pamphlet, the struggle for Palestine assumed clear anti-Semitic tones: the enemies are not only Zionists but the very "wicked Jews" against whom the Quran has issued clear warnings that the *Umma* has forgotten. The text nurtures a list of historical and anthropological stereotypes against Jews, culminating in a conspiracy theory whereby they all have the secret mission of destroying Islam worldwide, and wherever the Islamic renaissance is curtailed, a Jew is maneuvering behind the curtains.⁵

The anti-Semitic rhetoric is still present today. In 2010, the would-be President of Egypt Mohamed Morsi called Zionists "descendants of apes and pigs," using a typical Quranic slur for Jews.⁶ The *Al-Jazeera* star and allegedly "moderate" Yusuf al-Qaradawi has described the Holocaust as the punishment sent by Allah against Jews for their corruption while expressing the hope that the next one would be "at the hand of the believers."⁷ A similar view is expressed in the *Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Jews* by the Kuwaiti Muslim Brother Tareq al-Suwaïdan, while Jews are described therein as the worst enemies of Muslims and the Holocaust is belittled and justified as a reaction to

Jewry's negative actions.⁸ It is worth mentioning that this individual, inserted in the blacklists of the Schengen Area (26 European states with a common visa policy), was invited to Italy two years ago by the local branch of the Muslim Brotherhood.⁹

Failing to frame Hamas' violence within this ideological/religious context, may lead – at best – to condemning the attacks against civilians as a *criminal* but not an ideological act. At worst, some condone the violence as a romantic “struggle for freedom” (in a similar vein to how so-called “intellectuals” labeled leftist terrorism in Europe). In either case, a proper understanding of the root causes of terrorism remains out of reach, and so too a counter-strategy.

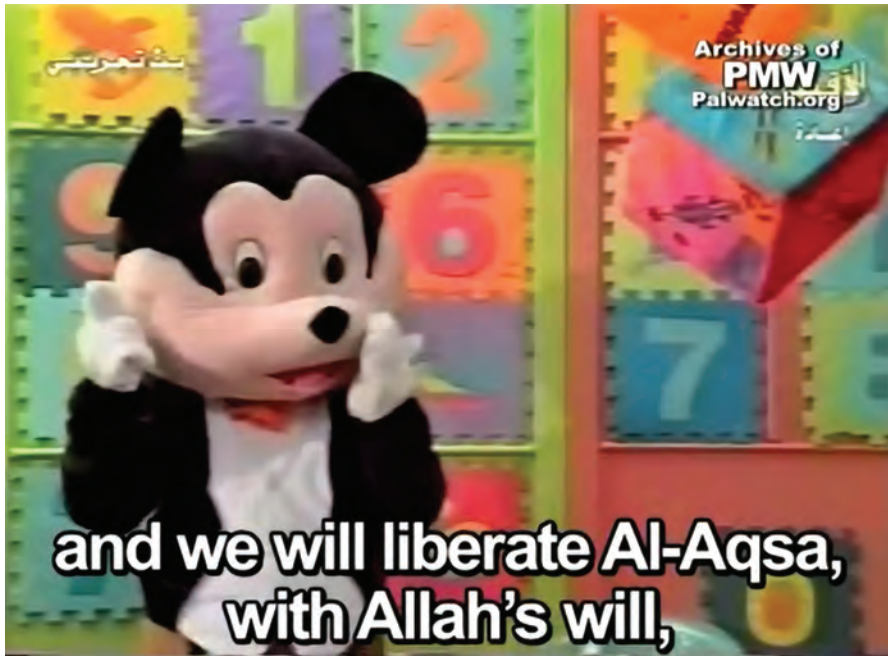
Europe has long adopted a specific set of lenses to read Middle Eastern conflicts and radicalization alike: Through the Marxist lens, everything can and must be explained in terms of economic and social power; the Third World and anti-colonial lens attributes the ultimate guilt of every worldwide phenomenon to the West and its “vassals.” The third lens focuses via relativistic multiculturalism, a perverted child of pluralism (one of the most precious conquests of liberal thought), deforming the latter to make every cultural behavior acceptable – even as it denies the rights of others and the freedoms we cherish.

It took one of the deadliest waves of terrorist attacks on European soil to start awakening the Sleeping Beauty from its (ideological) slumber. Those who have devoted the best efforts of their lives to massacring innocent people in airports, museums, nightclubs, supermarkets, and restaurants, are not starving and homeless, but often middle class and generously supported by the same states they wish to destroy. They often know nothing of Palestine or Syria, nor are their roots from there; still, they may derive their aggressiveness and frustrations from the situations there, as confirmed to me by first-line practitioners working with problematic youth and inmates in Belgium. A more and more radical Islam, which is supplanting traditional forms of faith among European Muslim communities to the extent that experts talk about mainstreaming of Salafism,¹⁰ provides the ideological fuel.

And still European governments and EU institutions struggle to see the connection between the religious ideology and violence. Incredibly, their preventative strategies have repeatedly entailed the empowerment of organizations promoting Islamist ideology, under the banner of their alleged rejection of violence. Such a fallacy becomes immediately glaring with a simple comparison: who could deem nonviolent neo-Nazis our allies in the fight against the violent ones? Let us not be mistaken here: there is surely a substantial difference between promoting radical ideas and turning them into action. Nevertheless, this elementary acknowledgment does not contradict the equally elementary need of using the appropriate means to tackle *both* heads of the hydra, not pretending to distinguish between a good and a bad.

The European Commission, for instance, has not hesitated to finance a Sharia-based method to prevent religious radicalization within European civil societies” implemented by the Muslim Association of Ireland,¹¹ an organization with strong ties to the Islamic Cultural Centre of Ireland (ICCI).¹² The last-mentioned is well known for being under the MB umbrella Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe (FIOE) and for hosting Al-Qaradawi’s International Union of Muslim Scholars (IUMS) and European Council for Fatwa and Research (ECFR).¹³ After an ICCI member recently promoted female genital mutilations live on TV¹⁴ or the ECFR issued fatwas sanctioning death penalty for apostasy,¹⁵ one must wonder what the “Sharia-based methods to prevent religious radicalization” look like, and, above all, why the European taxpayer should finance such things instead of liberal Muslim groups advocating for secularism.

Unfortunately, there are plenty of such examples. Another major case is Islamic Relief, a MB-linked organization with close ties to Hamas, which enjoyed EU funding for years before the UBS and HSBC banks closed its accounts for allegedly financing terrorism.¹⁶ This is but one of the many European connections between two of the many heads of the hydra, Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood, evident especially when it comes to the Israeli-Palestinian issue and the BDS movement.¹⁷



"Farfour" the mouse on Al-Aqsa TV. (*Palestinian Media Watch*)

Europe and Israel are facing the same monster. The difference is that Israel is more exposed (for now), and has no other choice but to call it by its name. This is certainly not to deny the rights of Palestinians, or the fact that also a Jewish radicalism exists and threatens the Israeli liberal democratic fabric, as happens in Europe with far-Right and far-Left extremisms. But unfortunately the one problem does not remove the other, and we must be realistic in tackling each of them with the clarity of mind and avoiding confusion. Palestinians will not thrive if their future state is an Islamist caliphate, as the daily human rights horrors in Gaza show: protesters brutally killed in the streets, journalists imprisoned, homosexuals tortured and forced to flee to Israel, women secluded under strict morality codes.¹⁸ All of this has nothing to do with the war, be it Israeli bombings or Hamas' use of human shields. Much of the violence emanates from the Islamist ideology underpinning the dictatorial movement. Even the allegedly secular Palestinian Authority, which receives hundreds of millions from the European Union, in recent years has started to approach

Hamas' ideology by injecting religious tones into the war against "the Jews."¹⁹

A powerful and widespread radical ideology fuels social radicalization, which in the presence of the right trigger can easily burst into violence. This is the mortal dynamic we see in Europe and Israel alike. Hamas' Mickey Mouse TV character indoctrinating Palestinian children toward Islamic domination²⁰ is no different from what *Sharia4Belgium* did in the streets of Brussels.²¹

Hence, we must have the intellectual courage of looking in the eyes of the heads of the hydra, identify their connection to the same body, and counter all of them in the name of our liberal democratic values. Appeasement in the hope of being spared, besides being immoral, has never been a particularly brilliant idea.

Notes

1. Hamas Covenant, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp
2. <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getAllAnswers.do?reference=E-2017-003894&language=EN>
3. Hamed Abdel-Samad, *Islamic Fascism* (Prometheus Books, Amherst, New York, 2016), p. 28.
4. Tibi, mentioned in Valentina Colombo, "L'antisemitismo 'sacralizzato' nell'ideologia dei Fratelli musulmani," in *Il negazionismo: un fenomeno contemporaneo*, ed. Francesco Germinario, (Carocci, 2016), p. 110.
5. Ibid.
6. David D. Kirkpatrick, "Morsi's Slurs Against Jews Stir Concern," *The New York Times*, January 14, 2013. <https://www.nytimes.com/2013/01/15/world/middleeast/egypts-leader-morsi-made-anti-jewish-slurs.html>.
7. "Sheik Yousuf Al-Qaradhwai: Allah Imposed Hitler upon the Jews to Punish Them – 'Allah Willing, the Next Time Will Be at the Hand of the Believers,'" MEMRI – *The Middle East Media Research Institute*, January 28, 2009, <https://www.memri.org/tv/sheik-yousuf-al-qaradhwai-allah-imposed-hitler-upon-jews-punish-them-allah-willing-next-time-will>.
8. Valentina Colombo, "Tareq Suwaidan, Predicatore Antisemita in Italia. Ecco Le Prove Del Suo Estremismo," *Informazione Corretta*, April 4, 2016/ <http://www.informazionecorretta.com/main.php?mediaId=115&sez=120&id=61964>.
9. <http://www.lanuovabq.it/it/vittoria-della-nuova-bqsuaidan-non-entra-in-italia>

Mission Impossible? Repairing the Ties between Europe and Israel

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11. <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getAllAnswers.do?reference=E-2015-000264&language=EN>
12. https://www.globalmbresearch.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/MB-in-Ireland_final.pdf
13. <https://www.globalmbwatch.com/islamic-cultural-center-of-ireland/>
14. <https://www.independent.ie/irish-news/news/female-circumcision-should-be-allowed-by-law-member-of-irelands-islamic-cultural-centre-36585441.html>
15. <http://www.informazionecorretta.com/main.php?mediaId=&sez=260&id=30116>
16. <https://www.meforum.org/MiddleEastForum/media/MEFLibrary/pdf/Islamic-Relief-Dossier-v3.pdf>
17. <http://jcpa.org/the-spiders-web/>; https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/Data/pdf/PDF_11_339_2.pdf; https://www.haaretz.com/.premium-ya-alon-outlaws-belgian-ngo-1.5306793?=&ts=_1534851423689
18. <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/277489.pdf> <https://www.jpost.com/Operation-Protective-Edge/Report-Hamas-executes-alleged-spies-shoots-protesters-in-Gaza-369331> <https://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/12496/palestinians-gays>
19. <https://transatlanticinstitute.org/commentary/why-west-financing-palestinian-terrorism>
20. http://palwatch.org/main.aspx?fi=624&fld_id=624&doc_id=607
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Security: Shared Aims and Strategies

The Glass Half-Full

Yossi Kuperwasser

Israeli-European relations are much more diverse and developed than what usually meets the eye. The first impression people get is that there is a lot of tension in these relations because of the deep disagreements on the two most critical issues regarding Israel and European's policies in the Middle East, namely the Palestinian issue and Iran. Though Israel and Europe share common ground on both issues (both are committed to prevent Iran from attaining a nuclear weapon and both agree that Israel has a right to exist in peace and security as the nation-state of the Jewish people), the disagreements on how to achieve these goals are so deep and blatant that they overshadow any commonalities and dwarf any other aspects of the relations between the two.

As the former EU ambassador to Israel Lars Faaborg-Andersen used to tell me, "On 80 percent of the issues, Israel and Europe not only see eye-to-eye, but also have a flourishing cooperation, but the only thing people focus on is the remaining 20 percent."

In fact, Israeli-European cooperation covers a wide variety of areas and is very impressive and important for both sides.



Air forces participating in “Blue Flag” exercises in November 2017 at the Ovda base in southern Israel included Italy, Germany, France, and Greece, as well as Poland, India, and the United States.

1. In the security realm, Europe and Israel – as members of the “Western world” – share similar threats, goals, and values, and it is no wonder that they cooperate extensively:

- Intelligence cooperation: Israel and Europe have a very wide and open network of intelligence cooperation, including on the Iranian issue – a cooperation that reached new peaks during the nuclear deal negotiations. The Europeans were among the countries that received the trove of nuclear documents that Israel retrieved from Tehran to review.
- Defense and security: Israel and European nations cooperate on a wide variety of issues. They share military experience, buy and sell military hardware, and conduct joint exercises between their sea, air, and ground forces. In the volatile Middle East today, where U.S., French, and Israeli forces are operating, coordination in the operations command and intelligence is essential.
- Counterterrorism is another aspect of security cooperation. Israel and Europe exchange information, intelligence, and techniques

between their armed forces and their internal security forces. This cooperation contributes considerably to the security of both sides and especially to the security of Europe. A book called *Lessons from Israel's Response to Terrorism*, prepared by the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, raised interest in the European community, and this, of course, was in addition to the official cooperation.

- Cyber-security: Israel's leading role in the development of cyber-security incentivizes cooperation and trade in this domain.
- Cooperation in fighting crime is well-developed and is going to grow in the future. The Israeli Police and the Europol signed in July 2018 a working arrangement to improve cooperation in contending with cross-border criminal activities, fraud, and cybercrime.

2. Science and Entrepreneurship: In the realms of science and entrepreneurship, Israel and Europe are a perfect match. A developed European market and the burgeoning start-up attributes of the Israeli high-tech scene complement each other. In recent years, this was manifested by joint scientific projects promoted by the *Horizon 2020* program of the European Union, which followed 20 years of fruitful cooperation in the context of Israel's association with the European Union's Research and Innovation Program. See example of a joint project, the "SniffPhone," that can detect disease from the patient's exhaled breath.¹



SniffPhone for medical screening.

3. Trade: The European Union was the biggest trade partner of Israel in 2017, with \$15 billion worth of Israeli exports of goods to the European Union, which is 20 percent more than the volume of Israeli exports to Europe in 2016. Exports to the United States in 2017 reached \$11.4 billion. The biggest partner in 2017 in Europe was the United Kingdom, with \$4.8 billion dollars in goods exported from Israel. Since 1995, Israel has signed four free trade agreements with the European Union that enabled this continuous rise in the volume of trade. The last agreement excludes from tariff exemptions the products produced in territories occupied by Israel since 1967.

4. Other economic areas, such as tourism, agriculture, environmental preservation, water treatment, and more are among the areas where Israeli-European cooperation flourishes. For example, the number of European tourists grew considerably after the conclusion of the Open Skies Aviation agreement in 2013. Agricultural and industrial cooperation benefited from the conclusion of relevant agreements such as the 2010 agreement on agriculture and fisheries and the agreements on Conformity Assessment and Acceptance of industrial products (ACAA) in 2013. In the areas of water conservation and consumption, Israel has emerged as a leading innovator, which could benefit Europe greatly.²

5. Culture: The width of cooperation in this realm is very impressive, with performers and artists from both sides exchanging visits and enjoying very warm acceptance. Israeli success in the Eurovision song contest and in European sports competitions is just another manifestation of that.

Why Are Things so Bad if They Are so Good?

Why do relations appear so sour? It appears that the causes of this are rooted in frustrated hopes and expectations. Israel looks at itself as part of the European cultural and political structure, and this is why it attributes so much importance to what the Europeans are saying. From the *realpolitik* point of view, you would expect Israelis to be

at least as sensitive to the attitudes of China and Russia, who are major players in the economic and political realms. Yet no Israeli will complain about the policies of these two major powers or feel bad that these two countries do not support Israeli policies. Israeli expectations from Europe stem from the fact that Europe comes from the same sphere of the “Western world” with its democratic and humanitarian values. Israelis feel trapped in an unending unreciprocated relationship with Europe, and this frustration doubles when they see Europe siding with repressive and terror-supporting regimes such as Iran or the Palestinian Authority. Despite extensive cooperation, instead of warmth, Israel feels estranged and is on the constant receiving end of rebukes and criticism. When Israelis compare this kind of relations with the warmth and transparency of its relations with the United States, the leader of the Western world, it is no wonder Israelis feel left out in the cold. Israelis attribute negative motivations to the Europeans, such as appeasement, naiveté, and giving preference to economic considerations over security needs (definitely when it comes to Israel), and sometimes even anti-Semitism. Many Israelis believe that the Europeans are trying to demonize Israel in order to alleviate their own conscience following the Holocaust.

What Can Be Done about the Estrangement?

Some people say there is nothing that can be done about it – and it’s a lost case. Others – myself included – believe that the common threats will eventually make the Europeans adopt a different approach and the security community, together with pro-Israeli groups, will gain strength and form an opportunity for improved relations. At the end of the day, we share not only the same interests but also the same values, and Europe’s contribution to the establishment and security of the nation state of the Jewish people should not be underestimated.

Notes

1. <https://ec.europa.eu/research/iscp/index.cfm?pg=israel>

Sample Projects for Israel's participation in Horizon 2020:

The SNIFFPHONE project, coordinated by the Technion-Israel Institute of Technology will link the researcher's breathalyzer screening technology to the smartphone to provide non-invasive, fast and cheap disease recognition.

Transformation optics: cloaking, perfect imaging and horizons (Horizon 2020)

The objective of this Weizmann Institute ERC grant is to make significant breakthroughs in (1) moving cloaking from frontier research closer to practicality, (2) turning perfect imaging into a viable technology and (3) demonstrating the quantum physics of the event horizon in the laboratory.

2. <https://www.euractiv.com/section/global-europe/opinion/can-increased-eu-israel-trade-benefit-dire-political-ties/>

Building Bridges in a New "World Disorder"

Saad Amrani

The state of European-Israel relations reminds me of the issue of climate change. Some deny it, and some are convinced it is happening but are unable to take the right steps to face it and manage it. During the last decade, the relationship between our nations was governed by frameworks, conceptions, and alliances that were thought to hold the key to many intricate dossiers on both sides of the ocean.

All those perspectives have today vanished. They are replaced by a growing uncertainty and the absolute need to redesign our paradigms of cooperation and alliances in the face of a rapidly evolving and complex geopolitical and security environment.

The security and social situation in many European cities is an adequate "thermometer" of this ongoing redesign of geopolitics. What we describe in our law enforcement jargon as "globalization" illustrates what evolutions in the Middle East and beyond can trigger among our communities, on the local level, even in the smallest neighborhood. Thinking global and acting local is not for us just a concept, but rather a mandatory step.

Indeed, for the last four decades, and since the Iranian revolution, the “religious and ideological equation” has opened a Pandora’s Box that many struggle to define what more consequences and surprises it still holds for both sides of the Mediterranean area. As a consequence of that revolution, all sorts of extremisms have risen and dominated the daily lives of our citizens and sensitive communities. It has led to an increasing insecurity, the rooting and persistence of fear, systemic risks, terror threats, etc.

It has all resulted in two main trends that law enforcement and actors on the field have to deal with on a daily basis: polarization, the rise of radicalization and anti-Semitism, which in turn fuel populism, and the rise of Fascism and far-Right groups and governments in various countries in Europe. This is a risk that many naively thought unrealistic and is leading, for instance, to mind-boggling situations where the Jewish and Muslim communities in Europe are both seriously under a “common threat.”

As they took advantage of this threat against the European social fabric and democratic values, that we all cherish, and by the way take for granted, various players around the world started activating alliances, and increasingly projected their power or global vision, on the field, through proxies, not only in war zones, but also in our European neighborhoods.

After my first appeal for vigilance in June 2017, I will repeat this again, to whom it may concern, for the sake of our democratic values and the tolerance that we’ve always stood for: our social cohesion in Europe is seriously at risk.

This raises two questions: the issue of alliances and the issue of values for which we stand.

Have we really been able to articulate the most adequate strategic foresight, in order to prevent all of this, or not? Have we, on the other hand, understood the hidden agenda of some of our “friends?” And therefore have we conducted the right and “non-naive” stakeholder

analysis? This I will respectfully leave to our diplomats and political specialists;

The only thing I can confirm, from my law enforcement perspective, is that on the field, in our cities, certain geopolitical games and “instrumentalizations” have left their permanent footprint and taken a huge toll.

This ranges from the radicalized youth being permanently fed hate speech and a polarized view of the world – to the great satisfaction of certain foreign actors – to the terrorist attacks of Paris and Brussels, and the following aftershocks, called by some, “low-cost terrorism.” It is so low cost, with car rammings and kitchen knives, that it has become part of our daily lives, just like in Israel, with whom we objectively share a set of similar threat scenarios since 2015.

The ideological equation has until today won its first battles. It has developed a “hybrid ecosystem,” an “incubator” that will be producing various waves of instability and violence for decades to come, on both sides of the “*mare nostrum*,” even forcing thousands of members of the Jewish community in Europe to consider exile. That is a given.

Therefore, maybe the time has come for a mind shift, time to aspire to be “intellectually” agile and reconsider certain paradigms, frozen in time.

Beyond all the differences of opinion between Europe and Israel, I believe in our shared foundation of values – a foundation that transcends our opponents, those who advocate for authoritarianism, hate speech, religious extremism, populism, racism, fascism, anti-Semitism, violation of human rights and freedom of the press, and challenge democratic principles. If we can agree that all of this is really happening and threatening our stability, then it is time to have a “new and serious conversation” between “objective allies.” Objective, beyond any “reasonable doubt.”

In this new “world disorder,” I believe in “exposure.” It leads to a better understanding of the “field challenges” and “systemic risks” as they were explained to me *in concreto* by my Israeli counterparts. I believe that there is room for benchmarking and dialogue that can lead to a “redesigned cooperation” based on those very values I described.

In the face of a common threat, maybe security services professionals can contribute to building bridges between Europe and Israel and pave the way for a new “rapprochement.” Right now, our citizens are adamantly requesting a better and sustainable security. It is a legitimate demand. It is a *sine qua non* condition for building social cohesion, integration, and stability in our cities, which in its turn facilitates economic prosperity. Security indeed is not an end in itself; it is a formidable vector. It can be a vector for peace.

The EU Commission has, through programs like Horizon 2020, opened the door to various forms of cooperation with Israeli institutions. And I commend that. Indeed, interesting consortia can be put in place, in association with critical issues. We can only hope that these initiatives, among many others, can be extended and be the beginning of a new paradigm, a new “virtuous exposure.”

Thinking Ahead

The Ancient Hatred of Jews Will Be Defeated by Israel's Cultural-Technological Hegemony

Marco Carrai

On March 29, 1516, the Venetian Senate issued a decree declaring that all “Jews should live together” in a fenced and guarded area of the city. The area chosen had been used as a copper foundry (“*geto*” in old Venetian dialect). Thus, the first “ghetto” – the word the neighborhood’s polyglot residents gave it over time – came into existence.

Before being confined to the Ghetto, Venetian Jews lived on Giudecca Island, whose etymology derives from the origin of its inhabitants: the Jews. The fundamental difference between the two is that while Jews lived on Giudecca Island during the Middle Ages by choice, in the Ghetto they were forced to do so. Paradoxically, anti-Jewish prejudice, which led to the full-scale persecution of the Jewish people, resulted in not breaking, but rather reinforcing their identity.

After the establishment of the first Ghetto in Venice, others soon sprang up across Europe, including in Rome, where Pope Paul IV issued his papal decree *Cum Nimis Absurdum*.

“Since it is completely absurd,” declared Pope Paul IV in his opening line “[...] that the Jews [...] live among us [...] to the extent that not

The entrance to Venice's
500-year-old Ghetto.
(Andrea Grosso/Flickr)



only have they mingled with Christians (even when close to their churches) and wearing no identifying garments, but to dwell in homes, indeed, even in the more noble [dwellings] of the states, territories, and domains in which they lingered, conducting business from their houses and in the streets and dealing in real estate; they even have nurses and housemaids and other Christians as hired servants. And they would dare to perpetrate a wide variety of other dishonorable things, contemptuous of the name Christian.”

The Catholic-Jewish relationship drastically changed for the better after the landmark *Nostra Aetate* in 1965, the Declaration on the Relation of the Church with Non-Christian Religions, as well as papal visits to Rome’s synagogue and Israel.

In January 2018, the Italian Episcopal Conference (CEI) held its annual “Day for deepening and developing dialogue between Catholics and Jews” (a session that has been held ever since 1970), which has the challenge of combating anti-Semitism and anti-Jewish prejudice.

Bishop Ambrogio Spreafico stated at the most recent CEI meeting, “Anti-Semitism and anti-Jewish prejudice, which today is often linked to anti-Zionism, is by no means dead.”¹

To illustrate his point, he cited a 2016 survey by the World Jewish Congress that recorded 382,000 anti-Semitic posts every 83 seconds on the web. “I don’t think that those who posted them are all atheists!”

he concluded. Religious and academic institutions, which are based – in theory – on tolerance and free thought, have supported or even facilitated the abominable monster of anti-Semitism.

Anti-Semitism 80 Years Ago

On September 5, 1938, at San Rossore in Pisa, the summer residence of the House of Savoy, Italy's King Vittorio Emanuele III signed the first of the Italian Racial Laws. The document expelled all Jewish teachers and students from all schools and universities throughout the kingdom. Italian universities were involved and often accomplices in this process.

Today, after 80 years, Italian universities are apologizing for this infamy. Of course, throughout the past 80 years, Europe hasn't come close to repeating the unspeakable horrors of Nazi-Fascism, and the social influence of Christian thought has completely revised its positions on anti-Semitism by condemning it categorically.

Yet, can it be said that Europe has ceased today to take anti-Semitic positions? And furthermore, what are the means to contain these manifestations?

The first question is easy to answer because Europe is not immune to espousing anti-Semitic positions. Neither the Europeans nor their leaders are responsible for this phenomenon. Once again, just as in the years leading to the rise of Nazism, economic and social difficulties are causing tremors throughout the old continent, and the latter has inspired new populism that often feeds upon fear or distrust of the other or instead propagates grandiose conspiracy theories involving insidious plots by some omnipresent and powerful global elite.

A study by the British government in 2017 revealed that anti-Semitic attacks have more than doubled in the United Kingdom since 2012. Another study conducted in 2017 by the British-based Institute for Jewish Policy Research reported that Jews are leaving Europe due to their growing anxiety about anti-Semitism.

According to the Italian Journalist Agency (AGI), “Polish Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki at the Munich Security Conference in February 2018, spoke about how the Jews were also responsible for perpetuating the Holocaust,² and a few days later he paid his respects at the grave of Polish fighters who collaborated with Nazi Germany during World War II.

Also in February 2018, the Bulgarian government led by Boyko Borisov, the current President of the European Union, authorized a rally by neo-Nazi groups in Sofia – despite international efforts to ban it – that annually honors the former Bulgarian war minister and leader of the pro-Nazi Union of the Bulgarian National Legions Hristo Lukov, who in 1930s promulgated the racial laws.³

However, the release of Europe’s anti-Semitic ghosts that were locked in history’s darkest closet doesn’t derive solely from the political Right. In Great Britain, the Labour Party is experiencing traumatic days due to the accusations directed at its leader Jeremy Corbyn, who even from the perspective of its moderate wing, has been flirting with the anti-Semitic components of the British Left. The accusations aren’t new, but a street demonstration in London on March 26, 2018, heard protesters shouting “for the many, not the Jew,” rephrasing Corbyn’s campaign slogan “for the many, not the few.”

In France, during the “white march” this past March in Paris to commemorate the death of an elderly Jewish woman, Mireille Knoll, 85, who was stabbed 11 times before her apartment was set afire by her Muslim neighbor, the leader of the far-right National Front Marine Le Pen and her the far-left counterpart Jean Luc Melenchon, who has been accused of being too soft vis-à-vis the anti-Semitic positions of part of the “Gauche,” were both booed and heckled by the crowd.

Now, please forgive me in advance for the following personal digression: when last May the *New York Times* journalist Jason Horowitz wrote an article where he cast doubt upon the new Italian prime minister Giuseppe Conte’s academic resume, social media sites unleashed a series of attacks against me – guilty of knowing

the journalist – and Mr. Horowitz, with an onslaught of anti-Semitic appellations and threats. The accusation, obviously unfounded, was that of an alleged Jewish and Zionist conspiracy against the nascent government.

Social transformation has always led people to search for an enemy outside their own borders or instead to claim that the presumed cancer comes from within, and this often coincides with an imaginary threat from the Jewish people. This process is as horrendous as it is natural, and today, it is diffused explosively across social media sites, which provide fertile ground from which to grow.

Here, I will attempt to answer my second question – what are the means to contain these anti-Semitic manifestations?

Please forgive me in advance for articulating a response based on a marketing mindset. It is true that the argument is so serious that the mere combination of concepts would seem sacrilegious, but in truth, in a world now dominated by social media networks and digital marketing more than ever before, there exists the possibility of attempting to curb this phenomenon of anti-Semitism.

New Tools for an Old Hatred

Israel is a brand recognized for its innovation. It has the highest per capita percentage of Nobel Prize winners in scientific fields, and even if, due to the structural reasons of its economy, there are no global Israeli brands, the world's leading companies in innovation all have their research centers in Israel to tap into Israeli technology. So maybe it's time to start from there.

Eighty years after the Italian Racial Laws were adopted against the Jewish intellectual and scientific community, it is precisely the world of science and technology where we must start again to affirm "Brand Israel." Make it known to countries, heads of state, academics, the media, and influencers that Israel, a democracy where freedom of

thought and research is safeguarded, is a certifiable start-up nation. Israel is the third nation in the world with the most companies listed on the NASDAQ stock exchange, after the United States and China.

During the Vietnam War, people came to loathe the Coca-Cola logo, which was associated with the United States. But today, new generations love Apple, Microsoft, and Amazon, with U.S. power standing behind them. Today, no one imagines boycotting Apple.

Israel must make itself known and loved by others as a start-up nation, a country where innovation thrives only a few hours flight away from the main European capitals. It must become a brand to defend and flaunt.

I imagine a near future, when the public squares will not be full of mournful faces that commemorate an umpteenth act of anti-Semitic violence, but instead are places where Israel's commitment to excellence in the fields of renewable energy, agriculture, medicine, analytics, and artificial intelligence will be on display. I imagine a world where school children not only go to see what was and should never again be in Auschwitz, but also what Israel is capable of in terms of research and science.

Israel must win this battle, that of cultural-technological hegemony.

Notes

1. <http://www.lastampa.it/2018/01/22/vaticaninsider/biblical-studies-and-contemporary-antisemitism-STiMizSgHKECuWNzZXF5hL/pagina.html>
2. <https://www.timesofisrael.com/polish-prime-minister-says-jews-perpetrated-holocaust-too/>
3. <https://euobserver.com/opinion/140805>

Biographies of Participants and Speakers

Saad Amrani

Saad Amrani is the Chief Commissioner of the Belgian Federal Police. He is a leading advocate in the European community's fight against radicalization and ISIS and is in charge of securing European summits and other international high-level meetings, maintaining public order at demonstrations. Since 2015, he has led a joint project between the Moroccan and Belgian police on radicalization issues.

Alan Baker

Ambassador Alan Baker is the director of the Institute for Contemporary Affairs at the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs and the head of the Global Law Forum. He participated in the negotiation and drafting of the Oslo Accords with the Palestinians, as well as agreements and peace treaties with Egypt, Jordan, and Lebanon. He served as legal adviser and deputy director-general of Israel's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and as Israel's ambassador to Canada.

Volker Beck

From 1994 to 2017, Volker Beck was a member of the *Bundestag*, the German federal parliament, for the Green Party. Beck served as the Green Party Speaker for Legal Affairs from 1994–2002, and as the Green Party Chief Whip in the *Bundestag* till 2013. He was spokesman of the Green Parliamentary group for interior affairs and religion. In 2014 he was elected president of the German-Israeli Parliamentary Friendship Group of the German *Bundestag*.

Yoni Ben Menachem

A veteran Arab affairs and diplomatic commentator for Israel Radio and Television, Yoni Ben Menachem is a senior Middle East analyst for the Jerusalem Center. He served as director general and chief editor of the Israel Broadcasting Authority.

Marco Carrai

Entrepreneur and manager Marco Carrai is the chairman of *Toscana Aeroporti S.p.A.*, chairman and founder of CyS4, a cybersecurity company, and a member of the Board of Directors of the banking foundation *Ente Cassa di Risparmio di Firenze*.

He has served as city councilor of the city of Florence. He served as the chair of the secretary of the president of the Florence Province and as economic adviser to the mayor of Florence. He is a member of the Advisory Board of *Università di Roma LUMSA* and of *Università Ca' Foscari Venezia*.

Ignacio Cosidó Gutiérrez

Ignacio Cosidó Gutiérrez is a Spanish Senator (Popular Party), chairman of the Demographic Committee, amember of the National Security

and Defense Committees, and a member of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly. From 2012 until 2016, he served as director-general of the National Police Force of Spain. He has served as a member of the National Parliament also between 2004–2012. An air force reservist lieutenant, he is Associate Professor in IE University (Madrid), vice president of the Atlantic Association, and a member of the Strategic Studies Group (GEES).

Dan Diker

Dan Diker is director of the Political Warfare Project at the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs. A former director general of the World Jewish Congress, he is also a Research Fellow at the International Institute for Counter Terrorism at IDC, Herzliya.

Freddy Eytan

Ambassador Freddy Eytan, a former Foreign Ministry senior adviser who served in Israel's embassies in Paris and Brussels, was Israel's first Ambassador to the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. He was also the spokesman of the Israeli delegation to the peace process with the Palestinians. Since 2007, he heads the Israel-Europe Project at the Jerusalem Center, which focuses on analyzing Israeli relations with the countries of Europe and seeks to develop ties and avenues of bilateral cooperation. He is also the director of *Le Cape*, the Jerusalem Center website in French. Amb. Eytan has written 20 books about the Israeli-Arab conflict and the policy of France in the Middle East, including *La Poudriere* (*The Powder Keg*) and *Le Double Jeu* (*the Double Game*). He has also published biographies of Shimon Peres, Ariel Sharon, Benjamin Netanyahu, and a book, *The 18 Who Built Israel*.

Gideon Falter

Chairman of the Campaign Against Anti-Semitism (UK), Falter studied law at the University of Warwick, building up the JSoc while fighting off opposition within the Students' Union. In the summer of 2014, as fighting flared between Hamas and Israel and antisemitism peaked in Britain, he joined the Campaign Against Anti-Semitism. Falter has spoken at the House of Commons and given evidence to the House of Commons Home Affairs Committee. He serves on the board of the Jewish National Fund UK.

Emanuele Giaufret

From September 2017, Emanuele Giaufret has served as the head of the delegation of the European Union to the State of Israel. From 2013 to 2017 he served as the head of the Division for Democracy and Electoral Observation of EEAS (European External Action Service – the diplomatic service and foreign and defense ministry of the European Union). Prior to that task, he served as assistant to the managing director for North Africa and the Middle East, head of the Section of the EU delegation to the UN in New York, Counsellor/First Counsellor, and First Secretary of the DCM EC delegation in Tel Aviv. He holds a PhD in History of International Relations from the University of Florence (Italy) obtained in 1999 and a Master's degree in European Affairs received from the College of Europe (Bruges, Belgium) in 1996. He graduated in political science from the University of Florence (Italy) in 1993.

Dore Gold

Ambassador Dore Gold has served as president of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs since 2000. From June 2015 until October 2016, he served as director-general of the Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Previously, he served as foreign policy adviser to Prime Minister

Benjamin Netanyahu, Israel's Ambassador to the United Nations (1997–1999), and as an adviser to Prime Minister Ariel Sharon.

François Heisbourg

François Heisbourg is the chair of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) Council. Prof. Heisbourg began his career in the policy planning division of the French Foreign Ministry and was subsequently first secretary at the French Permanent Mission to the United Nations (New York) and a security adviser to the Minister of Defense. In 1984, he moved into the private sector as vice president at Thomson-CSF, serving as director of the IISS in 1987, before joining MATRA-Defense-Espace as Senior Vice-President in 1992. He has served on several French government advisory bodies, leading the interagency working group on the study of international relations, strategic affairs, and defense issues in France (1999–2000), serving as a member of the “Defense and National Security White Paper” Presidential Commission (2007–2008, 2012–2013); and on the steering committee for the White Paper on Terrorism (2005–2006).

Chaya Herskovic

Chaya Herskovic is the director general of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs since 2004. She has served since 1988 as the Jerusalem Center's director of projects, responsible for the organization and management of numerous Jerusalem Center research projects, conferences, and seminars in a variety of fields including privatization, education, law enforcement, local government, Israel's political system, and the Druze minority. She has also been responsible for the editing and production of the Center's Hebrew publications.

Pinhas Inbari

Pinhas Inbari is a JCPA expert on Middle East affairs. A veteran Palestinian affairs correspondent who formerly reported for Israel Radio and *Al Hamishmar* newspaper, he currently reports for several foreign media outlets.

Yossi Kuperwasser

Brig.-Gen. (res.) Yossi Kuperwasser is director of the Project on Regional Middle East Developments at the Jerusalem Center. He was formerly director-general of the Israel Ministry of Strategic Affairs and head of the Research Division of IDF Military Intelligence.

Amnon Lord

An Israeli journalist with the daily newspaper *Yisrael Hayom*, Lord's articles and essays about media, film, and politics have been published in *The Jerusalem Post*, *Mida*, *Azure*, *Nativ*, and *Achshav*. Lord wrote and anchored a TV series about the beginnings of Israeli cinema. He is the author of *The Israeli Left: From Socialism to Nihilism* (2003), a political and historical analysis of the Israeli Left from a personal perspective.

Zvi Mazel

Ambassador Zvi Mazel served as Israel's ambassador to Sweden between 2002–2004. From 1989 to 1992, he was Israel's ambassador to Romania and from 1996 to 2001 Israel's ambassador to Egypt. He has also held senior positions in Israel's Foreign Ministry as deputy director-general in charge of African affairs and director of the Eastern European division and head of the Egyptian and North African department.

Jacques Neriah

Col. (ret.) Dr. Jacques Neriah, a regular contributor to the Jerusalem Center's blog on the upheavals in the Arab world, was formerly foreign policy adviser to Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Deputy Head for Assessment of Israeli Military Intelligence.

Fiamma Nirenstein

An award-winning journalist and author, leading columnist for *Il Giornale*, an Italian daily, Fiamma Nirenstein is currently a senior fellow of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, in charge of the European Project. For the Jerusalem Center, she has edited the book *Lessons from Israel's Response to Terrorism*. Between 2008 and 2013, she was a member of the Italian Parliament, serving as vice-president of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Chamber of Deputies. During her term, she established and chaired the first Parliamentary Committee for an Inquiry into anti-Semitism. Nirenstein is an expert in Middle East, human rights, terrorism, and anti-Semitism and has written 13 books on these issues.

Nirenstein is a Selection Committee Member of the Genesis Prize, a fellow of the Gatestone Institute, a member of the Advisory Board of NGO Monitor, and a board member of the European Friends of Israel (DFI). She is also one of the six founding members of the steering committee of the Interparliamentary Coalition on Combating Anti-Semitism (ICCA). She serves on the Board of the Friends of Israel Initiative, established in 2010 by the former prime minister of Spain, José Maria Aznar. She is also a board member of the "Talmud Project," a major initiative sponsored by the Italian government to translate the Babylonian Talmud into Italian.

Jennifer Roskies

Jennifer Roskies works at the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs as chief of staff. She was senior adviser to Dore Gold in the Director General's Bureau during his tenure at the Foreign Ministry. Prior to that, she was involved in academic research, development, and communications.

Tomas Sandell

Tomas Sandell is a founding director of the European Coalition for Israel, which is the only non-Jewish pro-Israel advocacy group accredited to the European Union. The Coalition was formed in Brussels in 2003 in order to combat anti-Semitism in Europe and promote better relations between Europe and Israel. Since 2013, the Coalition is also active at the United Nations in New York through the new initiative, Forum for Cultural Diplomacy.

Before getting involved in pro-Israel advocacy, Mr. Sandell was an accredited journalist at the European Union in Brussels, writing primarily for the Scandinavian market. However, his articles have also appeared in international media outlets such as *The Wall Street Journal*, *International Herald Tribune*, *Jerusalem Post*, etc. While in Brussels he was also involved in leadership training and in forming a pan-European network for development and relief organizations.

Daniel Schwammenthal

Since 2011, Daniel Schwammenthal has served as director of the AJC Transatlantic Institute in Brussels. In this capacity, he works to strengthen the transatlantic bond by fostering dialogue between the United States and the European Union in the fields of global security, Arab-Israeli peace, and human rights. Before joining the Transatlantic Institute, Schwammenthal worked as op-ed editor for several major newspapers, including *The Wall Street Journal Europe* in Brussels and

Amsterdam, writing about EU politics and economics, the Arab-Israeli conflict, Iran, radical Islam, and terrorism.

Michael Segall

A JCPA expert on Middle East affairs, Michael Segall has provided ground-breaking analysis of Iranian military strategy and tactics for the Jerusalem Center, and has written extensively about Iranian penetration of Latin America and Africa.

Shimon Shapira

Brig.-Gen. (ret.) Dr. Shimon Shapira, who served as the military secretary to the prime minister and as Israel Foreign Ministry chief of staff, edited the Jerusalem Center eBook *Iran: From Regional Challenge to Global Threat*.

William Shawcross

William Shawcross, a journalist, author, and broadcaster, served (2012 – 2017) as chairman of the Charity Commission for England and Wales – the non-ministerial government department that regulates registered charities in England and Wales and maintains the Central Register of Charities. He has worked as a journalist for *The Sunday Times*, and he writes and lectures on issues of international policy, geopolitics, Southeast Asia and refugees for a number of publications, including *Time*, *Newsweek*, *International Herald Tribune*, *The Spectator*, *The Washington Post* and *Rolling Stone*. He has also written a number of books, including biographies of Rupert Murdoch, the Shah of Iran, and the official biography of Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother (2009).

Shawcross was Chairman of ARTICLE 19, the international center on censorship, from 1986 to 1996. He was a member of the Council of the Disasters Emergency Committee from 1997 to 2002, and a board

member of the International Crisis Group from 1995 to 2005. He was a member of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees' Informal Advisory Group from 1995 to 2000. From 1997 to 2003, he was a member of the BBC World Service Advisory Council. In 2011 he joined the board of the Anglo-Israel Association and was appointed to the board of the Henry Jackson Society.

Gerald Steinberg

Professor Gerald Steinberg is founder and president of NGO Monitor and professor of Political Studies at Bar Ilan University. He is the founder of the Program on Conflict Management and Negotiation at Bar Ilan University. His research focuses on the changing nature of power in international relations, as reflected in Middle East diplomacy and security, the politics of human rights non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and Israeli politics and arms control. He was awarded a prestigious Israel Science Foundation grant (2008); served as team leader, Israel at the Polls chapters on the peace process and Israel-American relations (1988–2005); member of Israel Council of Foreign Affairs; advisory board of the Israel Law Review International; appointed to the Israel Higher-Education Council, Committee on Public Policy (2013); academic participant in the Inter-parliamentary Coalition for Combating Antisemitism ICCA. His op-ed columns have been published in *The Wall Street Journal (Europe)*, *Financial Times*, *Ha'aretz*, *Jerusalem Post*, and other publications. He has appeared as a commentator on *BBC*, *CNN*, *MSNBC*, *Al Jazeera*, and *NPR*.

Yuval Steinitz

Dr. Yuval Steinitz is the minister of National Infrastructure, Energy, and Water. He completed his IDF service in the Golani Brigade. He holds a B.A. and M.A. (with honors) in philosophy from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and a Ph.D. in philosophy from Tel Aviv University. Steinitz was a senior lecturer in the Philosophy Department at Haifa University.

A member of Knesset since 1999, Steinitz has served as a member and chairman of the Foreign Affairs & Defense Committee, and as a member of the Constitution, Law and Justice, and the Science and Technology Committees. He chaired the Committee for the Examination of the Intelligence Services Following the War in Iraq. Since 2003 he has co-chaired the Joint Congress-Knesset Security Committee, together with Senator John Kyl (Arizona).

Yuval Steinitz was appointed minister of Finance in March 2009, serving until March 2013, when he was appointed minister of Strategic and Intelligence Affairs responsible for International Relations. In May 2015, he was appointed minister of National Infrastructure, Energy, and Water.

Giulio Terzi di Sant'Agata

Ambassador Giulio Terzi di Sant'Agata has served in the Italian Foreign Service between 1973 and 2013 in different capacities. He has been political director, ambassador to Israel, permanent representative to the United Nations in New York, ambassador to the United States, and was appointed in November 2011 as foreign minister until March 2013. He is currently active on issues of foreign and security policy as a senior adviser or board member in relevant institutions and organizations.

Alex Traiman

Alex Traiman is a veteran journalist and filmmaker, and currently the managing director and Jerusalem bureau chief of *Jewish News Syndicate*/JNS.org. Traiman has directed and produced award-winning documentaries, including *Iranium* and *Honor Diaries*.

Tommaso Virgili

Dr. Tommaso Virgili works at the Brussels-based policy center European Foundation for Democracy, where he specializes on a number of projects related to European policy, prevention of radicalisation, and Islamism. He has previously held posts at the European External Action Service (covering Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan), the Middle East Forum in Philadelphia and the Italian Permanent Mission to the United Nations in New York. Tommaso holds a Ph.D. in Comparative Law focused on Islamic Constitutionalism, Sharia and Individual Liberties from Sant'Anna School of Advanced Studies in Pisa, obtained further to a Master of Arts in Middle East, Islamic Studies, and Arabic from the American University of Paris and Cairo.

Benjamin Weinthal

Benjamin Weinthal reports on European affairs and the Middle East for *The Jerusalem Post*. He is a fellow at the Foundation for Defense of Democracies, a non-partisan national security think tank. Follow him on Twitter @BenWeinthal

Tomáš Zdechovský

Tomáš Zdechovský is a Czech politician, crisis manager, media analyst, poet, and author. In May 2014, he was elected Member of the European Parliament with KDU-ČSL, which is part of the European Peoples Party.



The Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs is a leading independent research institute specializing in public diplomacy and foreign policy. Founded in 1976, the Center has produced hundreds of studies and initiatives by leading experts on a wide range of strategic topics. The Center is headed by Amb. Dore Gold, former Israeli ambassador to the UN and director-general of the Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Jerusalem Center Programs:

Defensible Borders for Israel – A major security and public diplomacy initiative that analyzes current terror threats and Israel's corresponding territorial requirements, particularly in the strategically vital West Bank.

Jerusalem in International Diplomacy – Dore Gold analyzes the legal and historic rights of Israel in Jerusalem in *The Fight for Jerusalem: Radical Islam, the West, and the Future of the Holy City*. Jerusalem expert Nadav Shragai documents nearly a century of Arab violence in "*The Al-Aksa is in Danger*" Libel: *The History of a Lie*.

Combating Delegitimization and BDS – A public diplomacy program exposing those forces that are questioning Israel's very legitimacy. Publications include *BDS Unmasked: Radical Roots, Extremist Ends* (2016), *Defeating Denormalization: Shared Palestinian and Israeli Perspectives on a New Path to Peace* (2018), and *Students for Justice in Palestine Unmasked* (2018).

Global Law Forum – A program that undertakes studies and advances policy initiatives to protect Israel's legal rights in its conflict with the Palestinians and radical Islam.

Institute for Contemporary Affairs (ICA) – A program founded in 2002 jointly with the Wechsler Family Foundation that presents Israel's case on current issues through high-level briefings by government and military leaders to the foreign diplomatic corps and foreign press.

Jerusalem Center Serial Publications:

Jerusalem Issue Brief – Insider briefings by top-level Israeli government officials, military experts, and academics, as part of the Center's Institute for Contemporary Affairs.

Daily Alert – A daily digest of hyperlinked news and commentary on Israel and the Middle East from the world and Israeli press since 2002.

Jewish Political Studies Review – A scholarly journal founded in 1989.

Jerusalem Center Websites:

jcpa.org (English)

jcpa.org.il (Hebrew)

jcpa-lecape.org (French)

jer-zentrum.org (German)

facebook.com/jerusalemcenter

twitter.com/JerusalemCenter

youtube.com/TheJerusalemCenter

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President: Amb. Dore Gold

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Prof. Rela Geffen

Zvi R. Marom

Prof. Shmuel Sandler

Howard M. Weisband



On March 27, 2018, a group of officials, politicians, and intellectuals from Europe and Israel met at the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs for a day-long discussion on relations between Israel and Europe.

Readers will find herein essays written by the participants. They provide a detailed and complete examination of the mistakes, wrongdoings, and basic reasons why Europe sometimes cannot or does not want to understand Israel.

This publication represents the fruits of a first-time initiative. Under the expert eye of our senior fellow Fiamma Nirenstein, the Jerusalem Center convened an exceptional and distinguished group to explore the issues where disagreements exist. In a spirit of trust and good will, discussants offered diverse perspectives on the essence of these issues and their opinions on how they may be bridged.

These essays are presented in the hope that, notwithstanding the complexities of the Europe-Israel relationship, we may develop the route to move these private expressions of understanding into the public sphere.



P.M. David Ben Gurion has his first meeting with General Charles de Gaulle, Pres. of France at the Palais de L'Élysée in Paris, during his official visit to France in 1960.

