

# On some deceptive “reasoning” of the Hamas-compatible left<sup>1</sup>

I have tried to summarise below some of the main "arguments" circulating within the Hamas-compatible left. For years this left has tried to hide the anti-working-class and anti-communist character of the various tendencies of political Islam and Muslim fundamentalism<sup>2</sup>. Of course, these sophisms are not carved in stone; depending on the circumstances, the same arguments can sometimes be abandoned by their supporters, sometimes fiercely defended; and they do not stem from any coherent historical and political reflection – at least, not from the point of view of the struggle against capitalist exploitation.

What has been most striking since 7 October 2023, although it obviously began long before this mass massacre, is the ideological and ethical convergence (usually unacknowledged) between "progressive" academics, far-left groups, anti-Zionist Jews and associations "supporting" Palestine, a convergence that aims to excuse the crimes of Hamas, since they were and will be committed, as the case may be, by "resistance fighters", "colonized people" or even by the entire Palestinian "people".

Let's be clear: any denunciation of Israeli war crimes (at least 18,000 dead and tens of thousands injured on 15 December 2023), any denunciation of Israeli war crimes that plays down the significance of the anti-Semitic massacre of 7 October 2023 is tantamount to Holocaust denial – even if it is cloaked in a "left" or "feminist" veneer<sup>3</sup>.

1) Gaza is said to be a *concentration camp*, implying that the Israelis (or at least their army and government leaders) are Nazis – or act like Nazis<sup>4</sup>. There is a deliberate confusion here between

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<sup>1</sup> See "Les dix commandements de la gauche théocompatible" (2007) <https://npnf.eu/spip.php?article1127> ; and "Les quatre cavaliers de l'obscurantisme. Religions, Etats, ONG et idéologues" <https://npnf.eu/spip.php?article809>, for a more general analysis of the Left's opportunism towards **all religions** and its abandonment of atheism and materialist philosophy, .

<sup>2</sup> See " Hamas: a «black hole» for the French and international «left»" (<https://www.workersliberty.org/story/2023-10-26/hamas-black-hole-french-and-international-left>), and various articles in French on npnf.eu website, in particular "Le Hezbollah: un Parti-État totalitaire" (2004), <https://npnf.eu/spip.php?article169> ; "Gilbert Achcar et les multiples contradictions trotskystes face à "l'intégrisme islamique" (2007) <https://npnf.eu/spip.php?article1128>; "Contorsions libertaires face au Hezbollah et au nationalisme arabe" (2007) ; "Le SWP et l'islam: les silences des agneaux trotskistes". These articles, published online between 2004 and 2007, can also be found in the book *Islam, islamisme et "islamophobie"* published in 2008 <https://npnf.eu/spip.php?article758> .

<sup>3</sup> As in this «feminist» article, which equates the police expulsion from France of a PFLP activist (whose organisation has murdered some thirty Israeli civilians since 2005) with the rapes committed by Hamas or other jihadist militants on 7 October 2023; and above all denies the very reality of these rapes. See <https://www.lemediatv.fr/articles/2023/propagande-de-guerre-pro-israelienne-notre-feminisme-ne-se-laissera-pas-enroler-i7Hc1eCST7miTliGrjVL3A> .

<sup>4</sup> To quote only two examples, on December 3<sup>rd</sup> and December 9<sup>th</sup> 2023, Izzat al-Rishq, member of the Political Bureau of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) denounced repeatedly Tsahal as a «Nazi « army, criticizing «*this narrative and others that the Nazi occupation has been repeating since its violation of the truce agreement*» (<https://www.saba.ye/en/news3285524.htm> ) and «*the*

concentration camps and mass murder centres – a distinction that few left-wing activists or sympathisers make, either through calculation or ignorance. Hence, for example, the comparisons between the Warsaw ghetto uprising in 1943<sup>5</sup> and the mass slaughter perpetrated by Hamas on 7 October.

The **nazification of Israel**<sup>6</sup> is at the heart of this «argument» and of most of the left and far left «reasoning» – whether this nazification is admitted, half-confessed or denied by its supporters.

**The soft version:** Gaza would be an "open-air prison"<sup>7</sup>.

Nazification means genocide, so we hear more and more from the Hamas-friendly left that **Israel is preparing (or is in the process of carrying out) a genocide against the Palestinians.**

In line with its nazification of the Israeli state, the Hamas-compatible left puts forward the idea that this state is carrying out a "genocidal policy"; thus the Tsedek "decolonial Jewish collective" wrote on 17 October 2023: the "*statements of the highest political authorities of the Israeli State regarding the military offensive underway in Gaza leave no doubt as to their genocidal intentions*"<sup>8</sup>; and "*While ethnic cleansing is underway in Gaza, we speak out as Jews of France to refuse to allow this genocide to be carried out in our name*" (*idem*).

The UJFP (Union juive française pour la paix – French Jewish Union for Peace) took the same line when, on 18 October 2023, its National Coordination stated: "*We support them [IfNotNow and Jewish for Peace], we French Jews whose word is muzzled by our government, and we repeat with them 'No genocide in our name'*"<sup>9</sup>.

And the Trotskyite-compatible academic Thierry Labica, on the *Contretemps* website and in *L'Anticapitaliste*, joined the libertarian Freddy Gomez of the *A contretemps* website in evoking, the former, an "enterprise of a genocidal nature", an "exterminationist" policy, and the latter the "obsessive question" "formulated in the best and most accurate way" (?) by the journalist Daniel Schneidermann: "*How can we admit that the descendants of the victims of genocide, less than a century later, are themselves practising genocide?*"<sup>10</sup>

Unfortunately for our radicals tortured by an existential doubt, the Stalinist D. Selfer<sup>11</sup> already answered their "obsessive" question in 1980: "*Such is the irony of history: the Zionist leaders of Israel are pursuing the same genocidal policy towards the Arabs as the Hitlerites pursued towards the Jews*" (*The Collapse of Zionist Theories*, 1980).

They are in good company, since the Trotskyite-compatible academic Gilbert Achcar (who has been struggling for years to seriously criticise Hezbollah<sup>12</sup> and can only characterize Hamas as a

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*horrific massacres committed by the Nazi occupation army against the innocent and defenseless civilians of our people in Gaza*" (<https://www.saba.ye/en/news3286574.htm>).

<sup>5</sup> According to Norman Finkelstein's statement broadcast on his official Substack on 7 October 2023: "*For the past 20 years, the people of Gaza, half of whom are children, have been immured in a concentration camp. Today they breached the camp's walls. If we honour John Brown's armed resistance to slavery; if we honour the Jews who revolted in the Warsaw Ghetto – then moral consistency commands that we honour the heroic resistance in Gaza.*"

<sup>6</sup> The "Government Media Office in Gaza", i.e. Hamas, denounces the "neo-Nazi Zionist army of occupation"; <https://french.palinfo.com/news/2023/12/5/Gaza-1-248-martyrs-dans-77-massacres-commis-par-l-occupation-n-onazie-sioniste-annonce-le-bureau-des-m-dias>

<sup>7</sup> A term widely used on the left, from the Trotskyist Lutte Ouvrière (Nathalie Arthaud) to the Greens (Eva Joly), for example during the 2012 presidential campaign.

<sup>8</sup> <https://tsedekdecolonial.wordpress.com/2023/10/17/silence-on-tue/>

<sup>9</sup> <https://ujfp.org/jewish-voice-for-peace-aux-usa-sexprime-contre-le-genocide-des-palestiniens/>

<sup>10</sup> <https://acontretemps.org/spip.php?article1027>

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Stan Crooke's "The Stalinist roots of left-wing anti-Semitism," <https://www.workersliberty.org/story/2004/02/24/stalinist-roots-left-anti-zionism-1> and 2.

<sup>12</sup> See his «Eleven Theses on the Resurgence of Islamic Fundamentalism» written in 1981 (<https://internationalviewpoint.org/spip.php?article1132>), republished in *L'Orient incandescent*

"fundamentalist [?!] movement" with a "magical thinking"!) denounced, on 28 November 2023, "the Zionist genocidal war and its accomplices"<sup>13</sup> and possible "refugee camps that would serve as concentration camps under the supervision of the Israeli army" (*idem*).

To respond to these twisted "arguments" and falsely naive questions, we need only quote the historian Philip Spencer<sup>14</sup> : "the accusation of genocide against Israel [...] betrays a deliberate refusal to acknowledge that Hamas has openly stated its genocidal intentions [...]. this accusation is anti-Semitic, since it accuses the Jews of the crime committed against them. [...]. It has its origins in a partial and limited (at best) understanding of the Shoah as having only a universal significance, from which, it is claimed, only the Jews have not learned the lessons. And we quickly come to Israel, the new Nazi Germany. There is [...] a kind of perversion, a pleasure in imagining victims transformed into executioners. [...] It's certainly hard not to sense a certain excitement in the way the demonstrators hurl slogans so offensive to the Jews that they plunge them into a state of anxiety that they haven't experienced in this country for ages"<sup>15</sup> ."

## 2) To appeal to American public opinion, the Hamas-friendly left finds it is clever to glorify the murder of civilians by John Brown and Nat Turner in the 19th century.

This is the case, for example, of Norman Finkelstein<sup>16</sup>, who first rejoiced<sup>17</sup> at 7 October 2023, citing the rebellions of John Brown and then, the following day, Nat Turner, and even the hostages

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(Éditions Page 2, 2003) ; and his book co-authored with Michel Warschawski *La guerre des 33 jours. La guerre d'Israël contre le Hezbollah au Liban et ses conséquences*, Textuel, 2007.

<sup>13</sup> <https://lanticapitaliste.org/opinions/international/la-guerre-genocidaire-sioniste-et-ses-complices> . Let's not forget that, on the October 8<sup>th</sup>, he greeted the Hamas murderous action as a "feat" and wrote : "the only reason why such quasi-desperate act of bravery as Hamas's latest operation does not actually happen more frequently is the huge military disproportion between the Palestinian David and the Israeli Goliath. Gaza's latest counter-offensive brings indeed to mind the 1943 Warsaw Ghetto Uprising". Again, the technique of "Holocaust inversion" ([https://gilbert-achcar.net/on-hamas-october-offensive?fbclid=IwAR3GEWJi8Mufz\\_zcg-P99mEjwMxod6HGqffw3c5iRHyK2BPgGD48I\\_2IHHs](https://gilbert-achcar.net/on-hamas-october-offensive?fbclid=IwAR3GEWJi8Mufz_zcg-P99mEjwMxod6HGqffw3c5iRHyK2BPgGD48I_2IHHs))

<sup>14</sup> Author of *Antisemitism and the Left; on the Return of the Jewish Question* (with Robert Fine), Manchester University Press, 2017; *Genocide since 1945*, Routledge, 2012; *Nations and Nationalism*, Edinburgh University Press, 2006; and *Nationalism: a Crucial Introduction* (with Howard Wollman), Sage 2002.

<sup>15</sup> [https://k-larevue.com/philip-spencer-les-juifs-du-royaume-uni-se-sentent-isoles-et-assieges/?utm\\_campaign=K.%20La%20Revue%20%23143FR&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=Mailjet#footnote\\_plugin\\_content\\_14495\\_1\\_3](https://k-larevue.com/philip-spencer-les-juifs-du-royaume-uni-se-sentent-isoles-et-assieges/?utm_campaign=K.%20La%20Revue%20%23143FR&utm_medium=email&utm_source=Mailjet#footnote_plugin_content_14495_1_3) (This interview was published in French and then retranslated by me in English, so you are not reading Philip Spencer's exact words.)

<sup>16</sup> Adulated by the far left and invertebrate anti-Zionists, Finkelstein accuses Jews of making money out of Judeocide (see my article «**A propos de Finkelstein et de la crapuleuse expression "Shoah Business"**», 2004, <https://nfnf.eu/spip.php?article566> ); and, on the pretext of being "humorous", he spreads anti-Semitic clichés based on false statistics (see «Norman Finkelstein alimente la propagande antisémite la plus grossière en s'appuyant sur des statistiques absurdes !» – <https://nfnf.eu/spip.php?article566>, 2018) and in English Alan Johnson: "Denial: Norm an Finkelstein and the New Antisemitism" (August 2018, <https://fathomjournal.org/denial-norman-finkelstein-and-the-new-antisemitism/> ). I am far from sharing Johnson's positions on every issue but I share many of his criticisms of Finkelstein.

<sup>17</sup> Here is how Finkelstein expressed his joy: «*I, for one, will never begrudge – on the contrary, it warms every fibre of my soul – the scenes of Gaza's smiling children as their arrogant Jewish supremacist oppressors have, finally, been humbled. The stars above in heaven are looking kindly down. Glory, glory, Hallelujah. The souls of Gaza go marching on.*»

For more details, particularly on Finkelstein's bad faith, see his interview with Piers Morgan ([https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I\\_Sh-ERypMA](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I_Sh-ERypMA)) and my article "Norman Finkelstein peut-il

of the Paris Commune<sup>18</sup> ! These absurd analogies and historical references to the fight against slavery in the United States and to the murder of Euro-American civilians by slaves (Nat Turner) or by Euro-American anti-slavery activists (John Brown) demagogically allow everyone to be presented with a false choice : either you are an abolitionist, or you support slavery. Or, to take the example of the Commune, either you are with the Communards or with the Versaillais!

This is one of the **favourite techniques of the identitarian left** in the United States and elsewhere to discredit its opponents.

Either you think exactly as the identitarian left or you support «structural racism» and are with the «*white supremacists*». And since the "*white supremacists*" (Itamar Ben-Gvir's extreme right) are in power in Israel and the 750,000 or so settlers in the Occupied Territories and Jerusalem are also supporters of the "*white supremacists*" who carry out "*pogroms*"<sup>19</sup> against Palestinians, the link with Israel and Palestine is immediate.

The Hamas-friendly left is not blind to the war crimes or crimes against humanity committed by other states; it simply thinks that **these crimes are not important compared to those of Israel (in fact, their importance is literally "infinitesimal"**<sup>20</sup> "!). The willful blindness of the *Hamas-friendly* left is particularly supported by the "arguments" of the "decolonialists"<sup>21</sup> of all sorts (see points 4 and 5).

**3) Hamas rockets are not missiles.** However, according to the Yemeni governmental press agency SABA, which reproduces the communiqués of the al-Qassam Brigades and of all Hamas leaders, the latter are indeed sending salvos of "*missiles towards Tel Aviv in response to the Zionist massacres against civilians*"<sup>22</sup> .

**These rockets are not meant to kill but «only» to terrorise the population. And in any case, Israel is well protected against rockets and missiles** because "*the Israeli army is one of the strongest and best equipped in the world*" (Association France Palestine Solidarité, AFPS, 7/10/2023), is a "*Goliath*" against the Palestinian "*David*", etc.

#### **4) Armed resistance is legitimate and the only solution.**

As the UJFP wrote on 7 October 2023, "*We support the resistance of the Palestinian people in the face of the occupation, oppression and denial of Palestinian rights*"<sup>23</sup>. However, on 7 October, this organisation was more cautious than Norman Finkelstein, stating that it did not have "*detailed and verified information*"<sup>24</sup> . It also said that not all its members necessarily supported Hamas's strategy<sup>25</sup>.

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tomber encore plus bas après ses déclarations sur le massacre du 7 octobre 2023 ??"  
<https://nfnf.eu/spip.php?article1122> .

<sup>18</sup> <https://normanfinkelstein.substack.com/p/video-recording-and-transcript-special>

<sup>19</sup> *Israel, whose army recently covered up the pogroms carried out by settlers against Palestinian villages*", according to the UJFP, which obviously refrains from using the term "pogrom" in connection with the massacres of 7 October 2023. See its press release of the same day <https://ujfp.org/ca-suffit-le-concert-des-nations-pro-israelien-resister-a-un-occupant-est-legitime/>

<sup>20</sup> "*The crime committed by Hamas is absolutely infinitesimal compared to what is happening in Gaza*", said left-wing journalist and essayist Sylvain Cypel on 12 December 2023 ("*Après Gaza*", debate organised by the Louise Michel Society, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ANLZwV7sGqQ> , at the 20<sup>e</sup> minute mark).

<sup>21</sup> <https://tsedekdecolonial.wordpress.com/>

<sup>22</sup> <https://www.saba.ye/fr/news3286985.htm>

<sup>23</sup> <https://ujfp.org/ca-suffit-le-concert-des-nations-pro-israelien-resister-a-un-occupant-est-legitime/>

<sup>24</sup> *Idem*, UJFP, 7 October 2023.

<sup>25</sup> *Idem*, UJFP, 7 October 2023.

However, on 12 October 2023, the UJFP was more specific: "*for the Palestinians, and in particular the Gazans, an occupied people under Israeli domination, resistance, whether armed or not, is legitimate*"<sup>26</sup>.

This reasoning is similar to that of Hamas, according to which traditional forms of struggle are doomed to failure because peaceful demonstrators are shot dead by the IDF (IDF murders that no one can deny).

To put it plainly, Hamas is not really responsible for its crimes of 7<sup>th</sup> October 2023, since "*the civilian victims are the result of decades of oppression, looting and murder by a colonial Israeli regime that wants to keep the natives submissive*"<sup>27</sup>. But "*Massacres of civilians, whoever they may be, are unacceptable*"<sup>28</sup>.

So, on the one hand, the mass murders of 7 October 2023 are "*unacceptable*" but, on the other, they are somehow **inevitable** because, in reality, it is not Hamas that is "*defending itself*", "*it is the occupied, colonised, besieged people*"<sup>29</sup>.

### **Admire the sleight of hand!**

This is what Hamza Hamouchene wrote on the *Contretemps* website, linked to the Trotskyist NPA n° 1<sup>30</sup>, on 9 November 2023. Mixing up everything from the armed struggles for national liberation in Algeria and Vietnam with the struggle of Malcolm X and Eldridge Cleaver, he asserts: "*Denouncing and pointing the finger at the violence of the oppressed and colonised is not only immoral, it is also racist. Colonised peoples have the right to resist by any means necessary, especially when all political and peaceful means of protest have been blocked or destroyed*"<sup>31</sup> ."

The trick is the same, because it makes it possible to avoid mentioning the fact that Hamas has a programme to multiply massacres like the 7 October 2023 pogrom until Israel is annihilated, as Ghazi Ahmad, a member of the Hamas Political Bureau, declared in an interview with Lebanese television station LBCI News<sup>32</sup> .

The same kind of "reasoning" can be found in the press release of 10 October 2023 from the "Tsedek decolonial collective", which states: "*Resistance, including armed resistance, is legitimate in a context of oppression and denial of the fundamental rights of a people [...]. It is the colonial structures and policies, largely intensified by the Israeli government in recent months, that produce systematic and daily violence against the Palestinians. [...] It is the colonial structures and policies, largely intensified by the Israeli government in recent months, that produce systematic and daily violence against the Palestinians. This violence is bound to rebound on the Israeli population, which the colonial regime enlists in the war and colonisation*"<sup>33</sup> ."

The mass massacre of 7 October was therefore a mere "**ricochet**" for our "*decolonialists*" .... And for Hamas.

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<sup>26</sup> <https://ujfp.org/la-source-de-la-violence-est-le-colonialisme/>

<sup>27</sup> *Idem*, UJFP, 12 October 2023.

<sup>28</sup> *Idem*, UJFP, 12 October 2023.

<sup>29</sup> *Idem*, UJFP, 12 October 2023. We find the same notion of inevitability in Thierry Labica's article on *Contretemps* website on 13 December: according to him, "*Hamas must be recognised for the historical role of social organisation and legitimate pragmatic and political interlocutor that it has been absolutely and catastrophically denied*" and "*7 October is also the product of this denial*".

<sup>30</sup> There are two Trotskyist NPAs in France (New Anticapitalist Party); the NPA n° 1 publishes *L'Anticapitaliste* and the NPA n° 2 publishes *Révolutionnaires*.

<sup>31</sup> <https://www.contretemps.eu/author/hamza-hamouchene/>

<sup>32</sup> <https://www.memri.org/reports/hamas-official-ghazi-hamad-we-will-repeat-october-7-attack-time-and-again-until-israel>. I had a friend who speaks Arabic check the authenticity of the translation. This site and the association that funds it are run by a former senior FBI official, Oliver Revell. He makes no secret of the fact that he created them with the agreement of the Israeli secret services, and his website also makes no secret of the fact either.

<sup>33</sup> <https://tsedekdecolonial.wordpress.com/2023/10/10/denoncer-la-guerre-et-apres/>

What's more, it's **interesting** that these so-called advocates of armed revolution, 3,200 kilometres away from their cosy nest, **never consider including... Israeli Jewish fighters in this "exemplary" struggle!**

As the Brazilian collective *Passa Palavra* writes, even though it considers "Zionism" to be a form of "fascism" (?!), "At the same time as the Israeli government was ordering the population of northern Gaza to flee, Hamas was trying to dissuade the population from fleeing, claiming that this was Zionist psychological propaganda and calling on people to stay at home. Indeed, the civilian population, bombed by the Israeli army in their homes, schools and hospitals is the indispensable human shield behind which Hamas protects itself. There could be no more timely rebuttal to the hypocrisy of the Left, which assumes that there is an identity of interests between Hamas and the Palestinian people. Yet both sides share the same contempt for civilians.

*Hamas has chosen a method of attack that is totally indifferent to the fate of the Palestinian people. It is not only terrorism in the way Hamas has killed and abducted civilians. It is also terrorism in the way it exposes a population that is unable to defend itself against Israeli bombardment.*

*Historically, the guerrilla method has been used in such circumstances. But this would require establishing close relations with Israelis who oppose apartheid, which Hamas does not do because it is deeply racist. In other words, it is not anti-Zionist, it is anti-Semitic. Hamas chooses a method of struggle that exposes and sacrifices the Palestinian population<sup>34</sup>.*

**5) The Israeli government is a white supremacist, racist, fascist and even fascist government<sup>35</sup>**, THEREFORE any means can be used to fight it as long as this fight is waged "in accordance with international humanitarian law<sup>36</sup>".

There is also a **hypocritical variant** of this argument: **we don't have to tell the exploited/colonised how to fight.**

The Nazification of the current government is often extended to all Israeli governments since 1948, and even to the leaders of the Yishuv before the creation of the state ...

Just type the words "Zionism" and "fascism" into any search engine and you will find an impressive number of academic contributions – and not just from the far left – supporting this thesis<sup>37</sup>. Thus the Hamas-friendly left quotes

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<sup>34</sup> "A esquerda, o nacionalismo e a Palestina, 19 October 2023, <https://passapalavra.info/2023/10/150356/>

<sup>35</sup> See for example the AFPS press release of 7 October 2023 denouncing an "extreme right-wing, racist and supremacist Israeli government"; or the article by Thierry Labica in *L'Anticapitaliste* No. 150, published by the Trotskyist NPA n° 1, which refers to "thirty years of increasingly right-wing, theocratic and fascist involution" and an "apartheid state in full supremacist and theocratic drift (admired by all the extreme right)" and a "proven fascist power" (on *Contretemps* website, 13 December 2023).

Labica's thesis is not a very new one, since the American Stalinists (among others) already denounced Zionism as "fascist" almost a century ago. Indeed, in the Yiddish-language Stalinist press published in the United States, Kalmen Marmor wrote in 1936 that in Palestine "the situation of the Jews there is even more dangerous because of Jewish fascism, the Zionist movement, that has put the Palestinian Jews (and also the term 'the Jewish people') in the service of English imperialism, in order to oppress the Arab workers and peasants" and N. Krupin denounced the "fascist-Zionists" in 1931 (quoted in Henry Srebrnik's article "'An Enemy of the Jewish Masses': The ICOR and the Campaign Against Zionism, 1924-1935", in A. Grabski (dir.), *Rebels of Zion*, available on academia.edu website).

<sup>36</sup> "The Palestinian people have a legitimate and indisputable right recognised by international law to organise their resistance, including armed resistance, as long as it complies with international humanitarian law". (AFPS, 11/10/023).

<sup>37</sup> For example, Pierre Stambul of the UJFP (<https://www.contretemps.eu/sionisme-antisemitisme-fascisme-extreme-droite-israel/>) lumps together various "companionships" throughout history. One

– a sentence written in October 1938 by Henryk Erlich<sup>38</sup>, a Bund leader (but obviously “antizionists” provide no quotes from surviving Bund activists after the Judeocide or after the creation of Israel);

– the Haavarah agreements<sup>39</sup> between the Nazi regime and the Zionist leaders of the Jewish Agency in June 1933, which allowed wealthy German Jews to transfer capital to Palestine and, above all, to save the lives of tens of thousands of Jews ;

– the official presence of Zionist organisations in Germany before the Second World War,

– or, even worse, the fact that "Zionists" did not resist against the Nazis in Europe<sup>40</sup> .

All this **without ever providing any element of the famous "context"**<sup>41</sup>, a context that nevertheless allows this Hamas-compatible left to get away with the mass murder organised by Hamas on 7 October 2023....

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gets the impression that Zionism (all its tendencies), fascism and Nazism have always been buddies from the 1920s to the present day. Two examples: Stambul talks about Jabotinsky's fascist temptations, while «forgetting» to point out that his supporters contacted Ben Hecht to persuade him, against the majority of Jewish organisations, to launch the biggest mass campaign against Nazism in the United States before WW2, a campaign which was subsequently taken up and conducted by the left and far left of the time (cf. Ben Urwand, *The Collaboration. Hollywood's Pact with Hitler*, 2013).

Stambul also "forgets" that the same Jabotinsky, despite his extreme right-wing convictions, and while calling for the construction of a "steel wall" against the Arabs, was opposed to an exclusively "Jewish" state: "*In fact, Jabotinsky did not have the anti-Arab vision of the Netanyahu family. In 1940, he envisioned a State of Israel, "a dominion of the British Empire, with a Jewish majority, a Jewish president and an Arab vice-president, and where all citizens would be equal, regardless of their origins or religion. The Jewish and Arab communities, as and their respective languages, should have an identical status recognised by law". As early as 1929, he had published a poem that envisioned a Jewish state on both banks of the Jordan, and in which he wished that in the 21st century "the Arab, the Christian and the Jew will prosper from the wealth of our land "* (according to Charles Enderlin, a journalist with little suspicion of sympathy for the Israeli far right; <https://charlesenderlin.com/2021/03/16/les-trois-principes-de-lideologie-netanyahu/> ). But most «anti-Zionists» despise the complexity of history, preferring amalgams and sloppy shortcuts.

<sup>38</sup> "*The destiny of Zionism is closely tied to the destiny of fascism and antisemitism, against which the Jewish working class must struggle in a life or death fight*", quoted in Jack Jacobs, "Bundist Anti-Zionism in Interwar Poland " in *Rebels against Zion, op. cit.*

<sup>39</sup> See this article, which sets the record straight, even if it is politically very «moderate» <https://cclj.be/analyses/lobsession-antisioniste-des-accords-haavara/>

<sup>40</sup> "*We know that the instrumentalisation of the Nazi genocide by the Zionists is a fraud. The Zionists played only a very small role in the Jewish resistance to Nazism. Some of their leaders were deeply involved with Nazism*". (<http://www.ujfp.org/spip.php?article3146>). This fable corresponds **almost word for word** to that told by a famous Soviet Stalinist writer, Vergelis: "*At the fatal hour, Zionism kept aloof, unconcerned for the destiny of the Jewish people as a whole. Zionists came into contact with the Hitlerites at the time when all major public and political trends had united against fascism*" (Aron Vergelis, *A Traveller's Encounters : Articles, Speeches, Travel Notes, Interviews and Letters of a Jewish Poet*, Moscow 1988, quoted in Gennady Estraiikh, "An Opportunist Anti-Zionism: *Sovetish Heymland, 1961-1991*" in *Rebels against Zion, op. cit.*

For more details on the Jewish and Zionist Resistance in France, see my article: "Vichy, les Juifs et la Résistance" pp. 14-16, <https://nfnf.eu/spip.php?article1060> and the French bibliography which debunks the myth of a so-called «Zionist passivity» or «collaboration» with the Nazis.

<sup>41</sup> To understand the extent to which the use of the word "context" has become a convenient smokescreen for tolerating antisemitism, one need only to hear what the presidents of Harvard University, MIT and the University of Pennsylvania had to say when asked by a Republican Party representative on 5 December 2023 whether "*calling for the genocide of the Jews violated the code of conduct on harassment*" at their universities. The three presidents replied, in unison, that it

The "anti-Zionist" or "decolonial" Jews are among the most determined militants to explain that Zionism and fascism are twin brothers, thus taking up an old antiphon of the Communist International (from the first nationalist pogroms committed in Palestine in 1929 and 1936) and of the Stalinists. This was used during all the political trials and purges in the USSR and the People's Democracies against Jewish Communists or Stalinists, but also in daily "Communist" propaganda when dealing with Zionism and the so-called "Jewish question".

The "Tsedek decolonial collective" writes: "*Zionism is a racist colonial and ethno-nationalist project, whose structural links with antisemitism are increasingly apparent. We see this particularly in the unconditional support of extreme right-wing movements around the world for Israel's colonial and apartheid policies*<sup>42</sup> »

On the one hand, these partisans of "decolonial" theories ignore the fact that many neo-Nazi, "nationalist-revolutionary" and neo-fascist groups and leaders (starting with François Duprat, one of the ideologues and founders of the Front National, who went so far as to create, in 1967, a Movement for the Liberation of Palestine!) have also been supporting the Palestinian Resistance for decades. We need only mention French militant groups such as the GUD and the Bloc Identitaire, supporters of the "White Jihad"<sup>43</sup>, influential ideologists and agitators such as the American David Duke, the French Dieudonné and Alain Soral, the Russian Alexander Dugin, the Belgian Jean Thiriart, and countless far-right, anti-Zionist and antisemitic websites, blogs and Facebook groups that have a mass influence.

On the other hand, they are unaware that their apparently brand new "decolonial" rhetoric echoes the prose of Stalinist ideologues such as

- K. Sherezin, who wrote in *Novoe Vremya* as early as 1946 that "*in the hands of the reactionary leaders of the Zionist movement, the Yishuv settlements have been transformed into an instrument of racist hate propaganda and chauvinism*<sup>44</sup>"; AAG
- V. Skurlatov: "*Biological racial doctrines, according to which human beings are divided between the 'chosen people' on the one hand and the goyim on the other, have been transformed into an official state ideology and policy in Israel and South Africa, where 'inferior' individuals are forcibly separated from 'superior' individuals. This is apartheid*<sup>45</sup> " (*Zionism and apartheid*, Kiev, 1975);
- R. Brodsky and Y. Shulmeister: "*Zionism, the official ideology and policy of the ruling circles in Israel, created a racist state which oppresses the people of that country and represents a constant*

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"*depended on the context*", and "*whether it was directed against an individual*"! In a country that dedicated an entire museum to the Holocaust and which claims to be at the forefront of the fight against anti-Semitism, three university presidents who form the world's... imperialist elite are reluctant to clearly condemn calls for the genocide of the Jews, and invoke the "*context*" to do so. It is easy to see why the American far right and Holocaust deniers have a bright future ahead of them with such academy bureaucrats.

<sup>42</sup> <https://tsedekdecolonial.wordpress.com/2023/10/10/denoncer-la-guerre-et-apres/>

<sup>43</sup> <https://blogs.mediapart.fr/ricardo-parreira/blog/050723/gud-le-jihad-blanc-glissement-vers-une-nouvelle-radicalite>

<sup>44</sup> Quoted in Asmund Borgen Gjerde's MA in history (2011): *Reinterpreting Soviet «Anti-Zionism». An Analysis of «Anti-Zionist» Texts published in the Soviet Union, 1967-1972*, available on academia.edu website.

<sup>45</sup> The following quotes are all taken from Stan Crooke's study "The Stalinist Roots of Left-Wing Antisemitism", *op. cit.* According to Stan Crooke, we could also quote: *Zionism in the Service of Anti-Communism* (V. Bolshakov, 1972), *We Pass Judgement on Zionism* (M. Davydov, 1973), *International Zionism – History and Politics* (V. Skurlatov, 1975) and the pamphlet by Evgenii Evseev, *Fascism under the Blue Star*. Evseev was the nephew of Boris Ponomarev (chief of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee from 1955 to 1986) and an ideologue who later became active in the nationalist antisemitic group Pamyat, during the 1980s.

source of danger for its Arab neighbours [...]. Racism also underlies Israel's domestic policy" (*Zionism: A Tool of Reaction*, 1976);

- D. Solfer: "Israel and South Africa share a racist ideology and practices, as well as a reactionary domestic and foreign policy [...]. The union between Israeli and South African racists represents a major threat to the African peoples and to humanity as a whole" (*The Collapse of Zionist Theories*, 1980);

- KGB agent Yuri Ivanov, the pope of "Zionology" (sic!), published a book in Moscow in 1969 entitled *Ostorozhno: sionizm! (Beware of Zionism!)*, which took up the conspiracy theories of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* by evoking "a very convincing picture of the Israeli variant of apartheid – cruel racial discrimination against the Arab population";

- and even the French Stalinist-turned-Muslim and Holocaust denier Roger Garaudy: "This 'ethnic cleansing', which has become systematic in today's State of Israel, is based on the principle of ethnic purity, which prevents the mixing of Jewish blood with the 'impure blood' of all others [...]. This racism, the model for all racisms, is an ideology of domination over different peoples", *Les mythes fondateurs de la politique israélienne*, 1995.

Today, in the "decolonial" writings of the Tsedek collective, it reads: "Zionism integrates and extends the racial logic<sup>46</sup> of European modernity. It seeks to turn Jews into white people like everyone else, to emancipate them through the same mechanisms that oppressed them. In this process, non-European Jews have the status of candidates for whiteness, and Palestinians constitute an alien and unassimilable body".

Apart from the more "trendy" jargon, where is the political difference between Stalinist prose and fashionable "decolonial" logorrhoea?

**6) Hamas is said to be a national liberation movement<sup>47</sup> and its genocidal intentions should not be taken seriously.** The "arguments" are manifold: the genocidal project contained in its charter has disappeared following the adoption of the Document of General Principles and Policy<sup>48</sup> of 2017; Hamas "is characterised by a doctrinal flexibility<sup>49</sup>"; "Hamas is not of one piece, neither in its history, nor in its social and political surface and practice, nor in its ideological positioning" (*idem*); the political wing is at odds with the military wing, ; Hamas has fought "passionately" against other more radical armed factions such as the "Islamic State of the Levant" (*idem*); "Hamas not only remains open to power-sharing, but also has a history of non-violent accommodation and political adaptation, ideological reflexivity and transformation, and political pragmatism that the West should welcome positively<sup>50</sup>", etc.

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<sup>46</sup> The American Stalinists (among others) claimed as early as September 1932 that "the Zionist movement" was "cultivating racial hatred" [quoted in Henry Srebrnik, " 'An Enemy of the Jewish Masses' : The ICOR and the Campaign Against Zionism, 1924-1935 ", in A. Grabski (dir.), *op. cit.*]

<sup>47</sup> According to Jean-Paul Chagnollaud, director of the Institut de recherche et d'études Méditerranée/Moyen-Orient (iReMMO), "Hamas has committed heinous crimes, war crimes and crimes against humanity, but it is a nationalist movement that has nothing to do with Daesh or al-Qaeda. It represents or largely represented a good third of the Palestinian people". (<https://www.mediapart.fr/journal/international/161023/aux-origines-de-l-histoire-complexe-du-hamas>). And there have been countless polls and articles in the left-wing press claiming that Hamas' popularity soared among Palestinians, after the mass massacre of 7 October 2023,.

<sup>48</sup> See <https://web.archive.org/web/20170502090210/http://hamas.ps/en/post/678/a-document-of-general-principles-and-policies> and the comments of various specialists: [https://www.liberation.fr/checknews/est-il-vrai-que-la-charte-du-hamas-fixe-comme-objectif-la-destruction-de-letat-disrael-20231014\\_MHHMAAN74ZGGVOIQCAWPHJYNOE/](https://www.liberation.fr/checknews/est-il-vrai-que-la-charte-du-hamas-fixe-comme-objectif-la-destruction-de-letat-disrael-20231014_MHHMAAN74ZGGVOIQCAWPHJYNOE/)

<sup>49</sup> Thierry Labica, 11 December 2023, <https://www.contretemps.eu/gaza-blocus-palestine-hamas-israel-etats-unis/>

<sup>50</sup> Sara Roy, *Hamas and Civil Society in Gaza*, quoted by Thierry Labica, *Contretemps*, 13 December 2013.

The Trotskyist NPA n° 1 press release of 9 October 2023 is quite symptomatic. It begins by stating that *"The political and ideological project, the strategy and the means of struggle of Hamas are not those of the NPA"* but offers us no further explanation. Then it continues: *"In this context, we condemn the killing of civilians by Hamas. The Palestinian resistance is made up of forces with different political projects"*<sup>51</sup>, which doesn't get us very far.

The Trotskyist NPA n° 2, which publishes *Révolutionnaires*, has been a little clearer, in its 12<sup>th</sup> October 2023 issue. It denounced Hamas as a *"reactionary and obscurantist organisation"*<sup>52</sup> and its *"large-scale attack"* (a very neutral term). But, for these militants, the real culprits are the Israelis: *"The Israeli civilians who are the victims of Hamas attacks and rockets are **suffering the consequences** [my emphasis - YC] of decades of their state's racist, segregationist and colonialist policies"*. Moreover, *"apart from a small minority of opponents of Israeli state racism"*, the Israeli demonstrators opposed to the Netanyahu government's judicial reform *"did not defend the rights of the Palestinians, nor denounce the misery in Gaza and the West Bank, nor the military colonisation operations in territories officially granted to the Palestinian people"*. In other words, the Israelis have been punished by Hamas – including the massacred Thai and Filipino workers! A month later, under its pen, the 7<sup>th</sup> October massacre is almost forgotten and reduced to a simple *"blind attack"*<sup>53</sup>. In any case, the ambiguous position of these activists, who regret that *"we don't see anyone raising the Palestinian question on class grounds"*, is not at all that of the ultra-majoritarian Hamas-compatible left.

Supporters of the *Hamas-friendly* left are much more likely to recognise themselves in the statements of a Norman Finkelstein. On 8 October 2023, at a meeting on Zoom<sup>54</sup>, Finkelstein spoke of his *"parents [who] were in the Warsaw ghetto up until the uprising in April 1943"* and pointed out that *"The uprising in the ghetto is normally regarded as a heroic chapter, or the only heroic chapter, of the Nazi extermination"*. All this to reiterate his admiration for Hamas... **but without daring to name it**: *"Every nook and cranny of Gaza is under 10,000 different Israeli surveillance technologies. And yet they [«they» who? Y.C.] managed, amidst all this, to block all the surveillance and conduct this operation – I pay tribute to that ingenuity! I pay tribute to the resistance of a people with literally, or almost literally, their having figured out a way to resist this concentration camp imposed on them or overcome it"*<sup>55</sup>. (*idem*)

However, his Zoom and Substack colleague Mouin Rabbani had no hesitation in declaring on the same day: *"there are reports which appear to be increasingly substantiated that there was a mass casualty event at a rave that was being held in the Negev Desert. (...). But if there was indeed a deliberate attack on a civilian gathering with the explicit purpose of causing mass casualties, I would have two observations: A. That's a despicable thing, and B. Palestinians would be entirely justified in treating any condemnations coming from people who have no record of condemning the crimes perpetrated against them, of treating those condemnations with utter contempt"*<sup>56</sup>.

So Norman Finkelstein already knew, on 8 October 2023, that it was very likely that dozens of Israeli civilians had been killed the day before<sup>57</sup> (even if the information came from the diabolical

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<sup>51</sup> <https://nouveupartianticapitaliste.org/communiquede/offensive-de-gaza-les-solidarites-du-npa-vont-la-lutte-legitime-du-peuple-palestinien>

<sup>52</sup> [https://nouveupartianticapitaliste.fr/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/06\\_revo.pdf](https://nouveupartianticapitaliste.fr/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/06_revo.pdf)

<sup>53</sup> <https://nouveupartianticapitaliste.fr/israel-palestine-quelles-perspectives/> 8 November 2023

<sup>54</sup> <https://normanfinkelstein.substack.com/p/video-recording-and-transcript-special>

<sup>55</sup> <https://normanfinkelstein.substack.com/p/video-recording-and-transcript-special>

<sup>56</sup> <https://normanfinkelstein.substack.com/p/video-recording-and-transcript-special>

<sup>57</sup> *"I was not aware that the numbers had been beyond 50 when I made that statement,"* (on 7 October) he told Piers Morgan on 23 November (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kollcH3lnr8>). *"I did not make another statement until the numbers start to grow and I admit ... it was a moral quandary for me."* Well, if we check his Substack on 12 October (when Israël announced not 50 but **1200 victims**) he was not really in a rush to solve his so-called «moral quandary» because he

Israel), but he preferred to keep quiet for many days until he was forced to publicly admit that he had not measured the scale of the "atrocities" (his word) committed by Hamas... but all the while he continued to make the same essentialist speeches about the "Israelis" being all guilty, as in his face-to-face meeting with Alan Dershowitz<sup>58</sup> on 13 December 2023. On this occasion, he brandished Israeli far right electoral results and very recent polls in Israel to explain that the majority of Israelis were in favour of Tsahal continuing its war crimes.

Such contortions by an international "anti-Zionist" idol like Finkelstein can only be explained by a blind faith in the virtues of the so-called "national liberation" movements and a discreet capitulation to their reactionary orientations, in accordance with the old Stalinist and Third Worldist ideologies.

#### **7) In the past, national liberation movements have also resorted to terrorist attacks.**

The *Hamas-friendly* left cites the examples of the Algerian FLN and the Vietnamese FNL, which also killed civilians individually or as part of terrorist attacks in cafés, etc. So to criticise Hamas, is to retrospectively support French or American colonialism during the 1960s and 1970s.

This is yet another example of one of the techniques used by the identitarian left when it comes to ANY subject on which you disagree with them.

**8) Hamas is not responsible for the killing of civilians or the rape of women.** The arguments vary, but they all tend to exonerate Hamas:

- this is an Israeli lie<sup>59</sup> ;

- there are many groups in Gaza other than Hamas and Islamic Jihad, and even independent mafia groups, which may also have taken advantage of the confusion to take hostages and may be responsible for the worst abuses;

- the murderers and rapists were drugged with Captagon ;

- according to Norman Finkelstein, this is an "open question"<sup>60</sup> (at least, that was his opinion until November 23);

To put it plainly, since the Israeli government always lies (as long ago as 1543, Luther published a "treatise" entitled *On the Jews and their Lies...*) and since we have to wait for the results of an investigation that will take a long time, let's give Hamas the benefit of the doubt and wait.....

#### **Wait for what exactly?**

Note that the far left, and indeed the French left, adopted the same wait-and-see, opportunist attitude when Ilan Halimi was tortured and killed in 2006 and when Merah murdered 3 children and an adult at the Ozar Hatorah school in Toulouse in 2012<sup>61</sup> .... And let's not even mention the murders

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remained silent this day and preferred to talk about 19<sup>th</sup> century anti-slavery revolts than denouncing Hamas (<https://normanfinkelstein.substack.com/p/the-slave-revolt-in-gaza-and-bernie> ).

<sup>58</sup> <https://normanfinkelstein.substack.com/p/norman-finkelstein-vs-alan-dershowitz> 13 December 2023

<sup>59</sup> According to Izzat al-Rishq, a member of the Hamas Political Bureau, "*Those in charge of the Zionist terrorist occupation continue to spread lies and use the platforms of the United Nations, the Security Council and international institutions to spread lies and deception against the noble resistance of our Palestinian people, who draw their high moral standards from the teachings of our religion, our values and humanitarian law*", <https://www.saba.ye/fr/news3275530.htm> . As for Ghazi Ahmad, a member of the Hamas Political Bureau, who was interviewed by the BBC about the murder of civilians in their sleep, in their homes, he immediately interrupted the interview to avoid answering <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VAva9VM38uA>.

<sup>60</sup> [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I\\_Sh-ERypMA](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I_Sh-ERypMA)

<sup>61</sup> At the time, Christian Piquet and Jean-Luc Mélenchon, members of the Parti de gauche (today La France Insoumise, a left-wing national-populist party) were very cautious and were waiting for the results of police investigation: see my article "La tuerie de Toulouse à l'école Ozar Hatorah est un acte antisémite – n'ergotons pas!" (2012) <https://nfnf.eu/spip.php?article326> , as well as the left

of Sarah Halimi (2017) and Mireille Knoll (2018), which the same *Hamis-friendly* left classified as "miscellaneous incidents" committed by "deranged people".

**Until the Hamas-compatible left knows the truth about 7 October 2023, the Islamists can continue to kill Jews with impunity.**

9) Tsahal also killed Israelis by mistake on 7 and 8 October 2023, so how do you know who killed whom?

In France, the Hamas-compatible left and others are keen to highlight these examples<sup>62</sup>. They take refuge in "complexity", but only when it suits them. They prefer to believe Hamas or at least not to criticise it too "harshly".

**There is a softer but equally cowardly variant of the same attitude: there are war crimes on both sides, and since there are far more war crimes on the Israeli side (including the military and the settlers) than on the Palestinian side, we must concentrate on the crimes committed by the IDF and Israeli settlers. This purely quantitative reasoning most often results in Hamas's war crimes being downgraded to regrettable and unintentional "collateral damage", and Israel's war crimes being upgraded to a "proto-genocide"<sup>63</sup>, or even a deliberate "genocide".**

This "quantitative" argument has a certain "logic": «*Since Israel is the only state whose overthrow is demanded by any strand of the progressive left, these must in the nature of things be worse than any that can be alleged against any other presently existing state, including, to name but a few, the present administrations of Myanmar, North Korea or Iran*<sup>64</sup> ."

**It is this asymmetry in respect for human life and compassion for the victims of these clearly asymmetric battles that poses a problem.**

In conclusion, the groups on the left or far left which support Hamas, or do not want to condemn it too "harshly", **which amounts to the same thing**, believe that everything the Israelis say is a lie and propaganda.

Just as Holocaust deniers have always claimed that the Allies lied about the Judeocide. And that all historians of the Judeocide were fabricators, or better still, agents of Israeli influence.

When you're in such a state of denial, no amount of evidence or argument will change your mind.

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identitarian PIR (a group inspired by the theses of Ramon Groosfoguel, among others), the Trotskyist Lutte ouvrière, or the English neo-Trotskyists of the SWP who took seriously the "pro-Palestinian" motives of the murderer (Cf. "L'extrême gauche saura-t-elle réfléchir après les meurtres antisémites de Toulouse?", 2012, <https://nfnf.eu/spip.php?article975>

<sup>62</sup> See *L'Humanité* (French CP daily) of 21 November 2023 (<https://www.humanite.fr/monde/armee-israelienne/ils-ont-elimine-tout-le-monde-y-compris-les-otages-des-civils-israeliens-ont-ils-ete-tues-par-leur-armee>) and the pro-Hamas Yemeni press agency SABA <https://www.saba.ye/fr/news3286980.htm>. Of course, if you want to pull out all the stops, you can also use the excellent Israeli daily *Haaretz*, which mentions, on 12 December for example, that 13 Israeli soldiers were killed by mistake since 7 October 2023 (<https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/2023-12-12/ty-article-live/report-hamas-israel-have-not-presented-new-cease-fire-proposal/0000018c-5bfc-db23-ad9f-7bfcc2020000>) and, on 15 December 2023, the murder of three Israeli hostages by Tsahal soldiers.

<sup>63</sup> According to the "eco-Marxist" icon Andreas Malm, as early as May 2021, see Matthew Bolton: "Climate catastrophe, the 'Zionist Entity' and 'The German guy': An anatomy of the Malm-Jappe dispute »

[https://www.academia.edu/108026972/Climate\\_catastrophe\\_the\\_Zionist\\_Entity\\_and\\_The\\_German\\_guy\\_An\\_anatomy\\_of\\_the\\_Malm\\_Jappe\\_dispute?sm=b](https://www.academia.edu/108026972/Climate_catastrophe_the_Zionist_Entity_and_The_German_guy_An_anatomy_of_the_Malm_Jappe_dispute?sm=b).

<sup>64</sup> Bernard Harrison, <https://fathomjournal.org/fathom-long-read-political-antisemitism-explained/>

This time, **left-wing Holocaust denial** no longer involves a few ultra-marginal individuals, as it did in the 1970s, but tens of thousands of left-wing activists and sympathisers supported by academics and media intellectuals. Such Holocaust denial, which draws on a fund of ancient anti-Jewish clichés<sup>65</sup>, can only encourage the spread of anti-Semitism from the left to the right, from the extreme left to the extreme right. **And all those who denounce "the instrumentalisation of anti-Semitism"<sup>66</sup> are blatant hypocrites** if they have never taken seriously the many anti-Semitic murders committed from Bagneux (2006) to Toulouse (2012), from Paris (2015) to Brussels (2019), from Halle (2019) to Pittsburgh (2018), from San Diego (2019) to Jersey City (2019).

To conclude, I would like to quote an article by Bernard Harrison, a philosopher whose political positions I probably do not share, but who clearly analyses the causes and consequences of the nazification of Israel at the heart of most 'anti-Zionist' discourse:

*«What has largely replaced that older, Marxist, left is a left which frames the vices of capitalism less as the exploitation of the working class than as the malign domination of a multitude of marginalised and excluded groups. [...] It stands therefore in need of a cause that simultaneously galvanises its supporters, gives it positive access to the media and at the same time explains its failure to gain wider support [...]. Israel can be readily represented as typifying the supposed essential commitment of capitalism to colonialism, Nazism and the exclusion and exploitation of the non-white Other, while at the same time the machinations of the 'Israel Lobby' can be advanced as a ready explanation of the failure of the ideas of the left to gain more ready purchase at the highest levels of power.*

*It is precisely at this point that the lurch into political antisemitism of these sections of the progressive left takes on the potentially lethal, militantly anti-Jewish tinge [...]. If the radical, BDS-supporting left really believed that Israel is a 'Nazi' 'Apartheid,' 'colonialist' or 'racist' state it would have a manifest duty to attack not just Jewish supporters of Israel, but the very much larger body of non-Jewish supporters of Israel, ranging from American Evangelical Christians to very large numbers of conservatives and centrist Labour supporters in the UK. But in fact, [...] those under attack are Jews – and only Jews.*

*Of course one is also tarring non-Jewish supporters of Israel with the same brush, and equally absurdly; but they, the non-Jews, can be conveniently excused as fools misled by the all-powerful 'Jewish Lobby' – as 'dumb Goys,' that is to say, as Norman Finkelstein once called the editor of this journal, for example. The Jews have no such escape. They stand identified by the BDS-supporting left, in the terms made familiar by political antisemitism in all its most lethal manifestations [...], as an alien nation given over to the pursuit of evils only to be remedied by its summary elimination. That this racist nonsense should be not only believed, but actively promulgated by large sections of a supposedly anti-racist left, would be extraordinary if it did not have such a long history in Western movements aiming at the political or religious redemption of society. It is also manifestly criminal<sup>67</sup>."*

**Yves Coleman**, *Ni patrie ni frontières*, 15 December 2023

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<sup>65</sup> On the programme "Rien ne va" on Al-Jazeera Plus (AJ+), the "comedian" Abdel asks a classical antisemitic question "How has Israel infiltrated the French media?" <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B0EfF4vspcE>

<sup>66</sup> Note that in order to be invited to the «Media», a channel very close to the social-patriotic nebula of the "France insoumise", all you have to do is sing this song, as shown by the frequent presence of members of the Tsedek «decolonial collective" on this "news" medium.

<sup>67</sup> Bernard Harrison, <https://fathomjournal.org/fathom-long-read-political-antisemitism-explained/>.