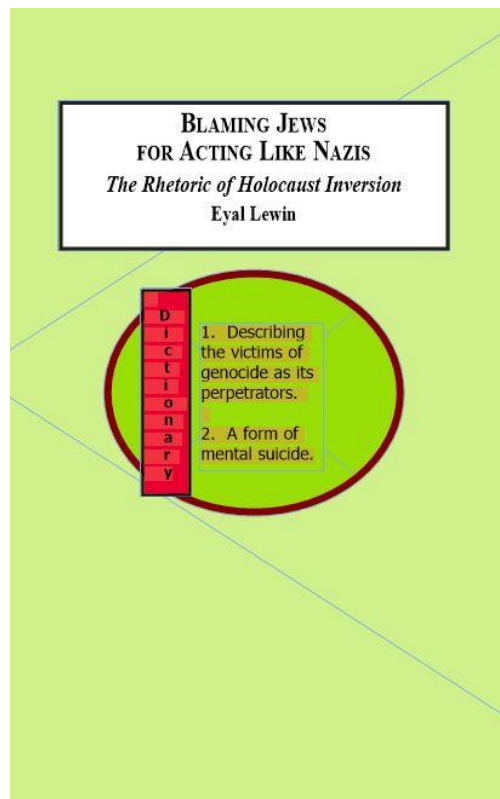


Lewin, E. (2017). *Blaming the Jews for Acting like Nazis: The Rhetoric of Holocaust Inversion*. Lewiston, N.Y: Edwin Mellen Press.



Introduction

Holocaust Remembrance Day is a day of unity in Israeli society, a day of deep sympathy with the Jewish victims of the Nazis and their collaborators. The educational system as well as local municipalities and governmental institutes hold ceremonies where the emphasis is on Jewish passive resistance, that is – the way Jews retained their human dignity in the most insufferable conditions, and Jewish active struggle – their great effort to fight their prosecutors in the ghettos, joining underground partisans, and recruiting massively to the Allies' armies.

Unity on this day is definitely unquestionable. A siren blows at sundown before Remembrance day and once again late on the following morning. With the sound of siren, traffic as well as pedestrians stop for two minutes of silent devotion. With sad songs on the background of radio and television broadcast, the entire media concentrates on Jewish destiny in World War II. Public entertainment on this day is prohibited; theatres, cinemas, pubs and restaurants – all are closed throughout the country. This, perhaps, is one rare moment of total agreement within Israeli society.

However, the Holocaust Remembrance day of 2016 marked a change in Israeli society. In one of the major official ceremonies, Major General Yair Golan, the Israeli army deputy chief of staff, gave a bombshell speech when he said:

[...] If there is one thing that is scary in remembering the Holocaust, it is noticing horrific processes which developed in Europe – particularly in

Germany – seventy, eighty, and ninety years ago, and finding how they begin to unfold here among us in the year 2016 (*The Jerusalem Post*, May 5, 2016).

As this research will demonstrate, Golan was certainly not the first Jew to compare Israel with Nazi Germany; moreover, he was not even the first Israeli leader to do so. However, the uniqueness of the May 4, 2016 event was that on what can be counted as the holy of holiest day in Israeli civil life, an IDF leader, upon officially representing the State of Israel, announced that Israel could be compared, on moral grounds, with the Third Reich. Leaving no doubt that he was actually comparing the State of Israel with the Weimar Republic and its successor, Golan pointed out that he was referring to "phenomena that are disruptive" and to "signs of intolerance, violence, and self-destruction that arise on the path to moral degradation" (*The Jerusalem Post*, May 5, 2016).

This essay concentrates on the strange occurrence of Jews whose legacy is the comparison of Israelis with Nazis. This tendency is becoming prominent among Jewish Western intellectuals, involving artists, scholars, journalists and politicians. Nonetheless, the Israeli-Nazi comparison is prevailing also within the higher echelons of Israeli society. The stated goal of this paper is to portray this strange phenomenon – later to be defined as *Jewish Holocaust Inversion* – and to comprehend the dangers that it poses to Israeli society and to the Jewish people.

Several logical steps compose the argumentation of this paper. The first one is adopting a working definition of anti-Semitism, because this forms an essential common denominator for understanding the context in which Jews and Nazis are compared. The second step outlines the paramount function of the Holocaust within Jewish-Israeli nationality, and the way Holocaust legacy operates in nowadays Israeli social sphere. With the definition of anti-Semitism earlier established and with a comprehension of the importance of Holocaust remembrance to the Jewish and Israeli national ethos, the third step now thoroughly describes the general abnormality of *Holocaust Inversion*, a sub-phenomenon of Holocaust distortion and an effective pattern of anti-Semitism. At the fourth step, the extraordinary phenomenon at the center of this essay is presented: Holocaust inversion designed and distributed by the Jews themselves. Consequently, various examples of Jewish inversion of the Holocaust are gathered to articulate the existence of such occurrence. In the fifth step, an even more peculiar phenomenon is introduced: Jewish inversion of the Holocaust initiated and advanced by Israelis. Examples of Jewish inversion of the Holocaust in Israel are then brought, showing the weight and significance of this occurrence in the Israeli public sphere. Finally, a short discussion offers to connect Jewish Holocaust Inversion in the West and in Israel within the larger context of the historic occurrence of a "self-hating Jew."

A Working Definition of Anti-Semitism

One of the very foundation blocks of postwar Europe was the narrative of the defeat of Nazism, the coming to terms with the facts of the Holocaust, and the creation of a new, peaceful, human rights-based settlement. The events of the Holocaust shocked Europe by its own anti-Semitism; therefore, overt hatred of Jews has come to violate the norms of respectable public discourse. However, anti-Semitism continues to manifest itself in subtler ways, specifically in both the quality and the quantity of hostility to Israel. In other words, anti-Semitism finds shelter, to a large extent, in the form of anti-Zionism (Hirsh, 2013; 2015). Yet before any advance is made, a definition of these different terms has to be established.

Anti-Semitism

The question what exactly anti-Semitism is, and what it is not, is an issue too wide for this study, since there is nothing close to an agreed definition among scholars and activists. One definition of anti-Semitism, somewhat humoristic though not detached from reality, is attributed to the British Jewish philosopher Isaiah Berlin, who asserted that "Anti-Semitism means hating Jews more than is absolutely necessary" (Lindemann, 2014: 10). The various definitions, all of them controversial in one way or another, are in fact guidelines that are intended to set the parameters for making difficult judgments (Hirsh 2013; 2015). One of the major problems with analyzing anti-Semitism, specifically in the West, is that it is fragmented, partly latent, publicly condemned, outlawed and prosecuted (Ullrich, 2013). This is perhaps best articulated by the saying that it is difficult to demonstrate, convincingly, that someone is anti-Semitic, because there are not many anti-Semites today who will actually come out with it and admit that they hate Jews; therefore, spotting an anti-Semite requires no less than forensic skills, interpretive wits, and moral judgement (Hirsh, 2013).

Throughout history, definitions of anti-Semitism, phrased by scholars and thinkers, reflected the time, place, and local political and social culture in which they emerged. In 2005, the EUMC [European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia] issued a working definition of anti-Semitism, created by teams of both scholars and representatives of governments and institutions:

[...] A certain perception of Jews which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism [that] are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities (Porat, 2011: 5).

Without plunging into the deep water of historical accounts of its origins, a brief description of anti-Semitism is inevitable. Anti-Semitism has never been limited to a finite stock of stereotypes, defamations, distorted images and fables. Instead, it has repeatedly generated new figures while recycling old ones in new forms. In this sense, there is no difference between anti-Semitism and what is sometimes categorized as Modern anti-Semitism and lately, referring to the new millennium, New anti-Semitism; the means change, technology changes, but its essence remains the same. Anti-Semitism may be manifested in many ways, ranging from expressions of hatred or discrimination against individual Jews to organized pogroms by mobs, state police, or even military attacks on entire Jewish communities. Anti-Semitic prejudice is frequently expressed in terms of irrationally paired opposite characteristics, as when Jews are criticized for both rootless cosmopolitanism and narrow communitarianism. Similarly, mutually incompatible discursive elements are often combined, as when Jews are simultaneously portrayed as powerful demons and subhuman beasts (Marcus, 2014). In a fact sheet on the elements of anti-Semitic discourse, Law Professor Kenneth Marcus counted ten leading themes that can be counted as markers for anti-Semitism and will henceforth be mentioned (Marcus, 2014): Demonization, Deicide Myth, Ritual Slaughter, The Wandering Jew, Carnality, Well-Poisoning, Dirt and Disease, Money and Criminality, Global Conspiracy, and Beastilization.

(1) *Demonization*. For centuries, Jews were frequently described as children of the devil, often portrayed with horns and bulging eyes, and associated with Satanic attributes, such as arrogance and devious logic. In modern times, these images are reflected in depictions of Israeli and Jewish public figures as devils or demons.

(2) *Deicide Myth*. Jews have been condemned not only for rejecting Christianity, but also for slaying Jesus or at least for being collectively responsible for his crucifixion. The deicidal myth has reinforced the association of Jews with Satanic traits that are imagined to go with the killing of a messiah.

(3) *Ritual Slaughter*. Since ancient times, Jews have been falsely accused of killing gentiles for ritual purposes. In Medieval Europe, it was often accompanied by accusations that Jews used their victim's blood to bake *matzah* for Passover. Echoes of a blood libel can be heard nowadays in allegations that Israelis kidnap Palestinian children at night, murder them, and sell their organs for profit.

(4) *The Wandering Jew*. Christian theologians viewed Jews as a cursed people doomed to wander in misery until the end of days as testament of their own depravity and Christian superiority. In the traditional formulation, the Jew is cursed to roam the earth until the end of days. In modern times it can be seen in the notion that the Jews, alone among the peoples of the earth, can never merit statehood, a view that is expressed in efforts to delegitimize the State of Israel.

(5) *Carnality*. Christians have associated Jews with carnality, ascribing them traits of greed and stunted spirituality. In modern times, carnal stereotypes are reflected in the negative stereotypes of Jewish women as sexually repressive and insatiable and Jewish men as sexually avaricious and effeminate.

(6) *Well-Poisoning*. Throughout centuries, Jews have been repeatedly charged with conspiring to desecrate holy sites or objects. During medieval and early modern periods, European Christians repeatedly accused Jews of poisoning communal wells. In Poland, accusations of Jewish well-poisoning persisted until at least the 1920s. Today, these allegations are reflected in accusations that Israelis are conspiring to destroy the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem or other sacred sites. Additionally, Jews and Israelis are occasionally accused of tainting communal property or assets, such as water supplies.

(7) *Dirt and Disease*. Jews have long been described, literally or metaphorically, as carriers of a physical defect, deformity or disease, often associated with ugliness, weakness, dirt and excrement. The expression "dirty Jew" was common among anti-Semites, and stereotypes of Jewish odor were once commonplace.

(8) *Money and Criminality*. Jewry has frequently been depicted as a wealthy, powerful, menacing and controlling collectivity, demanding the sacrifice of others to their own greed. Stereotypical Jewish traits were malevolence, criminality, greediness, stinginess, and mendacity. These stereotypes influence depictions of sinister, wealthy, controlling Jews from Shakespeare's Shylock to Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu.

(9) *Global Conspiracy*. In its standard modern formulation, the Jews or Zionists form a powerful, secret, global cabal that manipulates governmental institutions, banks, the media, and other institutions for malevolent purposes, undermining decent values. *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, a fraudulent document purporting to record a Jewish plan for world domination, has influenced countless ideas about supposed Jewish global conspiracies.

(10) *Beastilization*. Jews have often been compared in derogatory terms to barnyard and wild animals. In some influential ancient Christian texts, for example, Jews are compared to pigs, goats, and cows, and are depicted as having intimate relations with pigs.

However, when called to decide whether an occurrence is indeed anti-Semitic or not, we are still left with some vagueness. Not every incident involves, for example, themes of well-poisoning or ritual slaughter; it is rather latent anti-Semitism, sometimes disguised with masks of humanitarianism and liberalism, that might silently remain

under the radar. Consequently, from the various definitions of anti-Semitism, this paper sticks to the one articulated by Chairman of the Executive of the Jewish Agency Natan Sharansky, who has been monitoring anti-Semitism for decades. Sharansky differs between classical anti-Semitism, aimed at the Jewish people or their religion, and new anti-Semitism, aimed at the Jewish state, usually referred to as anti-Zionism. The later, targeting Israel, often hides behind the coating of legitimate criticism and utilizes the liberal terminology of human rights (Sharansky, 2004). Obviously, not all criticism of Israel is anti-Semitic or even slightly touched by anti-Semitism. The question of anti-Semitism, therefore, is one of judgment and interpretation rather than of proof or refutation (Matas 2005). In order to expose camouflaged forms of anti-Semitism, mostly disguised as legitimate democratic anti-Zionist criticism, Sharansky suggested the 3D test: (I) demonization, (II) double standard, and (III) delegitimation (Sharansky, 2004).

(I) *Demonization* is when Israel is being demonized, when its actions are distortedly magnified out of any sensible proportion. In particular, inversion of the Holocaust, a term that we shall decode later in this study, is a common form of demonization (Sharansky, 2004). The first D, noteworthy, is in accordance with the working definition of the European Forum on Anti-Semitism, that stated that drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis amounted to anti-Semitism. Scholars of Anti-Semitism also claim that anti-Semitism turns into anti-Zionism, and vice versa, when it makes use of identical mechanisms, such as stereotyping and demonizing Israel as if it were a so-called collective Jew (Gans, 2003).

(II) *Double standard* is when criticism of Israel is applied selectively, singling Israel out for human rights abuses while the major abusers – China, Iran, and Arab countries just to name a few – are ignored (Sharansky, 2004).

(III) *Delegitimation* is when Israel's fundamental right to exist is denied – alone among all the nations in the world (Sharansky, 2004).

Anti-Semitism and Anti-Zionism

This study adopts the approach that Anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism are two overlapping phenomena, merging into one and completing each other. In fact, a quantitative study that took place several years ago established some empiric evidence for this statement. Based on a survey of 500 citizens in each of ten different European countries, the researchers asked whether individuals with extreme anti-Israel views were more likely to be anti-Semitic. Even after controlling for numerous potentially confounding factors, they found that anti-Israel sentiment consistently predicted the probability that an individual was anti-Semitic, with the likelihood of measured anti-Semitism increasing with the extent of anti-Israel sentiment observed (Kaplan and Small, 2006). Additional analyses of cartoons, opinion survey findings and statistical analyses of semantics prove that religious anti-Judaism, ethnic and racist anti-Semitism and anti-Israeli anti-Zionism are three permutations that have the common characters of anti-Semitism (Gerstenfeld, 2007).

According to an old joke, during the 1967 War, a Hungarian met his friend. "Why are you so happy?" asked the friend; "because the Israelis shot down six Soviet aircraft," he answered. The next day the Hungarian met his friend again, and once again the friend asked him why he was so jubilant. "Because the Israelis shot down another Soviet plane," he replied. On the third day the Hungarian met his friend, only this time he was sad. "What happened" asked the friend "didn't the Israelis hit any Soviet aircraft today?"; "they did" he answered "but today someone told me that the Israelis are Jews"!

Israel is criticized for its government's policies, particularly those connected with handling the conflict in the Middle East. However, anti-Zionism fails to draw the crucial line between criticizing a country's policies and denying its right to exist. From America to Algeria, from Cambodia to Zimbabwe, from Belgium to Italy, many states and national movements have committed crimes and even massacres. Yet anti-Zionism deems only one of these national movements entirely illegitimate because of the alleged crimes of its followers – a logical move it certainly does not apply to any other nation, let alone Islam or the Palestinian authority. Unlike other countries, Israel is constantly under probation, and its right to exist relies on the policies it chooses to implement (Spokoiny, 2016).

Anti-Zionism is in fact anti-Semitism whenever the Jewish state, implicitly or explicitly, is branded as the Devil on Earth, as the modern symbol of the slick, powerful, rich Jew (Gans, 2003). Anti-Zionism is the new Anti-Semitism in the sense that the State of Israel is today's Jew in the countries of the world. The wish of many to live in a world without the State of Israel is genocidal. Doubting the right of Israel to exist as a nation among nations resembles the Nazi goal of creating a *Judenrein* Riech (Urban, 2009).

The Uniqueness of Jewish Holocaust Memory

The historical facts of the genocide of Europe's approximately six million Jews were variously interpreted in Israel throughout the second half of the twentieth century, reflecting not only new revelations about the past but also changing concepts and socio-psychological frames of reference in the present (Porat, 2004). Only through a full comprehension of those changing viewpoints can any researcher on Israeli society make sense of the collective perceptual trends that have governed social and political dynamics and influenced, above all, the basic Israeli national stand.

The Holocaust is the central event in Jewish history in terms of defining Israeli identity, replacing even the establishment of the state of Israel. The connection between the Holocaust and the very foundation of the State of Israel, certainly in its struggle for survival at any cost, is made clear in the basic formative document of the Israeli Declaration of Independence that acknowledges the catastrophe that befell the Jewish people in Europe.

The Zionist logic conjoins two historic events, the Holocaust and Israel's establishment, and links them causally. According to this national logic, Jewish history in the Diaspora constitutes an unbroken chain of anti-Semitic episodes; the Holocaust is the salient symbol of anti-Semitism, which persists even in our time. Consequently, only a Jewish state, wherein Jews are in the majority, can meet the personal security needs of each individual Jew. This national line of reasoning reinforces attachment to the state by strengthening attachment to the entire Jewish nation, based on common pain and suffering (Resnik, 2003).

The volume of literature concerning the Holocaust, based on psychological and historical studies is constantly growing; films, plays, books and newspaper articles on the subject are more and more available; new Holocaust museums and commemorative institutions are being founded, and an increasing number of Israeli youth delegations are visiting the remains of concentration camps in Poland (Resnik, 2003).

The official Israeli educational system holds different types of activities devoted to the ideological messages that can be gathered from the events of the Holocaust. These include the annual remembrance day ceremony, a central state event for which students prepare before participating; organized visits to Holocaust commemorative institutions

all over the country; and youth delegations, in which every year tens of thousands of teenagers make it to the remains of the death camps in Poland (Resnik, 2003).

One can identify three distinct periods that mark the development of Holocaust memory within Israeli society, each having a different effect on the development of competing forms of narration: the period of *divided memory*, the period of *nationalized memory*, and the period of *privatized memory* (Gutwein, 2009).

The period of divided memory

This period took place during the years 1944-1961, in which the Zionist worldview distinguished between Jews in Diaspora and Jews in Israel. This period started when the horrors of the Holocaust were first uncovered in the aftermath of World War II; it continued through the struggle for independence and the formative years of the state; and ended with the Eichmann Trial. This phase was marked by a dichotomous perception of the Holocaust: emotional identification with the victims, their torment and suffering, coexisting with criticism of their allegedly passive behavior. During this time, the collective memory of the Holocaust was constructed as a means of cementing the Zionist ideology within the framework of an emerging Israeli nationality -- in the midst of a struggle for statehood. The victims' suffering was used to foster recognition of the Jewish people's right to a state. The few ghetto fighters were elevated to heroic status in Israel, and their courage was used to disparage the mass of Diaspora Jews whose deaths were often described with the expression "like lambs to the slaughter" (Gutwein, 2009).

During the formative years of the state, Israeli society was dominated by a culture that promoted national pride, confidence and power. The Israeli educational system declared in some of the textbooks that the heroic stand of the Warsaw Ghetto Jews compensated for the humiliating surrender of those who were led to the gas chambers. The heroic Ghetto rebels were viewed as those who fulfilled their duty in protecting the nation – or at least its dignity, whereas the victims betrayed their nation by passively allowing the Nazis to slaughter them (Porat, 2004). This divided memory made up the first layer of the historical concept of the Holocaust within the national narrative.

The period of the nationalized memory

This period started with the 1961 Eichmann Trial. The capture and trial of Adolf Eichmann, one of the senior Nazi officers responsible for the implementation of the "Final Solution," altered the marginalized status and the nature of Holocaust memory in Israel. The trial was made public in Israel through radio broadcasts, and became a history lesson for an entire nation (Porat, 2004).

Following the Eichmann trial, empathy with the annihilated Diaspora and Holocaust victims was unreservedly adopted by Zionist ideology, and the ultimate lesson of "never again" became the cornerstone of future lessons derived from the Holocaust. The division between Israelis and other Jews gradually faded away until eventually the two entities became complementary; a parallel was drawn between Jewish and Israeli fate. Various national themes, such as collective threat, siege mentality, collective identity, and patriotism were derived from the concept of this complementary relationship.

The period of the privatized memory of the Holocaust

This period started during the early 1980s, though its first signs can be found at the watershed event of the 1973 war. This war reintroduced to Israelis the possibility of

extinction in warfare and consequently left Israeli society traumatized. Suddenly the distinction between the *Sabra* Israeli Jew who was the eternal winner and the weak exilic Jew who would always run away was shattered (Porat, 2004). Hence, the collective trauma led to awareness of a new reality in which even Israelis might face fear, weakness, and disgrace; here came the sudden realization that being Israeli did not necessarily make anyone any better – or certainly not more secure -- than Jews who lived abroad. It turned out that the danger of annihilation did not skip Israel; the Zionist confidence that a Jewish state would be an eternal shield failed and was replaced by a deep feeling of vulnerability (Porat, 2004).

In all, the heritage of the Holocaust creates a sense of unity between Israeli Jews and the victims of the Holocaust, because the link between both realities – the Holocaust and life in Israel – provides symbolic meaning to the hardship of life in Israel. Contrasting Jewish helplessness during the war with the possibility of Jewish self-defense guaranteed by a Jewish state mitigates the sense of vulnerability and makes the risk and harshness of life in Israel seem negligible by comparison (Resnik, 2003).

It is important to point out that throughout the three periods mentioned above, the Holocaust has never ceased to be a hallmark for Jewish survival. Israeli leaders have always made use of themes taken from the collective memory of Holocaust in reference to Israel's various difficulties. Present Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu often does so as part of his vendetta against the Iranian nuclear program. In March 2012, for instance, casting doubt on President Barack Obama's diplomatic attitude, he compared the American reluctant approach to the 1944 US refusal to bomb Auschwitz (*The Telegraph*, March 6, 2012). Three years later, Prime Minister Netanyahu addressed the joint meeting of the US Congress. In an attempt to urge American lawmakers to refrain from allowing Iran the chance to develop nuclear weaponry, he clearly articulated once again the context of the Holocaust. Nobel laureate and prominent Holocaust survivor Elie Wiesel sat in the Speaker's Box, and turning to Wiesel Netanyahu said:

[...] Standing up to Iran is not easy. Standing up to dark and murderous regimes never is [...]. Elie, your life and work inspires to give meaning to the words "never again," and I wish I could promise you, Elie, that the lessons of history have been learned. [...] But I can guarantee you this, the days when the Jewish people remained passive in the face of genocidal enemies, those days are over (*The Washington Post*, March 3, 2015).

Prime Minister Netanyahu was far from being an exception to the rule. Israeli leaders coming from all the political spectrum have always cherished Holocaust remembrance and preserved it as the consensual point of departure and the broad common denominator of all the social strata and political or ideological fragments of Israeli society.

Holocaust Distortion

With an understanding of the central role of Holocaust remembrance in Israeli society, we can now refer to the various forms of distortion of Holocaust memory and realize why it is conceivably the worst manifestation of updated anti-Semitism during the years since Europe was liberated. This distortion occurs in many different ways, with new mutations of falsifications of the past emerging all the time. Author Manfred Gerstenfeld, who is recognized by many as one of the leading scholarly authorities today on anti-Semitism and on post-Holocaust studies, classified those distortions into eight major categories: Holocaust Justification and promotion, Holocaust Denial,

Holocaust Deflection and Whitewashing, Holocaust De-Judaization, Holocaust Equivalence, Holocaust Trivialization, Obliteration of Holocaust Memory, and Holocaust Inversion (Gerstenfeld, 2009).

Holocaust Justification and promotion

Holocaust justification is, basically, the explanation that the Jews were the cause of anti-Semitism and therefore bear responsibility for their own destruction. This claim was prominent within the realm of Nazi logic, but also outside Nazi circles even before World War II and occasionally returns nowadays. Holocaust promotion, resulting from its justification, is expressed by an encouragement of genocide against the Jews or Israel, particularly by propagating the view that the Jewish state has no right to exist.

Holocaust Denial

Holocaust denial is the rejection of historical data. It usually comes in the form of false claims against the main evidence concerning the process of the extermination of the Jews. For example, the assertion that the Germans did not use gas chambers to kill people, or that the majority of Jews died of illness. Another version of denial is the contention that far fewer Jews were murdered during World War II than the generally agreed figure of six million.

Holocaust Deflection and Whitewashing

Many nations have tried to present themselves as victims of the Germans and denied or diluted their responsibility or that of their nationals for the Holocaust. One extreme case is Austria, which for many years portrayed itself as the first victim of the Nazis. In West Germany many false claims were made that the *Wehrmacht* did not participate in the atrocities. Whereas deflection consists of shifting the responsibilities of nations or specific persons to other parties, whitewashing aims at cleansing an individual of blame without necessarily accusing others

Holocaust De-Judaization

Holocaust de-Judaization is the avoidance and minimization of the Jewish character of the victims. This is accompanied by stressing non-Jewish aspects of the Holocaust, taking it out of its specific historical context, and disregarding its uniqueness. The Soviet Union made it a policy to include Jewish victims among local ones and by ignoring the fact that they were murdered because they were Jews. De-Judaization also extends Holocaust to include people other than Jews who were murdered or died in World War II.

Holocaust Equivalence

Holocaust equivalence concerns the concept that the German genocidal behavior during World War II was similar to that of other nations before and during the war. The perpetrators of this type of distortion mainly aim to whitewash or diminish German crimes by presenting them as allegedly universal. In this sense, the demolition of Dresden by the Allies and Stalin's purges indeed helped to erode the uniqueness of the Holocaust.

Holocaust Trivialization

Holocaust trivialization is manifested when ideologically or politically motivated activists metaphorically compare phenomena they oppose with the industrial-scale destruction of the Jews in World War II. They usually do so in order to exaggerate the

evil nature of a phenomenon they condemn. Examples include environmental problems, abortion, the slaughter of animals, the use of tobacco, and human rights abuses. It might be worthwhile to mention that Holocaust trivialization often does not stem from anti-Semitic motivation but from the activists' desire to use the Holocaust historical descriptions for their purposes.

Obliteration of Holocaust Memory

Obliteration of Holocaust memory is an attack on the maintaining of collective memory. This attack can be a direct one, in the form of besmirching or destruction of memorials, and it could be an indirect assault, like turning public Holocaust memorial ceremonies into more general remembrance events. Another pattern of obliterating Holocaust memory is claiming that Jews abuse the Holocaust for various purposes, in order to gain either political or material advantages in compensation for their historic experience as victims.

Holocaust Inversion

Holocaust inversion is the perception that Israel's policies are similar to those of the Nazi course of action, and consequently – the comparison between the two. The victims of genocide are now presented as its perpetrators. This distortion is a derivation of Holocaust Equivalence but it is brought here as the last category because in this study it takes a major place and will therefore be described in a separate sub-chapter. Holocaust inversion is a modern mutation of the core element of the two-thousand-year-old anti-Semitism: the Jews represent absolute evil. In our time, Nazism represents absolute evil. Therefore, by saying that Israelis are Nazis, one claims that *they* represent absolute evil.

Holocaust Inversion

Holocaust inversion, the major syndrome analyzed in this study, is the demonization of Jews, who were the major victims of the criminality of Nazi Germany. It is the claim that Israel behaves toward the Palestinians as Nazi Germany behaved toward the Jews. Agents of Holocaust inversion use slogans such as: "The victims have become perpetrators" and "The Jews [or Israelis] have become the Nazis of today." The false equating of Israel and the Nazis also elevates by a factor of a zillion any wrongdoings Israel might have done, and lessens by a factor of a zillion what the Germans did (Lipstadt, 1993). The "Zionist equals Nazi" attitude not only says to the world that the Zionists are to the Palestinians what Nazis were to the Jews, but also that the Zionists and Nazis share the same Fascist ideology and that the Zionists were complicit with the Nazis in the Holocaust (Julius, 2010).

Holocaust inversion manifests itself in many ways. It is expressed in speech, writing, and visual media, including cartoons, graffiti, and placards. It employs sinister characterizations of Israel and Israelis, Nazi symbols, and sometimes takes the form of Nazi genocidal terminology to describe Israel's actions. Among its myriad variants, Holocaust inversion includes portraying Jews, particularly Israelis, as Nazis, crypto-Nazis, Nazi sympathizers, Holocaust perpetrators, or Holocaust copycats. Inversion is distinguished in part from such kindred practices as Holocaust denial, minimization, and trivialization by its precisely targeted offensive usage, such as its tendency not only to disarm but also to accuse.

Holocaust Inversion involves an overturn of reality, according to which the Israelis are cast as the Nazis and the Palestinians as the Jews; but it also contains an reversal of morality, since the Holocaust is presented as a moral lesson for the Jews, or

even a moral indictment of them (Klaff, 2013; 2014). The German-Jewish writer Henryk Broder remarked somewhat ironically that some accounts of the Holocaust seemed to suggest that concentration camps were intended to operate like reeducation camps, from which people emerged better and nobler than when they entered (Gans, 2003).

Holocaust inversion is the claim that the victims have become perpetrators, an accusation that is used instrumentally as a means to express animosity towards the Jewish state; those who object the inversion are told that they are acting in bad faith, only being concerned to deflect criticism of Israel (Klaff, 2013; 2014).

The distortion of Holocaust memory originated in post-World War II Soviet propaganda campaigns and was in use throughout the Cold War (Fishman, 2005). Following the 1967 War, in the wake of a continuing anti-Semitic wave initiated by the Polish government, British philosopher Bertrand Russell was outraged. He wrote to First Secretary of the Polish Communist Party Wladyslaw Gomulka a protest letter where he described the situation: By some twisted logic, all Jews are now Zionists, Zionists are Fascists, Fascists are Nazis, and therefore Jews are to be identified with the Nazis (*Jewish Telegraph Agency*, December 13, 1968).

From the Soviets, Holocaust inversion spread to their Arab clients. This way of perverting the Holocaust — aimed at Israel — is particularly prevalent in the Arab and Muslim world, where it is far from limited to government officials, media, and religious authorities. It grows and mutates in symbiosis with outright denial that the Holocaust occurred or a radical reduction of its genocidal scale, ferocity, and number of victims. The comparison between Israel and the Third Reich gained a new impulse when, after the war in June 1967, Israel occupied the territories captured from Egypt, Jordan, and Syria in Gaza, the West Bank, and the Golan Heights. From then on, the questionable comparison became popular among radical leftwing groups, as it is among sections of present-day anti-globalization movements (Gans, 2003; Wistrich, 2012). All over the Arab and Iranian press, cartoons express Holocaust inversion, portraying Israelis in Nazi insignias. Elsewhere in the Middle East, it has surfaced in the rhetoric of populist demagogues and the media, such as Turkey's President and long-time Prime Minister, Recep Tayyip Erdogan.

Obviously, Holocaust inversion is very common among Israel's direct enemies. In newspapers all over the Arab world, the pairing of Jewish symbols and Nazi signs is almost customary. Within the Palestinian society this, of course, is highly popular, particularly considering the fact that PLO Chairman Mahmoud Abbas wrote his PhD dissertation and then published it as a book titled *The Other Side: The Secret Relationship between Nazism and Zionism*. In his book, after reducing the magnitude of the Nazi slaughter so that it no longer seems to have been a full-scale Holocaust, Abbas absolves the Nazis by blaming the Zionist leadership for the killings. He asserts that the Zionist leaders formed a partnership with Nazism, based on the deal that Hitler could treat Jews as he wished if he could guarantee immigration to Palestine. In fact, claims Abbas in his so-called study, the Zionist leaders wanted Jews to be murdered because more victims meant greater rights once the war would be over (Medoff, 2003). PLO's political rival and Israel's bitter enemy, *HAMAS* [The Islamic Resistance Movement], has inserted Holocaust inversion into its official covenant. This Palestinian Sunni Islamic fundamentalist organization, an offshoot of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, has the following statements in its charter, affirmed in 1988:

Article 20: [...] Moslem society [...] opposes a vicious Nazi enemy in its behavior, which does not differentiate between men or women, elder or youth

[...], uses the method of collective punishment, robbing people of their land and property, and chasing them in their migration and places of gathering. They purposely break bones, fire live ammunition directly at women, children, and elders, [...] create concentration camps to place thousands of people in inhuman conditions. [...] The Nazism of Jews has included women and children. [...] They, with their shocking actions, treat people worse than they treat the worst of war criminals (Maqdsi, 1993: 124).

Article 31: [...] The Nazi Zionist efforts will not last as long as their battles (Maqdsi, 1993: 129).

Article 32: [...] [World Zionism] wishes to expand from the Nile River to the Euphrates. When they totally occupy it they will look towards another, and such is their plan in the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*. [...] It is necessary to gather all forces and abilities to face the Tartarian Nazi invasion [...] (Maqdsi, 1993: 130).

However, Holocaust inversion has gone far beyond its original locus of infection within the geographical limits of the Middle East and its cultures, and spread all over the West. Themes of Holocaust inversion have already appeared in the West European mainstream for several decades. This distortion finds home among intellectuals and political activists, mainly on the Left (Gerstenfeld, 2009; Wistrich, 2012). Israel's Gaza war at the beginning of 2009 brought Holocaust inversion into the public square of many Western cities, through frequent equations of Israel with Nazi Germany. Anti-Israeli demonstrations turned violent and included shouts of "Death to the Jews" and similar slogans (Wistrich, 2012).

Holocaust Inversion is becoming part of the iconography of a new antisemitism. Headlines such as "The Final Solution to the Palestine Question," references to the "Holocaust in Gaza," and images of IDF soldiers transformed into jackbooted storm troopers (Julius, 2010; Wistrich, 2012). In many anti-Israeli demonstrations, banners are carried showing the Star of David as equivalent to the swastika or comparing Israeli leaders with Hitler. Many Holocaust symbols have also been inverted. In Amsterdam in February 2007, graffiti appeared showing Anne Frank wearing a *keffiyeh*. Cartoons or pictures comparing Palestinian cities and towns with the Warsaw Ghetto are very common, and so are attempts to compare the killing of the Palestinian child Mohammed al-Dura – who probably died from a Palestinian bullet – with the iconic Jewish child raising his hands in the Warsaw Ghetto (Kotek and Kotek, 2005).

Comparing the situation of the Palestinians with that of the Jews in ghettos or concentration camps is by now a regular manifestation of Holocaust inversion. Portuguese Nobel Prize-winning Author José Saramago compared the blockaded Palestinian city of Ramallah with Auschwitz. He consequently declared that the Jewish people no longer deserved sympathy for the suffering they endured during the Holocaust (*The Guardian*, December, 28, 2002).

The Arab motivation for the use of Holocaust inversion in their propaganda arises from the strategy of hitting the West just where it hurts most, on its reference frame of right and wrong. The argument is that if there is consensus that murdering millions of Jews was terrible, now the situation has changed and the Palestinians are the ones – not the Jews – who have a right to world sympathy, to solidarity, and most important – to the Western world's sense of shame (Gans, 2003).

Whereas Arab Holocaust inversion was adopted by the Palestinians and their supporters as part of a psychological warfare against their Israeli rivals in the Middle East, in their never-ending attempts to destroy Israel, Western Holocaust inverters have

other motivations. Many of them know little about the Holocaust, the Nazis, and contemporary Israel. They are influenced by the media and other societal elites who are agents of Holocaust inversion. However, Demonizing Israel in the West through Holocaust inversion is first and foremost driven by anti-Semitism. Indeed, several agencies and commentators have characterized Holocaust inversion not only as a form of anti-Semitism but also as a primary criterion by which contemporary anti-Semitism can be discerned. For example, the EUMC's authoritative working definition of anti-Semitism, mentioned earlier in this chapter, correctly characterizes Holocaust inversion as a discrete form of anti-Semitism (Marcus, 2012).

Western Holocaust inversion is anti-Semitic in the sense that it fulfills Sharansky's 3D test earlier mentioned in the sub-chapter concerning anti-Semitism. Most of all, it demonstrates double standards. There is no passion in either Germany or Europe for independent Kurdish or Basque states; there is no concern for the Tibetan freedom fighters in their struggle against mighty China (Gerstenfeld, 2005). Additionally, sympathizers of the Palestinian tragedy who allegedly act in order to prevent a Holocaust led by Israeli forces, rarely demonstrate any interest in the frequent murdering of Palestinians by other Palestinians, nor in the plight of Palestinians killed and persecuted elsewhere, for example – in Syria. This indifference also pertains, of course, to the murdering of Israelis by Palestinians.

Another driving force of Western agents of Holocaust inversion is absolving their ancestors of guilt. The Holocaust was far from being exclusively the work of Germany, as large numbers of Europeans in occupied countries collaborated with the Germans. The most effective way for Europeans to neutralize this burden is to shift the moral responsibility to Israel by claiming that what was done by the perpetrators is widespread and now practiced primarily by Israelis and Jews. Identification of Israelis as Nazis is intended to relieve Europeans of their remorse and shame for their centuries-long history of lethal anti-Semitism; it liberates them from any residual post-World War II guilt they might have felt. If the Israelis can be depicted as Nazis, then not having helped them during that war might not have been such a terrible thing. To claim that Israelis behave like Nazis reduces the sin of the non-Jewish European grandparents; hence, the children of the victims can no longer be the accusers. In this context, Anglo-Jewish author Howard Jacobson dissected the poisoned atmosphere surrounding present-day discussions of Israel in Great Britain. Addressing the obsessive and perverse trend of defaming Israelis as Nazis or comparing, for that matter, Gaza to the Warsaw Ghetto, he described its motivating sources as follows:

What do we, in the cozy safety of tolerant old England, think we are doing when we call the Israelis Nazis and liken Gaza to the Warsaw Ghetto? [...] Given the number of besieged and battered cities there have been in however many thousands of years of pitiless warfare there is only one explanation for this invocation of Warsaw before any of those – it is to wound Jews in their recent and most anguished history and to punish them with their own grief. Its aim is a sort of retrospective retribution, cancelling out all debts of guilt and sorrow. It is as though, by a reversal of the usual laws of cause and effect, Jewish actions of today prove that Jews had it coming to them yesterday.

Berating Jews with their own history, disinheriting them of pity, as though pity is negotiable or has a sell-by date, is the latest species of Holocaust denial, infinitely more subtle than the David Irving version with its clunking body counts and quibbles over gas-chamber capability and chimney sizes.

[...] According to this thinking, the Jews have betrayed the Holocaust and become unworthy of it [...] (*The Independent*, February 18, 2009: 17).

If Western agents of Holocaust inversion are motivated by the need to absolve their ancestors of guilt, then German Holocaust inversion is perhaps the most effective way to sanitize Germany's immense crimes. This is done by accusing Israel of acting in similarity with the Third Reich. Jews, who become guilty themselves, lose the victim's status and get vulnerable (Urban, 2009). According to a poll carried out in January 2009, 30 percent of German citizens agreed that Israel was doing to the Palestinians exactly what the Nazis did to the Jews in the Third Reich (*Haaretz*, March 12, 2009). Indeed, a large percentage of the German population – in private life, not in politics and official remembrance – nowadays no longer recognizes Jews as the main victims of the National Socialists (Urban, 2009). European Studies Scholar Yves Pallade asserts that if Israel can be cast in the role of the new Nazis, this helps to relieve the critic from the historic burden that the German's own national history has imposed on him – at least to a certain extent. Accordingly, the Nazification of Israel is an emotionally charged fantasy that has little to do with the realities of the Middle East conflict but rather demonstrates the mindset of its promoters (Pallade, 2009: 60).

In 2002, Norbert Blüm, a former German Christian Democrat Minister of Labor, charged that the Jewish state was conducting against the Palestinians a *Vernichtungskrieg* – the Nazi expression for a war of extermination (*Stern*, June 18, 2002). In 2003, another Christian Democrat Party parliamentarian, Martin Hohmann, called Israelis a nation of criminals, using the expression *Taetervolk* – a nation of perpetrators – a term commonly reserved for Nazi Germany (*Die Welt*, April 21, 2004). In 2004, the major GMF [Group Targeted Misanthropy] survey interviewed 2,656 representatively selected Germans. 68 per cent of them agreed that "Israel undertakes a war of destruction against the Palestinians;" 51 per cent agreed that "What the state of Israel does today to the Palestinians, is in principle not different from what the Nazis did in the Third Reich to the Jews" (Heyder et al., 2005). In 2007, representatives of all twenty-seven German Catholic bishops visited Israel. They also went to Ramallah, after which one of the bishops, Gregor Maria Hanke said: "During the visit we saw at *Yad Vashem* the pictures from the Warsaw Ghetto and in the evening we went to Ghetto Ramallah" (*Haaretz*, March 7, 2007).

However, as mentioned above, Holocaust inversion cleans not only German historical consciousness but allows all its collaborators of different levels to participate in the sanitizing process. The Holocaust-inversion theme has appeared in the West European mainstream for several decades. Leading European politicians such as the late Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme and the late Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu both accused Israel of using Nazi methods. In recent years, such charges have become more widespread. A cartoon in a Greek daily newspaper, close to the ruling socialist party, has become a classic of twenty-first-century anti-Semitism. It shows two Jewish soldiers dressed as Nazis, with Stars of David on their helmets, thrusting knives into Arabs. Its caption reads: "Do not feel yourself guilty, my brother. We were not in Auschwitz and Dachau to suffer, but to learn." (*Ethnos*, April 7, 2002). Accordingly, senior members of the Greek Socialist Party often used Holocaust rhetoric to describe Israeli military actions. For example, in March 2002, Speaker of the House Apostolos Kaklamanis referred at the Greek parliament to the genocide of the Palestinians. He was backed by Government Spokesman Christos Protopapas who noted that Kaklamanis spoke with sensitivity and responsibility. Protopapas also

claimed that Kaklamanis was merely expressing the sentiments of the Parliament and the Greek people (Samuels, 2003).

At the Durban conference of June 2001, that took place in Geneva, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and former Irish President Mary Robinson refused to reject the notion that the wrong done to the Jews in the Holocaust was equivalent to the pain suffered by the Palestinians in the Middle East. Instead, she discussed the historical wounds of anti-Semitism and of the Holocaust on the one hand, and the accumulated wounds of Palestinian displacement and Israeli military occupation on the other hand (Lantos, 2002).

In April 2002, Franco Cavalli, then – parliamentary leader of the Social Democratic Party which was part of the Swiss governing coalition, spoke at a demonstration of the Swiss-Palestinian Society in Bern. He claimed that Israel very purposefully massacres an entire people and undertakes the systematic extermination of the Palestinians (Israeli, 2009). That same year British poet and Oxford academic Tom Paulin told an Egyptian newspaper that Jewish settlers in the West Bank are Nazis and racists who should be shot dead (*The Guardian*, April 27, 2002).

In July 2006, the *Dagbladet*, Norway's third largest daily newspaper, carried a drawing showing Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert as a Nazi. Consequently, Norwegian King Harald V made the cartoonist, Finn Graff, a knight in the prestigious Royal Norwegian Order of St. Olav for his contribution as an artist (Uriely, 2006).

Although, as mentioned before, the Nazi-Zionist equation was predominantly a Soviet contribution to postwar antisemitism, Holocaust inversion in the West has also its purely western sources. For example, as early as 1949, the Dutch Dominican Priest and later Professor of Old Testament at the Catholic University of Nijmegen, J.P.M. van der Ploeg, asserted that Zionism is colonization combined with robbery and murder, and therefore equals new Nazism. The link between Jew and Nazi was made both inside and outside Catholic circles in the Netherlands. In 1954, the Dutch daily newspaper *De Telegraaf* wrote that people might expect someone who had been in hiding during World War II to emerge purified from his trials; this is just an example for the Christian fallacy that suffering purifies people (Gans, 2003).

More than anywhere else in the West, Holocaust inversion is deeply rooted in Britain. British documents reveal that already during the 1940s high-ranking officials in the Palestine administration stated their opinion that Zionism is Nazism. For example, one figure high up in the Palestine administration was Sir Edward Grigg, later Lord Altrincham. He referred to what later became the Israeli Labor Party as a local German National-Socialist party and to its Zionist youth movements a copy of the *Hitler-Jugend*.

The well-known British historian Arnold Toynbee claimed that the Israeli treatment of Arabs during the 1948 war was morally comparable with the Nazi treatment of the Jews (Toynbee, 1954). He repeated this accusation in a 1961 debate with Israeli Ambassador to Canada Jacob Herzog, who asserted that the Nazi murder of six million Jews was incomparable with the unfortunate uprooting of Arab communities (*Time*, February 10, 1961).

Indeed, the 2009 Report of the European Institute for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism, reported that equating Israel with the Nazis is an important component of incitement and racial aggravation against Jews in the UK today (Klaff, 2014). One can hardly be surprised, then, that on Holocaust Memorial Day of 2013, the British Liberal Democrat MP for Bradford East, David Ward, signed in the Book of Remembrance in the Houses of Parliament, and added a comment:

Having visited Auschwitz [...], I am saddened that the Jews, who suffered unbelievable levels of persecution during the Holocaust, could within a few years of liberation from the death camps be inflicting atrocities on Palestinians in the new state of Israel and continue to do so on a daily basis in the West Bank and Gaza (Klaff, 2013: 46).

Holocaust inversion spread all over the world, encompassing not only Europe but also extending to the US. Recently, the phenomenon has reached American university campuses, particularly following the 2014 war in Gaza. In Columbia University, for example, Hamid Dabashi, a professor of Iranian studies, made his point in an article entitled "Gaza: Poetry after Auschwitz:"

In Gaza Israel has created an Auschwitz. [...] After Gaza, not a single living Israeli can utter the word Auschwitz without it sounding like Gaza. Auschwitz as a historical fact is now archival. Auschwitz as a metaphor is now Palestinian. From now on, every time any Israeli, every time any Jew, anywhere in the world, utters the word Auschwitz, or the word Holocaust, the world will hear Gaza (Kramer, 2014).

In sum, Holocaust inversion is far more successful than any other form of anti-Semitism. The comparison between Zionism and Nazism creates confusion. People have no problem in objecting to the use of such unequivocal terms as "filthy Jew" or "stinking Jew" nor do they accept any belittling or denial of what happened in the Holocaust. However, some of them feel less sure about refuting the accusation that in their methods of repression Israel and Nazism are equal (Gans, 2003). By overturning reality and morality, and by recklessly spreading accusations of bad faith, Holocaust inversion prevents us from identifying the changing nature of contemporary anti-Semitism and is an obstacle to marshalling active resistance to it (Klaff, 2013; 2014).

Jewish Holocaust Inversion within Western Jewish Intelligentsia

Until now, we have reviewed the ongoing historic social occurrences of anti-Semitism, and saw how Holocaust inversion, a sub-phenomenon of Holocaust distortion, is used by Israel's enemies all over the world as an effective weapon of propaganda warfare. Before that, we saw how deeply Holocaust remembrance is rooted within the psychology of the Zionist justification of Israel's very existence. Also, notable is the place of Holocaust remembrance in the realm of the national ethos of Jews in general and of Israelis in particular. On these grounds, Holocaust inversion that is constructed by Jews sounds like an oxymoron, a self-contradicting term that resembles, for this matter, expressions like Jewish anti-Semitism. Indeed, as we shall soon see in the following paragraphs, Jewish Holocaust inversion emerges in the least expected social environment. It is created not only by Jews in the West, but of all places in the world – in Israel, and of all social groups – within the settings of the Israeli society's leading elite.

Anti-Semitic trends among Jewish intelligentsia in the West can be found in books like Seth Farber's *Radicals, Rabbis and Peacemakers*, where he holds interviews with some of America's leading Jewish intellectuals, some of them mentioned elsewhere in this paper, who have decided to turn a cold shoulder to Zionism. In these talks, Jewish scholars hold the unquestionable assumption that none of them even bothers to prove or to lean on evidence, that Israel is guilty of every sin that any nation-state on earth is capable of committing: apartheid, racism, oppressive state terrorism,

ethnic cleansing, war atrocities, crimes against humanity, and of course – genocide (Farber, 2005).

Not only terminology, but also specific accusations held by some of the contributors of Farber's book, make some anti-Semitic characters throughout history sound vegetarian. Young Educator and Social Activist Ora Wise refers to what she knows to be a fact – that the Israelis systematically massacre Palestinians on a daily basis (Farber, 2005: 106). Former Baylor University Professor Marc Ellis states that the Jews embarked upon what the Nazis had not succeeded in accomplishing (Farber, 2005: 15). In agreement with this assertion, Rabbi David Weiss finds it only natural to mention that the Zionists have actually been worse than Hitler (Farber, 2005: 206). Educator Steve Quester wonders if Israelis are going to build gas chambers and kill all the Palestinians or is the Israeli plan confined just to terrorizing and starving them (Farber, 2005: 41). Instead of listing the countless examples documented in media and practiced almost on a daily basis for years, let us concentrate in this section on just a few specific case studies.

Birkbeck Institute for the Humanities Professor Jacqueline Rose professionalizes in the relationship between psychoanalysis, feminism and literature. Other than that, she can be counted as one of the Jews' and of Israel's greatest enemies. Though Rose strongly opposes Zionism, her first descriptions of Zionism are somewhat understanding, sympathetic, and positive. However, she only uses the techniques of Shakespearian Mark Antony's speech in order to perform a narrator's U-turn. In the famous scene from *Julius Caesar*, Mark Antony's eulogy follows the reasoned speech where Brutus convinced the Romans that Caesar had to die. Mark Antony comments repeatedly that Brutus is an honorable man, but as he proceeds with his speech, this term is gradually called into question, until finally the crowd begins to riot and search out Caesar's assassins with the intention of killing them (Shakespeare, 1996: 593). Rose is sophisticated, and therefore at first she sets out to explore the positive side of Zionism, telling the story of the revival of modern Jewish nationality as a form of messianic movement, so crucial for the success of the pioneers who came to Palestine (Rose, 2005). Still stating that Brutus is an honorable man, Rose evaluates that one of Zionism's core ambitions was to normalize the Jews, to end the wandering and the exile, to make of the Jews a nation just like every other. However, she contends, Zionism paradoxically depended also on the uniqueness of Jewish destiny, on a Messianic vision with roots in scripture. Even Theodor Herzl, the liberal forefather of modern Zionism, asserts Rose, was contaminated in his theories by latent Messianism that resembled Nazism. To prove this strange comparison by implication, rather than by spelling it out overtly, Rose tells about the strange irony of a historic event: an occasion when both Theodor Herzl and Adolf Hitler attended the opera in Paris to hear a performance of one of Wagner's pieces. Without any knowledge about one another, they were both thrilled by Wagner's music; the music that inspired Herzl to write *Der Judenstaat* and Hitler to write *Mein Kampf* (Rose, 2005). This indeed is a curious event, that creates an amazing linkage that shows how these two leaders were shaped by the same experiences. The problem, however, is that Hitler was fifteen when Herzl died in 1904 and that he reached Paris for the first time in his life only twenty-six years after Herzl's death, when the *Wehrmacht* marched into the French capital.

Rose moves from the tale of the utopian socialist communities farming the land and sharing its fruits to a very different, violent and Messianic story of Zionism, where its founding fathers established a commitment to catastrophe and trauma, which was then reproduced through time as its own justification. Rose is not writing factual history so much as she is developing a psycho-political analysis of Israel's origins and

development. She therefore asserts that Zionism was self-contradicting from its start: it was secular in its being a case of nineteenth-century national self-discovery, but it was also religious, as it took its mandate from God's covenant with Abraham. Eventually, the religious demon prevailed from within, and Zionism became a new Messianism, unaware of its own Messianic zeal and unable to be self-critical. For Rose, the language of secular Zionism bears the traces and scars of a Messianic narrative. Thus, we can now understand what she refers to as the sacred, violent fury, militarism, and religious fanaticism that allegedly dominates Israeli society. From Ben Gurion to Ariel Sharon, reviews Rose, though – without any verification of historical facts, Zionist leaders employed the vocabulary of suffering and redemption, and above all – of existential threat. They did so, she accuses, and they still do, in order to justify the right to remain a majority ruling over the Palestinians. Thus, in a manipulative way, she believes, the biblical mandate on which secular Zionism built its reasoning, is utilized for the purpose of occupying Arab lands, oppressing Palestinians, and artificially promoting mass immigration of Jews.

The Palestinians, in Rose's analysis, are simply the scapegoat for Israel's tortured memory of the Holocaust. They represent not just the threat of arbitrary destruction, but they are made also to pay for the suppressed shame that Europe's Jewry felt at having bowed to its fate at Hitler's hands. Since hers is an emphatically negative myth, matters only get worse after the creation of the Jewish state. Rose is convinced that the Jews of Israel have imposed upon the Palestinians an almost unparalleled degree of suffering, and she refers to Israel some of the worst cruelties of the modern nation-state. Eventually, in Jacqueline Rose's writings, Zionism turns out to be the incarnation of collective insanity; Rose finds for it a large array of terms describing it as overwhelmingly negative: belligerent, bloody, brutal, cataclysmic, corrupt, cruel, dangerous, deadly, militaristic, apocalyptic, blind, crazy, defiled, demonic, fanatical, and mad (Rose, 2005).

Canadian Trent University Professor Michael Neumann has authored several books. In his first monograph, *What's Left? Radical Politics and the Radical Psyche* (Newmann, 1988), he accuses Israel of committing what he calls Zionist atrocities and of waging a race war against the Palestinians, a war whose purpose is nothing less than the extinction of a people. Newmann contends that in order to achieve full extermination of all the Palestinians, Israel has embarked on genocide against them. The Israeli genocide is sophisticated, because it manages to portray its perpetrators as victims. The Palestinians are being shot, according to Newmann, because as an emerging evil, Israel thinks all Palestinians should vanish or die. However, Israel is not the only protagonist that Newmann blames; he claims that all Jews in general are guilty, because most of them support a state that commits war crimes. He argues that such support not only implicates all Jews, but makes the case for Jewish complicity seem much stronger than the case for German complicity in the crimes committed against the Jews during the Holocaust. Newmann is aware that there are those who will resent an assessment that paints Jews in such black colors, but he is willing to run the risk of their anger, even if they accuse him of anti-Semitism. In fact, he even states that if his ideas are anti-Semitic, then it can be reasonable to be anti-Semitic. Later on in the book he even maintains that some anti-Semitism is acceptable.

Several years later, with his book *The Case against Israel* (Neumann, 2005), he argues that Zionism was the responsible party for the conflict in the Middle East. From its very title, one can guess that the book was written as an ideological reply to Harvard Law Professor Alan Dershowitz's *The Case for Israel*, where common criticisms of

Israel are discharged (Dershowitz, 2003). Neumann expresses his main arguments in his book and in *CounterPunch*, a radical magazine that defines itself as the fearless voice of the American Left. He claims that Israel is the illegitimate child of ethnic nationalism and that its goal is the extinction of the Palestinians. Unlike the Nazis, claims Neumann, the Jews managed to make some worldwide public relations for their genocide of Arabs and succeeded in portraying themselves as victims instead of perpetrators. Hence, it was wrong to pursue the Zionist project and wrong to achieve it. The prospect of Zionism was to gain the power of life and death over the indigenous inhabitants of Palestine; consequently, the latter had to respond in self-defense to the Jewish mortal threat that invaded their life in the Middle East. Since Zionism was immoral and entirely unjustified, it was only reasonable for the Palestinians to justify violence. Passive resistance against Israel, according to Neumann, had never been an effective option, and Palestinian terrorism is in practice no more than random violence against non-combatants. It should be contextualized as a reaction to the impossible situation that Israel imposed on the Palestinians. The only way to push for a peaceful solution, Neumann concludes in his book, is through vigorous anti-Israeli action, primarily in the shape of extensive international sanctions.

Newmann's stand on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is very clear and he openly admits that he supports Israel's enemies on any issue. In an e-mail exchange that was published without his permission, he clearly stated:

If an effective strategy [of helping the Palestinians] means encouraging reasonable anti-Semitism, or reasonable hostility to Jews, I don't care. If it means encouraging vicious, racist anti-Semitism, or the destruction of the state of Israel, I still don't care (*National Post*, August 9, 2003).

Honesty obliges us to mention that in several other cases Neumann slightly moderated his indifference to the possibility of Israel's destruction, though at all times he continued to hold the opinion that Israel's existence is illegitimate. Furthermore, Israel – for him – was not an antithesis of Nazi violence but rather more like its replica. Consequently, together with his brother, Michael Neumann appealed to the President of Israel demanding the removal of his grandmother's name from the *Yad Vashem* lists:

I do not believe that the Jewish people, in whose name [Israel] has committed so many crimes with such outrageous complacency, can ever rid itself of the shame you have brought upon us. Nazi propaganda, for all its calumnies, never disgraced and corrupted the Jews; you have succeeded in this. [...] You blacken our names not only by your acts, but by the lies, the coy evasions, the smirking arrogance and the infantile self-righteousness with which you embroider our history. [...] You will never pay for your crimes and you will continue to preen yourself, to bask in your illusions of moral ascendancy (*CounterPunch*, January 2009).

Following the 2008 war in Gaza, Neumann supported a call to ban Israeli professors from working in Ontario Universities, an inevitable conclusion considering their conformism with the evil regime of their country.

Daniel Boyarin is University of California Professor of Talmudic Culture, who holds both an American passport and an Israeli one. In 2006 he stated that:

It has been said by many Christians that Christianity died at Auschwitz, Treblinka and Sobibor. I fear, God forbid, that my Judaism may be dying at Nablus, Deheishe, Betein, and El-Khalil (Boyarin, 2006: xiv).

Prominent History Professor and Orwell Prize winner Tony Judt was one of the scholars who started out as a young volunteer in a Kibbutz but ended up with some very disturbing opinions about Israel and Israelis. In an interview with journalist Merav Michaeli, slightly before his death in 2010, he freely shared his opinions:

Israel withdrew from Gaza but has put it under a punishment regime comparable to nothing else in the world. [...] What happens in small West Bank towns is invisible to the world. Israel was always very good at presenting the argument of self-defense even when it was absurd. Israel would never have happened if it weren't for Hitler and keeping the fear of Hitler alive is part of what fuels ultra-Zionism. [...] Israel has gone from genuinely believing itself to be threatened to exploiting that threat to serve unworthy and foolish goals. As a result, no one outside Israel takes seriously the ridiculous threat to its existence. [...] There is no historical record suggesting that Palestinians rape, pillage and murder the Jews for fun, whereas we have all too much evidence that Israelis persecute Palestinians for no good reason. If I were an Arab, I would be more afraid of living in a state with Jews just now.

[...] I regard [The Israeli cabinet] as close to a neo-Fascist government. [They] are an object of contempt in my eyes.

[...] Israelis have created a generation of young Palestinians who hate them and will never forgive them. [...] Israel should be afraid of the Israel it's creating for itself: a semi-democratic, demagogic, far-right warrior state dominated by racist Russians and crazed rabbis.

[...] Like many, many Jews outside of Israel, I feel a declining sense of identification with the place: its behavior, its culture, its politics, its insularity, its prejudices have nothing to do with being Jewish for me. [In the future] Israel will grow increasingly marginal for most Jews. So even if things went wrong for Jews, I don't think most of us would want to go and live in Israel. The downsides of Israel -- its parochialism, its self-obsession, its resort to violence as a first solution to everything: all of these are far too much to bear.

[...] Israel is behaving very much like the annoying little Judean state that the Romans finally dismantled in frustration. This classical analogy may be more relevant than we think. I suspect that in decades to come America will abandon Israel as annoying, expensive, and a liability (*The Atlantic*, September 14, 2011).

Another example for the use of an allegedly scholarly point of view in order to practice Jewish anti-Zionism and Jewish Holocaust inversion is the writings of American Political Activist and Author Norman Finkelstein. He was probably one of the first agents of Jewish Holocaust inversion when in 1982 he protested in the streets of New York against Israel's war to defend its Northern border, holding a sign that read: "This son of survivors of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, Auschwitz, and Majdanek will not be silent: Israeli Nazis – stop the Holocaust in Lebanon"!

In his book, *The Holocaust Industry: Reflections on the Exploitation of Jewish Suffering* Finkelstein argues that Elie Wiesel and others abuse the memory of the Holocaust as an ideological weapon. Their purpose is to enable the State of Israel to

cast itself as a victim state and thus to provide Israel immunity to criticism. As a result, from Finkelstein's point of view, Israel remains one of the world's most formidable military powers, with a horrendous human rights record. Wiesel and other supporters of Israel have become, according to Finkelstein's book, a repellent gang of plutocrats, hoodlums and hucksters just seeking financial settlements from Germany and Switzerland. The money they are after will eventually fail to reach any actual Holocaust survivors, and will instead go to the lawyers and institutional actors that are involved in procuring it (Finkelstein, 2000).

In his book *Beyond Chutzpah: On the Misuse of Anti-Semitism and the Abuse of History* Finkelstein claimed that the Jewish narrative of the 1948 Arab-Israeli War was one large fraud, laundering the ethnic cleansing that was exercised by Israel. He argued that the notion of a modern anti-Semitism was invented by supporters of Israel to silence any criticism of Israel's human rights abuses on the grounds of anti-Semitism. By doing so, Israel's advocates allow it to fulfill its expansionistic and illegal policies toward the Palestinians (Finkelstein, 2005).

During the 2008 war in Gaza Finkelstein declared that Israel was committing a Holocaust there. He then stated:

Israel is becoming an insane state. It is a lunatic state. [...] Sometimes I feel that Israel has come out of the boils of the hell, a Satanic state. [...] While the rest of the world wants peace, Europe wants peace, the US wants peace, this state wants war, war and war. [...] It has been a long time since I felt any emotional connection with the state of Israel, which relentlessly and brutally and inhumanly keeps these vicious, murderous wars. It is a vandal state. [...] I feel no emotion of affinity with that state (*Today's Zaman*, January 19, 2009).

Sara Roy is a senior research scholar at the Harvard University Center for Middle Eastern Studies. As a scholar who studies the politics and circumstances of the Gaza Strip, she often compares the situation there to the Jewish communities under Nazi stress during World War II. Addressing a Holocaust remembrance lecture at Baylor University, on April 8, 2002, she revealed the personal process that led her to make the analogy Zionism-Nazism (Roy, 2002). As a child of Holocaust survivors, she viewed the Holocaust as the defining feature of her life. Over one hundred members of her family and extended family were killed in the ghettos and in the death camps in Poland. Her first conscious encounter with the Holocaust was when at age four she noticed the number the Nazis had imprinted on her father's arm. He was a death camp survivor who testified at the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem in 1961. Roy's mother too went through Auschwitz, where she sneaked to the line that the Nazi doctor Joseph Mengele sent to labor.

During her first visits to Israel, as a teenager, she started to interpret reality with criticism. She asserts that at early age she realized how the Holocaust was used by the state of Israel as a defense against others, as a justification for political and military acts. She visited Israel several times, and during the 1980s went to the occupied territories, where she would compose her doctoral dissertation, which examined American economic assistance to the West Bank and Gaza Strip. According to Roy, one of her earliest encounters involved a group of Israeli soldiers who unnecessarily humiliated an old Palestinian. This immediately drove Roy's thoughts to the stories she heard from her parents of how Jews had been treated by the Nazis in the 1930s, before the ghettos and death camps, of how Jews were forced to clean sidewalks with

toothbrushes and had their beards cut off in public. For her, what happened to the old Palestinian was absolutely equivalent to what had happened to Jews.

Later on, Roy moved to live with Palestinians. Whereas in her childhood she always wanted to be able in some way to experience and feel some aspect of what her parents endured, life under Israeli occupation gave her a notion of what it was like to suffer the stress of life under foreign military domination. From her location as an inhabitant of Arab vicinities, she fully adopted their point of view. Roy counts numerous alleged Israeli atrocities, like torture of thousands of innocent Arab civilians, confiscation of tens of thousands of acres of land, uprooting of tens of thousands of trees, the demolition of thousands of Palestinian homes, and the supposed Israeli destruction of the Palestinian economy. Though none of these are even close to being proved, believing in them and repeating them is more than enough to draw the conclusion that compares Israelis to Nazis:

Within the Jewish community, it has always been considered a form of heresy to compare Israeli actions or policies with those of the Nazis [...]. Israeli soldiers openly admit to shooting Palestinian children for sport (Roy, 2000).

Hence, some Jewish Western scholars, each in his field, practically exercise Holocaust inversion. There are many of them, and no account shall ever be complete. The examples that are quoted above and referred to are merely samples of an intellectual Jewish group whose fundamental political attitude despises Israel as a Middle Eastern Nazi replica. Ora Weis, Marc Ellis, David Weiss, Jacqueline Rose, Michael Neumann, Daniel Boyarin, Tony Judt, Norman Finkelstein and Sara Roy are but a tiny fraction of a large Western Jewish intelligentsia for whom Israel practices Fascism. However, they do not remain only within the Jewish communities of America or Western Europe; as we shall see in the following cases, Israelis are just as keen in Holocaust inversion as their Western brothers. Odd as it may sound, the State of Israel has become a haven for Jewish agents of Holocaust inversion, as articulated in our next section.

Jewish Holocaust Inversion in Israel

The role of Israeli intelligentsia in Jewish Holocaust inversion is embedded in an attitude, very common among its members, to shove aside the Jewish, and more so – the national foundations of the state. Former Supreme Court Chief Justice Aharon Barak called his followers, Progressive Jews in Israel, *enlightened civilians*. In a circular logic, the enlightened civilian is entitled to be considered one, once he adopts the liberal approach of the elite, where particularistic values are ruled out. De-Judaization and de-nationalization of the state is conveyed, among its other expressions, in a distortion of Zionist history and a development of a narrative according to which Theodor Herzl had never really intended to title his visionary book *The Jewish State*, and that his initial suggestion was in no significant sense intrinsically Jewish. This position lays foundations for further rejection of anything that justifies Israel's case in the world and allows an invalidation of its basic cause (Hazony, 2000).

Generally speaking, there are various Holocaust distortions practiced within the Israeli public sphere, like the obliteration of Holocaust memory, claiming that Israel abuses the Holocaust memory for the sake of manipulated national causes. In 2009, the Israeli Channel 2 Keshet Broadcasting aired a local Hebrew sitcom, *Polishook*, which modelled the well-known BBC 1980s satires *Yes Minister* and *Yes Prime Minister*. The major plot of *Polishook* concerns a mediocre politician who through almost accidental

circumstances rose to power. The different episodes reveal the backroom deals, the dubious alliances and coalitions, and the way politicians keep changing their ideologic positions based on their personal ambitions. The Israeli version of the British TV series was staged in 2017. In its theater form, the leading storyline is that in return for an exclusive payment of large sums of money, the Israeli politician sells Israel's rights over Holocaust collective memory to some Chinese executives. Once the deal is signed, Israeli greedy political leaders can no longer utilize the Holocaust. Now they have to refrain from holding ceremonies where they could speak, and they can no longer justify Israel's unnecessary wars. In the show, to the horror of Israeli society, peace with the Arabs becomes possible. Alas, the problem is eventually solved with a happy end, when the deal is cancelled to the satisfaction of Israeli society, allegedly mirrored on stage. Now Israelis can go back to repeating the story of the Holocaust for the sake of gaining the appropriate geopolitical advantages and worldwide financial support.

A less sophisticated theatrical version for the same idea, Holocaust obliteration, was performed by Actress Natali Cohen Vaxberg in a monologue she orated in front of the memorial for the Warsaw Ghetto Fighters at *Yad Vashem* in April 2014:

I am the Holocaust, the best thing that ever happened to you! After all of these years, I deserve a round of applause. How could you justify 1948 and 1967 without me? (*Jerusalem Post*, April 29, 2014).

The monologue, however, continues and reaches what Vaxberg, like many other Israeli artists, has been doing for years – Holocaust inversion:

Who deserves credit for enabling you to place three million people in a ghetto without the superpowers bombing you? Do you think you could get on without me? Has Frankenstein taken revenge on his creator? Where did you learn this from? The bigger you grew, the more your memory shrinks. Where did you learn to gather people into concentration camps on the basis of their ethnic background? I am your truth! (*Jerusalem Post*, April 29, 2014).

The borderline between art and politics seems to be vague when it comes to Jewish Holocaust inversion by Israelis. Jazz musician Gilad Atzmon was born in a secular Jewish family in Tel Aviv, and trained at the Rubin Academy of Music in Jerusalem. However, during the 1990s he moved to London, and by 2002 became a British citizen and renounced his Israeli citizenship on moral grounds. He chose to define himself as a British Hebrew speaking Palestinian. In his novel, *A Guide to the Perplexed*, he describes the imaginary far future of Israel. The perplexed are the Jews, termed as the unthinking chosen people, who cling to clods of earth that do not belong to them. The novel attacks what it defines as the commercialization of the Holocaust and argues that the Holocaust is invoked as a kind of reflexive propaganda designed to shield the Zionist state from responsibility for any transgression against Palestinians (Atzmon, 2002).

In 2009, during the public debate with Israeli President Shimon Peres, Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan used Atzmon's words: "Israeli barbarity is far beyond even ordinary cruelty" (*The Guardian*, March 6, 2009). In his books and essays, Atzmon compared Zionism to Nazism and described Israeli policy toward the Palestinians as no less than genocide (*The Gisborne Herald*, January 23, 2009).

Like Gilad Atzmon, Avrum Burg is an Israeli who publically adopted a non-Israeli citizenship and called others to follow him. Burg matured as a leading politician

within the ranks of the Labor party. He is the former Chairman of the Jewish Agency who, in the late 1990s became Speaker of the Knesset and stood a hair's breadth away from the leadership of the Labor Party in late 2001. However, in the early 2000s, as soon as he retired from the high political posts that he held, still in his late forties, he became no less than a leading Jewish anti-Zionist. He declared that since Israel ceased to care about the children of the Palestinians, Israelis should not be surprised when Palestinians come washed in hatred and blow themselves up in Israeli cities that he now called the centers of Israeli escapism (*New Yorker*, July 30, 2007). He also suggested to cancel the definition of Israel as a Jewish state and to abolish the Law of Return. Condemning Zionism, he acquired French citizenship and started a campaign calling Israelis to obtain foreign passports (*Haaretz*, June 7, 2007). In fact, when Jewish immigration to Israel from European countries significantly increased during 2015, after several incidents involving the murder of Jews in Europe, Burg called Jews publically to remain in the continent and to refrain from going to Israel (*Haaretz*, April 2, 2015). In his book, *The Holocaust is Over, We Must Rise from Its Ashes*, he claimed that Israeli society has no moral core, and has become a brutal form of Sparta fast sliding toward Nazism. The Israeli public, according to Burg, is militaristic and xenophobic, plagued with violence and extreme nationalism; above all – it is a Fascist society (Burg, 2008).

In order to look into the strange occurrence of Jewish Holocaust inversion in Israel, a chronological account is necessary. Since a full account of all the occurrences is simply impossible, because they are numerous and because more and more of them accumulate almost daily, we shall point out here just highlighted events.

The Chronological Development

As earlier reviewed, a historical examination shows that the privatization of Holocaust memory was part of a capitalistic transformation that Israel began to undergo in the late 1970s. It gathered momentum with the intensification of the Israeli privatization revolution, a process that -- much influenced by globalization -- not only redistributed economic and political power, but restructured Israeli collective identity and Holocaust memory as well. Accordingly, the reasons for the privatization of Holocaust memory should be sought mainly in the economic, social, political, and cultural factors that shaped Israel's privatization revolution. The new concept of the Holocaust, developed throughout the last decades of the Twentieth century, generally corresponds closely with liberal attitudes. As globalization and Western liberalism spread in Israeli society, history seemed to have changed all of a sudden.

The period of the privatized memory of the Holocaust has also been influenced by the political and moral dilemmas involved in the 1982 War in Lebanon and by the 1987 *Intifada* [the Palestinian uprising]. Privatized memory turned the Holocaust into a personal experience that is concerned with the fate of Jews as individuals: victims, displaced persons, survivors, and those who belong to a second and third generation.

In search of universalistic, as opposed to particularistic and national lessons to be learned from the past, the Holocaust is seen by liberals in Israel as more than a typical historic event that can be studied in terms of time, place, activity, and result. It is understood as a vehicle by which the central essence of the human condition can be examined. Studying the Holocaust provides an opportunity to consider the moral implications that can be drawn from the event; it forces students to consider what it means to be human and humane, to examine every possibility of human behavior, spanning a continuum ranging from ultimate evil to ultimate good. By discussing the reactions of victims, killers and bystanders, students not only learn about the period of

time between 1939 and 1945; they are also given lenses through which they can view their own values and confront some challenging questions regarding what it means to be a human being. In fact, the Holocaust is a historic event that provides a platform on which inheritors of contemporary Western thought can address cultural mindsets that are not founded on the humanistic worldview that is central to their own (Lindquist, 2011).

However, the privatized and liberal concept of Holocaust memory generates the basic claim that Israeli hegemony exploits the nationalized memory of the Holocaust to justify the negation and suppression of deprived social groups: the ultra-Orthodox, the *Sephardim* [Oriental Jews] -- and above all, the Arabs. According to this position, during the 1930s, the pre-state Jewish leadership in Israel preferred its local development targets to rescuing Jews from Europe; the survivors' suffering was later manipulated and used to justify the struggle over statehood. More than anything else, claim these critics, Zionism has turned the Holocaust into a platform for discussing power relations between Israeli hegemony proponents and their opposing groups; specifically, Zionism abused this dreadful historic event in the Israeli struggle against the Palestinians (Gutwein, 2009).

Political theorist Hanna Arendt was, perhaps, the very first to cast doubt on the sincerity of the Israeli government in its attitude toward the Holocaust; therefore, she can be viewed as the person who began to lay the important foundation of the position that dominates the liberal attitude on this subject. Arendt was sent by the *New Yorker* to cover the 1961 Eichmann trial, and her accounts evolved into a well-known book, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*.

Arendt's major claim was that evil seemed to be a function of thoughtlessness, a tendency of ordinary people to follow regulations, to obey orders, and to conform to mass opinion without any independent evaluation of the consequences of their actions (Arendt, 1963). However, Arendt was also sharply critical of the way the trial was handled, and not surprisingly it was only in recent years that her book was translated into Hebrew. She pointed out the fact that Eichmann was kidnapped by Israeli *Mossad* agents in Argentina and transported illegally to Israel, where he was tried for a crime that had been committed elsewhere (Arendt, 1963).

More than forty years after Arendt, historians – particularly Israeli ones – followed in her footsteps. Historian Henry Wasserman, for instance, claimed that the memory of the Holocaust victims was nationalized merely in order to serve the changing interests of the state and its agencies -- by, for example, receiving reparations from Germany. The emphasis placed on the ghetto fighters in the official memory of the Holocaust, following this thread of thought, shows that Ben-Gurion was simply preparing for more wars, and believed that ghetto heroism would serve as a model for Israel's future soldiers. According to the new liberal concept, nationalization of the Holocaust memory was used instrumentally to justify the inequities Israel has perpetrated on the Arabs, and especially on the Palestinians (Wasserman, 1986).

The accusations of manipulation and abuse came particularly from Israeli scholars of the New Historians wave. Sociologist Uri Ram argued, for instance:

[...] The holocaust has become a weapon in the hands of establishment historians and sociologists [... who] have turned [it] into an excuse that provides moral justification for Zionism and silences all debates (Ram, 1994).

Historian Idith Zertal took things one step further. Zertal claimed that the Israeli elite exploited the memory of the slaughtered millions to provide a source for national

myths and to make the State of Israel a historic counterbalance to the Holocaust in an artificial manner. Her account of the Eichmann trial accuses Ben-Gurion of deliberately planning the arrest and trial in order to shore up declining support for his regime. According to Zertal, it was not merely building nationalism that led Israeli leadership to initiate the whole affair -- it was, above all, political party considerations. The long-range side effect of the trial, in any case, was the construction of existential threat perceptions among the Israeli political elite, and such fundamentals of national attitudes led eventually to the 1967 war and to subsequent wars (Zertal, 2005).

Various Israeli liberals see the Warsaw Ghetto uprising as only one example, a prototype for the Israeli elite's practice of distorting historical facts in order to establish a republican ethos and to mobilize the public to form a combative nation. According to this logic, the Israeli political elite, by bending some historical facts, identifies the Arabs with Nazis; accuses the Mufti of Jerusalem of aiding and abetting the Nazi genocide -- and later on, portrays Arab and world-wide hostility toward Israel as not only a continuation of, but as even more dangerous than, that of the Nazis. According to these liberals, the basic idea of the national ethos, which is bound to keep Israel in an everlasting war, is that Jewish civilization may have recovered from the Holocaust by creating Israel, but could never survive Israel's destruction. Following this line of reasoning, the Holocaust nourishes an aggressive, militaristic Israeli mindset that eliminates any chance for peace in the region. Liberal journalist Boaz Evron, for example, argued that Holocaust memory was responsible for creating a paranoid reaction among Israelis and even a moral blindness, which posed a real danger to the nation and could lead to an occurrence of racist Nazi attitudes within Israel itself (Evron, 1981).

The 1987 Intifada led to controversial events where IDF soldiers were accused of acting unethically; the reports provoked heated public debates in Israel concerning the level of morality that was demanded from soldiers in general and from Jewish soldiers in particular. Historian and Philosopher Yehuda Elkana, who was also an Auschwitz survivor, reacted with scorn to what he viewed as distortions embedded in the collective Jewish memory of the Holocaust. In an article titled *The Need to Forget* Elkana claimed that the particularistic lessons from the Holocaust, most of which lay foundations for the national ethos, dominate Israel's attitudes towards the Palestinians and inevitably drive Israeli society to act no better than the public of Nazi Germany:

Lately, I have become more and more convinced that the deepest political and social factor that motivates much of Israeli society in its relations with the Palestinians is not personal frustration, but rather a profound existential "Angst" fed by a particular interpretation of the lessons of the Holocaust and the readiness to believe that the whole world is against us, and that we are the eternal victim. In this ancient belief, shared by so many today, I see the tragic and paradoxical victory of Hitler. [...] Any philosophy of life nurtured solely or mostly by the Holocaust leads to disastrous consequences.

[...] Had the Holocaust not penetrated so deeply into the national consciousness, I doubt whether the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians would have led to so many "anomalies", and even whether the political peace process would have been today in a blind alley (Elkana, 1988).

It is important to note that Yehuda Elkana was not just another scholar who wrote his opinions or comments here and there in local journals; Elkana, on top of being an eyewitness himself, had a high profile position in the Israeli cultural scene. He was

the former director and head of the Cohn Institute for the History and Philosophy of Science and Ideas at Tel-Aviv University. Thus, his article was seen as a groundbreaking manifesto; his personal weight enabled him to be one of the spiritual leaders who shaped the view towards the Holocaust by other liberals (Gutwein, 2009; Rosenfeld, 2001).

Moreover, it seems that the events of the 1980s – namely, the 1982 War in Lebanon and the 1987 Palestinian uprising, where Israel exercised what many liberals perceived as aggressive foreign policies, added to the changes in the narration of the Holocaust. These events enabled, within the liberal sphere, not only accusations against the Israeli leadership of being manipulative, but also comparisons between Israel and Nazi Germany. Slowly, gradually, and steadily, leading liberals fostered the comparison between advocates of Israeli nationalism and Fascists. The first seeds of Jewish Holocaust inversion sprang out.

Conceivably, the first to clearly and sharply make such comparisons was renowned Public Intellectual Biochemistry and Neurophysiology Hebrew University Professor Yeshayahu Leibovich. During the first days of the 1982 War when Israel bombed PLO targets inside Beirut, he called the IDF soldiers *Judonazis*. Although Leibovich had never held any official post, his expression cannot be easily dismissed; he was an admired scholar, known and highly respected for his outspoken opinions on ethics, religion and politics. He was very opinionated concerning the issue of Jewish settlement in the territories that were acquired in the 1967 War, and in a newspaper interview he clearly stated, not for the first time:

[...] I call on you to arm yourselves. Bear arms against [... those] who settled in Judea and Samaria before they move you like leprous dogs into concentration camps (*Haaretz*, September 27, 1985)

Thus, Jewish settlers, for Leibovitch, were those who should be stopped violently or else they might erect concentration camps in Israel and exterminate their political opponents. In 1993, the year before he died, Leibovich repeated in a speech his comparison of special units of the IDF to the *Waffen-SS*. The speech followed the announcement that he was to receive the Israel Prize – the country's most prestigious award – in recognition of his life's work. After the speech an appeal to the Supreme Court was filed by a bereaved parent whose son was killed in action when serving in an IDF special unit. Additionally, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin threatened to boycott the ceremony. Although Leibovich eventually declined the award, it is important to note that in spite of the fact that throughout the years he had used the expression *Judonazis* publicly more than once, it was only his last speech that aroused controversy as to whether or not he deserved the honor of the highly esteemed national prize.

Hebrew University Professor Zeev Sternhell is 2008 Israel Prize laureate in political science. His professional authority on matters concerning Nazism is connected not only to his world-wide translated book *The Birth of Fascist Ideology*, but also to his personal biography as a kid who survived the Holocaust hiding in Poland after his entire family was murdered by the Nazis. On April 15, 1988, he stated that:

Fascism cannot be stopped by rational argumentation, but by force. Only someone willing to crush the [Jewish] West Bank settlement of Ofra with tanks will be able to stop the Fascist flood threatening to drown Israeli democracy (*Davar*, April 15, 1988).

Sternhell, the professional authority about Fascism, did not change his mind throughout almost thirty years. In an interview to *Al-Monitor* on July 1, 2015, he stated that IDF Deputy Chief of Staff Major General Yair Golan, who on Holocaust Remembrance Day announced that trends in Israeli society remind him of the dark era of German history, was in fact right. In order to add a little to Jewish Holocaust inversion repertoire, he also noted that –

The right [in Israel] sees liberal democracy as a danger to the people and the state and that is why it strives to undermine it. For them nationalism is natural, whereas citizenry is artificial and that is why it can be revoked. That is what Vichy France did in the 1940s when it adopted race laws and revoked the equal civil standing of the Jews, even of those whose grandfathers were born in France and fought in its wars (*Al-monitor*, July 1, 2015).

Moshe Zimmerman is another highly respected professor at the Hebrew University and an internationally awarded scholar for his research about the history of German society and culture, the history of the German Jews, and the history of anti-Semitism. Like his colleagues Leibovich and Sternhell, Zimmerman's opinion as he observes daily life in Israel is very clear. At a lecture in a conference in 1995, commemorating the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II he asserted:

There is little difference between Hebron youth and Hitler Youth, between the motivation and conditions of service in some of the IDF's elite units and that of the *Waffen-SS*, between Israeli soccer fans and those of the Third Reich, and between the Old Testament and *Mein Kampf*. The Children of the Settlers in Hebron are Exactly like the Hitler youth.

http://israel-academia-monitor.com/index.php?type=large_advice&advice_id=271&page_data%5Bid%5D=173&cookie_lang=en . Retrieved: December 31, 2016.

Comparisons of this kind were never confined to the academic campus. General (Res.) Shlomo Gazit claimed that "The knitted *kippot* [skullcaps] on the heads of IDF soldiers remind me of the swastikas worn by Nazi soldiers" (*Yediot Ahronot*, March 8, 1998). Gazit was no junior officer -- he retired from the IDF as an outstanding head of the intelligence service; he was President of Ben-Gurion University; and he published several books about war and peace in the Middle East.

In 2002, Israel Prize Laureate Yaffa Yarkoni criticized the IDF using Holocaust inversion. Yarkoni was not just an outstanding singer, she was practically the Israeli announced Queen of Song. Furthermore, to generations of Israeli fans, she has been identified with nationalist songs. Whenever troops marched into battle, they could be sure that Yarkoni would follow. Clad in fatigues, she raised spirits at the front with her rousing renditions of patriotic songs. Among her hits were "Don't Say Goodbye, Say I Will See You," which tells of a soldier leaving his girlfriend for the battlefield, and "Road to Jerusalem," about soldiers bringing food to Jerusalem during the 1948 war. Her songs were played on radio stations every year on the anniversary of Israel's independence. A few days before Independence Day in 2002, in the midst of Operation Defensive Shield, when Israeli troops were sweeping through Palestinian towns and refugee camps in Israel's largest military action since the 1967 War, Yarkoni shocked Israelis with harsh criticism of the troops. "When I saw the Palestinians with their hands tied behind their backs, young men, I said, 'It is like what they did to us in the

Holocaust,' " she told Israel's Army Radio; "We are a people who have been through the Holocaust. How are we capable to doing these things?" (Curtius, 2002; Klein, 2002).

Yarkoni's criticism shocked and enraged Israeli society. Her words were deemed so offensive that they brought denunciations from government officials. The union representing the nation's performing artists called off a planned tribute to Yarkoni that had been in the works for two years. This gala tribute was supposed to be the most important event in Yaffa Yarkoni's musical career, culminating fifty years of performing and more than a thousand recordings. Additionally, organizers of a Memorial Day event to honor Israeli soldiers who have fallen in battle canceled her performance after sponsors pulled out and ticket holders protested. Youth movements declared a boycott of her music. Her managers received so many hate calls, that Yarkoni became too frightened to appear in public (Ben Zeev, 2004).

Although Yarkoni's comparison of the IDF and the *Wehrmacht* soldiers cost her dearly, it was eventually forgiven and forgotten. Several years later, she fully recovered popular affection. Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu stated that her songs were the soundtrack of the State of Israel and President Shimon Peres called her the nightingale of the army and the entire nation (*The Jerusalem Post*, January 1, 2012).

As described earlier, art is one of the prominent domains where Jewish Holocaust inversion is constantly practiced. In May 2015, the Jerusalem Khan Theatre put up the play *Ezekiel*. Ezekiel is a fictional figure, based on that of Abba Kovner, the well-known leader of the underground resistance in the Vilna Ghetto. According to the plot, Ezekiel's son, Amos, left Israel angrily after he experienced as a soldier the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Before he left, Amos had a quarrel with his father, because Ezekiel the Holocaust hero lacked the capacity to realize how Jews were now playing in the Middle East the exact role that the Nazis fulfilled in Europe. Commentators and reviewers of the play were very positive, and stressed the playwright's success in conveying universal conflicts between father and son and worldwide patterns of relationships between grandfather and grandson. In addition, the play was largely applauded for the marvelous combination of music, theatre, video art, and original paintings of Abba Kovner's real son, Michael Kovner (*Maariv Magazine*, May 17, 2015). None of the commentators, however, in the art sections of any of the leading Israeli newspapers, *Haaretz*, *Yediot Ahronot* or *Maariv*, observed anything strange about the comparison of the Jewish partisan hero and his generation in Israel with Nazis. It seems that among Israeli art critics, as well as among their readers, such comparison is anything but unusual.

In the political arena too, from time to time unexpectedly senior leaders have this sudden urge to compare Israel with Nazi Germany. During the spring of 2004 it was Tommy Lapid's turn. Lapid was a well-known radio and TV journalist who went into politics on a centrist secularist platform and entered the Knesset in 1999. In the course of three years, he enlarged his party to a 15-seat one, making it the third largest party in the Israeli system, smaller only than Likud and Labor. It is important to mention that Lapid was born in a Hungarian region of Serbia, then – Yugoslavia, to a family of Hungarian Jewish descent. His family was seized by the Nazis and deported to the Budapest Ghetto, where he survived the war. His father was deported to a concentration camp and murdered. After the war, in 1948, Lapid and his mother moved to Israel (*The International Herald Tribune*, June 1, 2008).

In 2004 Lapid was Minister of Justice when IDF forces launched a military operation in the southern part of the Gaza Strip. The operation followed a Palestinian attack in which an Israeli armored vehicle was destroyed and five Israeli soldiers were

killed. As a response, IDF invaded the small town of Rafah, razed some 300 homes in order to expand Israeli buffer zone along the Gaza-Egypt border, and killed about 60 Palestinians – 18 of them were armed. Some pictures of the killing and destruction in the poor town filled the TV news bulletins and newspaper pages throughout the world. The *Al Jazeera* TV station showed them several times every hour to tens of millions in the Arab world. In the Western world, too, the screens were full of them. The accumulated impact was terrible - the IDF was presented as an inhuman machine that destroyed the lives of hundreds of families without even noticing. One of the photographs taken in Rafah immortalized an old woman whose house was demolished; she rummaged through the ruins of her home in a desperate search for her medicines.

It was under these circumstances that Lapid uttered the words: "This old woman reminds me of my grandmother" (*Yediot Ahronot*, May 23, 2004). There was no place for mistake: the Palestinian woman in Rafah was now playing the role of Lapid's Jewish Grandmother in Budapest; the IDF in Gaza was therefore no better than the *Wehrmacht* in Hungary.

Demonizing the IDF by systematically comparing its specific actions to those of the *Wehrmacht* has become common among Israeli NGOs. One of the very first of these organizations was *B'Tselem*. Its name was based on a word taken from the Biblical verse: God created man in His own image (Genesis 1:27). However, throughout its many years of activity, *B'Tselem's* publications leave the impression that it regards Arab rioters alone as having been created in the Divine image, for its voluminous reports on violent events tend to ignore Jewish victims of Arab violence. *B'Tselem's* accounts usually contain a sentence mentioning the number of Israeli casualties, followed by pages of statistical analysis and affidavits regarding Arab casualties. Additionally, the organization's criticism of IDF investigations downplays Israeli security concerns (Puder, 1990).

Although fundamentally prejudiced by belief that the whole idea of an Israeli army in the territories is on the verge of atrocity if not more than that, until lately *B'Tselem* used to send the army complaints about the alleged documented crimes. As a result, the IDF staggered between criticizing *B'Tselem* as unduly partisan and expressing appreciation for receiving information from the group about soldiers' alleged violations. Consistent with the rules of international law, IDF's decisions have always been subject to external criticism, including that of the attorney-general, the Supreme Court, or public commissions for specific events. However, after the 2014 War in Gaza *B'Tselem* changed its policy and decided to stop submitting complaints and documents to the army authorities, claiming that hundreds of complaints submitted to the military law enforcement system were simply ignored. Consequently, the only connection of *B'Tselem* with the IDF is if it asks for information, but *B'Tselem* no longer forwards cases or cooperates with the army more than required by law (*The Jerusalem Post*, May 25, 2016).

However, even before the break with the army, *B'Tselem* was not simply an additional self-criticizing apparatus aiding the army to keep moral standards. Rather, the organization published selectively-edited videos of soldiers allegedly attacking Palestinians, and consequently managed to create a public relations nightmare for Israel. The organization's real motivation is best reflected by the words of Lizi Sagie, its former director of intelligence, who in April 2010 said:

The state of Israel actually proves its adherence to the values of Nazism. [...] We are ready to kill 1,500 people regardless of race, religion or gender, as long as our national erection will continue. Israeli tanks have turned into Israeli

Viagra. [...] For me, Israeli Memorial Day is a big sin, its purpose has become a pornographic coronation circus of bereavement (*Yediot Ahronot Weekend Magazine*, August 31, 2012).

Following the 2009 Operation Cast Lead in Gaza, when Israeli Arab leaders called, during pro-Hamas rallies, for the destruction of the State of Israel and for the renewal of suicide bombings, the idea of a loyalty oath bill was raised. On October 10, 2010, the Israeli cabinet approved a loyalty oath bill requiring all future non-Jews applying for Israeli citizenship to swear loyalty to Israel as a Jewish and democratic state. Reacting against the governmental ruling, Haifa University Professor of Education Gavriel Salomon declared that Israel was now like Nazi Germany. However, he delicately put things in their precise connotation, he was speaking about the 1930s when there were no death camps yet but there were racist laws that would eventually allow them (*Haaretz*, October 10, 2010). This comparison is certainly not rare.

On December 30, 2015, Dr. Ofer Cassif, a political science lecturer at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, addressed Israeli Justice Minister Ayelet Shaked in a newspaper interview, calling her "neo-Nazi scum." When asked to apologize, the political science scholar preferred to add that he thought that it was fair to compare Israel to Germany in the 1930s, though not to the years of genocide. His precise declaration was: "we have moved into a completely different phase in the history of this country. We are now the Germany of the 1930s." The reaction of the Hebrew University to this occurrence of Jewish Holocaust inversion was that the institute was not responsible for any comments of its lecturers (*Haaretz*, December 30, 2015).

Hence, the privatization and liberal concept generated distortions of the historical narrative. The Jewish inversion of Holocaust started with historians and philosophers, was strengthened by political agents, some of them – former military leaders, and was strongly expressed by academic scholars and by artists – all of them shape the discourse within Israeli society.

The Rank and File of the IDF

It is the assertion of this essay that Major General Yair Golan, the Israeli army deputy chief of staff, who drew a parallel between Israeli society and Nazi Germany, forms only the tip of an iceberg. Not only that Golan was not condemned publicly for what he said on the Holocaust Remembrance day in an official ceremony in May 2016, earlier quoted at the introduction, but rather – he was backed by other officials. Defense Minister Moshe Yaalon dismissed any criticism of the highly ranked officer, and referred to any attack on his speech as intentionally distorted interpretations that were actually meant to harm the IDF. Furthermore, relating specifically to the comparison that Golan made between 2016 Israeli society and 1930s Germany, the Defense Minister made clear his opinion, that he expected a senior military commander not just to lead his soldiers into battle, but also to lead the way in establishing social values. Yaalon was certainly not alone in supporting Golan's bombshell speech; opposition leader, for example, Isaac Herzog praised the IDF Deputy for exhibiting no less than morality and responsibility (*The Times of Israel*, May, 5, 2016).

Perhaps most striking is the emergence of Jewish Holocaust inversion in the most unexpected domain in Israeli society: the military educational system and particularly – its part in the preparations of the Witnesses in Uniform program. Established in 2001, the Witnesses in Uniform program brings IDF soldiers, officers, and reserve soldiers to physically and spiritually follow the paths of Jews in Poland during the Holocaust. During a week's trip, the soldiers learn about Jewish life before

the war, about Nazi ideology and Jewish resistance in the Holocaust. Each such IDF delegation includes a Holocaust survivor, who gives explanations about the places and events from his or her personal perspective. The Witnesses in Uniform delegations are made up of career officers and soldiers, reserve soldiers and family members of fallen soldiers. Throughout the trip, soldiers visit sites of the local Jewish communities, including synagogues and Jewish cemeteries, as well as remnants of Ghettos, labor camps, concentration camps and extermination camps. One of the highlights of the project is a visit at the Auschwitz-Birkenau death camp. At some of the sites, soldiers hold military memorial services.

The trip to Poland is preceded by extensive studying and preparation that the delegation members undergo. These preparations include a visit to *Yad Vashem* and learning about Jewish history. Throughout these preparations, as well as during the trip itself, delegation members are involved in discussions about pre-war Europe, the Holocaust, and contemporary Jewish life. The participants conclude each day of the journey with a reflective discussion. In these conversations, as well as in the preparations before the trip, commanders explore issues such as how to incorporate the ethical lessons gathered from the journey into their leadership as commanders, how to convey the history of the Holocaust to the soldiers under their command, and how the Holocaust influences their identities as IDF soldiers (Davidovitch et al., 2012; 2015).

In 2014, commanders of the Witnesses in Uniform program were guided in an official document, that was distributed to them by the project's authorities, to discuss in Poland, before or after the visit to Auschwitz, the idea that Israeli society is in the midst of a slippery slope. According to the document, Israelis too might find themselves committing crimes just like the Nazis. The authors of the educational kit care to mention that there are indeed differences between nowadays Israel and Germany of the 1930s, but the questions that are offered for instructive discussions are phrased rhetorically and leave no place for imagination: is it true that Israeli society is becoming extremely violent? Are cases of violence in the Israeli society not racist ones?

In a section that refers to the German people as ordinary people, as opposed to beasts, the composers of the educational material propose a theoretical question for group discussions that should take place before or during the journey: how should the IDF act as a military organization that confronts civilian population in the occupied territories without performing atrocities? (*Haaretz*, May 10, 2016). The analogy with the *Wehrmacht* is not explicitly stated, but posing the question is far beyond merely implying that there are similarities. In this context, Yigal Levinstein, founder of the Eli pre-military academy, addressed recently a conference in Jerusalem where he lamented that the values of the IDF have become confused. Levinstein was formerly a member of a committee that advised the IDF on issues regarding Jewish identity, but he resigned from the committee. Referring to the army's visits to Poland Levinstein said that these days, when soldiers go to Auschwitz, they are educated how not to become Nazis in the occupied territories (*Haaretz*, July 15, 2016).

Staggered with this piece of evidence, I personally approached, during the summer vacation of 2016, several junior officers who have attended the delegations throughout the years 2013-2016. With no exception, all of them confirmed that the comparison between the IDF's activities in the occupied territories and the *Wehrmacht*'s policies in the settings of World War II is repeatedly made and rarely rejected by any of the officers during the preparations and during the many talks that they handle. All of them experienced conversations, in the course of getting ready to the voyage to Poland, referring to the equivalence of Israel and Nazi Germany. None of them recalled, however, any dispute concerning this matter nor any attempt to reject the comparison

or deny it. Hence, Jewish Holocaust inversion has become an integral component within the most publically regarded and the most sensitive organ of Israeli society – the military educational system.

Israeli Former Officials

Israeli former officials are among some of the leaders of Jewish Holocaust inversion in Israel. For this matter, an uttermost example is a group of former chiefs of *Shabak*. *Shabak* is the Hebrew acronym for General Security Service, and it is Israel's internal security service, equivalent to the British MI5 or to the American FBI. Alongside the military intelligence and the foreign intelligence service, *Shabak* is one of three organizations that form the Israeli intelligence community. Its roles are to safeguard state security, to expose terrorist cells, to interrogate terror suspects, to provide intelligence for counter-terrorism in the territories, to conduct counter-espionage, to protect senior public officials, and to secure national infrastructure in Israel and abroad.

In 2012, Israeli Film Director Dror Moreh produced a documentary film, *The Gatekeepers* (2012), that was nominated for Best Documentary Feature at the 85th Academy Awards. The film portrays the history of *Shabak*, from the point of view of six of its former commanders through in-depth interviews with them. The *Shabak* commanders, the protagonists of the film, expose, almost all in one voice, a diversion from what one would expect from some of the state's leading figures.

Avraham Shalom was appointed *Shabak* chief in 1980, after thirty years of service, starting with the foundation of the State of Israel. Nevertheless, his career was upended by what became known as the Bus No. 300 affair. In April 1984, four Palestinians hijacked a civilian bus with forty hostages aboard, intending to kidnap them to Gaza. Israeli forces halted the bus, stormed it, and killed the terrorists in battle. This could be counted as one more successful counter-terrorist action, if it were not for an Israeli photographer who saw two of the dead hijackers being led away for interrogation after the assault had already been completed. His incriminating photograph appeared the next day on the front page of the newspaper, showing that the terrorists were caught alive rather than killed in battle. Avraham Shalom, one of several senior officials at the scene, was widely suspected of having ordered the killings of the two Palestinians, but his subsequent downfall was as much about his efforts to cover up the affair and deflect the blame from *Shabak* by lying to investigators. Eventually, he had to resign in 1986 in a deal in which he admitted his role in the flawed action and was automatically given a presidential pardon.

By 2012, however, it seems that Shalom had become unexpectedly conscientious. In his interview to *The Gatekeepers* he remorsefully remembers that he witnessed how an interrogator smashed an Arab detainee's skull by throwing him again and again at the wall of the cell where he was kept. He then continues to testify that this was common; breaking bones and crashing Palestinians' fingers was a routine practiced by everyone in *Shabak* (Moreh, 2014: 84). Shalom is not only filled with feelings of personal regret; for him – the cruelty of interrogators under his command was just a small part in the large picture of the Jewish people turning into a nation of villains:

[We are] just like the Germans in World War II. I am referring to how they treated the Poles and the Belgians and the Czechs and all these peoples. We are becoming professional conquerors. [...] You are posted in a checkpoint and if an Arab loses his patience and comes up-front, you just hit him with the butt of your rifle. This is customary, and soon becomes your normal behavior (Moreh, 2014: 356).

Avi Dichter, *Shabak* chief commander from 2000 to 2004, confirms Shalom's claims. According to Dichter, lying was commonplace in the organization. In court, the Palestinian defendant would tell the judge that he had been beaten. The interrogators would deny, everybody would lie, and the judge, who just like everybody else knew that the Palestinian was illegally hit, accepted the false testimonies of the *Shabak* interrogators. Furthermore, Dichter asserts that this distorted conduct started already during the 1970s (Moreh, 2014: 85).

Remorse can be a positive emotion. Irish short story writer Seán Ó Faoláin even stated that love lives in sealed bottles of regret (*Saturday Evening Post*, August 13, 1966). Self-criticism, personal as well as organizational, is a virtue. Whistleblowing, certainly on moral issues and ethical matters, ought to be praised and cherished. Yet former *Shabak* heads may have opportunities to express their repentance, other than a film, even if it is a groundbreaking one, certainly after they had refrained from doing so throughout decades. The collective public pang of guilt, expressed so bluntly by ex-Chiefs of Israeli security forces, when for half a century they had made no other attempt to stop the alleged atrocities that they had supposedly been leading, should leave any pro-Israeli observer with lifted eyebrows.

Its critics might claim that 2016 Israeli society is more violent than it had ever been. This can be tested and measured, though to the best of our knowledge no scholarly empiric evidence was established for such assertion. However, we can certainly notice that comparing Israeli society to the worst of its evil enemies has become, to some extent, common in the public discourse in Israel. Following the opposition-supported analogy made by Golan, former Prime Minister Ehud Barak announced that Israel has been infected by the seeds of Fascism (*Haaretz*, May 20, 2016). Such announcement, that perhaps in recent decades would arise waves of disapproval, went almost unnoticed. To be sure, Barak repeated the analogy once again in the Herzliya conference, Israel's center stage for the articulation of national policy by its most prominent leaders, including the Israeli President, the Prime Minister and his ministers, the IDF Chief of staff, and the leading contenders for high political office. There Ehud Barak was very decisive:

Only a blind person or a sheep, an ignoramus or someone jaded, fails to see the erosion of democracy and the budding Fascism. [...] If it looks like budding Fascism, walks like budding Fascism, and quacks like budding Fascism, then that is what it is (*Times of Israel*, June 16, 2016).

The importance of these words is not only the fact that they were addressed by a former and most distinguished Israeli political leader; rather, the significance of these sentences is that within the audience that was built of Israel's political high echelons, Barak's words raised rounds of considerable applause. It is one of the statements of this study that such situation, when political leaders compare Israel with Nazism or Fascism and are applauded for it, is not new – but it is growing more and more popular within the Israeli public sphere. In particular, it has become widespread among the pillars of Israeli elite.

Discussion

In 2006, an extra-parliamentary Israeli-based organization was founded, for the stated goal of strengthening and promoting Zionist values throughout Israel, especially on college campuses. The organization was called *Im Tirtzu*, which is the Hebrew for "if

you will," Theodor Herzl's famous sentence ending with "then it is no dream." In 2016, the AAA [American Anthropological Association] members were called to vote for the boycott of Israeli academic institutions. The resolution in question was narrowly defeated by 2,423 votes against 2,384 votes, with an unprecedented participation of over 50 percent of the organization's scholars. If the resolution had not been rejected, it would have precluded the AAA from engaging in any formal association-level collaborations with universities or research centers in Israel. In spite of its failure, the very decision to hold this vote was no minor victory to the BDS movement (*Jerusalem Post*, June 7, 2016).

Following the AAA vote, *Im Tirtzu* investigated the boycott phenomenon from within Israel that is being led by Israeli academics. They published a report, according to which prominent professors who enjoy salaries provided by the Israeli taxpayer, encourage, legitimize and often promote boycott efforts, including those that directly harm the institutions at which they work. The report claims that a group of about twenty Israeli anthropologists, many of whom teach in publicly funded Israeli institutions, sent a petition to the AAA praising their BDS efforts and urging them to continue pressing for an academic boycott against Israel (*Jerusalem Post*, May 27, 2016).

The *Im Tirtzu* report started a discourse in various social networks, one of them is Social Sciences-IL, an electronic network of communication that aims to enhance effective communication between academic staff, administrative staff and research students across the social sciences disciplines in Israel. As the directors of the network publically state, it was inaugurated and is controlled by a Hebrew University Professor. The goal of the network, according to its site, is to create a common discussion of professional issues, to promote an integrated and diversified research community, and thereby to strengthen the ties and communication between researchers in the social sciences from different disciplines. The site also mentions transparency and openness as pre-requisites for professional development. According to its pronounced editorial policy, any submitted messages are made public only through the network's moderator, in order to maintain a balance between the goals of the network as an open list and its professional objectives.

(http://socialsciences.wiki.huji.ac.il/index.php/Information_about_the_Network_in_English. Retrieved: August 4, 2016).

One of the scholars participating in the Social Sciences-IL network open discussion wrote that she was shocked from the *Im Tirtzu* report, because she thought that presenting Israelis who promote BDS as if they wanted to harm Israel was an incitement. In fact, wrote the scholar, we should all join forces and defend Israeli supporters of boycotting Israel. This statement was followed by other statements by various scholars, most of them backing it. This was one of those times, when I could no longer help it, and I decided to break the silence. I wrote that to my opinion the world has turned upside down; Israeli professors who call their colleagues to harm Israel are presented as victims, whereas those who write about them are shown as perpetrators. The moment I pushed the "send" button in my computer, I knew that it was just a matter of time before I would be condemned for performing acts of Fascism. My estimation was a five-minute pause, but apparently I was wrong. It took a solid seventeen minutes' period before I was lynched in the media as democracy's ultimate enemy. The accuser was no other than the President of the Israeli Sociological Association, Ben Gurion University Professor Uri Ram. Ram wrote very clearly: "There is no point in holding a polite and logic discussion with Fascists." Having been publically blamed of Fascism for daring not to support Israeli BDS professors, I appealed to the Social Sciences-IL moderator, requesting that he would publish his disapproval of the use of the term

Fascist. For unknown reasons, the moderator repeatedly ignored this and other appeals. (<http://www.kr8.co.il/BRPortal/br/P102.jsp?arc=1653501> retrieved: August 4, 2016).

I have no illusions; early in the twenty first century, the people who call me a Fascist, and in most cases practice worse forms of Jewish Holocaust inversion, are the leading cadre of scholars of Israel studies. Thus, they are very likely to be among this essay's peer reviewers. With this notion in mind, I set sail to reveal their pathologic behavior and to point out its nature as a case of spiritual collective suicide by the elite of a nation under constant anti-Semitic attacks. Hence, this study focuses on the group self-inflicted damage in which Jews tend to act, in the manner of accusing themselves of atrocities that were practiced by the uttermost evil mankind has ever known. This strange occurrence is presented in the introduction section, illustrating it through the event in which an IDF highly esteemed general, in an official Holocaust memorial, pondered about the way he thought nowadays Israeli society resembled the German people who during the 1920s fostered violence as a way of life. At first glance, this ought to be addressed as an odd affair: an Israeli General accuses his people of Fascism, on the sacred day and in a formal ceremony commemorating their greatest tragedy as the ultimate historic victims of Fascism.

In order to fully understand this happening, this paper referred, first, to a large theoretical context: the framework of anti-Semitism. Out of many options, a working definition was adopted, based on Sharansky's 3D test: demonization, double standard, and delegitimation. With a clear definition of anti-Semitism at hand, the connection between anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism was established as one of the basic assumptions of this research.

Before going any further, it was essential that we comprehend the significance of Holocaust inversion. It was important to point out that Holocaust inversion was not, simply, one more weapon in the hands of Israel's enemies, but a crucial one, pointing straight to the heart and wounding the most sensitive concerns of Jewish ethos. Therefore, the uniqueness of Jewish Holocaust memory was thoroughly reviewed. It seems that like many other things in life, the various interpretations of the historic roles of perpetrators, victims and bystanders have altered with time. From a divided memory, through a nationalized one, and eventually within a privatized form of memory – Israeli heritage of the Holocaust reflected changes within Israeli society. At all times, however, the Holocaust remained the essential central event that forms a national consensual moral justification for Israel's existence.

Next, from the numerous versions of anti-Semitism, this paper set the sight on the various forms of Holocaust distortion. Poking into the case of twisting history against its Jewish victims, we furtherly zoomed-in, concentrating on Holocaust inversion as a unique and dangerous form of anti-Semitism, that fulfills all the requirements according to Sharansky's 3D test. We saw how Holocaust inversion was practiced by Israel's worst enemies. It originated in post-World War II Soviet rivalry toward anything that Israel stood for, went on in the Arab propaganda warfare, and eventually conquered the Western liberal forces in Europe and in the US.

With an understanding of Holocaust inversion as an important and painful weapon aimed at Israel by some of its worst enemies, a complete surprise awaited us in the next section: the fact that some extreme occurrences of Holocaust inversion come from Western Jewish intelligentsia. In terms of logical thought, this is an unexplained plot twist. Instead of listing the numerous cases of Jewish Holocaust inversion, this research concentrated just on several representative examples of the phenomenon.

Supplying another plot twist, this study revealed also the bizarre occurrence of Jewish Holocaust inversion in Israel, throughout decades and particularly within the

higher social echelons. Reviewing the long history of this phenomenon, one can see how Israeli artists, scholars, and political leaders are involved in different measures of Holocaust inversion. Hence, it seems that nobody is immune; anyone at any given time in Israel might turn out to be an agent of Jewish Holocaust inversion. IDF commanders, former officials from the most sensitive governmental departments, and even a retired Prime Minister – as quoted and described throughout this paper, all of them demonstrated in public Jewish Holocaust inversion. Perhaps the exact description of this behavior, particularly within Israeli intellectual circles, was given during the formation of the Oslo Accords by Author Aharon Meged, who lamented, in an op-ed titled "One-Way Trip on the Highway to Self-Destruction:"

[...] Hundreds of our society's leading writers, intellectuals, academics, authors and journalists, joined by painters, photographers and actors, have been unceasingly and diligently preaching that our cause is not just. What is happening before our very eyes is the rewriting of Zionist history, a rewriting in the spirit of its adversaries and foes.

The rewriters mostly publish first in English to gain the praise of the West's "justice-seekers." Their works are then quickly grabbed for translation into Arabic and displayed in marketplaces in Damascus, Cairo and Tunis. Their conclusion is almost uniform: that in practice Zionism amounted to an evil, colonialist conspiracy to exploit the people dwelling in Palestine, enslave them, steal their land and disinherit them.

[...] some Israeli historians now gleefully prove that our defensive wars were really wars of aggression for the destruction of another people; that the Israeli soldier, whom we know well as our own flesh and blood, has the appearance and mentality of Nazi Storm-troopers (*Jerusalem Post*, June 17, 1994).

The object of this essay was to point out the dangerous tendency of Jews, particularly within the elite groups of this nation, to join their worst enemies in anti-Semitic campaigns. Jewish Holocaust inversion does not stop within the boundaries of social high status; it leaks downwards, it spreads, and eventually completes Goebbels' work. Take, for example, the donkey-routine allegation, one of many common distortions by Israel's prestigious high-class newspaper (Medad and Pollak, 2013). In 2005, Gideon Levy reported in the *Haaretz* weekend supplement, how an Arab inhabitant of a village in the territories, Mahmud Shawara, was tied to a donkey by Israeli police forces, and with the donkey whipped – he was dragged by the animal all the way back home, dying eventually in this painful manner. Brutally murdered by Israeli security forces, Shawara left a widow and ten orphans (*Haaretz*, December 22, 2005). The newspaper where this piece of evidence was published is no yellow press; founded in 1918, *Haaretz* is Israel's oldest daily newspaper, published today in Hebrew alongside an English edition that is distributed together with the *International New York Times*. *Haaretz* describes itself as having a broadly liberal outlook both on domestic issues and on international affairs. Others describe it alternatively as liberal, center-left, or left-wing (Caspi, 1986). The murder of Mahmud Shawara was highlighted in the newspaper's editorial column, condemning the cruelty and viciousness of Israeli occupation in the territories. Throughout the following days, readers wrote about their shock from the event. Some Holocaust survivors even recalled how this exact method of sadistically killing people had been practiced by the Germans in occupied Eastern Europe; dragging Jews by horses to their death was known as a Nazi technique for murder. Foreign press quoted *Haaretz*, and the media made sure that the whole affair

would be known all over the world. However, the Israeli police launched a thorough inquiry in order to find the men who were responsible for this malice. The investigators found no clue for any such occurrence; even the Shawara Palestinian family denied the whole story (Medad and Pollak, 2013). Consequently, the editor of the competing *Maariv* daily newspaper, held his own inquiry, only to find out that indeed – the whole affair never took place (*Maariv*, June 25, 2006).

Perhaps, then, a more holistic approach is needed. Maybe the various occurrences indicated in this study should be examined in a larger historical context. It is possible that we are just witnessing the tip of an iceberg, and Jewish Holocaust inversion is but a symptom for a larger syndrome – the self-hating Jew. Scholars of Jewish studies claim that collective self-inflicted anti-Semitism was typical for Jewish society throughout the ages. Early indications for such phenomenon were presented in Theodor Lessing's book, written in 1930, *Der Jüdische Selbsthass*, where he tried to explain the phenomenon of Jewish intellectuals in central Europe who incited anti-Semitism with their views regarding Judaism as the ultimate source of evil upon earth (Gilman, 1986; Schwartz, 2001; Miller-Bundick, 2005). If indeed when dealing with Jewish Holocaust inversion in Israel and abroad we are observing a larger disorder, that has its roots deeper within the Jewish collective psyche, this calls for a separate, more comprehensive, research project.

References

- Arendt, H. (1963). *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A report on the banality of evil*. New York, NY: Viking Press.
- Atzmon, G. (2002). *A Guide to the Perplexed*. London, UK: Serpent's Tail.
- Ben Zeev, N. (2004). The Sound of Silence: Conformist Musicians in Israel. In M. Korpe ed., *Shoot the Singer: Music Censorship Today*. London, UK: Zed Books: 144-148.
- Boyarin, D. (2006). *Border Lines: The Partition of Judeo-Christianity*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Burg, A. (2008). *The Holocaust Is Over. We Must Rise from Its Ashes*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Caspi, D. (1986). The Daily Press in Israel. In D. Caspi (1986). *Media Decentralization: The Case of Israel's Local Newspapers*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books: 3-22.
- Curtius, M. (2002). A Venerable Voice in Israel Is Muted After Questioning Army's Actions. *Los Angeles Times*, April 29, 2002.
- Davidovitch, N., A. Haskel and D. Soen (2012). Witnesses in Uniform – IDF Delegations to Poland: Education or Indoctrination? In N. Davidovitch and D. Soen eds., (2012). *The Holocaust Ethos in the 21st Century*. Krakow, Poland and Budapest, Hungary: Austeria Publishing House, 316-348.
- Davidovitch, N., O. Ur-Leurer and D. Soen (2015). A Test of Leadership: IDF Delegations to Poland – A Tool for Promoting Command-Oriented Leadership? In N.

Davidovitch and D. Soen eds., (2015). *Shoa and Experience: A Journey in Time*. Boston, MA: Academic Studies Press, 114-132.

Dershowitz, A. (2003). *The Case for Israel*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.

Elkana, Y. (1988). The need to forget. *Haaretz*, March, 2, 1988.

Evron, B. (1981). The Holocaust: Learning the Wrong Lessons. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 10: 17-21.

Farber, S. (2005). *Radicals, Rabbis and Peacemakers: Conversations with Jewish Critics of Israel*. Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press.

Finkelstein, N. G. (2000). *The Holocaust Industry: Reflections on the Exploitation of Jewish Suffering*. New York, NY: Verso.

Finkelstein, N. G. (2005). *Beyond Chutzpah: On the Misuse of Anti-Semitism and the Abuse of History*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.

Fishman, J. (2005). The Cold War Origins of Contemporary Anti-Semitic Terminology. *Jerusalem Viewpoints*, 517 (1): 1-16.

Gans, E., W. Shaffer – trans. (2003). *The Omnipotent Jew: Antisemitism Today*. Amsterdam, Netherlands: Netherlands Institute for War Documentation.

Gerstenfeld, M. (2005). Experiencing European Anti-Americanism and Anti-Israelism – Interview with Jeffrey Gedmin. *Israel and Europe: An Expanding abyss?* Jerusalem, Israel: Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 149-150.

Gerstenfeld, M. (2007). Anti-Israelism and Anti-Semitism: Common Characteristics and Motifs. *Jewish Political Studies Review*, 19 (1-2): 17-32.

Gerstenfeld, M. (2009). *The Abuse of Holocaust Memory: Distortion and Responses*. Jerusalem, Israel: Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs.

Gilman, S. (1986). *Jewish Self-Hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews*. Baltimore, MA: Johns Hopkins Press.

Gutwein, D. (2009). The privatization of the Holocaust: Memory, historiography, and politics. *Israel Studies*, 14 (1), 36-64.

Hazon, Y. (2000). *The Jewish State: The Struggle for Israel's soul*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Heyder, A., J. Iser and P. Schmidt (2005). Israelkritik oder Antisemitismus? In W. Heitmeyer, ed. (2005). *Deutsche Zustände*. Allemagne, Frankfurt am Mein: Suhrkamp.

Hirsh, D. (2013). Hostility to Israel and Anti-Semitism: Toward a Sociological Approach. *Journal for the Study of Antisemitism*, 5: 1401-1422.

Hirsh, D. (2015). *Anti-Zionism and Antisemitism: Cosmopolitan Reflections*. New Haven, CT: The Yale Initiative for the Interdisciplinary Study of Antisemitism Working Paper Series.

Israeli, R. (2009). Anti-Zionism as Anti-Semitism in Europe: The Mistreatment of Israel by the Media. *New English Review*, April 2009.

Julius, A. (2010). *Trials of the Diaspora: A History of Anti-Semitism in England*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Kaplan E. H. and C. A. Small (2006). Anti-Israel Sentiment Predicts Anti-Semitism in Europe. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 50 (4): 548-561.

Klaff, L. D. (2013). Political and Legal Judgement. *Journal for the Study of Antisemitism*, 5 (1): 45-58.

Klaff, L. D. (2014). Holocaust Inversion and Contemporary Antisemitism. *Fathom*, 5 : 2-6.

Klein, Y. (2002). What a Comeback. *Haaretz*, May 1, 2002.

Kotek, D. and J. Kotek (2005). *Au Nom de L'antisionisme: L'image des Juifs et d'Israel dans la Caricature depuis la Seconde Intifada*. Bruxelles, Belgium: Complexe Eds Livres.

Kramer, M. (2014). Gaza = Auschwitz. *Mosaic*, August 26, 2014.

Lantos, T. (2002). The Durban Debacle: An Insider's View of the World Racism Conference at Durban. *The Fetcher Forum of World Affairs*, 26 (1): 1-22.

Lindemann, A. S. (2014). *Anti-Semitism before the Holocaust*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Lindquist, D. H. (2011). Meeting a moral imperative: A rationale for teaching the Holocaust. *The Clearing House*, 84, 26-30.

Lipstadt, D. E. (1993). *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*. New York, NY: Penguin Books.

Maqdsi, M. trans. (1993). Charter of the Islamic Resistance Movement (HAMAS) OF Palestine. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 22 (4): 122-134.

Marcus, K. L. (2012). Accusation In a Mirror. *Loyola University Chicago Law Journal*, 43: 357-394.

Marcus, K. L. (2014). *Fact Sheet and the Elements of Anti-Semitic Discourse*. Washington, DC: The Louis D. Brandeis Center for Human Rights Under Law.

Matas, D. (2005). *Aftershock: Anti-Zionism and Anti-Semitism*. Toronto, Canada: Dundrum.

- Medad, Y. and E. Pollak (2013). Media Comment: The Self-Perception of "Haaretz". *The Jerusalem Post*, December 6, 2013.
- Medoff, R. (2003). *A Holocaust-Denier as Prime Minister of Palestine?* Washington, DC: The David S. Wyman Institute for Holocaust Studies.
- Miller-Budick, E. (2005). *Aharon Appelfeld's Fiction: Acknowledging the Holocaust*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Moreh, D. (2014). *The Gatekeepers*. Tel Aviv, Israel: Miskal – Yedioth Ahronoth Books. [Hebrew].
- Newmann, M. (1988). *What's Left? Radical Politics and the Radical Psyche*. Calgary, Canada: Broadview Press.
- Neumann, M. (2005). *The Case against Israel*. Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- Pallade, Y. (2009). Delegitimizing Jews and the Jewish State: Antisemitism and Anti-Zionism after Auschwitz. *The Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*, 3 (1): 64-78.
- Porat, D. A. (2004). From the Scandal to the Holocaust in Israeli Education. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 39 (4), 619-636.
- Porat, D. A. (2011). The International Working Definition of Antisemitism and Its Detractors. *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*, 5 (3): 1-9.
- Puder, J. (1990). *The New Israel Fund: A New Fund for Israel's Enemies*. New York, NY: Americans for a Safe Israel.
- Ram U. (1994). From settlement to permanency. *Haaretz*, July 15, 1994.
- Resnik, J. (2003). "Sites of memory" of the Holocaust: Shaping National Memory in the Education system in Israel. *Nations and Nationalism*, 9 (2), 297-317.
- Rose, J. (2005). *The Question of Zion*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Rosenfeld, A. H. (2001). The Assault on Holocaust Memory. *American Jewish Year Book*, 101: 2-20.
- Roy, S. (2000). *Second Annual Holocaust Remembrance Lecture*. Waco, TX: Baylor University.
- Roy, S. (2002). Living with the Holocaust: The Journey of a Child of Holocaust Survivors. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 32 (1): 5-21.
- Samuels, S. (2003). *Twenty Months of Antisemitic Invective in Greece: March 2002 – October 2003*. Los Angeles, CA: Simon Wiesenthal Center.

Schwartz, Y. (2001). *Aharon Appelfeld: From Individual Lament to Tribal Eternity*. Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press.

Shakespeare, W. (1996). Julius Caesar: Act 3, Scene 2. *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare*. Oxford, UK: The Shakespeare Head Press, Woodworth Editions.

Sharansky, N. (2004). 3D Test of Anti-Semitism: Demonization, Double Standards, Delegitimization. *Jewish Political Studies Review*, 16 (3-4): 7-11.

Spokoiny, A. (2016). No, Peter Beinart: Anti-Zionism Is Indeed a Form of Anti-Semitism. *Haaretz*, April 20, 2016.

Toynbee, A. (1954). *A Study of History: Heroic Ages; Contacts Between Civilizations in Space*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Ullrich, P. (2013). Antisemitism, Anti-Zionism and Criticism of Israel in Germany: The Dynamics of a Discursive Field. *Proceedings of International Conference: Antisemitism in Europe Today – The Phenomena, The Conflicts*. Berlin, Germany: The Jewish Museum in Berlin.

Urban, S. (2009). The Jewish Community in Germany: Living with Recognition, Anti-Semitism and Symbolic Roles. *Jewish Political Studies Review*, October 2009.

Uriely, E. (2006). Jew Hatred in Contemporary Norwegian Caricatures. *Post-Holocaust and Anti-Semitism*, 50 (1): 14-23.

Wasserman, H. (1986). On the Nationalization of the Memory of the Six Million. *Politika*, 8, 6-17 [Hebrew].

Wistrich, R. S. (2012). *From Ambivalence to Betrayal: The Left, the Jews, and Israel*. Lincoln, NE: University Of Nebraska Press.

Zertal I. (2005). *Israel's Holocaust and the politics of nationhood*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.