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ISRAEL NEWS

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the Biden administration and, in true Israeli fashion, aimed to ask for forgiveness rather than permission. (And for the record, rather than forgiveness, the United States owes Israel its thanks for eliminating an evil

dictator with American blood on his hands.)

Despite the pain and tragedy of Oct. 7, Israel is in a far better situation strategically than it has been at any time since its founding in 1948. Sadly, it took the horrors of that fateful day to awaken the Jewish spirit and finally do what was needed to defend ourselves. Today, we are a stronger, better-prepared nation, ready to face our enemies.

Netanyahu's leadership has been instrumental in achieving this reality. He has demonstrated that Israel will not be bullied or dictated to when it comes to its survival. As the only freedom-loving country in the region, Israel is willing to take on Iran, the largest state sponsor of terror in the world, and destroy its capabilities, which threatens not just Israel but the entire region.

Israel is at the point where it can take the fight to its enemies. The threat of Hamas in Gaza is being neutralized, Hezbollah's infrastructure is being dismantled and offensive strikes are also destroying terrorist strongholds in Judea and Samaria. Israel is no longer waiting for the next attack. Rather, it is taking the upper hand to prevent future attacks.

As we begin the new Jewish year, we begin it with hope. Israel is safer and stronger, having taken decisive action to ensure a more secure future, not just for itself but for the entire Middle East and the freedom-loving world. The pain, mourning and trauma of Oct. 7

continues, along with a stronger Israel that is shaping the future of the region and the world with a renewed sense of purpose. (JNS Oct 14)

Commentary...

Israel's Best Strategic Position in Decades By Avi Abelow

One year ago, our enemies launched an unprecedented assault on the Jewish state. On Oct. 7, Hamas, Hezbollah and Iran's proxy terror network unleashed an unprecedented and heinous massacre to kill as many Jews as possible and destroy the State of Israel. Decades in the making, Hamas, Hezbollah, Iran, Qatar, and yes, the Palestinian Authority plotted together, united by a common goal: to wipe Israel off the map.

Despite knowing about such plans over the years, Israel chose to hold back. No Israeli government, including those led by Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, has taken decisive action to prevent our enemies from executing their ultimate strategy until now.

The horrific atrocities of Oct. 7 finally forced Israel to make bold, historic decisions to secure the country's future and change the strategic landscape of the region.

A year later, we find ourselves living through an extraordinary moment in Israel's history. Under constant threat for decades and surrounded by Iranian and Qatari-backed terror groups, Hezbollah was seen as the largest deterrent for taking pre-emptive action. At least this was the argument against eliminating Iran's nuclear capabilities, that, if provoked, Hezbollah's arsenal could easily destroy Israel.

After a year of incredible effort, national support and bold (albeit overdue) decisions, Israel is demonstrating its capabilities by obliterating the threat of Hamas in Gaza, neutralizing Hezbollah in Lebanon, and even openly discussing action against Iran's nuclear facilities. Israel is in a stronger and more secure strategic position than it has been in decades.

Through it all, Netanyahu has faced enormous pressure regarding Israel's operations in Gaza, particularly from the Biden-Harris administration. The United States took a very vocal position against Israel's offensive actions, especially in Rafah, a critical conduit for smuggling weapons into Gaza from Egypt. Understanding the importance of cutting off this lifeline, Netanyahu pushed through and began dismantling Hamas's infrastructure.

Additionally, Netanyahu had to overcome opposition from within his own ranks. Fearful of a prolonged conflict, senior Israel Defense Forces and intelligence officials were hesitant to fully commit to an offensive. Though they cautioned against taking certain risks, the prime minister understood that half-measures would only prolong the threat and leave Israel exposed.

Likewise, on Israel's northern border, the threat of Hezbollah's rocket arsenal prevented Israel from taking offensive action. The thought of another conflict with Hezbollah was enough to paralyze decision-makers, including senior IDF commanders, intelligence officials, and political leaders Benny Gantz and Yair Lapid. They were ready to throw in the towel and stop a war with Lebanon. But Netanyahu didn't listen to those voices. In a series of daring, James Bond-like operations, Israel took out Hezbollah's mid-level leadership with precision-targeted attacks that eliminated its command structure.

These strikes were a turning point in the war against Hezbollah, whose long-range rocket attacks are also being disrupted. And as it did in Gaza, the IDF is systematically dismantling Hezbollah's vast tunnel network and confiscating weapons the terror group stored to use in a massive infiltration, which would have been worse than the Oct. 7 attack.

In another display of daring, Netanyahu took out Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah in the heart of Beirut. He did so without informing

חג שמח purpose

'Settler Colonialism': The Lie that Keeps on Giving By Howard Teich

Lost in the discussion of hate and antisemitism is the intellectual underpinning of an ideology that condemns the Jewish people wrongfully for an extraordinary historic rebirth of its homeland in Israel. So much of the antipathy of young people towards the State of Israel and the Jewish people is embedded in that narrative, which is prevalent on campuses, in media, and increasingly, in the corporate boardrooms.

The American Jewish community is stuck in the past, seeing rising antisemitism only through the prism of the Holocaust and through the eyes of an American century passed, which reflected an antipathy towards Israel as hatred for all Jews. With a continuing outcry, there is outrage and horror that anyone could applaud the Hamas attacks and atrocities of Oct. 7, and that Palestinians and their allies march in the streets and demonstrate in and around campuses in support of the Hamas cause. There is also deep consternation that some governmental leaders are not in the Israeli camp and give credence to the trumpeting of the Palestinian people for their losses in this war.

In a masterful book by Adam Kirsch, On Settler Colonialism: Ideology, Violence and Justice, he writes: "Describing the United States and Israel as settler-colonial societies is a way of arguing that they are permanently illegitimate because they were created against the will of the people living there—Native Americans and Palestinians." This theory of settler colonialism being taught by professors on college campuses is widespread and long-standing, and shame on us for not catching it earlier and for not combating the untruths being shared and taught about Israel and the historic Jewish connection to the Land of Israel.

The settler-colonialist argument says that European Jews came to

Palestine as colonialists settling on the homeland of Arabs to displace them. The intersectionality argument links the treatment of Israelis towards Palestinians with lies and misinformation—namely, that Israel established an apartheid system and that a genocide of the Palestinian people occurred during the creation of the modern-day State of Israel. The intent is clear: that Israel as a Jewish state needs to end, that the Jews need to leave the land, and that it must be returned to the Palestinian Arabs "from the river to the sea."

This is an ideology prevalent at many universities and taught by numerous professors in the departments of Middle Eastern and Palestinian studies as the "true" history of the region—one that is being reinforced by lectures and symposiums from high-profile charismatic speakers on the topic, often who have published books on the subject and appear in media with significant following on social media.

The earliest centerpiece of this thinking was at Columbia University, which often has been the place over the years where new progressive or alternative approaches have been touted and shouted out. It then spread across the country to campuses throughout America. Young people have been indoctrinated with these thoughts, and we have some catching up to do as the Jewish community has not fully educated its youth about our Jewish and Israeli story, so we have been unprepared to counter this battle on campus and in the streets.

Most importantly, many in the Jewish community have been led to believe it is the old form of antisemitism, even going back to an earlier label of Jew-hatred, giving rise today to great fear in our community of the end of a golden era for the Jewish community. This campaign has been funded by countries like Qatar and fostered by NGOs and nonprofits that have an ideological tilt of a more progressive world, sometimes conceptualized by members of our own Jewish people.

Israel now is a real target, as it is a small country that in the right set of circumstances can be taken over—meaning, the destruction of its current society and ridding the land of its Jewish population under the banner of restorative justice. Truths of how and why the Jews came to and created Israel, the way it has governed, and most importantly, the long and continuous history of the Jewish presence as the indigenous people on this land are distorted for today's narrative of settler colonialism. And our American Jewish leadership has been unaware, unable and/or unwilling to take it on or even rarely voice it.

Recognition of the geopolitical significance of Arab Palestinian Muslims crossing the border into the Jewish State of Israel on Oct. 7 cannot be understated, as that represented to them a victory through an attack on Israeli soil just as their attack on the Twin Towers on Sept. 11, 2001, was seen as a victory in destroying a symbol of excellence on American soil. Their inhumanity that day to Jewish residents of Israel and their holding of hostages for more than a year must be seen as a representation of what the Hamas leadership has instilled in their citizens—an evil hatred of the Jewish people and our civilization and our religion.

Creating our return to our homeland of Israel is prophesied in the Torah (Ezekiel 11:14-18), "So said the Lord God: I will gather you from the peoples and will assemble you from the lands which you have been scattered therein, and I shall give you the Land of Israel."

Having essentially defeated Hamas and taken control of Gaza, Israel has now brilliantly, strategically and forcefully entered the next level of conflict with Hezbollah in the north with the intent of creating a safe zone so that their citizens can return to their homes in northern Israel to live securely and safely. This is not about the Palestinians; this continues to be about the Iranian intent to use its surrogates and directly send missiles from Iran to destroy Israel and to impede a future of peace, economic uplifting and happiness in the Middle East.

Israel has a vision for the region. It includes an expansion of the 2020 Abraham Accords and the blocking of the axis of evil centering outward from Iran. This is our moment. Israel's fight now is a sacrifice for a better future for itself and the world. It is not about the destruction of its neighbors; rather, it is about a safe future for all its citizens, freeing our hostages, returning all of Israel's citizens to their

homes and liberating the people of Israel's neighboring countries from the control of their leaders and intruders who have lost their ethical and moral way.

Those who criticize Israel for ensuring its right to live in its land and freeing its neighbors must be condemned. We must recognize that for the Palestinians, tagging Israel as a settler colonialist is the lie that keeps giving, and we must answer it. We Jewish people have every right to every inch of Israel and should be proud of our record of living on that land. And we must continue to fight for that right, both in Israel and in the American Jewish community.

During this holiday season, let's envision how we move forward on our God-given journey of bringing light to the world with Israel's success and victory. (JNS Oct 14)

Washington's Iran Diplomacy Addiction Shouldn't Stop Israel By Jonathan S. Tobin

The post-Oct. 7 war that Israel has been waging against Islamist terrorists that threaten its existence seems to have shifted its focus in the last month. While the fighting against Hamas in the Gaza Strip continues, it's clear that most of Israel's military efforts are now aimed at ensuring that Hezbollah's forces in Lebanon do not have the power to continue to depopulate northern Israel. But one thing hasn't changed: an American policy bent on not entirely abandoning the Jewish state while also determined to avoid a full-scale confrontation with Iran, which is behind both Hamas and Hezbollah's attacks on Israel.

Preventing a broader war sounds reasonable. But at this point, the problem is not only the fact that Israel cannot afford to let Hamas survive in Gaza or allow Hezbollah to continue to use Lebanon as a base for attacks on its northern border communities and the rest of the country. It's that amid the confusion caused by more than a year of fighting and the way that the conflict has already spread, Washington is still hopelessly committed to a policy of diplomatic compromise with Iran that has proven over and over again to be an abysmal failure.

Yet that hasn't stopped the Biden/Harris administration from continuing to push for ceasefire agreements on both fronts and for what amounts to a truce with Iran that essentially grants the Islamist regime and its nuclear program immunity from Israeli attacks. That is a formula not just for Israeli defeat. It also signals a willingness to accommodate the Iranians in a way that is a disaster for American interests and dooms the region to many more years of further instability and terrorism.

What makes it even more frustrating—both for Israelis and Americans who recognize how counterproductive this addiction to Iran diplomacy has become—is that the people running America's foreign-policy establishment seem unable to realize their errors. Years of efforts at bribing and appeasing Iran have done nothing to change the Islamic Republic's desire to achieve regional hegemony or to dampen its enthusiasm for funding terror groups that seek to destroy Israel. Nor do U.S. policymakers seem to contemplate the kind of course correction that might at least afford a chance of obtaining different and hopefully better outcomes.

That problem is even more acute at this point in the conflict than perhaps before.

The Israel Defense Forces seem to have accomplished a great deal in its current campaign to degrade Hezbollah's military capabilities in the last few weeks. It has also begun the difficult job of cleaning out areas of Southern Lebanon where not only Hezbollah stored quantities of armaments but also planned to use as a starting-off point for their own Oct. 7-style invasion of northern Israel.

Despite the great success of the exploding beepers and walkie-talkies—and their ability to take out much of Hezbollah's leadership and command-and-control structure—the terrorist group is a long way from defeat, let alone collapse.

Rather than accept the setbacks dealt to it, the Iranian proxy

group has doubled down on its attacks on northern Israel and even expanded them. The longer the fighting goes on and the IDF is free to strike its weapons supplies and forces, the less useful it will be to Iran when and if it is called upon to help Tehran fend off Israeli or Western attacks on its nuclear program. Nevertheless, Hezbollah still has vast quantities of arms and missiles at its disposal. While the Lebanese have expressed widespread dismay about how their country has been hijacked by the Shi'ite organization into fighting a war against Israel that is causing massive suffering, that fact hasn't loosened Iran's grip upon their nation.

This is a moment when Washington's support for a campaign to defeat a terrorist movement that has American, as well as Israeli and Jewish, blood on its heads would be crucial. Instead, the administration is desperately signaling to its media cheerleaders and the international community that it wants no part of an ongoing conflict whose ultimate target is to defeat Iran.

Even gestures of support—such as the sending of a sophisticated THAAD missile-defense system to Israel, along with 100 American personnel to operate it—seem aimed more at restricting the Jewish state's freedom to make a decision about retaliating against the latest direct Iranian attack. The fact that the administration has made sure to leak to the press that it wants Israel to avoid striking at Iran's nuclear-weapons program, which is an existential threat not just to Israel but to Arab nations and the West, was a shocking indication of its ongoing devotion to the idea that Tehran and its most important assets should not be threatened.

The differences between Washington and Jerusalem are often portrayed as largely rooted in the bitter personal quarrel that seems to exist between the leaders of the two governments. Or at least that is the way that American officials have sought to depict in the never-ending leaks of information about their communications with Israeli officials that they pass along at regular intervals to their favorite journalists at The New York Times or The Atlantic who share their contempt for Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

As was the case during the Obama administration, in which most of the Biden-Harris foreign policy also served, differences are often described as a form of impertinence on the part of Netanyahu and the Israelis. Their willingness to talk back to the Americans and even ignore their advice is viewed as a sign of disrespect. For all of their focus on highlighting Netanyahu's obnoxiousness (a character trait that few objective observers would deny is part of his complex personality), President Joe Biden, Secretary of State Antony Blinken and the rest of the Obama alumni at the National Security Council and State Department seem to have an insatiable need for gestures of deference, if not acknowledgments of weakness, from the leader of the tiny Jewish state. They also refuse to recognize that Israel's leaders might have a better grasp of the situation than they do. They also think it wrong that they would prioritize their nation's security over reinforcing the administration's efforts to pretend that Biden is a strong leader.

That tends to say more about their shortcomings than those of Netanyahu. But it is also a misrepresentation of a fundamental philosophical split between Israel and the Biden-Harris team.

Their smearing of Netanyahu and nonstop attempts to humble him notwithstanding, the source of the problem remains this administration's commitment to a realignment of the Middle East in which conflicts between the United States and Iran would be replaced by a rapprochement with the Islamists. That was the reason for former President Barack Obama's otherwise puzzling decision to accept that Iran would become a nuclear power via a 2015 nuclear deal that guaranteed that it would eventually get a weapon. It also explained Biden's futile efforts to woo back Tehran with billions in released frozen funds and relaxed sanctions after Trump left the pact in 2018.

That is also why the Biden-Harris team has, despite sometimes paying lip service to the goal of stopping Hamas or curbing Hezbollah, also continuously sought to bring an end to Israel's efforts to eradicate Iran's terrorist proxies. Above all, it wants to stop Israel from striking Iran in a way that would put an end to any hope of reviving their dreams of better relations with the tyrannical regime.

For the moment, the presidential election and the administration's realization that abandoning Israel in the middle of a fight would hurt Vice President Kamala Harris's prospects for victory in November more than it would help her with the Democratic Party's left-wing anti-Zionist base has aided Netanyahu. It's given him the ability to hit Hezbollah harder than anyone in Washington dreamed possible.

But no one in either Israel or the United States should be under any illusions that this is necessarily a permanent state of affairs, especially if Harris wins what is now a toss-up election. Much like the decision of Hamas to hunker down in what is left of its Gaza tunnel complex and refuse to either surrender or free the hostages, Iran and Hezbollah are counting on the West—in particular, the Americans—to bail them out of a tough spot.

Without U.S. support, any hope of Israel being able to sustain a campaign to fundamentally degrade Hezbollah's ability to inflict suffering on the Jewish state is not likely to succeed. That's especially true if the mullahs in Tehran and their Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps and Hezbollah henchmen believe that either Biden or Harris will eventually pull the plug on weapons shipments to Israel or allow the U.N. Security Council to vote to mandate a ceasefire that Jerusalem couldn't ignore.

Until that happens, Israel shouldn't let Washington's self-destructive addiction to pointless diplomacy with Iran stand in the way of an all-out effort to knock Hezbollah out of the war or strike a blow against Iran's precious nuclear assets.

The stakes in this dispute couldn't be higher and have little to do with the personal aspects of the long feud between Netanyahu and those Americans committed to appearement of Iran.

Should Hezbollah emerge from this conflict with its ability to control Lebanon and be able to fire on northern Israel intact, it will do more than harm the Jewish state. It will ensure that Iranian proxies will be increasing their efforts to undermine every government in the region not already under Tehran's control. And it will mean more rounds of fighting for Israel, as it will be forced to endure more terrorist attacks, regardless of who is running the government in Jerusalem.

On the other hand, if Washington were to back Israel's efforts to topple Hezbollah and strike the sort of blow against Tehran that might shake the regime's hold on power, it would—rather than escalating a seven-front war that has already gotten out of control—give the region hope that the mullah's reign of terror as the Middle East's "strong horse" is ending. Should America choose more pointless diplomacy rather than a path towards Iran's defeat, the price will be paid in the blood of Israelis as well as Arabs. So long as he has an opening to do so, Netanyahu should not waver from seeking to avoid such a disastrous outcome. (JNS Oct 14)

American Jews Failed Themselves and their Children After Oct. 7 By Jonathan S. Tobin

On Yom Kippur, there will, as there is every year, be a lot of collective breast-beating in the American Jewish community for all that we've done wrong. And, then, as usual, we generally go back to doing many of the same things as soon as the fast is broken and our stomachs full. That this will happen is human nature and no different from innumerable times in the past when we have made collective promises.

But this past year was different. So is the one that is about to unfold. As such, our willingness simply to move on from our failures is insufficient.

In the aftermath of the Oct. 7 massacre by Hamas and Palestinian terrorists in southern Israel, Jews in the United States witnessed an unprecedented surge in antisemitism. Mobs on the streets of major cities, and especially on the campuses of universities, made manifest the new intellectual and cultural orthodoxy in which woke ideology

deems Jews and Israelis to be "white" oppressors who must be resisted "by any means necessary," as goes the popular phrase on the political left

Students were harassed and shunned if they weren't willing to renounce their communal affiliations or join those chanting "from the river to the sea" and "globalize the intifada"—in effect, assenting to the idea of the genocide of the Jews of Israel. A generation of students and professors who had come to believe that "microaggressions" in which alleged slights towards minorities should be treated as the moral equivalent of violent crimes took part in activities whose only real purpose was to support those engaged in a campaign of the murder of Jews and the destruction of the one Jewish state on the planet.

Just as tragic is the fact that the reaction from most American Jews was shock and fear, rather than outrage and a willingness to confront those seeking to intimidate them.

While some believed that the new academic year would be different, what we've already seen, especially on the one-year anniversary of Oct. 7, was more of the same. The most memorable images from that day were not of ceremonies mourning for those lost in the Palestinian assault on Israeli communities but of lone Jewish students in places like Columbia University trying to stand their ground against mobs who—whether violating rules that would have forbidden their conduct or not—were brazenly chanting support for the murderous goals of Hamas and Hezbollah terrorists. Equally memorable were the images of pro-Hamas mobs assaulting a single man—a leader of a Democratic Party pro-Israel group—for having the temerity to hold up an Israeli flag in the face of their curses, physical harassment and anti-Jewish threats.

Why has none of this provoked mass outrage from American Jewry? Why have there been no comparable pro-Israel marches or organized counter-demonstrations that would attempt to show the antisemites that they—and not the Jews—were the isolated extremist minority?

The answer lies mostly in the fact that many American Jews have been happily swimming in the same cultural sea of hostility towards Zionism, and until recently, never suspected that its venom could drown them. They were sure that the hostility to the canon of Western civilization inherent in the myths of critical race theory and intersectionality had absolutely nothing to do with them. Their willingness to endorse the Black Lives Matter movement in 2020, despite its close ties to antisemitism—along with their liberal-leaning and cultural views as well as fealty to the woke catechism of diversity, equity and inclusion (DEI)—should have exempted them from any connection to the oppressor class that these toxic theories singled out for opprobrium.

But they were wrong about all of that. As much as many on the Jewish left considered concerns about these issues to be indications of racism or right-wing extremism on the part of those who raised them, it was, of course, the Jews who were the first and easiest targets for the woke left.

It's true that most Jewish institutions rallied behind Israel in the first weeks after Oct. 7 and then helped organize a mass pro-Israel rally in Washington, D.C., on Nov. 14, 2023. But the facade of unity soon faded.

Why?

In no small measure, the problem was politics.

Support for Israel after the terror attacks became an issue that impacted President Joe Biden's re-election campaign. Beset by the Democratic Party's anti-Israel activist left-wing base, the president soon wavered on his position and spent the next year talking out of both sides of his mouth on the topic. Pressing him or Vice President Kamala Harris (who replaced him on the Democratic ticket in a party establishment coup three months before the election due to Biden's incapacities) to resist the pro-Hamas and antisemitic activists within his own party and even administration was something many pro-Israel Democrats were reluctant to do. That's because they viewed defeating

his opponent—former President Donald Trump—to be a higher priority, despite the latter's historic support for the Jewish state.

As much as they resented and feared the way how the mobs on campuses were targeting Jewish students, the notion of helping organize more counter-protests seemed beyond their capabilities and something they were inclined to avoid. The instincts of liberal Jewish Americans were very much in sync with those who urged Jews to "shelter in place" or to avoid confrontations with supporters of Hamas.

As a result, the message sent to the hard left organizing these outrages was that the Jews were as isolated and weak as they imagined. The message from the broader cultural milieu only reinforced the belief on the part of the anti-Zionists that they had the wind at their backs.

The fact that the week of the Oct. 7 anniversary was marked by the celebration of a new book by a literary celebrity calling for Israel's destruction was no accident.

Celebrated African-American author Ta-Nehisi Coates was feted throughout the mainstream media for writing an ignorant book libeling Israel as a new version of the "Jim Crow" American South based on a 10-day tour, his first trip to the region. The one reporter from a mainstream outlet that challenged him was publicly shamed by his organization for doing so. Meanwhile, other outlets became his shameless collaborators, such as The New York Times, which provided him with new platforms from which to spew his libels against the Jews and his justifications for the atrocities of Oct. 7, and even immoral speculations about whether he would have the personal strength to have joined in the orgy of mass murder, rape, torture, kidnapping and wanton destruction carried out by the Palestinians.

While Coates's disturbing speculations are of little importance, the fact that they are trumpeted by the very outlets that many liberal Jews still venerate is deeply troubling.

All of this requires a clear course correction on the part of American Jewish institutions, though it's likely that such an effort is something that most national legacy groups, like the Anti-Defamation League and the American Jewish Committee, are unlikely to accomplish.

What's needed most now is a new commitment to put aside partisanship or any inclination to rerun the same sterile debates about Israel that American Jews have been engaging in for decades. Instead of pretending that the possibility of liberals losing power in Washington will bring on a new reign of fascism or Nazism, the majority of the community must wake up to the reality that the mobs on campuses and in the streets—and more importantly, what they represent in terms of a new woke cultural orthodoxy that rules our educational system, cultural institutions and even the corporate world—is very much a clear and present danger to Jewish life in this country.

In the coming months, they must find the courage to put aside their partisan differences and inclinations, and unite to fight the anti-Zionists and antisemites, even if they thought of these groups as allies in the past. And they must do so in as loud and public a manner as possible. They must also be willing to call upon non-Jewish supporters of Israel, including evangelical Christians who have stood by Israel through this difficult year, even if their political opinions don't always mesh with their own. They must act to send the message that Jew-haters are the ones who should be shamed and marginalized. And they must stop apologizing for Israel and openly support the Jewish state's efforts to defend its borders and defeat its enemies.

Jews and Israel aren't alone. But American Jews are isolating themselves with a communal consensus that sometimes seems to be based on false priorities and sheer cowardice. If they don't change their ways, they will have more to account for next Yom Kippur. (JNS Oct. 11)