

The War on Gaza: The End of Empathy and the Last Western Man

Part XIV and Final

By [Amir Nour](#)

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Region: [Middle East & North Africa](#)

Theme: [Law and Justice](#)

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"The death of human empathy is one of the earliest and most telling signs of a [culture](#) about to fall into barbarism." —**Hannah Arendt**

"The old world is dying, and the new world struggles to be born: now is the time of monsters." —**Antonio Gramsci**

"The man who wants to govern men must, more than ever, have the soul of an apostle and the entrails of a father." —**Malek Bennabi**[1]

Dystopian "Brave New World" Made Real

With 2024 coming to a close, I can now more fully reflect on Israel's genocide of the people of Gaza. My reflection, which I laid out in a series of articles[2] beginning a year ago, is an accompaniment to a war that from its outbreak on 7 October 2023, seemed in many respects to be fundamentally different from all previous Israeli military expeditions against the Palestinian population. This contrast convinced me to call it "*the war to end all Gaza wars*". I had also predicted that this war would have long-lasting and far-reaching consequences for its potential to reshape the entire Middle East, to further exacerbate international tensions, and to possibly provoke a conflagration that could spread beyond a part of the world that has experienced more than its share of humiliation for more than a century.

Since a series of momentous events appears to confirm the accuracy of my argument, far from taking satisfaction, I will repeat what I anticipated in the introduction.

Gaza is almost completely destroyed and its population undergoing an unprecedented genocide[3]. Up until its final days, the departing US administration has supported the Israeli slaughter with all means possible. **President Joe Biden's** "parting gift"[4] to Israel of \$8 billion[5] in weapons sales is another step toward a "Greater Israel", which will extend beyond the borders of Gaza and the West Bank to incorporate chunks of Lebanon and Syria. Paid for with rivers of blood, this is another giant step toward the realization of the Zionist dream. In support of this objective, eight Israeli lawmakers recently sent a letter to **Minister of Defense Israel Katz** calling for their coalition government to intensify the siege of the

already strangulated Gaza concentration camp. Claiming the IDF's strategy was not adequate enough to defeat Hamas, the letter demanded the IDF use sieges, infrastructure destruction, and the killing of anyone without a white flag to purge northern Gaza of its residents, while insisting this policy should be used in other parts of the enclave[6]. Besides, in the eyes of incoming US **President Donald Trump** such collective punishment isn't severe enough. As if Palestinians could possibly be brutalized more than the "crime of crimes" they've been subjected to for over a year, the President-elect threatened Hamas that it would have "hell to pay" if the hostages are not released by the time he assumes office on 20 January 2025. Those responsible, he warned, "will be hit harder than anybody has been hit in the long and storied history of the United States of America." Benjamin Netanyahu thanked Trump for his "strong support". Meanwhile, the entire Middle East is in a state of chaos as the flames of war have expanded to Lebanon, Yemen, Iraq, Iran, and Syria.

On the global stage, violence since the end of the Cold War is at an all-time high. According to the Norwegian Peace Research Institute Oslo[7], there have never been so many armed conflicts across the globe as in 2023: 59 state-based and 75 non-state conflicts were recorded in 34 countries, many instigated and/or fueled by Western powers in Africa and the Middle East, the highest number of conflicts since the data collection starting point in 1946. Furthermore, **President-elect Donald Trump** is contemplating an expansionist agenda targeting Panama, Greenland, and even Canada for potential acquisition, including by means of annexation, and as of January 2024, the "Doomsday Clock," which warns of the risk of nuclear war, is set at 90 seconds to midnight, its most dangerous setting since the Cuban missile crisis of October 1962.

Ringling the alarm, UN **Secretary-General António Guterres** admonished the Security Council that

"Almost eight decades after the incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, nuclear weapons represent a clear danger to global peace and security, growing in power, range and stealth. States possessing them are absent from the negotiating table, and some statements have raised the prospect of unleashing nuclear hell." [8]

To **Pope Francis** possession of these weapons is "immoral"; the Hibakusha, survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, advocate for a world free of these weapons; and for Hollywood, where "*Oppenheimer*" brought the harsh reality of nuclear doomsday to vivid life, this "nuclear madness" must end. In the words of Guterres, "Humanity cannot survive a sequel to *Oppenheimer*."

Clearly, these calls are struggling to resonate with the great powers. Recently, former Russian President Dmitry Medvedev, currently the deputy chairman of the Security Council of Russia, and President Putin warned that provocations by Ukraine and its allies could result in nuclear war.[9] Their warnings came shortly after President Biden gave the green light for Ukraine to employ US-made ATACMS long-range missiles to hit a Russian weapon facility in Bryansk Oblast. Moscow perceives this provocation to be a response to North Korea's sending of thousands of soldiers to Russia.

In fact, these developments reflect a global upheaval, a tidal wave of change nurtured by increasing divisions within and between nations: West vs. East, Collective West vs. Global South, left vs. right, black vs. white, men vs. women, old vs. young, modernity vs. tradition, skeptics vs. believers, religion versus spirituality, fake news vs. real news, and the list goes on and on. Our age is also one of extreme polarization where self-styled "strongmen" are

rising to power in an increasing number of countries to become a central feature of global politics[10], where stark opinions and radical views thrive, in the midst of dizzying advances in science and technology and an unprecedented information overload. As a result, in the collision between the establishment's propaganda and the skepticism of the so-called conspiracy theorists - once tolerated as harmless cranks but now considered as dangerous "new heretics"[11] who must be removed from public view - nuanced debate is lost and confusion reigns supreme.

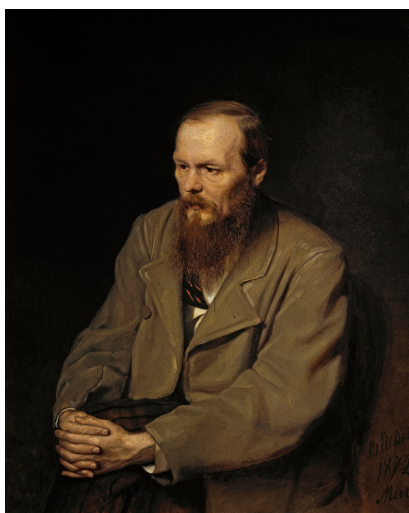
In the West in general and the United States in particular, for at least two decades now many NGOs, thinkers, political scientists and social activists have been warning that the expanding social inequality and steady erosion of democratic institutions would inevitably lead to populism, authoritarian states, and more generally to what Stanford University's Larry Diamond calls "democratic recession." [12]

When all is said and done, is it not permissible to ask: are we not living in a "Brave New World", almost exactly as the Russian Yevgeny Zamyatin and the Britons Aldous Huxley and George Orwell imagined in the last century? And isn't it possible that such concepts as modernity, secularism, development, and progress are no more than long-held utopian views, and that the political impasses and economic shocks of our societies, as well as the irreparably damaged environment, corroborate the bleakest views of a long list of thinkers, starting with nineteenth-century critics who condemned modern capitalism as "a heartless machine for economic growth, or the enrichment of the few, which works against such fundamentally human aspirations as stability, community and a better future?" [13]

Nihilism, Genocide, and the Fate of Western Civilization

Perhaps one of the major unintended consequences of the war on Gaza is that it is providing a likely convincing answer to Francis Fukuyama's "old/new" question which, surprisingly, has not been sufficiently highlighted neither by the proponents of the "end of history" thesis, nor by its opponents. More specifically, it is about the second part of his questioning, that is: Can political and economic liberty and equality characterizing the state of affairs at the presumed "end of history" bring about a stable society in which man may be said to be, at last, completely satisfied? Or, will the spiritual condition of the "last man" in history, "deprived of outlets for his striving for mastery", inevitably lead him to plunge himself and the world into the chaos and bloodshed of history?

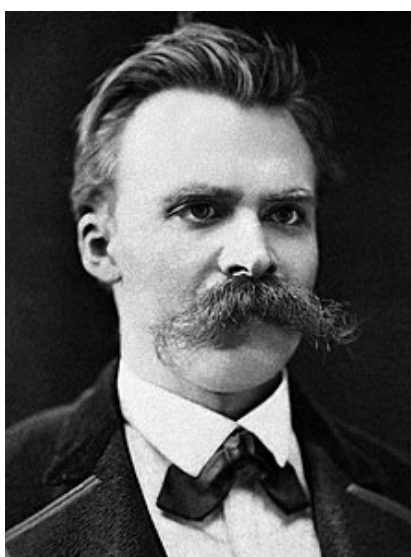
Image: Fyodor Dostoevsky (Portrait by Vasily Perov, c. 1872, from the Public Domain)



In truth, the debate on this fascinating question of moral and political philosophy – more precisely: Can man reasonably enjoy unrestrained freedom in the name of his individual rights? And is such unbounded freedom compatible with his responsibilities toward society and nature? – has taken place before, in particular a century ago, under the auspices of two of the greatest philosophers of all time: Russian Fyodor Dostoevsky and German Friedrich Nietzsche, who continue to be influential today. They both argued against modern rationalism, strongly believing its corrosive influence would have severe implications for civilization and eventually destroying all moral, religious, and metaphysical convictions, thereby precipitating the greatest crisis in human history. But while agreeing on the diagnosis of the “disease” of modernity, they diverged on the “cure”, and offered two diametrically opposed paths forward: Nietzsche points to a path “beyond God”, while Dostoevsky offers a solution pointing man “back to God.”

Arguably, this is exactly what is happening to Western governments and societies with regard to the situation in Gaza in general and the acquiescence to the genocide Israel is perpetrating more specifically. Indeed, against an emerging global consensus in favor of the Palestinian cause, the US continues to arm Israel; the UK insists it remains a “staunch ally” of Israel; diplomatically and militarily, Germany continues to support Israel; and France has declared that Netanyahu enjoys immunity because Israel is not a signatory to the ICC (International Criminal Court). France’s declaration not only is a betrayal of its past support for the Rome statute of the ICC, which it helped to negotiate in 1998, it bestows immunity to Russian President Vladimir Putin, a prospect the West categorically rejects.

Image: Friedrich Nietzsche, circa 1875. (From the Public Domain)



Israeli American professor of Holocaust and Genocide Studies at Brown University Omer Bartov says Israel’s war on Gaza combines “genocidal actions, ethnic cleansing and annexation of the Gaza Strip.” He warns that impunity for Israel would endanger the entire edifice of international law. This is “a total moral, ethical failure by the very countries that claim to be the main protectors of civil rights, democracy, human rights around the world.” What’s more is that the Palestinian occupied territories have become the perfect laboratory for the Israeli military- techno complex: from “constant surveillance, home demolitions and indefinite incarceration, to the hi-tech devices that drive the ‘Start-up Nation”, Israel has become a global leader in spying technology and defense hardware: the occupation is the ideal marketing tool, and Palestine the proving ground.”[14]

Likewise, *The Guardian's* Nesrine Malik observed that Israel's destruction of Gaza is "just a part of life [that] seems to say: yes, this is the world we live in now. Get used to it." The cheapening of Palestinian life involves "separating our lives from theirs, separating legal and moral worlds into two - one in which we exist and deserve freedom from hunger, fear and persecution, and a second in which others have demonstrated some quality that shows they are not owed the same. Once you are taught to cease to identify with others on the basis of their humanity, the work of necropolitics[15] is complete." Malik emphasizes that the sanctity of human life is what separates us from barbarism. She concludes by saying: "the end result [of barbarism] is a world in which when the call comes to aid people in need, no one will be capable of heeding it." [16]

German-American political philosopher Hannah Arendt once famously wrote: "The death of human empathy is one of the earliest and most telling signs of a culture about to fall into barbarism." In the United States, Barack Obama said during his 2008 campaign for the presidential election: "our lack of empathy is America's essential deficit", far more concerning than its federal deficit. And in the United Kingdom, a 2018 YouGov survey[17] found that 51% of respondents in that country are said to be concerned that empathy is on the wane, with 51% of the persons surveyed believing that Britons' ability to sense, understand and share the feelings of others and put themselves in others' shoes has declined, versus only 12% who thought it had increased.

Such predicament is anything but a novel phenomenon, as documented by Christopher Powell in his book[18] in which he dealt with the central issues of "Why have the largest mass murders in human history taken place in the past hundred years?" and "Why have European colonizers so often denied the humanity of the colonized?"

A case in point here is the motherland of Nietzsche and Arendt - Germany, whether imperial, Nazi, or federal. Since the 1884-85 Berlin Conference during which European states arrogated themselves the "right" to carve up the African continent, to the genocides it soon afterward committed in Namibia and Tanzania, all the way through to the crimes against humanity of WWII, Germany's racial philosophy taught that Aryans were the master race and that some other races were "Untermensch" (sub-humans). This philosophy then translated into a policy of ruthless persecution of all the populations which controlled or subjugated (Jews, Blacks, Slavs, Gypsies, people with disabilities, Jehovah's witnesses, etc.) through eugenics, sterilization, euthanasia, and forced labor in dozens of thousands of incarceration sites, of which over 1,000 concentration camps. As for today's federal Germany, its total lack of empathy toward Palestinians is equaled only by its unconditional and multifaceted support for Israel. Chancellors Angela Merkel and Olaf Scholz went as far as to declare repeatedly this support has the force of a "Raison d'État" (Staats-raison), in other words, "an unacknowledged transgression of the law in the name of a higher security imperative." [19] This situation prompted Indian writer and activist Arundhati Roy to say: "Who would have imagined that we would live to see the day when German police would arrest Jewish citizens for protesting against Israel and Zionism and accuse them of anti-Semitism?" [20]

As has been discussed before, if the West's antagonism with China is today essentially of an economic nature and will tomorrow concern the conditions under which to manage world affairs politically, the quarrel between the Collective West on the one hand, and the Russian and Islamic spheres on the other, lie first and foremost in fundamental and longstanding cultural divergences, if not contrasting worldviews altogether.

In the short term, if Western nations genuinely want to understand the Islamic psyche so they can devise policies that respect the Arab-Muslim world, they would benefit from meditating deeply the ideas expressed by Robert Nicholson in an editorial about America's 2021 withdrawal from Afghanistan. Using an evocative title for his piece[21], Nicholson argues that despite its investment of "trillions of dollars, tens of thousands of lives, and two decades of warfare", the West failed to comprehend "that politics lies downstream of culture, and culture downstream of religion." Its "blindness [was] driven by a noble desire to see humans as equal, interchangeable beings for whom faith and culture are 'accidents of birth'. But these accidents are non-negotiable truths for hundreds of millions of people who would rather die than concede them."

Nicholson's thesis shares Samuel Huntington's view that Islamic societies belong to a distinctive civilization that resists the forceful imposition of foreign values. Indeed, in *"The Clash of Civilizations"* Huntington argues that "The West won the world not by the superiority of its ideas or values or religion (to which few members of other civilizations were converted) but rather by its superiority in applying organized violence. Westerners often forget this fact; non-Westerners never do." He also warned that "to preserve Western civilization in the face of declining Western power, it is in the interest of the United States and European countries (...) to recognize that Western intervention in the affairs of other civilizations is probably the single most dangerous source of instability and potential global conflict in a multi-civilizational world."

Huntington is right, non-Westerners do remember, and so must the Palestinians. That's precisely the reason why in his recently published memoirs[22], former Algerian foreign minister Ahmed Taleb-Ibrahimi - citing his own father Cheikh Bachir Ibrahimi who had delineated fronts where anti-colonial struggle should take place, labeling them the "3 M's," namely the Military, the Missionaries and the Merchants - considers that a fourth "M", the front of Memory, should be fought against Zionism. To this end, he appealed to Algerian and all Muslim youth to establish a museum dedicated to the memory of the Palestinian Nakba (Catastrophe). Similar to *"Yad Vashem"*, Israel's Holocaust Museum, such an institution, he says, would recall, with great educational value, the horrors of the dark periods of human history and bring art and culture back into line with ethics and morality. Among other contemporary museums that embody Taleb-Ibrahimi's vision are museums of the indigenous peoples of the Americas, the House of Slaves on Senegal's Gorée Island and the Atomic Bomb Museum in Nagasaki.

In the case of Gaza, one of the best illustrations of the impact of the Islamic faith on its followers, is undoubtedly that provided by Nour Jarada, a psychologist working with "Médecins du Monde France". Speaking of daily life in an enclave punctuated by war, she writes:

"No one knows what the future holds. But what I do know is that oppressions always end one day. As the poet Abu al-Qasim al-Shabi wrote: 'If the people ever want to live, destiny will respond.' And as God promises in the Qur'an: 'With difficulty there is indeed ease!' Despite all that we endure, we cling to our strength and resilience. Every day, we put aside our pain to take on our roles and reach out to those around us. Helping those the world has forgotten gives our lives meaning and purpose. Yet, I have also discovered a resilience in myself that I never imagined I possessed. I have endured fear, displacement, loss, grief, tears, and unimaginable sorrow. I have faced it all patiently, even when I had no choice. Through it all, I have been carried by my unwavering faith, a conviction that there is a reason for everything, even if only God knows it. We believe in

God. Every trial we face carries with it a wisdom that our minds cannot comprehend. We commit our hearts to God, even when the trial seems beyond our human capacity. This faith has driven me to persevere, to keep working, to fight, and to support those around me.”[23]

History will repeat itself once more. And what happened in Afghanistan will sooner or later happen in the Middle East, though the manner and circumstances will possess its own character. As Nicholson says, the Western world’s focus “must be on curing the spiritual sickness that blinded us in the first place, recovering our own sense of civilizational self and reorienting our priorities accordingly.” His reflection recalls 14th-century Arab philosopher/historian Abd ar-Raḥmān Ibn Khaldun whose *“Muqaddimah*, or Prolegomena (Introduction), states: “Sometimes, when the empire is in the last period of its existence, it (suddenly) deploys enough force to make people believe that its decadence has stopped; but it is only the last glimmer of a candle wick that is about to stop burning. When a lamp is about to go out, it suddenly gives off a burst of light which makes one suppose that it is turning on again, when it’s the opposite that happens.”

Pascal Bruckner put forward the idea that the West was capable of many abominations, but it alone knew how to distance itself from its own barbarism, and expressed the wish to see other regimes, other civilizations draw inspiration from its example. The greatest gift that Europe can give the world, he said, is to offer it “the spirit of examination that it has conceived and which has saved it from so many perils. It is a poisonous gift, but essential to the survival of humanity.”[24]

Broadly speaking, there are three main categories of examiners of the West with regard to its malfeasance throughout history, whether it be for the past crimes of slavery, genocide, and colonization, or for the current aggressions against other peoples and the illegal exploitation of their riches, as is notably the case with the Palestinian tragedy. There are those who recognize the malefactors and their ill deeds and call for forgiveness and redemption[25]; those who admit some of the worst crimes committed while searching for some other “positive accomplishments” susceptible to help dissolve the crimes and absolve the culprits[26]; and those who purely and simply mythologize and glorify the victimizers while placing blame on the victims and making them feel guilty about their victimhood.[27]

Well before Bruckner, it was perhaps Malek Bennabi, an Algerian Muslim, then living under the yoke of French colonialism, who may have formulated the best advice to the West and to world leaders. Having observed the crisis of Western civilization, its culmination in a dead end, and the loss of the motivations for its existence, he stated that

“The new civilization must be neither a civilization of a proud continent nor that of a selfish people, but of a humanity pooling all its potentialities.”[28]

And while recognizing the transformative power of the European fact in the world, he called on Europe – [the West in today’s jargon] – to integrate itself into the global conscience that its civilization has created. To that end, he saw the task of “Afro-Asianism” [the Global South] as consisting in “helping Western man to reach this dimension to which its conscience has not yet arrived.” Bennabi then expressed his conviction that history will continue to be made with Europe:

“For good as for evil, its choice still has a global importance (...) We must not let Europe fall back on its axis, withdraw from the world to sulk at humanity which it can no longer

dominate. It is necessary to show [the West] that its security does not depend on power, but on the development of its conscience in the dimension of others and of its genius in harmony with current trends and a higher human interest”.

And because he believed that one cannot “engage in the ecumenical era[29] with the complexes bequeathed by colonialism”, he pleaded for the universal exigence according to which:

“A great pity for oneself and for all that is human must inspire those who govern, knowing that under the greatest perversion there is always a possibility of redemption, and under the appearance of force there is always a great weakness that sums up human weaknesses. Power increasingly requires the highest moral qualities.”

Accordingly, Bennabi declared:

“The man who wants to govern men must, more than ever, have the soul of an apostle and the entrails of a father.”

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Notes

[1] Malek Bennabi, “**L’Afro-Asiatisme, conclusions sur la Conférence de Bandoeng**” (**Afro-Asianism, conclusions on the Bandoeng Conference**), Cairo, Misr S.A.E, 1956.

[2] These articles are accessible through the following link: [Amir Nour, Author at Global ResearchGlobal Research – Centre for Research on Globalization](#)

[3] On 26 January 2024, the International Court of Justice found that a plausible case can be made that Israel is committing genocide in Gaza; On 21 November 2024, the International Criminal Court issued arrest warrants for Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and former Israeli Defense Minister Yoav Gallant for crimes against humanity and war crimes; On 5 December 2024, Amnesty International issued a 296-page report detailing Israel’s genocide in Gaza; and on 19 December 2024, Human Rights Watch issued a 179-page report detailing Israel’s genocide in Gaza. See John J. Mearsheimer, “**The Moral Bankruptcy of the West**”, John’s Substack, 24 December 2024.

[4] Chris Hedges, “**Genocide: The New Normal**”, The Chris Hedges Report, 6 January 2025.

[5] This amount is to be added to \$17.9 billion in military aid to Israel provided from October 2023 to October 2024, on top of \$3.8 billion the US gives to Israel annually. In sum, it is an absolute record for a single fiscal year.

[6] Noa Shpigel, “**Israeli Lawmakers Call on Military to Destroy Food, Water and Power**

Sources in Gaza", Haaretz, 3 January 2025.

[7] Siri Aas Rustad, "**Conflict Trends: A Global Overview, 1946-2023**", PRIO Paper, 2024.

[8] António Guterres, "**Nuclear Warfare Risk at Highest Point in Decades, Secretary-General Warns Security Council, Urging Largest Arsenal Holders to Find Way Back to Negotiating Table**", United Nations, 18 March 2024.

[9] Hugh Cameron, "**Putin Ally Warns the West Risks 'Nuclear Catastrophe'**", Newsweek, 26 September 2024.

[10] Gideon Rachman, "**The Age of the Strongman: How the Cult of the Leader Threatens Democracy Around the World**", The Bodley Head, London, 2022.

[11] Andy Thomas, "**The New Heretics: Understanding the Conspiracy Theories Polarizing the World**", Watkins, London, 2021.

[12] Read his latest assessments where he depicts the current state of democracy in the world, why it started to retreat in 2006, and how to renew its momentum: Larry Diamond, "**Democracy's Arc: From Resurgent to Imperiled**" (January 2022) and "**Power, Performance, and Legitimacy**", Journal of Democracy, April 2024.

[13] Pankaj Mishra, "**Age of Anger: A History of the Present**", Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2017.

[14] Antony Loewenstein, "**The Palestine Laboratory: How Israel exports the Technology of Occupation Around the World**", Verso, 2023.

[15] Achille Mbembe, "**Necropolitics**", Duke University Press, 2019. In this essay Mbembe theorizes the genealogy of the contemporary world, a world plagued by ever-increasing inequality, militarization, enmity, and terror as well as by a resurgence of racist, fascist, and nationalist forces determined to exclude and kill.

[16] Read Nesrine Malik's following articles in The Guardian: "**A new terror has entered the Gaza war: that it is ushering in an age of total immorality**", 28 July 2024; "**The lesson of Israel's unfathomably cruel war: ours is still a world where might is right**", 28 October 2024; "**A consensus is emerging: Israel is committing genocide in Gaza. Where is the action?**", 23 December 2024.

[17] The Week Staff, "**Is Britain experiencing an 'empathy crisis'?**", 4 October 2018.

[18] Christopher Powell, "**Barbaric Civilization: A Critical Sociology of Genocide**", McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011.

[19] Enzo Traverso, "**Gaza devant l'histoire**" (Gaza Before history), Lux Editeur, 2024.

[20] Arundhati Roy, "**No Propaganda on Earth Can Hide the Wound That Is Palestine: Arundhati Roy's PEN Pinter Prize Acceptance Speech**", The Wire, 11 October 2024.

[21] Robert Nicholson, "**The Unconquerable Islamic World**", The Wall Street Journal, 19 August 2021.

[22] Ahmed Taleb-Ibrahimi, "**Mémoires d'un Algérien, tome 4: Craintes et espérances (1988-2019)**" (Memoirs of an Algerian, volume 4: Fears and hopes (1988-2019), Casbah Editions,

Algiers, 2024.

[23] Nour Z. Jarada, "**Journal d'une Gazaouie: 'Nous sommes morts de toutes les morts possibles'**" (Diary of a Gazan: 'We died every possible death'), Liberation, 31 December 2024.

[24] Pascal Bruckner, "**En prônant le désamour de soi, nous nous fermons aux autres** » (By advocating self-loathing, we close ourselves off from others), Le Monde-La Vie, 13 November 2019.

[25] Among others: French authors Emmanuel Todd who, in his book "**The defeat of the West**" (2024), devoted a whole postscript under the title "American nihilism: The proof by Gaza"; Didier Fassin who wrote a book on "**The strange defeat: The consent to the crushing of Gaza**" (2024); and Francois Martin who wrote an essay devoted to "**The time of Fractures: The West versus the Rest of the World**" (2024).

[26] Among others: French author Gilles Kepel who describes the attacks of October 7, 2023 as a "pogrom raid" that has produced "**The upheaval of the world**" (2024), and British political commentator Douglas Murray who, in his 2022 book titled "**The War on the West: How to Prevail in the Age of Unreason**", believes that in recent years there is a cultural war being waged remorselessly against all the roots of the Western tradition and against everything good that the Western tradition has produced."

[27] Like British Prof. Nigel Biggar whose 2023 book "**Colonialism: A Moral Reckoning**" is considered by many as outrageous, and French Jean-François Colosimo for whom the Russian, Ottoman, Persian, Chinese and Indian empires of the 19th century are back and rising up against "**The West, world enemy no. 1**".

[28] Malek Bennabi, "**Les conditions de la renaissance**" (The conditions for renaissance), Editions En-Nahdha, Algiers, 1949.

[29] As early as 1956, Bennabi spoke of the realization of a "great human mutation" whereby "mankind, which had crossed with the Neolithic the first level of its history by rising to the level of civilizations, must now move to the second level of its history by rising to the level of the civilization of the ecumenical man."

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