

DEFINING ANTISEMITISM IN  
A GLOBAL CONTEXT

**TASK FORCE**

The Donald C. Hellmann Task Force Program



# **Defining Antisemitism in a Global Context**

Task Force Report, Winter 2022

---

**Evaluator:**

Kenneth S. Stern  
Attorney, Author

Director, *Bard Center for the Study of Hate*  
Bard College

**Instructor:**

Noam Pianko

Professor, *Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies*  
Director, *Stroum Center for Jewish Studies*  
University of Washington

---

**Coordinator:**

Robyn Villines

**Editor:**

Isabella Oedekoven Pomponi

**Task Force Researchers:**

Natassja Bartle  
Morgan Hildebrand  
Bailey Shaw  
Angelyna Sasso  
Cara Lee Rhodes  
Danica Dabelstein  
Emma Johnson  
Min Seung Kang  
Gustavo Barragan

University of Washington  
Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies  
Seattle, Washington



## Acknowledgments

---

First and foremost we want to acknowledge that the University of Washington is located on the stolen land of the Coast Salish people. This land touches the shared waters of all tribes and bands within the Suquamish, Tulalip, and Muckleshoot nations.

Our group would like to express our deepest gratitude to Professor Noam Pianko for providing us with his immense knowledge and with guidance during this process. We were supremely happy to be Professor Pianko's first Task Force group, and are thankful for his dedication to our project's success. Future Task Force groups will be lucky to have such a knowledgeable, distinguished, kind, and understanding advisor.

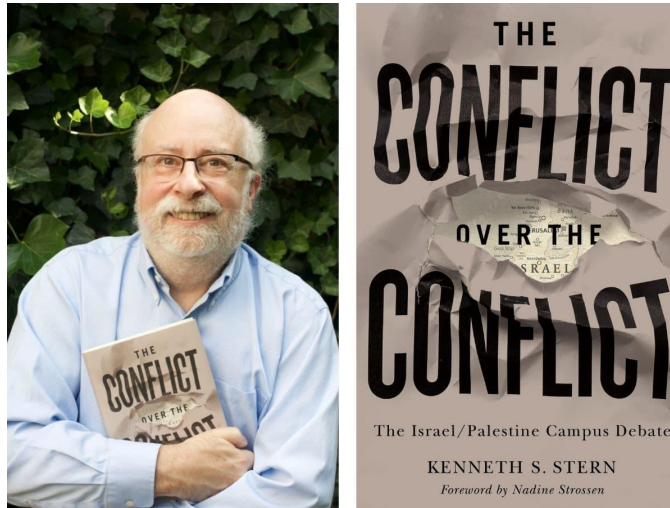
Thank you, Professor Pianko! Thank you also to our Librarian, Emily Keller, who provided us with numerous resources for our research.

Without the outstanding education we all have been provided by the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, we would not be where we are today. We want to extend our thanks to all of our past professors, our advisors, the faculty, staff, donors, and anyone associated with the Jackson School. A special thanks to Lauren Dobroblny and all of those who help to coordinate the Task Force program.

Finally, we, the Editorial Team, want to thank the Task Force Researchers of this project for their dedication and hard work throughout this process. Your long hours of researching, writing, and editing have not gone unnoticed. Every single one of you is an outstanding, intelligent, and kind human. We both wish you all success in your future endeavors. Without your hard work this project would not exist, thank you!

## Evaluator Profile

---



**Kenneth S. Stern**  
Director, *Bard Center for the Study of Hate*

---

Mr. Stern is an award-winning author and attorney and is the current Director for the Bard Center for the Study of Hate. Additionally, he was most recently executive director of the Justus & Karin Rosenberg Foundation. Before that, he was director of the division on antisemitism and extremism at the American Jewish Committee, where he worked for 25 years.

Stern's op-eds and book reviews have appeared in the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, *USA Today*, *The Forward*, the *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, and elsewhere. Mr. Stern has appeared on the *CBS Evening News*, *Dateline*, *Good Morning America*, *Face the Nation*, the History Channel, PBS, and other television and radio programs, including National Public Radio's *Fresh Air* and *All Things Considered*, and WNYC's *On the Media*.

He has argued before the United States Supreme Court, testified before Congress (as well as before committees of parliamentarians in Canada and the U.K.), was an invited presenter at the White House Conference on Hate Crimes, and served as a member of the U.S. Delegation to the Stockholm Forum on Combating Intolerance. He was also the lead drafter of the "working definition" of antisemitism now adopted by the U.S. Department of State.

"Hatred has always been part of the human condition", Stern said at his appointment as director of BCSH. "It is too little understood, but is a matter of increasing global urgency. The long-term goal is to make BCSH a central address for anyone—students, scholars, NGOs, and others—who want to understand this vexing question better, including what works best to control or curtail it.

## Instructor Profile

---



### **Noam Pianko**

Professor, *Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies*

Director, *Stroum Center for Jewish Studies*

---

Noam Pianko is the Samuel N. Stroum Chair of Jewish Studies and Professor in the Jackson School of International Studies. Pianko also directs the Samuel and Althea Stroum Center for Jewish Studies and serves as the Herbert and Lucy Pruzan Professor of Jewish Studies. He received his Ph.D. in Religious Studies/Judaic Studies from Yale University in 2004 and joined the Jackson School faculty in the fall of that year.

Pianko's research interests include modern Jewish history, Zionism, and American Judaism. His first book, "Zionism and the Roads Not Taken: Rawidowicz Kaplan, Kohn" (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010) uncovers the thought of three key interwar Jewish intellectuals who defined Zionism's central mission as challenging the model of a sovereign nation-state. His second book, "Jewish Peoplehood: An American Innovation" (Rutgers University Press, 2015), won the American Jewish Historical Society's Saul Viener Book Prize.

In addition to these works, Pianko has published articles in leading journals, including the *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, *Ab Imperio: Studies of New Imperial History and Nationalism in the Post-Society Space*, *American Jewish History*, and *Jewish Social studies*.

As director of the Stroum Center for Jewish Studies from 2011 to the present, Pianko has expanded UW's Jewish Studies offerings considerably. On campus, he has overseen the development of an exemplary online presence, the creation of a graduate fellowship program, the hiring of a new Chair in Israel Studies, the implementation of innovative public programs, and the emergence of the Sephardic Studies program.

## Table of Contents

---

<b>Glossary</b> .....	<b>8</b>
<b>Introduction</b> .....	<b>9</b>
<b>Section One: Antisemitic Patterns Throughout History</b> .....	<b>13</b>
<b>Chapter One: Historical Tropes as a Guide for Navigating Contemporary Debates</b> .....	<b>14</b>
<i>Introduction</i> .....	14
<i>Disproportion of Power</i> .....	16
<i>Untrustworthiness</i> .....	19
<i>Racial Inferiority</i> .....	22
<i>Conclusion</i> .....	25
<i>Recommendations</i> .....	25
<b>Section Two: Antisemitism and Political Ideologies</b> .....	<b>27</b>
<b>Chapter Two: Conservative Europe: Anti-Democratic Populism</b> .....	<b>28</b>
<i>Introduction</i> .....	28
<i>Antisemitic Tropes in Political Campaigns: The Laughing Jew</i> .....	29
<i>Linking Jews with the Progressive Left: Conspiracy Theories</i> .....	31
<i>Holocaust Denial: The AFD</i> .....	33
<i>Conclusion</i> .....	34
<i>Recommendations</i> .....	35
<b>Chapter Three: Presence of Antisemitism in the European Left, Social and Economic Justice</b> .....	<b>36</b>
<i>Introduction</i> .....	36
<i>Anti-Globalization Movements</i> .....	36
<i>Palestinian Solidarity and Pro-Peace Movements</i> .....	41
<i>Education</i> .....	44
<i>Conclusion</i> .....	46
<i>Recommendations</i> .....	47
<b>Chapter Four: The Role of Antisemitism in Conservative U.S.</b> .....	<b>49</b>
<i>Introduction</i> .....	49
<i>Replacement Theory</i> .....	51
<i>Neo-Nazism</i> .....	52
<i>Using Jews to Promote an Agenda</i> .....	53
<i>Conclusion</i> .....	54
<i>Recommendations</i> .....	55
<b>Chapter Five: Exploring Antisemitism in the Discourse of Race, Intersectionality, and Privilege</b> .....	<b>57</b>
<i>Introduction</i> .....	57
<i>Jewish Identity in Progressive Spaces</i> .....	58
<i>The Jewish Identity as White</i> .....	59
<i>Solving the ‘Greatest Ill of Modern Times’</i> .....	61
<i>The Sunrise Movement and Exclusio</i> .....	62
<i>Conclusion</i> .....	63
<i>Recommendations</i> .....	64

<b>Chapter Six: The Function of Antisemitism in Mainstream American Politics.....</b>	<b>65</b>
<i>Introduction.....</i>	<i>65</i>
<i>Disproportion of Power Tropes in Political Critique and Campaign Ads.....</i>	<i>66</i>
<i>Assuming American Jews Are More Loyal to Israel.....</i>	<i>69</i>
<i>Weaponizing Antisemitism Against the Other Side.....</i>	<i>73</i>
<i>Conclusion.....</i>	<i>74</i>
<i>Recommendations.....</i>	<i>75</i>
<b>Section Three: Examining Antisemitic Discourse in the Israeli-Palestinian Context.....</b>	<b>76</b>
<b>Chapter Seven: Postcolonial Critiques of Israel: Free Speech or Antisemitism?.....</b>	<b>77</b>
<i>Introduction.....</i>	<i>77</i>
<i>Context.....</i>	<i>78</i>
<i>Settler Colonialism, Apartheid State, and Other Politically Contentious Claims.....</i>	<i>80</i>
<i>Antisemitism in Postcolonial Claims.....</i>	<i>82</i>
<i>Singling Out Israel.....</i>	<i>82</i>
<i>Tying Jews to the State.....</i>	<i>83</i>
<i>Selective Generalization.....</i>	<i>84</i>
<i>Conclusion.....</i>	<i>85</i>
<b>Chapter Eight: [When] Do Boycotts Against Israel Cross the Line into Antisemitism?.....</b>	<b>88</b>
<i>Introduction.....</i>	<i>88</i>
<i>Geographic Scope.....</i>	<i>89</i>
<i>Products and People of Boycotts.....</i>	<i>91</i>
<i>Context for Boycotts.....</i>	<i>93</i>
<i>Conclusion.....</i>	<i>95</i>
<b>Chapter Nine: One-State Solution in Israel/Palestine: Calls for Justice or Antisemitic Incitement?.....</b>	<b>97</b>
<i>Introduction.....</i>	<i>97</i>
<i>Denying Jews the Right to Self-Determination.....</i>	<i>97</i>
<i>An Existential Threat to Jews.....</i>	<i>102</i>
<i>Portraying the State of Israel as the Ultimate Evil of 21st-Century Nationalism.....</i>	<i>103</i>
<i>Conclusion.....</i>	<i>103</i>
<b>Report Conclusion.....</b>	<b>106</b>
<b>Policy Recommendations.....</b>	<b>107</b>
<b>References.....</b>	<b>108</b>

## Glossary

---

**AI:** Amnesty International

**AIPAC:** American Israel Public Affairs Committee

**AFD:** Alternative Für Deutschland

**ASA:** American Studies Association

**BDS:** Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions

**EHRC:** Equality and Human Rights Commission

**EUMC:** European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia

**IHRA:** International Holocaust Remembrance Association

**JDA:** Jerusalem Declaration of Antisemitism

**NGO:** Non-Governmental Organization

**OPT:** Occupied Palestinian Territories

**PACBI:** Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott

## Introduction

---

In 2018, images from the devastating California wildfires shocked the US and the world due to an unusually dry summer and limited rainfall. However, a 2018 Facebook post made by U.S. House Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene recently resurfaced in 2021, suggesting an alternative explanation to these visible effects of climate change. Her post detailed her theory in which ‘space lasers,’ controlled by the Rothschild Inc., channeled the sun’s rays into a concentrated beam of energy that set California ablaze as part of a conspiracy to generate stock profit for the Pacific Gas & Electric Company. Shortly thereafter, ‘Jewish Space Lasers’ became a top-trending topic on Twitter. Though at face value this theory might seem absurd, it provides insight as to how Jews and firms with Jewish associations are centered as perpetrators for major events in conspiracy theories and are often used as the scapegoat. This example also alludes to a much larger conversation as to how antisemitism is understood, expressed, and used across all ends of the political spectrum to this day.

Summarising antisemitism into a universally understood definition is not an easy endeavor. To understand an issue as complex and nuanced as antisemitism, one must first understand and recognize its societal pervasiveness and motivations for use. One of the challenges that this Task Force faced was to cut through the debates of current, established, and recognized definitions for antisemitism, and to recognize their potential limitations, shortcomings, and intents. With this in mind, the structure of our report follows one of analyzing historical antisemitic themes found in modern contexts and addressing a variety of issues and debates in the modern social and political atmosphere in the entirety of their respective

complexities, rather than reducing them to fit into existing definitions. Through our research, we found that many of these gray-area issues may not always fit into black and white definitions.

*Although this report does not seek to ultimately define antisemitism, it intends to promote a higher degree of understanding and recognition for its ongoing forms in today's social and political climates.*

Two definitions consulted and addressed within this Report include the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance's (IHRA) definition and the Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism (JDA). Under IHRA, the definition for antisemitism that is deemed a non-legally binding definition, "Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews? Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities". In comparison, the JDA definition states that *antisemitism* is, "discrimination, prejudice, hostility or violence against Jews as Jews (or Jewish institutions as Jewish)".

When consulting existing definitions for *antisemitism*, it's important to account for differences in the context in which they exist, their purpose, and how the definition is structured. Additionally, it is important to recognize the limitations and ongoing controversy of these existing definitions. For example, the current IHRA definition is under controversy, with scholars, community leaders, and politicians debating this definition, and whether it should be applied as a legal or communal standard. Although stated to be non-legally binding, some countries and international coalitions, such as the United Kingdom and the European Union,

have formally recognized this definition to serve within a legal context. Despite providing legal framework and precedent, a binding definition may limit the discourse for potential antisemitic rhetoric or actions not recognized within it, potentially limiting what could be recognized as antisemitism, or how to counter it.

The origins of antisemitism prelude our modern political climate and many of the present-day nations, yet it permeates a multitude of modern political spheres and rhetorics across the world today. Many historical antisemitic themes and tropes surface to this day but are portrayed in different contexts and utilized for differing purposes across the political spectrum. To combat antisemitism through a higher understanding, we must first acknowledge the range in which it is utilized in political or social contexts.

Our report is organized into three sections that cover antisemitism in three contexts; the history of antisemitism; antisemitism in association with political ideology; and an examination of the Israel-Palestine conflict. Following this is an overview of each section to provide an outline for the report. We first chose to begin our research with an outline of the historical background of antisemitism, which highlights common tropes and themes that have been linked to the Jewish people for centuries. This section intends to provide context for the subsequent sections to showcase how historical themes have been repurposed to serve modern agendas or purposes. Our second section is a comprehensive outline of how antisemitism is expressed across the globe and the political spectrum. One of our main findings was that while antisemitism is present across political party lines and borders, it can be observed differently regarding its political context. Political parties and figures leaders across the geopolitical spectrum use antisemitic thought and tactics to support their political agenda or to discredit their opposition. This section supports our later point when trying to recognize and combat ignorance in

understanding antisemitism as simple binary concepts, and to recognize that it can appear in various contexts regardless of specific political affiliation and geospatial location. Finally, we end our project with a case study of the Israel-Palestine conflict to apply the findings from our earlier research to a contentious and ongoing international political issue.

By recognizing each Chapter's respective complex, nuanced, and differing topics, this Task Force intends to demonstrate to the reader that antisemitism remains a complicated issue in which a binary definition may not be an end-all solution. Rather, this Report seeks to equip the reader with the tools to recognize how and why antisemitism remains pervasive even in today's world, from how it exists and is used across the political spectrum and debates surrounding Israel, to its more covert and nuanced roles in conspiracy theories, and ongoing controversies surrounding overextensions of various social movements.

---

**Section One:**

***Antisemitic Patterns Throughout History***

---

## **Chapter One:**

### **Historical Tropes as a Guide for Navigating Contemporary Debates**

*Natassja Bartle*

---

“The study of the history of our ideas is also a powerful stimulus to consciousness about the ways in which we see the world. We cannot afford to live without it”.<sup>1</sup> - Nirenberg

#### **Introduction**

Defining antisemitism may seem like an easy feat. Most would recognize flagrant acts of violence, discrimination, and persecution against Jews or Jewish institutions as clearly antisemitic actions. However, delineating what antisemitism is has become a progressively more difficult and complex task in today’s increasingly polarized society. Many gray areas have emerged within contemporary debates, and without a clear consensus on what constitutes as being antisemitic, conflating with these ambiguities poses a true challenge for combating antisemitism. Considering how discriminatory systems of thought about Jews have echoed and transformed throughout time is vital in understanding the nuance that such a phenomenon entails, especially when definitions are not enough to capture said complexities conscientiously. Historically, Jews have been pointed at by the accusatory finger of others as the cause for explaining great social, political, and economic ills, despite a lack of any basis in reality. This pattern is so deeply ingrained in the history of discrimination, which is why it is critical to understand “how different people put old ideas about Judaism to new kinds of work in thinking about their world”.<sup>2</sup> Fueled by this anthropological understanding and sense of “otherness”, Jews

---

<sup>1</sup> Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition*, 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 5.

have consistently fallen victim as the eternal scapegoat for the misfortunes of life experienced by others due to the societal role and psychological satisfactions fulfilled by conspiracies. While Jews are utilized in pinning one's discontents to for benefit of the accuser, "these varieties of antisemitism are constantly combining and recombining, though the form that takes precedence depends upon the particular historical epoch".<sup>3</sup> By examining the historical expressions of enduring antisemitic patterns through exploring three thematic tropes maintained by the function of conspiracy, this chapter will provide a valuable foundation for this report of how such motifs have developed and evolved to perpetuate themselves throughout time, past lending to present.

When observing these evolutions, three thematic categories emerge. These tropes can be engaged as anchors for debating the gray, and the closer modern-day actions align with them, the more likely one may ascribe antisemitic motivations. These overarching conspiratorial tropes can be viewed as a disproportion of power, untrustworthiness, and racial inferiority. However, it is essential to note that these are not mutually exclusive to one another and are instead interconnected in demonstrating how the Jewish identity has been continuously preyed upon throughout the timeline of humankind – remaining ever-present, pervasive, and cyclical in its form. From prejudiced caricatures to harmful archetypes, these extreme misrepresentations and gross fabrications have proven to play an active role in the way antisemitic falsehoods are reshaped and progressed historically. Again, this reason is why the historical tropes that emerge in a historical exploration of antisemitism, alongside understanding the role of conspiracy in said circumstances, provide crucial context for navigating competing definitions and contemporary debates of such.

---

<sup>3</sup> Bronner, "Conspiracy Fetishism, Community, and the Antisemitic Imaginary", 372.

## **Disproportion of Power**

To begin, the theme of a disproportion of power within the antisemitic context has led to a vast number of Jewish stereotypes that have festered into some of the most common and constant falsehoods offered in present-day discourses. For example, where Jews are understood to be materialistic, greedy, and exploitative of others in the name of personal gain, the connotations of power are revealed. While this trope is one of the most inescapable ones seen today, its roots lie as far back as the Middle Ages with a money-lending practice known as usury. This practice can be akin to indirect taxations, where monarchs and magnates extended control over Jews to establish their sovereign power and profit from the system wealthily. This meant that rulers “channeled Jewish economic activity toward lending at interest to Christians” intending to “expropriate a considerable share of the proceeds from the Jews in the form of loans, taxes, and extraordinary seizures called *captiones*, ‘takings.’”<sup>4</sup> Jews were blamed for usury because of their ties with royal financial affairs. However, they often held these positions as few other professions were open to them and because this practice was deemed to be prohibited as a sin for those of the Christian faith to partake in as work. This connection led to accusations toward Jews that censured that they “lived by exploiting their neighbors” and “made profit at the expense of the work of others”.<sup>5</sup> Additionally, with a close relationship to the treasury in positions such as mint master, tax collector, bailiff, and even treasurer, the Jewish community was commonly monickered as the royal “‘treasure,’ ‘chest,’ or ‘money-bag’”.<sup>6</sup> Through these associations, one sees the time’s social discontents and symptoms of such being projected toward Jews as the blameworthy. This is accomplished by the false belief that Jews hold a disproportionate amount of power concerning the concepts of money and greed.

---

<sup>4</sup> Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition*, 194.

<sup>5</sup> Carneiro and Colfield, *Ten Myths About the Jews*, 158.

<sup>6</sup> Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition*, 195.

Though the above instances are tightly bound to financial matters, acknowledging the political context of Jews' assumed power is inseparable to this conversation as "this association between royal "greed" and murderous "Jewish" power was not incidental".<sup>7</sup> During the Middle Ages, it had "become a commonplace concept with which to make sense of the gap between worldly politics and some posited Christian ideal".<sup>8</sup> Accusations toward Jews for committing ritual murder, host desecration, and deicide can be seen as a direct manifestation of this. These conspiracies have a fascinating connection to medieval Christian efforts in heightening political tensions during the time. Their especial goal was to fragment the "Protection of Jews" that stemmed from the apparent "royal favoring" granted toward Jews in this context.<sup>9</sup> Drawn upon this association and sentiment of power, Christians were outraged with the monarchy. They saw Jews as the wicked extension of such sovereignty that was perceived to be weighed against Catholic society due to their close working proximity. Here, one can speculate the conspiratorial nature of "early Christian thinking about earthly politics" alongside the charged targeting of Jews as a true threat to Christian polity.<sup>10</sup> As surmised in the causation of conspiracies, individuals who experience loss of control turn to blame the "other" for political misfortunes, which can be observed in this discussed instance.<sup>11</sup>

Relatedly, as Jews were identified as underminers, betrayers, and "desecrators of Christian values", a continuation of the concepts explored above carry significant importance in understanding the progression of this trope into this "murderous" sense of power.<sup>12</sup> Vivid allegations such as Jewish usurers sucking the blood and gnawing the bones of Christian peasants, using the blood of Christians in 'sacrilegious' rituals, and profaning consecrated

---

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 206.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 203.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Kofta, Soral, and Bilewicz, "What Breeds Conspiracy Antisemitism?", 901.

<sup>12</sup> Baum, "Antisemitic Beliefs", 43.

Eucharist can be heavily seen within narratives originating within Medieval Europe.<sup>13</sup> Again, these outlandish claims are profoundly tied to the societal positioning of Jews and their connection to monarchs, misplacing them as the villain and enemy of Christian society. In the discussion of blood accusations, “works whose sole aim was to demonstrate ‘the hatred and malevolence the Jews have against Christians’” circulated throughout Europe.<sup>14</sup> This introduced the myth to uninitiated populations and further disseminated these antisemitic conspiracies. It is also important to note that these accusations were not only circulated within Western spaces, but conspiracies such as blood libel remain commonplace within the Arab and Islamic world. Moreover, historically traditional Western antisemitic tropes have often been further multiplied and revised for particular aims, such as in contemporary debates surrounding Israel and Palestine, further vilifying Jews.<sup>15</sup> These allegations are still flourishing within Arab and Muslim modern-day media, being recycled, resurrected, and gravely distorted.<sup>16</sup> Once more, this history has all remained particularly influential in the demonization of Jews and the antisemitic notion of an extreme consolidation of power well into the twenty-first century, solely expressing itself in different yet eerily similar forms of conspiracy.

While the Middle-Aged foundations of the alleged disproportion of power provide strong background, the impacts of the *Protocols of The Elders of Zion* are necessary for the conversation surrounding the transformation of this antisemitic trope and its manifestation within future conspiracies. This infamous example has leveraged its influence into an obsession within Nazi ideology and is found to be dispersed in Arab spaces today, aligning with the accusation of Jews in holding an inordinate amount of control. A fraudulent document released in a Tsarist

---

<sup>13</sup> Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition*, 206.

<sup>14</sup> Hirsch, “Blood Libel”, 1h.

<sup>15</sup> Carneiro and Colfield, *Ten Myths About the Jews*, 43.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

Russia, which is still prominent globally, “told of a ‘secret conspiracy against humanity’ initiated by King Solomon himself, and which for the last three thousand years was being carried out by ‘Jewish wise men.’”<sup>17</sup> As Russian leadership used the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* to weaponize and abuse the Jew-hatred seen in the early twentieth century, the text outlined Jews as the reason for widespread poverty, suffering, and other varieties of societal problems as opposed to the actual root causes that point back toward governance. This strengthened the agenda of the conservatives in power by exploiting the desperation and frustration felt by the common people at the time through inculcating Jews for this absurd and falsified plan of world domination. As seen throughout the trope of power, the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* feed into how conspiracy theories function within society. This explains how “things which as a rule people dislike, such as war, unemployment, poverty, shortages” become the results of a direct design by some assumed powerful individual or group through irrational connections.<sup>18</sup> Jews are rendered the perdurable scapegoat once again. As one will see in this report, this strong historical association of Jews in relation to a disproportion of power will remain a looming trope that will both morph and shadow them for centuries to come.

### **Untrustworthiness**

The trope of untrustworthiness, where Jews are seen to hold allegiance to fellow Jews and their manufactured “agenda” above any other fealties, is yet another harmful defamation that courses through the timeline of humankind. In discussing such perpetuated conspiracies, it would be a disservice not to include one of the more clearly antisemitic forms of such: Holocaust denial. For those who deny this persecution, “it is not about history... It is about attacking,

---

<sup>17</sup> Webman, *The Global Impact of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, 27.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

discrediting, and demonizing Jews".<sup>19</sup> Deeply intertwined with the trope of a disproportion of power, this maintained denial becomes entangled with untrustworthiness as there is a conspiratorial belief that the imaginary power of Jews is extensive enough to materialize the myth of the Holocaust. This false motive is seen to be "in order to obtain a state of their own and extract vast amounts of money from Germany... [and] in order to gain sovereignty for themselves... for their own financial and political gain".<sup>20</sup> Again, through this hoax narrative, we see the psychology of conspiracy rear its ugly face within groundless connections, the complete absence of fact, and denial of reality. This patterned thought of viewing Jews as untrustworthy is visible in many circumstances and has proven to plague the perception of Jews while transcending time.

A highly cited religious understanding of this sense of untrustworthiness can be seen originating within the New Testament, where Judas Iscariot is said to have betrayed Christ in exchange for 30 pieces of silver, leaving such to be synonymous with acting as a traitor or someone of unfaithful conduct.<sup>21</sup> This foundational element, which is inextricably intertwined with the myth of deicide, has led to years of persecution, where Jews are unfairly accused of social and political unrest and pinned as culpable agitators who have no allegiance to their countries of origin. There are many instances in which this notion of dual loyalty, a prejudiced trope used to cast Jews as the "other", arises. It is important to highlight a few historical cases to see how the function of conspiracy reveals itself when Jews are cast as betrayers.

Another example in which such theological bases can be seen permeating the strata of Western culture is found in the Third French Republic during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The infamous Dreyfus Affair acts as a notable mark of both a miscarriage of

---

<sup>19</sup> Lipstadt, "Holocaust Denial: An Antisemitic Fantasy", 74.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, 75.

<sup>21</sup> Carneiro and Colfield, *Ten Myths About the Jews*, 32

justice and an egregious instance of antisemitism, where Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish artillery captain, was falsely accused of betraying France as a paid agent of Germany.<sup>22</sup> One can visibly see how a conspiratorial state of mind views Jews, as Dreyfus was charged not on account of an organized plot but on the pretense that “a Jew had no honor... and should never be placed in a position of trust”.<sup>23</sup> Further exemplifying the brazen antisemitic charge of this instance and the renewal of canonical scripture, following Dreyfus’s conviction of treason, it is cited that public crowds rallied in cries stating, “Death to Judas, death to the Jew”.<sup>24</sup> This case of the antisemitic trope and assumption of Jews as untrustworthy is beyond striking and exhibits the manner in which old echoes into new.

Furthermore, this pattern can be seen within the pejorative used in the Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin, where Jewish intellectuals were branded as “rootless cosmopolitans” who lacked total allegiance to the Soviet state.<sup>25</sup> As 63 Jewish generals were purged during the conspirative event known as The Doctor’s Plot, Jewish medical specialists were arrested under the fabricated belief of them plotting to murder Soviet government officials.<sup>26</sup> Jews faced persecution on the grounds of a baseless lie once again. This occurrence is where one can see the influence of conspiracy and how Jews have timelessly been cast into the role of the traitor in such orchestrations. To underline this point, the notions of power are synchronously linked to the myth of Jewish untrustworthiness. The function of both these tropes and conspiracy feed into the idea that “bigotry is about the bigot not his target” and that “all scapegoats are products of reaction formation, pathological fears, and psychological projection”.<sup>27</sup> The idea of “the Jew”

---

<sup>22</sup> Kosmin, “Disloyalty and Dual Loyalty, the Jewish Question ‘Redux,’” 215.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Hyman, “New Perspectives on the Dreyfus Affair”, 336.

<sup>25</sup> Kosmin, “Disloyalty and Dual Loyalty, the Jewish Question ‘Redux,’” 215.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Bronner, “Conspiracy Fetishism, Community, and the Antisemitic Imaginary”, 376.

can be anything that an antisemite wants him to be, hence the immortal existence and transformation of such antisemitic tropes from antiquity to more modern contexts.

### **Racial Inferiority**

A crucial aspect to note within the creation of antisemitic tropes is the more physical being of the Jewish body, where fictional facial features and stereotypes surface to portray Jews as disfigured, deformed, and subhuman. From hooked noses to dark sunken eyes, caricatures used to visualize Jews, particularly in state propaganda, not only use the aforementioned tropes but also aim to devise a false sense of physical identification. Outside of exaggerated constructed features, bestialization, where Jews are likened to animals such as vermin or swine, significantly promotes this notion of racial inferiority. While derogatory claims of racial antisemitism are essential within this conversation, which highly sparks surrounding the time of WWII and the Holocaust, the animalization of Jews did not begin there. Instead, “over the past two millennia, a vast menagerie of verbal and visual images of nonhuman animals (pigs, dogs, vermin, rodents, apes, and so on) has been disseminated to debase and bestialize Jews”, leading to the long-accompanied iconography of “the Jew”.<sup>28</sup> What is particularly interesting to this function is the dynamic it creates, where the hierarchical positioning of Jews as the inferior “other” is mirrored by that of human-animal relations, reinforcing the pattern of the stigma of Jews as the parasitical antagonist of all.

It is impossible to discuss Jew-hatred without acknowledging the idea of racial antisemitism, which carries great weight within the Nazi ideology and the devastation experienced through the Holocaust. While the German state perpetrated overt stereotyping of ethnic Jewish features through classifications alongside the systematic killings of Jews and

---

<sup>28</sup> Geller, *Bestiarium Judaicum*, 5.

others deemed racially impure, there is a long history of the animalization and defamation of Jews grounded in constructs of pure bloodedness that can be traced back to medieval times of antiquity. To provide an instance, beginning in fifteenth-century Spain, the term *marrano* was used to define both Jews and Moors that had converted to Christianity, which carries connotations of not only untrustworthiness but directly means “an infected race”.<sup>29</sup> Additionally, bound in concepts of purity and impurity of blood and race, these racially-motivated perceptions that then lead to events such as the Spanish Edict of Expulsion, or the Alhambra Decree, are foundational in understanding the development into the Nazi expression of the preservation of Aryan blood that was seen in twentieth-century Germany.<sup>30</sup> While the direct denial of the Holocaust or the belief that Jews are racially inferior or impure are explicitly antisemitic, it is not the only historical expression of antisemitism that can be found in relation to themes of race. This malleable nature of antisemitism allows these tropes to conform to one’s motives from variable perspectives, meaning that these patterns are not exclusive to any ideology. For example, when observing this trope from a different angle, these exact concepts have also been weaponized in accusing Jews of being racist or privileged. This “is, above all, a form of covert antisemitism that contributes to erasing the memory of genocide and intolerance that have been practiced for centuries”.<sup>31</sup> This historical trope is simply another instance in which one can see the past metamorphose consistently across time and how all ideological corners can galvanize such without exception.

In continuation of the conversation surrounding the debasing and beastilization of Jews and how the understanding of Jews as inferior, impure, and unclean evolved, Nazi-German history is, unfortunately, rich in examples. When looking back at German propaganda across

---

<sup>29</sup> Carneiro and Colffield, *Ten Myths About the Jews*, 49.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Carneiro and Colffield, *Ten Myths About the Jews*, 147.

countless types of media produced, one can see many depictions of Jews under the guise of an animal. Though there are many comparisons to creatures, often playing off the themes of dirt and disease, one motif appears to strongly underline the absurdity of the function of conspiracy in relation to Jewish racial inferiority: the chameleon, or the idea of holding a mimetic, shape-shifting quality. For example, In the book *Poodle-Pug-Dachshund-Pinscher* by Ernst Hiemer, an author of countless antisemitic works for children, states that “it is often impossible to recognize the Jew... [and that] One must look very carefully to avoid being fooled [as] the variety in the Jew’s appearance is a great danger for other peoples”.<sup>32</sup> While still nodding toward the alleged subhuman quality of Jews, this sentiment very well captures how this trope connects to the complete contradiction and illogic of conspiracies. It also reveals how Jews can simultaneously “symbolize fabulous wealth and degraded poverty, miserliness and excess, capitalism and communism, the provincialism of the ghetto and global power”, no matter the inherent and blatant paradox and fallacy presented.<sup>33</sup> The Jew has seemingly long been the scapegoat for others who seek to gain either consolation for their anger toward their poor hand dealt or to advance one’s agenda, again, leaving the context to be tailored and manipulated to fit the conspirator’s narrative. The character and value-based claims of a disproportion of power and untrustworthiness coincide with biological claims of racial inferiority. But, alas, these antisemitic tropes live on and find themselves recycled and reassembled in new ways, surpassing all constructs of time.

---

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, 7.

<sup>33</sup> Bronner, “Conspiracy Fetishism, Community, and the Antisemitic Imaginary”, 372.

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter, three broadly thematic antisemitic tropes have been explored throughout historical instances with the context and lens of the societal function of conspiracy. All the notions observed deeply overlap and often make contradictory claims, leaving the lines between them to blur as they all work on labeling the Jew as the target “other”. This chapter serves as a foundation for understanding how humankind has created patterns of thought regarding Jews, despite the lack of reasoning and its fabricated essence. With sad irony, due to the deep societal immersion of such ideas, Jews have become the eternal scapegoat for matters in all sides of social, economic, and political spectrums when groups as large as a population to as small as an individual need someone to point blame. Conspiracies reduce the complexity of societal experiences to exaggerations, suspicions, fantasies, and myths. Though antisemitism is a word with no agreed-upon definition, understanding the historical context of antisemitic tropes from which conspiracies are birthed serves as a powerful guide in navigating contemporary debates. In conclusion, understanding how historical tropes have evolved, echoed, and continued to shape antisemitism today leaves one more apt to identify its reoccurring patterns when turning to tomorrow.

## **Recommendations**

- Contemporary antisemitism can often go under the radar because individuals are not familiar with the tropes that tie to a long history of antisemitism, which is why such should be employed as a fundamental tool and foundational basis in navigating contemporary debates and definitions.

- The historical context of patterns seen in the perception of Jews should be utilized as a crucial criterion for delineating between the competing claims of antisemitism seen today.
- The more closely a comment or action reflects and aligns with a historical expression of antisemitism, the more likely it is that one should interpret it as being antisemitic.

---

**Section Two:**

***Antisemitism and Political Ideologies***

---

## **Chapter Two:**

### **Conservative Europe: Anti-Democratic Populism**

*Morgan Hildebrand*

---

#### **Introduction**

On the European conservative-right, there are many instances where politicians utilize antisemitism as a political tool to increase support for anti-democratic populism. This is done by creating false conspiracy theories linking Jews with the progressive left, by using Jewish tropes through images and media in political campaigns to further their careers and anti-democratic ideals, and by spreading Holocaust denial. This tactic has become an integral and central part of the right-wing playbook to increase support for their political ideologies and policies. As a result of this, the antisemitic rhetoric creates a common ground on the right and puts Jews on the other side, creating a shared enemy or opponent. Furthermore, the conservative right views Jews, who tend to be liberal or “socialists”, as a threat to their conservative political agenda and anti-democratic populism. Populism becomes anti-democratic when, “ It yields to its hegemonic pretensions, exhibiting contempt for pluralist notions that intrinsically respect differences and opposition; and obviously when it seeks to restrict basic freedoms of the press, association, and so on”.<sup>34</sup> This deployment of antisemitic ideas and attitudes is not a new tactic for the conservative right and anti-democratic populists but has been used more consistently over the years. Ultimately, this strategy of antisemitism and increased nationalism has found a way into the populist doctrine. To combat this rhetoric, we suggest that investment in education and

---

<sup>34</sup> Diamond , Larry. 2017. “When Does Populism Become a Threat to Democracy?” When Does Populism Become a Threat to Democracy?”

prevention is crucial. Recognizing antisemitism is essential to combat it and have the collective acknowledgment of the complexities.

### **Antisemitic Tropes in Political Campaigns: The Laughing Jew**

One way that the European conservative right employs antisemitism as a political tool for increasing support on the right is by advertising antisemitic tropes through images and media in their political campaigns. For example, one historical trope that has been used is the laughing Jew. In 1939, Hitler said, "Today, countless [Jews] who laughed at that time, laugh no longer. Those who are still laughing now also will perhaps laugh no longer soon... International Jewry will be recognized in all its demoniac peril".<sup>35</sup> The laughing Jew refers to the prophecy that Jews will be exterminated.<sup>36</sup> This is a direct call by Hitler for all Jews to die and no longer be able to laugh. Right-wing nationalists use this notion to further their political agenda. For instance, Viktor Orban, former president and current Prime Minister of Hungary, consciously used this antisemitism trope to increase his influence. Orban demonized George Soros in 2018 when Orban's party ran an advertisement displaying him grinning with a slogan overlaid stating, "Let's not let George Soros have the last laugh".<sup>37</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup> Stein, Shimon, and Moshe Zimmerman. 2018. "The 'Laughing Jew': The Nazi Backstory of Hungary's Anti-Soros Poster Campaign". Haaretz.com.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Vogel, Kenneth P., Scott Shane, and Patrick Kingsley. 2018. "How Vilification of George Soros Moved From the Fringes to the Mainstream". The New York Times.



Figure 1: “A poster showing George Soros, saying "Let's not allow Soros to have the last laugh!". Someone has written "dirty Jew" on his forehead”.<sup>38</sup>

George Soros, a Hungarian-born American and Jewish figure has had the brunt of antisemitism Orban and his agenda.<sup>39</sup> As a billionaire Jewish philanthropist, he has supported freedom and democracy through his foundation, Open Society Foundation, in over 100 countries around the world.<sup>40</sup> As a result of his efforts, conservative and far-right media have demonized Soros in fears of socialism.<sup>41</sup> From Orban’s advertisement in 2018, it is clear that this advertisement is a backlash against Soros for funding democracy initiatives. This is a calculated strategy employed for his political benefit. He is not targeting Jews, but other new audiences who will politically support him and his ideals. Orban is creating a direct connection between Hungarian political ads and Nazi calls to exterminate the Jews. Right-wing nationalists like Orban propagate and normalize antisemitism. Anti-democratic populism often blames Jews or some group for their troubles, meanwhile, demonizing them as ‘enemy of the people’. Moreover,

<sup>38</sup> Stiller, Akos. 2017.

<sup>39</sup> Cohen, Seth. 2021. “The Troubling Truth about the Obsession with George Soros”. Forbes.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

they push the idea that “Jews are malevolent fomenters of social dissent, agitators slyly funding and masterminding protest, seeking to undermine a white, Christian social order”.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, Soros is an obvious and pertinent threat to Orban and his anti-democratic, anti-socialist, and populist political agenda. He acts as the punching bag and face of a Jew to harassing right-wing conservatives that are intimidated by his power and influence on democracy. Orban’s advertisement shows clear intentions of malice towards the Jewish community by referencing extermination. Ultimately, this is important to understand because Viktor Orban and other conservative right-wing individuals have instrumentalized advertising antisemitism for their political gain and to increase their following and influence.

### **Linking Jews with the Progressive Left: Conspiracy Theories**

In addition to politicians using antisemitic tropes to increase support for anti-democratic populism, individuals create conspiracy theories about Jews, tying them to the progressive left. According to the European Commission, conspiracy theories are, “The belief that certain events or situations are secretly manipulated behind the scenes by powerful forces with negative intent”.<sup>43</sup> Additionally, “The promoted existence of a conflict between two poles, the in-group and the out-group, is particularly relevant to see that conspiracy theories almost always advance a political objective seeking to influence public opinion or a specific target group in the desired direction”.<sup>44</sup> Not all conspiracy theories are about Jews, however, the long history of Jews being the target cannot be ignored. For instance, the Rothschilds, a prominent Jewish banking family,

---

<sup>42</sup> Lavin, Talia. 2018".Perspective | Conspiracy Theories about Soros Aren't Just False. They're Anti-Semitic". The Washington Post.

<sup>43</sup> EU Commission. 2021. “Identifying Conspiracy Theories”. European Commission

<sup>44</sup> Farinelli, Francesco. 2022. “Conspiracy Theories and Right-Wing ... - Ec.europa.eu”. Conspiracy theories and right-wing extremism – Insights and recommendations for P/CVE. Publications Office of the EU

was accused of conspiracy theories dating back to the 19th-century.<sup>45</sup> In a political pamphlet printed in 1846 called *Histoire édifiante et curieuse de Rothschild I<sup>er</sup>, roi des juifs*, writer Georges Dairnvell discusses the Rothschild history to fame and fortune.<sup>46</sup> He highlights Nathan Rothschild's involvement in the Battle of Waterloo in 1815.<sup>47</sup> The writer suggests, “Immediately after the battle, according to the pamphlet, Rothschild was rushed to the Belgian coast and paid a fortune to cross the English Channel in the middle of a thunderstorm. He arrived in London 24 hours before news of Napoleon’s defeat was officially announced, “Satan” claims, and, as a result, he “suddenly won 20 million [francs], while his other brothers seconded him; the total profit made in this fatal year amounted to 135 MILLION!”<sup>48</sup> These claims were widely popular back then. Nevertheless, the theory was untrue and a conspiracy made up by the writer. Ultimately, he is blaming the family for war. Today, theories still exist about the Jews, and antisemitism continues to be an effective political factor. For instance, COVID-19 and vaccine programs have been linked to Jewish people. For example, German far-right influencer Attila Hildmann has repeatedly claimed on Telegram that, “The Covid-19 vaccination program is the implementation of the Kaufman plan, a wartime pamphlet by an American businessman which called for the mass sterilization of the German people, which was co-opted in Nazi propaganda”.<sup>49</sup> The Kaufmann plan is often utilized by far-right groups to prove an alleged hostile Jewish plan against the German people.<sup>50</sup> This example refers back to chapter one where we discuss the Jewish trope of the disproportion of power.<sup>51</sup> Individuals want to turn the blame

---

<sup>45</sup> Hudson, Myles. “Where Do Anti-Semitic Conspiracy Theories about the Rothschild Family Come from?” Encyclopædia Britannica.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Comerford, Milo, and Lea Gerster. 2021. The rise of antisemitism online during the pandemic. Publications Office of the European Union.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Section Disproportion of Power, Chapter 1

on “the other”, when there is a loss of control.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, it is clear Hildmann is using the conspiracy theory to further his right-wing influence and German nationalism. By spreading this, he can blame Jews, and attract foreign supporters by grabbing their attention. From this evidence, it is clear conspiracy theories around antisemitism are utilized for political gain, influence, and power. Moreover, the Jews are used as a scapegoat for an individual's political gain.

### **Holocaust Denial: The AFD**

Holocaust denial is another way right-wing conservatives further their anti-democratic political agenda. Holocaust denial is, “the belief or assertion that the Holocaust did not happen or was greatly exaggerated”. One group that does this is the AFD, a moderate to a far-right political party, in Germany. The Alternative for Germany party (AFD) was formed in 2013 as a result of opposition for bailouts to indebted European countries like Greece.<sup>53</sup> However, over time it is become to be an anti-immigration party.<sup>54</sup> According to Hübscher, “The party utilizes antisemitic stereotypes to defame political opponents”.<sup>55</sup> In addition to stereotypes, they will deny claims about the Holocaust. Historically, Germans are shameful of their past and pride themselves on the work they have done with antisemitism since the Nazi Regime. However, the AFD utilizes antisemitism by minimizing the importance and reality of the Holocaust to promote nationalism and anti-democratic populism. For example, Wolfgang Gedeon, an AFD politician, and former physician stated in 2016, “Denying the Holocaust is a legitimate expression of opinion”.<sup>56</sup>

---

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Welle, Deutsche. 2022. “AFD: What You Need to Know about Germany's Far-Right Party: DW: 28.10.2019”. DW.COM.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Hübscher, Monika. 2017. "The AfD's Attitude Towards National Socialism, the Holocaust and Antisemitism: A Facebook Analysis". PhD diss., University of Haifa, Faculty of Humanities, The Weiss-Livnat International MA Program in Holocaust Studies.

<sup>56</sup> Reuters. 2016. “Germany's AFD Party Declines to Expel Lawmaker over Anti-Semitism Allegations”. Reuters.

Although this does not directly insinuate Holocaust denial, it suggests that the Holocaust may not have been real. Moreover, he is normalizing the idea that the event was fake and individuals can form their own opinions on it. This is important because political parties are using these statements of Holocaust denial to attract right-wing voters to come to their side. Denying this history threatens democracy and gives a false sense of pride to conservative Germans.

Decreasing the scope of the Holocaust energizes conservative followers and attracts anti-democratic and populist ideals. Therefore, Holocaust denial helps anti-democratic parties gain political power and influence through nationalism and denying its entire existence.

Although Holocaust denial is a crime in Germany, it is an effective way to appeal to right-wing extremists.

## **Conclusion**

These instances where individuals utilize antisemitism as a political tool to increase support for anti-democratic populism matter because they display antisemitism and can help us create a framework to spot it. There is a clear pattern of use dating years back. In looking at antisemitism in conservative Europe, it may be clear that certain actions and speech are antisemitic. However, there are no black and white answers, and there are times when it comes into a more gray area. Based on this research, here are things to look for that point towards antisemitism. In general, political advertisements are antisemitic when a person or group makes a negative overarching or general statement about Jews or uses a historical trope. Conspiracy theories generally are antisemitic when theories are, “Openly insulting and have demeaning language, have implicit and coded antisemitic language (e.g. “East Coast elites” in the United States), link an alleged conspiracy to Jewish individuals or groups (e.g. the Rothschild family or

George Soros, a philanthropist) or the State of Israel, or have references to *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, a forged pamphlet of a Jewish plan for world domination behind many antisemitic conspiracy narratives”.<sup>57</sup> To best combat this type of antisemitism, it is essential to educate people on their digital literacy and to fact-check where they get their information. Lastly, to curb Holocaust denial, education is extremely critical. If individuals have a comprehensive education based on facts and the history of the Holocaust, then denial of the event will decrease. Ultimately, investing in prevention and education is key to stopping the spread of antisemitism.

**Recommendations:**

- Individuals need to acknowledge and notice negative overarching statements about Jews and historical tropes in political advertising and conspiracy theories and demeaning language about Jews in European definitions of hate speech to curb the spread of antisemitism and spread a false narrative. If individuals recognize something is wrong, they can take meaningful action and speak against it.
- Digital literacy education should be integrated into the middle school curriculum to ensure adults have accurate information and an understanding of how to find peer-reviewed academic sources about antisemitism. This will in turn reduce the dangers of technology.
- Educational institutions and cities should develop Holocaust educational resources and create spaces where individuals can be educated on Antisemitism to counter Holocaust denial claims.

---

<sup>57</sup> European Commission. 2021. Identifying Conspiracy Theories". European Commission.

## **Chapter Three:** The Presence of Antisemitism in the European Left

*Bailey Shaw*

---

### **Introduction**

The European political left is seen globally as being active in social justice issues ranging from economic development to human rights. While antisemitism is not noticeably at the core of the political or social ideology, addressing the times antisemitism arises in these movements is challenging and nuanced. The two widely recognized definitions for antisemitism, the International Human Rights Association (IHRA),<sup>58</sup> and the Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism (JDA)<sup>59</sup> have both been examined for their positions of whether being critical of the State of Israel indicates antisemitism or not.<sup>60</sup> It is within differing critiques of Israel that many antisemitic sentiments and remarks from the left emerge. The gaps in these definitions have created a space for antisemitism on the left to be exercised and flourish without accountability. This chapter will explain how antisemitism is perpetuated by the European left in these complex spaces through the anti-globalization movements' rhetorics, the Palestinian solidarity movements' use of Jewish stereotypes, and Holocaust education's rejection of the Jewish experience.

### **Anti-Globalization Movements**

It has been found that those on the left within the anti-globalization movement target Israel and use antisemitic sentiments to progress their platform of addressing inequalities more

---

<sup>58</sup> IHRA. "What is antisemitism?" 2018.

<sup>59</sup> JDA. "The Jerusalem Declaration On Antisemitism". 2022.

<sup>60</sup> Section 3, Chapter 9

specifically fighting for Palestine and against Israel. Globalization is defined as “the process of integrating nations and peoples - politically, economically, and culturally- into larger communities”.<sup>61</sup> These processes have been accelerating in recent years due to innovations in communication technology, market integration for business competition, and the ever-evolving debate on which public policy is best. Anti-globalization grew in the 80s to 90s out of the idea that the globalized world needs to be challenged and focuses on economic disparities, but has adapted over time to incorporate a swath of left-leaning ideals such as anti-war, anti-colonial, anti-American, anti-elite, and recently, pro-Palestine rhetoric.

In 2003, the European Union Monitoring Council’s Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC), published a synthesis Report on *Manifestations of anti-Semitism in the European Union*.<sup>62,63</sup> Shortly after publication, the EUMC was converted to be the European Union Agency for Fundamental Human Rights (FRA) but will be referred to as EUMC in this chapter.<sup>64</sup> This report, based on public opinion, was published in the response to concerns of antisemitism rising after the 9/11 attacks when internet rumors spread the idea that Israel was behind the attacks and Jews found a way to pin someone else with the blame. It is also important to note that these rumors are antisemitic with the false connections being made that Israel had something to gain out of the attacks showing global beliefs that Jews have a hidden agenda.<sup>65</sup> The anti-globalization movement was already being critical of Israel and the US and could use the momentum of these types of stories to bolster their claims to a wider audience. The report

---

<sup>61</sup> Eckes, Alfred E., and Thomas W. Zeiler. 2003. *Globalization and the American Century*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>62</sup> Bergmann, Werner, and Juliane Wetzal. *Manifestations of Anti-Semitism in the European Union*. Technische Universität Berlin, Mar. 2003.

<sup>63</sup> Additional text required to accompany report citation, “This study has been carried out on behalf of the European Monitoring center on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC). The opinions expressed by the authors do not necessarily reflect the position of the EUMC”.

<sup>64</sup> “European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia”. n.d. Eurofound. Accessed February 25, 2022.

<sup>65</sup> Section 1, Chapter 1

published these findings as a way to show what people were saying but also, given the date of this report, many of their findings are immediate reactions to the post-9/11 geopolitical sphere and run with high tension. Even so, these rumors link antisemitism on the left with anti-globalization and anti-Americanism as tied closely with anti-Zionism.

Criticism of the left's use of anti-Zionist remarks is particularly pointed when pushed by people such as Robert Wistrich, a professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and well-known antisemitism academic. He believes that, "among others on the left... an often strident anti-Zionism is part of the ideological package that gives them their political ideology"<sup>66</sup> which underlines his belief that all delegitimization of Israel is antisemitic. Furthermore, "Zionism is described by the extreme right, the extreme left and also by parts of Arab-Muslim circles as the evil of the world and therefore can be used easily as a wanted scapegoat. This implies the fight against the existence of Israel".<sup>67</sup> These align with the IHRA's definition of antisemitism but believing the left's political ideology is based solely on anti-Zionism is an incomplete view as it is a broad statement and dismisses all the other nuances that take part in the left's ideology and view of Jews. However, anti-Zionist or antisemitic statements should not be brushed aside just because they arise around complex situations involving many state actors, but instead, need to be addressed and dealt with with a more comprehensive understanding of all sides of the Israel statehood issue.<sup>68</sup>

Israel is an interesting and vital part of conceptualizing antisemitism on the European left. The EUMC report concluded that "Israel, seen as a capitalistic, imperialistic power, the "Zionist

---

<sup>66</sup> Wistrich, Robert S., ed. 2016. *Anti-Judaism, Antisemitism, and Delegitimizing Israel*. Lincoln: Nebraska. Accessed January 30, 2022. ProQuest Ebook Central.

<sup>67</sup> Bergmann, Werner, and Juliane Wetzel. *Manifestations of Anti-Semitism in the European Union*. Technische Universität Berlin, Mar. 2003.

<sup>68</sup> Section 3, Chapter 9

lobby”, and the United States are depicted as the evildoers in the Middle East”.<sup>69</sup> As the anti-globalization movement has adapted to include many other progressive agenda items, subsequent anti-colonial and anti-imperial sentiments have targeted anti-globalization messaging against Israel. Europeans are taught their country’s varied history with colonization but see the action in the complete historical view of how and why the system collapsed so they can understand why the colonial system is so archaic and criminal. Albeit, it doesn’t take a European education to see the devastating effects of colonization. When these connections of personal history and experience lead to activist passions, many people can be misguided in messaging. The draw for many in the anti-globalization movement towards anti-Israel critiques is through this idea that fighting Israel means standing up to the ‘last colonial power’. While being critical of Israel’s settler-colonial policies,<sup>70</sup> anti-globalization also judges the partnership between the US and Israel when messages circulate calling Israel a puppet of American globalization in the Middle East and their main job is to incorporate surrounding countries into the production power of the global market thus bringing about more inequality.<sup>71</sup> These ideas can be interpreted as applying a double standard to Israel where it is more heavily criticized for being a US counterpart than other democratic nations which is listed as antisemitic by the IHRA definition. The JDA definition could also be used in this context to explain antisemitism through the idea that Jews are linked to the forces of evil, in this instance being a puppet for the US.

Anti-globalization critiques of Israel are not always antisemitic. However, they are antisemitic when those criticisms rely heavily on Jewish stereotypes<sup>72</sup> or when the right for the State to exist is challenged.<sup>73</sup> Stereotypes saying that “Jews are in control of what happens in the

---

<sup>69</sup>Bergmann, Werner, and Juliane Wetzel. *Manifestations of Anti-Semitism in the European Union*. Technische Universität Berlin, Mar. 2003.

<sup>70</sup> Section 3, Chapter 7

<sup>71</sup> Strauss, Mark. “Antiglobalism’s Jewish Problem”. *Foreign Policy*, no. 139 (2003): 58–67.

<sup>72</sup> Section 1, Chapter 1

<sup>73</sup> Section 1, Chapter 9

world",<sup>74</sup> or “the Jewish lobby, the relationship with the Masonry, the international plot, world economic power held by Jews, Jews circumcised with the dollar, etc”.<sup>75</sup> and have some larger agenda for the global economy and politics.

The EUMC report also detailed how antisemitism is being communicated around Europe and it is worth noting the special place social media and the internet plays in this. Circulation of intense, biased media is common among the anti-globalization movement as much of their ideology is based on the idea of standing up for those forgotten about by mainstream media and politics. The movement is closely facilitated through social media where it is easier to connect, mobilize, and spread information faster. The amount of media we now see each day allows for smaller movements to widen their impact as efforts are not tied to one geographical location and it is easier to gain supporters. However, the reliance on spreading information on the internet leads to the integration of conspiracy theories and misinformation. Now, the movement relies so heavily on media and personal forms of communication it is hard to distinguish the fake news and opinions from the facts.<sup>76</sup> People in the anti-globalization movement posting about wider world conspiracies such as corruption in capitalistic states have been found to help the circulation of other, often conservative conspiracy theories. Misinformation is hard to distinguish online and can be interpreted differently to fit a particular view leading to some posts from people on the left aiding the spread of hate speech on the right.<sup>77</sup>

---

<sup>74</sup> Bergmann, Werner, and Juliane Wetzel. *Manifestations of Anti-Semitism in the European Union*. Technische Universität Berlin, Mar. 2003.

<sup>75</sup> Bergmann, Werner, and Juliane Wetzel. *Manifestations of Anti-Semitism in the European Union*. Technische Universität Berlin, Mar. 2003.

<sup>76</sup> Lübker, Malte. 2004. Globalization and perceptions of social inequality. *International Labour Review* 143, (1): 91-128, (accessed January 28, 2022).

<sup>77</sup> Strauss, Mark. 2003. “Antiglobalism’s Jewish Problem”. *Foreign Policy*, no. 139: 58–67.

## **Palestinian Solidarity and Pro-Peace Movements**

Pro-peace movements and activists have been found to be antisemitic while voicing support for Palestinian solidarity. As media reports circulate, global pro-peace groups have pushed for the protection of Palestinians and their rights from Israel. “The struggle for Palestinian rights has emerged in recent decades as a global symbol of resistance, a magnet for solidarity activism, and a key theme in the larger global justice movement”.<sup>78</sup> These themes translate well into the left’s ideology of social and economic prosperity and so have been incorporated into many left-wing political platforms such as the UK’s Labour Party and Germany’s Die Linke.<sup>79</sup> From a social movement side, there is a focus on “transnational grassroots activism in changing public opinion, putting pressure on states and elites, and creating new political realities”.<sup>80</sup> Those who oppose globalization and others who oppose the current world order see their beliefs in Palestinian solidarity and so are vocal and passionate about it. This combined with the media attention already highlighting Palestinian stories creates a mass of information, protests, and opinions that culminate into becoming people’s beliefs. With all of the internet information, it is hard to see the truth from opinion and many people draw conclusions that could be false. When Jewish stereotypes are used in these situations the pro-human rights and peace messages turn antisemitic and anti-Zionist. It is ironic as, “Zionism itself has functioned for more than a century as a kind of global solidarity movement seeking to mobilize people, financial resources, and political support for its project of building and maintaining a Jewish state”.<sup>81</sup> In the aftermath of WWII and the Holocaust, solidarity messages were

---

<sup>78</sup> Stoddard, Eve, and John Collins. 2016. “Global Solidarity Movements: Palestine, Tibet, and Beyond”. In *Social and Cultural Foundations in Global Studies*. Routledge

<sup>79</sup> *The Economist*. 2021. “What to Make of Die Linke”, September 18, 2021.

<sup>80</sup> Stoddard, Eve, and John Collins. 2016. “Global Solidarity Movements: Palestine, Tibet, and Beyond”. In *Social and Cultural Foundations in Global Studies*. Routledge

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

supporting Jews and their rights but now, through the actions of Israel, they are viewed as the violent oppressor who no longer deserves progressive support. Now, “Palestine may symbolize heroic resistance against the forces of global injustice”<sup>82</sup> and so Palestinian solidarity attracts people of many beliefs.

A prominent figure in European leftist politics has been the focus of many antisemitic events through the ways detailed in this chapter is Jeremy Corbyn. The leader of the United Kingdom’s Labour Party, Corbyn has been in politics since 1974 and has stayed true to his socialist values. His notable campaigns have been through the anti-war, anti-apartheid, and anti-fascist movements, and through this work, he received the Gandhi International Peace Award in 2013. Corbyn has frequently been accused of being antisemitic to which he uses his work against racism and hate to prove he can’t be antisemitic. In an interview with Andrew Marr on BBC 1, he replies to the question, “Are you an antisemite?” by saying, “No, absolutely not. I have spent my life opposing racism in any form and will die fighting racism in any form”.<sup>83</sup> How Corbyn responds in this interview underlines a key concept of antisemitism on the left and that is the show of ignorance over what is and isn’t antisemitic because of other pro-peace and tolerance beliefs. To him, saying he fights racism in any form excuses the fact he held a Holocaust Memorial event in 2010 where he compared Israel to the Nazi party<sup>84</sup> or him defending a stereotypical antisemitism mural of Jews playing monopoly under an Illuminati feature in South London.<sup>85</sup> Additionally, his commitment to Palestinian solidarity and strict anti-war campaigning cross the line into antisemitism when he applies “the symbols, images, and negatives stereotypes of classic antisemitism to the State of Israel”<sup>86</sup> as defined by JDA. The IHRA definition would

---

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> OldQueenTV. 2018. *Jeremy Corbyn - Anti-Semitism Is “a Scourge in Any Society”*.

<sup>84</sup> “Corbyn Apologises over Event Where Israel Was Compared to Nazis | Jeremy Corbyn | The Guardian”. n.d. Accessed February 22, 2022.

<sup>85</sup> “Jeremy Corbyn and Labour’s Anti-Semitism Row Explained - BBC News”. n.d. Accessed January 31, 2022.

<sup>86</sup> JDA. “The Jerusalem Declaration On Antisemitism”. 2022.

also find Corbyn antisemitic through the use of “comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis”.<sup>87</sup> With both definitions having direct links to Corbyn, the fact he has been able to still hold such an influential position in a left-wing party shows the deeper ignorance of the European left on how to act and respond to antisemitism when it comes from leaders.

However, hiding antisemitism behind larger leftist issues such as Palestinian solidarity hasn't fully protected Corbyn or the Labour party from criticism. In 2020, the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) published their *Investigation into antisemitism in the Labour Party* where they concluded the years of antisemitism accusations against party members for uneducated statements, harmful jokes, and public support for known antisemites, were truly antisemitic and continuously aided and hidden by the party leadership.<sup>88</sup> This reporting begs the question, about why has it taken so long for antisemitic accusations to be taken seriously by this leftist party? Rising violence has opened many conversations about the new wave of antisemitism which has allowed for longer, more covert types to finally come to light. This report made many in the party skeptical and untrusting of the leadership as Labour, very hypocritically, kept referencing their, “zero-tolerance approach to antisemitism”,<sup>89</sup> while deflecting the accusations. Denial of being antisemitic from such an influential party is another damaging act as being transparent and open allows for acknowledgment and reparations but denial shows that spreading stereotypical images or supporting known antisemites is acceptable behavior. These events prove that we must change our mindset over what we deem credible criticism and have stronger regulatory powers to ensure hate speech doesn't fester unpunished.

---

<sup>87</sup> IHRA. “What is antisemitism?” 2018

<sup>88</sup> “Investigation into Antisemitism in the Labour Party | Equality and Human Rights Commission”. n.d. Accessed January 31, 2022.

<sup>89</sup> “Jeremy Corbyn and Labour’s Anti-Semitism Row Explained - BBC News”. n.d. Accessed January 31, 2022.

Antisemitism from the left also stretches beyond politics and deepens into ideology. Prominent Norwegian sociologist, professor, and ‘father of peace studies’, Johan Galtung gave a speech in 2010 in which he made ‘classic’ antisemitic remarks where he defends Palestine and critiques Israel all while using Jewish stereotypes of their control of the world media. He compares the ideas from *The Protocols the Elders of Zion* to Goldman Sachs and claims a terrorist attack in 2011 on Oslo had a clear Jewish connection while also pushing more right-wing conspiracies. These are perpetuations of the ancient stereotypes of Jews controlling banks and money and having a larger, global domination conspiracy.<sup>90</sup> In his defense against his connection to antisemitism he, “pointed to the work he has carried out for the American Anti-Defamation League, and to what he claims is a long-standing defense of the state of Israel in its conflict with the Arab world”.<sup>91</sup> Like Corbyn, Galtung claims his work in other peace-focused areas excuses his antisemitic behavior. The lack of understanding and education between how and why antisemitism is different than these issues is one major reason the left can not seem to adequately address its antisemitism problem.

## **Education**

Western education has a heavy focus on antisemitism only through the lens of Nazi Germany and genocide. According to Scott B. Littky, a Jewish Holocaust educator, “There is no coverage of the lessons learned from the Holocaust: the understanding of why antisemitism is wrong and why hatred does not have any place in today’s world”.<sup>92</sup> Our lessons are lacking in the comprehension of the topic by focusing on the details which, when repeated negatively for years,

---

<sup>90</sup> Section 1, Chapter 1

<sup>91</sup> Færseth, John. 2020. “Johan Galtung and antisemitism”. Fri tanke - nettavis for livssyn og livssynspolitikk. November 12, 2020.

<sup>92</sup> LITTKY, SCOTT B. 2021. “The Role of Antisemitism in Holocaust Education in the Jewish and Secular School Classroom”. In *Antisemitism on the Rise*, edited by ARI KOHEN and GERALD J. STEINACHER, 225–42. The 1930s and Today. University of Nebraska Press..

leads to the trends of rewriting history as are seen in Germany. After WWII, lessons were created to “emphasize the culpability of *all* Germans”,<sup>93</sup> making people want to reject German pride and patriotism. For a while, it was wrong to be a proud German especially since “Teachers taught a distinctly negative or, as some subjects describe it, “broken” form of civic emotion which combined feelings like sadness and shame for the Nazi genocide with a staunch rejection of national pride”.<sup>94</sup> Understanding how the impacts of this type of education function as antisemitism is the key to seeing modern perceptions of Jews in Europe. A more nuanced view of this issue shows “The mixture of a lack of knowledge, feeling fed up with the subject, and the discomfort many students experience towards it leads... to anti-Semitic stereotypes, comparisons between Israelis and Nazis... and to the belief that Jews profit from the Holocaust”.<sup>95</sup> Rewriting history through changing education curriculum is a dangerous slope when instead the focus should be on teaching a comprehensive view of the Holocaust in a way that encourages betterment and not resentment.

Yet, the years of intensive Holocaust education have created a global awareness of issues in Europe that can hold other governments and organizations accountable.<sup>96</sup> Lessons about what genocide looks like, understanding the moral obligation for helping oppressed peoples, and the heightened awareness of conflicts in the Middle East are where most of the criticisms of Israel’s actions against Palestine fall. Some view the acts Israel takes Palestine as being abhorrently worse than other country’s oppressive actions as Israel (the Jews) were the victims in the Holocaust and should know better. Feelings of animosity towards the state rest on the idea that

---

<sup>93</sup> Brown, Jessica Autumn. 2014. ““Our National Feeling Is a Broken One:’ Civic Emotion and the Holocaust in German Citizenship Education”. *Qualitative Sociology* 37 (4): 425–42.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid

<sup>95</sup> Urban, Susanne Y. 2008. “At Issue: Representations of the Holocaust in Today’s Germany: Between Justification and Empathy”. *Jewish Political Studies Review* 20 (1/2): 79–90.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

“Israel and the Jews have not learned their lessons from the Shoah (Holocaust), whereas Germans have learned them thoroughly”.<sup>97</sup>

## **Conclusion**

Rising hostilities across the continent have had a few different influences. The increase in Muslim immigrant communities has fueled Islamic antisemitism as well as the circulation of altered media. The city of Malmö in Sweden has seen this kind of antisemitism persist even in elementary schools. With a large amount of Muslim refugees now resettled in Sweden, a well-known socialist country, Islamic antisemitism has led to more violent attacks and has required Jewish gathering sites to consider personal security.<sup>98</sup> The left government in Sweden makes political errors hereby being quick to condemn antisemitism when shown by right-wing or Neo-Nazi groups but when confronted with Islam-driven antisemitism, leaders group all acts of antisemitism together and don’t distinguish the cause of the problem. Former Prime Minister Stefan Löfven responded this way when asked about correlations between Sweden’s antisemitism and immigration, “We have a problem in Sweden with anti-Semitism, and it doesn’t matter who expresses it, it’s still as darn wrong”.<sup>99</sup> This idea is one of the critiques of the EUMC report as it shows the “EUMC and its reticence to acknowledge antisemitism among Muslims and the left”.<sup>100</sup>

Beyond the politics in Sweden, this highlights the problem within the European left when faced with dealing with antisemitism. Their go-to response is to reformat the discussion to be about all forms of hate or racism and widen the field of blame as much as possible. This is a

---

<sup>97</sup> “Anti-Semitism In Germany Today: Its Roots And Tendencies - Susanne Urban”. n.d. Accessed January 17, 2022.

<sup>98</sup> Neuding, Paulina. 2017. “Opinion | The Uncomfortable Truth About Swedish Anti-Semitism”. *The New York Times*, December 14, 2017, sec. Opinion.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> R. Amy Elman, Nebraska. 2015-02-01. *The European Union, Antisemitism, and the Politics of Denial*.

clever political maneuver to ensure that they can use Jews, antisemitism, or the conflict in Israel to their advantage when it suits them best while reducing the perceived severity of antisemitism.<sup>101</sup> Jewish history in Europe is connected to every country and thus, so is antisemitism.

Education about antisemitism and all the ways it manifests in our society is a great place to start understanding the nuances. Once people can understand why criticizing Israel's claim to statehood or aligning the global Jewish population with banks and money is antisemitic then the problem can be addressed more coherently. Following public education efforts will need to be strict and sweeping legislation to hold those participating in antisemitism accountable and reprimand their actions. Antisemitism can be seen in the European left if you know where to look and what to look for.

### **Recommendations**

- Education about Jewish culture and antisemitism needs to include all sides of their history, not just Holocaust events. Have education follow more age-appropriate material but keep it factual to reduce hostile reactions. Germany's case shows the evolution of national pride and works on ways to grow it away from having to be antisemitic.
- Politicians and social movements need to be held accountable for any kind of antisemitic acts, intolerance, or prejudices no matter their ideological background or base.
- Left politics need to emerge as the leader in this fight and lay strong foundations for international cooperation through the European Union and standardize a definition, exemplify how it is manifested, and create a legal framework in which to deal with offenders.

---

<sup>101</sup> Section 2, Chapter 5

## **Chapter Four:** The Role of Antisemitism in Conservative U.S

*Angelyna Sasso*

---

### **Introduction**

“Jews will not replace us!”<sup>102</sup> A slogan that comes across as blatantly antisemitic to the general public, however, there are hidden nuances to this phrase that are discovered only when digging deeper into the relationship between white nationalism and antisemitism. This phrase was thrown around at the Charlottesville rally; a rally in 2017 that united many self-proclaimed white nationalist groups including Neo-Nazis, the KKK, and more.<sup>103</sup> Antisemitic rhetoric is common within alt-right ideology, however, it is often veiled by racism targeted toward other groups. While antisemitism is often veiled in alt-right rhetoric, it serves as a foundational element in this increasingly political voice in the U.S. This chapter will analyze movements in the alt-right political sphere focusing primarily through the lens of white nationalism and on the topics of *Neo-Nazism*, *Replacement Theory*, and *Using Jews to Promote an Agenda*. This paper will be comparing the alt-right ideas with the IHRA (International Holocaust Remembrance Association) and JDA (Jerusalem Declaration of Antisemitism) definitions of antisemitism, as two widely recognized but different ways of trying to define antisemitism. Antisemitism is defined as “a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious

---

<sup>102</sup> Rosenberg, Yair. “Perspective | 'Jews Will Not Replace Us': Why White Supremacists Go after Jews". The Washington Post.

<sup>103</sup> “Unite the Right Rally in Charlottesville Timeline”. Facing History and Ourselves.

facilities”<sup>104</sup> by the IHRA, and as “discrimination, prejudice, hostility or violence against Jews as Jews (or Jewish institutions as Jewish)” by the JDA.<sup>105</sup>

White nationalism has gained traction in recent years through many means and has evolved from lying in the far outreaches of political society to becoming a more dominant ideology. According to the Anti-Defamation League, white nationalism can be defined as, “a form of white supremacy that emphasizes defining a country or region by white racial identity and which seeks to promote the interests of whites exclusively, typically at the expense of people of other backgrounds”.<sup>106</sup> While this is not the only definition of white nationalism, it will be used by this paper as it tries to address its own biases by not saying white nationalism *is* violent or derogatory, as many working definitions tend to do. It is necessary to point out that the working definition of white nationalism is not based on antisemitism, even though many white nationalists and groups may be considered antisemitic either voluntarily or intrinsically.

On the other hand, religious antisemitism is sometimes thought of as a relic of the past-antisemitism being more focused on the idea of an ethnic or racial ‘semite’ rather than Judaism, however, the two identities are intrinsically linked.<sup>107</sup> Racial ideology may have taken the forefront in recent years, especially with the idea of white nationalism being about a ‘white race’. In recent years white nationalism has also been linked to a form of white Christian nationalism; “Increasingly, members of the media, academics, Americans United and others are using... “white Christian nationalism” to describe a political movement that seeks to topple church-state separation and declare America a “Christian nation” – with “Christian” in this case being far to the right and supremely fundamentalist”.<sup>108</sup> Those practicing the Jewish faith can also be

---

<sup>104</sup> “What Is Antisemitism?” IHRA, 2018.

<sup>105</sup> “The Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism”. JDA, February 8, 2022.

<sup>106</sup> “White Nationalism”. Anti-Defamation League. Anti-Defamation League.

<sup>107</sup> Jikeli, Gunther. “Is Religion Coming Back as a Source for Antisemitic Views?” *Religions* 11, no. 5 (2020): 255.

<sup>108</sup> Boston, Rob. 2021. “White Christian Nationalists: Who Are They?: What Do They Want?: Why Should You Care?” *Church & State* 74 (4).

described as others in this context. Much like with the solely racially motivated white nationalist movements, the subset of the Christian white nationalist seeks to separate and better themselves from those that they deem as others.

## **Replacement Theory**

Why does antisemitism matter as an individual concept amongst all the other forms of racism in the white nationalist doctrine? White nationalism as a whole tends to target the Jewish people due to a large web of embedded conspiracy theories that have been circulated for decades. One of the largest conspiracy theories prevalent within the white nationalist community is replacement theory. Replacement theory is as follows; “The idea of “the great replacement” is based on the fantasy that “they”... are intent on replacing “us” (whites, Christians)”.<sup>109</sup> The ‘they’ that the theory refers to is anyone who is not white and/or Christian. The idea that the collective people who are lesser could replace a superior race and culture is contradictory to the core definition of white supremacy. It’s in the name- white is supreme; another race or culture cannot be more so. There must be a group, a powerful evil, behind this replacement, and “White supremacist anti-Semites insist that Jews control government agencies, scientific organizations, and the media”.<sup>110</sup> The Jewish people must have control of everything, as they are an evil power who is taking from white people and giving to themselves and others which serve as pillars to support the Jewish supremacy. This conspiracy theory draws on historical ideas of the Jewish people being in corrupt positions of power.<sup>111</sup>

---

<sup>109</sup> Feffer, John. 2019. *How to Displace the Great Replacement*. Washington: Inter-Hemispheric Resource Center Press.

<sup>110</sup> Hockenbery, J. Supremacist thinking, epistemological despair, and Christian hope. *Dialog*. 2021; 60: 28– 34.

<sup>111</sup> Section 1, Chapter 1

The idea of Replacement Theory is antisemitic in regards to both consulted definitions. Each definition would agree that this conspiracy theory directly counts as hostility or hatred towards the Jewish simply for the reason of being Jewish. The trickier part of replacement theory is recognizing where it exists in practice. In American politics, there are many instances where a group is blamed for another's problem, especially in regards to replacing them. For instance, there is an idea of immigrants taking over American jobs. While someone could believe this without being antisemitic, someone who believes in Replacement Theory would believe that the reason the immigrants are allowed to in and are able to take those jobs is because of a secret Jewish government, or part of a Jewish agenda. Having the political belief that an immigrant is taking your job may not be antisemitic, nor is believing that an immigrant is inferior antisemitic, however, it could be a slippery slope into believing in Replacement Theory.

### **Neo-Nazism**

Neo-Nazism is an ideology in which people, “revere Adolf Hitler and Nazi Germany and sometimes try to adopt some Nazi principles to their respective times and geographic locations”.<sup>112</sup> American Neo-Nazism, in this case, adopts the Nazi principles of the existence of one inherently better race, and the idea that Jewish people are evil, and applies that to an American sphere. The white, Christian group is considered the ideal, and all others are not. As discussed in Chapter One, many tropes surrounding Jewish people were not invented by the Nazis, however, they were perpetrated by them and used as reasons to discriminate against the Jewish people.<sup>113</sup> Historically, Nazis believed that the Jewish people had a double allegiance, and

---

<sup>112</sup> “Neo-Nazis”. Anti-Defamation League. Accessed February 14, 2022.

<sup>113</sup> Section 1, Chapter 1

were the reason why Germany lost the first world war, a perpetuation of the scapegoat trope as a means to blame the faults of the world on.

Neo-Nazism is an idea that still garners traction within the U.S. Groups like the National Socialist Movement (a well-known Neo-Nazi organization) held a rally at the end of January 2022. At this rally, cries of “The Jew is the Devil”, and “Jews rape children and drink their blood” could be heard.<sup>114</sup> This is observably antisemitic, as both rallying cries are about hating Jewish people and are a blatant use of Jewish stereotypes. Not only is this antisemitic to the average person, but it also promotes Jewish conspiracy in other ways. The idea that Jewish people exist is harmful within the eyes of this ideology- they are quite literally the Devil, an inherent evil. To help America and who the Neo-Nazis deem as Americans, it is important to them to get rid of Jewish people.

### **Using Jews to Promote an Agenda**

On the other end of the ideological spectrum, there exists the relatively new concept of philosemitism. This idea, while it may not be true to the Latin meaning of the word, was coined by scholars to observe the reverse phenomena of members of the alt-right embracing Jewish people to further an agenda. For example, a common iteration of philosemitism is, “far-right groups have reframed Jewish people as a victim of an allegedly invading Muslim force” or “framing Judaism as part of a Western Judeo-Christian culture. This frame transformation, where ‘changing old understandings and meanings and/or generating new ones’ has moved from placing Jews in the out-group to understanding Jewishness as a European”.<sup>115</sup> One thing that

---

<sup>114</sup> Starr, Michael. “‘The Jew Is the Devil’ - Neo-Nazis Rally in Florida”. The Jerusalem Post | JPost.com

<sup>115</sup> Rose, Hannah. “ICSR Report: The New Philosemitism Exploring a Changing ..”.

members of the alt-right do is to use the Jewish identity as a means of putting a different group on the outs, rather than Jewish people themselves. Instead of the Jewish people being ringleaders in a large conspiracy, or ‘the worst of the worst’, this idea tries to gain mainstream traction by eliminating these more controversial ideas but keeps the same sentiment that there are races that are trying to replace the American people. This tries to create an adversary and a team against that adversary. Others paint white supremacy and the far-right as a whole in a much more grey light. Many, including Jewish people themselves, see the majority of Jewish people as white. Many people view Jewish people as white, and Judaism as a religion that is ‘close enough’ to Christianity, in opposed to Islam. It does not seem, however, that the change is inherently good. These ideas do not fit under either definition of antisemitism, as there is no hate directed at a Jewish person. This calls into question whether or not the definitions regarding antisemitism can be applicable in every situation. But, the hate switching targets or using the Jewish people to further a different agenda is not stopping antisemitism, it is transferring the hate. Despite the inherently intertwined nature of white nationalism and antisemitism, some groups still separate the two. Even if alt-right and white nationalist groups decide to start accepting the Jewish people, it does not eliminate the hate being directed towards a people.

## **Conclusion**

There are many different beliefs within the alt-right side of American politics, however, throughout many of them, the motives of American Nationalism serve to promote antisemitic behaviors. Many groups are targeting Jewish people; Neo-Nazis want to promote a Nazi regime, Replacement Theorists think that the Jewish people run all the evil in the world from the background, and yet other groups try to use Jewish people to further their own means. In every

case, these alt-right groups are trying to craft an idea of a Jewish person which best serves that group's interests.

The perfect policy would eliminate Neo-Nazism, Jewish conspiracy, and eliminate antisemitic behavior. No one policy can tackle these issues, as both disinformation and a lack of consistent education have led to the proliferation of obvious antisemitic ideology, hidden antisemitic conspiracy, and ignorance regarding the struggles Jewish people still face. To eliminate these issues, the general public needs a better education regarding antisemitic behaviors. The largest issue with this tactic is that a different type of education must be implemented once one already believes the conspiracies. It is much harder to reeducate those who already believe in the conspiracy theories, “The conspiracy theorist believes he has that Jews have used their wealth, influence, and cleverness to pollute the mainstream sources of information”.<sup>116</sup> Education towards rehabilitation thus becomes important. To eliminate or lessen the impacts of antisemitic rhetoric in the alt-right in America, it is important to focus on both prevention and re-education.

## **Recommendations**

- Education towards prevention. Education in school that is oriented towards educating people on current forms of antisemitism and how it can be hidden other under agendas- in everything from White Nationalism to using Jewish people for alternative agendas.
- Education towards rehabilitation. For people who currently believe in antisemitic rhetoric- information that comes from sources other than news, which could be controlled by Jewish people.

---

<sup>116</sup> Hockenbery, J. Supremacist thinking, epistemological despair, and Christian hope. *Dialog*. 2021; 60: 28– 34.

- Monitoring of public chat rooms and implementing anti-hate speech filters on social media.  
To prevent more violent outlets like the Charlottesville rally or spreading of conspiracy  
online

## Chapter Five:

# Exploring Antisemitism in the Discourse of Race, Intersectionality, and Privilege

*Cara Lee Rhodes*

---

### Introduction

In February 2022, Whoopi Goldberg, known for being the left-leaning voice on *The View*, made a controversial claim on air that “the Holocaust wasn’t about race”.<sup>117</sup> She received harsh criticism for her words, to the point of being temporarily suspended from *The View*, but the fact that the progressive voice on the show made comments about Jewish persecution like this one, asserting that “the Nazis were white people, and most of the people they were attacking were white people”, demonstrates a disconnect between the American progressive left and different understandings of the Jewish community and history. Much of the common understanding of the Holocaust states that it was a racial issue — Jewish communities were not part of Hitler’s Aryan future — yet Golberg’s comments on the show illustrate how the ideas of race and persecution have changed in the modern progressive context and some cases have completely left the Jewish community out of those spaces they may have historically belonged. It is moments like this one that demonstrate the tension between mainstream progressive activism and antisemitism. The goal of this chapter is to explore this contested space and to provide guidelines for navigating the increasing tension between progressive political ideals and claims of antisemitism.

While not all tensions and disconnects between leftist spaces and Jewish communities can be connected to antisemitism, there can be antisemitic consequences to the current

---

<sup>117</sup> Serwer, A. (2022, February 3). *Whoopi Goldberg's American idea of Race*. The Atlantic.

progressive rhetoric, such as a downplaying of Jewish oppression like the Holocaust. Additionally, it can make it harder for other progressive groups to connect to Jewish communities and histories which creates ignorance that eventually evolves into antisemitism. Actions such as requiring a Jewish student leader on a left-leaning college campus to publicly state their opinion on Israel when no other student leaders had to is a clear example of antisemitism and the conflation of the Jewish, Israeli, and Zionist identities. However, many of the other actions and behaviors that cross the line into antisemitism are a lot more subtle. Through analysis, it becomes clearer the various conversations that are not being held that are essential to fight antisemitism in the progressive sphere.

### **Jewish Identity in Progressive Spaces**

Intersectionality is an important concept to understand when looking at progressive communities. The way that one's various identities interact, from their race, gender, religion, as well as the different dynamic histories of those identities is the basis of discussions on intersectionality, as originally defined by legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw.<sup>118</sup> This concept and its applications to the Jewish community in regards to its racial placement and histories have many different consequences if conversations about the Jewish identity and intersectionality are not had. David Schraub's piece on the ideas of Jews and whiteness and the overlap of those communities puts shows the need for this conversation bluntly, saying "there is a consistent worry felt among many Jews—progressive Jews included—that left-wing critics deprioritize the fight against antisemitism, viewing it as a marginal issue, a distraction from more immediate

---

<sup>118</sup> Crenshaw, Kimberle (1989). Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics. *The University of Chicago Legal Forum* 140:139-167.

concerns, or a fight that (but for a few stray cranks) has already been won".<sup>119</sup> This criticism of the progressive left invokes the need to lean into the questions of why do Jewish oppression and harm seem to be deprioritized in the modern world. Looking at the progressive view of intersectionality and how it applies to Jewish communities can help answer that question and open up important dialogues. This is essential, as the oppression that Jewish people face is often vastly different in appearance to other forms of oppression, occasionally appearing as giving Jews more power.<sup>120</sup> This semblance of power can be achieved by associating Jewish people with wealth and greed, which are different historical stereotypes than other oppressed groups.<sup>121</sup> More open and fluid discussion will allow both Jewish and non-Jewish progressives "to be serious about recognizing the force of our opposition, and thus serious about treating each other in ways that protect and sustain the movement".<sup>122</sup> It will take fluid conversations and growing understandings to work through how these potentially antisemitic ideas are perpetuated and the harm they can bring to Jewish communities.

### **The Jewish Identity as White**

Discussing and analyzing the Jewish racial identity is already a complicated endeavor, as Judaism is a religion but many people identify as ethnic Jews. People on both sides of the political spectrum have developed strong opinions on where they belong in a racial hierarchy. While it's not difficult to find examples of right-wing people stressing that Jewish citizens be considered anything but white, many progressive groups like to conflate the white and Jewish

---

<sup>119</sup> Schraub, David. "White Jews: An Intersectional Approach". *AJS Review* 43, no 2 (2019), 379–407.

<sup>120</sup> Rosenblum, April. 2007. "The Past Didn't Go Anywhere: Making Resistance to Antisemitism Part of All of Our Movements". *thepast.info*.

<sup>121</sup> Section 1, Chapter 1

<sup>122</sup> Rosenblum, A. (2021, October 25). *To the New Jewish Left*. New Voices.

identities.<sup>123</sup> The ongoing Israel-Palestine conflict is often used to justify this framework of thought - Israel becomes the white, colonialist aggressor in this narrative. This structure of analyzing the Jewish racial identity allows for a complicated historical conflict to become a clearer black-and-white, victim and victimizer scenario. The most unintended consequence is the erasure of the Jewish history of oppression, a history filled with violence with one of the worst disasters being inflicted less than 100 years ago.<sup>124</sup> This kind of history and the thoughts, beliefs, and stereotypes that lead to the vast explosion of violence committed against Jewish people do not fade so easily and quickly.

This happens because of where white people fall on the hierarchy; as they are often seen to be unable to be oppressed and always the oppressor. This perception erases the ability for nuance, and in the case of Jewish populations, can lead to the erasure of a long history of oppression. Across all different ideologies, denial of Jewish oppression is an ongoing issue, with prominent examples being Holocaust denial or dismissal of antisemitic tropes by major politicians. Conflating the Jewish and white Identity is another example of this trope, which can be solved with more thoughtful, intersectional conversations about the Jewish identity and everything that it brings.

Not only being left out of the narrative but turned into the permanent aggressor has even more issues. In many modern progressive movements, one gains support by being the victim; those that have been oppressed are the ones that need support, those that possess privilege are to always be opposed. Casting Jews as the aggressor leaves them out of the system of aid and support made for victims. As more violent attacks against Jewish people continue with the rise of

---

<sup>123</sup> Green, Emma. 2016. "Jews and the Social Construction of Race". *The Atlantic*. Atlantic Media Company.

<sup>124</sup> Rosenblum, April. 2007. "The Past Didn't Go Anywhere: Making Resistance to Antisemitism Part of All of Our Movements". *Thepast.info*.

Neo-Nazism, it's clearer to see the various ways Jewish people are left out of the progressive system of aid and support as antisemitic behavior.<sup>125,126</sup> Correcting this would demand little more from progressives than self-reflection, and a more open view of what intersectionality truly means to different groups facing different forms of oppression.

### **Solving the ‘Greatest Ill of Modern Times’**

Another idea that is used to justify the exclusion of Jewish histories of oppression in progressive spheres comes from a historical trope of blaming Jews for creating the ‘greatest ill of modern times’. This is an idea brought up in Nirenberg’s book *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition*, which details multiple historical examples of this trope.<sup>127</sup> In the modern leftist sphere, this history of antisemitism manifests itself into the arguments of anti-colonialism. Post-colonial activists use these tropes to strengthen their political position, fixating on Jews as the source of the modern issue of colonialism and perpetuating the idea that it can be solved by their removal.

One of these ways comes from removing the distinction and understanding the difference in definitions of a few key terms: Jew, meaning someone who is ethnically or religiously Jewish, Israeli, meaning a citizen of Israel, and Zionist, meaning someone who believes in the Jewish right to a homeland. During protests against Israel, it is not uncommon to see progressives using the terms interchangeably, creating a permanent connection that doesn’t necessarily exist.<sup>128</sup> Furthermore, grouping all Jewish people with the interchangeable usage of these words plays

---

<sup>125</sup> “Antisemitism in the US”. 2022. *Anti-Defamation League*.

<sup>126</sup> Section 2, Chapter 4

<sup>127</sup> Nirenberg, David. 2013. *Anti-Judaism: the Western tradition*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.

<sup>128</sup> Lipstadt, Deborah E. 2019. *Antisemitism: Here and Now*. New York: Schocken.

into the antisemitic trope of dual loyalty, implying that Jewish people cannot be fully loyal to the place they are in currently. It is these ideas that lead to actions such as a Jewish Stanford university student running for student government to be asked questions related to their opinions on Israel to single them out and delegitimize their good intentions to a non-related endeavor<sup>129</sup>, with a blending of definitions and a misuse of terms so common.

### **The Sunrise Movement and Exclusion**

Another large issue facing the Jewish community in the progressive sphere is their ability to participate in progressive movements. Many Jewish activists are finding it hard to find a place in progressive movements due to the constant presence of anti-Israel activism, along with the earlier discussed feeling of deprioritization of Jewish issues<sup>130</sup>. This issue has become more apparent in recent years due to the proliferation of the BDS movement — Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions — and the idea that Israel is the single roadblock to the Middle East or World Peace.<sup>131</sup> The constant presence of this movement in progressive circles creates a feeling of exclusion and begs the question of if antisemitism is behind Jewish progressives not feeling accepted in the broader progressive sphere, but more importantly, why so many groups use Palestinian solidarity as a litmus test of progressivism when looking at international issues.

A case to look at for an example of this issue is the Sunrise Movement, a movement focused on climate change and youth activism, that came under fire from various Jewish groups in October of 2021 after declining to be at a function with other pro-Israel groups who also

---

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Grenell, Alexis. 2022. "Goysplaining". *Nation* 314 (2): 7–8.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

happened to be supporting climate change legislation.<sup>132</sup> The D.C. Branch went a step further and also asked for the groups in question, which included the policy arm of Reform Judaism and the National Council of Jewish Women, to be ejected from the Climate Change coalition. The question is whether this is antisemitic - many prominent Jewish organizations seem to think so. Actions like the ones the Sunrise Movement took beg the question of if American Jews are responsible for Israel and need to be held accountable in the progressive sphere through processes such as exclusion, or if holding them responsible for actions of a foreign government constitutes as being antisemitic. This is reminiscent of the trope of dual loyalty.<sup>133</sup> The tipping point could be said to be when it becomes too much of a singling out of Israel as the only international issue of focus when the movement is concentrated in a different, often domestic area of influence. If other international issues are not similarly used as litmus tests for free and just participation in progressive activism, the claims of antisemitism have more ground to stand on. Leaning into this question will give progressive activists a major tool in deciding whether their actions and exclusions are justified in their fights or if they are playing into antisemitic behavior and tropes.

## **Conclusion**

There is no denying the complex relationship antisemitism has with progressive movements. Examining the potential biases and gaps in knowledge that lead to antisemitic actions is an important first step in removing antisemitism from progressive movements. Doing

---

<sup>132</sup> Boorstein, Michelle. 2021. "National Climate, Voting Rights Groups Try to Keep Movements Unified after Dispute about Israel". *The Washington Post*. WP Company.

<sup>133</sup> Section 1, Chapter 1

this will allow progressives to more easily evaluate their actions and be more assured if what they are doing is justified or if they are acting on antisemitic tropes and beliefs. On the other hand, Jewish people can also be more aware of when the complaints against Israel are against the government, and that it may not always constitute being antisemitic. This will create an environment with “people who are serious about their own liberation” that can fully “respect others who respect themselves”.<sup>134</sup>

Leaning into the question is the only way to effectively solve these issues. When dealing with the complicated workings of identity, intersectionality, and privilege, attempting to enforce a one-sized, and rigid hierarchy will not allow for the proper discussions and create the most beneficial solutions for both antisemitism and other progressive causes. A deeper understanding of the oppressions and discriminatory ideas within the leftist sphere and working to combat them leads to gains in the progressive sphere<sup>135</sup>.

## **Recommendations**

- Re-evaluate the assumption of Jewish people as inherently white and privileged.
- Give the Holocaust and other Jewish oppression throughout history the same weight and respect as other groups’ historical oppressions.
- Deconstruct the idea that American Jews are responsible for the Government of Israel and need to be held as such in progressive spheres.

---

<sup>134</sup> Rosenblum, A. (2021, October 25). *To the New Jewish Left*. New Voices.

<sup>135</sup> Rosenblum, April. 2007. “The Past Didn’t Go Anywhere: Making Resistance to Antisemitism Part of All of Our Movements”. *Thepast.info*.

## Chapter Six:

### The Function of Antisemitism in Mainstream American Politics

*Danica Dabelstein*

---

#### Introduction

In July 2021, President Joe Biden nominated historian Deborah Lipstadt as the State Departments' Special Envoy for Monitoring and combatting Antisemitism, however, her consideration by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has been stalled six months due to Republicans requesting additional vetting of the nominee.<sup>136</sup> One of the most outspoken critics against Lipstadt is Republican Senator Ron Johnson who accused Lipstadt of engaging in calling out others for antisemitism in a way that is “purely partisan”. However, Lipstadt has stated that she would remain nonpartisan in her role and has overall bipartisan support.<sup>137</sup> The notion that the State Envoy for Antisemitism would act in partisan ways reflects a trend of the last few years of understanding antisemitism, and accusations of it, within the mainstream political sphere as a way to divide Democrats and Republicans along party lines. Mainstream American political parties increasingly use references to Jews, Israel, and claims of antisemitism to fan the flames of political polarization along partisan lines. Although overt antisemitism is far less prevalent in mainstream American politics, once we apply the historical context as discussed in Chapter One, we can see how politicians use antisemitic tropes about the disproportion of power in political critique and campaign ads, use the assumption that all American Jews are more loyal to Israel as a rallying cry for their side, and weaponize antisemitism against the other side.

---

<sup>136</sup> Andrew Desiderio. 2022. “‘Malicious Poison’: GOP Senator Slams Biden’s Antisemitism Envoy Pick for Criticizing His Jan. 6 Rhetoric”. POLITICO.

<sup>137</sup> Marc Rod. 2022. “With Bipartisan Support, Lipstadt Appears Headed for Senate Confirmation Following Hearing”. Jewish Insider.

## Disproportion of Power Tropes in Political Critique and Campaign Ads

A common type of antisemitic trope that mainstream politicians draw upon in political critique is one related to a disproportion of power. For example, in a 2018 tweet, Democrat House Representative Ilhan Omar used this type of trope as a way to criticize lobbying.



Figure 1: “It’s All About the Benjamins” tweet by Ilhan Omar.<sup>138</sup>

She responded to a tweet by journalist Glenn Greenwald who criticized House Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy for threatening to punish Omar and Tlaib for their criticisms of Israel and questioned: “how much time US political leaders spend defending a foreign nation”. Omar stated, “it’s all about the Benjamins baby” (“Benjamins” referring to hundred-dollar bills). When asked who Omar thought was paying those politicians, she replied “AIPAC!” referring to the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, a large pro-Israel lobbying organization.<sup>139</sup> Her tweet implied that the reason that politicians like Kevin McCarthy are pro-Israel is that they are financially influenced by lobbying groups.

The allegation of undue financial influence is rather provocative. Israel, and the U.S.’s financial support of Israel, is an extremely complex and contentious issue. To simplify the situation to: “politicians only support Israel because they are bought off” erases the nuance of the topic, but it also demonizes pro-Israel politicians. To put it another way, Omar implies that she is

<sup>138</sup> William Cummings. n.d. “Rep. Ilhan Omar Deletes the Controversial Tweets That Drew Charges of Anti-Semitism”. USA TODAY.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

not motivated by money for her position on Israel, and in effect, galvanizes her position as a Progressive Democrat who is critical of the U.S's support of Israel. Nonetheless, that is not to say that criticizing large lobbying groups that influence foreign policy, including AIPAC and other pro-Israel organizations, are always considered antisemitic. Omar is accurate in identifying that AIPAC is a powerful lobbying group; it is widely recognized as one of the strongest lobbies in Washington.<sup>140</sup> That being said, it is still important to consider how a particular comment could be viewed as insinuating antisemitic ideas. Although she did not specifically use the term "Jews", with Israel being the "Jewish state", the idea that pro-Israel lobbying groups have essentially financial control over politicians seems reminiscent of long-standing historical antisemitic tropes surrounding greed, power, and control.<sup>141</sup> In other words, when evaluating antisemitism in mainstream American politicians' comments like Omar's, it is less about one's intent or stance on an issue, but rather how these opinions are presented in ways that may invoke these antisemitic tropes.

There have also been numerous examples of campaign ads being perceived as invoking antisemitic tropes about the disproportion of power to attack their opponents. For instance, in 2018, in Washington State, a mailer sent by the Washington State Republican Party depicted Democrat and Jewish House Representative candidate Kim Schrier with a fan of 20 dollar bills in her hand.<sup>142</sup> Similarly, the same year, in Connecticut, a campaign flier created by Republican Ed Charmut illustrated Democrat and Jewish Senate seat opponent Matt Lesser holding a wad of cash in his hands.<sup>143</sup>

---

<sup>140</sup> Jonathan Rynhold. 2021. "Divide and Rule: Discursive Authority, Identity Dissonance, Ethnic Lobbies, and US Foreign Policy, or How President Obama Defeated AIPAC over the 2015 Iran Deal". *Foreign Policy Analysis* 17 (2)

<sup>141</sup> See Section 1, Chapter 1

<sup>142</sup> Eli Rosenberg. 2018. "Republicans Attack Jewish Candidates". *The Washington Post*.

<sup>143</sup> "Democrats Blast Campaign Mailer as Blatantly Anti-Semitic". *CBS News*.



Figures 2 & 3: Fliers depicting Democratic Jewish House and Senate Candidates with money in their hands.<sup>144,145</sup>

Similar to most attack ads, these fliers are aimed at demonizing their opponents to attract more voters to their side. In these cases, specifically, the ads tie these Jewish Democratic candidates to the notion of greed and financial power visually by having them hold bunches of money in their hands; an idea that has been historically used to negatively impact Jewish people. In other words, these ads appear to use an antisemitic trope to try to persuade voters to vote for different candidates and associate the Democratic Party with monetary power and greed. While the groups that made these fliers claimed that they were intended to criticize the candidate's support for "costly government policies"<sup>146</sup>, similar to when thinking about Omar's comment, these images may still bring to mind antisemitic ideas. To add on, when it comes to political races, negative stereotypes like these can be incredibly influential. A study done by Adam J. Berinsky, an associate professor of political science at MIT, and Tali Mendelberg, an associate professor of politics at Princeton, found that when campaigns cued stereotypical traits, even those that people stated they did not believe in, it sometimes indirectly prompted a process of stereotyping that made Jewish candidates lose political support.<sup>147</sup> In that sense, campaign ads invoke this antisemitic trope because it can be effective.

---

<sup>144</sup> Rosenberg. "Republicans Attack"

<sup>145</sup> "Democrats Blast Campaign"

<sup>146</sup> Rosenberg. "Republicans Attack"

<sup>147</sup> Adam J Berinsky and Tali Mendelberg. 2005. "The Indirect Effects of Discredited Stereotypes in Judgments of Jewish Leaders". *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (4): 845–64.

Through the example of Representative Omar's tweet and attack ads made by the Republican Party in various states, it can be seen that the same antisemitic trope can be used by both Democrats and Republicans to support their political positions while demonizing the opposition. This helps highlight the malleable nature of "Jews" to be used as a way for groups to differentiate themselves. As historian David Nirenberg wrote in his book *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition*, "'Judaism', then, is not only the religion of specific people with specific beliefs but also a category and a set of ideas and attributes with which non-Jews can make sense of and criticize their world".<sup>148</sup> Since "Judaism" is associated with greed, control, and power, both Democrats and Republicans can be seen using Jews to criticize the other party's financial connections and represent perceived issues surrounding money. While Progressive Democrats see "Jewish power" controlling U.S. foreign policy through lobbying as "the problem", Republicans see "Jews" taxing constituents for expensive government policies as "the problem". Nonetheless, regardless of what this "problem" truly is, Jews are used to represent this problem.

### **Assuming American Jews Are More Loyal to Israel**

Loyalty to a country is an issue of great political importance. The accusation of dual loyalty to another country has been used to stigmatize minorities, notably Jews, and these groups are often perceived as participating in activities opposed to "national interest".<sup>149</sup> In other words, loyalty, or lack thereof, to the country a person resides is a matter vital to protecting national interest. This notion has become apparent with regards to the relationship between American Jews and Israel, as, similar to all foreign policy issues, U.S. support of Israel has increasingly

---

<sup>148</sup> David Nirenberg. 2013. *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co. 3.

<sup>149</sup> Morton Weinfeld. 2011. "Canadian Jews, Dual/Divided Loyalties, and the Tebbit 'Cricket' Test". *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 43/44 (3-1): 59-80.

become a partisan matter.<sup>150</sup> In the period from 2016 – 2018, according to a study done by Jonathan Rynhold, a professor of political science at Bar-Ilan University, Democrats' sympathy for Israel decreased and their trust in the Republican Party decreased, while Republican's sympathy for Israel increased and their trust in the Democratic Party decreased.<sup>151</sup>

This has resulted in Democrats frequently emphasizing how American Jews need to be loyal to the United States. For instance, in 2019, Israel denied Representatives Rashida Tlaib and Ilhan Omar entry into the country, an action former U.S. Ambassador to Israel David Friedman tweeted that he supported. Democrat Representative Ted Lieu tweeted to the ambassador, "You are an American. Your allegiance should be to America, not to a foreign power".<sup>152</sup>



Figure 4. Rep. Ted Lieu's tweet criticizing U.S. Ambassador to Israel David Friedman.<sup>153</sup>

Lieu's tweet is similar to statements made by others in the Democratic Party. In 2019, Ilhan Omar said at a forum at a Washington DC bookstore, "I want to talk about the political influence in this country that says it is OK for people to push allegiance to a foreign country" ('political influence' referring to AIPAC).<sup>154</sup> In these Democratic politicians' minds, it seems that if one supports Israel, they have an "allegiance" to the State of Israel. In other words, this implies that one cannot be a Democrat or a "real American" and consider themselves supportive of

---

<sup>150</sup> Jonathan Rynhold. 2020. "Democrats' Attitudes toward the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict". *Middle East Policy* 27 (4): 48–61.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>152</sup> Alyssa Fisher. 2021. "Rep. Ted Lieu Sorry For Anti-Semitic Dual Loyalty Tweet – The Forward".

<sup>153</sup> Toomim, Melissa. 2021. "An Anti-Semite on the House Anti-Semitism Task Force: Ted Lieu". *Santa Monica Observer*.

<sup>154</sup> Associated Press of St. Paul, Minnesota. 2019. "Ilhan Omar Attacks Pro-Israel Lobby and Critics Again Call Remarks Antisemitic". *The Guardian*, March 2, 2019, sec. US news.

Israel. This allegation reduces a rather complicated relationship between party affiliation and opinion of Israel into a black-and-white, either-or issue. By eliminating the complexities of the situation, comments like Lieu's and Omar's can solidify their position as critical of Israel and persuade others to join them because Democrats do not have an "allegiance" to a foreign country, unlike Republicans. Nonetheless, with that in mind, it is important to understand that Israel's decision to deny Representatives Tlaib and Omar the ability to enter Israel was controversial<sup>155</sup> and it is possible to be critical of ambassadors and the actions of foreign countries without being viewed as antisemitic. However, the allegation that American Jews are more loyal to another place, like Israel, can be seen as playing into historical antisemitic tropes of Jews being untrustworthy and having dual loyalty.<sup>156</sup> All in all, Democrats can be viewed as using the antisemitic trope of dual loyalty, similar to how they use disproportion of power tropes, to establish their political position while criticizing Republicans.

In contrast to Democrats, Republicans, like former President Trump, emphasize the importance of American Jews being loyal to Israel. In 2019, Trump told reporters, "any Jewish people that vote for a Democrat – I think it shows either a total lack of knowledge or great disloyalty, alright?"<sup>157</sup> A few days later, he clarified that he meant that voting for a Democrat implies disloyalty to Israel.<sup>158</sup> Considering that Jews have historically been known to overwhelmingly vote Democratic and liberal,<sup>159</sup> Trump's comment could be seen as an attempt to entice Jewish voters to vote Republican instead by bringing attention to his party's position of Israel under the assumption that all Jews are sympathetic or supportive of the State of Israel. Trump is accurate in understanding that Israel is often important to many American Jews with

---

<sup>155</sup> Nicholas Wu and Deirdre Shesgreen. 2019. "Israel Blocks Visit from Ilhan Omar and Rashida Tlaib".

<sup>156</sup> See Section 1, Chapter 1

<sup>157</sup> Daren Gregorian. 2019. "Trump: Jewish People Who Vote Democratic Show 'Great Disloyalty.'" NBC News.

<sup>158</sup> Allan Smith. n.d. "Trump Doubles down on Calling Jewish Democrats 'disloyal' to Israel". NBC News.

<sup>159</sup> Herbert F. Weisberg. 2019. *The Politics of American Jews*. University of Michigan Press. 4.

many saying they ‘care’ about Israel in some capacity, however, it would be a misconception to say that the entire community supports Israel unconditionally.<sup>160</sup> In addition, the idea that American Jews are disloyal to Israel can be perceived as the use of the antisemitic trope of dual loyalty as it implies that Jews’ loyalty always lies somewhere else other than in the place they reside. Not unlike Lieu and Omar, Trump can be seen as invoking the disloyalty trope to emphasize his party’s position on Israel, but also differentiates between the two parties.

Although Democrats and Republicans argue for different positions on Israel, they seem to use the same antisemitic trope to do so. This puts American Jews in a rather precarious situation. Due to American Jews perceived unwavering support of Israel, Progressive Democrats accuse Jews of not being “American” or “Democrat” enough while Republicans accuse Jews of not being loyal enough to Israel or “Republican” enough. Either way, Jews get criticized. To add on, these tropes do not acknowledge the diverse political opinions that American Jews have in reality. Although American Jews as a majority do vote for Democrats, they are not a monolithic voting block. Orthodox Jews, for example, predominantly vote Republican and higher-income Jews are also more likely to vote Republican.<sup>161</sup> In addition, Jews’ opinions of Israel are more complicated than typically portrayed. Although some academics argue American Jews criticizing Israel means they do not support the country, others argue that constructive criticism is a way that some show their support for Israel.<sup>162</sup> Despite the fact that American politicians erase the diversity of opinions in the American Jewish community, they certainly do exist and the complicated, nuanced situation between party identification and support of Israel deserves to be acknowledged.

---

<sup>160</sup> Ibid. 140.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid. 4.

<sup>162</sup> Wright, Graham, Leonard Saxe, and Kenneth D. Wald. 2020. “Is Criticism Disloyal? American Jews’ Attitudes toward Israel”. *Politics and Religion*, December, 1–27.

## **Weaponizing Antisemitism Against the Other Side**

Both Republicans and Democrats accuse the opposite party of antisemitism. An illustration of this is a Twitter feud between Democrat Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Republican Senator Ted Cruz. In 2021, Cruz expressed disappointment in Biden for implying those who challenged the 2020 election results were Nazis. Ocasio-Cortez responded to that tweet with “your continued excusal and denial of Wednesday’s Neo-Nazi presence is abhorrent and dangerous” and mentioned how his “GOP colleague in the House praised Hitler this week”. Cruz tweeted back that it was “epic hypocrisy” and responded that “You & your anti-Israel pals blocked a resolution condemning anti-Semitism—which I passed unanimously in the Senate”.<sup>163</sup> In essence, Cruz believes that Democrats are more antisemitic while Ocasio-Cortez would argue that Republicans are more antisemitic.

This Twitter exchange speaks to a larger phenomenon at play: both sides see antisemitism as the other party’s problem. A study done by Amy Becker, an associate professor of communications at Loyola University Maryland, found that most conservatives blame the Democrats and see the extreme political left as a threat of antisemitism while liberals blame Republicans and see the extreme political right as a threat.<sup>164</sup> When each side sees the other as having an “antisemitism problem”, it is hard to acknowledge if there is any antisemitism within their respective parties. In addition, the discourse surrounding antisemitism is seen as made in bad faith. Antisemitism allegations are often viewed as being used to serve an agenda or dismissed to protect favored political programs.<sup>165</sup> With accusations of antisemitism viewed as

---

<sup>163</sup> Ron Kampeas. 2021. “Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Ted Cruz Fight a Twitter Battle over Holocaust Analogies”. Jewish Telegraphic Agency.

<sup>164</sup> Amy Becker. 2020. “Polarization and American Jews: The Partisan Debate Over Attribution of Blame and Responsibility for Rising Anti-Semitism in the United States”. *Social Science Quarterly* 101 (4): 1572–83.

<sup>165</sup> Dov Waxman, David Schraub, and Adam Hosein. 2021. “Arguing about Antisemitism: Why We Disagree about Antisemitism, and What We Can Do about It”. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 0 (0): 1–22.

only being used as a weapon against the other party, legitimate antisemitism cannot be recognized because it is hidden underneath political debates.

In addition, these accusations show a narrow understanding of antisemitism as “Jew-hatred”. As Lipstadt discussed in her book *Antisemitism: Here and Now*, “In the wake of the Holocaust, Adolf Hitler has become the template for the archetypal antisemite”.<sup>166</sup> Notably, in their Twitter battle, Cruz and Osario-Cortez argue over the term “Nazi” and which side is more associated with “Nazis”. This reflects how both sides have a rather simple understanding of antisemitism as, again, the Nazi is the model of what an antisemite is ‘supposed’ to be. However, as examples in previous sections of this chapter have shown, antisemitism, as it appears in the mainstream political sphere, is not as simple as a person acting like a Nazi. Instead, antisemitism is often covert; it is embedded within the comments and actions of one party trying to further their political goal while criticizing the “other”. With this in mind, as Nirenberg talks about, antisemitism or anti-Judaism is not simply an attitude towards Jews and their religion, “but a way of critically engaging the world”.<sup>167</sup> Nonetheless, mainstream politicians simplify the complicated, nuanced topic of antisemitism to use it as a political weapon against the other party.

## **Conclusion**

Mainstream American politicians refer to Jews, Israel, and antisemitism as a way to differentiate themselves from the other party. This exacerbates the issue of political polarization along partisan lines through invoking antisemitic tropes like those around disproportion of power and untrustworthiness as well as accusing the other side of antisemitism. These tactics that politicians use to further their political views while demonizing the other side often reduce

---

<sup>166</sup> Deborah E. Lipstadt. 2019. *Antisemitism: Here and Now*. Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group. 43.

<sup>167</sup> Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism*, 3.

complicated issues into black-and-white ones. Nonetheless, it is by acknowledging the complexities and nuances of these topics that antisemitism within the mainstream American political sphere can begin to be understood.

### **Recommendations**

- Recognize how politicians of mainstream American political parties use antisemitic tropes and accusations of antisemitism to further their political goals while demonizing the opposing party
- Do not assume an action is antisemitic or not based on a person's political party or their stance on Israel. While a person's critique of Israel may be motivated by antisemitic sentiments, criticism of Israel can be not antisemitic, and antisemitic comments can be made by people who identify as pro-Israel.
- Consider that accusations of antisemitism have been made in good faith. Although there are instances where accusations of antisemitism are made deliberately to attack another's political views, it is important to acknowledge that there are also times when these allegations are legitimate and cannot be considered if they are immediately dismissed

---

**Section Three:**

***Examining Antisemitic Discourse in the Israeli-Palestinian  
Context***

---

## Chapter Seven:

### Postcolonial Critiques of Israel: Free Speech or Antisemitism?

*Emma Johnson*

---

#### Introduction

Accusations of Israel being a colonial power have been present in political and academic circles for decades, particularly since the Six-Day War in which Israel annexed the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (among other territories). French historian and author Maxime Rodinson, famous for his work on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and in particular for his article “*Israël, fait colonial*” (published just before the Six-Day War), joined many others in the late twentieth century in declaring Israel to be a colonial power. Historian Derek Penslar explains that “what made Zionism a form of settler colonialism, in Rodinson’s view, was the simple fact that Palestine was inhabited by an indigenous people and colonized by a European one”.<sup>168</sup> Postcolonial critiques of Israel have both aligned with and drastically departed from this reasoning over time, but seem to have become more frequent in recent years - or at the very least, resurfaced.<sup>169</sup>

Indeed, although it has been over seventy years since the establishment of the state of Israel, these criticisms are still circulating and are well worth examining given the rise of antisemitism across the globe. Consider the charged title of the Al Jazeera article, “Israel is a settler colony, annexing native land is what it does”,<sup>170</sup> reflecting an accusation not uncommon in many Palestinian or Arabic affiliated news sources. Some argue that such accusations “highlight

---

<sup>168</sup> Katz, Ethan B. et al. 2017. *Colonialism and the Jews*, 278. Bloomington, United States: Indiana University Press.

<sup>169</sup> Lipstadt, Deborah E. 2019. *Antisemitism : Here and Now*. First edition. New York: Schocken.

<sup>170</sup> Ayyash, Mark Muhannad. n.d. “Israel Is a Settler Colony, Annexing Native Land Is What It Does”.

Palestinian perspectives over Israeli ones and frame Palestinians as victims of Israeli aggression",<sup>171</sup> unjustly targeting Israel. One could also consider the widespread condemnation of Israel via social media platforms and left-leaning organizations in response to the May 2021 crisis, in which Israel's Supreme Court ruled to evict Palestinian families from an East Jerusalem neighborhood,<sup>172</sup> eliciting widespread pro-Palestinian and anti-Israeli controversy.<sup>173</sup> The often inflammatory effect that criticisms of Israel have in contemporary society begs the question - are postcolonial critiques of Israel justified free speech, or are they actually manifestations of covert antisemitism? This chapter will examine antisemitism within postcolonial critiques and seek to offer guidelines for grappling with antisemitism in such a complex and ambiguous area.

## Context

To better understand the place of antisemitism in postcolonial claims, it is important to take a closer look at where these claims of Israel being a colonial power originate, as well as what exactly these claims consist of. Postcolonial claims are generally concerned with "the enduring legacy of colonialism in contemporary times",<sup>174</sup> and in the case of Israel, most commonly focus on claims of settler colonialism and apartheid. The critical discourse around Israel being colonial power often engages with the Zionist movement and ideology supporting the establishment of a Jewish state, which traces back to the late nineteenth century (gaining traction largely due to the work of Theodor Herzl). Penslar argues that both "colonial and

---

<sup>171</sup> Elmasry, Mohamad Hamas, Alaa El Shamy, Peter Manning, Andrew Mills, and Philip J Auter. 2013. "Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya Framing of the Israel–Palestine Conflict during War and Calm Periods". *International Communication Gazette* 75 (8): 750–68.

<sup>172</sup> Baroud, Ramzy. 2021. "The Nakba of Sheikh Jarrah: How Israel Uses The Law to Ethnically Cleanse East Jerusalem". *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* 40, no. 3 (May 1, 2021): 22–24.

<sup>173</sup> Borger, Julian. 2021. "A Radical Change?: America's New Generation of pro-Palestinian Voices". *The Guardian*, May 21, 2021, sec. US news.

<sup>174</sup> Mendieta, Eduardo. 2006. "Postcolonialism". In *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Donald M. Borchert, 2nd ed., 7:726–29. Detroit, MI: Macmillan Reference USA.

anticolonial elements coexisted in the Zionist project from its inception until the creation of the state in 1948",<sup>175</sup> and in the decades since the establishment of the state, ties between Zionism, the state of Israel, Jews, and colonialism have indeed manifested through many avenues and groups, both political and nonpartisan.

Claims such as Israel supporting crimes against humanity or being a settler-colonial power often reference the very long and tense history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In 1948, Zionists called for Jews across the world to migrate to the "Land of Israel" or the "Holy Land", the Palestinian territory with which they claimed to have historical religious and cultural connections. The subsequent Aliyah, or "mass migration", of 1948-1952 brought upwards of 700,000 Jewish immigrants to what is now recognized as Israeli territory, and the state began to disperse these immigrants across the land into various settlements and communities.<sup>176</sup> The vast majority of this land was inhabited by Palestinians, and thus began Al-Nakba, or "the catastrophe" in which "over 700,000 Palestinians had been made refugees and more than 13,000 had been killed by the Israeli military" by 1949 due to Israeli settlement.<sup>177</sup> It is argued that this displacement has continued ever since, and in a 2021 statement the UN Relief and Works Agency claimed that "in many cases in East Jerusalem... the forced eviction of Palestinians is occurring within the context of Israeli settlement construction and expansion, illegal under international humanitarian law".<sup>178</sup>

Beyond engaging very personal and contentious events, historical context further complicates matters as it hinges on several contested questions. For example, was settlement justified as Jews had no other choice but to create a nation-state to ensure their survival, or was it

---

<sup>175</sup> Katz, Ethan B. et al. 2017. *Colonialism and the Jews*, 278. Bloomington, United States: Indiana University Press.

<sup>176</sup> AICE. (n.d.). Immigrants to Israel: 1948-1952. Jewish Virtual Library.

<sup>177</sup> Damen, R. (n.d.). Al-Nakba. Palestine Remix.

<sup>178</sup> "UNRWA Joins Other UN Entities in Raising Alarm over Eight Sheikh Jarrah Families at Risk of Forced Eviction". 2021. UNRWA

an act of imperialism?<sup>179</sup> Do Jews have valid claims of indigeneity due to their religious beliefs and traditions? Was the Al-Nakba perpetrated by the Jews to intentionally expel Palestinians, or was this result inevitable due to the Arab rejection of a two-state solution<sup>180</sup> and the Palestinians themselves decided to leave? Such questions have incredible potential to drastically change how one views Israel and Jews, and thus also have the power to alter how antisemitism is identified and addressed in this area. To avoid getting lost in ambiguous and perpetual discourse, the following sections will provide some examples of postcolonial claims and continue to provide clarity in determining patterns and behaviors that may point to antisemitism within these critiques.

### **Settler Colonialism, Apartheid State, and Other Politically Contentious Claims**

In late January of 2022, amidst the writing of this report, a 7-Eleven in Seattle, Washington was graffitied with the phrase “it’s okay to be a Zionist genocider”.<sup>181</sup> As suggested by Patrick Wolfe, a scholar widely known for his work on colonialism, “the question of genocide is never far from discussions of settler colonialism”<sup>182</sup> and the linking of the term “genocide” to “Zionism” attempts to establish that the right of Jews to have a national home is inherently connected to acts of genocide. As this national home was made a reality through the mass settlement of Jewish communities in Palestinian territory, which some view as involving acts of genocide, this graffitied statement seems to arise from the rhetoric of settler colonialism. While Wolfe may not have intended the linking of settler colonialism and genocide to be unilaterally applied to Zionism, the graffitied message demonstrates how these terms and ideologies have

---

<sup>179</sup> Masalha, Nur. 2000. *Imperial Israel and the Palestinians: the Politics of Expansion*. London ; Sterling, Va.: Pluto Press.

<sup>180</sup> Biger, Gideon. 2021. “The Partition Plans for Palestine—1930–1947”. *Israel Studies* 26 (3): 24–45.

<sup>181</sup> “Anti-Semitic Graffiti Found near Jewish Family Service of Seattle”. 2022. King5.Com. January 5, 2022.

<sup>182</sup> Wolfe, Patrick. 2006. “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native”. *Journal of Genocide Research* 8 (4): 387–409.

intermixed to create space for antisemitism in academia, acts of vandalism, and even day-to-day conversation.

Furthermore, this event becomes even more important to consider when considering what constitutes antisemitic behavior as the graffiti was found within a block of a Jewish Family Service building. This strategic placement suggests that Jewish communities all across the world, even in places as far from Israel as Seattle, are being targeted with such critiques - regardless of whether or not they have demonstrated any support for the state of Israel in the first place. Such behavior will be examined later in this chapter, but first, it is important to point out some additional postcolonial critiques.

Another noteworthy critique of Israel consists of apartheid accusations. In response to the aforementioned 2021 Israeli-Palestinian crisis, U.S. Representatives Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, Rashida Tlaib, and Congresswoman Cori Bush targeted Israel in tweets stating “apartheid states aren’t democracies”.<sup>183</sup> This statement suggested that the alleged abuse of the Palestinians in Occupied Palestinian Territories, and the Israeli government’s treatment of them, makes Israel an apartheid state. More recently in September of 2021, delegates of the British labor party “voted in favor of a motion declaring Israel an apartheid state” as “Israel's decades-long, systematic abuse of the Palestinian population appears to meet the United Nations' definition of the crime of apartheid”.<sup>184</sup> Even Human Rights Watch, a non-governmental organization that won a Nobel Peace Prize in 1997, released a report in April of 2021 accusing Israel of “crimes against humanity of apartheid and persecution”.<sup>185</sup> It seems that allegations of Israel engaging in postcolonial behavior have become widespread, catalytic, and potentially even normalized in

---

<sup>183</sup> “US Legislator AOC Calls Israel an ‘Apartheid State.’” n.d.

<sup>184</sup> Cook, Jonathan. 2021. “Labour Party Declares Israel an Apartheid State: An Embarrassing Blow to Starmer”. *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* 40 (7): 14–17.

<sup>185</sup> “A Threshold Crossed: Israeli Authorities and the Crimes of Apartheid and Persecution”. 2021. Human Rights Watch.

modern debates. However, to fully understand antisemitism within such claims, it is also important to take an open-minded approach and consider alternative perspectives.

### **Antisemitism in Postcolonial Claims**

The importance but also difficulty of addressing antisemitism in postcolonial critiques lies in the fact that the state itself is so entwined with Jewish identity. Indeed, as the Holocaust became “a catalyst that speeds up the national building project begun by Theodor Herzl”,<sup>186</sup> it was made clear that Israel would be a nation specifically *for* the Jews. Officiating this sentiment, Israel’s Declaration of Independence asserts that Jews have a right to rebirth in their “own country”, and that “Eretz-Israel was the birthplace of the Jewish people” where “their spiritual, religious and political identity was shaped”.<sup>187</sup> While connecting the state of Israel exclusively to Jewish people may or may not be antisemitic, it is important to note the complex relationship and history between the two, as such proximity can often make it difficult to differentiate between antisemitism and free speech expressing political opinion. Keeping this context in mind, the following sections will examine three behaviors that may point to antisemitism in postcolonial critiques.

#### **1. Singling out Israel**

NGO Amnesty International (AI) released a report in 2022 accusing Israel of apartheid and crimes against humanity,<sup>188</sup> and according to the American newspaper *The Forward* (produced for an American Jewish audience), Israeli officials “denounced the report as

---

<sup>186</sup> Edelheit, Abraham J. 2000. “The Holocaust and the Rise of Israel: A Reassessment Reassessed”. 97. *Jewish Political Studies Review* 12 (1/2): 97–112.

<sup>187</sup> “Declaration of Independence”.

<sup>188</sup> “Israel’s Apartheid against Palestinians: Cruel System of Domination and Crime against Humanity”. n.d. Amnesty International.

“antisemitism.”<sup>189</sup> Just after the report was released, another accusation of antisemitism came from U.S. Representative Debbie Wasserman Schultz in a joint statement with eight other U.S. representatives, titled “Amnesty International U.K. Report Delegitimizes Jewish and the Democratic State of Israel”.<sup>190</sup> In the statement, the representatives declared that the NGO’s “baseless allegations are rooted in historic prejudices and false narratives” and makes an interesting point that “this report marks the 208th report [AI] has issued about Israel since the 1970s” whereas “[AI] has published only 40 reports on North Korea and 61 on Venezuela” (as of February 10th, 2022, there are 62 reports on Venezuela).<sup>191</sup>

While this statement may very well come from a place of bias or be a strategic political move, the fact remains that AI has released a surprisingly high number of statements concerning Israel, considering it claims to report on human rights abuses across the globe. According to German Database Statista, Israel does not even make it in the top 15 countries with the lowest human rights protections - but North Korea ranks 5th.<sup>192</sup> This juxtaposition brings up an important question that may point the viewer to consider antisemitism in AI’s report - why is it that AI has released over 200 reports on Israel, whereas countries that are generally acknowledged as major perpetrators of human rights violations and crimes against humanity somehow receive significantly less scrutiny by the very same organization? When Israel is singled out to a disproportionate degree through postcolonial accusations such as its existence as an apartheid state, it signals that there may be a certain amount of bias and antisemitism present.

## 2. Tying Jews to the State

---

<sup>189</sup> “Amnesty International Describes Israel as an Apartheid State in New Report”. The Forward.

<sup>190</sup> “Joint Statement: Amnesty International U.K. Report Delegitimizes Jewish and Democratic State of Israel”. 2022. Congresswoman Debbie Wasserman Schultz : Biography. February 1, 2022.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid.

<sup>192</sup> “Countries with Lowest Human Rights Scores”. 2021. Statista.

Postcolonial critiques could also be considered antisemitic when they target or are used against Jews in general as opposed to simply the actions of Israel as a governing body. In her book *Antisemitism: Here and Now*, Deborah Lipstadt describes numerous instances of antisemitism on university campuses, and in particular, points out the phenomenon of on-campus clubs or student body associations demanding that Jewish students condemn Israel for its crimes to become a member of such organizations.<sup>193</sup> What this phenomenon demonstrates is that oftentimes, Jews are inherently seen as allies to Israel even if they are born in (and may identify with) another country. This draws upon the trope of Jews being “disloyal”, a recurring theme discussed in greater detail in Chapters One and Six. Essentially, they are guilty until proven innocent simply because they are Jewish - other students are not held to this standard, nor required to engage in accusatory postcolonial discourse. Indeed, “criticism of Israel often ties in with antisemitic myths and symbols”,<sup>194</sup> and furthermore, it seems that Jews across the world are held in contempt or assigned some level of responsibility for the “crimes” of the state of Israel, simply because they are Jewish. Postcolonial critiques of Israel that assume the complicity of Jews in committing such “crimes” and injustices can go far beyond free speech and enter into the realm of antisemitism.

### **3. Selective Generalizations**

A third area where antisemitism may be involved in postcolonial critiques is criticism that does not acknowledge full situational context and applies known condemning labels to Israel based on unique outlier circumstances. For example, assistant editor for the *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* Dale Sprusansky argues that “in the *Palestinian territories* [emphasis

---

<sup>193</sup> Lipstadt, Deborah E. 2019. *Antisemitism : Here and Now*. First edition. New York: Schocken.

<sup>194</sup> “Is All Criticism of Israel Antisemitic?” 2018. Anne Frank Website. November 6, 2018.

added] Israel has occupied since 1967, the apartheid wall and illegal settlements and military occupation yield clear violations of human rights that are enshrined in international law".<sup>195</sup>

While Israel may be withholding equal treatment or certain rights from Palestinians in the OPT, does it suggest an antisemitic double standard when Amnesty International applies the term “apartheid” to the entire state, even the areas within the Green Line (the original borders of Israel prior to territories taken in the 1967 war<sup>196</sup>) where “all persons are entitled to protection of their life, body and dignity”?<sup>197</sup> This double standard becomes exacerbated when one considers the many other nations that commit human rights abuses such as China, Sudan, and Myanmar,<sup>198</sup> and yet few demand that the entire nation be dissolved due to these crimes (a demand that is seen in many criticisms of Israel).

Additionally, can Israel be considered a settler-colonial power for its settlement of Palestinian territories circa 1948, when Jews had no national home prior and sought such a home due to centuries of persecution and the horror of the Holocaust? Or when the establishment of the state was recognized so quickly by powerful democratic nations like the U.S.? While there are no right or wrong answers to these questions as “the utility of applying the concept of colonialism.... depends upon how one defines colonialism”<sup>199</sup> (a definition that is extremely fluid and contested), disregarding the context of Israel’s existence and using specific flashpoints to make accusatory generalizations about the state highlights the potential for these critiques to be rooted in antisemitism.

## **Conclusion: Rubric and Guidelines**

---

<sup>195</sup> Sprusansky, Dale. 2014. “Israel Is Apartheid State”. *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* 33 (5): 69–70.

<sup>196</sup> Tucker, Spencer C., ed. 2019. “Green Line”. In *Middle East Conflicts from Ancient Egypt to the 21st Century: An Encyclopedia and Document Collection*, 2:486. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.

<sup>197</sup> “Basic Law- Human Dignity and Liberty-”. 1992.

<sup>198</sup> “Countries with Lowest Human Rights Scores”. 2021. Statista.

<sup>199</sup> Katz, Ethan B. et al. 2017. *Colonialism and the Jews*, 278. Bloomington, United States: Indiana University Press.

The line between antisemitism and postcolonial critiques of Israel is often blurred, becoming even more difficult to grasp considering the context of a state that was established for the Jewish right to self-determination and freedom from persecution. Indeed, it could reasonably be argued that antisemitism is more prevalent in this area than many others, due to the complex relationship between the state of Israel and Jewish identity. While Israel claims to be a home for all Jews, one cannot assume that all Jews support the actions of the state. Simultaneously, Jews who do support Israel or see it as an integral part of their identity may be exposed to antisemitic behavior carried out under the guise of political free speech. Furthermore, whether or not Israel is truly an apartheid state or a settler-colonial state is impossible to know, as the terms themselves tend toward ambiguity. Especially for accusations of settler colonialism, “whether and how the term is used ultimately depends upon specific political contexts, which trap us all in a “polemical hothouse.”<sup>200</sup>

Beyond the threat of becoming hopelessly lost in terminological quicksand, further danger lies in the tendency for such strong, historically significant terms to create tense, emotionally charged conversations that reduce the possibility of engaging in civil debate. Due to the complexity and often high stakes in discourse concerning Israel and postcolonialism, it is important to acknowledge that this particular sphere is especially nuanced and volatile due to its close relationship with a historically persecuted ethnic group.

To address antisemitism holistically, it is essential to have the tools to identify where and how it emerges in postcolonial critiques. Thus, this chapter has examined and highlighted three questions that should be considered to help identify and engage with antisemitism in postcolonial critiques of Israel. Firstly, are the critiques disproportionately singling out Israel compared to

---

<sup>200</sup> Katz, Ethan B. et al. 2017. *Colonialism and the Jews*, 278. Bloomington, United States: Indiana University Press.

other nation-states? Secondly, is the postcolonial discourse being applied to all Jews as a collective group, as opposed to criticism of the state itself? And thirdly, are these critiques using unique and singular situations to condemn the entire state of Israel without acknowledging the full context? In using these questions as a rubric, the hope is that one will be better able to identify antisemitism in postcolonial critiques and be able to take tangible steps to effectively combat it.

## Chapter Eight:

### [When] Do Boycotts Against Israel Cross the Line into Antisemitism?

*Min Seung Kang*

---

#### Introduction

In July of 2021, Ben & Jerry's ice cream made the controversial decision to stop selling its products in the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT).<sup>201</sup> Unlike other boycotts, this boycott was targeted at an area that international law does not recognize as part of Israel. Nevertheless, many pro-Israel groups immediately attacked Ben & Jerry's for this decision- even going so far as to call it motivated by antisemitism; notably, Gilad Erdan, the ambassador of Israel to the U.S. publicly accused the co-founders of "helping the antisemites" following this action.<sup>202</sup> The debate over ice cream provides a window into the highly controversial issue of whether various forms of boycotts against the state of Israel are motivated by antisemitism or social justice activism.<sup>203</sup>

The questions of boycotts against Israel, ranging from academic to economic ones, raise some of the most challenging questions about the relationship between antisemitism and anti-Zionism. This particular issue of defining antisemitism is an ongoing point of contention between the International Holocaust Remembrance Association (IHRA) and the Jerusalem Declaration of Antisemitism (JDA).<sup>204</sup> Criticisms for these definitions range from being too broad and subjective, making any kind of boycott fall easily into the antisemitic labeling, or too

---

<sup>201</sup> "Ben & Jerry's Will End Sales of Our Ice Cream in the Occupied Palestinian Territory". 2021. BenJerry.

<sup>202</sup> Saraiva, Augusta, and Alisa Odenheimer. 2021. "Israeli Envoy Criticizes Ben & Jerry's Founders over Boycott". *Bloomberg.com*. Bloomberg.

<sup>203</sup> Cohen, Bennett, and Jerry Greenfield. "We're Ben and Jerry. Men of Ice Cream, Men of Principle". *The New York Times*.

<sup>204</sup> "About the IRA Non-Legally Binding Working Definition of Antisemitism". International Holocaust Remembrance Association

limited in labeling all boycotts as not antisemitic unless a specific element is present.<sup>205</sup> Instead of relying on one definition, this chapter will attempt to find a more nuanced set of criteria and tools for understanding why there are different opinions about the motivations behind boycotts and develop recommendations for how to navigate between competing claims.<sup>206</sup> The goal of this chapter will not be to say whether the boycotts discussed are or are not antisemitic but to find a middle-ground set of guidelines to use when considering where they fit on the spectrum, through three key factors: the geographic scope, the parts of society included, and the aims or context for boycotts.

### **Geographic Scope**

Fundamentally, the geopolitics of boycotts are relevant themes to consider, as a major component of boycott debates has been the lack of consensus over Israeli and Palestinian citizenship, borders, and territories.<sup>207</sup> There are many approaches to boycotting Israel, including an international movement called Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) that was created to put pressure on Israel until it ends “its oppression of Palestinians”.<sup>208</sup> While some boycotts target certain geographic areas, others argue for the elimination of Israel as a Jewish state, creating potential geographical challenges of having the migration of over five million individuals into present-day Israel that have yet to be addressed.<sup>209</sup> However, as a whole, the issue with the geographic scope is whether a boycott initiative creates a distinction between different political realities and historical facts within territories under Israel’s control.

---

<sup>205</sup> “Jerusalem Declaration of Antisemitism”. Jerusalem Declaration.

<sup>206</sup> McMahon, Sean F. 2014. “The Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions Campaign: Contradictions and Challenges”. *Race & Class* 55 (4). London, England: SAGE Publications: 65–81.

<sup>207</sup> Chaitin, Julia, Shoshana Steinberg, and Sharon Steinberg. 2017. “BDS - It's Complicated: Israeli, Jewish, and Others' Views on the Boycott of Israel”. *The International Journal of Human Rights* 21 (7). Routledge: 889–907.

<sup>208</sup> “FAQs”. BDS Movement.

<sup>209</sup> Ross, Robert B. 2016. “No Space for Apartheid: Toward an Academic Boycott of Israel Among Geographers”. *Geographical Review* 106 (2). HOBOKEN: Taylor & Francis: 276–82.

Economic boycotts are generally accepted as an acceptable form of protest by the international community if it is used towards political reform. In this case, Israel's full power and control over the natural resources and access to cheap labor has been argued as being used for Israeli profits from occupying the lands of the Palestinians.<sup>210</sup> Due to the minimal economic incentives Israel currently has in transforming its policies and continuous inequity towards the stateless individuals in the OPT, advocates find that these "international campaigns are the most significant, nonviolent way to increase the costs of the status quo".<sup>211</sup> These boycotts come in two major forms: against the state of Israel or the OPT.

In 2018 Airbnb announced that they would remove all listings in the West Bank, with an official statement that they did not support boycotting the state of Israel or the BDS movement. This action was declared a "breakthrough" by the Human Rights Watch, as Airbnb expressed that it is wrong to make a profit on lands with displaced citizens.<sup>212</sup> These OPT-focused boycotts seek to highlight the problem of promoting and benefiting from an area that is viewed as the main ground for systematic human rights violations experienced by millions of Palestinians. Similar to Ben & Jerry's case, this type of targeted boycott reflects the UN resolution and international law about occupied territories, on the political inequalities in that area, and recognizes that Israel within the demarcation line is a democratic country with rights of citizenship for its Palestinian citizens.<sup>213</sup>

One could argue that Airbnb and Ben & Jerry's decisions regarding providing services in the West Bank make for a very nuanced decision between different political regimes in areas under Israeli sovereignty. Boycotts against all of Israel without recognizing distinctions of

---

<sup>210</sup> Hahn Tapper, Aaron J., and Sucharov, Mira. 2019. *Social Justice and Israel/Palestine : Foundational and Contemporary Debates*. Toronto ; Buffalo ; London: University of Toronto Press.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid.

<sup>212</sup> "Palestine Unbound". 2019. *Journal of Palestine Studies* 48 (4): 145–52.

<sup>213</sup> Baumgart-Ochse, Claudia. 2019. "Claiming Justice for Israel/Palestine: The Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) Campaign and Christian Organizations". *The Role of Religion in Struggles for Global Justice*, 104–20.

different geopolitical regions of Israel and Palestine are more likely to be motivated by antisemitism than one that is narrowly focused on particular geopolitics of the state. The more a boycott targets distinct political circumstances that are against international law, the less valid a claim of antisemitism becomes; this emphasizes the importance of the scope of boycotts.<sup>214</sup>

Targeted boycotts apply international standards to Israel, while boycotts against Israel in both the West Bank and within the recognized 1948 borders stand out as far more unique.<sup>215</sup> A boycott that does not distinguish between the West Bank and Israel within the Green Line does not acknowledge the legitimacy of Israel's democratic government within the 1948 borders. They are thus more likely to be singling out Israel as a Jewish state for certain ills of ethnic nationalism that are not unique to the Jewish state, increasing the likelihood of motivations and support fueled by antisemitic tropes linking Jews with excessive power and targetting Jews as the cause of global social, political, and economic ills.<sup>216</sup>

### **Products and People of Boycotts**

Compared to economic boycotts, cultural and academic boycotts are far less common and tend to boycott against the entire national culture rather than a particular policy. These boycotts can pose an attack against academic and artistic freedom—i.e. restricting their right to perform, study or teach anywhere they want.<sup>217</sup> According to the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott (PACBI), informal boycotts in theory should not involve individuals and their Israeli citizenships. Yet, this has continuously been proven otherwise by the singling out of smaller groups and individuals.<sup>218</sup> These informal boycotts throughout history have been

---

<sup>214</sup> Geva, Maayan. 2016. *Law, Politics and Violence in Israel/Palestine*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, Springer International Publishing.

<sup>215</sup> Krikler, Jeremy. 2019. "Moral-Historical Questions of the Anti-Israel Boycott". In *Boycotts Past and Present*.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>217</sup> Gould, Rebecca. 2013. "To Boycott or Not? A Moral Conundrum". *Peace Review* 25 (4): 584–89.

<sup>218</sup> Feldman, David. n.d. *Boycotts Past and Present*. Cham: Springer International Publishing.

observed in two contexts: the critics of South Africa during the anti-apartheid movement, and Israel. By restricting spaces that are meant to explore different dialogues, boycotts can discriminate against individual artists and academics regardless of their stance on the Occupation; which only widens the gap between Israelis and Palestinians, singling out Jews in a way that echoes antisemitic patterns of blaming them for a wider set of issues than warranted.<sup>219</sup>

The ethics of academic boycotts largely violate academic freedom and further restrict the potential for collaboration on an international scale. Circulations of ideas by academics play a critical role in the universal advancement of human rights, so this approach to boycott is not standard and seems to be contradictory in terms of moving towards a peaceful, equitable resolution.<sup>220</sup> Academic boycotts can be viewed as less connected to policy because it is one of the few places in society where there is freedom of speech. It is important to note that although there have been several claims to boycott Chinese, Iranian, and Russian scholars, it has never reached the extent for academic boycotts to actively be pursued; it is not a norm in academic organizations to ban scholars.<sup>221</sup> These called to end ties or relationships with a university of a certain nation, ranging from the refusal to have speakers, rejecting study abroad programs to another institution, limited access to certain resources published by a university, to even removing faculty because of where they are located, or because of their backgrounds.<sup>222</sup>

The most notable academic boycott dates back to 2013 when the American Studies Association (ASA) with 5,000 members voted to boycott Israeli academic institutions. Major institutions in Israel, such as the Hebrew University and Tel Aviv University, have been

---

<sup>219</sup> Culcasi, Karen. 2016. "Engaging in the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (bds) Debate". *Geographical Review* 106 (2). HOBOKEN: Taylor & Francis: 258–63.

<sup>220</sup> Tapper, Aaron J. Hahn. n.d. "The War of Words: Jews, Muslims, and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict on American University Campuses". In *Muslims and Jews in America*, 71–92. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US.

<sup>221</sup> Jones, Lee. 2019. "Sanctioning Apartheid". In *Boycotts Past and Present*.

<sup>222</sup> Chaitin, Julia, Shoshana Steinberg, and Sharon Steinberg. 2017. "Polarized Words: Discourse on the Boycott of Israel, Social Justice and Conflict Resolution". *International Journal of Conflict Management* 28 (3): 270–94.

discovered to work in collaboration with the Israeli security and arms industry developing weapons and doctrines used against the Palestinians.<sup>223</sup> Scholars that attend an ASA meeting and further endorsement towards an academic boycott are likely to be justified in knowing the Israeli military with their knowledge of American culture and the U.S. military's support towards Israel. Yet, this action was marked as working outside the extent of its bylaws as ASA has never imposed academic boycotts against other scholars, facing many attempted lawsuits from pro-Israel groups.

Similar to academic boycotting, cultural boycotts also seek for Israel to acknowledge that, as a state, it has used these realms to violate Palestinian human rights.<sup>224</sup> Cultural boycotts include cancellations of concerts, art and film exhibitions, and performances in opposition to either going to Israel, working with Israeli companies, or participating in another country's event due to their Israeli citizenship. Not only do they hurt professional relationships, but they create hostile environments towards Pro-Israel students and audiences, as well as towards Jews solely because they are associated with Israel.<sup>225</sup>

### **Context for Boycotts**

In the summer of 2015, a director from Tel Aviv was immediately denied entry to the Human Rights Human Wrongs festival in Norway, one that focuses on political and activism-based documentaries. The founder of this organization released a statement expressing how his action is supporting the BDS movement's guidelines.<sup>226</sup> Despite the official website of

---

<sup>223</sup> Tutu, Desmond. "Beyond Dual Use: Israeli Universities' Role in the Military-Security-Industrial Complex". European Coordination of Committees and Associations for Palestine.

<sup>224</sup> Chaitin, Julia, Shoshana Steinberg, and Sharon Steinberg. 2017. "Polarized Words: Discourse on the Boycott of Israel, Social Justice and Conflict Resolution". *The International Journal of Conflict Management* 28 (3). BINGLEY: Emerald Publishing Limited: 270–94.

<sup>225</sup> Pollack, Eunice G. 2011. *Antisemitism on the Campus Past & Present*. Brighton, Mass.: Academic Studies Press.

<sup>226</sup> Anderson, John. 2015. "Oslo Festival Rejects Documentary, Citing Cultural Boycott Against Israel". *New York Times*.

BDS stating that these boycotts are for “institutions that are complicit in Israel’s violations of international law, not against individuals”, filmmaker Roy Zafrani and many others argue that the BDS movement covers inherently antisemitic boycotts through these publicized, blanket statements.<sup>227</sup> Targeting “the very people who are most likely to oppose Israel’s policies on the West Bank”, individuals and academics are repeatedly singled out because of both guilt by association and ill feelings towards their nation’s government, not personal views or actions. Scenarios like the Oslo case reveal how misleading and complicated the relationship between antisemitism and boycotts can be in creating a slippery slope of discriminating Israelis as a whole rather than merely illustrating a political viewpoint.

The more a boycott of Israel targets a specific political concern, rather than arguing more broadly for the elimination of the State of Israel, the less likely it can be categorized as motivated by antisemitism. BDS is an example of a movement that is more likely to be fairly challenged as antisemitic.<sup>228</sup> Continuously questioning the political context of Jewish history and the fundamental rights of the Jewish state, these boycotts start to cross the line between political critique and potentially antisemitic attacks.<sup>229</sup> The BDS movement calls for a much broader boycott that makes no distinction between the Occupied Territories and Israel with the 1948 borders. They go further than purely criticizing specific Israeli policies, but label Israel as illegal and question Israel’s right to exist as a Jewish state.<sup>230</sup>

Whether or not it was originally intended by BDS, the consequences of their endorsed boycotts have gone past being a “form of non-violent pressure on Israel until it complies with

---

<sup>227</sup> Ibid.

<sup>228</sup> McMahon, Sean F. 2014. “The Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions Campaign: Contradictions and Challenges”. *Race & Class* 55 (4): 65–81.

<sup>229</sup> Diker, Dan. 2019. “Terror and Anti-Semitism in the Physiology of BDS”. *inFOCUS* 13 (3). Jewish Policy Center: 24.

<sup>230</sup> Thrall, Nathan. 2018. “BDS: How a Controversial Non-Violent Movement Has Transformed the Israeli-Palestinian Debate”. *The Guardian*.

international law”, into presenting antisemitic tropes with the goal of the elimination of Israel as a Jewish state.<sup>231</sup> Incorporating phrases such as “apartheid”, “colonization”, and “racist”, the movement portrays Israelis as a threat to humanity.<sup>232</sup> The BDS agenda takes a rather aggressive approach of calling to boycott “all products of all Israeli and international companies that are involved in Palestinian rights”, targeting companies, citizens, and institutions simply by a “guilt by association” with Israel.<sup>233</sup> Economic boycotts to the entire state of Israel can thus be argued as irrationally singling out Israel and as it rejects any association with individuals and groups because of their connection to the Jewish State. Their true objective seems to not be just peace, “but rather ‘the complete international isolation of Israel’ by [delegitimizing] Israel and the right of the Jewish people to sovereign equality”.<sup>234</sup>

### **Concluding Thoughts**

Although boycotts have been used in various contexts and locations throughout history as a universal political tool, it is evident that boycotts against Israel are not simple, black-and-white matters– the question of whether boycotts are or aren’t antisemitic is infinitely complex. Depending on the circumstances, processes, and results of each movement, the obscurity between a protest for justice and an antisemitic action is extremely volatile and sensitive towards change. This chapter has explored some of the issues that make boycotts a gray area and worked to better understand the questions to ask about boycotts in determining if and when boycotts cross the line into antisemitism. Some cases show that boycotts can be utilized as powerful tools for social justice advocates seeking to pressure governments to provide equal rights to their

---

<sup>231</sup> “FAQs”. BDS Movement.

<sup>232</sup> “Get Involved: Know What to Boycott”. BDS Movement.

<sup>233</sup> Ibid.

<sup>234</sup> Steinberg, Gerald M. 2019. “Uncivil Society: Tracking the Funders and Enablers of the Demonization of Israel”. *Israel Studies (Bloomington, Ind.)* 24 (2). Indiana University Press: 182–205.

citizens and people under their sovereignty. Yet, other instances have raised many concerns about antisemitism as the primary motivation against Israel.

All things considered, boycotts should be analyzed on a case-by-case basis as there isn't a clear, defining factor that makes it antisemitic or not; this makes it difficult to impose a definition on what it characterizes as. This chapter has developed guidelines and tools for evaluating this heavily contested and politicized debate that requires a great deal of nuance and context to untangle. The territorial scope, the parts of society involved, and the aims and content of the boycott itself are three factors that can be helpful to use as guidelines when evaluating boycotts and their relationship to antisemitism. It is important to note that this paper did not evaluate all elements that should be taken into consideration, as this would open up a Pandora's box of factors that make it too difficult to process. Instead, this chapter focused on three major points that are widely present throughout the case studies. Looking into the future of boycott movements, not making assumptions based on mere ethnic divisions, stereotypes, or headlines, but being aware of the complexity of this topic and being critical of both sides of every claim. This will hopefully translate into a better evaluation of antisemitism and how boycotts are characterized within this ambiguous, ever-changing scale.

## **Chapter Nine:**

# **One-State Solution in Israel/Palestine: Call for Justice or antisemitic Incitement?**

*Gustavo Barragan*

---

### **Introduction**

One of the most contentious issues around antisemitism and anti-Zionism is whether calls for a one-state solution are inherently antisemitic. This chapter will discuss three aspects of calls for a one-state solution that some critics see as inherently antisemitic. These first include the denial of the Israeli citizens' right to self-determination, the creation of an existential threat to Jews living in Israel today, and the justification of a single-state by portraying the State of Israel as the ultimate evil of 21st-century nationalism. By breaking down the question of whether to characterize a single-state solution to the Israel-Palestine conflict as antisemitic or not by addressing these three aspects, this chapter offers a nuanced perspective on this increasingly important question.

### **Denying Jews the Right to Self-Determination**

According to the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) definition of antisemitism, calls for a one-state proposal are antisemitic because Jews would be denied their right to self-determination which is a right recognized for all other national groups.<sup>235</sup> Israeli Jews would have no autonomy in economic policies nor take part of the central government because the Palestinian government would take control of the state. As a result, Jews could lose

---

<sup>235</sup> IHRA. "What is antisemitism?" 2018.

their right to self-determination because the Palestinian community would become the ethnic majority and enshrine their religions and political agendas at the expense of the Jewish minority.

According to Uri Avnery who was an Israeli politician and writer, Palestinians advocating for a one-state solution means that they want to destroy the State of Israel. In addition, he strongly believes Israeli Jews would never want to give up their state for that reason.<sup>9</sup> The two groups have had 120 years of conflict, and once this joint state is established, millions of Palestinian Arab refugees would return to the country and likely fight for civil rights. The Arab world would appeal more to Palestinians because they view Israelis as oppressors. Hence, the Palestinian government would be the ones in control of the state. In addition, advocating for a one-state solution is antisemitic because Jews' quality of life and power would be taken away from them if this proposal happened.<sup>236</sup> Additionally, Jews being denied rights in a one-state solution is antisemitic according to the JDA. However, it is important to note that is not antisemitic to advocate for a one-state solution if Jews and Palestinians both are granted equal rights.

Alvin Hirsh Rosenfeld is a scholar who has written about new forms of antisemitism and is an American professor at Indiana University who teaches Jewish studies.<sup>237</sup> He argues in his book *Anti-Zionism and Antisemitism: The Dynamics of Delegitimization* that it is antisemitic to advocate for a one-state solution. For example, if Jews were to live in a single-state with Palestinians it would mean that they would be defenseless against the forces of political Islam. In addition, this one-state solution advocates that a Jewish sovereign state must not exist. Moreover, Israel's dissolution would mean that Jews would be vulnerable to antisemitic attacks from certain groups or organizations. The one-state solution would also put Jews in a hostile territory because

---

<sup>236</sup> Farsakh, Leila. "The One-State Solution and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Palestinian Challenges and Prospects". *Middle East Journal*, vol. 65, no. 1, Middle East Institute, 2011, pp. 55–71.

<sup>237</sup> "Finding Aids Database".

groups such as Hamas would be able to harm Jews. Hence, according to the JDA and IHRA, a one-state solution where Jewish lives are in jeopardy, and they are discriminated against, would be considered antisemitic.

From the IHRA perspective, the only solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that recognizes both Jewish and Palestinian rights is a two-state solution. This is an argument exemplified by Brent E. Sasley and Uri Avnery. Sasley advocates for the two-state solution instead because Israeli Jews and Palestinians each would not be denied that right to self-determination in this proposal. In fact, both ethnoreligious groups would be able to self-govern in their demanded state in which their identities are privileged.<sup>238</sup> Uri Avnery argues the only way in which the two communities could avoid conflict is by living in two completely different states. The Israeli Peace Movement's elder state and cofounder of the Israeli Council for Israeli- Palestinian Peace, Uri Avnery did not support the one-state solution and believes it is antisemitic to advocate for it. He argues it is antisemitic because a one-state solution will dismantle the state of Israel from his point of view. Moreover, he believes that Israelis and Palestinians cannot live together because it will become a battlefield. Each group would try and take as much land from one another as possible, so this solution will not promote peace.<sup>239</sup> Moreover, in the frameworks of the JDA and IHRA advocating for a one-state solution would be viewed as antisemitic because it would put Jews physically in danger. On the other hand, a two-state solution would keep Jews in a safe environment and allow the rights of Jews in the State of Israel to exist and flourish just as stated in the JDA guidelines

The Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism (JDA), takes a different approach to defining antisemitism by differentiating national recognition from sovereignty. The JDA states that

---

<sup>238</sup> Tapper, Hahn J. Aaron and Sucharov, Mira. "*Social Justice and Israel/Palestine, Foundational and Contemporary Debates*". 2019.

<sup>239</sup> Avnery, Uri. "one-state: Solution or Utopia?" *Palestine-Israel Journal*. 2007.

advocating for a single-state solution would not be antisemitic as long as the ultimate political arrangement supports full equality to all inhabitants “between the river and the sea”, whether in a unitary democratic state, a binational state, or a federal state.<sup>240</sup> This means the rights of Jewish Israelis should be able to exist and flourish collectively and individually in a proposed one-state solution.<sup>241</sup>

A similar solution was proposed by Edward Said. Said, a Palestinian-American academic, advocated for the one-state solution because he believed that the same resources and privileges would be available to Palestinians and Israeli citizens. Both groups would retain the rights to self-determination, equal rights, and the ability to obtain citizenship. The two-state solution, on the other hand, would continue to leave the state of Palestine with less power, which would cause their citizens to suffer from a lack of resources. Additionally, Palestinians would remain vulnerable to getting additional land taken away.<sup>242</sup> For Said, a one-state solution would be the more ethical solution to the Arab-Israel conflict.

Another Palestinian, Ghada Karmi agrees with Said. She states that advocating for a one-state solution is an alternative vision for peace. She believes the two-state solution divides the Palestinian homeland into unequal parts which could increase the conflict even more. Palestinians intellectuals have opposed the two-state solution because it accommodates Zionist ambitions. For instance, the Peel Commission of 1937 recommended that Palestinians and Jewish citizens be divided into different states. In 1947, this became a reality and the Jewish State was created. Palestinians saw this partition set up by the British government as a direct assault. Furthermore, this caused them to declare war in 1967 and 1973. The one-state solution will stop Israeli Jews from taking away more of the Palestinian land and prevent future conflicts. It would

---

<sup>240</sup>JDA. “The Jerusalem Declaration On Antisemitism”. 2022.

<sup>241</sup>Ibid.

<sup>242</sup>Halawi, Ibrahim. “In memory of Edward Said: the one-state solution”. *Middle East Eye*. February 13, 2015.

also avoid a division of resources. Colonial Powers and Western Nations divided these states which have caused decades of war. However, a one-state solution could bring Israeli Jews and Palestinian together which will allow for both communities to address their issues concerning refugees, settlement, and resources according to Kharma.<sup>243</sup>

Omar Barghouti who is the Palestinian co-founder of the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement, also argues that advocating for a one-state solution is not considered antisemitic. He says it is “the more just, moral and therefore enduring alternative”. It ends ethnonationalism and Israel’s apartheid wall, and upholding the rights of Palestinian refugees”.<sup>244</sup> It protects Palestinians' political and civil rights. In addition, the one-state solution also allows Palestinian refugees to return to their homeland as mandated by the UNGA (United Nations General Assembly) Resolution 194.<sup>245</sup> Hence, it provides justice because it enables Palestinians to live with their victimizers on an equal basis, despite all the injustices in the past.<sup>246</sup>

Hence, the single-state visions espoused by Said, Karmi, and Barghouti would not be considered antisemitic according to the JDA because the one-state solution would be supporting arrangements that accord full equality to all inhabitants. However, the IHRA would fundamentally disagree.

We have three different contentions regarding whether denying Jews the right to a nation-state is antisemitic; 1) denying Jews the right to national sovereignty is antisemitic; 2) a single-state that preserves the national autonomy and civil rights for Jews in Palestine is not

---

<sup>243</sup> Karmi, G. “The one-state solution: An alternative vision for israeli-palestinian peace”. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 2011. 40(2), 62-76.

<sup>244</sup> Thier, Daphna and Awad, Sumaya. “The one-state solution” *Jacobin*. April 30, 2021.

<sup>245</sup> UNRWA. “Resolution 194”.

<sup>246</sup> Farsakh, Leila. “The One-State Solution and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Palestinian Challenges and Prospects”. *Middle East Journal*, vol. 65, no. 1, Middle East Institute, 2011, pp. 55–7.

antisemitic; 3) a single-state is the only way to ensure that Palestinian rights are recognized given their status as refugees from Palestine.

### **An Existential Threat to Jews**

In addition to the specific question of national self-determination, the other aspect of a one-state solution that triggers concerns about antisemitism is the perception that relinquishing sovereignty would lead to existential threats for Jews. Jews becoming a minority group and losing all their political power due to the one-state proposal could put them in danger of antisemitic threats from national-Islamic organizations such as Hamas (also known as the Islamic Resistance Movement). Furthermore, advocating for a one-state solution and stigmatizing Israel could be considered antisemitic according to the JDA definition, as it would likely lead to violence or aggression against Israeli Jews.<sup>2</sup> Meir Litvak, a lecturer at Tel Aviv University's Department of Middle Eastern and African History, also argues that advocating for a single-state is antisemitic. The one-state solution could be motivated by antisemitism due to the potential for religious conflict between Jewish Israelis and Palestinian Muslims.

Claims of radical Palestinian groups, such as Hamas, further fuel the concern that a single-state would put Jews directly in harm's way. The Hamas Charter describing Israel as oppressors and representing the party of Satan does not make it a feasible reality for Israeli and Palestinian citizens to live together. Moreover, support for a one-state solution could lead to war because according to Hamas the only solution to combat Jews is by declaring Jihad, or Holy War". The Hamas Charter also states that all Muslims should fight and kill the Jews.<sup>247</sup> Hamas strongly believes that Judaism is the primary enemy of their religion due to the Israeli-Palestine

---

<sup>247</sup> Litvak, Meir. "The Anti-Semitism of Hamas. *Palestine-Israel Journal of Politics, Economics & Culture*. June 1, 2005.

conflict. Therefore, it often sees the eradication of Israel as a major goal of their movement. Moreover, in Hamas' point of view, Israel is spreading corruption in the land of Islam with their Zionism beliefs.

### **Portraying the State of Israel as the ultimate evil of 21st-century nationalism**

The JDA definition states that when Israel is portrayed as the ultimate evil stigmatizes all Jews, therefore, it is antisemitic.<sup>2</sup> This portrayal motivates the one-state solution because groups such as the Palestinians would want to advocate for an end to the state of Israel since they view all Jews as this wrong portrayal. Advocating for a one-state solution by portraying Israel as an evil-doing country would be perceived as antisemitic according to both the JDA and IHRA definitions because it collectively stigmatizes all Israeli Jews. Historical tropes of Antisemitism can be found for example in Article 22 of the Hamas Charter which describes the Jews as destroyers of societies by creating the Rotary Club and Freemasons to fulfill their Zionist goals.<sup>8</sup>

Calls for a one-state solution can also be accompanied by comparing modern Israel to Nazi Germany. This depiction portrays all Jews as oppressors and compares them to a group that attempted to wipe them out completely. Using images such as Jews killing Jesus characterizes Jews as evil and could motivate countries with strong religious affiliations or identities to dismantle the state of Israel.<sup>3</sup> Hence, according to the JDA and IHRA, if one-state solution calls are motivated by portrayals that stigmatize Jews, or tropes that are listed in the first chapter of our Report it is considered antisemitic.

### **Conclusion**

Overall, calls for a one-state solution could be motivated by antisemitism because Jews could see it as advocating for cultural and religious war. Furthermore, we note that advocating for a one-state solution is often associated with various threatening antisemitic acts. For instance, Hamas promotes antisemitism, and advocating for a one-state solution would put Jews in danger of them because their goal is to eradicate the state of Israel and harm Jews. According to the IHRA and JDA definition, it is antisemitic to commit criminal acts against Jews. Furthermore, advocating for a one-state solution would allow Hamas to pose an existential threat to Jews living in Israel today.

The single-state solution also could be considered antisemitic because promoting it means that Israeli Jews will become the minority and have a reduced ability to self-govern. Moreover, Palestinian Arabs would eventually take control of the state and Jews would be denied the right to self-determination which is considered antisemitic. The state of Israel would then be dismantled and Israeli Jews would no longer be guaranteed to have a state in which they are given safety and stability. It could make them vulnerable to antisemitic attacks and the political forces of Islam. Meir Latvik and Alvin Hirsh Rosenfield both agreed that advocating for a one-state solution is antisemitic for this exact reason. In addition, the one-state solution posing an existential threat to Jews' physical security would also be seen as antisemitic through the frameworks of the JDA and IHRA definition.

Advocating for a one-state solution where Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs are not in danger or discriminated against and where both communities are treated equally is not considered antisemitic according to the JDA. Uri Avnery, Alvin Hirsh Rosenfield, Meir Latvik, and Brent E. Sasley believed this was not possible and that Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs must live in two completely different states. However, Ghada Karmi, Omar Barghouti, and

Edward Said thought otherwise. They advocated for a one-state solution that supported full equality for all inhabitants. Thus, advocating for a one-state solution that supports these arrangements and maintains Jewish physical security safe would not be considered antisemitic through the frameworks of the JDA.

## Conclusion

---

During the process of writing this report, our group had the realization that ‘defining’ antisemitism should not be the aim of our research. Antisemitism is an extremely nuanced and complicated social paradigm that has a history dating back to biblical times but is still growing and evolving today. To define antisemitism is to create a binary that poses a threat to combating and eliminating evolving antisemitism in our world. Instead, we have proposed a more holistic approach to analyzing and identifying antisemitism to combat preconceived ideas of what antisemitism can or cannot be, or who can or cannot be antisemitic.

We outline this approach in our paper through three key sections highlighting antisemitism past and present, across the world, and across the political spectrum. In our first section, we outline the history of antisemitism and the tropes of the disproportion of power, untrustworthiness, and racial inferiority and how those tropes are still used today. Following this, we delve into an analysis of antisemitism and how it manifests itself differently across the political spectrum and globe. Finally, the report finishes by focusing on the case study of the conflict between Israel and Palestine, including a discussion of the history, critiques of Israel and Palestine respectively, and proposed solutions to the conflict. These sections were chosen and outlined to center the conversation around how antisemitism has changed and developed over history and how it presents itself now in the world today. We aim to show how antisemitism and antisemitic thought has both evolved and stayed rooted in tropes from centuries ago to articulate its vast and complicated nature.

## **Policy Recommendations**

---

As the result of our research we recommend the following to better understand, identify, and combat antisemitism:

1. Integrate educational material about antisemitism and Jewish culture into curriculum at all levels of education in the American and European education systems in order to familiarize students with these topics. By educating students and introducing them to these topics at an early age it creates a level of understanding and awareness that does not exist today.
2. Include antisemitism in definitions of hate crimes and develop systems in which to hold offenders liable at all levels of government, both nationally and internationally.
3. Hold social media corporations to a higher standard for the lack of accountability for those who spread antisemitic thought on their platform, and encourage them to edit their terms of service to hold offenders accountable.
4. Integrate awareness about antisemitism among groups across the political spectrum and encourage re-education about the Jewish identity and who can or cannot be discriminated against. Re-examine ideas of ‘white privilege’ and who benefits from it.
5. Hold political actors accountable across the spectrum who use antisemitic thought to serve their political agenda in order to aid in this re-education.

## References

---

- “A Threshold Crossed: Israeli Authorities and the Crimes of Apartheid and Persecution.” 2021. Human Rights Watch.  
<https://www.hrw.org/report/2021/04/27/threshold-crossed/israeli-authorities-and-crimes-a-partheid-and-persecution>.
- “About the IRA Non-Legally Binding Working Definition of Antisemitism.” International Holocaust Remembrance Association. Accessed February 9, 2022.  
<https://holocaustremembrance.com/resources/working-definitions-charters/working-definition-antisemitism>.
- “Amnesty International Describes Israel as an Apartheid State in New Report.” The Forward. Accessed January 30, 2022.  
<https://forward.com/news/481745/amnesty-international-describes-israel-as-an-apartheid-state-in-new-report/>.
- “Anti-Semitic Graffiti Found near Jewish Family Service of Seattle.” 2022. King5.Com. January 5, 2022.  
<https://www.king5.com/article/news/local/anti-semitic-graffiti-near-Jewish-family-service-seattle/281-e448f375-d112-496e-af52-abd1496f254b>.
- “Anti-Semitism In Germany Today: Its Roots And Tendencies - Susanne Urban.” n.d. Accessed January 17, 2022. <https://www.jcpa.org/phas/phas-urban-f04.htm>.
- “Anti-Zionism and Antisemitism: The Dynamics of Delegitimization”, edited by Alvin H. Rosenfeld, Indiana University Press, 2019. ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://www.proquest.com/legacydocview/EBC/5652170?accountid=14784>.
- “Antisemitism in the US.” 2022. Anti-Defamation League. Accessed January 31.  
<https://www.adl.org/what-we-do/anti-semitism/antisemitism-in-the-us>.
- “Basic Law- Human Dignity and Liberty.” 1992. Accessed February 13, 2022.  
<https://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/MFA-Archive/1992/Pages/Basic%20Law-%20Human%20Dignity%20and%20Liberty-.aspx>.
- “Ben & Jerry's Will End Sales of Our Ice Cream in the Occupied Palestinian Territory.” 2021. <https://www.benjerry.com/about-us/media-center/opt-statement>.

- “Corbyn Apologises over Event Where Israel Was Compared to Nazis | Jeremy Corbyn | The Guardian.” n.d. Accessed February 22, 2022.  
<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/aug/01/jeremy-corbyn-issues-apology-in-labour-antisemitism-row>.
- “Countries with Lowest Human Rights Scores.” n.d. Statista. Accessed February 13, 2022.  
<https://www.statista.com/statistics/1255578/lowest-human-rights-scores-by-country/>.
- “Declaration of Independence.” n.d. Accessed January 30, 2022.  
<https://main.knesset.gov.il:443/EN/About/pages/declaration.aspx>.
- “Democrats Blast Campaign Mailer as Blatantly Anti-Semitic.” n.d. Accessed February 13, 2022.  
<https://www.cbsnews.com/news/democrats-others-blast-ed-charamut-campaign-mailer-about-connecticut-state-senator-matt-lesser-as-blatantly-anti-semitic/>.
- “European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia.” n.d. Eurofound. Accessed February 25, 2022.  
<https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/observatories/eurwork/industrial-relations-dictionary/european-monitoring-centre-on-racism-and-xenophobia>.
- “FAQs.” BDS Movement. Accessed January 25, 2022.  
<https://bdsmovement.net/faqs#collapse16244>.
- “Finding Aids Database.” [http://findingaids.brandeis.edu/agents/502?agent\\_type=agent\\_person](http://findingaids.brandeis.edu/agents/502?agent_type=agent_person)
- “Get Involved: Know What to Boycott.” BDS Movement. Accessed January 28, 2022.  
<https://bdsmovement.net/faqs#collapse16244>.
- “Ilhan Omar Attacks Pro-Israel Lobby and Critics Again Call Remarks Antisemitic.” Associated Press of St. Paul, Minnesota. 2019. The Guardian, March 2, 2019, sec. US news.  
<https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/mar/02/ilhan-omar-attacks-pro-israel-lobby-antisemitic>.
- “Immigrants to Israel: 1948-1952.” n.d. Accessed January 31, 2022.  
<https://www.Jewishvirtuallibrary.org/immigrants-to-israel-1948-1952>.
- “Investigation into Antisemitism in the Labour Party | Equality and Human Rights Commission.” n.d. Accessed January 31, 2022.  
<https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/publication-download/investigation-antisemitism-labour-party>.

- “Is All Criticism of Israel Antisemitic?” 2018. Anne Frank Website. November 6, 2018.  
<https://www.annefrank.org/en/topics/antisemitism/all-criticism-israel-antisemitic/>.
- “Israel’s Apartheid against Palestinians: Cruel System of Domination and Crime against Humanity.” 2022. Amnesty International. Accessed February 13, 2022.  
<https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde15/5141/2022/en/>.
- “Jeremy Corbyn and Labour’s Anti-Semitism Row Explained - BBC News.” n.d. Accessed January 31, 2022. <https://www.bbc.com/news/newsbeat-43893791>.
- “Jerusalem Declaration of Antisemitism.” Jerusalem Declaration. Accessed February 9, 2022.  
[https://jerusalemdeclaration.org/?page\\_id=7](https://jerusalemdeclaration.org/?page_id=7).
- “Joint Statement: Amnesty International U.K. Report Delegitimizes Jewish and Democratic State of Israel.” 2022. Congresswoman Debbie Wasserman Schultz : Biography. February 1, 2022.  
<https://wassermanschultz.house.gov/news/documentsingle.aspx?DocumentID=2775>.
- “Most Jewish Americans Identify as White, Non-Hispanic”. Pew Research Center. Pew Research Center, May 5, 2021.  
[https://www.pewforum.org/2021/05/11/race-ethnicity-heritage-and-immigration-among-u-s-jews/pf\\_05-11-21\\_Jewish-americans-09-0/](https://www.pewforum.org/2021/05/11/race-ethnicity-heritage-and-immigration-among-u-s-jews/pf_05-11-21_Jewish-americans-09-0/).
- “Neo-Nazis.” Anti-Defamation League. Accessed February 14, 2022.  
<https://www.adl.org/resources/glossary-terms/neo-nazis>.
- “New Antisemitism”. Bloomington, UNITED STATES: Indiana University Press.  
<http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/washington/detail.action?docID=4088463>.
- “Palestine Unbound.” 2019. *Journal of Palestine Studies* 48 (4): 145–52.  
doi:10.1525/jps.2019.48.4.145.
- “The Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism | JDA.” n.d. Accessed February 22, 2022.  
<https://jerusalemdeclaration.org/>.
- “The Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism.” JDA, February 8, 2022.  
<https://jerusalemdeclaration.org/>.

“U.S. Jews' Political Views.” 2022. Pew Research Center's Religion & Public Life Project. Pew Research Center. January 6.

<https://www.pewforum.org/2021/05/11/u-s-jews-political-views/>.

“Unite the Right Rally in Charlottesville Timeline.” Facing History and Ourselves. Accessed February 23, 2022.

<https://www.facinghistory.org/chunk/unite-right-rally-charlottesville-timeline>.

“UNRWA Joins Other UN Entities in Raising Alarm over Eight Sheikh Jarrah Families at Risk of Forced Eviction.” 2021. UNRWA. May 10, 2021.

<https://www.unrwa.org/newsroom/press-releases/unrwa-joins-other-un-entities-raising-alarm-over-eight-sheikh-jarrah>.

“US Legislator AOC Calls Israel an ‘Apartheid State.’” n.d. Accessed January 30, 2022.

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/5/16/in-tweet-us-legislator-aoc-calls-israel-apartheid-state>.

“What Is Antisemitism?” IHRA, 2018.

<https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/resources/working-definitions-charters/working-definition-antisemitism>.

“What Is Antisemitism?” n.d. IHRA. Accessed February 22, 2022.

<https://holocaustremembrance.com/resources/working-definitions-charters/working-definition-antisemitism>.

“What to Make of Die Linke” The Economist. 2021. September 18, 2021.

<https://www.economist.com/europe/2021/09/18/what-to-make-of-die-linke>.

“White Nationalism.” Anti-Defamation League. Anti-Defamation League. Accessed January 31, 2022. <https://www.adl.org/resources/glossary-terms/white-nationalism>.

ADL, “Financial Crisis Sparks Wave of Internet Anti-Semitism,” October 24, 2008,

<https://www.adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/assets/pdf/anti-semitism/united-states/financial-crisis-sparks-internet-anti-semitism-2008-10-24.pdf>.

ADL. “Anti-Israel and Anti-Zionist Campaigns.” 2022.

<https://www.adl.org/what-we-do/israel/anti-israel-and-anti-zionist-campaigns>

Alper, Becka A., and Alan Cooperman. 2021. “10 Key Findings about Jewish Americans.” Pew Research Center. Pew Research Center. May 11.

<https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/05/11/10-key-findings-about-Jewish-americans/.and Present.>

Anderson, John. "Oslo Festival Rejects Documentary, Citing Cultural Boycott Against Israel."

Atalia Omer." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 88 (1). US: Oxford University Press:254–56. doi:10.1093/jaarel/lfz110.

Avnery, Uri. "One State: Solution or Utopia?" *Palestine-Israel Journal*. 2007.

<https://pij.org/articles/1065/one-state-solution-or-utopia>

Ayyash, Mark Muhannad. n.d. "Israel Is a Settler Colony, Annexing Native Land Is What It Does." Accessed January 30,2022.

<https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2020/7/7/israel-is-a-settler-colony-annexing-native-land-and-is-what-it-does.>

Badran, Amneh. 2009. *Zionist Israel and Apartheid South Africa: Civil Society and Peace Building in Ethnic-National States*. London, UNITED KINGDOM: Taylor & Francis Group. <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/washington/detail.action?docID=446740.>

Baroud, Ramzy. 2021. "The Nakba of Sheikh Jarrah: How Israel Uses The Law to Ethnically Cleanse East Jerusalem." *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* 40 (3): 22–24.

Baum, Steven K. "Antisemitic Beliefs: Formation and Transmission of a Superstition." *Journal for the Study of Antisemitism* 1, no. 1 (June 1, 2009): 39–59.

Baumgart-Ochse, Claudia. 2019. "Claiming Justice for Israel/Palestine: The Boycott,

Beauchamp, Zack. "What are the 'two-state solution' and the 'one-state solution'?" *Vox.com*. May 14, 2018.

<https://www.vox.com/2018/11/20/18080094/what-are-the-two-state-solution-and-the-one-state-solution>

Becker, Amy. 2020. "Polarization and American Jews: The Partisan Debate Over Attribution of Blame and Responsibility for Rising Anti-Semitism in the United." *Social Science Quarterly* 101 (4): 1572–83. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ssqu.12829>.

Bergmann, Werner, and Juliane Wetzel. "Manifestations of Anti-Semitism in the European Union." *Technische Universität Berlin*, Mar. 2003,

[https://www.erinnern.at/themen/e\\_bibliothek/antisemitismus-1/431\\_anti-semitism\\_in\\_the\\_european\\_union.pdf](https://www.erinnern.at/themen/e_bibliothek/antisemitismus-1/431_anti-semitism_in_the_european_union.pdf)

Berinsky, Adam J., and Tali Mendelberg. 2005. "The Indirect Effects of Discredited Stereotypes in Judgments of Jewish Leaders." *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (4): 845–64. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2005.00159.x>

Biger, Gideon. 2021. "The Partition Plans for Palestine—1930–1947." *Israel Studies* 26 (3): 24–45. <https://doi.org/10.2979/israelstudies.26.3.03>

Bisharat, George E.. "Maximizing Rights: The One-State Solution to the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict" *Global Jurist*, vol. 8, no. 2, 2008. <https://doi-org.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/10.2202/1934-2640.1266>

Boorstein, Michelle. 2021. "National Climate, Voting Rights Groups Try to Keep Movements Unified after Dispute about Israel." *The Washington Post*. WP Company. October 21. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/religion/2021/10/21/voting-rights-climate-declaration-for-american-democracy-antisemitism-israel-sunrise-progressive/>

Borger, Julian. 2021. "'A Radical Change': America's New Generation of pro-Palestinian Voices." *The Guardian*, May 21, 2021, sec. US news. <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2021/may/21/israel-gaza-conflict-biden-palestine>

Boston, Rob. 2021. "White Christian Nationalists: Who Are They?: What Do They Want?: Why Should You Care?" *Church & State* 74 (4). <https://search-ebscohost-com.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=lsdar&AN=ATLAIe8N210510001012&site=ehost-live>

Bronner, Stephen Eric. "Conspiracy Fetishism, Community, and the Antisemitic Imaginary." *Antisemitism Studies* 4, no. 2 (September 22, 2020): 371–88.

Bronner, Stephen Eric. 2020. "Conspiracy Fetishism, Community, and the Antisemitic Imaginary." *Antisemitism Studies* 4 (2) (Fall): 371-387. Doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2979/antistud.4.2.06>  
<https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/conspiracy-fetishism-community-antisemitic/docview/2449504783/se-2?accountid=14784>

Brown, Jessica Autumn. 2014. "'Our National Feeling Is a Broken One: Civic Emotion and the Holocaust in German Citizenship Education." *Qualitative Sociology* 37 (4): 425–42. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11133-014-9286-8>

- Carneiro, Maria Luiza Tucci, and Colffield, Carol. 2020. *Ten Myths About the Jews*. Eastbourne, UK; Chicago, IL: Sussex Academic Press.
- Chaitin, Julia, Shoshana Steinberg, and Sharon Steinberg. 2017. "Polarized Words: Discourse on the Boycott of Israel, Social Justice and Conflict Resolution." *The International Journal of Conflict Management* 28 (3). BINGLEY: Emerald Publishing Limited: 270–94. doi:10.1108/IJCMA-05-2016-0029.
- Chaitin, Julia, Shoshana Steinberg, and Sharon Steinberg. 2017. "‘BDS - It's Complicated’: Israeli, Jewish, and Others' Views on the Boycott of Israel." *The International Journal of Human Rights* 21 (7). Routledge: 889–907. doi:10.1080/13642987.2017.1298093.
- Cohen, Bennett, and Jerry Greenfield. "We're Ben and Jerry. Men of Ice Cream, Men of Principle." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, July 28, 2021. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/28/opinion/ben-and-jerry-israel.html?referringSource=articleShare>.
- Complex." European Coordination of Committees and Associations for Palestine, May 24, 2018. <https://www.eccpalestine.org/beyond-dual-use-israeli-universities-role-in-the-military-security-industrial-complex/>.
- Cook, Jonathan. 2021. "Labour Party Declares Israel an Apartheid State: An Embarrassing Blow to Starmer." *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* 40 (7): 14–17.
- Culcasi, Karen. 2016. "Engaging in the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (bds) Debate." doi:10.1111/j.1931-0846.2016.12158.x.
- Cummings, William. n.d. "Rep. Ilhan Omar Deletes the Controversial Tweets That Drew Charges of Anti-Semitism." *USA TODAY*. Accessed January 28, 2022. <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/onpolitics/2019/02/26/ilhan-omar-deletes-israel-tweets-that-drew-charges-of-anti-semitism/2989404002/>.
- Damen, Rawan. n.d. "Al Nakba: The History of Palestine since 1799 - Palestine Remix." Accessed February 26, 2022. <https://interactive.aljazeera.com/aje/palestineremix/al-nakba.html#/17>.
- Desiderio, Andrew. 2022. "‘Malicious Poison’: GOP Senator Slams Biden’s Antisemitism Envoy Pick for Criticizing His Jan. 6 Rhetoric - POLITICO,"

<https://www.politico.com/news/2022/02/08/malicious-poison-ron-johnson-antisemitism-e-nvoy-jan6-00006702>.

Diker, Dan. 2019. "Terror and Anti-Semitism in the Physiology of BDS." *inFOCUS* 13 (3).

Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) Campaign and Christian Organizations." *The Role of Religion in Struggles for Global Justice*, 104–20. doi:10.4324/9781351138826-8.

Dov Waxman, David Schraub & Adam Hosein (2021) *Arguing about antisemitism: why we disagree about antisemitism, and what we can do about it*, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2021.1960407

Eckes, Alfred E., and Thomas W. Zeiler. 2003. *Globalization and the American Century*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Edelheit, Abraham J. 2000. "The Holocaust and the Rise of Israel: A Reassessment Reassessed." *Jewish Political Studies Review* 12 (1/2): 97–112.

Elmasry, Mohamad Hamas, Alaa El Shamy, Peter Manning, Andrew Mills, and Philip J Auter. 2013. "Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya Framing of the Israel–Palestine Conflict during War and Calm Periods." *International Communication Gazette* 75 (8): 750–68. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048513482545>.

Færseth, John. 2020. "Johan Galtung and antisemitism." *Fri tanke - nettavis for livssyn og livssynspolitikk*. November 12, 2020.

Farsakh, Leila. "The One-State Solution and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Palestinian Challenges and Prospects." *Middle East Journal*, vol. 65, no. 1, Middle East Institute, 2011, pp. 55–71, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23012093>.

Feffer, John. 2019. *How to Displace the Great Replacement*. Washington: Inter-Hemispheric Resource Center Press. <https://www.proquest.com/reports/how-displace-great-replacement/docview/2311897327/se-2?accountid=14784>.

Feldman, David. n.d. *Boycotts Past and Present*. Cham: Springer International Publishing. doi:10.1007/978-3-319-94872-0.

Fisher, Alyssa. n.d. "Rep. Ted Lieu Sorry for Anti-Semitic Dual Loyalty Tweet – The Forward." Accessed January 31, 2022.

<https://forward.com/fast-forward/429796/dual-loyalty-ted-lieu-david-friedman-rashida-tlaib-ilhan-omar-israel/>.

Gambino, Lauren. 2019. "Ilhan Omar Apologizes after Being Accused of Using 'Antisemitic Tropes.'" *The Guardian*, February 11, 2019, sec. US news.

<https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/feb/11/ilhan-omar-antisemitic-tweets-house-democrats-apology>.

Geller, Jay. 2020. "Introduction. 'A Field Guide to the Bestiarium Judaicum.'" In *Bestiarium Judaicum*, 1–28. New York, USA: Fordham University Press.

*Geographical Review* 106 (2). HOBOKEN: Taylor & Francis: 258–63.

Geva, Maayan. 2016. *Law, Politics and Violence in Israel/Palestine*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, Springer International Publishing.

Gold, Dore. 2011. "The Myth of Israel as a Colonialist Entity: An Instrument of Political Warfare to Delegitimize the Jewish State." *Jewish Political Studies Review* 23 (3/4): 84–90.

Gould, Rebecca. 2013. "To Boycott or Not? A Moral Conundrum." *Peace Review* 25 (4): 584–89. doi:10.1080/10402659.2013.846666.

Green, Emma. 2016. "Jews and the Social Construction of Race." *The Atlantic*. Atlantic Media Company. December 6.

<https://www.theatlantic.com/notes/2016/12/Jews-whiteness/509606/>.

Gregorian, Dareh. 2019. "Trump: Jewish People Who Vote Democratic Show 'Great Disloyalty.'" *NBC News*. 2019.

<https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/donald-trump/trump-jewish-people-who-vote-democrat-show-great-disloyalty-n1044621>.

Grenell, Alexis. 2022. "Goysplaining." *Nation* 314 (2): 7–8.

<https://search-ebshost-com.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a9h&AN=154517321&site=ehost-live>.

Hahn Tapper, Aaron J., and Sucharov, Mira. 2019. *Social Justice and Israel/Palestine: Foundational and Contemporary Debates*. Toronto ; Buffalo ; London: University of Toronto Press.

- Halawi, Ibrahim. "In memory of Edward Said: the one-state solution." *Middle East Eye*. February 13, 2015. <https://www.middleeasteye.net/fr/columns/memory-edward-said-one-state-solution-117215136>
- Hirsch, Michael L. "Blood Libel: On the Trail of an Antisemitic Myth by Magda Teter." *International Social Science Review* 96, no. 2 (August 1, 2020): 1h–1h.
- Hockenbery, J. Supremacist thinking, epistemological despair, and Christian hope. *Dialog*. 2021; 60: 28– 34. <https://doi-org.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/10.1111/dial.12627> "Qanon: #TranslateHate." *AJC*, January 7, 2022. <https://www.ajc.org/translatehate/QAnon>.
- Hyman, Paula E. "New Perspectives on the Dreyfus Affair." *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques* 31, no. 3 (2005): 335–49.
- IHRA. "What is antisemitism?" 2018. <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/working-definition-antisemitism>
- Israeli, Jewish, and Others' Views on the Boycott of Israel." *The International Journal of Human Rights* 21 (7). Routledge: 889–907. doi:10.1080/13642987.2017.1298093.
- JDA. "The Jerusalem Declaration On Antisemitism." 2022. <https://jerusalemdeclaration.org/> Jewish Policy Center: 24.
- Jikeli, Gunther. "Is Religion Coming Back as a Source for Antisemitic Views?" *Religions* 11, no. 5 (2020): 255. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel11050255>.
- Kampeas, Ron. 2021. "Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Ted Cruz Fight a Twitter Battle over Holocaust Analogies." *Jewish Telegraphic Agency (blog)*. January 12, 2021. <https://www.jta.org/2021/01/12/politics/alexandria-ocasio-cortez-and-ted-cruz-fight-a-twitter-battle-over-holocaust-analogies>.
- Karmi, G. "The one-state solution: An alternative vision for israeli-palestinian peace." *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 2011. 40(2), 62-76. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1525/jps.2011.XL.2.62>
- Katz, Ethan B., Israel Bartal, Lisa Moses Leff, Maud S. Mandel, Colette Zytynicki, Daniel J. Schroeter, Tara Zahra, David Feldman, Adam Mendelsohn, and Susannah Heschel. 2017. *Colonialism and the Jews*. Bloomington, UNITED STATES: Indiana University Press. <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/washington/detail.action?docID=4804428>.

- Kofta, Mirosław, Wiktor Soral, and Michał Bilewicz. “What Breeds Conspiracy Antisemitism? The Role of Political Uncontrollability and Uncertainty in the Belief in Jewish Conspiracy.” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 118, no. 5 (May 2020): 900-18.
- Kosmin, Barry A. 2014. “Disloyalty and Dual Loyalty, the Jewish Question ‘Redux’: Response to the Sklare Lecture.” *Contemporary Jewry* 34 (3): 213–16.
- Kressel, Neil J. 2016. “How to Interpret American Poll Data on Jews, Israel and Antisemitism.” *Antisemitism in North America*, January, 1–32.  
[https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004307148\\_002](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004307148_002).
- Krikler, Jeremy. 2019. “Moral-Historical Questions of the Anti-Israel Boycott.” In *Boycotts Past*
- Lipstadt, Deborah E. 2019. *Antisemitism: Here and Now*. Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group.
- Lipstadt, Deborah E. 2019. *Antisemitism: Here and Now*. New York: Schocken.
- Lipstadt, Deborah. “Holocaust Denial: An Antisemitic Fantasy.” *Modern Judaism - A Journal of Jewish Ideas and Experience* 40, no. 1 (February 1, 2020): 71–86.
- Littky, Scott B. 2021. “The Role of Antisemitism in Holocaust Education in the Jewish and Secular School Classroom.” In *Antisemitism on the Rise*, edited by ARI KOHEN and GERALD J. STEINACHER, 225–42. The 1930s and Today. University of Nebraska Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1xp9pd0.13>.
- Litvak, Meir. “The Anti-Semitism of Hamas. *Palestine-Israel Journal of Politics, Economics & Culture*. June 1, 2005.  
<https://web-s-ebshost-com.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=1&sid=c866c489-aa7c-475f-a7b7-7c318bf71366%40redis>
- Masalha, Nur. 2000. *Imperial Israel and the Palestinians : the Politics of Expansion*. London ; Sterling, Va.: Pluto Press.
- McMahon, Sean F. 2014. “The Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions Campaign: Contradictions and Challenges.” *Race & Class* 55 (4). London, England: SAGE Publications: 65–81.[doi:10.1177/0306396813519939](https://doi.org/10.1177/0306396813519939).
- Mendieta, Eduardo. 2006. “Postcolonialism.” In *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Donald M. Borchert, 2nd ed., 7:726–29. Detroit, MI: Macmillan Reference USA.

<http://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CX3446801625/GVRL?sid=bookmark-GVRL&xid=82ea400d>.

Neuding, Paulina. 2017. "Opinion | The Uncomfortable Truth About Swedish Anti-Semitism." *The New York Times*, December 14, 2017, sec. Opinion.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/14/opinion/sweden-antisemitism-Jews.html>.

New York Times, August 19, 2015, C3(L). Gale Academic OneFile (accessed January 28, 2022).

[https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A425896154/AONE?u=wash\\_main&sid=bookmark-AONE&xid=f9226785](https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A425896154/AONE?u=wash_main&sid=bookmark-AONE&xid=f9226785).

Nirenberg, David. 2013. *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.

Nirenberg, David. 2013. *Anti-Judaism: the Western tradition*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.

Nirenberg, David. 2014. *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company.

OldQueenTV. 2018. Jeremy Corbyn - Anti-Semitism Is "a Scourge in Any Society."

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aaqW2z0\\_Cw](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aaqW2z0_Cw).over Boycott." Bloomberg.com. Bloomberg. October 12.

<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2021-10-12/israeli-envoy-criticizes-ben-jerry-s-founders-over-boycott>.

Painter, Nell. "What Is White America?" *Foreign Affairs* 98, no. 4 (2019): 177–83.

<https://doi.org/https://heinonline-org.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/fora98&id=647&collection=journals&index=>.

Pew Research Center; "Demographic Study of Jews," April 2, 2015,

<https://www.pewforum.org/2015/04/02/Jews/>.

Policy and Survey Research. "Palestinian-Israel Pulse." PSR. February 16, 2017.

<http://www.pcpsr.org/en/node/678>

Pollack, Eunice G. 2011. *Antisemitism on the Campus Past & Present*. Brighton, Mass.: Academic Studies Press.

Principle." *The New York Times*. *The New York Times*, July 28, 2021.

- Rod, Marc. 2022. "With Bipartisan Support, Lipstadt Appears Headed for Senate Confirmation Following Hearing." Jewish Insider. <https://Jewishinsider.com/2022/02/with-bipartisan-support-lipstadt-appears-headed-for-senate-confirmation-following-hearing/>.
- Rose, Hannah. "ICSR Report: The New Philosemitism Exploring a Changing ..." Accessed January 18, 2022. <https://icsr.info/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/ICSR-Report-The-New-Philosemitism-Exploring-a-Changing-Relationship-Between-Jews-and-the-Far-Right.pdf>.
- Rosenberg, Eli. 2018. "Republicans Attack Jewish Candidates, Including Kim Schrier, with an Age-Old Caricature: Fistfuls of Cash." The Washington Post. Accessed February 13, 2022. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2018/11/06/republicans-attack-Jewish-candidates-across-us-with-an-age-old-caricature-fistfuls-cash/>
- Rosenberg, Yair. "Perspective | 'Jews Will Not Replace Us': Why White Supremacists Go after Jews." The Washington Post. WP Company, October 27, 2021. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/acts-of-faith/wp/2017/08/14/Jews-will-not-replace-us-why-white-supremacists-go-after-Jews/>.
- Rosenblum, A. (2021, October 25). To the New Jewish Left. New Voices. Retrieved February 15, 2022, from <https://newvoices.org/2021/08/12/letter-to-the-new-Jewish-left/>
- Rosenblum, April. 2007. "The Past Didn't Go Anywhere: Making Resistance to Antisemitism Part of All of Our Movements." Thepast.info. April 24. [https://www.aprilrosenblum.com/files/ugd/4dc342\\_10d68441b6c44ee0a12909a242074ca6.pdf](https://www.aprilrosenblum.com/files/ugd/4dc342_10d68441b6c44ee0a12909a242074ca6.pdf).
- Rosenfeld, Alvin H., Jean Axelrad Cahan, Bruno Chaouat, Günther Jikeli, Kenneth L. Marcus, David S. Patterson, Elhanan Yakira, Sina Arnold, Doron S. Ben-Atar, and Bruckner Pascal. 2015. Deciphering the
- Ross, Robert B. 2016. "No Space for Apartheid: Toward an Academic Boycott of Israel Among Geographers." *Geographical Review* 106 (2). HOBOKEN: Taylor & Francis: 276–82. doi:10.1111/j.1931-0846.2016.12164.x.
- Rynhold, Jonathan. 2020. "Democrats' Attitudes toward the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict." *Middle East Policy* 27 (4): 48–61. <https://doi.org/10.1111/mepo.12526>.

- Rynhold, Jonathan. 2021. "Divide and Rule: Discursive Authority, Identity Dissonance, Ethnic Lobbies, and US Foreign Policy, or How President Obama Defeated AIPAC over the 2015 Iran Deal." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 17 (2): orab005.  
<https://doi.org/10.1093/fpa/orab005>.
- Saraiva, Augusta, and Alisa Odenheimer. 2021. "Israeli Envoy Criticizes Ben & Jerry's Founders over Boycott." *Bloomberg.com*. Bloomberg. October 12.  
<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2021-10-12/israeli-envoy-criticizes-ben-jerry-s-founders-over-boycott>.
- Schraub, David. "White Jews: An Intersectional Approach." *AJS Review* 43, no 2 (2019), 379–407. doi:10.1017/S0364009419000461.
- Serwer, A. (2022, February 3). Whoopi Goldberg's American idea of Race. *The Atlantic*. Retrieved February 5, 2022, from  
<https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2022/02/whoopi-goldbergs-american-idea-race/621470/>
- Shochat, Azriel, Judith R. Baskin, and Yehuda Slutsky. 2007. "Haskalah." In *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, edited by Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik, 2nd ed., 8:434–44. Detroit, MI: Macmillan Reference USA.
- Smith, Allan. n.d. "Trump Doubles down on Calling Jewish Democrats 'disloyal' to Israel." *NBC News*. Accessed January 30, 2022.  
<https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/donald-trump/trump-doubles-down-calling-Jewish-democrats-disloyal-israel-n1044861>.
- Smith, Nicholas Rush. 2018. "Apartheid." In *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Surveillance, Security, and Privacy*, edited by Bruce A. Arrigo, 1:65–67. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Reference.  
<http://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CX7423600037/GVRL?sid=bookmark-GVRL&xid=2c91d986>.
- Sprusansky, Dale. 2014. "Israel Is Apartheid State." *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* 33 (5): 69–70.
- Starr, Michael. "The Jew Is the Devil' - Neo-Nazis Rally in Florida." *The Jerusalem Post* | JPost.com, January 31, 2022.  
<https://www.jpost.com/diaspora/antisemitism/article-694960>.

- Stoddard, Eve, and John Collins. 2016. "Global Solidarity Movements: Palestine, Tibet, and Beyond." In *Social and Cultural Foundations in Global Studies*. Routledge.
- Strauss, Mark. 2003. "Antiglobalism's Jewish Problem." *Foreign Policy*, no. 139: 58–67.  
<https://doi.org/10.2307/3183738>.
- Sucharov, Mira. 2020. "Days of Awe: Reimagining Jewishness in Solidarity with Palestinians.
- Tapper, Aaron J. Hahn. n.d. "The War of Words: Jews, Muslims, and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict on American University Campuses." In *Muslims and Jews in America*, 71–92. New York: PalgraveMacmillan US. doi:10.1057/9780230119048\_7
- Tapper, Hahn J. Aaron and Sucharov, Mira. "Social Justice and Israel/Palestine, Foundational and Contemporary Debates." 2019. *the Boycott of Israel, Social Justice and Conflict Resolution*. The International Journal of Conflict Management 28 (3). BINGLEY: Emerald Publishing Limited: 270–94. doi:10.1108/IJCMA-05-2016-0029.
- Thier, Daphna and Awad, Sumaya. "The one-state solution" *Jacobin*. April 30, 2021.  
<https://www.jacobinmag.com/2021/04/one-state-solution-israeli-palestinian-conflict-resolution-democracy-rights>
- Thrall, Nathan. 2018. "BDS: How a Controversial Non-Violent Movement Has Transformed the Israeli-Palestinian Debate." *The Guardian*. Guardian News and Media. August 14.  
<https://www.theguardian.com/news/2018/aug/14/bds-boycott-divestment-sanctions-movement-transformed-israeli-palestinian-debate>.
- Toomim, Melissa. 2021. "An Anti-Semite on the House Anti-Semitism Task Force: Ted Lieu." *Santa Monica Observer*, 2021.  
<https://www.smonitored.com/story/2021/05/24/politics/an-anti-semite-on-the-house-anti-semitism-task-force-ted-lieu/5676.html>.
- Tucker, Spencer C., ed. 2019. "Green Line." In *Middle East Conflicts from Ancient Egypt to the 21st Century: An Encyclopedia and Document Collection*, 2:486. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.  
<http://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CX7927000428/GVRL?sid=bookmark-GVRL&xid=9f7320a8>.
- Tutu, Desmond. "Beyond Dual Use: Israeli Universities' Role in the Military-Security-Industrial

- Urban, Susanne Y. 2008. "At Issue: Representations of the Holocaust in Today's Germany: Between Justification and Empathy." *Jewish Political Studies Review* 20 (1/2): 79–90.
- Ward, Eric. "Skin in the Game." Political Research Associates, June 29, 2017. <https://politicalresearch.org/2017/06/29/skin-in-the-game-how-antisemitism-animates-white-nationalism>
- Warner, Adam. n.d. "A Brief History Of The Anti-Globalization Movement," 33.
- Waxman, Dov, David Schraub, and Adam Hosein. 2021. "Arguing about Antisemitism: Why We Disagree about Antisemitism, and What We Can Do about It." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 0 (0): 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2021.1960407>.
- Webman, Esther. *The Global Impact of The Protocols of the Elders of Zion: A Century-old Myth*. Routledge Jewish Studies Series; 35. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon; New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2011.
- Weinfeld, Morton. 2011. "Canadian Jews, Dual/Divided Loyalties, and the Tebbit 'Cricket' Test." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 43/44 (3–1): 59–80. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/ces.2011.0045>.
- Weisberg, Herbert F. 2019. *The Politics of American Jews*. University of Michigan Press. <https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.10058621>.
- Wistrich, Robert S. 2016. *Anti-Judaism, Antisemitism, and Delegitimizing Israel*. Lincoln, UNITED STATES: Nebraska. <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/washington/detail.action?docID=4721315>.
- Wolfe, Patrick. 2006. "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native." *Journal of Genocide Research* 8 (4): 387–409. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14623520601056240>.
- Wright, Graham, Leonard Saxe, and Kenneth D. Wald. 2020. "Is Criticism Disloyal? American Jews' Attitudes toward Israel." *Politics and Religion*, December, 1–27. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1755048320000693>.
- Wu, Nicholas, and Deirdre Shesgreen. 2019. "Israel Blocks Visit from Ilhan Omar and Rashida Tlaib." <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2019/08/15/israel-might-block-visit-ilhan-omar-and-rashida-tlaib/2017286001/>.

Yousef, Nisreen T. "Kingdom of Heaven: The One-State Solution and Western Military Intervention in the Holy Land." *Journal of Holy Land and Palestine Studies* 19(2):175-189. November, 2020.

<https://web-p-ebshost-com.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/ehost/detail/detail?vid=8&sid=4e6b40f6-26d3-4fd8-9e1b-9632b39ea917%40redis&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#AN=IJP0000391314&db=jph>