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*in*FOCUS

QUARTERLY

Anti-Semitism: The Oldest Hate Renewed



Adam Milstein on Eradicating BDS | **Sarah N. Stern** on Targeting Jews on Campus | **Sean Durns** on Bias in the Media | **Philip Carl Salzman** on Intersectionality | **Harold Rhode** on How Arabs View Israel | **David Hirsh** on Anti-Semitism in the UK | Rabbi **Daniel Korn** on Progress and Peril in Sweden | Rabbi **Abraham Cooper** on Recent Anti-Semitic and Anti-Israel Incidents | **Michael Davis**, **Ze'ev B. Begin**, and **Yigal Carmon** on White Supremacy | **Jonathan S. Tobin** on African American-Jewish Relations | **Shoshana Bryen** reviews *Jews and Power*

Featuring an Interview with the Honorable **Elan Carr**

LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER

Anti-Semitism is called “the world’s oldest hatred.” It could equally be called the world’s most malleable hatred, endlessly shapeshifting to meet the needs of new generations of anti-Semites. In her valuable book, *Jews and Power* (reviewed by *inFOCUS* Editor Shoshana Bryen), Ruth Wisse posits that the evolution of the Jewish people without land, government or a means of self-defense made them uniquely vulnerable to shifting tides. I would add that the restoration of those attributes in Israel “regularized” Jews in Israel, but left Jews outside the country still vulnerable in ways they always have been – but with an overlay of responsibility for Israel’s failings, real, perceived, or invented.

How the problem unfolds and how Jews and their allies – particularly the American government – are responding is the theme of this issue of *inFOCUS*.

Rabbi Abraham Cooper describes the breadth of the problem and offers specific suggestions for marshaling our forces. David Hirsh and Rabbi Daniel Korn look at the United Kingdom and Sweden; intersectionality on the left is the purview of Philip Carl Salzman; and his counterparts considering the far right are Michael Davis, Ze’ev B. Begin, and Yigal Carmon; and the specific

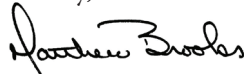
case of African American anti-Semitism is handled by Jonathan Tobin. Sean Durns takes on the role of the media in amplifying and spreading the vile disease.

Adam Milstein writes about Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) Movement as the precursor of much of the anti-Israel rhetoric and protest on college campuses, and Sarah Stern writes about how President Trump’s executive order on Title VI can help turn the tide there. Harold Rhode asks whether Palestinians and Israelis – or Muslims and Jews – can ever reach what we, in the West, call “peace” and the legitimization of Jewish sovereignty in the Middle East.

Elan Carr, the State Department Envoy for Monitoring and Combating Anti-Semitism provides this month’s wide-ranging interview.

If you appreciate what you’ve read, I encourage you to make a contribution to the Jewish Policy Center. As always, you can use our secure site: <http://www.jewishpolicycenter.org/donate>.

Sincerely,



Matthew Brooks,
Publisher



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Publisher
Matthew Brooks

Editor
Shoshana Bryen

Associate Editors
Michael Johnson
Eric Rozenman

Copy Editor
Shari Hillman

Published by:
Jewish Policy Center
50 F Street NW, Suite 100
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Featuring

ADAM MILSTEIN is a businessman, philanthropist, and co-founder of the Israeli-American Council. (3)

SARAH N. STERN is founder and president of the Endowment for Middle East Truth (EMET). (7)

SEAN DURNS is a Senior Research Analyst for the Washington D.C. office of the Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting and Analysis (CAMERA). (10)

PHILIP CARL SALZMAN, Ph.D., is professor emeritus of anthropology at McGill University, Montreal, Canada. (14)

HAROLD RHODE, Ph.D., worked as a Defense Department Middle East analyst and studied Ottoman history. (18)

ELAN CARR is the U.S. State Department’s Special Envoy for Monitoring and Combating anti-Semitism. (22)

DAVID HIRSH is Senior Lecturer in Sociology at Goldsmiths, University of London. (27)

Rabbi **DANIEL KORN** has written twenty books in Swedish on culture, history and politics. (30)

Rabbi **ABRAHAM COOPER** is associate dean, director Global Social Action Agenda, of the Simon Wiesenthal Center. (33)

MICHAEL DAVIS heads the White Supremacist Online Incitement project for the Middle East Media Research Institute, **ZE’EV B. BEGIN** is a senior researcher for MEMRI and **YIGAL CARMON** the president and founder. (36)

JONATHAN S. TOBIN is editor in chief of *Jewish News Syndicate* (JNS). (40)

SHOSHANA BRYEN is the editor of *inFOCUS* and the Senior Director of the Jewish Policy Center. (41)

Eradicating the Anti-Semitic BDS Movement

by ADAM MILSTEIN

Defeating the boycott, divestment and sanctions (BDS) movement is the best way for Americans to fight rising anti-Semitism and the hate groups that radicalize and polarize our country today.

In September, the United Nations – a body with a well-documented history of bias against the Jewish state – released an unprecedented report on the worldwide spread of Jew-hatred. The world body acknowledged that anti-Semitism is growing around the world, stemming from three primary sources: the far left, the far right, and radical Islam. In the report, the UN recognized for the first time that “the objectives, activities and effects of the BDS movement are fundamentally anti-Semitic.”

The next day, the Israeli government released a landmark report, “Behind the Mask: The Anti-Semitic Nature of BDS Exposed.” The document revealed rampant anti-Semitism within the BDS movement, including its calls for violence against Jews and the dismantling of Israel. Promoted by an Islamo-leftist alliance, the BDS movement has intensified hatred and violence against Jews around the world. The report provided 80 examples of anti-Semitism committed by key BDS activists.

This followed another bombshell Israeli government report, “Terrorists in Suits,” which exposed more than 100 different connections linking Palestinian terrorist groups to BDS organizations. The report substantiated how Hamas (Palestinian Islamic Resistance Movement), Fatah, Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)

created the BDS movement in 2001, and documented the current ties of these terror organizations to at least 13 anti-Israel NGOs, who have managed to place more than 30 of their members – including individuals previously jailed, some for murder – in senior positions in BDS organizations.

Now, StopAntisemitism.org and Zachor Legal Institute have released a groundbreaking report. “The New Anti-Semites,” not only connects the dots between the UN and Israeli government reports, but also provides evi-

declining. Conspiracy theories and use of social media to target Jews and Israel are spreading at lightning speed and with lethal effect. Assault-style semi-automatic weapons are readily available for anyone who seeks to commit deadly violence against Jews. And Jewish organizations have not been able to curb the rising tide of hate and violence to date.

While this hatred has long existed, the incidence of violent acts against Jews has been increasing for the first time in decades. The most recent hate crime statistics conclusively show that Jews are

Growing social divisions in the United States have given oxygen to fringe, radical movements that promote anti-Semitism.

dence of the far right’s embrace of BDS ideologies and tactics and recommends concrete solutions for lawmakers to eradicate anti-Semitism before it spirals out of control.

And make no mistake: this hatred is now manifesting across America, spreading from Islamo-leftist to other hate groups and increasing violence against Jews and other minorities. Fortunately, with the assistance of federal and state governments we have the power to annihilate it.

■ Rising Jew-hatred in America

American Jews face the perfect storm of anti-Semitism. Memory of the Holocaust and historic anti-Semitism is

the target of most religious-based hate crimes. This fringe hatred is moving into the mainstream, enabled and promoted by the BDS movement.

“The New Anti-Semites” report has exposed the true face of the Islamo-leftist BDS Movement as a 19-year-old campaign that promotes demonization and delegitimization of Israel and has effectively mainstreamed anti-Semitism worldwide.

■ Ties Between Radicalization and Anti-Semitism

The Islamo-leftist BDS movement has been instrumental in spreading violence against Jews. Permitting the BDS movement to present Jews living

in Israel as human rights violators, war criminals, and occupiers makes it open season to depict nearly all Jews as villains who deserve harassment and physical harm. This is the main reason why physical attacks on Jews worldwide are increasing exponentially.

Growing social divisions in the United States have given oxygen to fringe, radical movements that promote anti-Semitism. This has enabled hate groups like the BDS movement to gain more popularity, influence, manpower, and energy. Anti-Semites,

open debate. So, it repurposes Soviet propaganda to blame Jewish Zionists for social and financial troubles while shutting down campus dialogue on Israel.

The radical right seeks to destroy democracy by promoting fascism and neo-Nazism, and it blames Jews for just about any problem in the world.

Radical Muslims want to end the Judeo-Christian ethical base of American civil society through both violent acts and “peaceful” expansion of Islam. We have seen this radicalism spread to pre-

radical left should be appalled by theocratic Islamist ideology, but instead its adherents often unite based on common hatred for Western power in the world and Jewish influence. The BDS movement empowers that connection.

■ ***BDS's Special Anti-Semitic Role***

The BDS movement is one of the key drivers spreading anti-Semitism in the modern world. Since its establishment in 2001 by the major Palestinian terrorist organizations, BDS has masqueraded as a nonviolent grassroots human rights movement that aims to “improve” the well-being of Palestinian Arabs. Instead of elevating Palestinians, however, the movement is laser-focused on economically, culturally, and politically isolating and eradicating Israel, using the model that was applied against the apartheid regime of South Africa. BDS uses seemingly legitimate criticism of Israel to promote the ideological, social, and political delegitimization of the Jewish state and ultimately blatant anti-Semitism.

Until recently, the BDS movement, with substantial support from the radical left, was able to hide its true intentions, building alliances with global civil rights groups. Under the guise of freedom of speech, BDS promoted hate and incitement to violence against Jews in Israel and abroad.

To be clear, anti-Zionism itself spreads anti-Semitism.

Under the guise of freedom of speech, BDS promoted hate and incitement to violence against Jews in Israel and abroad.

whether on the far right, far left, among radical Muslims or extremist elements like the fringe offshoots of Black Hebrew Israelites, hate Jews for different reasons. At the same time, their hatred is a threat to our core American values: democracy, free speech, and freedom of religion.

While the Nation of Islam is well-known, these outlier Black Hebrew Israelites were a relatively unknown extremist group until late last year when three affiliated individuals committed the deadly shooting at a kosher market in Jersey City and the machete attack at a Chanukah party in Monsey, New York. The black supremacist groups maintain a belief that black people are superior to people of other races and some of them preach that black people are the true descendants of Biblical Israelites, and that today's Ashkenazi (European) Jews are impostors.

Each of these radical movements wants to fundamentally reshape democratic societies. To build their movements and coalitions they start their attacks on the most convenient and vulnerable minority group: the Jewish community. The radical left seeks to destroy capitalism, eliminate freedom, and stop free and

dominately African American groups like the Nation of Islam and certain fringe elements (but not all) segments of the Black Hebrews who push similarly anti-Semitic agendas, which contributed to the string of attacks in metropolitan New York City.

It's important to note that alliances between some of these groups often defy logic. In recent years, North America has joined Europe in witnessing a growing alliance between radical Muslims and radical leftists. Radical Muslims

stone women and reject the most basic of women's rights, execute gays, engage in ethnic cleansing, and in general disregard what are considered in the West as basic human rights. On paper, the

...anti-Zionism is anti-Semitic when it promotes the delegitimization of Israel, the demonization of Israel, or subjection of Israel to double standards.

The Working Definition of Anti-Semitism promoted by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) states that anti-Zionism is anti-Semitic when it promotes the



A pro-BDS protester. (Photo: Mohamed Ouda/Flickr)

delegitimization of Israel, the demonization of Israel, or subjection of Israel to double standards. The BDS movement meets all three in most cases, but always meets the first test because its overall goal is the destruction of the Jewish state. The United States and 40 countries in Europe, South America, and Oceania have adopted this comprehensive definition of anti-Semitism to help combat Jew-hatred. This definition is currently used at the State Department and the Education Department's Office of Civil Rights. President Donald Trump's recent executive order on anti-Semitism included this definition as well.

The BDS movement is undoubtedly anti-Semitic under the IHRA definition. It meets the definition by equating Israeli policy to those of Nazis; denying the Jewish people its right to self-determination, also known as anti-Zionism; and using the symbols and images associated with classic anti-Semitism to characterize Israel, Israelis, and anyone who supports them.

As Abraham Lincoln once said, "You can fool all the people some of the time and some of the people all the time, but you can't fool all the people all the time." In recent years, it has become increasingly evident the BDS movement is – and always has been – a front for Palestinian terrorist organizations to pursue destruction of Israel by other means and that they are still coordinating major global BDS activities and have close links to many of its members and groups.

■ Who Must Act

The Jewish people are not new to existential wars. I, myself, served in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) in the 1973 Yom Kippur War and saw firsthand what was at stake and what we can accomplish when going on the offense and thinking outside the box. Throughout history, when Jews responded courageously and fought back, they prevailed. And today, we are fortunate to live in a time with a strong and thriving Jewish state. We no

longer have to be afraid and passive. To defeat anti-Semitism, we must fight it head on. If we don't, history shows that the results could be catastrophic.

Similarly, we American Jews are more empowered than Jewish communities in the past. We have human and civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution and upheld by Western values. We have power and influence.

But we must move away from being risk-averse and go on the offensive using all resources at our disposal. That means that we must create a strong coalition leveraging the powerful trifecta of the modern State of Israel, the Jewish American community, and the moral majority of Americans who stand against anti-Semitism and for justice. How can these three groups help?

First, the Start-Up Nation is the most dynamic and powerful shield that the Jewish people has ever known, dedicated to safeguarding the Jewish people around the world. Israel is a strong ally



The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) adopts a working definition of anti-Semitism on May 26, 2016. (Photo: IHRA)

of America with common values, and they face common enemies. The United States can draw on Israel's knowledge and strength to combat radical movements at home.

Second, the American Jewish community is one of the most successful immigrant communities in U.S. history. Right now, many of its members are hesitant to utilize our resources and influence to fight against anti-Semitism. The longer we wait, however, the less power and influence we will have. Jewish leaders must immediately transform their mind-set from risk-averse to taking the offensive. We can use our leadership and resources to put anti-Semites on the defensive.

Third, we must expose the fact that Jew-hatred is not just a Jewish problem, it first and upmost an American problem. Hatred, racism and bigotry threatens democratic societies and our American way of life. We cannot sit idly by in the face of this distinct threat to the values at the heart of Western society.

■ **What We Must Do**

"The New Anti-Semites" report recommends tangible ways to defeat the terror-affiliated anti-Semitic BDS

movement and roll back the tide of Jew-hatred that threatens America, Europe, and the world. Fortunately, many patriotic Americans are ready and willing to uphold the Western values that make life and liberty possible for American Jews.

First and foremost, there must be wide adoption in the United States of the IHRA working definition on anti-

combat anti-Zionist forms of anti-Semitism, i.e. new anti-Semitism, which has permeated the world today."

The IHRA working definition also must also be incorporated into community standards or end user agreements for social media platforms and as a foundational pillar for educational curricula pertaining to Jewish history and Israel.

Jew-hatred is not just a Jewish problem...Hatred, racism, and bigotry threaten democratic societies

Semitism, which is currently only a non-binding document. Per the report, "the working definition should be adopted at all public institutions that have anti-racist and anti-discrimination codes of conducts on the books—municipalities and state-funded offices, courts, federal departments of government, public hospitals, public colleges, police forces and military... Legal authority can provide the necessary mechanism to effectively

These are concrete solutions to reduce the spread of Jew-hatred in America. They focus on eradicating the BDS movement and its influence. If we want to uphold the values that make America a beacon of freedom, justice, and safety for the world, this is how we can lead the way.

ADAM MILSTEIN is a businessman, philanthropist, a co-founder of the Israeli-American Council.

Colleges and Title VI: Stopping Anti-Semitism

by SARAH N. STERN

“Never underestimate the power of ideas. Philosophical concepts nurtured in the stillness of a professor’s study could destroy a civilization” – Heinrich Heine

Among the manifestations of contemporary anti-Semitism are its ubiquitous nature, and its emergence in some of the least expected places. One might expect it, perhaps, in a working-class bar where uneducated patrons might utter racial stereotypes. However, today’s anti-Semitism has received its most pernicious endorsement in academia, where professors give anti-Semitism an insidious, but powerful intellectual veneer, which has made it tolerated in higher echelons of polite society.

The etiology of all of this is innocent enough. After the Soviet Union launched “Sputnik” into orbit on Oct. 4, 1957, Americans began to feel that the Soviets were providing their children with a superior education, and our students were woefully unable to compete with the Soviet threat in the fields of math, science, foreign languages and cultures. Congress responded by passing the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) on Sept. 2, 1958. The act’s major intention was to create graduates who would best serve the national defense interests of the United States.

Part of the original legislative purpose of the NDEA, which later became folded into Title VI of the Higher Education Act, was to give students fluency in area studies, such as Asian, Latin American, and Middle Eastern Studies, and languages so that we could compete with the Soviet threat. Taxpayer funds were allocated to universities to establish departments in these fields.

Then, in 1978, Edward Said, professor of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University, published a book entitled *Orientalism*, questioning the legitimacy of any scholarship by an area specialist not from the Middle East. “Orientalism” was used in the same way one would use “racism,” “sexism,” or “anti-Semitism.” Said’s theory was a post-colonial one, and he wrote that anyone other than a native of the region, (i.e. an Arab), was inextricably tied to Western, imperialist societies. Scholarship by such “orientalists” was looked upon as less than authentic.

This rather simplistic theory caught on like wildfire and revolutionized the teaching of Middle East studies. Suddenly, excellent scholars, including Bernard Lewis and Efraim Karsh, were eliminated from curricula, and their books removed from university library shelves or simply ignored.

Edward Said became the much-beloved doyen of Middle East studies. He begot disciples in universities throughout the country. At this point, a cannon of research has developed in which Said’s “post-colonial” specialists refer to each other, quoting and footnoting like-minded colleagues, giving their deep hatred of Israel and Jewish people, stimulated by Said’s anti-Zionist “Palestinianism,” the veneer of serious scholarship.

■ *Said’s Professoriate*

Today, Rashid Khalidi occupies the Edward Said Chair of Middle East Studies at Columbia University. He is also dean of Columbia’s School of International Studies. It doesn’t seem to faze anyone at Columbia that Khalidi served as a spokesman for Yasser Arafat and the Palestine Liberation Organization when the PLO was one of the world’s leading terrorist organizations.

Khalidi has led the boycott, divest and sanction (BDS) movement at Columbia. He has made statements to the press, including one to Chicago’s National Public Radio station in January 2017, using Nazi-like allusions to Jews, saying “supporters of Israel in the Trump administration infest the U.S. government.”

Prof. Joseph Massad, in his convoluted logic, has called Zionism “anti-Semitic.” The 2004 film *Columbia Unbecoming*,

... today’s anti-Semitism has received its most pernicious endorsement in academia, where professors give anti-Semitism an insidious, but powerful intellectual veneer...

exposed Massad’s academic malpractice, telling a Jewish student in his class who tried to defend Israel she has “no bone in this fight” because she has “green eyes” and is not a “true Semite.”

Hamid Dabashi is yet another Columbia professor. Dabashi teaches Iranian studies and comparative literature. He wrote two Facebook posts on May 8, 2018 defaming Israel and Zionists. In one, he calls Israel a “key actor” in “every dirty

treacherous ugly and pernicious act happening in the world.” He also criticizes “diehard Fifth Column Zionists working against the best interests of Americans.”

Columbia University, which has long been a recipient of Title VI funding, has been a particularly prominent defender of unapologetic promoters of anti-Semitism, hiding under the guise of academic free speech. In September 2019, the university hosted Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad, who has called Jews “hook-nosed people who rule the world

“That’s your opinion, but you’re wrong. I stand with Jews who do not support Israel and I hope that Jews will disalign [sic.] themselves from white supremacy.”

Georgetown University is the home of the Prince Alwaleed bin Talal Center for Muslim Christian Understanding; Prof. John Esposito is the founding director. His tweets are replete with classic anti-Semitic rants against Jewish control of Washington, and “the Jewish lobby.” Esposito leads the BDS movement at Georgetown. His case goes deeper, however.

Columbia will not apply these same standards of academic freedom and free speech to faculty or speakers bigoted against black people, women, Latinos, or homosexuals.

by proxy.” In 2007, Columbia rolled out its red carpet for Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, who infamously said that the Holocaust was “a myth” and that “Israel should be wiped off the map.”

Of course, Columbia would not apply such a standard of academic freedom and free speech to faculty or speakers bigoted against black people, women, Latinos, or homosexuals.

■ *Beyond Colombia University*

Looking across the country, we see similar anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism in practically every Title VI-funded Middle East center.

UCLA (University of California, Los Angeles) is another Title VI-funded school. There is now an active complaint filed against it with the Department of Education under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. The investigation revolves around a guest lecture given by Rabab Abdulhadi, director of the Arab and Muslim Ethnicities Program at San Francisco State University. Abdulhadi claimed that “supporters of Israel are white supremacists.” A courageous Jewish student who tried to challenge her was rebuked with the words,

Esposito has been closely associated with terrorist organizations and individuals implicated in terrorism. He has been involved with three organizations directly tied to terrorism: the “Palestine Committee,” which is a front for the Muslim Brotherhood; the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, unindicted co-conspirator in a 2009 federal money laundering trial in which five men were convicted of sending more than \$12 million to Hamas, the terrorist Palestinian Islamic Resistance Movement; and The United Association of Ongoing Issues in the Middle East, which was founded by Mousa Abu Marzook, who was the director of the Hamas political bureau and arrested in 1995 in New York. In 1997, Marzook was extradited to Jordan, and went from there to Syria where he headed Hamas in Syria.

In congressional testimony in 2000, Esposito claimed that Hamas and Hezbollah were “legitimate political parties, with whom the United States should negotiate.” In a 2006 article in the *Harvard International Review*, Esposito criticized the United States and Europe for condemning Hamas. He wrote, “despite Hamas’

free and democratic elections, the United States and Europe failed to give the party full recognition and support.” (As if the one 2004 Palestinian legislative council election a democracy makes.)

He also has written in passionate defense of convicted terrorist Sami al-Arian, who in 2006 pled guilty to conspiring to provide goods and services to Palestinian Islamic Jihad. In 2008, Esposito wrote a letter to the judge, calling al-Arian, “an extraordinarily bright and articulate scholar and intellectual-activist.”

For American university students to be under the influence of intellectually dishonest and academically intolerant professors, including some closely linked to terrorists, is reprehensible.

■ *“Universities’ Foreign Payroll”*

Perhaps part of the reason Georgetown University is willing to overlook academics with terrorist ties on its payroll, is that the school has received an extraordinary amount of money from Qatar, an ally of Iran and a hub for Hamas, among other terrorist entities.

Georgetown received a \$20 million gift in 1996 from the Saudis. According to a report from the Project on Government Oversight, entitled “Universities on the Foreign Payroll,” since 2011, Georgetown University has received \$330 million from the Qatar Foundation.

Can objective research or instruction about Israel and the Middle East be expected to generate such significant funding?

A provision of the Higher Education Act demands that universities must report any foreign donation of \$250,000 or more. It often is ignored. So, anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism have spread like an epidemic through institutions of higher learning.

■ *“Diversity of Perspectives”*

In 2008, the organization that I founded, EMET—Endowment for Middle East Truth—successfully pushed Congress to make several amendments to Title VI of the HEA. The most significant called for “a

diversity of perspectives” and “wide range of viewpoints.” They were signed into law by President George W. Bush.

It was a rather pyrrhic victory. The reality was that in the ensuing years the universities wholly ignored this federal requirement. In an effort to make the Department of Education (DoE) aware of this, I met twice with department officials during the Obama administration. It became obvious that they hadn't even read the law, and said, “We have our own regulations.” To which I responded, “Oh. Do agency regulations trump federal law?” “No,” they acknowledged, “federal law trumps agency regulations.”

During the second meeting, I was again accompanied by representatives of several other concerned organizations. Education Department officials said, “When we read the ‘diversity of perspectives’ requirement in the law, we felt some of the readers of the grant application should be white, some should be black, some should be old, some should be young, etc.”

I responded, “It is obvious from the legislative intent that this refers to the grantees, recipients of the funding, the universities, and what is being taught in the classroom; not to the grant readers in the Department of Education.”

We now have met several times with Education officials under President Trump. As a result of those meetings, the department has added to the application a requirement for an essay in which universities are asked to explain “how they encourage a diversity of perspectives and wide range of viewpoints.” But the requirement never mentions the word “Israel.”

Yet, obviously universities applying for grants realized where they were vulnerable. Each university wrote about “an exchange of professors with Israel” or “a junior year abroad in Israel.” All the essays were signed by department chairmen.

■ **BDS and Academic Boycotts**

However, Tammi Benjamin, of the Amcha Initiative in California, found that out of 15 chairmen of Middle East

Studies departments who received Education Department grants this cycle, eight either personally signed a statement supporting BDS or their current directors signed a statement saying that they will shut down their Israel-abroad programs. They therefore got the funding under fraudulent terms.

Moreover, Title VI of the Higher Education Act stipulates that the federal funding “promote access to research and training overseas, including through links to overseas institutions.” An academic boycott actually calls for the exact opposite. As Benjamin argues, “It seeks to deny access to research, training and education in and about the targeted country. For example, the official guidelines of the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel urge faculty to shut down study abroad programs in Israel; refuse to write recommendations for students who want to attend them; scuttle their colleagues’ research collaborations with Israeli universities and scholars; and cancel or shut down educational events featuring Israeli scholars or seeking to ‘normalize’ Israel by presenting it in anything but a negative light.”

■ **Reaching into K-12 Education**

All of these boycott-compliant activities directly subvert the purpose for which these Title VI-funded centers received their federal grants. Even more pernicious, however, is that in order to get the funding, the suspect professors, overtly biased against Israel, are required to do teacher training workshops for teachers of kindergarten through 12th grade. This constitutes nothing more than “trickle down propaganda.”

The curriculum guide they use is “The Arab World Studies Notebook,” edited by Audrey Shabbas. The book is produced by the Middle East Policy Council, which receives its funding directly from Saudi Arabia, and AWAIR, which receives its funding from the Saudi Aramco oil company. Its content is aimed at having classroom teachers

embrace and teach Islam, as well as the political views of Saudi Arabia.

Among the guide's many non-truths is that Palestine became an independent nation which the U.N. General Assembly voted to recognize such an entity in 1988, and that Yasser Arafat was its president. Even more insidious are the emotionally manipulative essays and poetry within the notebook. America's most impressionable, young students are asked to read poems such as “Identity Card” by the anti-Israel writer Mahmoud Darwish. It includes a stanza reading:

Write down!

I am an Arab

You have stolen the orchards of my ancestors

And the land which I cultivated

Along with my children

And you left us with those rocks

So, will the state take them

As it has been said?

On Dec. 11, 2019, President Trump issued an executive order giving Jewish students the same rights under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act that members of other minority groups have. It uses the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) definition of anti-Semitism, with examples that include, among other things, “Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, e.g. by claiming that the existence of the State of Israel is a racist endeavor.”

This means that finally, Jewish students will have the right to sue universities for discrimination.

Virtually every single Middle East studies program in the United States engages in what easily qualifies as anti-Semitism according to the IHRA definition. So, we must ask: Where does one possibly begin to clean up this morass of mis-education? Yet begin we must, because the hearts and minds of future generations of Americans depend on us to do so.

SARAH N. STERN is founder and president of the Endowment for Middle East Truth (EMET).

News Media Malpractice Promotes Anti-Semitism

by SEAN DURNS

“Anti-Semitism,” the British writer Nick Cohen has observed, “is unique among religious hatreds.” Indeed, anti-Semitism is unique among hatreds, not just those religiously based. Not only because the virus has shown a remarkable ability to permeate through the ages and mutate to find new hosts. But also because anti-Semitism is perhaps the only hatred in the Western world today that is excused and even promoted, if implicitly, by major U.S. news outlets.

If, as the famed columnist Walter Lippmann once wrote, “there can be no higher law in journalism than to tell the truth and shame the devil,” many in the press are failing—conspicuously—to tell the truth about the oldest hatred, a hatred that has, in living memory, murdered millions.

The proof is in the coverage—or, more often than not, the lack of it. Indeed, when far-left antisemites in the United States Congress traffic in, and promote, anti-Jewish bigotry, many news outlets are silent.

Take, for example, reporting on U.S. Reps. Ilhan Omar (D-MN) and Rashida Tlaib (D-MI). In the summer of 2019, both freshmen congresswomen tried to go on a trip to Israel, which was labeled as “Palestine” in their itineraries. Both Omar and Tlaib support the boycott, divestment, and sanctions (BDS) movement which seeks the end of the Jewish state, singles out only Israel for opprobrium, has been declared anti-Semitic by various legislative bodies, and is endorsed by terrorist organizations like Hamas.

The Israeli government’s decision to

deny entry to Omar and Tlaib—a decision in keeping with Israeli law barring BDS activists from entering Israel—received widespread news coverage. *The Washington Post* alone ran no fewer than four stories on the incident. Less widely noted, however: the trip was sponsored by the organization Miftah, which has praised suicide bombers and claimed that Jews consume Christian blood.

As NGO Monitor has documented, on March 27, 2013 Miftah “published an article by Nawaf al-Zaru that repeated the anti-Semitic blood libel.” That article asserted that “much of the historical stories and tales about Jewish blood rituals in Europe are based on real rituals and are not false as they claim; the Jews used the blood of Christians in the Jewish Passover.”

Miftah has also published articles hailing suicide bomber Wafa Idris as “the beginning of a string of Palestinian women dedicated to sacrificing their lives for the cause.” Idris detonated herself on Jan. 27, 2002, killing 81-year-old

for Children International – Palestine (DCI-P), a nonprofit that has extensive ties to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), a U.S.-designated terror group. The president of DCI-P’s General Assembly, Nasser Ibrahim, is the former editor of *El Hadaq*, the PFLP’s weekly publication. DCI-P board members and employees, past and present, include no fewer than 10 individuals with links to the PFLP.

It should be front-page news that two high-profile members of Congress tried to take a trip sponsored by an anti-Semitic organization—a trip that would have included meetings with a nonprofit with links to a terrorist group. But it wasn’t.

Indeed, for all the media coverage of Israel thwarting Omar and Tlaib’s pro-BDS propaganda attempt, most major mainstream news outlets failed to detail Miftah’s and DCI-P’s disturbing histories—information readily available and easily verified. In fact, the Committee for

It should be front-page news that two high-profile members of Congress tried to go on a trip sponsored by an anti-Semitic organization...But it wasn’t.

Pinhas Takatli and wounding another 150 Israeli civilians.

Equally damning, Omar and Tlaib’s itinerary listed a meeting with Defense

Accuracy in Middle East Reporting and Analysis (CAMERA), a media watchdog group, even supplied information about Miftah to editors at *USA Today*, who



Mo Amer, a Palestinian-American activist, added a this Post-it Note to a map of the Middle East in in Rep. Rashida Tlaib's (MI-D) office in the U.S. Capitol. (Photo: Hannah Allam)

promptly declined to include it in their pre-existing report on Tlaib and Omar's planned trip.

Both members of Congress have a history of anti-Semitic statements and actions, in addition to their support for BDS. Omar, for example, has accused Israel of "hypnotizing the world," insinuated that her fellow lawmakers' pro-Israel positions are purchased by Jewish money, and claimed that the Jewish Americans among them have dual loyalties. Importantly, Omar's comments meet the widely accepted International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) definition of anti-Semitism, used by the U.S. State Department and others.

But the press obfuscates Omar's anti-Semitism. In a Jan. 26, 2020 report, for example, *Politico* claimed that Omar has merely "stoked controversy by criticizing America's Israeli

policies"—hardly a complete or accurate description of her comments.

As for Tlaib, the congresswoman has associated with Abbas Hamideh, an ardent supporter of Hezbollah, the U.S.-designated Lebanese Shiite terror group that seeks Israel's destruction. Hamideh—who has praised the deceased arch-terrorist and child-murderer Samir Kuntar—has called Jews "Schlomos," advocated the ethnic cleansing of Jews from Israel, and compared Israelis to Nazis. Some outlets, such as *The Washington Examiner*, *The Daily Caller* and Fox News, noted that Hamideh even attended Tlaib's swearing-in ceremony. The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) asked the congresswoman for an explanation. But major news outlets like CNN, *The Washington Post*, and *The New York Times*, couldn't be troubled to ask why a member of Congress was associating

with a known anti-Semite and supporter of a group that has murdered Israelis, Americans, and others.

By failing to hold members of Congress responsible for their anti-Semitism, the media is emboldening them. Indeed, on Jan. 25, 2020, Hanan Ashrawi, a Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) member and founder of Miftah who once dated the late ABC news anchor Peter Jennings, used Twitter to claim that Israelis had kidnapped and murdered a young Palestinian boy named Qais Abu Ramila. In fact, Ramila had accidentally drowned and there was no evidence to suggest that Israelis had been involved.

As several writers observed, this was but a revamped use of the ancient blood libel in which Jews are blamed for the deaths of non-Jewish children. Tlaib, however, was unfazed. The

congresswoman was quick to retweet Ashrawi. Once again, news outlets from the right side of the political spectrum noted that a sitting member of Congress was promoting a blood libel on social media while legacy media chose to ignore it.

By failing to hold members of Congress responsible for their antisemitism, the media is emboldening them...

Regrettably, examples abound of the press ignoring anti-Semitism when it emanates from the left.

The Washington Post, among other major news outlets, has ignored the documented anti-Semitism of Valerie Plame, a former CIA officer turned Democratic congressional candidate in New Mexico. On Dec. 1, 2019, *The Post* wrote a glowing 2,849-word profile of Plame. But the newspaper omitted her history of promoting anti-Semitic conspiracies.

In September 2017, Plame received some media attention for recommending an article titled “America’s Jews are Driving America’s Wars” from an avowedly anti-Semitic website called the Unz Review. Plame initially defended her tweet, writing that the story by noted conspiracy theorist Phillip Giraldi was “very provocative, but thoughtful.” Moreover, she demanded of her critics: “Put aside your biases” as “many neocon hawks ARE Jewish.”

After criticism of Plame intensified, she changed her story, claiming that she hadn’t read the article and, as a result, missed the “gross undercurrents” of a piece whose very title makes its anti-Semitism clear. *The Post* covered the incident at the time but curiously failed to mention it once Plame became a congressional candidate.

The media’s failure to detail anti-Semitism in the halls of Congress has

legislative consequences as well. As NGO Monitor has documented, Rep. Betty McCollum (D-MN) has even introduced bills—based on disproven claims by the PFLP-linked DCI-P—which assert that the Jewish state is guilty of apartheid and systemic abuse of children. In 2017 NGO

Monitor highlighted that “the entirety of the proposed bill is premised on factually inaccurate claims from anti-Israel advocacy NGOs, including direct quotes from DCIP’s ‘No Way to Treat a Child’ 2016 report and website.”

It should be newsworthy that a member of Congress is introducing legislation that regurgitates propaganda from a viciously anti-Semitic and terrorist-linked organization. But once again the fourth estate has failed to ask questions or to hold McCollum to account. The result? On May 1, 2019, McCollum even introduced a reworked version of her 2017 bill, now entitled “Promoting Human Rights for Palestinian Children Living Under Israeli Military Occupation Act” (HR 2407).

... a sitting member of Congress was promoting a blood libel on social media while legacy media chose to ignore it.

This is but more evidence that the media’s coverage of anti-Semitism is extremely selective. One would think from reports from most major news entities that anti-Semitism is only the province

of the political right. That facts and history say otherwise is but an inconvenience best ignored.

Indeed, reporting on anti-Semitism is often deeply politicized.

Although buried if not dismissed by media reports, Jew-hatred has, in fact, been rising for years. A 2015 Tel Aviv University report noted that violent anti-Semitic attacks increased by nearly 40 percent in 2014. The report by the university’s Kantor Center concluded: “The overall feeling among many Jewish people is one of living in an intensifying anti-Jewish environment that has become not only insulting and threatening, but outright dangerous, and that they are facing an explosion of hatred toward them as individuals, their communities and Israel, as a Jewish state.”

As CAMERA noted at the time, most Western news outlets chose to ignore this increase in violent anti-Semitism. That changed with the election of Donald Trump. Suddenly the press was interested in the topic—but only when it can depict anti-Semitism as emanating from the right side of the political spectrum.

For example, *Washington Post WorldViews* columnist Ishaan Tharoor has filed dispatches including “The inescapable anti-Semitism of Western nationalists,” which exclusively blame the far right for the increase in anti-Semitism. Tharoor cited a 2018 report by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) for proof. But

that report listed numerous examples of anti-Semitic incidents perpetrated by those who can’t be categorized as “Western nationalists” or “far right.” For example, the report detailed several speeches

by U.S.-based imams, who, among other things, called for “Allah to destroy the Jewish people,” propagated “anti-Semitic conspiracy claims about Israel and Jews,” and incited anti-Jewish violence.

Tharoor mentions none of this, nor does he note another troubling trend: exploding Jew-hatred in our colleges and universities, which “continues to be the scene of significant numbers of anti-Semitic incidents,” as a 2018 ADL report documents. In a sign of how un-seriously the press takes this, *The Post*’s editorial board even opposed President Donald Trump’s December 2019 executive order to combat anti-Semitism on college campuses.

That order was largely based on the bipartisan Anti-Semitism Awareness Act, according to co-chairs of the Senate Bipartisan Task Force for Combating Anti-Semitism, Senators Jacky Rosen (D-NV) and James Lankford (R-OK). It adheres to guidelines first implemented by the Obama administration. But *The Post* opposed it, inaccurately claiming that “the order signed Wednesday by the president specifically targets colleges and universities by classifying Judaism not only as a religion but also as a race or nationality.” It does no such thing. Indeed, as the ADL pointed out “the Executive Order includes Jews in Title VI protections, something ADL and previous administrations, both Democratic and Republican, have supported for years.”

Indeed, there is bloody and undeniable evidence that anti-Semitism is a problem on both the far right and the far left. For years, Jewish individuals in the New York City area, most of them Orthodox or visibly Jewish, have been the victims of growing harassment, threats and violence. And the media has, until recently, largely ignored these attacks, many of them perpetrated by members of other minority groups. As *The New York Times* opinion writer Bari Weiss—one of the few columnists at a major outlet to cover anti-Semitism irrespective of politics—noted, there is a “theme” that “unless Jews are murdered by neo-Nazis,

the one group everyone of conscience recognizes as evil, Jews’ inconvenient murders, their beatings, their discrimination, the singling out of their state for demonization will be explained away.”

Then came two tragic incidents—a Dec. 10, 2019 fatal shooting in Jersey City by two supporters of the Black Hebrew Israelites (BHI) who sought to target a Jewish day school but hit a nearby kosher grocery instead and a multiple-victim stabbing in a rabbi’s home in Monsey, New York by Thomas Grafton, an African-American whose journals also reference the BHI. Yet, even after these attacks, news agencies like NBC engaged in victim-blaming, claiming that gentrification by Chasidic Jews of African American-populated neighborhoods was responsible for the violence.

This reveals the media’s innate bias: it is inconceivable that another minority would be blamed for the violence and hatred perpetrated against Jews. It also shows a tacit acceptance of anti-Semitism. Some examples of the latter:

...it is inconceivable that another minority would be blamed for the violence and hatred perpetrated against Jews.

The Los Angeles Times’s Jan. 4, 2019 opinion column asserting that the “bigger picture” demands that “everyone involved in the Women’s March can take a bow,” regardless of March leaders’ association with noted antisemite Louis Farrakhan, who once called Adolf Hitler a “very great man.” And on March 5, 2020, *The Washington Post*’s Petula Dvorak wrote a sympathetic profile of a Virginia woman who hangs signs urging “Nuke Israel” from her home. “This woman,” Dvorak told her Twitter followers, “deserves peace” but is “haunted” by a family tragedy that, the column implies,

makes her anti-Semitism understandable, if not forgivable.

Perhaps most disturbingly, major Western news outlets have themselves become purveyors of anti-Semitism in ways large and small. In April 2019, *The New York Times* infamously published not one, but two, anti-Semitic cartoons. On Feb. 11, 2020 *The Atlantic* magazine posted a video that claimed Israel is carrying out “a campaign of ethnic cleansing” and “is behind every regional war that’s happened in the last 70 years.” Comparing the actions of the Jewish state to Nazi Germany and asserting that Jews foment wars are both anti-Semitic tropes with long histories. On March 7, 2020, *The Washington Post* published a letter to the editor commending an anti-Israel historical inversion that had appeared in the newspaper’s “Food” section. The letter writer claimed “the erasure of the Palestinian culture to make way for Israel was/is part and parcel of ethnic cleansing that continues to this day. To call it ‘Israeli food’ is to be complicit in a crime

against humanity.” Condemning the Jewish state as “a crime against humanity” meets letters-to-the-editor guidelines?

Anti-Semitism is both increasing and increasingly mainstreamed. From the halls of Congress to the newsrooms of *The Washington Post*, our institutions are showing that they aren’t up to the task of confronting Jew-hatred. Indeed, they’re part of the problem.

SEAN DURNS is a Senior Research Analyst for the Washington D.C. office of the Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting and Analysis (CAMERA).

How “Social Justice” Movement Defines Jews as Villains

by PHILIP CARL SALZMAN

The revolutionary “social justice” movement that has captured American and Canadian educational systems, the mass media, industry, and governments defines Jews as oppressors of suffering victims, as evil villains. How did this happen?

How we understand ourselves and our social and political environment is based on a vision or model of the way society works. During the mid-20th century, the generally agreed-upon model was of free citizens associating voluntarily to form families, businesses, charities, and political parties. It was also recognized that, interfering to an extent with the free flow of individuals, there were vertical ethnic and racial blocks, and to a degree an ethnic and racial hierarchy. The Marxist class model of society, with capitalists and bourgeois exploiting and oppressing the working proletariat, was not widely accepted in North America, mainly because most people thought of themselves as middle class.

However, during the second half of the 20th century, various interest groups formulated a new vision of society, drawing on Marxist class analysis that had seeped into academic social science. But rather than emphasize economic standing, the new model emphasized classes based on identity categories, particularly about gender, race, sexuality, and ethnicity. The most important movement was feminism, which gained a strong foothold in universities as “women’s studies,” but was widely adopted throughout the social sciences and humanities.

■ *Feminism First*

Feminists developed a gender class model of society in which “the patriarchy” was the hierarchical oppressor and exploiter of its female victims. The objectives of feminism were to raise the class consciousness of women, mobilize women to confront the male oppressors, and overthrow “the patriarchy.” The entire class of men came to be condemned as evil: insensitive, inconsiderate, violent, brutal, and rapists. Men were no longer fathers, brothers, sons, fellow citizens, fellow students, fellow workers, but oppressors and exploiters of innocent females. Anyone who disagreed was condemned as a “sexist.” (See *Feminism and Injustice*, by Philip Carl Salzman.)

The feminist identity class model of society was adopted by homosexuals, who saw themselves as innocent victims of “heteronormativity” and heterosexual oppression. Once again, all people were divided into oppressors and victims. Any-

one who disagreed was condemned as a “homophobe.” The same frame was taken up by transsexuals and non-binaries who demand that male and female categories be erased, and that claims of identity negate biological science. Anyone who disagrees is condemned as a “transphobe.”

■ *Race, Ethnicity & Religion*

Sociologists and race activists found that the neo-Marxist class model worked beautifully for race. Once again, all people were subsumed into two great racial blocks, the white supremacist oppressors, and the black underclass victims. Society was deemed to be contaminated with “structural racism,” and all whites were “racist” whatever they said their attitudes and beliefs were. “Racism” was defined as “prejudice plus power,” so only whites could be “racist.” Anyone who disagreed was condemned as “racist.”

Ethnicity and religion also provided identity classes that could be framed in a hierarchical model. In the West, the oppressors are deemed to be Christians and Jews, and the oppressed victims are the Muslims. Any criticism of Islam or Muslims is denounced as “Islamophobia,” and the critics as “racists.”

Ethnicity and religion also provided identity classes that could be framed in a hierarchical model.

Christians and Jews are characterized as “white supremacists,” and Muslims as “people of color,” even though many Muslims are visually white, and officially classified as white.

Now that being white is a bad thing, Jews have been designated white

by identity theorists and activists. As one dormitory staffer at an East Coast university said, "Jews are not a minority, because they never suffered." Now no longer regarded as a separate ethnic group, Jews have been assimilated into the newly despised white race. So, they are now regarded as villainous oppressors of "marginalized" minorities. This evil status of Jews has inspired an recent upsurge in anti-Semitic sentiments, statements, attacks, and atrocities by African Americans against Jews.

reality is different and more complicated. For example, some 70 percent of the professional athletes in the National Football League and National Basketball Association are African Americans, who make up 13 percent of the general population. Is this "overrepresentation" the result of NFL and NBA discrimination against whites and Asians? There is no evidence to support such a conclusion.

Similarly, among doctors, lawyers, and academics, Jews and East Asians are highly "overrepresented" in

For feminists, race, sexuality, and ethno-religious theorists and activists, the central mechanism of oppression is category discrimination...

■ **Category Discrimination**

For feminist, race, sexuality, and ethno-religious theorists and activists, the central mechanism of oppression is category discrimination. This is determined, in their view, when members of a category are "underrepresented" or "overrepresented" in any business, professional, educational, governmental or other organization in relation to the percentage of members of that category in the general population. Thus, they believe, any fewer than 50 percent of females, 13 percent of African Americans, and at least some gays, lesbians, bisexuals, transsexuals, and non-binary individuals is proof that men, whites, heterosexuals, and Christians and Jews are discriminating against them. The advocates of this theory do not feel compelled to demonstrate discrimination; in their minds, over- or under-representation is sufficient to prove their case.

It is, however, false, that over- or under-representation is entirely or even mostly the result of discrimination, however convenient that might be for grievance theorists and activists. The

comparison to their percentage of the population. So too with Nobel Prizes awarded to Jews massively above their percentage of the population. Is this the result of discrimination in favor of Jews and East Asians against Christians, Euro-Americans, and African Americans? No such evidence exists.

Identity theorists and activists are not interested in explanations other than

Black Lives Matter officially sides with Palestinian Arabs against Israeli Jews, notwithstanding the centuries of Arab slaving in Africa, the selling and holding of black slaves...

discrimination for different degrees of representation of different categories of population. Alternative explanations undercut their claims of discrimination, and undermine the validity of their claims of righteous grievance.

■ **Choice**

One important alternative explanation is choice: people in some categories prefer some activities to others, and can end up overrepresented in those activities. If Jews are "underrepresented" statistically among lumberjacks and forest rangers, and "overrepresented" among dentists and psychotherapists, it is because they self-select for some occupations and not for others.

Female university students opt in droves for the social sciences, humanities, education, and social work, and typically choose not to go into science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) fields. Their alleged "underrepresentation" in STEM has generated shrill accusations of discrimination against females in these disciplines, but the evidence indicates that female students follow their own interests, and they themselves discriminate against STEM fields.

■ **Capability**

Another important alternative explanation is capability: selection for admissions and posts is based on ability to do the tasks involved. It is not news, although it is now regarded as impolite, if not racist, to mention it, but members of some categories are better qualified for some work than members of other categories. In high school academic

achievement, and in standardized tests, East Asian Americans do far better than members of any other category. Following are whites, and below are Hispanics, with African Americans lower.

In the 2019 College Board

Examinations, the average score of Asians was 1223, whites 1114, Hispanics 978, and African Americans 933. Selection for any academic or intellectual post that weighs past achievement, merit, and potential will draw more heavily on members of the category strongest in these characteristics. Statistically, members of a category might be “overrepresented,” but in terms of apparent or demonstrated capability members of the category would be appropriately represented.

■ Culture

How can we account for performance differences between categories? A major factor is culture. Members of different categories share, to a degree, a common culture, which is different from the cultures of other categories. For example, the cultures of some categories, specifically East Asians and Jews, emphasize education, learning, and professional status. East Asian culture also emphasizes obedience and discipline. The cultures of other categories historically have not focused on the same values and goals to the same extent. Culture is therefore a major contributor to differential motives and habits, which result in different degrees of representation of different categories. (See *Black Culture Matters: Why It's Time to Stop Pretending that Racism is the Problem*, by Nick Pilgrim.)

Culture can also have an impact in its effect on organization among members of a particular category. For example, members of racial and ethnic categories differ in their family relations. In the 21st century, there is great variation between categories in the percentage of single parent families. East Asians have the fewest (Asians and Pacific Islanders, 17 percent), non-Hispanic whites somewhat more (29 percent), Hispanics even more (53 percent), and African Americans families are overwhelmingly (73 percent) single parent families, usually mothers.

Single parent families are at a considerable disadvantage economically, and generate a much higher level of poor

consequences for children, especially boys, including weak academic performances and high levels of incarceration. In contrast, African American children brought up in two-parent families perform at a much higher level, and do not suffer the same negative consequences as those brought up in single parent families. (See *Taboo: 10 Facts You Can't Talk About*, by Professor Wilfred Reilly.)

■ “Social Justice”

“Social justice” is the next step in the discrimination narrative, and is offered as the antidote to the “unfair” differentials in representation. The “social justice” movement rejects the idea that

categories. Thus, an African American female is thus more virtuous than an African American male; an African American lesbian is a greater victim and more virtuous than an African American heterosexual female. So too an African American Muslim is a greater victim and more virtuous than an African American Christian.

At the same time, all victims are regarded in intersectionalism to be in the same position in relation to oppressors, so solidarity is called for among members of all victim categories, as is victim opposition to members of oppressor categories. For example, it is claimed that feminists, African Americans, and LGBTQ (les-

All of the intersectional solidarity with enemies of Israel leads, of course, to hate for Israel, and, by extension, hate for Jews generally.

differential representation reflects people's choices, capabilities and cultures. “Social justice” advocates and activists insist that justification for differential representation, such as choice, merit, and culture, are “white supremacist” talking points, and are in themselves racist. The solution to “unjust” differential representation, according to the advocates and activists, is, under the cover of “diversity and inclusion,” to set quotas that reflect percentages of the general population, and then force universities, businesses, and government to impose those quotas in their admissions and hiring. (See *Universities Today*, by Philip Carl Salzman.)

■ Intersectionality

One tool of “social justice” is “intersectionalism,” which weighs victimhood and urges solidarity among victims. A person's victim credits increase if they are member of two or more victim

bian, gay, bisexual, transsexual or queer people) must support Palestinian Arabs, who “social justice” activists define as “people of color.” Linda Sarsour recently said, “I am a Palestinian, and if I want to say I am black, I am black.” Facts are irrelevant. That Sarsour is visually white, and Palestinians and all Arabs as well as Persians are officially classified by the U.S. government as white, counts for nothing in the victim grievance narrative.

Black Lives Matter officially sides with Palestinian Arabs against Israeli Jews, notwithstanding the centuries of Arab slaving in Africa, the selling and holding of black slaves in Arab countries today, and the fact that many Arabs are highly prejudiced against blacks, and refer to them in Arabic as *abd* (slave). Feminists have sided with the Palestinian Arabs, although Palestinian women are still treated to male supremacy, seclusion, and honor killings. LGBTQ groups also support Palestinians, although LGBT persons are commonly



Queers Against Israeli Apartheid at the 2011 Edmonton Pride Parade (Photo: Kurt Bauschardt)

victimized in the Arab and Persian worlds, while only in Israel are LGBT persons accepted and safe. To mention this is called, by social justice activists, “pinkwashing” of Israeli “oppression.”

All of the intersectional solidarity with enemies of Israel leads, of course, to hate for Israel, and, by extension, hate for Jews generally. In the 21st century West, anti-Semitism is now celebrated in “social justice” circles. Students for Justice in Palestine and the Muslim Students’ Association dominate discourse on many university campuses, running “Israel Apartheid Week,” and, with the support of Hispanic, Asian, and other student associations, lead student governments and student newspapers. The boycott, divest, and sanction (BDS) movement against Israel is widely supported by students and faculty in order to aid the “innocent” Palestinian “victims” of Israeli “oppression.” Hate for Israel frequently overflows into hatred of all Zionists, and all Jews, creating a poisonous environment for Jewish students. Various professional academic

associations, such as Women’s Studies, Native American Studies, American Studies, and others have condemned Israel and adopted BDS, as have many once mainline church organizations.

Anti-Semitism entered the political field in a big way with the first Women’s March protesting the election of Donald Trump as U.S. president. Feminist, race, and gay activists joined in “the resistance” against the duly-elected president. Feminists were upset that the female candidate had lost to Trump, and they were concerned that their “right” to abortion on demand might somehow be restricted. Race and gay activists claimed that the president was a white nationalist and a bigot. The march was a unified expression of identity victimhood.

Leaders of the Women’s March, Tamika Mallory, “Bob Bland” (Mari Lynn Foulger), Carmen Perez, and Linda Sarsour, had pushed out Jewish organizers with anti-Semitic blood libels, and some had made explicit their tolerance and even allegiance to Louis Farrakhan, the leader of the Nation of Islam,

notorious for his vilification of Jews, calling him “The Greatest of All Time,” regardless of his statements that “satanic” Jews are “termites” who were responsible for the 9/11 Islamic attacks and for all the ills that befall people of color. In subsequent years, these anti-Semites were pushed out of march leadership, only to be replaced by other antisemites, who also had to be ejected. Damage had already been done to the march, but the idea that “social justice” was on one side, and Jews were on the other, remains.

Grievance politics has its heroes and its villains. Females, people of color, gays, and Muslims are regarded as heroes fighting for “social justice.” Males, whites, heterosexuals, and Christians and Jews are deemed to be reactionary oppressors: sexist, racist, homo- and trans-phobic, and Islamophobes. Once again, Jews are scapegoats of a revolutionary movement.

PHILIP CARL SALZMAN, *Ph.D.*, is professor emeritus of anthropology at McGill University, Montreal, Canada.

Interfaith Relations in the Quranic Tradition

by HAROLD RHODE

To understand any potential agreement between Israel and its neighbors, or for that matter between Muslims and non-Muslims, it is essential to understand how Muslims operate theologically regarding territory, and how Islam understands its relationships with non-Muslims. Only then can we address the question whether Muslims can ever accept a Jewish state on land they believe is theirs forever.

Territorially, Islam divides the world into two realms:

1. *Dar al-Islam* (World of Islam): the area Islam has conquered. Once territory has been conquered by Muslims, it must remain Muslim forever. The Hamas constitution explains this clearly, calling all of pre-1948 British Mandatory Palestine *waqf*, meaning it belongs to God. Once it belongs to God, it belongs to God forever.

2. *Dar al-Harb* (World of War): the part of the world not yet conquered by Muslims. According to the Quran and Shari'a (Islamic law), its time is coming.

There cannot be permanent peace between these two worlds. There can, however, be territorial accommodation, modeled after agreements the Prophet Muhammad reached when he was unable to defeat his enemies. According to Islamic tradition, Muhammad fought the tribe of Quraysh at Hudaibiya near Mecca, but could not defeat it. To buy time, he signed a temporary truce, or armistice, (*Hudna* or *Sulh* in Arabic) which was supposed to last for 10 years. It lasted two years, until Muhammad realized he had sufficiently rearmed and was strong enough to defeat the Quraysh. He

attacked them and won.

Muhammad's Hudaibiya agreement then became the model for other agreements Muslims signed with enemies, right through modern times. Two weeks after signing the Oslo Accords with Israel on the White House lawn in 1993, Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leader Yasser Arafat spoke at a mosque in South Africa. He explicitly stated that what he had signed in Washington was like the Hudaibiya agreement. His message at that mosque, and to the entire Muslim world, was that he was not a traitor to Islam; he did not sign an agreement to end the war with Israel.

■ Restoring the Land to Islam

In the century after their prophet died, Muslims conquered huge swaths of land—from part of India to Spain. That proved to them that Allah was on their side and Islam was the true religion. With time however, the Muslim world went into decline and Muslims lost con-

that part of *Dar al-Islam*. In fact, when Muslims write about Spain or any place in the Iberian Peninsula, they almost always add the phrase “may it be returned speedily to the bosom of Islam.” In short, once Muslim, always Muslim.

Where does this principle come from? And as a corollary, do signed agreements mean anything in the Muslim world? Can Muslims accept an agreement recognizing the non-Muslim right to rule over any territory that had ever been part of the Muslim world? What are the ramifications for any agreement between Israel and the (Muslim) Palestinians? Is there a difference from the Islamic point of view between Tel Aviv—part of the pre-1967 Israel, and Efrat, a town established near Bethlehem on territory Israel won during the 1967 Six-Day War?

Fourteen hundred years of Muslim sources provide the answer. The Arabic word for a Muslim conquest is *futuh*. The root is F-T-H, the same as the Hebrew

Arafat's message ...to the entire Muslim world was that he was not a traitor to Islam; he did not sign an agreement to end the war with Israel.

trol over territory they once ruled.

They ruled most of Spain and Portugal, for example, from 712 to 1492 C.E. Even though they were defeated, they never gave up their desire to reconquer

root F-T-H, meaning “to open.” But in Arabic, that root has an additional meaning: “to conquer a territory for Islam.”

In Arabic, as in other Muslim languages, a Muslim conqueror is called



Artwork from the 13th-century showing Abbasid Caliph Al-Ma'mun, ruler of the seventh Caliphate, sending an envoy to Byzantine Emperor Theophilos.

Fatih, again from the root FTH, meaning a warrior who has opened up a territory for Islam. The Ottoman ruler who conquered Constantinople for Islam from the Byzantine Empire in 1453 was known as Fatih Mehmet (Mehmet being the Turkish form of the Arabic name Muhammad). Once a territory has been opened to Muslim rule, i.e., conquered by Muslims, it must remain under Muslim rule forever, and cannot be ruled by non-Muslims. All agreements between Muslims and non-Muslims, therefore, are temporary by their very nature. Muslims must return lost territory to Islamic rule as soon as they are able.

■ **Ottomans and Arabs are Both Muslims**

President Recep Tayyip Erdogan of Turkey is doing his best today to re-establish Muslim control over formerly Muslim-ruled lands in southeastern Europe including Albania, Kosovo, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Religiously and culturally, as a devout Muslim, he is doing his duty.

There is another important insight we can glean from Erdogan and his relationship with the Sunni Arab World. The Ottoman Empire was ruled by Sunni Muslim Turks, who captured most of

what we today label the Arab world in the early 1500's, and ruled these lands for approximately 400 years. During that period, almost no one living there complained about "Turkish imperialism" against Arabs, because the people

Many years ago, I taught Middle East history at the University of Delaware. The classes included a significant number of Muslim students from Iran, Turkey, and the Arab lands. At one point, I spoke about the history of

No Muslim would publicly admit that what the Arab Muslims coming out of Arabia had done was imperialism.

identified themselves as Sunni Muslims.

But after World War I, the Ottoman Empire collapsed. The lands we today call the Arab World were divided mostly between the British and French. Many of the locals then bitterly complained about British and French imperialism. Why British and French, but not Turkish?

From a European or North American perspective, all three peoples—the Ottoman Turks, British, and French—were foreigners who conquered Arabs. The difference is that the Turks were fellow Muslims. Ottoman Turkish rule was acceptable. British or French was not.

North Africa. When we came to the French conquest of that area in the 19th century, I asked the students what they thought about the French imposing their culture and language on the locals. Both the American and Muslim students were outraged by French colonialism.

I then referred to the Muslim conquest of these lands in the 7th century, asking whether what the Muslims conquerors had done was any different from what the French had done. The Americans quickly got the point. But the gut reaction of the Muslim students was to shout out that the Muslims brought

Islam to the locals which improved/elevated their lives.

No Muslim would publicly admit that what the Arab Muslims coming out of Arabia had done was imperialism. Better to be ruled by Muslim autocrats/tyrants than by non-Muslim infidels who had no right to rule over Muslims or any part of the *Dar al-Islam*, no matter how much freedom or prosperity their governance might bring.

■ *Arabs and Israelis*

How does this help us understand an agreement between Israel and Palestinian Arabs, the majority of whom are Sunni Muslims? The largely Muslim Arab world did not succeed in defeating Israel in what the Israelis call the 1948 War of Independence. In 1949, the United Nations organized a conference on the Island of Rhodes at which Arabs and Israelis discussed future arrangements.

From an Islamic point of view, Muslims conquered all of pre-1967 Israel, the West Bank, and Jordan from Christian Byzantium in 637-638 C.E. So, all of these lands must be ruled by Muslims. There is no difference, then, between Tel Aviv and Efrat.

The Arabs insisted that the agreed lines drawn on the maps and that divided pre-1948 Mandatory Palestine (excluding Trans-Jordan, earlier severed by Great Britain from the League of Nations' mandate), be labeled "ceasefire lines"—not borders. The Arabs further insisted on calling the arrangements "armistice agreements"—not peace treaties. What was accepted by the Arabs were seen by them as temporary agreements like the one the Muslim prophet Muhammad memorably agreed to at Hudaibiya.

Many Israelis deluded themselves into believing that if they forced Jews out of the Gaza Strip in 2005, they would have a peaceful border with the Palestinian entity. But if they had understood their withdrawal in Islamic terms, they would have realized that their Muslim neighbors would see this as a first step in liberating all of Palestine.

Egypt's Anwar Sadat and PLO leader Yasser Arafat faced similar problems. In 1979, Sadat signed an agreement with Israel supposedly ending 30 years of conflict between overwhelmingly Muslim Egypt and Jewish Israel. Sadat understood he had endangered himself, and after signing the agreement at the White House, Sadat returned home and spoke to his people. He said that what he did was for the good of the Egyptian people. Egypt had wasted its scarce resources in military ventures which impoverished the country. Sadat said he wanted to use Egypt's resources to strengthen the peo-

Clinton hosted Arafat and then-Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak at Camp David in an attempt to end the Israel-Arab conflict once and for all. Barak offered Arafat almost every square inch of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, plus eastern Jerusalem, in exchange for peace. Barak only wanted to keep what was under the Temple Mount because there lay the remnants of the First and Second Jewish Temples.

Arafat jumped to his feet, started to tremble and said, "There was no Jewish Temple." (Ed. Note: Muslims sources make it abundantly clear that Solomon's

Many Israelis deluded themselves into believing that if they forced Jews out of the Gaza Strip in 2005, they would have a peaceful border with the Palestinian entity.

ple of Egypt. He then added, oddly to Western audiences, that "what happened in the past would happen in the future."

Sadat was telling his people that this agreement was like agreements signed by Muslims when they couldn't advance and defeat their enemies. Interestingly, the Arabic word most often used in the Egyptian press to describe the agreement was *tafahhum*—best translated in English as "mutual understanding," not a peace agreement. There is, in fact, there is no way in Arabic to express the Western concept of letting bygones be bygones.

Others in Egypt did not buy Sadat's argument; he was assassinated a few years later by a member of an al-Qaeda precursor organization.

■ *Tea with Sadat*

Arafat took Sadat's experience and fate to heart. In 2000, President Bill

Clinton hosted Arafat and then-Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak at Camp David in an attempt to end the Israel-Arab conflict once and for all. Barak offered Arafat almost every square inch of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, plus eastern Jerusalem, in exchange for peace. Barak only wanted to keep what was under the Temple Mount because there lay the remnants of the First and Second Jewish Temples.

Clinton was astonished. How could Arafat deny the existence of Solomon's Temple? But what mattered more to Arafat was his fear of assassination if he ended the war and agreed to let the Jews i.e., non-Muslims, rule what Muslims know as Islamic territory. Sadat paid with his life by signing an agreement with Israel. Arafat would not suffer the same fate.

■ *Is Reform Possible?*

Where does this leave us? This situation seems dire and gloomy. But this is how Muslims understand the land Israel controls, be it Tel Aviv, or Jewish towns and villages in the territory Israel captured in the '67 war. Given this reality, it is essential that Israel and its friends understand that, without a reform in Islam, the situation will not change.



Yassar Arafat delivers remarks at the signing of the Oslo Middle East Peace Accord. (Photo: Mark Reinstein)

But there are ways for Islam to reform. The Quran is divided into two periods: The earlier period when Muhammad and his new religion were weak; and the later period where Muhammad was strong and the ruler of a state.

In the earlier period, Muhammad was looking for ways to survive. During that period, Muslims believe that Allah told them to get along with others. For example, the Quranic verse regarding non-Muslims, “To me my religion, and to you yours.” Elsewhere, “There is to be no forced conversion (to Islam).”

In the later period, however, when Muhammad ruled his Islamic state, getting along with others was rejected. Others were to submit. If Allah said both, then Muslims were to follow both. How did Muslims solve this seeming impossible contradiction? Almost

every Muslim theological scholar accepts the principle that the earlier peaceful verses were supplanted by the later ones.

But must this be so? Muslims believe Allah revealed both. Why did he do this? Did Allah envision a time when the Muslims might need these more peaceful verses? Is that time now, when Islam is weak compared to the non-Muslim world?

Today, most Muslims seem to think they have no reason to re-interpret their sources because the West keeps giving into their demands. Maybe only after the non-Muslim world inflicts a catastrophic defeat on the Muslim world, the majority of its believers will be forced to re-examine their sources and find other ways to peacefully co-exist with the non-Muslim world.

It is essential, then, that Asia and the Western world remain vigilant and stand strong against Muslim attempts to infiltrate and take over, by proselytization when not by force, the non-Muslim world.

It is essential for Israel and its friends to realize that there will not be true peace between the Israelis and any Muslim entity in the surrounding region—not a peace like that between Germany and France after two World Wars, let alone like the one linking the United States and Canada. Israel must continue to be strong and resolute, and defend its culture and borders.

HAROLD RHODE, *Ph.D.*, worked as a Defense Department Middle East analyst for 28 years. He earned his degree in Ottoman history and speaks Arabic, Hebrew, Farsi (Persian) and Turkish.

“A Spiritual Sickness”

An interview with ELAN CARR

Elan S. Carr was appointed in 2019 to serve as the United States Special Envoy for Monitoring and Combating Anti-Semitism. Of Iraqi Jewish heritage, Carr's mother and stepfather are immigrants to the U.S. His grandfather was prosecuted during Iraqi show trials against Jewish community leaders in the late 1940s. Carr is a JAG Corps officer in the U.S. Army Reserve. He served in Operation Iraqi Freedom as leader of an anti-terrorism team and prosecuted terrorists who attacked American troops. He also assisted in efforts to establish an independent Iraqi judiciary. In an appropriate moment of irony during Carr's Iraq War service, he led U.S. soldiers in lighting a Chanukah menorah in Saddam Hussein's former presidential palace. This interview comes from a formal presentation that has been edited for space and clarity.

Elan Carr: I grew up hearing stories, not only of Israel, but of what Israel means to the Jewish people and to my family personally. My mother was a young girl in Iraq, and one day, she remembers there was a knock at the door early in the morning; my grandfather still had shaving cream on his face. It was soldiers. They said, “Mr. Somekh, you're coming with us.” They took him away, paraded him through the streets in leg irons, and threw him in prison. My mother visited her father, my grandfather, in prison – something no young girl should have to do. Finally, after two years, he said, “Flee. Don't wait. Run.”

So, my family – my mother, my uncle who was a toddler at the time, and my grandmother – fled across the border to Iran, to a very different Iran from today. In Iran, the Shah was helping Jews escape, literally giving Jews asylum and rescuing them from persecution in Iraq. With Iran as a way station, my family made *aliyah*.

The fulfillment of the Zionist dream by leaving a diaspora that suffered enormous persecution, arrests, divestment of resources, and in some cases pogroms, and coming to the country that was the representation of Jewish sovereignty and Jewish self-determination was a remarkable, moving, deeply impactful experience. Even though I didn't make that transition because I hadn't been born yet, those stories of my family's experience are emblazoned on my memory as though I myself were there.

■ *March of the Living*

For that reason, it was all the more moving to be part of President's Trump's first official U.S. delegation to March of the Living. There were seven of us, ambassadors to Israel and Poland and Germany and Spain, to name a few. It was an amazing delegation. We walked through gas chambers, saw the ruins of crematoria, and made that horrific march from Auschwitz to Birkenau. And we marveled at the inhumanity represented by that place.

Many people grow up learning about the Shoah. Sure, we've seen the

Going from the hell of Jew-hatred and persecution to the light and joy and beauty of the modern State of Israel, at that moment it was very clear that the Jewish state was humanity's most beautiful answer to history's greatest evil. And that contrast was what this is all about. I will tell you that these ambassadors are senior people. One of them broke into tears because the contrast was impossible to digest without breaking down. Israel is not only a refuge from persecution, God forbid, but a representation of Jewish self-determination and excellence.

One of my top diplomatic tasks overseas is to work with a country that doesn't help the Jewish community defray the cost of security do so.

pictures a million times. But to walk it, to be there, was dramatically different. Then, after we walked arm-in-arm and shoulder-to-shoulder in solidarity with the Jewish victims in the worst period of the history... we boarded a plane and the next evening, were again shoulder-to-shoulder and arm-in-arm, but this time not in a march of mourning. We were shoulder-to-shoulder and arm-in-arm at the Kotel [Western Wall] in celebration of *Am Yisrael Chai*.

■ *The Job and its Priorities*

Q: HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE YOUR JOB AS THE SPECIAL ENVOY TO MONITOR AND COMBAT ANTI-SEMITISM?

Carr: Anti-Semitism is rising across the world, so some of what we do is reactive. We have to react when there are attacks against Jews and anti-Semitic statements being made in various places around the world. Social media, for example, is boiling over always. But it's very important

in any operation not to be so reactive that you lose your strategic focus.

We are militantly focused on the number of initiatives that are absolutely critical to the fight against anti-Semitism. First is security. If you don't feel safe, if you don't feel that you can leave the house and return home safely, or send your kids to school on the bus and know that they'll come back in one piece, you can't have a good quality of life.

Not all countries defray the cost of security for the Jewish community. The United States does. Our administration has increased that funding. The Department of Homeland Security, to the tune of many tens of millions of dollars, supplements security in grants all around the country. Not every country does this. The United Kingdom does a great job. One of my top diplomatic tasks overseas is to work with countries that don't help their Jewish communities defray the cost of security and encourage them to do so.

Second, we insist on the absolute, unequivocal condemnation of hate speech. Sometimes that doesn't happen because governments placate the far right or the far left in their countries. Sometimes it is vocal members of religious and other minority group that are being placated. My answer to all of this is don't placate evil. Don't coddle it. Don't apologize for it. Condemn it. Because at the end of the day, not only is that the right thing to do, but appeasing evil is always a recipe for more and more malignant evil to come.

■ **The First Amendment**

Keep in mind that condemnation does not mean censorship. We have broad First Amendment protections. The Supreme Court ruled that even Nazis had a right to march in Skokie, Illinois.

But don't be fooled when anti-Semites yell about their First Amendment rights in response to condemnation. The First Amendment protects you from censorship and punishment. It doesn't protect you from condemnation. And those of us who are decent also have a First Amendment right to condemn



Elan Carr

despicable, violent speech, and we have to exercise that right.

Third, a major policy initiative of ours is the adoption of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) definition of anti-Semitism. This is the standard definition and it is not controversial. More and more countries are adopting it. If a country hasn't adopted it, it's one of my top diplomatic asks that it be adopted.

■ **On Campus**

We're also working on anti-Semitism on college campuses because in too many cases campuses are a disaster. Here in this country vile, unvarnished anti-Semitism is allowed to lead to harassment and discrimination against Jewish students, and it's no different in Europe. I've met with Jewish student leaders in England and France and other places, and they say

the same thing. "You want to be safe? You want to go unmolested as a Jew on campus? You have to completely divorce yourself from Zionism and Israel. Don't mention Israel, and don't mention the 'Z' word. Check that aspect of your Jewish identity at the door."

You can't tell Jews to divorce themselves from a core aspect of their Jewish identity, and if you do, that is anti-Semitism, plain and simple.

For that reason, we are so proud and delighted that President Trump, in a game-changing move, signed an Executive Order that basically says, "Enough is enough."

I was at the White House when he signed the order, and after he signed it, he looked at the camera and he said, "Let me make this clear. If you are a university, and you are promoting discrimination and harassment of Jewish students, you

are going to lose a lot of money.” He said, “This is going to be very expensive for you.” And I promise you, every university president and chancellor in the country heard that. That’s an earthquake. And we are beyond grateful for this game-changing move by the President.

Lastly, we have to go on the offense as well. Not just defense. Of course, we have to fight the manifestations of anti-Semitism – the attacks, the vandalism, the hate words and all that. But strategically to win the war, you have to fight anti-Semitism itself. And what is anti-Semitism *apart* from its manifestations? It’s a worldview. It’s an idea, and ultimately, it’s a spiritual sickness.

■ **Education is the Key**

Q: HOW DO YOU FIGHT THAT?

Carr: Through deep, impactful, values-based education. When are we going to start to educate people in the beautiful and indelible and profound contributions that Jewish communities around the world have made to their countries? Can you tell the history of the United States without talking about what Jews have contributed to our country? Can you tell the history of England or France or Germany or Russia or Poland without talking about Jewish history? You can’t.

I was just in Germany, which, in 2021 will commemorate 1,700 years of Jewish history. The Germans are doing marvelous work to fight anti-Semitism. The German Bundestag has mandated that “BDS is anti-Semitism.” I sat down with our German interlocutors, and said, “This commemoration is great. Where is the curriculum? What are you doing so that every kid in every classroom in every city in the country knows what Jews have brought to Germany for the last 1,700 years? And also what Germany’s brought to Jews.”

By the way, how many German kids know that the vernacular language of Ashkenazi Judaism, from Russia to England, is a form of German? The answer is that virtually no German kid knows that. Let’s change that.

This goes for us, too, in the United States. The month of May is Jewish American Heritage Month. How many people know that? Very few. Everyone knows about African American Heritage Month, right? Because the African American community actually does something. They program. They have festivals and posters in schools. They have curricula. We have had a month devoted to Jewish American Heritage for 25 years now and we do absolutely nothing. If we really want to get serious in this fight against anti-Semitism, we have to go on the offense and educate.

■ **“I’m Just Anti-Israel”**

Q: PEOPLE SAY, “I’M NOT ANTI-SEMITIC, I JUST OPPOSE ISRAEL.” WHERE DOES ANTI-ISRAELISM CROSS THE LINE INTO ANTI-SEMITISM?

Carr: That’s where the IHRA definition of anti-Semitism is so important. It allows us, here in the United States and around the world, to point to an objective, independent definition, to say, “What you said is anti-Semitic.” In addition to defining anti-Semitism as you’d expect, basically as Jew hatred, the IHRA definition gives eleven specific examples of manifestations of anti-

self-determination by claiming that the founding of the State of Israel is a racist endeavor is anti-Semitism. Comparing Israel to the Nazis is an example. Subjecting Israel to a double-standard to which no other democratic country in the world is held is an example. The IHRA definition is so powerful because it draws that line.

You ask, “Where does it cross the line?” Criticism of Israel, like criticism of any country, is okay. You can criticize the United States or Israel or any country’s policy, but the moment the criticism turns into demonization, to delegitimization, to a denial of legitimacy, to the questioning of the existence of the State of Israel – how many countries in the world have their right to exist questioned? One – and that’s when it becomes anti-Semitic. The moment Israel is treated differently from any other country, that’s when it crosses the line.

■ **Not Everyone is in the Tent**

Q: PEOPLE SAY, “I’M CERTAINLY NOT ANTI-SEMITIC. I’M WORKING WITH JEWISH VOICE FOR PEACE (JVP), AND THEY’RE ALL JEWISH.” OR, “SOME OF MY BEST FRIENDS ARE JEWISH.” OR JEWS WHO USE A PART OF THEIR JEWISH IDENTITY ON THE ALTAR OF ANTI-ISRAELISM.

...we also have a First Amendment right to condemn despicable, violent speech, and we have to exercise that right.

Semitism and a twelfth that is kind of over-arching. Those examples not only include the kind of traditional medieval anti-Semitism, the canard of the *Protocols* that Jews control the world in a malicious cabal that’s pulling all the strings, but it also makes it clear that anti-Zionism is anti-Semitism.

Here is what the IHRA definition sets forth: Targeting the State of Israel as a Jewish collective is an example of anti-Semitism. Denying the Jewish people

Carr: We have to have lines. “Big tent, big tent” – everyone’s focused on the size of the tent. But *not everyone is in the tent*. And when you have got a Jewish organization that openly traffics in anti-Semitism, they have to be called out for what they are.

Let me say this clearly and on the record: JVP is an organization that traffics in anti-Semitism. The fact that they have the word “Jewish” in their name should not get them any favors. It’s



An Israeli tourist reports to the Berlin police after an anti-Semitic attack. (Photo: Sibylle A. Moller / Alamy)

about what is being preached, not about the identity of the person.

Diversity of opinion is one thing, but there's a red line, and when somebody crosses it, we cannot be afraid to call it out as anti-Semitism. And if we are afraid to do that, then we lose all of our moral weaponry in the fight.

Q: WHY DOES ANTI-SEMITISM EXIST? WHY HAS IT BEEN A SCOURGE SINCE THE TIME THE JEWS LEFT EGYPT?

Carr: Anti-Semitism is a spiritual sickness because it grew up in a sense as a rejection of what the Jewish people are and the spiritual revolution brought to the world by the Jewish people. Ethical monotheism, the idea that there is no moral relativism. The fact that some Jews have fallen victim to moral relativism is the ultimate irony because the Jewish Revolution was that there is one standard. One God and one standard. That is the revolution that Jews brought to the world.

I think anti-Semitism is often a rejection of those contributions. When one hates those values, the result has to be a threat not only to Jews most immediately, but to everybody. Look at the human wreckage caused by ideologies

that define themselves essentially through anti-Semitism.

■ **Nazi Germany and Radical Islamic Ideology**

Nazi Germany not only destroyed the Jewish people but destroyed the European continent. And let's look more recently. What ideologies do we have in the world today that define themselves primarily, essentially, through anti-Semitism? The Islamic Republic of Iran, Hezbollah, Hamas, ISIS. Put aside the threat to Jews for a moment. Look at the amount of destruction and suffering and misery caused by these movements and regimes. Unfathomable. Half a million people murdered in Syria because of Hezbollah and the Islamic Republic's allies. This is what we're up against. We're in a fight that is not only about protecting Jews, although that would be moral reason enough to do it, but this is a lot more. President Trump calls it the "vile poison of anti-Semitism," and it's an apt description because every society that has imbibed this poison has rotted to its core and produced human misery at a level that defies description.

Q: WHAT CAN INDIVIDUALS DO IN A PRACTICAL WAY?

Carr: Speak with moral clarity, and we've got to be ambassadors for unity, all of us.

You don't have to have a title or an organization. You don't have to be a CEO of something. Every one of us can say, "Now is the time for us to forget what divides us." We always have things that divide us, but we've got to get serious and stand together so that we don't allow anti-Semitism to continue this appalling rise in our world, and so that we fight this evil and we do build a better future. That's what each of us can do.

Q: SOME OF THAT ANTI-ISRAEL SENTIMENT I SEE COMES FROM JEWISH PEOPLE. ONCE I ASKED AN ISRAELI JEW, "WHERE ARE YOU FROM?" AND SHE RESPONDED, "OCCUPIED PALESTINE." IT IS COMPLICATED FOR ME, A NON-JEW AND A HISPANIC, TO RESPOND TO THAT BECAUSE YOU WOULD EXPECT THEM TO SAY, "YOU ARE CALLING ME, A JEW, ANTI-SEMITIC."

Carr: I would say, "As a Hispanic student, I expect to be treated fairly and not based on the color of my skin or my ethnic background. I'm going to do you the same favor of treating you fairly, without regard for your ethnic background, and what you're saying is anti-Semitic. I'm not going to treat you differently because you're Jewish." That's how you do it. And then you let them have it!

Q: HOW CAN YOU OBJECTIVELY MEASURE THE RISE IN ANTI-SEMITISM, OTHER THAN JUST A SENSE THAT THERE'S AN INCREASE?

Carr: There are all kinds of things you could look to and we do look to. The problem is they're almost all imperfect. For example, polls were done of Jewish fears in Europe. Ninety percent of European Jews surveyed said anti-Semitism is rising. There are other polls done of anti-Semitic attitudes. One in four Europeans fell into the most anti-Semitic category, meaning they subscribe to the majority of eleven

anti-Semitic indicators that were tested.

The problem is polls change and polls are imperfect.

And then there are hate crime statistics. Attacks, vandalism. But there is widespread under-reporting of attacks. In fact, where anti-Semitism is the worst, under-reporting is also the worst. In the United States, someone uses an anti-Semitic epithet and it's, "Oh, my goodness." You tell 20 people, "You wouldn't believe what happened to me today." In some other places, it's almost the case that if you don't get stitches, it's, "Well, it's another day on the street."

Exacerbating the problem is that some countries don't drill down on the kind of hate crime it is. Every country has hate crime standards and reports it, but sometimes the source is not clear because the data is not sufficiently granular. You don't know whether it's a hate crime against somebody gay or a hate crime against somebody who is Jewish or somebody who is Muslim. In such cases one can't even gather reliable data.

One thing we can look at is the volume of hate speech on the Internet. Here you have some very interesting work being done – especially by the Israeli Ministry of Diaspora Affairs. I work with them all the time; I'm in regular touch with them. They have done remarkable programming and work to measure the volume of hate speech on the Internet. That may have promise because it's such a large volume that you can look at trends. Bottom-line – it's difficult, but since no amount of anti-Semitism is acceptable, you don't necessarily need to know where it sits in order to fight.

■ Our Responses

Q: AS A STUDENT, I NEVER TOLD MY PARENTS I WAS ATTACKED. I WAS EMBARRASSED. I HAD PENNIES THROWN ON THE FLOOR AT ME. WHAT CAN WE DO TO RAISE AWARENESS IN THE SCHOOLS AND FOCUS MORE ON THEM?

Carr: First, don't wait until one gets to university. This is now firmly entrenched in the high schools. I just spoke in New

York, and a kid came up to me. He said, "I go to a private prep school and let me tell you what's happening in my classroom. 'Israel is a Nazi regime' is being spouted by teachers in class."

Don't wait for high school. We've got to start educating our children from day one, first about what it means to be Jewish. Second, what it means to have a state of Israel. Third, how to fight on this subject. They have to be prepared. They have to know it's happening. They have to be able to stand up even to professors, not only to their peers and to organizations on campus, even if they have a "J" in their title, but they have to be pre-

pared to stand up to professors.

A student at a premier university in the country gave me the answer sheet to his math class. I still have a copy. After going through derivatives and integrals, it says, "Another day in the occupied Palestinian territory, Zionists forces murdering children." Then it goes back to math. The kid said to me, "In math class? I can't even escape this in math class?" That's right, even in math class. Because, like the old, medieval anti-Semitism, the new forms are just as maniacal, just as insane, in their hatred of the Jewish people.

So we have to start early and educate our kids about their own identities, first of all, and give them the knowledge and the tools to understand why this fight is important. And then we have to teach them to lead.

Q: I WAS RAISED AS AN ANTI-ISRAEL ACTIVIST. I HAD MY MIND TRANSFORMED AND I AM NOW A PROUD, PROGRESSIVE PRO-ISRAEL. WE CAN'T AFFORD TO LEAVE OUT LEFT, LIBERAL, PROGRESSIVES FROM OUR ZIONIST MOVEMENT.

Carr: I couldn't agree with you more. When I appear officially at a venue next to progressive leaders who stand against anti-Zionism in the progressive community, that's a statement in and of itself. I'm embracing that as important. Second, I never say no to the chance to address left-of-center organizations and left-of-center audiences. I drop what I'm doing to do it. There are sometimes uncomfortable exchanges but you have to have them. What I say is look, when President Obama did something good on this issue, I stood up and I said, "Thank you, Mr. President. This is the right thing to do."

...a major policy initiative of ours is the adoption of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) definition of anti-Semitism.

You will never hear me talk about which party you should be in or how you should vote. I don't talk about those issues. I'm just talking about policy. Why is that so hard? Regarding President Trump's policies, stand up and say, "Mr. President. Thank you for this. You have our support on this issue."

That's called being rational. The idea that just because person A – who you may not like – does thing X, you should oppose thing X – which you might otherwise support – is truly, truly the height of irrationality and it's dangerous. President Obama increased security cooperation and assistance for Israel. So, I'm going to oppose it? I'm going to say I don't think we should be helping Israel defend itself just because a president I don't generally agree with does it? That would be crazy.

But that's what's happening today, and we've got to stand up against it. Progressives have to stand up and say, "Look, I have my issues with President Trump, but on this issue, he's fantastic. Thank you, Mr. President, and he has my support on this."

“The Culture of Contempt”: Anti-Semitism in the UK

by DAVID HIRSH

Anti-Semitism is not inherent either on the left or the right but anti-democratic politics and anti-Semitism have a long history of passionate mutual attraction. What we have in Britain, and not only in Britain, is a mushrooming of anti-democratic politics and ways of thinking into the mainstream. We might call it “populism.” Populism is a flirtation with some of the thrills and temptations of twentieth century totalitarianism. There is not enough fear of losing the democracy and the liberty we have; there is too much contempt for this ordinary everyday life.

There has always been genuinely left-wing anti-Semitism because there have always been anti-democratic currents on the left. There is a genuinely authentic left anti-Semitism but people on the left prefer to think of anti-Semitism, when they even recognise it around them, as a personal failing imported from somewhere else, into their movement. More and more the left insists that anti-Semitism is something “over there” on the right, and the right insists that anti-Semitism is something “over there” amongst Muslims and the left. In so insisting, each gives cover and protection to the anti-Semitism within its own political family.

Left-wing anti-Semitism has fuelled imaginings of Jews as enablers of privilege and oppression. This has largely shifted from the alleged Jewish role in capitalism to the alleged Jewish role in imperialism and racism. It is a perennial source of embarrassment to those anti-Zionists who consider themselves to be opponents of anti-Semitism that

their own “clean” campaigns are always attractive to older and more vulgar anti-Semitic tropes relating to Jewish money, Jewish domination of culture and news, and an “Old Testament” lust for blood.

■ *From the Fringes to the Center*

My book, *Contemporary Left Anti-Semitism* is the story of the twenty-first century mainstreaming of an anti-Semitic current from the fringes of the British left to the center. As students in the 1980s, we opposed attempts to prohibit student Jewish societies, which were decreed Zionist - and so racist and so in violation of the principles of the student movement.

At the end of 2000, hopes for a peace between Israel and the Palestinians faded

Israeli universities coalesced within the academic trade unions in Britain. It incited British academics to pick out and punish their Israeli colleagues by excluding them from the global community of science and scholarship. This campaign created a toxic culture in the University and College Union. It was somewhat successful in constructing support for the boycott as a key signifier of membership of the “community of the good.” Opposition to the boycott became something which merited exclusion from that community.

In this way, a politics of position replaced a politics of reason. To be positioned outside of the community of the good meant exclusion from the community of debate, argument, and evidence.

Left wing anti-Semitism has fuelled imaginings of Jews as enablers of privilege and oppression.

with the break down of the peace process. In September of the following year, at the World Conference against Racism in Durban in the new South Africa, political anti-Semitism poisoned attempts to galvanise the global struggle against racism. Zionism, it was said, must be recognised as the key symbolic racism on the planet. A week later the jihadi Islamist movement destroyed the World Trade Center, hit the Pentagon and missed the White House.

From 2003, the campaign to boycott

The boundaries of the community were policed by a kind of discursive violence instead. And of course, many of the people excluded in this way were Jews, or people accused of supporting Zionism; in fact, archetypically they were people who could see, and were willing to oppose, anti-Semitism.

Just as race is constructed by racism, “Zionism” was constructed by anti-Zionism to mean racism, apartheid, imperialism and even Nazism. Jews

who did not accept anti-Zionism had this identity of “Zionist” thrust upon them, no matter how they understood their own political or ethnic identity. No understanding of Zionism as the self-liberation of Jews or as the renewal of Jewish life after the Holocaust and after anti-Semitism in Russia and the Middle East, was countenanced.

■ *The Culture of Contempt*

The culture of contempt for Israel as a key symbolic evil brought anti-Semitism with it into the union. It created an assumption that Jews were enemies; it treated Israeli human rights abuses, both real and imagined, as uniquely significant; it was open to conspiracy fantasy and blood libel; it treated people who spoke up against anti-Semitism as enemies while treating people who said explicitly anti-Semitic things as friends who had fallen into error.

Anybody who stood up against anti-Semitism would be accused of being part of a conspiracy to silence criticism of Israel. I called this standard response of angry denial and counter-accusation “The Livingstone Formulation,” after the then-Mayor of London.

The Livingstone Formulation is a mode of bullying Jews and their allies. It does not say that they are mistaken, that they have weighed up the evidence wrongly. Instead it teaches people to treat them as though they are part of an organised conspiracy to lie, as though they are alien to the movement, as though they are only pretending to care, and as though they are really devoted to undermining the genuine aims of the left; and as though they are paid agents of Israel or of the “Israel lobby.”

Some of us opposed anti-Semitism in the academic unions not only because we cared about our unions but also because we thought that the anti-Semitism might spread. Anti-Semitism was not common in Britain and it did not feature in popular culture or the mass media; other forms of racism and bigotry had a better hold there. But anti-Semitism,

albeit in a form which was angrily denied, was carried by some of the most educated, left-wing and anti-racist people in the country; and it was influential among opinion-formers, journalists and educators. We were worried that it would spread throughout the trade union and the Labour movement, and become normal within a whole layer of left and liberal people.

We were not wrong.

■ *How it Happened*

Jeremy Corbyn was neither an innovator nor a great leader of change, but a follower of prevailing left-wing orthodoxies. He was imbued in a worldview with roots in Stalinist Communism, but also in the post-1968 “new left,” which held “capitalism,” “modernity,” and “imperialism” responsible for poverty,

But there is a further step. How is it possible for Corbyn to have declared that the anti-Semitic, Jew-killing movements Hamas and Hezbollah were dedicated to peace and justice across the Middle East? Yes, they are movements against capitalism-modernity-imperialism. But in Corbyn’s political tradition, and quite deliberately manufactured by the Soviet Union, Zionism gets tacked onto the end of that way of describing the structures of global power and domination which keep poor people poor and sick and subjugated: it becomes capitalism-modernity-imperialism-Zionism.

How did Corbyn become leader of the Labour Party and find himself one General Election away from 10 Downing Street? This situation was not the product of a crisis of the British left alone, it was the product of a crisis of British politics

In Corbyn’s political tradition...Zionism gets tacked
onto the end of a way of describing the structures
of global power and domination...it becomes
capitalism-modernity-imperialism-Zionism

war, and oppression globally. There were other bad things, but those were produced by the world system of cruelty and power, the iron cage of rationality, capitalism-modernity-imperialism. Insofar as any political movement was against capitalism-modernity-imperialism, it was good; and insofar as it was not good, it was because it had been driven bad by capitalism-modernity-imperialism.

In this template, democratic states are the root of all evil and their democracy is fundamentally fake, an ideological trick designed to fool people into giving consent for their own oppression. That is why undemocratic movements against the democratic states are treated as being on the side of the global revolt against capitalism-modernity-imperialism.

as a whole. The rise of Corbyn was related to the rise, mainly on the British right, of a movement against the European Union, convinced that migration and international co-operation were key threats to British happiness and freedom.

■ *Populism*

Populist movements cultivate contempt for the institutions and cultures of democratic society. They say that democracy is a façade constructed by a liberal elite to hide the underlying reality, which is that an establishment rules in its own interest while pretending to care about the common good.

According to populism, freedom of speech is “fake news”; politics is dominated by an insider “political class”



Trucks carrying advertisements against the Labour party driving around central London, (Photo: Matthew Chattle/Alamy)

which serves only the elite; knowledge is power and science is self-serving; international trade and co-operation benefit only the "globalist" cosmopolitans at the expense of regular folk.

The liberal democratic state mediates the interests, tastes, desires, and needs of a huge diversity of flesh and blood human beings: people of different classes, genders, sexualities, ethnicities, origins, tastes, inclinations and abilities. In the sphere of liberty, staked out and protected by the state, people inherit and construct their own communities, families, friendships, religions, trade unions and cultures; and they invent, produce, work, buy and sell in the market. And in the sphere of politics they come together, thinking in the universal interest, to guarantee the sphere of liberty, to set its limits and rules.

Every aspect of existing society is open to critique. Populism pounces on the rational kernel of every criticism and it melds each one into a single emotional narrative of furious contempt.

Twentieth century totalitarianism took critiques of state, law, rights, and democracy and built out of them movements which in the end were so powerful that they were able to smash states, and to rule without law, rights, or democracy.

Populism and totalitarianism dispense with the contradictions and diversity of actual human beings and they invite us into a simple imagined community called "the people." Democracy mediates a multiplicity of voices but populism must have a single heroic voice. Since "the people" is abstract but singular, it can only speak through the personality of the strongman leader.

Populism and totalitarianism can never succeed. They find nothing of any value in existing society and they promise to tear it all down and to build again from nothing. But it is easier to destroy than it is to create and they can never deliver the utopia they weaved in the imagination of their followers. Their failure has to be explained by reference to the "enemies of the people."

■ **Corbyn and "Blairism"**

Corbyn presented himself as the voice of the people, as the antidote to (neo)liberalism and to "Blairism." Although Tony Blair is the only person to have won a General Election for Labour since 1974 (he won three), for the Corbynites, he embodies the populist notion of the "fake liberal establishment," which talks justice and egalitarianism while secretly plotting power and riches only

for itself. The populists have only contempt for "Blairite" or "centrist" or "liberal" democratic politics, human rights, rule of law, scientific knowledge and for international co-operation. And this contempt was echoed and underlined by the Brexit right, howling against the "establishment" European Union and its unpatriotic enablers at home, plotting with the globalist, cosmopolitan, foreign elites against the British people.

The two populist movements constructed each other as their opposition while each reinforced much of their mutual central message.

In Britain, Corbyn's Labour Party was unable to extricate itself from the culture in which accusations of anti-Semitism were understood as confirmation of his goodness and of the hostility of the powerful right-wing establishment. More and more the image of Britain's Jews, and global Zionists, resonated as ways of picturing the enemy which stood between "us" and socialism.

The populist right focused on migrants, on the financial centre of the City of London, on the "political class," on the educated and metropolitan elite, on the old enemies of France and Germany, and on Muslims. The anti-Semitic potential within some of these ways of designating the enemy of the people has so far gone largely untapped.

In the end, significant parts of the electorate, including sections of the working class which had been loyal to Labour for a century, sniffed that Corbyn was a dangerous crank. Many people thought the anti-Semitic odor which hung around him, even if they didn't quite know or understand the details, was symbolic of that, and they didn't want him in Downing Street. It was a two-horse race, so they voted for the other guy.

DAVID HIRSH is Senior Lecturer in Sociology at Goldsmiths, University of London and author of *Contemporary Left Anti-Semitism*.

Swedish Anti-Semitism: Twisted Roots, Modern Branches

BY Rabbi DANIEL KORN

In February 1939, the Swedish Parliament debated help for refugees. The country needed unskilled men and women willing to work on farms and in forestry, the kind of jobs that few young Swedes were willing to do. But the immigrants who wanted to come were of a different sort. Primarily intellectual Jews from Germany and Austria, desperate to find a way to leave their home countries after *Kristallnacht*, they sent applications for immigration on which they listed all their qualifications, without realizing that they thereby signed their own death sentences. The higher their qualifications, the less chance to be accepted.

But some managed to enter and Parliament discussed their future. MP Otto Wallén of the Farmers Party expressed doubt that Jewish refugees would be useful. “The Asiatic race does not fit in company with our gentle Swedish race” he said, and added, “Mr. Speaker, today I admit without shame that I am an anti-Semite.”

Three years later, Wallén hired a Jewish worker for his farm. The employment was meant to be temporary, but a year after that, Wallén signed a document certifying that the Jew was an excellent and trustworthy worker.

In 1944, another young Jewish refugee came to Elmtaryd farm in Agunaryd, a small town in a forest area in south Sweden. The farmer, Feodor Kamprad, needed help and since he came from a German family it was useful that the Vienna born Jew, Otto Ullmann, also spoke German. But Kamprad was also an outspoken Nazi sympathizer and anti-Semite. How could he employ a

Jew? Mrs. Kamprad solved that dilemma by sharply telling her husband to shut up. The farmer and his employee became such good friends, working and hunting together, that Kamprad’s son, Ingvar, later described the relationship as love.

When Ingvar Kamprad started a small family business in furniture, Otto

young son who had managed to find refuge in Sweden. Åsbrink discovered there was a file about Kamprad in the archives of the secret police. There she found that Kamprad had not only been a supporter of Engdahl’s fascist group longer than he admitted, but also that he earlier had been a member of a Nazi

The fear that so many Swedish Jews have for wearing a Star of David in public can therefore be contrasted with the tiny group of Orthodox Jews who dress in a way that identifies them as Jewish.

Ullmann was one of his first employees. Kamprad’s initials and the first letters in the address formed the company’s name: IKEA.

■ Fast Forward

When in 1994 Sweden’s old fascist leader Per Engdahl died, in his archive were found long lists of Swedes who had supported him. Among them was Ingvar Kamprad, now leader of a multinational company. When this secret of his past was revealed, Kamprad made an official declaration excusing himself for youthful stupidities. He called old friends, among them Otto Ullmann, to express his regrets.

But there was more coming. After Ullmann’s death his children presented approximately 500 letters to the writer Elisabeth Åsbrink. The letters were from Ullmann’s parents in Vienna and later from Theresienstadt concentration camp, describing their life for their

organization, actively recruiting young people for its youth wing.

At the same time he had been a close friend of his father’s Jewish worker he had actively partaken in activities in a clearly anti-Semitic organization. Åsbrink asked for and was granted an interview with Kamprad. He admitted his Nazi activities, but said that he was never an anti-Semite. Åsbrink was not granted another interview.

■ Different Aspects; Same Phenomenon

These two stories show how complicated and many times paradoxical anti-Semitism can be. According to some studies, Sweden is one of the least anti-Semitic countries in the world. According to other studies, Swedish Jews feel a strong uneasiness showing that they are Jewish. Jewish institutions are heavily protected out of fear of terrorist attacks. The city of Malmö has become

internationally known for anti-Semitic attacks; news about its dwindling Jewish community has spread over the world.

All of this is true. What seem to be contradictory facts actually show different aspects of the same phenomenon. It is true that Swedes, according to the international ADL study, are among the least anti-Semitic people in the world. It is also true that a lot of Swedish Jews feel very uneasy or even frightened to show they are Jewish.

Yet fear is not always a good measure of a real threat. Often, the more assimilated you are and the better integrated you are in society, the harder it is to show that you are different or an outsider. Fear of showing Jewishness, therefore, is not necessarily a measure for the level of anti-Semitism, but can instead show the level of integration.

The fear that so many Swedish Jews have of wearing a Star of David in public can therefore be contrasted with the tiny group of Orthodox Jews who dress in a way that identifies them as Jewish. The Chabad rabbi in Stockholm has said that he was never harassed. Although one time a drunk man called after him in the street, his words were encouraging rather than hateful. A friend in Gothenburg has worn his kipa in public for almost four decades with no incidents.

■ **Malmö**

But there is an exception and it is called Malmö.

Sweden's third largest city has, in recent decades, seen strong immigration from Muslim countries and a series of anti-Semitic attacks, not least against its Chabad rabbi. I spent a Sabbath with a newly-started Jewish community there in November, actually delivering a sermon entitled, "How to live in a place where people hate you."

One Sunday, I had a meeting with a young Swedish Muslim who had read one of my books. After a friendly chat we walked together to the area Möllevången. People had warned me that if you look Jewish you will be harassed there.

Stubbornly I wanted to prove these people wrong. But I was the one proven wrong. We went to Möllevångstorget Square and my friend took a picture of me in front of the famous statue "The honour of work," but people were constantly shouting at me in Arabic.

What makes Malmö special is that

descendants continue this work. But interviewed on Swedish television, a member of this group said that a growing number of schools, especially in suburbs around the larger cities, do not invite them. School officials say they cannot guarantee the speakers' safety.

Asked for comment, historian In-

I spent a Sabbath [in Malmö] actually delivering a sermon entitled, "How to live in a place where people hate you."

its downtown area and the heavily Muslim populated districts are in walking distance from each other. Other cities have similar problems, but they are hidden in suburbs.

One could look at this from different perspectives. No doubt there is strong anti-Semitism among the Muslim immigrants. Studies have shown this. But these studies have also shown that the level of anti-Semitism among Swedish Muslims is much lower than in their countries of origin. In other words: The Swedish influence has proven positive against anti-Semitism.

But many Swedes, not least in leading positions, take this influence for granted. They seem to think that all people who immigrate want to be like Swedes and kindness is the best way to reach this goal. Instead of taking domestic anti-Semitism seriously they deny its existence.

■ **Holocaust Remembrance as a Warning**

In the 1980s, Holocaust survivors started to visit schools to tell their story, providing younger generations with the message that this could happen again, if we are not vigilant. Now, when the last survivors are too old, their younger

grid Lomfors, chief of the Living History Forum, said the reason for this regression was "weakened democracy and growing nationalist movements" that "sort out the Jewish narrative" to be able to "create a strong nation." She did not mention a word about Muslim students who protest against Jews coming to "their" schools.

Criticized for this omission, Lomfors wrote an article about how good relations between Muslims and Jews have been many times in the past. She also provided some examples also of how bad they can be. All of her responses were true, but they were not responsive to the criticism.

■ **It Isn't Only Muslims**

Lomfors was rebuked for her denial of the obvious, but as Muslims are considered a vulnerable group, themselves the target of racism, things get complicated in Sweden. When developments are not easily identified as good or bad, black and white, people prefer to speak about something else. The real Swedish problem with anti-Semitism – as well as with other problems in the country – is peoples' uneasiness at discussing complicated subjects. Why talk about anti-Semitism or integration of Muslims in

Sweden when the weather forecast is an endless source of conversation?"

Swedish Prime Minister Stefan Löfven has announced an International Forum on Holocaust Remembrance and Combating Anti-Semitism that will take place in Malmö in October 2020. Mr. Löfven has shown an active concern for how the memory of the Holocaust should be preserved and has been outspoken in his denunciation of anti-Semitism, including when it appears in the form of anti-Zionism.

The placement of the conference in Malmö would appear to be a rebuke to the Muslim population, but in addition, it is well understood in Sweden that the city's former mayor (of the same Social Democratic Party as the prime minister) has made anti-Semitic remarks too often to explain them away as absent mindedness or misunderstanding. The party's youth organization in Malmö marched a few years ago in a manifestation shouting "crush Zionism." Löfven refused to accept the explanation that it was a protest against Zionist ideology and not against Jews. He fully acknowledged that Zionism here was a code word for Jews. Löfven's honest disgust for anti-Semitism is without question.

But until recently, Löfven's government had a Minister of Foreign Affairs, Margot Wallström, who must be described as an anti-Semite in the same way as Britain's Jeremy Corbyn. Both vehemently protest such allegations and both constantly fall into the same pit. They take for granted that anti-Semitism is just like any other kind of racism and since they have spent their lives fighting racism they do not understand how anyone could call them anti-Semites.

Wallström was interviewed about the terrorist attacks in Paris a few years ago, mainly against Jewish targets. She said that the Muslims who executed the attacks were "frustrated because of Israel." She did not see the vulnerability of individual French shoppers. To her, they were Jews, and thus part of Israel, a strong country. Since racism, in her view, can only exist against weak people – Muslims – she could understand the "weak" Muslims attacking the "strong" Jews.

To say that she excused the attacks would be to go too far, but her explanation identified kosher food stores in Paris with the State of Israel, and found it natural that Muslims would kill civilians in terrorist attacks out of "frustration." She managed to be both anti-Semitic

and racist against Muslims in the same sentence.

Under Wallström's leadership, Löfven's government has used Swedish taxpayers' money to support the Palestinian Authority (PA) with billions of dollars, making Sweden one of the strongest supporters of the regime that pays wages to terrorists and their families. While one member of the government plans a conference on anti-Semitism, another member of the same government pays for the support of murderers of Jews. The hypocrisy perhaps became unsustainable, as Wallström suddenly resigned her position saying she discovered that she wanted to spend more time with her grandchildren.

Or not. The dichotomy of Löfven and Wallström might also be described as a peculiar attitude toward Jews: love of dead Jews. If the Jews were murdered in the Holocaust, the reverence is even stronger. But living Jews are, perhaps, a different story.

Rabbi DANIEL KORN has written 20 books in Swedish mainly on cultural, historical and political subjects. He currently resides in Manchester, England but continues to publish and lecture in Sweden.

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Key Lessons from Recent Anti-Semitic Incidents

by Rabbi ABRAHAM COOPER

The Simon Wiesenthal Center's 2019 Top 10 Worst Anti-Semitic and Anti-Israel Incidents confirms that history's oldest hate continues its pernicious and deadly metastasis into the mainstream of Western democracies.

Gone are the days when we in the United States would wag an accusing finger at the other side of the Atlantic. The 2019 list is evenly divided between North America and Europe. It is not just Paris, London, Berlin, or Stockholm anymore; the targeting of Jews has manifested itself coast-to-coast from San Diego County to Jersey City to the New York City subway system. And just days after the release of the Wiesenthal Center's Top 10 Worst in December came the horrific machete attack at a Chanukah celebration at a rabbi's home in Monsey, New York.

Editor's Note: In a criminal federal hate crimes complaint filed against Thomas Grafton – charged with the stabbing attack at the home Hasidic Rabbi Chaim Rottenberg in Monsey – federal prosecutors said they found handwritten journals at Thomas' home that contained anti-Semitic views. These included mentions of "Nazi culture" and Adolf Hitler, along with drawings of a swastika and a Star of David.

Authorities said an examination of Thomas' phone revealed had he searched the Internet for phrases connected to Hitler, Jews and the location of "Jewish Temples" and "Zionist Temples." Thomas pleaded

not guilty to five counts of attempted murder and one count of first-degree burglary. Psychiatrists hired by the defense told the judge that their client is "not competent to stand trial."

At nearly the same time, the institution of so-called "bail reform" in New York saw the release of an anti-Semitic hate crime perpetrator without bail. The day of her release, she violently attacked three Jewish women. Only on the perpetrator's third offense was a \$10,000 bail set.

record at best in interdicting anti-Jewish incitement, which continues unabated 24/7. Facebook and other social media companies have failed to make changes to their live-streaming services even after they have been used to disseminate deadly attacks in real-time to millions of people around the world.

Until the recent wave of violent attacks in the New York City area, most of the mainstream news media had shown little interest in the roots and manifestations of today's anti-Semitism—unless and until Jewish blood is spilt and unless

...social media represent the most powerful marketing and recruitment tool for anti-Semites, racists and other bigots in history.

■ The Role of Social Media

During a meeting with three top New York City Police Department officials, this writer asked what had changed in the last five years. Where did all this anti-Semitic hate come from? "Social media" was their simultaneous response. In fact, social media represent the most powerful marketing and recruitment tool for anti-Semites, racists and other bigots in history.

It emerges as the key marketing platform for anti-Semitic incitement, empowerment and recruitment of so-called lone wolf domestic terrorists who violently target Jews at prayer and at work. Social media giants have a spotty

it can be linked to white supremacists. Many of the recent attacks in the New York area did not fit that narrative, as the alleged perpetrators were black. Much of the media and political leadership were slow to acknowledge that tragic fact.

■ Lip Service is What we Get

Too many leaders—from the United States to France, the United Kingdom, Germany, to Scandinavia — give lip service to the problem of anti-Semitism but have failed to come up with a comprehensive approach that includes increased funding for law enforcement, tougher sentences for anti-Semitic hate crimes and education for a generation born in

the 21st century and that has little or no understanding of anti-Semitism or the Nazi Holocaust.

While “Sieg Heil”-ing neo-Nazis and other extreme far-right Jew-haters remain headline-grabbers and generate media analysis, interfaith protests and the attention of organizations like the Simon Wiesenthal Center, there is scant acknowledgment or action when anti-Semitism is inspired and promoted by extremists—including imams cursing Jews from their pulpits in the name of Islam or the Palestinian cause.

For example, in Sweden, over the last decade, authorities in Malmo, the country’s third largest city, still have not

and directly in among Muslims in major cities, including Berlin.

In the United Kingdom, Jeremy Corbyn) allowed—some say encouraged—“progressive” elements of the Labour Party he led to purge Jewish Labourites, to openly express anti-Semitic and extreme anti-Israel sentiments and even deny the Holocaust. Only the overwhelming defeat handed to Corbyn by British voters on election day in December put an end – at least temporarily – to the injection of vile Jew-hatred into the mainstream of the political and social fabric of the United Kingdom. To date, though, anti-Semitic crimes in the UK continue.

Anti-Semitism has not been a part of the American character - it is at heart, anti-American. All Americans must unite to fight this evil.

arrested or prosecuted a single person for countless anti-Semitic hate crimes apparently committed by members of the city’s Muslim community or for ongoing intimidation of the leading rabbi.

In France, authorities have shown yet again that they view anti-Jewish hate crimes committed in the name of Islam through a different prism. Shockingly, a French court released the convicted murderer of a Jewish woman. The killer had beaten his victim to death in her apartment and then threw her body off a balcony while he chanted Quranic texts. They blamed his smoking marijuana.

In Germany, politicians wonder why an Israeli student is beaten on the streets of Berlin for speaking Hebrew, even as the same politicians, welcome Iranian delegations dispatched by the “Supreme Leader,” Ayatollah Ali Khamenei. The Iranians come bearing sweetheart economic deals for Germany. German leaders permit terrorist Hezbollah (the Iranian-backed Lebanese terrorist movement), to operate openly

■ **North American Colleges and Universities**

The situation for Jewish students on leading American and Canadian universities remains dire. The Wiesenthal Center could have created a Top 10 or even a Top 100 worst incidents list just focusing on elite campuses from NYU, Columbia, to York and McGill Universities and University of Toronto, to UCLA, UC Berkeley and scores of campuses in America’s heartland. Israel is cast by “boycott, disinvest, sanction” (BDS) campaigns as an apartheid regime, racist and therefore illegitimate, and Israelis are slandered as latter-day Nazis. Woe to the pro-Israel speaker slated to speak on campus, or to a Jewish student leader who travels to the Jewish state.

Universities pride themselves on nurturing “safe zones” for students who are upset about issues of the day. In the case of Israel and its supporters, safe zones, that is, for everyone who is upset by the existence of Zionists and their friends. As Jewish students seek ways

to fight back, there are increasing calls for Jewish alumni to protest the pernicious double standards by closing their checkbooks to their alma maters until Jewish students receive equal treatment afforded to every other minority.

■ **Title VI**

The only real game-changer and one of the few rays of light piercing the politically correct darkness enveloping academia was President Donald Trump’s surprise signing of an executive order at a White House Chanukah party in 2019. With a stroke of a pen, Jewish students were at last afforded the same protections and redress guaranteed to other minorities in the historic Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Title VI of the US Department of Education.

Students victimized by anti-Israel or anti-Jewish hatred on campus and rebuffed by non-responsive administrators can now turn to the US Department of Education to investigate. If charges of anti-Semitism are verified, the department can withhold federal funds from schools that fail to act. Finally, the executive order erased one other key excuse deployed by diffident bureaucrats. President Trump adopted the so-called IHRA (International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance) definition of anti-Semitism. Adopted by more than 20 nations, the IHRA definition lists among its examples the labeling of Israel as Nazi-like, thus robbing anti-Israel and anti-Semitic activists of a favorite insidious big-lie.

■ **Where Do We Go From Here?**

First, we Jews will have to spend more in order to better secure the safety of our communities, synagogues and schools. We also should provide additional moral and financial support along with training for disrespected law enforcement, whose brave members are the first and last line of defense. Along with that, we need a commitment by law enforcement to work with Jewish communities to better secure their safety, and, of course, that of



Anti-Israel students at Columbia University erected a mock “apartheid wall” in front of the iconic Low Library steps during Israel Apartheid Week, March 3, 2016. (Photo: Uriel Heilman/JTA)

synagogues and schools. And we need a commitment by all Americans to support the country’s law enforcement officers, whose often difficult work sometimes goes unappreciated.

Second, we need a more robust FBI-led response to the violent targeting of Jews.

Third, we need people of all faiths and faith leaders to denounce anti-Semitism. Just as Jews have played an important role in fighting white racism directed against black Americans, we now need partners in the African-American community to join with us in fighting against those who hate Jews, regardless of their color. Oftentimes, white anti-Semites are also white racists, and blacks who hate whites may despise Jews in particular.

Fourth, we need to overcome anti-Semites in Congress and rebuild bipartisan coalitions against Jew-hatred and other forms of religious, ethnic or racial bigotry. We will have to strive to recast the struggle against anti-Semitism as a non-partisan campaign and not just another political football in the unending toxic Left-Right wars.

Fifth, we must demand accountability from university administrators and news media; we also must demand that the social media giants do much more to cripple online recruitment and marketing of bigots and terrorists.

Most of all, American Jews will need the help and understanding of our neighbors, blessed like us to live in the world’s greatest democracy. Like millions of other people, Jews immigrated to the United

States from around the world to escape persecution. We have joined with others in this nation of immigrants to take part in the American Dream – enjoying a level of freedom and acceptance our ancestors in foreign lands never knew. Anti-Semitism has not been part of the American character – it is, at its heart, anti-American. All Americans must unite to fight this evil.

Moving forward, the greatest collective challenge for American Jews is to overcome growing internal debates and differences and to unite to fight this new/old 21st century war against our people – together.

RABBI ABRAHAM COOPER is associate dean, director Global Social Action Agenda, of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles.

The Evolving White Supremacy Ideology and Its Protagonists

by MICHAEL DAVIS, ZE'EV B. BEGIN, and YIGAL CARMON

Deeds Are Led by Words.

Sociopolitical developments of the past decades led to new arguments that have become part of hate discourse—namely, that European culture and traditions are being endangered by immigrants who will replace them. The argument expands the scope of existing hatred against African-Americans, Jews, and the LGBTQ community, and appeals to many. Participants in the new discourse enjoy a sense of belonging to a group of loyalists, sharing admiration of their heroes, and using jargon that has been newly developed, comprising catchy slogans, smartly coded acronyms, and visual symbols. Social media is being leveraged to quickly spread these messages to an eager audience of thousands. For example, a recent study shows that the number of tweets mentioning the “Great Replacement” conspiracy theory, which was introduced by Jean R.G. Camus in France in 2011, increased from 120,000 in 2014 to 330,000 in 2018 (mainly in Europe).

Thus, in recent years, prophets of this new white supremacist theory have been rather successful in disseminating their doctrine. They have convinced many that what they call “the White race” faces a concrete and immediate danger of losing its special status, or even the extinction of its identity and culture through “White genocide.” The declared enemies are not only these immigrants themselves but also those who enable immigration through their alleged global influence—that is, the Jews.

These apocalyptic depictions encourage urgent, concrete action, in order to

overcome the danger. The arguments and symbolism developed by white supremacist groups have become effective in recruiting new supporters, instilling in their minds a sense of mission and urgency and driving some of them to action, namely carrying out terrorist acts against their perceived enemies. According to their statements, they hope to achieve the direct purpose of reducing the number of these enemies—including through the provocation of civil war in the United States—and the indirect aim of showing the way to others who would follow them. Following the 2019 El Paso Walmart shooting, a new

FBI, don’t investigate ideology, no matter how repugnant. We investigate violence, and any extremist ideology, when it turns to violence, we are all over it.”

However, for its victims, when ideology turns to violence it is too late. In struggling against terrorism of both origins, one must first realize that deeds are led by words which, in turn, reflect ideology. This being the case, the struggle must start with fighting white supremacist incitement across social media. Thus, the authorities’ ability to do so effectively hinges on the criminalization of such incitement as it aids and abets terrorism. In the U.S. this

The declared enemies are not only these immigrants themselves but also those who enable immigration through their alleged global influence – that is, the Jews.

level of alertness to the danger of white supremacist violence has been reached in the United States (e.g. “We Worked To Defeat The Islamic State; White Nationalist Terrorism Is An Equal Threat” in *The Washington Post* August 2019). There are indeed fundamental similarities between Muslim *jihadi* terrorists and white supremacist terrorists (noted for example in “Online Non-Jihadi Terrorism: Identifying Potential Threats,” by MEMRI May 2019). But regarding the vital struggle against their incitement in America there is an important difference: Unless they are *jihadis*, U.S. authorities will not act against domestic extremists spreading incitement. Thus, in his testimony in the Senate Judiciary Committee on July 23, 2019, FBI Director Christopher Wray stated clearly: “We, the

is a formidable challenge, since freedom of speech is cherished by Americans across the political spectrum as an all-important pillar of American democracy.

However, the 11 white supremacist terrorist attacks in this decade prove that circumstances have drastically changed. Some of these terrorists operated after careful selection of the locations and timing of their attacks: an African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) church, synagogues, and mosques—specifically during prayer times—or Latinos in a city known to host many of them. Hence, inciting against “the African-Americans,” “the Jews,” or “the Latino immigrants” can no longer be considered a general, vague threat. These terrorist attacks are directly influenced by white supremacist

incitement and by previous attacks, even from overseas. The evolving reality calls for a fresh look into the legal tools needed to combat this danger.

White supremacist argumentation, jargon, and symbols are demonstrably both contagious and dangerous. Below is a brief look at main sources of inspiration for white supremacist terrorists who have acted since 2011:

■ Urgency

White supremacist propaganda creates the impression that the danger to what supremacists refer to as “the White race” is imminent, and that immediate action to reverse the process is needed. The indoctrination regarding the fate of the white majority in the United States includes: a countdown to the time when, according to statistical projections, the

U.S. will no longer have a white majority, which is assumed will occur in 2045.

■ Inspiration Sources Cited by Perpetrators Themselves

The information that follows showcases the literature and terrorist attacks that have served as sources of inspiration for attacks that took place between 2011 and 2019. The information shows

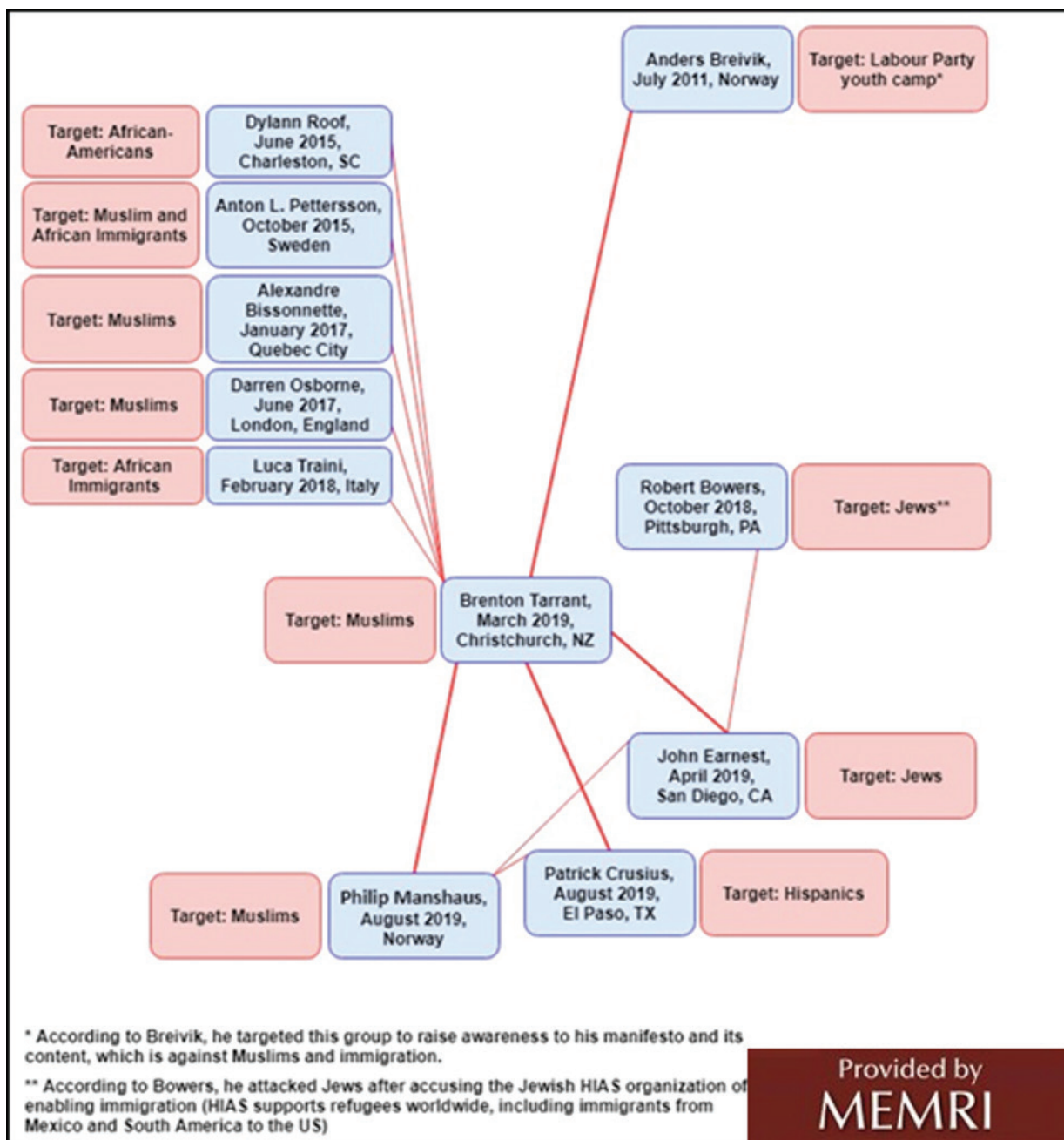


Fig. 1 “Lineage” of white supremacist terrorists as stated by them. This is an updated and modified version of a figure published in MEMRI Inquiry & Analysis Series No. 1457, Online Non-Jihadi Terrorism: Identifying Potential Threats, May 30, 2019.

that in 11 attacks during in this time period, 184 people were killed and at least 387 others were wounded.

- **Publication of *Mein Kampf*, 1925**

Adolf Hitler's autobiographical manifesto, which outlines his political and ideological worldviews.

- **Publication of *The Turner Diaries*, 1978**

The Turner Diaries, a novel by William Luther Pierce, outlines a civil war between the white supremacist "Organization" and the U.S. government ("The System") which is controlled by Jews. In the book, The Day of the Rope, which takes place on August 1, is an event in which the white supremacists carry out brutal massacres, ethnically cleansing

murderer Charles Manson. With a focus on Holocaust denial and anti-Semitic and anti-gay themes, it calls for the establishment of a network of decentralized terror cells and for taking up arms against the "system."

- **Publication of *The Great Replacement*, 2011**

Camus's book warns against the purported danger of the replacement of ethnic French people (i.e. Caucasian French) by immigrants from the Middle East and North Africa. According to his theory, these immigrants are purportedly aided by a trans-national group of globalist capitalist ruling elites called "Mondialists."

It is difficult to estimate the number of those who consume venomous propaganda on a regular basis.

Los Angeles by killing its Jewish and black inhabitants, and publicly hanging people labeled "race traitors," including federal officials and white women who have had relations with black men.

Pages of this book were found in the vehicle of Timothy McVeigh, who together with Terry Nichols bombed the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City on April 19, 1995, killing 168 people and wounding approximately 700. David Copeland, a member of the neo-Nazi group National Socialist Movement, said he was inspired by the book to carry out the London nail bombings in April 1999, which resulted in the death of three people and wounded 140. This day was also mentioned by John Earnest, the Poway, California shooter in the manifesto attributed to him.

- **Publication of *Siege*, 1992**

A collection of newsletters that James Mason wrote in the 1980s in collaboration with sect leader and mass

- **Oslo, Norway attacks, 2011**

Anders Behring Breivik carried out two sequential terrorist attacks. He first detonated a car bomb in Oslo, which killed eight people and wounded about 200. He then proceeded to the island of Utøya, the site of a summer camp run by the youth division of the ruling Norwegian Labor Party. He used semi-automatic weapons to fire on campers and staff, killing 69 and wounding 66. Breivik stated that he had chosen to target this group in order to raise awareness of his manifesto and his ideology, which is anti-Muslim and anti-immigration. He directly inspired Brenton Tarrant in New Zealand.

- **Overland Park Jewish Community Center shooting, 2014**

Frazier Miller was a neo-Nazi who for many years preached hatred of Jews, and in 1987 wrote: "The Jews are our main and most formidable enemies." In 2014, he shot dead three people close to

the Overland Park Jewish Community Center, near Kansas City, Kansas. They were later found to be Christians.

- **Charleston Church Shooting, 2015**

Dylann Roof entered the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church, shot dead nine people and wounded three during an evening Bible study. He claimed that his goal was to start a race war. His manifesto reflected many tenets of white supremacism, among them the belief that African Americans were raping white women. He directly inspired Tarrant.

- **Quebec City mosque shooting, 2017**

Alexandre Bissonnette entered the Islamic Cultural Centre of Quebec City, shot and killed nine and wounded 19 during an evening service. Bissonnette had been known to espouse far-right, white nationalist and anti-Muslim views, and had harassed Muslims on a Facebook page for refugees. He directly inspired Tarrant.

- **Stockholm truck attack, 2017**

Rakhmat Akilov, a 39-year-old asylum seeker from Uzbekistan, hijacked a truck and deliberately drove into crowds along a central street, killing five people and wounding 14, including 11-year-old Ebba Akerlund. Tarrant wrote: "To take revenge for Ebba Akerlund."

- **Finsbury Park attack, 2017**

Darren Osborne drove into a crowd of Muslims leaving a mosque after prayers in Finsbury Park, London, killing one person and wounding nine others. He directly inspired Tarrant.

- **Macerata attack, 2018**

Fascist activist Luca Traini shot and wounded six African immigrants in Macerata, Italy. He claimed to have done this to avenge the murder of 18-year-old Pamela Mastropietro, whom he believed had been murdered by an African immigrant. He directly inspired Tarrant.

- **Pittsburgh synagogue shooting, 2018**

Robert Bowers entered the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh, PA during morning services, allegedly shooting to death 11 people and wounding seven. He

had been active on social media site Gab, posting anti-Semitic and white nationalist content. He directly inspired Earnest.

- **Christchurch mosque shooting, 2019**

Brenton Tarrant entered the Al Noor Mosque and later the Linwood Islamic Centre during Friday services, where he shot dead a total of 51 people and wounded 49. In his manifesto, Tarrant expressed xenophobic and white supremacist sentiment calling for the removal of Muslims from European lands and including neo-Nazi symbols such as the Black Sun and the Cross of Odin. He directly inspired Earnest, Crusius and Philip Manshaus.

- **Poway, CA synagogue shooting, 2019**

John Earnest shot and killed one person and wounded three others at Chabad of Poway synagogue in Poway, Cal., before his weapon jammed. He directly inspired Manshaus.

- **El Paso shooting, 2019**

On August 3, 2019, Patrick Crusius entered a Walmart store in the Cielo Vista Mall in El Paso, Texas where he opened fire, killing 22 and wounding 24. A manifesto posted online just prior to the attack and generally attributed to him stated that the attack was inspired by Tarrant's manifesto and was aimed against Latinos, calling them a threat to the future of white Americans. He directly inspired Manshaus.

- **Baerum Mosque shooting, 2019**

Philip Manshaus entered the al-Noor Islamic Centre in Baerum, a town 13 miles outside Oslo, Norway, and opened fire. One person was wounded.

■ Idolization

A significant method of promoting and celebrating white supremacist ideology is by the attribution of sainthood to white supremacist terrorists. A meme posted online by Philip Manshaus before he carried out his Aug. 10, 2019 attack in Oslo showed Brenton Tarrant, the New Zealand mosque attacker, and his "disciples," John Earnest, who murdered one person at the Chabad synagogue in Poway, Cal. and Patrick Crusius, who



Community members mourn outside of the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh, PA in 2019. (Photo: Brendt Petersen)

killed 22 at the El Paso, Texas Walmart. Tarrant is described as an "anointed Saint," Earnest as the "first disciple of Saint Brenton" and Crusius as "directly inspired to fight back by Saint Tarrant."

■ Conclusion

We opened by stating that deeds are led by words, but were careful not to claim that all inciting rhetoric leads directly to misdeeds. On the other hand, we demonstrated that those whose acts of murder were based on their ideological basis of "white supremacy" were indeed influenced by words to which they were exposed online.

It is difficult to estimate the number of those who consume venomous propaganda on a regular basis. For example, it can be assumed that millions of people are exposed to *jihadi* propaganda, but only very few are mobilized and perpetrate terrorist acts. However, such messages create a virulent atmosphere, which ultimately resonates with those few who resort to action. Replacing whole organizations and financing apparatuses, the Internet is now a most

efficient multiplier of such propaganda; there would not have been a "world *ji-had*" without this global loudspeaker.

Recall that not many acts of terror are needed in order to terrorize, destabilize and disrupt society. This is especially true when the perpetrators specifically target a certain defined group. Thus, the 2018 attack in the Pittsburgh synagogue rippled across the Jewish community in the U.S. and the effect was exacerbated following the Poway synagogue attack only six months later. Combined with the increased level of online anti-Semitism, these two assaults led to a growing sense of emergency within the U.S. Jewish community and some steps were taken to protect it. Hence, it must be recognized that online incitement poses a real danger and should be treated accordingly.

MICHAEL DAVIS heads the *White Supremacist Online Incitement project for the Middle East Media Research Institute*, ZE'EV B. BEGIN is a senior researcher for MEMRI and YIGAL CARMON the president and founder.

How We Talk About African-American Anti-Semitism

by JONATHAN S. TOBIN

Generalizing about blacks and anti-Semitism is a mistake.

The presence of African-American community leaders and politicians at the January 5, 2020 New York City march against anti-Semitism was heartening. So, too, are the many testimonies that have come forward from individuals about acts of caring and kindness towards the ultra-Orthodox community that has been targeted for violence from many of their African-American neighbors. Those who would treat this as a conflict between two communities that are locked in an existential struggle are wrong.

Yet the history of black-Jewish relations, especially in New York City over the last half century, is complicated. While they might have once seemed like two minority communities that were natural allies in the struggle for civil rights, blacks and Jews also found themselves on the opposite sides of many issues in the 1960s and its aftermath. And the anti-Semitism of many leading black activists in the 1960s during conflicts over housing, the education system and other disputes was a distressing development.

The tensions between poor blacks and the ultra-Orthodox Jews who remained in Brooklyn neighborhoods that other Jews fled might have created misunderstandings on both sides. But the Crown Heights riots of 1991 that activists such as the Rev. Al Sharpton helped incite, in which a 29-year-old Orthodox Jewish student from Australia was murdered and many others injured, was part of this legacy. The fact remains that surveys over the last quarter century have consistently shown that African-Americans hold anti-Semitic

views at a rate far higher than the rest of the population. Twenty years after Crown Heights, an Anti-Defamation League survey showed that 29 percent expressed “strongly anti-Semitic views.”

That problem has grown worse as black activists have embraced false intersectional theories that view Jews and Israel on the other side of an intractable divide between oppressors and “people of color” even though the majority of Israelis can be described by the same phrase.

natural reaction to gentrification or economic exploitation of blacks.

These fallacious arguments are sometimes rooted in the prejudicial attitudes many secular and non-Orthodox Jews have about the ultra-Orthodox. Nor is it out of line or racist to ask more African-American leaders to be outspoken in denouncing anti-Semitism in their communities and encourage programs, such as those promoted by the ADL, which will help young blacks see through the

There is nothing remotely in common between the struggle for civil rights in this country and the Palestinian war to destroy the only Jewish state on the planet.

There is nothing remotely in common between the struggle for civil rights in this country and the Palestinian war to destroy the only Jewish state on the planet.

Nor can the influence of hate-mongers like Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan, a group that has far more active followers and sympathizers than any white-supremacist group, be denied.

Many in the Jewish community prefer to downplay these factors because they don't fit into their preferred narrative about anti-Semitism. Others, like the Reform movement of Judaism, think the problem is Jewish racism, as Rabbi Jonah Pesner stated when successfully urging the denomination to support reparations for the descendants of African-American slaves. Such sentiments meld with those who prefer to blame the victims of the violence and see attacks on Jews as a

lies told by the Jew-haters.

Yet as much as we must resist the impulse to avoid criticizing black anti-Semitism because of black's long history of oppression, the opposite is also true. It is equally important for those calling attention to black anti-Semitism to realize that Jews and blacks are not competing for victim status. Nor is it helpful or accurate to assume that minority communities are invariably hostile, or that common ground can't still be found. This discussion can be derailed by insensitive or needlessly inflammatory rhetoric, even if the motives of those speaking out on the issue are not racist. How we discuss the reality of black anti-Semitism is as important as our willingness to acknowledge it.

JONATHAN S. TOBIN is editor in chief of JNS—Jewish News Syndicate.

Za a Mentsch (Be What a Human Being Ought to Be)

review by SHOSHANA BRYEN

Jews live in a world of code – words that say one thing and mean something entirely different to the initiated. Religion, nationality, ethnicity, Zionism, anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism, intersectionality, racism, *tikkun olam*, peace – alone or next to “process” – Holocaust and holocaust all mean to the speaker what they mean to the speaker. What the listener, Jewish or not, hears is often something else.

What is clear to the magnificent Ruth R. Wisse in *Jews and Power* is that the evolution of Jews, as practitioners of a religion and as nationalists and as people of widely varying ethnicity, has no parallel. Jews worked to adapt to political conditions in Europe, the Middle East, North Africa, and elsewhere over centuries and under wildly disparate conditions. At all times, in all places, she notes in the Introduction to the new Second Edition, “Jews needed accommodation; anti-Jews needed an object of blame.” Code, and understanding code, were essential to survival.

Wisse, a Fellow of the Jewish Policy Center, is a former professor of Yiddish and Comparative Literature at Harvard University. Born in Czernowitz, part of modern-day Ukraine, she spent most of her childhood in Montreal, and earned a Ph.D. from McGill University. To say she often writes and speaks about the politics of anti-Semitism, why Israel is under attack in our universities, as well as the study of Yiddish literature, is to understate her importance in helping Jews understand themselves and understand the inevitable Jew-haters.

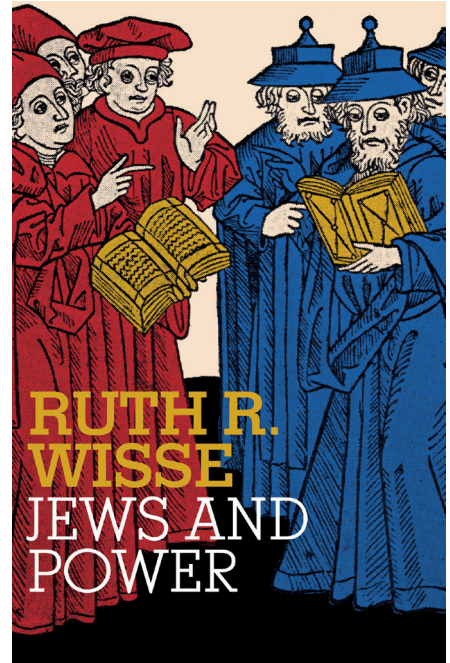
In explaining her motivation for writing and updating *Jews and Power*,

Wisse says, “I want to see how the politics of Jews occasions the politics of anti-Jews... in tandem because that is the way they coexist.” Not to blame the Jews, but as an attempt to understand “how and why...Anti-Semitism became arguably the most protean force in international politics.”

All of that before Chapter One.

The three “staples of nationhood” are land, a central government, and a means of self-defense. The Jewish people’s first experiment in retaining nationhood without them was the Babylonian exile. There, two intellectual threads kept them separate when other tribes simply disappeared. First was the attachment to the land they had left – “If I forget you, O Jerusalem, let my right hand wither; let my tongue stick to my palate if I cease to think of you, if I do not keep Jerusalem in memory even at my happiest hour.” This is the origin of breaking a glass at a Jewish wedding – at the “happiest hour” the memory of lost Jerusalem appears.

Second was the Jews’ relationship with God. His job is to avenge His people, destroy their enemies, and restore them to Zion. For other people, this is the role of the state and the army, but Jews had no state or army – thus, Jews took the role of supplicants or, sometimes, as the cause of God’s unwillingness to rescue His people. Even negative “agency” was better than being the object of the whims of the universe. Often, they asked God to provide vengeance: “Fair Babylon, you predator, a blessing on him who repays you in kind what you have inflicted on us; a blessing on him who seizes your babies and dashes them



Jews and Power
by Ruth R. Wisse

Second Edition, 2020
Nextbook-Schocken

against the rocks!”

But if nationhood requires three staples that the Jews didn’t have, Jews had three other staples – “Torah, worship, and deeds of lovingkindness.” (*Torah, Avodah v’Gmilit Chasadim*) These staples, especially the Torah, which was

Moses defying God and not reaching the Promised Land was met with the same objection. “Moses was a Prophet and Prophets are perfect.” At some point, we stopped discussing the Torah.

Side note No. 2: The best-selling book in South Korea (and close to the

one-sided. As long as the governing powers valued the Jews over other things, they were relatively safe. But “other things” could and did include populist mobs, riots and better offers, at which point, the Jews would be jettisoned.

In later cases, this could be ascribed to the relationship between Jews and Christians and Muslims, chronically fraught with tension – but Wisse starts at Elephantine in 411 BCE. It could also be ascribed, as Thomas Sowell did, to the position of “middleman minorities” including Jews, Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, overseas Chinese in South-east Asia, and Ibos in Nigeria.

“It is not just what these minorities have achieved, but how they have achieved it, that evokes suspicion and resentments,” wrote Sowell. Wisse explains, “The very functions of lending and charging interest, of bartering rather than producing necessities, trigger distrust. Envy and resentment are provided not by wealth alone, but by the intermediary role and social habits that set and keep these groups apart.”

And religion.

For Christians and Muslims, it was Jews as “the other” and the “infidel.” And for Jews, it was the covenantal relationship with God and the belief that God would, at some point, avenge the enemies of the Jews and lead them home. “The Eternal shall grant his people strength; the Eternal shall bless his people with peace.” This relationship gave the Jews an expectation of unflin-

Wisse’s historical description of Jewish courts, teachers, and texts not only answers questions about Jews and power, but also about how we Jews became the people we are.

translated into the vernacular and studied and shared by the community, were portable. Study was mandatory, and time for study was much to be desired in poor and working communities. Israel’s present and growing issues with perpetual Torah students who do not serve in the armed forces of the State stem from this mandate.

Wisse’s historical description of Jewish courts, teachers, and texts not only answers questions about Jews and power, but also about how we Jews became the people we are. Over years, decades, and centuries, even unreligious Jews assimilated the peoplehood and the ethic. “*Za a mentsch*” was an admonition familiar even to Jews who didn’t speak Yiddish.

Side note No. 1: The translation and study of the laws of the Torah stands in contrast to the “Arabic only” Quran, and the rote memorization of the Hadiths by generations of Muslim youth. An Egyptian Muslim friend had seriously read and studied the Hebrew Bible. Discussing Joseph, I mentioned that he had made “ill reports” to his father about his brothers, engendering the aggravation that got him sold off to Egypt.

“Oh, no,” said my friend. “Joseph was a Prophet – he never did anything wrong. He couldn’t.” My example of

top in Japan and China) is a translation of the Talmud. Koreans read it to learn the secret of Jewish success – not “secrets” in the European anti-Semitic sense, but in the sense of knowing Jews to be an ancient people, like Koreans, and wanting to understand. What they miss is that the secret is not in the book, but rather in the *pilpul* – the mechanism for asking and answering questions that has no educational parallel in Asia.

These, throughout the first two sections of *Jews and Power*, are keys to Jews, philo-Semites, and anti-Semites.

■ Powers of Protection

Across countries and eras, Jewish communities made accommodation with local rulers, offering benefits and ser-

For all the skills the Jews developed in the Diaspora, one they never had and could never have had, was military skill.

vices in exchange for security. However, Part One makes it clear that the arrangement was throughout history entirely

divine protection, along with temporary protection from earthly rulers.

The concept of protection and the

rise of self-protection is most interesting in Part Three: Return to Zion.

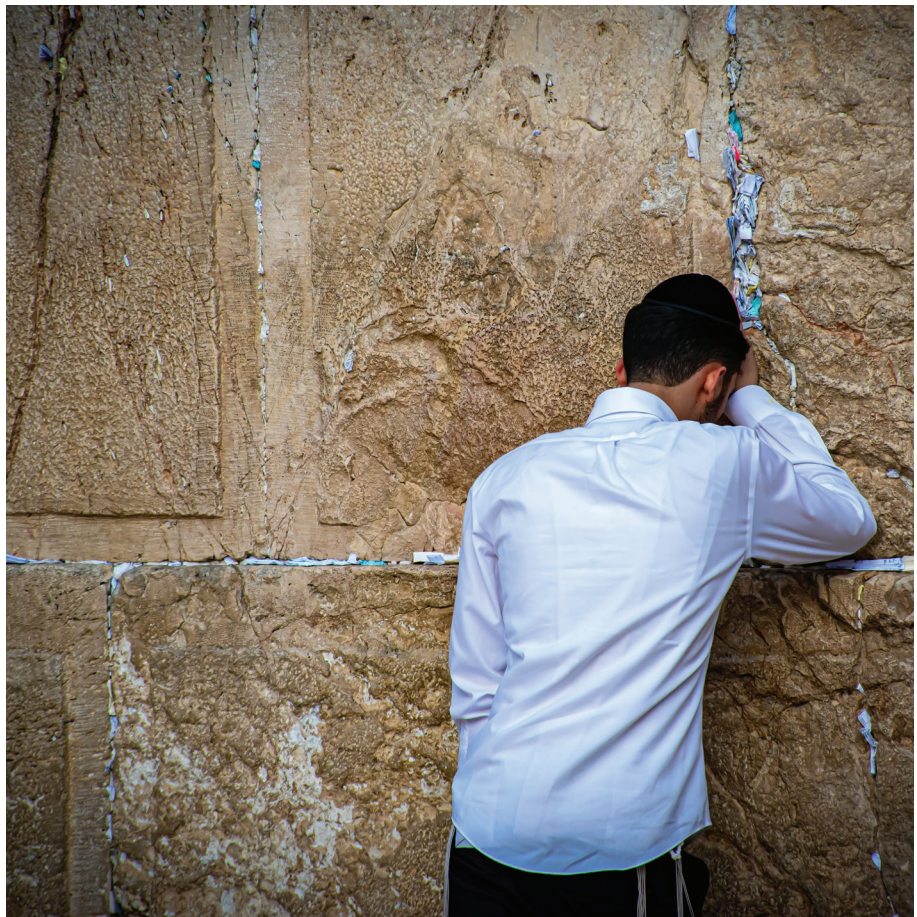
The return to the historic Jewish homeland was a “push-me-pull-you” phenomenon. On the “push me” side, Moses Leib Lilienblum noted that not a single western European country had taken appreciable numbers of Jews fleeing Russian pogroms. It was time for Jews, who were “hated, hounded, beaten, murdered, and incarcerated” to return to the Land of Israel. On the “pull you” side was the rise of European nationalism – if they could do it, why couldn’t the Jews?

Here is one of the most intriguing parts of the book. For all the skills the Jews developed in the Diaspora, one they never had and could never have had, was military skill. The protection of the Jews had been outsourced to local political and religious leaders in Part One. By Part Three, the returning Jews were still seeking outside protection – from the British, from local Ottoman officials, from local Arabs. The thought that an army might be necessary was not mainstream.

Wisse’s description of the inability or unwillingness of the Jews to accept the need for self-defense is extraordinary.

Jewish memory lingered on the last military hero, Bar Kochba, whose defeat by the Romans at the last mountain stronghold of Betar in 135 CE seemed to eliminate the option of Jewish armed might... The aberrant nature of Jewish political life became horribly manifest during World War I when an estimated half million Jews fought in the uniforms of the vying armies of Europe with no one to prevent the violence directed at them.

In his book *Jerusalem: The Biography*, Simon Sebag Montefiore explains the leaders of the Zionist movement were committed to winning the Arabs to their vision of the Jewish return making the land better for everyone:



Herzl dreamed that “if Jerusalem is ever ours, I’d clear up everything not sacred, tear down the filthy rat-holes,” preserving the Old City as a heritage site like Lourdes or Mecca. “I’d build an airy comfortable properly sewered, brand new city around the Holy Places.” Herzl later decided that Jerusalem should be shared: “We shall extra-territorialize Jerusalem so that it will belong to nobody and everybody, its Holy Places the joint possession of all Believers.” Ben Gurion believed, like most of his fellow Zionists at this time, that a socialist Jewish state would be created without violence and without dominating or displacing the Palestinian Arabs; rather it would exist alongside them. He was sure the Jewish and Arab working classes would cooperate... it did not occur to the Zionists that most of these Arabs had no wish for the benefits of their settlement.”

Clearly, looking back on the *chaltzim* from here, the creation and evolution of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) is an even greater feat than we normally credit. Wisse gives pioneers Ze’ev Jabotinsky and Joseph Trumpeldor their due. The Holocaust and repeated (failed) Arab invasions are also credited.

The Conclusion returns us to the beginning – the modern relationship between Jews and power, both political and military, and between Jews and anti-Semites. *Jews and Power* is not prescriptive, it will not tell you how to deal with the haters or protect the Jews. But for Jews and non-Jews alike, it offers a cogent description of the development of the Jewish people and their unique institutions across time and space.

It is an education well worth the investment of time and intellectual energy.

SHOSHANA BRYEN is the editor of *inFOCUS* Quarterly and Senior Director of the Jewish Policy Center.



50 F Street NW, Suite 100
Washington, DC 20001

■ *A Final Thought ...*

Our Friends and Allies

Colonial powers – primarily France, Britain, Belgium, and Russia – believed there was no substitute for their own armies and officials to ensure that their colonies stayed in line. Not a traditional colonial or occupying power, U.S. national interests include the free movement of goods and people across the seas, including oil to its importers — without necessarily managing the internal affairs of other countries.

Instead of colonial occupation forces, the U.S. has taken its money, arms, training, and agenda abroad.

American security assistance generally is predicated on the principle that a smaller or poorer country that has U.S. equipment and training will be better able to defend common interests than one that doesn't.

Sometimes it works that way. But sometimes it puts the U.S. in bed with people who want our weapons and training but do not share our bottom line — their enemy is not ours; their rules of engagement are not ours; their government, in fact, is not a friend of ours, but maybe if we reward it thoroughly enough it won't actively oppose our interests.

The whole history need not be rehashed, but suffice it to say, America has rescued some countries, flattened others, aided some governments, ousted others and been on various sides of local wars and disagreements. Usually sequentially. Right now, they're not sequential. And right now, the same

countries can be pursuing ends the U.S. both does, and does not seek or condone.

The Afghan and Syrian wars prompted another spasm of the belief that U.S. support for this side or that, this person or that, could have or would have produced a secular and tolerant revolution, led by those who would be America's friends.

- That American military, economic and political support would moderate or redirect longstanding ethnic and religious beliefs and hatreds, and

- That American "influence" could create moderate, tolerant governments in the Middle East, North Africa and Southwest Asia.

The counter-argument are the actual results in Afghanistan, Syria, Libya, Iraq, Egypt, Pakistan, Lebanon, and the Palestinian Authority – where the U.S. believed that with American training and financial support, Palestinian "police" would "dismantle the terrorist infrastructure."

For now, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and the Gulf States may meet the "shared enemy" criteria for support – meaning Iran – but Israel is the only country in the region that meets the "shared values" criteria as well.

– Shoshana Bryen
Senior Director, Jewish Policy Center