

**GLOBAL ANTISEMITISM:  
A CRISIS OF MODERNITY**

**Volume II  
The Intellectual Environment**

Charles Asher Small  
Editor

**INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF GLOBAL ANTISEMITISM AND POLICY**

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*For Professor William Prusoff*

## About the Editor

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Charles was the founding Director of the Yale Initiative for the Interdisciplinary Study of Antisemitism (YIISA), the first interdisciplinary research center on antisemitism at a North American university. At Yale he taught in the Political Science Department and the Program on Ethics, Politics and Economics, and ran a post-doctorate and graduate studies fellowship program at YIISA. He was also an Associate Professor and the Director of Urban Studies at Southern Connecticut State University (SCSU). He has lectured internationally and worked as a consultant and policy advisor in North America, Europe, Southern Africa, and the Middle East. Charles specializes in social and cultural theory, globalization and national identity, socio-cultural policy, and racism(s)–including antisemitism.

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I am especially grateful to all the scholars who attended the conference. Most of them did so at their own expense and traveled considerable distances to be there. The conference, on which this series is based, was the largest academic gathering ever on the study of antisemitism. More than one hundred speakers from approximately twenty academic fields and more than twenty countries attended the event. It was truly a remarkable gathering at an important historical moment. Due to the high level of scholarship, the conference produced many key insights and has given rise to many important research projects.

Finally, I would like to thank Daniel Stephens for copy-editing and reviewing the contributions for this project. I am most grateful for his professionalism, patience, and assistance, often beyond the call of duty. Without his efforts these volumes would not have been possible. I am thankful to Alan Stephens for his much-valued advice and for making this publication possible in the first place. I am also most grateful to Lauren Clark and would like to thank Ulrike Becker, Idit Shalev, Tatenda Mujeni, Della Fok, Aleksandra Gliszczyńska-Grabias, Carlton Long, Zachary Izenberg, Dovid Katz, and Evan Weiser for their assistance during the conference.

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This series is dedicated to the memory of Professor William (Bill) Prusoff. Bill was the founding member of ISGAP and funded much of our activities from 2004 until his passing in 2011. Without his support, ISGAP would not have been able to establish YIISA at Yale University. In many ways, Bill's reputation as a scholar and an exceptional *mensh* paved the way for our work. Rarely in one's life does one have the privilege to meet someone of Bill's stature. He was a medical genius who created the first generation of anti-viral and anti-HIV medications that helped to save or prolong the lives of millions. Yet despite his incredible accomplishments, Bill was the most humble, kind, and amiable person I have ever met. Bill never forgot where he came from. He often recounted how his family had to flee Brooklyn for Miami in the 1930s after "Brown Shirts" thugs attacked the family store or how he was refused entry to Yale's Medical School because of the Jewish quota that was in place at the time. Nevertheless, he eventually managed to become a tenured professor at Yale as well a true giant in his field. In the Jewish tradition there is a belief that, at any given time, there are 36 hidden righteous people (*Tzadikim Nistarim*) in the world whose role in life is to justify the purpose of humankind in the eyes of G-d. For those of us who knew Bill, this idea did not seem beyond the realm of possibilities. He is missed.

Charles Asher Small  
December 2013

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# Introduction

Charles Asher Small

In August 2010, the largest-ever academic conference on the study of antisemitism took place at Yale University. The conference, entitled “Global Antisemitism: A Crisis of Modernity,” was hosted and organized by the Yale Initiative for the Interdisciplinary Study of Antisemitism (YIISA) and the International Association for the Study of Antisemitism (IASA). The conference featured over 100 speakers from more than 20 countries from around the world. They included recent graduates at the beginning of their academic careers, experienced academics, and leading senior scholars who have dedicated their intellectual pursuits to the study of antisemitism, as well as legal experts, practitioners and others. More than 600 people attended the conference, including undergraduate and graduate students, scholars from many universities, including Yale University, practitioners and members of non-governmental organizations, civil servants and diplomats interested in the policy implications of the subject matter, and members of the general public. This volume presents a selection of the many important and challenging papers presented at the conference. It is one of five volumes reflecting the interdisciplinary nature of the conference as well as the diverse nature of the subject of antisemitism in general.

The Institute for the Study of Global Antisemitism and Policy (ISGAP) was established in 2004, with a network of scholars from around the world and the support of a group of dedicated philanthropists led by the humanitarian and professor of pharmacology William (Bill) Prusoff, in response to a clear and ominous increase in global antisemitism.<sup>1</sup> In 2006, ISGAP approached Yale University with a view to establishing an academic research center within the university. After determining that the center would meet all the necessary administrative, financial, and academic requirements, Yale University inaugurated the Yale Initiative for the Interdisciplinary Study of Antisemitism (YIISA) in 2006. It was the first academic research center focusing on the interdisciplinary study of antisemitism to be based at a North American university.<sup>2</sup> ISGAP’s Board of Trustees supported and funded all of YIISA’s activities, co-sponsoring

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<sup>1</sup> In his opening remarks at the United Nations conference “Confronting anti-Semitism: Education and Tolerance and Understanding,” June 21, 2004, New York, Professor Elie Wiesel examined the rising levels and threat of antisemitism. The rise in contemporary global antisemitism is examined and substantiated in several chapters in this volume.

<sup>2</sup> The fact that the first interdisciplinary and fully fledged research center on antisemitism at a North American university was only established in 2006 ought itself to be a the focus of a research project, especially given the role antisemitism has played in Western civilization.

its seminar series and various other events and paying the salaries of its 14 employees. It also underwrote the August 2010 conference on which the above-mentioned five volumes are based.<sup>3</sup>

From 2006 to 2011, YIISA offered a successful graduate and post-doctorate fellowship program. Each year, it welcomed a group of scholars from leading universities in the United States and around the world, including several senior visiting professors. YIISA had a robust programming agenda. It organized over 120 seminars, special events, a series of films, four international conferences, symposiums and other gatherings at Yale University in New Haven, as well in New York, Washington, and Berlin. Its scholars carried out research projects and published important material on the interdisciplinary study of antisemitism. ISGAP and YIISA met the need to examine the changing contemporary state of and processes pertaining to global antisemitism. The fact that over 100 speakers participated in the aforementioned 2010 conference, and that all but ten of them attended at their own expense, is testimony to the extensive interest in the study of contemporary antisemitism.

The conference, "Global Antisemitism: A Crisis of Modernity," offered an environment in which scholars from a wide array of disciplines, intellectual backgrounds, and perspectives would be able to present their research and engage in interdisciplinary debate. The call for papers was inclusive and encouraged scholars from around the world to present their work. Without such a free exchange of ideas, any notion of academic freedom is tantamount to rhetoric. The subject of antisemitism is complex and controversial, as many students and scholars of this subject know. It was therefore important to YIISA to provide a forum in which this important issue could be freely discussed and explored.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> ISGAP continues as a research center with its head office in New York. It develops academic programming at top universities, including McGill, Fordham (Lincoln Center Campus), Harvard Law School, and the Stanford's Hoover Institution.

<sup>4</sup> It is not uncommon for scholars of antisemitism, especially those engaged in the study of its contemporary manifestations, to be labeled as right-wing, neo-conservative, or Islamophobic. Likewise, despite their obvious and sometimes extraordinary credentials, their scholarship is often unfairly categorized as "advocacy." Such accusations, which are often made by those who engage in advocacy themselves, actually constitute a form of antisemitism. Others simply embrace the "gatekeeper" role within the academy, which Cohen describes as an attempt to maintain the status quo on behalf of institutional interests. See Robin Cohen, *The New Helots: Migrants in the International Division of Labour* (Gower Publishing, Aldershot 1987) and E. Bonacich, "A Theory of Middleman Minorities," *American Sociological Review* Vol. 38 (1973) pp. 583-594. This is reminiscent of the McCarthy era interference with academic freedom. At that time, a notable scholar, Nathan Glazer, took it upon himself to report on members the Jewish community to the "Committee" in order to silence political views that were deemed unacceptable at the time (Cedric Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (Zed Books, London 1983)). The academic activities of YIISA, in particular its work on state-sponsored antisemitism, Iran, and the Muslim Brotherhood, was denounced as "advocacy" by those with an interest in promoting the US administration's general policy of "engagement" with Islamic states. Analogous views also found support within the Yale Corporation and administration, as well as among several tenured faculty, resulting in a *de facto* limitation of academic freedom. These perspectives were conveyed directly to my colleagues and me by leading members of the Yale administration and faculty members. It thus appears that the scholarly analysis of antisemitism in contemporary Middle Eastern societies infringed upon various political and economic priorities. Moreover, the possible investment of Gulf funds in Yale University, and other universities around the world, or fear of the discontinuation of such funding, is a

In June 2004, the United Nations, an institution that emerged from the ashes of World War II and the Holocaust, held its first official conference on antisemitism. This gathering served as a formal acknowledgement of the re-emergence of antisemitism as a contemporary matter of concern in a changing and globalizing world. It was hosted by UN Secretary General Kofi Annan and Nobel peace laureate Professor Elie Wiesel at the UN headquarters in New York.<sup>5</sup> Wiesel, the keynote speaker in a packed General Assembly Hall, noted that antisemitism is the oldest collective form of hatred in recorded history and that it had even managed to penetrate the United Nations itself. He questioned whether the world body, despite its role as a moral and political global leader, had forgotten the destructive and deadly impact of antisemitism. Some in attendance, Wiesel pointed out, actually endured its consequences: "We were there. We saw our parents, we saw our friends die because of antisemitism." In my view, the 2004 UN conference on antisemitism marked a turning point in the response of academia to the subject of antisemitism. This renewed interest was a contributing factor in the establishment of ISGAP several months later.

The YIISA conference addressed two inter-related and important areas of research that both encompass various disciplines, namely (1) global antisemitism and (2) the crisis of modernity currently affecting the core elements of Western society and civilization. Is it possible that the emergence of the current wave of global antisemitism both reflects and forms part of a wider attack on the core elements of modernity, notions of Enlightenment, and Western civilization more generally by reactionary social forces empowered by the crisis of capitalism? Against this background, the participants in the conference addressed conceptual and empirical questions from a wide array of perspectives and disciplines. The diversity in approach and opinion was itself a sign of academic health.

\* \* \*

Antisemitism is a complex and, at times, perplexing form of hatred. Some observers refer to it as the "longest hatred." It spans centuries of history, infecting different societies, religious, philosophical and political movements, and even civilizations. In the aftermath of the Holocaust, some have even argued that antisemitism illustrates the limitations of the Enlightenment and modernity itself. Manifestations of antisemitism occur in numerous ideologically-based narratives and in constructed identities of belonging and Otherness such as race and ethnicity, as well as nationalist and anti-nationalist movements. In the contemporary context of globalized relations, it appears that antisemitism has taken on new complex and changing forms that need to be decoded, mapped, and exposed. The academic study of antisemitism, like prejudice more generally, has a long and impressive intellectual and research history. It remains a topic

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question meriting unfettered research rather than a statement of fact. The question whether this so-called "advocacy," which allegedly affected research on antisemitism, ought to be replaced by kosher "non-advocacy" research that does not disturb governmental or foreign donor sensibilities must now be on the table as an open question for research. Additionally, against this background, the possibility that the term "advocacy" itself has become a euphemism for "research relevant to current affairs and therefore likely to offend some powerful parties" must be subjected to critical scholarly scrutiny.

<sup>5</sup> Professor Elie Wiesel is the Honorary President of ISGAP.

of ongoing political importance and scholarly engagement. However, especially at this important historical juncture, unlike prejudice and discrimination directed at other social groups, antisemitism—in particular its contemporary forms and processes—is almost always studied outside an organized academic framework.

The purpose of YIISA's 2010 conference was therefore to explore this subject matter in a comprehensive manner and from an array of approaches and perspectives, as well as in its global, national, and regional contexts. The development of an interdisciplinary approach and consciousness, while encouraging analytical studies examining a prejudice that remains widespread and but also appears to be experiencing a resurgence, was a key objective of the conference and YIISA's general mission. The conference aimed to create a vibrant space in which high-caliber scholarship and open and free debate would develop, be nurtured, and have an impact.<sup>6</sup>

The process of globalization has led to an increase in adversarial identity politics. In this environment, Israel, as a central manifestation of contemporary Jewish identity, and Jews more generally have become the focus of scapegoating and hateful rhetoric. At a more structural and socio-historical level, the old ideologies and tendencies of antisemitism have re-emerged and are being fused with anti-Zionism or what in many cases might be more appropriately described as Israel-bashing.<sup>7</sup> The old theological and racist forms of European antisemitism are being amalgamated with anti-Jewish and anti-Israel pronouncements emanating in particular from the Muslim world, which is located mainly, but not exclusively, in and around the Middle East. Contemporary globalization and the related socio-economic, cultural, and political processes are being fused with these histori-

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<sup>6</sup> The establishment of a research center similar to YIISA is urgently required within the academy. The approach of such an entity should be analogous to the one adopted by the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) at the University of Birmingham (UK) and the Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations (CRER) at the University of Warwick (UK), yet with a specific critical approach to antisemitism. Both centers adopted an interdisciplinary approach with an emphasis on critical conceptual analysis based on solid empirical research. Currently, there are several small entities that study antisemitism, but they are all led by European historians with little or no background in the contemporary, regional, or interdisciplinary context. In fact, several of these scholars actually blame Israel for contemporary manifestations of antisemitism and underestimate the relevance of Islamism. This perspective is often based on "politically correct" views rather than rational scholarship. There is a need for vibrant analysis, study, discussion, and debate. A new entity for the study of antisemitism ought to combine an understanding of Western antisemitism and notions of "Otherness" with a willingness to tackle the contemporary changes sweeping the Middle East and knowledge of the region and its culture, including Islam and Islamism. The study of terrorism as it relates to contemporary antisemitism is also very much required. All these issues should obviously be examined in the context of processes associated with globalization, as opposed to the more frequently-used and descriptive concept of global antisemitism. Descriptive work without a critical, comprehensive, and conceptual interdisciplinary analytical framework will not be effective in assessing the contemporary condition, nor in creating appropriate policy responses. Policy development is a recognized and respected field of study within academia. This must be stated, since many who analyze antisemitism are "gatekeepers" who dismiss this vital scholarship as advocacy. This is not only problematic but also hinders the finding of solutions to key issues, indirectly undermining the safety of many.

<sup>7</sup> For an analysis linking classical forms of antisemitism with contemporary Israel-bashing, see Edward H. Kaplan and Charles A. Small, "Anti-Israel Sentiment Predicts Anti-Semitism in Europe," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 50, No. 4, August 2006.

cal tendencies, creating the conditions that pose a threat to Jewish people and Jewish communities in the Diaspora. In addition, new structural realities within the realm of the international relations and the emergence of anti-Israel propensities appear to pose a threat to Israel and the Jewish people in a manner not seen since the end of World War II. Once again, in this age of globalization, the Jewish people seem to be caught between the “aristocracy” or “wealthy establishment” (core) and the marginalized or disenfranchised masses (periphery), as they have been throughout most of history.<sup>8</sup>

With the advent of the “socialism of fools,” a term describing the replacement of the search for real social and political equity with antisemitism that is frequently attributed to August Bebel, Jews continued to be targeted.<sup>9</sup> In much the same way, the current marginalization of the Jewish people in the Arab world—or, more accurately, the marginalization of the image of the Jew, since most of them were pressured to leave or expelled from Arab countries between 1948 and the early 1970s after a strong continual presence of thousands of years—is staggering. As the social movements in the Middle East have turned to their own version of the “socialism of fools” (i.e., the antisemitism of radical political Islamism), they have incorporated lethal forms of European genocidal antisemitism as their fuel.<sup>10</sup> However, many scholars, policy-makers, and journalists of record still refuse to acknowledge this fact and to critically examine the ideology and mission of this social movement.

Anti-Judaism is one of the most complex and at times perplexing forms of hatred. As evident from the range of papers presented at the conference and in these volumes, antisemitism has many facets that touch upon many subjects and scholarly disciplines. The term “anti-Semitism,” which was coined in the 1870s by Wilhelm Marr,<sup>11</sup> is also controversial and at times confusing. Yet despite its etymological limitations and contradictions, it remains valid and useful. The term refers specifically to prejudice and discrimination against the Jewish people. Some incorrectly or for reasons of political expediency use the term to refer to prejudice against all so-called “Semitic” peoples, claiming that Arab peoples cannot be antisemites, as they are Semites themselves. This is

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<sup>8</sup> See the *Arab Human Development Report* (United Nations Development Programme 2005). This report and other subsequent reports examine the impact of globalization on aspects of socioeconomic marginalization stability in the Arab world.

<sup>9</sup> Steve Cohen, *That’s Funny You Don’t Look Anti-Semitic. An Anti-Racist Analysis of Left Anti-Semitism* (Leeds 1984). The well-known saying “Anti-Semitism is the socialism of fools” (“Der Antisemitismus ist der Sozialismus der dummen Kerle”) is frequently attributed to Bebel, but probably originated with the Austrian democrat Ferdinand Kronawetter; it was in general use among German Social Democrats by the 1890s (Richard J. Evans, *The Coming of the Third Reich* (Penguin Group 2005)). For a discussion of antisemitism, including the notion of the socialism of fools, see David Hirsh, *Anti-Zionism and Antisemitism: Cosmopolitan Reflections*, The Yale Initiative for the Interdisciplinary Study of Antisemitism Working Paper Series, Editor Charles Asher Small, Vol. 1, No. 1 (2007).

<sup>10</sup> In *Islamism and Islam* (Yale University Press 2011), Bassam Tibi makes the important distinction between antisemitism that was European in origin and genocidal, on the one hand, and the kind of anti-Judaism that was discriminatory in nature, which was historically prevalent in the Middle East and Islamic context, on the other. For various reasons why the antisemitism taking hold in Muslim societies in the contemporary condition has much in common with European genocidal antisemitism, see the contributions on this subject in the present volume.

<sup>11</sup> Shlomo Avineri, *Karl Marx on Colonialism and Modernization* (New York 1968).

fine in terms of etymological musing but not in terms of the history of language and thought, where terms acquire specific meanings over time that diverge from their etymological origins. In fact, antisemitism refers to a specific form a hatred that is mainly European in origin and focuses upon the Jewish people. Some scholars prefer to use the term antisemitism, without a hyphen and uncapitalized, since it refers to a form of hatred or a phenomenon rather than to a specific race or biologically determined group. Emil Fackenheim, for example, used the unhyphenated form for this reason.<sup>12</sup> These volumes and all of ISGAP's other work also follows this approach.

Some scholars who have examined the complexities of antisemitism claim that it takes several forms, including social, economic, political, cultural, and religious antisemitism. René König, for example, contends that these different forms of antisemitism demonstrate that the origins of antisemitism are rooted in different historical periods and places.<sup>13</sup>

When religion, in particular Christianity, represented the dominant way to perceive reality, the Jews were regarded as followers of the wrong religion. It was also believed that their refusal to accept the Christian messiah disqualified them from any form of redemption and even that Jewish stubbornness hindered world redemption. Finally, it is hardly necessary to recall that the Jews were accused of deicide. When the dominant manner in which Europeans perceived reality was based on the nation state and biological notions of race and ethnicity, the Jews were constructed as belonging to another, inferior race. According to the Nazis and others who subscribed to racist beliefs, for example, they were perceived as polluting the Aryan race and needed to be removed completely in order to save the purity of the "race" and "nation."

At present, some argue for religious reasons that the self-determination of the Jews — the non-Muslim "Other" — on so-called Islamic land is a sin and should not be tolerated. Others, in the West, see Jewish stubbornness as the cause of radical Islam, Jihadism, and the instability in the region. When it comes Israel's policies and existence, they believe that if only the Jews would change the problems in the region and in international relations as a whole could be resolved.<sup>14</sup> If taken to its logical conclusion, this perspective could lead to great destruction, like other historical manifestations of antisemitism, since its aims is the eradication of Israel or any semblance of Jewish self-determination in the region.<sup>15</sup> Despite the complete rejection of the Jewish narrative by the Iranian regime, Hamas, Hezbollah, and other Salafists and Islamists, many observers focus on the "Other" and are content to blame the "victim" of this ideology without properly examining it. In fact, attempts to critically examine these reactionary views are often deemed politically unacceptable. This contemporary form of antisemitism has many layers. New forms are mixed with older ones, such as conspiracy theories about Jewish power and culture, apocalyptic theories concerning the Jews. For example, the *Protocols*

<sup>12</sup> Emil Fackenheim, "Post-Holocaust Anti-Jewishness, Jewish Identity and the Centrality of Israel," in Moshe Davis, ed., *World Jewry and the State of Israel* (Arno Press 1977).

<sup>13</sup> René König, *Materialien zur Kriminalsoziologie* (VS Verlag 2004).

<sup>14</sup> It is important to note that, in the contemporary US context, some political realists certainly fall into the category of those who blame Israel for all the problems in the region and beyond.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process* (2000) (originally published as *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation* in two separate volumes in 1939 by Haus zum Falken, Basel). Refusing to recognize the Other and insisting on changing them fundamentally will inevitably lead to violence and even destruction.

of the *Elders of Zion*, which played a key role in creating the conditions for the Holocaust, as well European antisemitism more generally, has now become part of the political and cultural mainstream in several Arab and Muslim societies.<sup>16</sup>

The above-mentioned complexities make it difficult to define the different forms that antisemitism takes. This in turn makes it problematic to address and analyze the subject matter. It is no wonder, then, that contemporary forms of antisemitism have always been difficult if not impossible to acknowledge, study, measure, and oppose. One hopes that it will not only be future historians who come to understand and address today's lethal forms of antisemitism, too late to affect policy, perceptions, and predispositions.

The context of contemporary global antisemitism, on which the conference focused, covers international relations, which are increasingly in a state of flux and turmoil, as well as notions of tolerance, democratic principles and ideals, human rights, and robust citizenship. These values appear to be receding within many institutions and societies, while the international community seems to be less strident in trying to defend them. It would appear that the Jew, or perhaps more importantly the image of the Jew or the "imaginary Jew" as described by Alain Finkielkraut,<sup>17</sup> is at the middle of this global moment. Both historically and today, antisemitism is a social disease that begins with the Jews but does not end with them, making the Jewish people the proverbial canary in the coalmine. This deadly strain of hatred often turns against other groups, such as women, homosexuals, moderate Muslims, and other sectors of the population who are perceived as not being ideologically pure, as well as against key democratic notions such as robust citizenship, equality before the law, and religious pluralism. Antisemitism is consequently a universal human rights issue that should be of importance to all.

In view of its character as the "longest hatred," with a destructive power that is both well known and well documented, the historical lessons of antisemitism ought to reach beyond the Jewish people and concern scholars from a wide range of disciplines, both academic and policy-oriented. In fact, antisemitism should be perceived as a key aspect in the development of Western civilization, yet it is often perceived as a Jewish or parochial issue.<sup>18</sup> This perception forms an impediment to the study of antisemitism in current academic culture, which favors the universal over the particular. In fact, the study of antisemitism is often regarded as unworthy of consideration or even as an enemy of the progressive universalistic worldview that is currently in vogue.

Certain members of the academic community, especially those who claim to espouse progressive and/or postmodernist views, often perceive the study of antisemitism as an

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<sup>16</sup> See Bassam Tibi, *Islamism and Islam* (Yale University Press 2011); Neil Kressel, *The Sons of Pigs and Apes: Muslim Antisemitism and the Conspiracy of Silence* (Westview Press 2012). Bassam Tibi was a Visiting Professor and Neil Kressel a Visiting Fellow at YIISA. As Israel becomes the focus of contemporary discourse and manifestations of antisemitism, even in the United States, the notions of "dual loyalty" and the "Jewish lobby," which were previously articulated mostly by extremists, have gained credibility with the publication of a controversial book on the subject by Walt and Mearsheimer in 2007 (*The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy*) and the approach of some "realists" who have gained influence in the past several years in the media and policy circles.

<sup>17</sup> Alain Finkielkraut, *The Imaginary Jew* (University of Nebraska Press 1994).

<sup>18</sup> The members of ISGAP specifically established YIISA, the first-ever research center focusing on the interdisciplinary study of antisemitism at a North American university, to create a space to engage in this subject matter freely.

attempt to undermine criticism of the State of Israel and accuse those engaged in this study of being political advocates rather than pursuers of real scholarship.<sup>19</sup> In fact, in this postmodern age, this is a fairly common view in academic and intellectual circles.<sup>20</sup> It is therefore important to embark on a systemic critique of the intellectual and political impact of this philosophical movement not only with regard to the safety and security of the Jewish people and their right to self-determination but also with regard to the integrity of the Enlightenment project and perceptions of modernity.

The contemporary canon includes a critique of the traditional “Western” canon, for example by Michel Foucault and Edward Said, that has also helped to demonize Jewish cultural and historical narratives in relation to Israel and beyond. This perspective is now an integral component of many “good” university curriculums throughout the West.<sup>21</sup> Foucault welcomed the Iranian Revolution of 1979 as a triumph of spiritual values over the profanity of Western capitalist materialism. He perceived this Islamist revolution as a critique of Western culture and a protest against the political rationality of modernity.<sup>22</sup> This sympathetic view of the Islamist revolution has been largely ignored, but it undoubtedly influenced the subsequent philosophical discourse and scholarship. Said, who was in Paris in 1979, fondly recalls spending time with Foucault and notes that they both hoped that the Iranian Revolution would develop into what the French Revolution was to Kant two hundred years earlier. Despite its violence, they hoped that the revolution would be a crucial step toward progress and emancipation for the people of Iran and the oppressed peoples of other nations.<sup>23</sup> Their critique of modernity and Western colonial power, combined with the lack of an ethical alternative, prevented these early postmodernists from criticizing the excesses of the Iranian revolution and its failure to recognize the ‘Other’ as an equal and respected member of society. The works of Foucault and Said have thus helped to lay the foundations for the failure of many contemporary intellectuals to condemn the rise of Islamism as a social movement,<sup>24</sup> especially in relation to its lack of acceptance of basic notions of “Otherness” within Islamic society, a cornerstone of democratic principles, and its vitriolic prejudice against the Jewish people and Israel. This intellectual development should also be considered in the context of global politics and the prevailing environment in many academic institutions, where the need for funding unfortunately appears to be having a growing impact on the curriculum.

<sup>19</sup> See Judith Butler, “No, it’s not anti-semitic,” *London Review of Books*, August 21, 2003.

<sup>20</sup> See Robert Wistrich, *From Ambivalence to Betrayal: The Left, the Jews, and Israel* (University of Nebraska Press 2012).

<sup>21</sup> Charles Asher Small, “The Gaze of the Colonial and Post-Colonial: Judeophobia, Empire and Islamism,” Conference: Orientalism Revisited: Art and the Politics of Representation, Paul Goodwin, Curator, Tate Britain, London, June 2008.

<sup>22</sup> See Janet Afary and Kevin Anderson, *Foucault and the Iranian Revolution: Gender and the Seduction of Islamism* (University of Chicago Press 2005). Afary and Anderson examine Foucault’s 1978 visit to Iran where he met with leaders of the Iranian-Islamist revolution, including Ayatollah Khomeini. The authors document how this period influenced the philosopher’s understanding of issues such as the Enlightenment, homosexuality, and his quest for the notion of political spirituality. As the book demonstrates, this topic, which has been largely overlooked, is worthy of consideration.

<sup>23</sup> Ramin Jahanbegloo, *Iran: Between Tradition and Modernity* (Lexington Books 2004).

<sup>24</sup> For an analysis of the notion of social movements, which are transformational, and protest movements, which are reformist, see Manuel Castells, *City, Class, and Power* (MacMillan, London 1978).



Furthermore, Said's attempt to undermine the legitimacy of Jewish self-determination in Israel and the Jewish historical narrative in the Diaspora needs to be critically examined with regard to its role in the re-emergence of antisemitism among intellectuals and within the academy. Such a critique of the critique is especially urgent at this time, as there seems to be little possibility to address antisemitism forcefully within the academy or to express outrage and concern regarding the recent successes of Islamism despite its reactionary agenda and worldview.<sup>25</sup> Instead, these ideological and philosophical foundations enable leading and respected scholars such as Judith Butler to argue that Hamas and Hezbollah ought to be viewed as part of the progressive global left. It also encourages some observers, including scholars of antisemitism, to blame Israel for antisemitism throughout the world.<sup>26</sup>

Even in the aftermath of the Holocaust, and despite the academy's preoccupation with colonialism, racism, sexism, socio-economic, political, and cultural inequality, domination, and critical understandings of "Otherness," antisemitism, especially its contemporary manifestations, does not exist as an area of study in the mainstream academic curriculum.<sup>27</sup> Unlike other forms of discrimination, antisemitism is not an issue of significant concern. These developments have had the effect of placing attempts to defend the Jews—and their legitimate connection to Israel and Jerusalem—outside the realms of what is acceptable and proper. This is most troubling, given that the legacy of antisemitism in the academy and in Western civilization more generally has yet to be understood and addressed in the same way as other forms of discrimination and hatred. The contemporary perception in some quarters of the Zionist movement as an unfash-

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<sup>25</sup> Daniel Sibony, *Freud, Edward Said and Israel* (forthcoming).

<sup>26</sup> Id. It is fascinating to note that Jewish scholars who blame Israel for various crimes and even antisemitism itself often enjoy much attention and popularity, more so than scholars doing the serious analysis and research. In fact, this is a common phenomenon with regard to the politics of hatred more generally and historically.

<sup>27</sup> It is worth recalling that during the rise of Nazism the German academy as an institution voluntarily cleansed itself of Jews. See Saul Friedlander, *The Years of Persecution: Nazi Germany and the Jews 1933-1939* (Phoenix, London 2007). While I do not wish to compare the German academy of the Nazi era to the present academy, the role of the academy in studying, combating, or promoting contemporary antisemitism ought to be critically examined, regardless of the period. At present, the university campus atmosphere is once again becoming increasingly hostile in terms of the pressures facing Jewish students. In fact, US universities have a history of questionable relations with dubious interests, including the Nazi regime and Islamist interests. See Stephen Norwood, *The Third Reich in the Ivory Tower: Complicity and Conflict on American Campuses* (Cambridge University Press 2009) and Mitchell Bard, *The Arab Lobby: The Invisible Alliance That Undermines America's Interests in the Middle East* (Harper Collins 2010). In fact, in late 2009 and early 2010, YIISA was criticized by the Yale Corporation, the Provost, and faculty members for being critical of the Iranian revolutionary regime. The regime had just placed Yale University on a list of institutions considered hostile to the regime and called for Iranians not to have contact with them. See, for example, "Iran Intelligence Ministry Blacklists Yale and Dozens of Other Western Institutions," *Los Angeles Times*, January 4, 2010. The Provost and several faculty members told me directly that members of the Yale Corporation were angered, as they saw YIISA's work as interfering with the free flow of academic exchanges with Iran and Iranian scholars. During this time, Yale Corporation member Fareed Zakarria (before he resigned over a plagiarism scandal) often supported the policy of "engagement" in his writings, while several YIISA scholars were critical. See <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gByfHdLCdhA>>.

ionable, intellectually defunct, and morally bankrupt remnant of Western colonial racist culture—a perception that pays no attention to the competing narrative of Jewish national aspirations or the Jewish people’s millennia-spanning history in the region—is therefore a recipe for disaster. At the very least, it creates an uncritical blind spot for the role that antisemitism plays in the contemporary Middle East. To engage in the study of antisemitism is somehow perceived as supportive of the Zionist narrative, while the real threat that antisemitism poses is not understood and no policies are developed to address it, let alone to help thwart it.<sup>28</sup>

In this environment, it is more acceptable to study the role of the Church or the role of fascism in antisemitism rather than its contemporary manifestations.<sup>29</sup> In fact, if one looks at the history of antisemitism, it was never acceptable to study or examine contemporary forms of antisemitism at the time in which they occurred. The true challenge of effective and insightful scholarship is to understand the real threat that antisemitism poses to people and society today and to develop policies to protect ourselves against this threat. However, it is not uncommon to find scholars and institutions that are opposed to the study of contemporary antisemitism yet still blame Israel for its renewed prevalence without research to back up these claims. This response is not based on sound academic analysis but nonetheless finds appreciative academic audiences and in some cases enjoys the blessing of university administrations eager to receive funding from Gulf states and/or to avoid confronting inconvenient truths of the contemporary condition.<sup>30</sup> For instance, at a recent gathering at Yale University, a group of historians of French society concluded that Jihadist antisemitism should really be understood as a metaphor used for rhetorical and political impact. None of the scholars in question were students of Arabic, the Middle East, Islam, contemporary political or social movements, or contemporary or post-Holocaust antisemitism. However, this did not stop them from adopting a position that would no doubt be welcomed by their institutions and gatekeepers. One director of a research center on antisemitism admitted to friends that his hands were tied and that he had to keep to this line.<sup>31</sup>

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It is in this institutional and political context that Yale University’s Associate Provost addressed the opening session of the YIISA conference and managed to stun many of those in attendance, including those who were well aware of the various hurdles to the study of contemporary antisemitism within the academy. In her opening remarks, the Associate Provost, explicitly warned the participants not to allow the conference to descend into a promotion of Islamophobia, thereby reinforcing a common stereotype

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<sup>28</sup> For a clear example of this sort of conflation, see Joseph Massad, “Palestinians, Egyptian Jews and propaganda,” *Aljazeera*, January 7, 2013.

<sup>29</sup> A good example of this phenomenon is Paul Gilroy’s book, *Between Camps: Nations, Cultures and the Allure of Race* (2001), which begins with a heavily nostalgic and sympathetic look at the Jewish refugees that fled Nazi Europe and arrived in the London cityscape of Gilroy’s childhood. It seems uncourageous, and is reflective of a general tendency within the academy, to condemn the horrible racist antisemitism of an era past while turning a blind eye to contemporary manifestations.

<sup>30</sup> See Alex Joffe, “Follow the Money,” *Jewish Ideas*, March 2, 2011; Ben Cohen, “Scholarship and Antisemitism at Yale,” *Jewish Ledger*, Hartford, Connecticut, March 28, 2012.

<sup>31</sup> Paula Marantz Cohen, “The New Antisemitism,” *The Smart Set*, Drexel University, October 2012, available at: <<http://thesmartset.com/article/article10181202.aspx>>.

associated with those studying contemporary antisemitism. It seems incongruous that the Associate Provost—and by extension the university administration—deemed it necessary to issue such a warning to a gathering of some of the world’s most important and respected scholars on antisemitism and other forms of discrimination. Many of those in attendance viewed this as an example of the power of contemporary antisemitism, on the grounds that no other academic gathering on comparable forms of discrimination would be welcomed in this manner.<sup>32</sup> In fact, it appears that Yale University’s Jackson Institute was happy to invite Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad to speak to a group of Yale students just a month after the conference, in September 2010, without issuing a similar caveat.<sup>33</sup> Finally, as the conference was entering its last day, without citing any specific evidence, the PLO Ambassador to Washington DC, Maen Rashid Areikat, and a network of Muslim Brotherhood affiliated student activists accused the conference of being Islamophobic.<sup>34</sup> Soon afterwards, they began to attack YIISA itself as a platform for Islamophobia, which ultimately led to its demise.<sup>35</sup> These events represent a key failure of academia in the face of political pressures, both domestic and foreign.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> As Ryan notes, there is a tendency to blame the victim in the politics of discourse. See William Ryan, *Blaming the Victim* (Vintage, New York 1971). Despite the complexities of Middle East politics, there is one particular social movement that clearly does not accept the other, yet some observers still find it difficult to critically assess and condemn its ideology.

<sup>33</sup> See Sam Greenberg, “Relating to Iran, in seminar and in person,” *Yale Daily News*, September 27, 2010, available at: <<http://yaledailynews.com/blog/2010/09/27/relating-to-iran-in-seminar-and-in-person>>. In addition, the Jackson Institute hosted scholars with connections to the Iranian Revolutionary Regime, as well as Judge Richard Goldstone, at the invitation of Yale professor Ian Shapiro, an advocate of the Obama Administration’s failing policy of “containment” of radical Islamism. See Michael Widlanski, *Battle for Our Minds: Western Elites and the Terror Threat* (Simon and Schuster, New York 2012).

<sup>34</sup> See Josh Rogin, “PLO representative accuses Yale of supporting ‘hate mongering,’” *Foreign Policy*, August 31, 2010; Abby Wisse Schachter, “Yale’s latest gift to antisemitism,” *New York Post*, June 7, 2011; “PLO Envoy Slams Yale for Antisemitism Conference,” *JTA*, September 3, 2010, available at: <<http://www.jta.org/news/article/2010/09/03/2740789/plo-envoy-slames-yale-for-anti-semitism-conference>>. See also Philip Weiss, “Yale conference on antisemitism targets Palestinian identity, self-hating Jews and anyone who criticizes Israel,” *Mondoweiss.net*, August 25, 2010. This is an example of a blog that demonizes the conference without reference to the facts and also quotes people who openly incite to destroying Jews and Israel as expert sources. (See YouTube videos and writings by Charlotte Kates and Yaman Salahi).

<sup>35</sup> Significantly, the head of Yale University’s Public Relations Department, Charles Robin Hogen, was active in making statements to the media supporting YIISA’s closure. Some of these statements were later found to be incorrect. See Abby Wisse Schachter, “Yale’s latest gift to antisemitism,” *New York Post*, June 7, 2011. Interestingly, Hogen introduced the fact and bragged about his close association with former PLO member Professor Rashid Khalidi at YIISA meetings. Hogen also stated in these meetings that he was at a point in his career where he did not need to promote projects he found distasteful, such as the antisemitism conference. In a fascinating twist, I recently came across materials that show that in the 1990s Hogan was the Vice President of Hybridon Inc. Days after the 9/11 attacks, investigators discovered that the Bin Laden family owned part of Hybridon. Hogan now works for Robert Wood Johnson. See Hogen’s professional associations at: <<http://www.prweekus.com/johnson-foundation-names-hogen-vp/article/233952>>; and a Harvard Crimson article pertaining to Hybridon’s political and terror connections at: <<http://www.thecrimson.com/article/2001/9/27/local-company-distances-itself-from-bin>>.

<sup>36</sup> See Adam Brosky, “Yale’s antisemitism whitewash,” *New York Post*, July 7, 2011; and Walter Reich, “Saving the Yale Antisemitism Institute,” *Washington Post*, June 13, 2011.

The fact that YIISA's detractors could level such accusations in a prestigious Ivy League environment without providing any proof, or even attempting to document any discriminatory speech or providing any critique of the papers or academic presentations by leading scholars,<sup>37</sup> is testament to the contemporary state of antisemitism in the academy and beyond.<sup>38</sup> It also points to the urgent need for a "critique of the critique" and the need to create an interdisciplinary critical framework for the study of contemporary antisemitism in relation to ideology and power relations. This would be a difficult task for scholars who are concerned about maintaining the institutional and cultural status quo and obtaining professional appointments and acknowledgement. The current intellectual and institutional void, which also encompasses a general disinclination to contemplate Islamist antisemitism and the Islamism in general, enables many to continue speaking of an Arab Spring when there are many indications that it is turning into an Islamic Winter.<sup>39</sup> Any assessment of the region that does not address the global implications of radical political Islamism and antisemitism is fatally flawed and serves the reactionary forces by squashing analysis and debate at a key moment in Middle Eastern and global history. The reality is that these reactionary forces are gaining power, and they are doing so with the tacit or, in some cases, vocal support of "useful idiots" in the academy and the media. Paradoxically, the current refusal to explicitly oppose the rise of such forces, which are diametrically opposed to the basic human rights and democratic principles, due to a postmodern and/or post-colonial reluctance to hold them to Western standards is no less paternalistic than previous Western interventions in the region.

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Daniel Sibony, the French philosopher, provides insights into the above-mentioned attitudes, which appear to have taken hold in many elite academic institutions in the West.<sup>40</sup> In fact, Sibony contends that deep down those who insist on ignoring Islamism and its reactionary agenda are actually anti-Muslim themselves. The silencing of scholars and

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<sup>37</sup> In fact, this prompted leading scholars from around the world to write to the President of Yale University defending the conference against these unfounded allegations. In particular, many scholars signed a letter comparing the contemporary study of antisemitism by YIISA to the groundbreaking work of Yale's historians on the issue of slavery written in the 1950s. Thousands of letters from concerned parties were sent to Yale protesting the closure of YIISA one year later.

<sup>38</sup> See Alan Dershowitz, "Yale's Distressing Decision to Shut Down Its Initiative for the Interdisciplinary Study of Antisemitism," *Huffington Post*, June 11, 2011. Dershowitz contends that a research center at Yale University has never been closed down on the basis of a confidential report, as in the case of YIISA. In "Yale's Jewish Quota: The University's Shameful Decision to Kill Its Anti-Semitism Institute," *Slate Magazine*, July 1, 2011, Ron Rosenbaum examines how the conference formed the beginning of the end for YIISA, due to its insistence that aspects of antisemitism throughout the world, including the Middle East, would be examined at the conference despite warnings from the administration not to do so. According to Rosenbaum, this is essentially a new form of a Jewish quota, namely one that distinguishes between acceptable and unacceptable Jews. Writing in the *New York Post*, Neil Kressel claims that the accusations leveled at YIISA were baseless and never substantiated. See Neil Kressel, "Yale's Cowardice," *New York Post*, June 11, 2011.

<sup>39</sup> In *The Unloved Dollar Standard: From Bretton Woods to the Rise of China* (Oxford University Press 2012), economist Ronald McKinnon documents how money-flows from the US cause cyclical bubbles in global commodity prices, including food, "so much so that the so-called Arab Spring of 2011 could be interpreted as just a food riot."

<sup>40</sup> Daniel Sibony, *Freud, Edward Said and Israel* (forthcoming).

human rights activists who are concerned about antisemitism and human rights in Middle Eastern societies is a manifestation of a deep fear, or phobia, of the Islamic world. This fear, which is combined with guilt over the West's colonial legacy in the Middle East, is powerful.<sup>41</sup> As a result, there is a tendency in certain circles to tolerate and justify reactionary Islamic attitudes, including sexism, homophobia, and antisemitism, despite their own liberal views.<sup>42</sup> It is thus more convenient to blame the Jews for the stalemate in the Middle East and other related problems. Sibony traces this to the colonial mentality of not expecting the peoples of the Middle East and other parts of the world to adhere to the same criteria of human rights and civility as the "civilized" West. He also points out that those who continue to highlight these contradictions and dangers eventually come to be perceived as the problem and are targeted instead.<sup>43</sup>

Sibony goes further, stating that there is an emerging fascination in the West with the genocidal antisemitic narrative of radical Islamism as expressed by the Iranian regime, the Muslim Brotherhood, and other Salafists.<sup>44</sup> In a similar vein, Colin Shindler argues that the growing red-green alliance has come to see the displaced and marginalized members of the Islamic world as the new proletariat, who deserve Western liberal support and admiration. Anyone perceived as being critical of the new Islamic proletariat is immediately branded a reactionary.<sup>45</sup> In this intellectual climate, voices condemning brutality, anti-democratic practices, sexism, homophobia, opposition to minority rights, and other violations of universal human rights are silenced, while expressions of genocidal antisemitism are dismissed as poor translations and/or hysterical rhetoric fashioned by the Zionist defenders of Israel.<sup>46</sup> This is what makes the task at hand,

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<sup>41</sup> An example of the manifestation of this fear occurred when Yale sociologist Jeffrey Alexander, speaking on National Public Radio (NPR), compared the work of YIISA to that of the Black Panthers. Such an irrational, ahistorical, and reductionist comment pertaining to the African American condition and to the complex issues of both racism and antisemitism provides an insight into the sort of hurdles that are prevalent in the academy with regard to this subject. "Yale Shuts Down Antisemitism Program," National Public Radio, June 17, 2011.

<sup>42</sup> This may help to explain why, at a meeting called for by the Associate Provost days before the conference, I was told not to invite any scholars or organize events that were critical of Middle Eastern society or Islam. Echoing the policy mantra, she told me that we must "engage" Islam. I informed her that YIISA events were not critical of Islam but that YIISA was examining antisemitism throughout the world and that it was analyzing Islamism as it would any other social movement. It is also worth noting that there seemed to be a certain amount of fear within Yale's administrative ranks in this regard. A year earlier, in 2009, in the face of threats, Yale University Press refused to publish cartoons depicting the Prophet Muhammad in a book by Jytte Klausen discussing the publication of those very cartoons in 2006, which led to global riots in which at least 200 people were killed. See Patricia Cohen, "Yale Press Bans Images of Muhammad in New Book," *New York Times*, August 12, 2009; Jeffrey Herf, "Why Did Yale Close, Then Open, A Center on Antisemitism?" *The New Republic*, July 5, 2011.

<sup>43</sup> Daniel Sibony, *L'Enigme antisémite* (Seuil 2004). See also Daniel Sibony, "The Essence of Antisemitism: Is It Too Simple to Be Understood?" ISGAP Seminar Series, McGill University, October 16, 2012.

<sup>44</sup> Daniel Sibony, "The Essence of Antisemitism: Is It Too Simple to Be Understood?" ISGAP Seminar Series, McGill University, October 16, 2012 and Harvard University, October 17, 2012.

<sup>45</sup> Colin Shindler, "The Left Sees Islam as the New Proletariat," *New York Times*, October 28, 2012.

<sup>46</sup> This helps to explain why, at a recent seminar at Clark University's Strassler Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, David Feldman of Birbeck College, London, felt able to claim that YIISA was in fact the long arm of Israeli intelligence within the academy. Several of those in

namely to produce high-caliber scholarship and effective policy development and analysis for dealing with contemporary antisemitism—in particular its potentially genocidal variety—all the more challenging but also all the more urgent.

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The crisis of modernity refers to the crisis of capitalism itself. Regardless of one's definition, the crisis is causing problems at local and global level and has become a key aspect of the contemporary condition. Institutions that play a key role in society, especially the state, are under increasing pressure. The crisis is affecting everything from the core to the periphery. Those in the periphery are experiencing high levels of socio-economic, political, and even cultural marginalization. In some areas of the world, the economic and political crisis is so severe that it is causing failing and even failed states. Several states in the Middle East and North Africa, as well as several other Islamic states, are currently in this predicament.<sup>47</sup> When such states fail, marginalization increases. The resulting power vacuum is increasingly being filled by radical Islamism, whose adherents, like those who follow neo-liberalism, actually detest the state, perceiving it as a vestige of the colonial era and Western imperialism. In many cases, the political actors and interests that are rising to power subscribe to ideological worldviews that are also extremely hostile toward Jews.

In the context of the conference title, the term "modernity" refers to the processes that led to the emergence of the specific and distinctive characteristics of modern society. In this context, the concept of "modernity" does not simply refer to a phenomenon of contemporary origin. It possesses an analytical and conceptual value that embodies the defining characteristics of modern societies. According to Stuart Hall, these characteristics include:

- (1) The dominance of secular forms of political power and authority and conceptions of sovereignty and legitimacy, operating within defined territorial boundaries, which are characteristic of the large, complex structures of the modern nation-state.
- (2) A monetarized exchange economy, based on the large-scale production and consumption of commodities for the market, extensive ownership of private property and the accumulation of capital on a systemic, long-term basis. [...]
- (3) The decline of the traditional social order, with its fixed social hierarchies and overlapping allegiances, and the appearance of a dynamic social and sexual division of labor. In modern capitalist societies, this was characterized by new class formations and distinctive patriarchal relations between men and women.
- (4) The decline of the religious world-view typical of traditional societies and the rise of a secular and materialist culture, exhibiting those individualistic, rationalist, and instrumental impulses now so familiar to us.<sup>48</sup>

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attendance demanded that he substantiate his accusation. He could not. The idea that one cannot engage in the scholarly examination of contemporary antisemitism without having a conspiratorial agenda, which is associated with notions of dual loyalty, is a powerful antisemitic canard with a long pedigree, especially in European discourses.

<sup>47</sup> See "The 2012 Failed States Index," An Eighth Annual Collaboration between Foreign Policy and the Fund for Peace, available at: <[http://foreignpolicy.com/failed\\_states\\_index\\_2012\\_interactive](http://foreignpolicy.com/failed_states_index_2012_interactive)>.

<sup>48</sup> Stuart Hall, "Introduction," in Stuart Hall et al., eds., *Modernity: An Introduction to Modern Societies* (Blackwell Publishers 1996) p. 8.

The emergence of modern societies was spurred by new intellectual movements that developed during the Reformation, the Renaissance, the Scientific Revolution of the seventeenth century and the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century. The transformation of Europe's intellectual, philosophical, and moral framework was significant and played an important part in the formation of modern societies as encapsulated by capitalism and the rise of the nation state. In addition, Hall contends that the construction of cultural and social identities is an important aspect of the formation process. This then plays a key role in creating "imagined communities" and symbolic boundaries that define who belongs and who is excluded as the "Other."<sup>49</sup>

In the context of the YIISA conference, the "crisis of modernity" refers to the current breakdown of the political and economic system. However, this crisis also operates at a philosophical level, raising issues that are just as important as economic and political uncertainty. In fact, the uncertainty created by the crisis is eroding the moral and ethical rudder of Western institutions by creating a philosophical vacuum that is being filled by the moral relativism of postmodernism.

On one level, modernity offered a different vision of humanity, society, and the universe, but it also required a narrative to establish the legitimacy of its vision. This narrative constructed an image of the "Other," living in darkness and irrational ignorance due to his so-called primitive religious beliefs. In contrast, the so-called Enlightened thinkers and scientists succeeded in liberating man from his material and philosophical poverty and placed him on the path to progress and perfection.<sup>50</sup> This narrative, which was dominant in seventeenth and eighteenth century Europe, also provided the foundations for modernity's racism, slavery, and — as some argue — even the Holocaust.

The "crisis of modernity," then, is the recognition of the weakness of this narrative and the uncertainty of everything that has emerged from it, including the existing social order, ethical standards, and even our perceptions of ourselves. In this postmodern moment of uncertainty and competing relativist narratives, thinkers are prevented from thoroughly examining and speaking out against the forms of discrimination openly advocated by radical reactionary social movements, including but not limited to anti-semitism, that challenge notions of equality and robust citizenship.<sup>51</sup> Another result of the "crisis of modernity" is the emergence of the aforementioned red-green alliance, which is gaining ground among scholars, practitioners, and activists, as well as within the political establishment.

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Much of the scholarship on antisemitism is descriptive in nature, especially concerning its contemporary manifestations. However, there is also a need to analyze antisemitism

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<sup>49</sup> Id.

<sup>50</sup> Id.

<sup>51</sup> Leo Strauss, a strong critic of modernity, attributed modernity's intellectual degradation to the influence of several Enlightenment philosophers in the history of political thought who radically broke with classical political thinking. Strauss believed that, in doing so, these thinkers either directly or indirectly contributed to the emergence of historicism and positivism, and he held these movements accountable for modernity's relativism, nihilism, and moral and intellectual demise. See Jens Olesen, "The Crisis of Modernity and Its Interpretive Significance: Leo Strauss on Reading Political Philosophy," paper presented at the 14th International Graduate Conference in Philosophy, University of Essex, May 28, 2011.

in the context of other processes—socio-economic, political, cultural, and ideological—and the impact of globalization. Few scholars contextualize their studies in this manner. There is therefore a need to combine empirical and conceptual analysis of antisemitism within an interdisciplinary framework. The contemporary condition, which is characterized by the crisis of modernity, the processes of globalization, which are governed by a neo-liberal approach, the weakening of the state, the emergence of radical political Islamism as an effective social movement, the reluctance of Western intellectuals to critically engage these processes, and the re-emergence for the first time since the Holocaust of a deadly form of antisemitism, requires the development of a creative, interdisciplinary, critical approach within a cooperative research entity to begin to assess this phenomenon in all its manifestations and implications. This is especially true at a time when—for all sorts of reasons—such an entity has many opponents.

Globalization has a direct bearing on contemporary antisemitism. During the last several decades, nationalism and new forms of identity politics have exacerbated existing social, economic, and political cleavages. The causes of this emerging crisis include the extension of global competitive markets and the effects of structural adjustment, the intensification of socio-economic inequalities, the blurring of international and domestic political conflicts, and the world-wide escalation of adversarial “identity politics.”<sup>52</sup> The extension of information technologies and travel possibilities has created a new network of “global spaces” within the interstices of metropolitan life across continents, inhabited by a growing coterie of transnational professionals and specialists. From the perspective of this high-rise corporate economy and corporate culture, the city down below appears to be inhabited by immigrant populations competing for low-wage jobs in an increasingly informalized urban economy, as the state retreats from its welfare functions. The combined economic and political imperatives of globalization seem to sweep away particularities of time and place to generate common outcomes everywhere: growing ethnic racial and cultural heterogeneity, coupled with social and spatial polarization.

At the most general level, it is possible to think of globalization in terms of movement and circulation, a complexity of criss-crossing flows: some of it capital and trade, some of it people, and some of it signs, symbols, meanings, and myths. A common thread which runs through the existing body of literature is the idea that such flows and mobility across space have accelerated, speeded up, or gained a new momentum in the contemporary era, captured in such key phrases as “time-space compression,”<sup>53</sup> “time-space distantiation,”<sup>54</sup> and “intersecting scapes.”<sup>55</sup> Thus the concept of globalization does not imply a shift from one period to another in the form of an historical rupture, as do other encompassing terms most frequently used to describe contemporary metropolitan experience, namely post-Fordism<sup>56</sup> and postmodernity.<sup>57</sup> Rather it denotes an

<sup>52</sup> Charles Small, “Creating National Identity and Otherness: Canada and the First Nations,” in Olufemi Vaughan and Charles Small, eds., *Globalisation and Marginality: Essays on the Paradoxes of Local and Global Forces* (Sefer Academic Press, Ibadan, Nigeria 2007).

<sup>53</sup> D. Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Basil Blackwell, Oxford 1989).

<sup>54</sup> A. Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Polity/Blackwell, Cambridge 1990).

<sup>55</sup> A. Appadurai, *Globalization* (Duke University Press, Durham, N.C. 2001).

<sup>56</sup> A. Amin, *Post-Fordism: A Reader* (Blackwells, Oxford 1994).

<sup>57</sup> E. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (Verso, London 1989); S. Watson and K. Gibson, eds., *Postmodern Cities and Spaces* (Blackwells, Oxford 1995).



intensification and stretching out of movements and flows, as captured for instance in Giddens's definition of globalization as "the intensification of world-wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa."<sup>58</sup>

Some social groups initiate flows and movement, while other do not; some are more on the receiving end of it than others; some are effectively imprisoned by it. There is thus a dimension of movement and circulation; there is also a dimension of control and initiation. The ways in which different social groups are re-inserted into, placed within, and seize upon these flows, which are themselves differentiated, can both reflect and reinforce existing power relations; it can also undermine them. What does not follow from the considerations above, and yet continues to inform much of the literature on global flows, is the social imaginary of a borderless world. Inherent to the concept of global flows, differentiated and differentiating, is the capacity to transgress taken for granted boundaries between nation states, between racial, ethnic, and gender groups, and between the public and private spheres. This does mean, however, an increasingly order-less world, one in which boundaries have lost their meaning. On the contrary, borders have become the locus of struggles among a variety of social actors, mobilized to reassert or redefine their boundaries *vis-à-vis* other relevant actors, and translate onto the space of the metropolis.

Globalization divides as much as it unites. Alongside the emerging planetary dimensions of business, finance, trade, and information flows, a localizing, space-fixing process is set in motion. Between them the closely interconnected processes sharply differentiate the existential condition of entire populations and of various segments of each one of the populations. What appears as globalization for some means localization for others; signaling a new freedom for some, upon many others it descends as an uninvited and cruel fate. Some of us become fully and truly global; some are fixed in their locality. Being local in a globalized world is a sign of deprivation and degradation. An integral part of the globalizing process is progressive spatial segregation, separation, and exclusion. Neo-tribal and fundamentalist tendencies, which reflect and articulate the experience of people on the receiving end of globalization, are as much legitimate reactions to globalization as the widely acclaimed hybridization of top-culture—the culture at the globalized top. There is a break down in communication between the globalized elites and the ever-more localized rest.<sup>59</sup>

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It is in this context that contemporary antisemitism emerges. In a real sense, Israel is in the middle of a region in which societies are experiencing critical levels of marginalization, and in some cases collapse, threatening social cohesion and further complicating international relations. As mentioned above, globalization—through migration, trade and business, and advances in technology and telecommunications—is connecting people as never before, but it is also dividing them as much as it unites them. In the

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<sup>58</sup> A. Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Polity/Blackwell, Cambridge 1990).

<sup>59</sup> Charles Small, "Creating National Identity and Otherness: Canada and the First Nations," in Olufemi Vaughan and Charles Small, eds., *Globalisation and Marginality: Essays on the Paradoxes of Local and Global Forces* (Sefer Academic Press, Ibadan, Nigeria 2007).

midst of these processes, contradictions, and emerging cleavages, antisemitism is once again flourishing in the form of the demonization of Israel and, by extension, Diaspora Jewry, with its real and supposed associations with the State of Israel.<sup>60</sup> During five years of interdisciplinary programming and research projects conducted at the highest levels of scholarship, several YIISA scholars examined the emerging socio-economic, political, and cultural vacuum that is being filled by the burgeoning social movement of radical political Islamism. This movement embodies the most pernicious forms of antisemitism, including a consistent call for, and incitement to, genocide against the Jewish state, consistent with its ideological and religious worldview. Many scholars and policy makers do not recognize or acknowledge these developments. It is within this context that Israel is emerging as the “Jew among nations,” finding itself geographically, politically, and metaphorically in the center of this process, as well as on the frontline of a conflict over basic relations of the state and notions of democracy. Like the Jews of Europe during the interwar period, the Israel and—perhaps more so—Jewish people in Diaspora communities around the world will find themselves separated from the elites on one side and the working classes on the other. They will be more separated politically, culturally, and economically in the middle of competing forces as the crisis of modernity continues to evolve and its manifestations deepen. As Bernard-Henri Lévy contends, it is the role of the intellectual to shed light where there is darkness. It is the study of contemporary antisemitism and the struggle to develop social policies that will promote human dignity and respect for all that is once again an urgent calling for scholars.<sup>61</sup> With this in mind, it is important to consider the following three points:

- (1) The failure to recognize antisemitism studies as a valid academic discipline contributes to the ongoing mood of apologetic lethargy concerning this long-lasting prejudice. Now more than ever, there is a need for a vibrant, critical, open interdisciplinary research center to develop research projects and interdisciplinary curriculums. Policy and policy development are respected areas of study that need to be included in the area of contemporary antisemitism studies. Those who dismiss this as advocacy are pushing an regressive political advocacy agenda of their own.
- (2) The failure of academia to assert its independence from funding sources and government influence in the study of human rights and efforts to combat hatred is a failure worthy of research in itself, as it goes to the heart of free debate and democratic principles and practice.
- (3) Antisemitism is a major issue in the study of globalization, modernism, and post-modernism and also needs to be acknowledged as a legitimate issue in Middle Eastern studies. The study of contemporary antisemitism from an interdisciplinary perspective is crucial to scholarship, policy, and the protection of human rights, human dignity, and democratic principles, especially in these times of silence.

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<sup>60</sup> It is important to consider the impact of social media and information technology on the dissemination of its ideas, discourse, and political culture, especially in the Middle East. This impact is like a double-edged sword, since it encompasses an utopian liberating effects but also empowers reactionary forces. In this context, it is interesting to note that certain hateful images of Jews with origins in European antisemitism are being “beamed” into Europe for the first time in many decades from the Middle East.

<sup>61</sup> See Bernard-Henri Lévy, *Left in Dark Times: A Stand Against the New Barbarism* (Random House 2009).

As Ruth Wisse has summarized the issue with insight and power: “Jews in democratic societies are not merely the proverbial canaries sent into the mine shaft to test the quality of the air: they function rather as the kindling used to set the system aflame. Why stop at the Jews?” In other words, the study of antisemitism is not a parochial matter, but a complex and explosive phenomenon that is bound up with matters of human rights, the protection of democratic principles, and citizenship, as well as notions of dignity. In the contemporary context of globalization, combined with the rise of reactionary social movements, we must not only examine and come to understand these complex processes as they relate to antisemitism: it is also incumbent upon us to develop approaches to safeguard and solve these attacks against all humanity.

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This volume presents a selection of the papers presented at the “Global Antisemitism: A Crisis of Modernity” conference organized by YIISA in August 2010. It is one of five volumes reflecting the interdisciplinary nature of the conference as well as the diverse nature of the subject of antisemitism in general.

Volume I includes papers that approach antisemitism from a wide range of conceptual perspectives and scholarly disciplines. Volume II deals with matters of antisemitism and the intellectual environment. The papers in this volume focus on the treatment of Israel in the media and the study of antisemitism in the academy. Volume III examines the manifestations and impacts of antisemitism in various regional contexts. Some of the papers focus on historical cases, while others focus on recent or contemporary matters. Volume IV on Islamism and the Arab world examines a form of antisemitism that has become especially virulent in recent times. It is also a form of antisemitism whose origins and manifestations are perhaps less well-known to academics and policy-makers due to the supposedly controversial nature of this topic. This volume includes papers from some of the leading experts in this area. Volume V, finally, comprises various “reflections” that were presented at the conference by a number of well-respected observers, academics, and practitioners. They provide insightful observations and important analysis but are not presented in the form of classic academic papers.

These volumes will be of interest to students and scholars of antisemitism and discrimination, as well as to scholars and readers from other fields. Rather than treating antisemitism merely as an historical phenomenon, they place it squarely in the contemporary context. As a result, the papers presented in these volumes also provide important insights into the ideologies, processes, and developments that give rise to prejudice in the contemporary global context.



# Fighting Antisemitism in the Feminist Community

Nora Gold\*

## I. INTRODUCTION

This paper focuses on my efforts over the past 20 years to fight antisemitism in the feminist community. Like my Jewish feminist sisters, I have been deeply disappointed and disheartened by this phenomenon. However, I have found various ways to remain inside the feminist movement and from there to fight the antisemitism from within. At times these efforts have worked to good effect.

In this paper, I will share some of the strategies I have used. Of course, what I will describe here is not intended as any kind of exhaustive list. However, by reviewing some of these strategies, perhaps it is possible to articulate some of our best practices and how we can be most effective at fighting antisemitism around the world.

Before discussing the specific strategies I have employed, I will offer a few general comments.

During the years that I have been doing this work, there has been a sea change in the nature of antisemitism, and at present the delegitimization of Israel has become so widespread on the left that it is virtually normative. There are, therefore, some implications to this for how we approach fighting antisemitism.

The first implication is that, while acknowledging the excellent efforts of Jewish communities around the world in the fight against antisemitism, we need to try new and different strategies. In my view, we need interventions that are innovative, creative, and smart, because, unfortunately, our enemies are innovative, creative, and smart, and because fighting a norm is different from fighting a group of neo-Nazi skinheads. For example, you cannot arrest a norm.

The second implication, or even premise, for this kind of activism is that, in order to be effective, you must be an insider in the group whose norms you are challenging or trying to change. Again, this is different from our traditional approaches to fighting antisemitism. You did not need to belong to the Aryan Brotherhood to fight them. Here, however, you need to share the language and the unique sub-culture, including the particular signs, symbols, and at least some of the norms, of this group, if you are to have any effect.

If all my years of working to fight antisemitism have taught me one thing, it is this: the only people who can influence the anti-Israel left are the pro-Israel left. Because,

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despite the differences between these two groups on the issue of Israel, they have a common language. Similarly, within the feminist community, the only people who can affect anti-Israel feminists are pro-Israel feminists. In other words, women who strongly identify as feminists, and at the same time love Israel and the Jewish people passionately enough to go to the mat for them. It is like with a family. It does not matter how nice or smart you are; if you are from outside the family, no-one is going to let you change something within the family. So, in this kind of work, one must work from within.

The third and final premise underlying this sort of activism is that, given how large and potentially daunting the problem of antisemitism is, one should only target for change those whom it is possible to influence. It is a waste of our limited time and energy to target hard-core antisemites. We should be directing our energy solely toward what I think of as the “well-meaning but ignorant.” Which is how I view many non-Jews—and many Jews, as well.

This is also how I view a lot of the feminists I know. For the most part, feminists are not a bad or malevolent bunch. They are even idealistic. They have just never thought much about the issue of antisemitism before, and no-one has challenged them to. The Israel Project has published some interesting research showing that non-Jews who talk to a Jew about Israel even once will, in a significant number of cases, come to see Israel more positively as a result. However, this research also shows that most Jews rarely have these conversations with non-Jews. So the people I target in my efforts are those who are open to influence and whose minds can be changed.

## II. STRATEGIES FOR FIGHTING ANTISEMITISM IN THE FEMINIST COMMUNITY

I will now turn to the strategies that I have used. Of course, much of what I say here about fighting antisemitism among feminists can also be generalized to the broader left.

In approaching my particular corner of the shadow of antisemitism (i.e., the feminist community), I have divided my target group into feminists inside academe and those outside of it. This is not a perfect distinction, because virtually all feminist scholars (i.e., those working in women’s studies programs or in some form of association with them) also perceive themselves as part of the larger feminist movement. However, this distinction is still useful for our purposes, because this academic sub-group was able to be influenced by one particular strategy that is nowhere near as useful with feminists outside academe.

### 1. *Feminist academics as a target group*

With this group, I had one powerful tool—I would even say weapon—to work with, and this was my research. More specifically, I refer to my two most recent studies, which are both feminist in conceptual framework and approach. Both these studies were funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), which lent them prestige within the academic context. One was a national study of Canadian Jewish women and their experiences of antisemitism and sexism, and the other was a Toronto study of how Jewish girls aged 10-14 experience and understand antisemitism.

The context in which I conducted both these studies was the Centre for Women’s Studies in Education (CSWE) at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto, known as OISE/UT. In Canadian Jewish academic circles, OISE itself is reputed to be one of the most problematic institutions of higher education in

Canada in terms of its radical left-wing orientation and its anti-Israelism and anti-semitism. This reputation is not without basis. A few years ago, I conducted a research study on 80 Canadian Jewish professors from four different Canadian universities, and from that research I know that certain parts of OISE are particularly challenging places, as are many of the women's studies programs in Canada and internationally. However, the Women's Centre at OISE/UT, where I have been located for the past decade, is a good place where I feel quite comfortable. An important part of this has to do with the woman who for many years was the Director there—a non-Jewish Judeophile who would never tolerate any form of antisemitism (or racism) at her center.

I will now discuss these two research studies. The genesis of this research was an encounter I had one day with one of my feminist colleagues, who was organizing that year's panel on "Women and Diversity" in honor of International Women's Day. I passed her in the hallway, and asked her if she was planning to include anything on Jewish women, and she said that that would not be appropriate, as Jewish women could understand oppression because we are white. I told her that this was not correct, and to make a long story short, initiated this research on Jewish women so that women like her, coming from a left-wing, anti-oppression perspective, could begin to understand the parallels between the "dual oppression" of women of color (sexism + racism) and that of Jewish women (sexism + antisemitism). In that way I could build some bridges between Jewish feminists and other feminists.

Conceptually, my Jewish women's study is rooted in Jewish feminist scholarship, which is concerned with delineating the specific experience of being Jewish and female, and the contributions to this of both antisemitism and sexism (e.g., Beck 1995; *Bridges* 1989-2010; Cantor 1995; Gold 2004, 1998, 1997a, 1997b, 1993; Henry & Taitz 1996; Hyman 2002; Jewish Women's Archive 2006; Kaye/Kantrowitz & Klepfisz 1986; Medjuck 1993; *Nashim* 2003-2010; Plaskow 1990; Pogrebin 1991; Siegel 1995, 1986; Weidman Schneider 1984; and *Women in Judaism* 1997-2010). My Jewish women's study involved a random sample of 365 Jewish women from across Canada and clearly showed the extent of the antisemitism and sexism that Canadian Jewish women encounter in their everyday lives (Gold 2004, 1998, 1997a, 1997b). It also showed the different mental health implications of these two kinds of oppression. The women in the study who reported having had many antisemitic experiences in the past also had significantly higher scores on the Beck Depression Inventory than the other women in the sample, but no such result was found regarding sexism (Gold 2004).

Another important finding from this research project was that when these women were asked where their encounters with antisemitism had taken place, the second most frequent response was "at school." This led me to wonder about the experiences of contemporary Canadian Jewish girls, which ultimately resulted in my longitudinal study on Toronto Jewish girls (aged 10-14) and their experiences of antisemitism. I followed these girls for four years, filming them throughout. This study, like the one on Jewish women, revealed disturbingly and unequivocally the reality of antisemitism in the lives of the participants and its impact on them. One can glean a small flavor of this from the short film (13 minutes long) that I made about the research on these girls, called "Jewish Girl Power."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This film can be viewed on my website at: <<http://www.noragold.com>>.

The Jewish women's study was the first national study anywhere on women's experiences of antisemitism and the first to find, within any population, a statistically significant relationship between antisemitism and depression. The Jewish girls' study was the first social science research study to examine over time the emotional and psychological impact of antisemitism on Jewish girls (or, actually, Jewish children altogether). But perhaps the most important contribution of these two studies was the opportunity they gave me to lay out before my feminist colleagues, in an irrefutable way, the ugly reality of antisemitism. I have presented dozens of times on each of these studies to audiences comprised of both Jews and non-Jews (and quite a few of these presentations were to feminists), and in each instance I used this talk as an entrée to teaching them about anti-Israelism as a form of antisemitism.

Occasionally I have met with comments that were stupid or hostile, such as, "You mean there are some good Jews—I mean Israelis?" However, generally speaking, the response from both Jewish and non-Jewish feminists has been positive. I have often been told, "I didn't know about this. I just never thought about any of it before. This is very interesting. And important."

Consistent with this, a few years ago, I received an extremely gratifying response from a feminist colleague I have never met, who at the time was the editor-in-chief of *Women's Studies International Forum*, a prominent feminist journal based in England. Given that the paper I submitted there about my research, entitled "Sexism and Antisemitism as Experienced by Canadian Jewish Women: Results of a National Study," was something of a "J'accuse," I was pleasantly surprised and heartened not only when it was accepted unusually quickly and without revisions for publication in this journal, but also when the journal's non-Jewish editor-in-chief wrote me a personal note to say that this article was so eye-opening for her, and in her opinion so important for all feminists to read, that she was going to jump the queue for it and put it into the very next issue. Which she did.

This incident, and the overall positive reception enjoyed by both of these research projects, as well as the film, have helped restore and maintain my faith in at least some of my feminist "sisters."

Both of these research studies have also been useful weapons in a high profile panel discussion I engaged in that included one of the most vociferous anti-Israel feminist scholars in Canada. Even though this woman had packed the room with her students and acolytes, I won, at least partly because of the power of research, what quickly became a debate. My opponent had no research underpinning her comments; she just ranted. She was also foolish enough to violate a core aspect of feminist values, culture, and etiquette by refusing eye contact with me, and coldly rejecting my friendly, sisterly overtures that we work together to build bridges as feminists. Thus she exposed herself for what she really was (i.e., full of hate, and therefore not a true "sister" or feminist). This helped her to lose this debate. But the solidity of research was definitely a factor.

Afterwards, this professor's students (at least half of whom were women of color or Muslim) came up to me to thank me and talk to me, and take copies of my paper. These young feminists were the perfect example of the "ignorant but well-meaning" people who are capable of being influenced that I alluded to earlier.

So this illustrates how research and scholarship were, and can be, used as weapons with which to challenge, confront, and educate a local, or international, community of feminist scholars. This is, of course, equally applicable to any other scholarly community one wishes to challenge, confront, and/or educate.



## 2. Targeting feminists outside academe

Obviously, when trying to influence people, different strategies and weapons are required for different target groups. The women I am thinking of in the larger feminist community are involved with feminist bookstores, feminist film festivals, feminist poetry readings, feminist journals, and/or in the feminist art world. They also work—for pay or as unpaid activists—in the field of violence against women (e.g., in rape crisis centers), as well as in the peace movement, or as part of the struggle for women's rights, lesbian rights, reproductive rights, and other general human or civil rights. The most influential non-academic feminists I know tend to fall into these two groups (i.e., the arts and activism). I therefore designed interventions that target these groups as the main tools in my efforts to counteract antisemitism within this population.

### A. The arts

In addition to my academic career, I am engaged in literary work. I am a fiction writer and also the founding editor of a new online literary journal, *Jewish Fiction.net*. This part of my life gives me another route into the feminist world, and another way of influencing it.

Regarding *Jewish Fiction.net*,<sup>2</sup> I had several motives for starting this journal, but one of them was to counteract the boycott of many Israeli fiction writers. For example, when I was recently in Israel, I learned that a prize-winning Israeli author I know was supposed to have her book come out in French, in France, but that it was cancelled at the last minute, because the French publisher decided they could not “indirectly support the occupation.” I would like, through *Jewish Fiction.net*, to create a space for Israeli writers to showcase their work, where it can receive the international exposure it deserves. I have decided to publish at least two Israeli writers per issue. This journal will be widely distributed online, including throughout the feminist community. So this is how a literary journal can be a weapon.

In terms of my own fiction writing, my novel, *Exile*, is in itself a form of activism, a tool, and a weapon. *Exile* is a novel about the anti-Israelism in academe, and what happens to a young feminist who comes from Israel to spend a year studying in Canada. This novel is as yet unpublished. However, there have already been numerous public readings of it at literary conferences, and in public and academic venues (including feminist contexts), and very often this novel elicits a strong response from listeners. It makes people think. I hope it will have this effect on even more people when excerpts of *Exile* appear on *Jewish Fiction.net*.

So these are just a couple of ways that one can harness the deep and latent power of literature to help fight antisemitism. Of course, all of the other arts—music, dance, the visual arts, theatre, and so forth—can be used in this way as well. The arts speak to everyone, and speak to human experience at a concrete and intimate level. So, perhaps even more than academic research, which appeals primarily to the intellect, the arts can be an effective tool.

I have seen this, for example, with my short film, “Jewish Girl Power.” Its reach extends much farther than my research articles. Since it is available online and for free, it

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<sup>2</sup> See: <<http://www.jewishfiction.net>>.

has been viewed by over 1,000 people, many of them feminists. But it also reaches further because it reaches into the heart, not just the mind.

A number of Jewish communities, as well as the Israeli government, are now coming to recognize that one of the best ways to fight stereotypes about Israel (and hence anti-Israelism) is through the dissemination of Jewish and Israeli culture and the arts. So the arts have great potential as a resource for us in our struggle, and the work I am describing here, it turns out, is part of a larger trend.

## B. Activism

In terms of influencing the other influential group of non-academic feminists, the feminist activist community, the obvious tool to use is activism. I therefore recently started a new pro-Israel group in Toronto, comprised of Jews who want to fight antisemitism and also have ties to a variety of progressive causes and organizations, enabling them to infiltrate and influence these places. We have several feminists in our group. We have a union member who works for one of Canada's most anti-Israel unions. We have someone formerly employed by the Ontario Human Rights Commission. And so on. So far, our group has had two good meetings, and this fall we plan to double in size.

So these are, in a nutshell, a few strategies that demonstrate some success in the fight against antisemitism in the feminist community (and beyond).

This work is difficult, but what makes it possible is the support I feel from non-Jewish feminists who are my allies and from other Jewish feminists, whom I experience as standing with me as I do this work. This includes some older Jewish feminists who have inspired me over the years, like Rachel Josefowitz Siegel, Evelyn Torton Beck, and Aviva Cantor.

I also am able to do this work because I am not naive. I do not expect that sisterhood, even at the best of times (and we are not in the best of times) will be simple. Just as I do not think family relations of any kind are simple. But whatever the tensions and difficulties, there is a deep connection to build on with one's sisters. To use perhaps the most obvious example of sisterhood, consider the case of Rachel and Leah in the Bible. In 2010, I published an essay entitled, "Rachel and Leah: A Jewish Model of Sisterhood" in *Kerem*.<sup>3</sup> In this piece, I challenge the common misperception of these two women as being, above all, competitors for a man. Instead, what my research uncovers is the immensely profound and passionate love that Rachel and Leah had for each other, and that this love outweighed all the tensions between them. Moreover, according to the *midrash* on Lamentations (Lamentations Rabbah, P'tikhta, 7:49), it was Rachel's profound and passionate love for Leah that led God to deliver us (*b'nei Israel*) from exile.

For this reason, among others, I believe profoundly in the capacity of some women to truly listen to each other, care for each other, and change.

## III. CONCLUSION

One persistent, even insistent, question that implicitly haunts any contemporary discussion of antisemitism is the question why the mainstream Jewish community, which has

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<sup>3</sup> Gold, Nora (2010). "Rachel and Leah: A Jewish Model of Sisterhood." *Kerem* 12: 96-105. This essay is also available on my website at: <<http://www.noragold.com>>.

often been successful in dealing with traditional antisemitism coming primarily from the right, has until now had limited effectiveness at national and international level in dealing with “the new antisemitism” coming from the left.

I think this is related to the fact that the Jewish community, for the most part, has not tended to embrace the left. It does not understand the left, and it cannot really relate to it. As a result, it does not have anyone from the left on its team, and so it has no-one who can do this work. This, in our current situation, is now a major liability. Particularly since, as I have explained, the cleaning-up of the left can only be accomplished by those belonging to it.

However, those who are not feminists and/or on the left still have a crucial role to play in this. They can search out, and actively support, those of us on the left (the pro-Israel left, obviously) who are doing this challenging work. It makes an incalculable difference to those of us, for instance in this new group in Toronto, that in certain quarters of the mainstream Jewish community, we are perceived, and supported, as part of the international fight against antisemitism. This is far more helpful than the response that groups like ours often get: “Oh, you have ties and loyalties to certain causes on the left. Feh.”

As we all know, we are now facing some very difficult times, and it looks like they are going to get worse before they get better. We, as an international community of scholars, Jewish communal leaders, and activists, simply do not have the luxury of playing at internal Jewish politics with each other. In fact, the reality that we here span the entire political spectrum is one of our greatest resources, and a source of power. It means that we can get to more places where we can fight antisemitism.

In conclusion, it is my fervent hope that the love that we all feel for Israel and the Jewish people (*am Yisrael*) can—like the love between Rachel and Leah—overpower and outweigh the disrespect and divisiveness that sometimes occurs within our community. So that we, along with our non-Jewish friends and allies (and we do have non-Jewish friends and allies) can work together to defeat our enemies.

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# Campus Antisemitic Speech and the First Amendment

Alexander Tsesis\*

## INTRODUCTION

The recent increased rate of antisemitic incidents at U.S. universities has created a quandary for college and university administrators who seek to prevent behavior tending to disrupt education without running afoul of the First Amendment. A recent United States Supreme Court decision that upheld a state cross burning statute, *Virginia v. Black*,<sup>1</sup> may provide guidance for regulating antisemitism in public university spaces. This case reconfirms that speech is not an absolute right. Like defamation, antisemitic verbal attacks can result in dignitary harms. And like “fighting words” or “true threats,” intimidating antisemitism increases the likelihood that hate crimes will be perpetrated on campus. Accordingly, intimidating antisemitism is so incompatible with education that to prohibit its dissemination on campus would not disrupt the university’s mission of intellectual advancement.

Opponents of university hate speech regulations often rely on the Supreme Court reasoning in *R.A.V. v. St. Paul*, a case in which the majority found a municipal ordinance prohibiting cross burning to be unconstitutional.<sup>2</sup> Following the Supreme Court’s rationale, free speech libertarians and several lower federal courts<sup>3</sup> asserted that university administrators lack the authority to regulate the communication of group hatred. Eleven years after deciding *R.A.V.*, the Court upheld a more rigorously drafted cross burning statute than the one it struck down in *R.A.V.* The later decision, *Virginia v. Black*,<sup>4</sup> defined the scope of legitimate limitations on hate speech in general, and its conclusions are applicable to the regulation of antisemitic speech on university cam-

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<sup>1</sup> *Virginia v. Black*, 538 U.S. 343 (2003).

<sup>2</sup> *R.A.V. v. St. Paul*, 505 U.S. 377 (1992).

<sup>3</sup> This paper proposes a more narrowly constructed hate speech code than the ones found unconstitutional in lower court decisions. Those district and circuit court cases were issued long before *Virginia v. Black*, which is the Supreme Court decision I primarily rely on to develop a campus anti-incitement policy. See *UMW Post, Inc. v. Bd. of Regents of the Univ. of Wis.*, 774 F. Supp. 1163, 1178-79 (E.D. Wis. 1991). Because these decisions were not binding precedents, many colleges outside the courts’ jurisdictions retained various hate speech codes. JON B. GOULD, *SPEAK NO EVIL: THE TRIUMPH OF HATE SPEECH REGULATION* 159 (2005).

<sup>4</sup> 538 U.S. 343 (2003).

pus. In this paper, I argue that institutions of higher education can punish persons using university property to spread intimidating and defamatory antisemitism.

## I. ANTISEMITISM ON AMERICAN CAMPUSES

Jewish students at several U.S. universities have recently been the targets of a growing number of antisemitic incidents.<sup>5</sup> Antisemitic slurs are based on historic stereotypes that are derisive to Jews. Virulent antisemitism also aims to create a hostile environment for Jewish students and anyone, irrespective of religion, who is associated with Jewish causes, like Zionism.<sup>6</sup> An Anti-Defamation League audit found that there were 94 antisemitic incidents on U.S. campuses in 2007, representing about 6 percent of total anti-Jewish harassment and vandalism that year.<sup>7</sup> A consistent university policy against hate speech would demonstrate the gravity of these verbal attacks and could deter future antisemitic conduct. In formulating such a policy, it must be borne in mind that public university regulations can only withstand judicial scrutiny if they are based on judicial precedents concerning free speech.

The following is a short list of recent events: Jewish students at the University of California-Irvine report that antagonism has increased to the point that they must circumvent some parts of campus to avoid conflict, are reluctant to engage in activities sponsored by Jewish organizations, and have trouble focusing on their studies.<sup>8</sup> In one of the most extreme examples of new antisemitism, Imam Mohammad al-Asi and Amir Abdel Malik Ali delivered speeches at a week-long event at the UC-Irvine that integrated traditional stereotypes with modern events claiming Jews are in control of U.S. media and responsible for the terror on September 11, 2001. In one speech Al-Asi asserted, "We have a psychosis in the Jewish community that is unable to co-exist equally and brotherly with other human beings."<sup>9</sup> In 2010, the Muslim Student Union at UC-Irvine, which the University subsequently banned from campus, sponsored a speaker who "compared Jews to Nazis" and "expressed support for Hamas, Hizbullah and Islamic Jihad."<sup>10</sup> At the University of California at Berkeley, swastikas were scrawled on a Jewish student organization's pamphlet.<sup>11</sup> In addition, Holocaust denier David Irving and Ku Klux Klan supporter Tomislav Sunic appeared at a group event on the University of Oregon campus.<sup>12</sup>

Universities and policymakers around the country have drafted a variety of responses to the uses of hate speech on their campuses. The University of Nevada, Las Vegas is evaluating whether to institute a campus hate crime policy that would prohibit

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<sup>5</sup> Susan B. Tuchman, Editorial, *Jewish Students of America, Know Your Legal Rights*, JERUSALEM POST (Israel), Dec. 11, 2005.

<sup>6</sup> Kenneth L. Marcus, *Higher Education, Harassment, and First Amendment Opportunism*, 16 WM. & MARY BILL RTS. J. 1025, 1043 (2008).

<sup>7</sup> Sonia Scherr, *Anti-Semitism Goes to School*, INTELLIGENCE REPORT, Issue 131 (Fall 2008).

<sup>8</sup> See Tuchman, *supra*, note 5.

<sup>9</sup> Scherr, *supra* note 7.

<sup>10</sup> E.B. Solomont, *Irvine Muslim Student Union Suspended*, JERUSALEM POST, June 15, 2010, at <http://www.jpost.com/International/Article.aspx?id=178434> (Last visited June 15, 2010).

<sup>11</sup> *Hate Speech Roils UC Berkeley Campus*, N.Y. JEWISH WEEK, Sept. 26, 2008, at 50.

<sup>12</sup> Jack Moran, *Hate-Filled Graffiti Spurs Vigil, Concerns*, REGISTER-GUARD (Eugene, OR), June 24, 2008, at A.

expressions motivated by racial, religious, gender, and political bias.<sup>13</sup> Such a regulation could go further by also prohibiting destructive antisemitic statements. In Spring 2009, the Michigan Civil Rights Commission held an open public forum to better understand how to balance the testimonies of student victims with free speech concerns.<sup>14</sup> At Auburn University, the multicultural center suggested sponsoring an event on hate speech after a professor received a racist message.<sup>15</sup> Derisive, violent statements about Jews should be handled with the same gravity as other forms of hate speech.

Other universities have instituted aspirational civility norms for preventing the use of prejudicial slurs.<sup>16</sup> The University of Chicago, for instance, requests its academic community to foster the marketplace of ideas by preserving the diversity, civility, and equality of its campus. St. Scholastica College in Duluth, Minnesota, issued a similar statement to students after hate symbols appeared on its campus, as did two other colleges in the state.<sup>17</sup>

Some of these incidents of hate speech have been isolated occurrences. Others appear to be concerted efforts to make Jewish groups, students, and sympathetic faculty members feel uncomfortable, threatened, or isolated. The multiple locations where these events have taken place, which often occur hundreds or even thousands miles from each other, are an indication that the expression of intimidating antisemitism is not localized but in fact widespread.

## II. FIRST AMENDMENT STANDARDS

All public universities must abide by the First Amendment standards established by Supreme Court decisions on intimidating speech. In a case decided during World War II, *Chaplinsky v. New Hampshire*, the Supreme Court contrasted constitutionally protected expression from violent fighting words, holding that “[t]here are certain well-defined and narrowly limited classes of speech, the prevention and punishment of which has never been thought to raise any Constitutional problem.”<sup>18</sup> The social interest in “order and morality” outweighs any cathartic benefit a speaker may derive from statements that are likely to provoke a violent response in the average person.<sup>19</sup> Fighting words, which are likely to draw the average person into a physical altercation, are analogous to some forms of antisemitism that tend to provoke violent reactions rather than evoking

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<sup>13</sup> *Controlling Speech UNLV Policy Goes Too Far in Trying To Stop Harassment, Treads on the First Amendment*, LAS VEGAS SUN, Apr. 28, 2009, at 4. The most recently reported UNLV draft policy on hate crimes contains a provision against intimidation and harassment. Richard Lake, *UNLV Rewrites Policy on Hate Crimes: Panel Removes Part on Bias Incidents*, LAS VEGAS REVIEW-JOURNAL, June 3, 2009, at 2B.

<sup>14</sup> *Michigan Civil Rights Commission Seeks Student Victims of Campus Hate for Testimony*, US FED NEWS, Mar. 31, 2008. A similar public forum was held in Chapel Hill, North Carolina to discuss the issue of hate crimes and hate speech policy for public universities. *UNC Commission Hears Pleas To Create Hate-Crimes Policy*, THE NEWS & OBSERVER (Raleigh, N.C.), Jan. 16, 2009, at B2.

<sup>15</sup> Hannah Wolfson, *Auburn Professor Reports Racist Note*, BIRMINGHAM NEWS, Oct. 22, 2008, at 6B.

<sup>16</sup> Marilyn Gilroy, *Colleges Grappling with Incivility*, HISPANIC OUTLOOK IN HIGHER ED. June 30, 2008, at 8.

<sup>17</sup> *Daily Briefing, Duluth*, PIONEER PRESS (St. Paul, Minn.) Feb. 29, 2008, at B2.

<sup>18</sup> *Chaplinsky v. New Hampshire*, 315 U.S. 568, 571-72 (1942).

<sup>19</sup> *Id.* at 574.

conversation, discussion, and a search for truth. Just as fighting words are unconnected with traditional speech values, antisemitic speech that is likely to incite violence is not protected by the First Amendment's guarantee of self-expression. This dichotomy indicates that violently provocative hate symbols or inflammatory antisemitic statements are far from what is acceptable at a public university.

The verbal barbs of persons who express the desire to harm Jews are not amenable to counterarguments. Their veracity cannot be tested in the marketplace of ideas. Verbal intimidations also differ from opinion, which is protected against government interference. Furthermore, no educational purposes are served by the provocative uses of symbols historically linked to violence, such as swastikas and Hamas flags.<sup>20</sup>

Under current Supreme Court jurisprudence, antisemitic speech that incites others to commit illegal acts or aims to intimidate victims can be regulated on campuses when it poses an imminent threat of harm. In a concurrence, Justice Byron R. White of the Supreme Court dismissed the notion that hate speech, of which antisemitism is only one example, is a legitimate form of political discourse: "Instead, it permits, indeed invites, the continuation of expressive conduct that ... is evil and worthless in First Amendment terms.... Indeed, by characterizing fighting words as a form of 'debate,' ... legitimates hate speech as a form of public discussion."<sup>21</sup>

Not all expressions of hatred and intolerance are advocacy; therefore, some expressions of apathy, disdain, or outright malevolence toward Jews do not fit the paradigm of administratively punishable hate speech. This is the case with private antisemitic statements that are not intended to elicit immediate harms. *Brandenburg v. Ohio*,<sup>22</sup> another seminal Supreme Court decision, indicates that the First Amendment probably protects students who display antisemitic emblems or insignia in private settings, like dormitory rooms or personal lockers. Antisemitic slurs are thus only actionable when they are made in public locations, such as a student union, classroom, or common area of a dormitory.

In some cases, statements might not be outright threats but defame Jews instead. Scurrilous falsehoods about Jews are not mere abstractions but contain content that can unjustly harm individuals' reputations and community standings. Like any other form of defamation, the university should be able to provide remedies for students who have suffered as a result of stereotyping that demeans them in others' eyes.<sup>23</sup>

A 1992 Supreme Court case, *R.A.V. v. St. Paul*, raised concerns about the constitutionality of efforts to combat antisemitism and other forms of hate speech on campus.<sup>24</sup> The case arose when juveniles set fire to a cross on a black family's lawn. They were

<sup>20</sup> Healy v. James, 408 U.S. 169, 180 (1972).

<sup>21</sup> R.A.V. v. St. Paul, 505 U.S. 377, 402 (1992).

<sup>22</sup> 395 U.S. 444 (1969) (per curiam).

<sup>23</sup> On the issue of individual and group defamation, see *Gertz v. Robert Welch, Inc.*, 418 U.S. 323 (1974) ("The legitimate state interest underlying the law of libel is the compensation of individuals for the harm inflicted on them by defamatory falsehood."); *Beauharnais v. Illinois*, 343 U.S. 250, 266 (1952) ("Libelous utterances not being within the area of constitutionally protected speech, it is unnecessary, either for us or for the State courts, to consider the issues behind the phrase 'clear and present danger.'").

<sup>24</sup> Lawrence Friedman, *Regulating Hate Speech at Public Universities after R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul*, 37 How. L.J. 1 (1993).



charged under a St. Paul, Minnesota ordinance against the display of symbols (like Nazi swastikas and burning crosses) that purportedly aroused “anger, alarm or resentment ... on the basis of race, color, creed, religion or gender.”<sup>25</sup> The majority acknowledged that the city had a compelling interest to protect the human rights of the “members of groups that have historically been subjected to discrimination.”<sup>26</sup> However, the Court held the ordinance to be an unconstitutional “content discrimination” rather than a blanket prohibition on all forms of fighting words.<sup>27</sup>

In his concurrence, Justice White argued that the majority had deviated from precedents that had long allowed for content-based regulation of low-level speech. Using language reminiscent of the fighting words doctrine in *Chaplinsky*, White asserted that the state can prohibit speech that is “by definition worthless and undeserving of constitutional protection.”<sup>28</sup> According to him, the majority substituted its own judgment for the City’s assessment that disparagements “based on race, color, creed, religion, [and] gender” pose “more pressing public concerns than the harms caused by other fighting words.”<sup>29</sup>

A more recent opinion, *Virginia v. Black*, has diminished the significance of *R.A.V.* in the context of hate speech regulations generally and university speech codes specifically. *Black* arose from the prosecution of individuals who had burned a cross in public. The statute had been more carefully drafted than the one struck down in *R.A.V.* Virginia law rendered it “unlawful for any person or persons, with the intent of intimidating any person or group of persons, to burn, or cause to be burned, a cross on the property of another, a highway or other public place.”<sup>30</sup> A majority of justices agreed that the state did not violate the First Amendment by punishing those who burned crosses with the intention of intimidating others. And I believe its reasoning is applicable to specifically antisemitic symbols that are meant to intimidate. Mimicking the language in *Chaplinsky*, the Court found that intentionally intimidating cross burning is of “such slight social value as a step to truth that any benefit that may be derived from [it] is clearly outweighed by the social interest in order and morality.”<sup>31</sup> The state statute was not a form of content discrimination because it prohibited all manner of cross burning, irrespective of whether it sought to intimidate others on the bases of race, religion, or other characteristic. The Court explained that Virginia could selectively punish cross burning, even though it did not criminalize all other forms of virulent intimidation, “in light of the cross burning’s long and pernicious history as a signal of impending violence.”<sup>32</sup> This reasoning clearly analyzed the content of the communication to determine whether it is linked to racism and violent behavior.

It seems realistic to extrapolate from that judicial statement that college administrators can determine that antisemitic symbols can also intimidate students and visitors on college campuses. While it appears clear that intentionally intimidating antisemitic

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<sup>25</sup> *R.A.V.*, 505 U.S. at 380.

<sup>26</sup> *Id.* at 395.

<sup>27</sup> *Id.* at 387, 391.

<sup>28</sup> *Id.* at 401 (White, J., concurring).

<sup>29</sup> *Id.* at 407 (White, J., concurring).

<sup>30</sup> *Virginia v. Black*, 538 U.S. 343, 348 (2003) (quoting Va. Code Ann. § 18.2-423 (1996)).

<sup>31</sup> *Id.* at 358-59 (citing *Chaplinsky*, 315 U.S. at 572).

<sup>32</sup> *Id.* at 362-63.

symbols may be regulated on campuses, what is not certain is whether the fact finder can infer the speaker's mindframe or whether the prosecution must prove it by direct or circumstantial evidence. A plurality of the Court found the statute's prima facie evidentiary presumption to be unconstitutional. This group of four justices argued that, without requiring prosecutors to prove a defendant's state of mind, juries would lack the evidentiary context needed to determine "whether a particular cross burning is intended to intimidate" or only to arouse anger.<sup>33</sup> The implication for universities seeking to prohibit antisemitic intimidation on campus is that a university speech code should at least include a negligence element of the offense to avoid offending the First Amendment.

### III. COLLEGE SPEECH CODES PROHIBITING ANTISEMITISM

The reasoning in *Virginia v. Black*, which recognized that a state can prohibit intimidating cross burning, was closer to international consensus on hate speech than any previous Supreme Court decision. The next case to reach the Supreme Court on the subject might expressly reflect on the lessons of foreign jurisprudence about how free expression can be protected while also prohibiting violent, group-based intimidation. In *Black*, the Supreme Court struck a delicate balance between the right of self-expression and the social dangers of true threats.

Antisemitic intimidation can have a direct and negative impact on Jewish students' academic performance. Maintaining a safe environment is essential to educational and extracurricular success. Jewish students who have a reasonable reason to fear for their safety are less likely to participate in the classroom and in extracurricular activities. Whether the swastika is hung, a cross is burned, a degrading and aggressive speech is made in a dormitory corridor, or the Hamas Charter is displayed in a prominent place like a classroom or dormitory window, those expression of antisemitic hatred communicate support for or participation in violent conduct. In certain circumstances, expressions of hatred are likely to instigate violence, alienate students, or make for a hostile learning environment. This is very different than an art or history project incorporating historically destructive messages but having no advocacy component. Neither would parody fall under my definition because it enjoys First Amendment protections.<sup>34</sup>

United States' free speech jurisprudence gives public college officials less latitude to pursue charges against antisemitic statements on campus than is available to college administrators in some other democracies like Canada, Germany, and England.<sup>35</sup> The reasoning in *Black* nevertheless indicates that the U.S. Supreme Court has begun to follow some of the same historical findings that foreign and international tribunals have been using to punish hateful expressions that threaten public safety. International norms and foreign laws on this subject indicate a worldwide consensus that hate speech is harmful to individuals as well as groups, especially those who have experienced a history of intolerance, discrimination, and oppression. The risk of allowing antisemitism

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<sup>33</sup> *Id.* at 362.

<sup>34</sup> See, e.g., *Hustler Magazine v. Falwell*, 485 U.S. 46, 47-48 (1988) (holding that a parody of Reverend Jerry Falwell is protected under the First Amendment from tort liability).

<sup>35</sup> ALEXANDER TESIS, *DESTRUCTIVE MESSAGES: HOW HATE SPEECH PAVES THE WAY FOR HARMFUL SOCIAL MOVEMENTS* ch. 12 (2002).

to occur on campuses unchecked is that inaction will leave the targets of violent communications vulnerable to more harassment and even assault. Being uncertain of their safety, Jewish students will be more likely to restrict their pursuit of available educational opportunities in departments where they are threatened. Students who experience a sense of impending danger are also likely to restrict their movements in dorms, student unions, or other commons areas that they have reason to believe are unsafe.

*Black* provides analytical responses to arguments proffered by opponents of hate speech regulations. Larry Alexander, for one, argues that hate speech is no more than verbal harm, conveying taunting ideas.<sup>36</sup> Suzanna Sherry is similarly dismissive of the gravity of harms flowing from hate speech. She contends that regulation of it is driven by a political agenda that is “designed to improve the virtue of an unvirtuous population.”<sup>37</sup> She criticizes the use of university hate speech codes for paternalistically enforcing virtuous behavior rather than allowing students to be self-directed.<sup>38</sup> John S. Greenup takes this argument a step further, arguing that university officials should grant organizations like the Ku Klux Klan access to university locations unless their activities pose overt threats.<sup>39</sup> His perspective recognizes the risk of intimidation but fails to make an assessment of whether tolerating an avowed terrorist organization like the KKK on campus is threatening, divisive, and disruptive to teaching and learning.<sup>40</sup>

The assertions of Nadine Strossen and the ACLU that counterspeech can adequately defuse group hatred, promote civil liberties, and even increase tolerance on campus<sup>41</sup> have been roundly rejected by the international community.<sup>42</sup> The United States Supreme Court has now endorsed a narrow version of the consensus international perspective on free speech policy. Just as with sexual harassment in the workplace, counterspeech is an inadequate remedy for the intimidating attacks of hate speech.<sup>43</sup> Antisemitism—like ethnocentrism, racism, and xenophobia—is too deeply imbedded in culture to be changed overnight through rational discourse. Telling university employees or students who are the targets of antisemitic attacks to simply respond rationally to

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<sup>36</sup> Larry Alexander, *Banning Hate Speech and the Sticks and Stones Defense*, 13 CONST. COMMENTARY 71, 91 (1996).

<sup>37</sup> Suzanna Sherry, *Speaking of Virtue: A Republican Approach to University Regulation of Hate Speech*, 75 MINN. L. REV. 933, 936-37 (1991).

<sup>38</sup> *Id.* at 943-44.

<sup>39</sup> John S. Greenup, *The First Amendment and the Right to Hate*, 34 J.L. & EDUC. 605, 612 (2005).

<sup>40</sup> *Black*, 538 U.S. at 389 (Thomas, J., dissenting) (“To me, the majority’s brief history of the Ku Klux Klan only reinforces this common understanding of the Klan as a terrorist organization, which, in its endeavor to intimidate, or even eliminate those it dislikes, uses the most brutal of methods.”).

<sup>41</sup> Nadine Strossen, *Regulating Racist Speech on Campus: A Modest Proposal?*, 1990 DUKE L.J. 484, 562-64. See also Erwin Chemerinsky, *Unpleasant Speech on Campus, Even Hate Speech, Is a First Amendment Issue*, 17 WM. & MARY BILL OF RTS. J. 765, 772 (2009).

<sup>42</sup> See TESIS, *supra* note 35.

<sup>43</sup> See Jack M. Balkin, *Some Realism About Pluralism: Legal Realist Approaches to the First Amendment*, 1990 DUKE L.J. 375, 420-22 (discussing how “to the extent we allow verbal conduct creating a hostile working atmosphere, we thereby refuse to protect persons from certain forms of private racial and sexual discrimination. Conversely, to the extent that mere words can give rise to liability for employment discrimination, intentional infliction of emotional distress, or other causes of action, we acknowledge that an employer or co-worker can be punished for making such statements.”).

hateful antagonists provides victims with no meaningful, procedural mechanism but mere paternalistic platitude. Just as responding genteelly to hostile comments at work does not solve the problem of workplace harassment, neither does counterspeech decrease the threats posed by antisemitic groups or individuals who carry out campus campaigns of intimidation, exclusion, and discrimination. Expecting students to simply talk things out and convince those who intimidate them of the fallacy of their threatening statements fails to provide a procedurally cognizable way of seeking legal redress.

The mantra that more speech will reduce the risks of antisemitism is based on a libertarian faith in the ability of communications to unmask and delegitimize hatred. The effectiveness of Nazi antisemitism in establishing political dictatorship in Germany belies the idea that accurate information will inevitably trump stereotype, innuendo, and dehumanization.<sup>44</sup> It also places harassment and intimidation on a par with dialogue. To the contrary, the former are means of disengagement from a hated outgroup, while the latter is a form of mutual engagement between the interlocutors.

I believe that if a litigant were to challenge the constitutionality of a university code against antisemitic communications, a judge could uphold it on the basis of the majority's consensus in *Black*. Like cross burning, antisemitic symbols that are tied to terror organizations or despotic regimes are semantically menacing; they rely on imagery, phrases, or slurs that have a social content beyond their immediate use and are meant to threaten targeted groups of individuals. Whether those messages are communicated by symbols or oral communication is less important than the issue of whether they constitute true threats. Before promulgating such a code of conduct, university administrators should assess the historic significance of certain forms of stereotyping, symbolism, and threats to determine whether they rise to the level of intimidation analogous to cross burning.<sup>45</sup>

Jewish students should be provided the opportunity to offer feedback about the code. Their sense of safety is important for evaluating the gravity of the circumstances. How an objective listener would perceive the message is critical for determining whether a communication constitutes a true threat.<sup>46</sup> For liability to attach, the speaker need not intend to commit the violence but only to intimidate the listener.<sup>47</sup> Accordingly, prohibitions against antisemitism on campus need to address the extent to which ordinary Jewish students think intimidating statements create a hostile academic environment.

Allowing students or faculty members to intimidate others through bombast favors the liberty of antisemitic speakers' to advocate discrimination and violence while denying the victims' reasonable expectations of security on campus. The constitutional importance of the First Amendment to democratic governance and self-assertion does not extend to menacing messages that tend to diminish the targeted group's sense of security when traveling through college commons areas and attending university

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<sup>44</sup> Alexander Tesis, *Empirical Shortcomings of First Amendment Jurisprudence*, 40 SANTA CLARA L. REV. 729, 740-47 (2000).

<sup>45</sup> *Black*, 538 U.S. at 354 (identifying Klan violence with burning crosses).

<sup>46</sup> *Lovell By and Through Lovell v. Poway Unified School Dist.*, 90 F.3d 367, 373 (9th Cir. 1996) ("While courts may consider the effect on the listener when determining whether a statement constitutes a true threat, the final result turns upon whether a reasonable person in these circumstances should have foreseen that his or her words would have this effect.").

<sup>47</sup> *Black*, 538 U.S. at 359-60 ("The speaker need not actually intend to carry out the threat.").

sponsored events. Jewish students and faculty members and their colleagues are more likely to think twice before going to hear the college orchestra or heading to the student union if it requires walking through an area where a cross has recently been burned, a swastika is displayed, or a supremacist rally has taken place. Antisemitic speakers are neither inviting intellectual debate and rejoinder nor seeking political dialogue. Theirs is a campaign of silencing through intimidation—something that threatens the university's marketplace of ideas and is of no benefit to educational interactions. Academic freedom is not a license for harassment. Neither does the hate speech further the pursuit for truth: calling Jews vermin, claiming it is they who were responsible for the 9/11 attacks, or purporting that the Holocaust is a myth have nothing to do with a university's mission to pursue truth. These derogatory statements are meant to exclude and stamp them with labels of outsiders and charlatans. Derisive speech becomes academically punishable when it is meant to defame, intimidate, threaten, terrify, or instigate violence.

While *Black* provides college administrators with a good starting point for preventing hate speech on campus, it does not go far enough in identifying expressive harms. Justice O'Connor's view for the plurality, that the First Amendment protects ideologically driven cross burning not meant to intimidate, fails to fully recognize the symbol's intrinsically social and political connections to the Ku Klux Klan's history of racial violence and white supremacy.<sup>48</sup> The supremacist "statement of ideology," which she distinguishes from "intimidation," relates an organization's desire and willingness to segregate, racially polarize, and perpetrate violence.<sup>49</sup> The same is true of other hate, exterminationist, or genocidal symbols—such as swastikas or Hamas flags<sup>50</sup>—that are displayed on campuses to advance menacing ideological agendas. While the burning cross expresses a message specifically linked to group violence in the United States, the swastika symbolizes the worldwide effort to commit genocide against Jews and to subject other non-Aryans to subservience. Its threatening message is unambiguous.

In formulating a university hate speech code, it is important to distinguish between disciplinary measures available to administrators and punishments connected with criminal convictions. Educational penalties are designed to negatively impact a student's or a faculty member's record, while criminal punishment is more onerous because it involves the curtailment of liberty and greater social stigma. Educators can assess penalties without following the rules of criminal procedure, reducing the burden of proof required of university prosecutions. The "beyond a reasonable doubt" evidentiary

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<sup>48</sup> *Id.* at 365-66 (O'Connor, J., plurality) (stating that cross burning can both be used to intimidate or to elaborate a racist ideology).

<sup>49</sup> I make this inference from the fact that Virginia's cross burning statute had initially been enacted in 1952 to prevent the particularly virulent expression of support for Jim Crow laws. See Petitioner's Brief for *Virginia v. Black*, 2002 WL 1885898, at \*23-24 (2002) (No. 01-1107).

<sup>50</sup> Hamas is a genocidal organization whose charter uses violent antisemitism. The Hamas flag is just as ideologically violent as the swastika, relying on an ancient *hadith* to instigate mass murder: "the Islamic Resistance Movement aspires to bring the promise of Allah to pass, no matter how long it takes. As the prophet [Muhammad], may the prayer of Allah and his blessing of peace be upon him, said: 'The time [Judgment Day] will not come until Muslims fight the Jews and kill them and until the Jew hides behind the rocks and trees, and [then] the rocks and trees will say: "Oh Muslim, oh servant of Allah, there is a Jew hiding [behind me], come and kill him."'" *Id.* at art. 7. The presence of a Hamas flag signifies support for this genocidal plan.

standard used for criminal prosecution is meant to prevent mistaken deprivations of liberty, something that is unrelated to college sanctions.

Recognizing this contrast is important, because the standard of proof for a criminal hate speech law, such as one prohibiting cross burning, is significantly more rigorous than what would be required for the censure of student hate speech. The O'Connor plurality's mental state requirement in *Black* applies within the context of criminal liability, not civil penalties.

The most closely analogous standard of civil liability comes from defamation law. In *Gertz v. Robert Welch, Inc.*, the Court established that a private plaintiff seeking to recover damages for defamation about a public matter must prove that the defendant acted negligently.<sup>51</sup> That is, liability for defamation only attaches in cases of negligent publication.<sup>52</sup> To withstand a facial challenge to the constitutionality of a university code prohibiting antisemitism on campus, the provision should include at least a negligence fault component. A no-fault code is far less likely to be found constitutional. To avoid running afoul of the First Amendment, the campus complainant would need to demonstrate the speaker's negligence by a preponderance of the evidence.<sup>53</sup> Such a standard would require proof that, under the circumstances, a reasonable speaker should have realized hostile expressions based on people's race, gender, religion, nationality, or sexual orientation were likely to intimidate or harm the reputation of a defined group or individual students. An additional provision must protect artistic and educational references to words and symbols that might otherwise be punishable.

In conclusion, the social and educational value of regulating intimidating and defamatory speech on campus outweighs the minimal burden it places on speakers. University hate speech codes raise First Amendment concerns that can best be resolved within the framework of Supreme Court jurisprudence on free speech. Public university officials aiming to improve campus safety can formulate policies compatible with the holding in *Virginia v. Black*.

Sanctions that punish the intentional dissemination of intimidating antisemitic messages on campus do not interfere with constitutionally protected free speech. Like the cross burning statute in *Black*, campus regulations can prohibit the public display of historically threatening symbolism. College administrators need not require proof of intentional intimidation because the sanctions available to them are far less onerous than criminal penalties. Negligently placing others in reasonable apprehension of harm or asserting false facts that damage their reputations should be punished by suspension, disenrollment, or withdrawal.

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<sup>51</sup> 418 U.S. 323 (1974).

<sup>52</sup> *Id.* at 347 (setting out the standard for defaming private parties).

<sup>53</sup> *Philadelphia Newspapers, Inc. v. Hepps*, 475 U.S. 767, 776-77 (1986). The "substantial truth" of a statement can be offered as a defense. *Masson v. New Yorker Magazine, Inc.*, 501 U.S. 496, 516-17 (1991).

# Marginalization and Its Discontents: American Jews in Multicultural and Identity Studies

Jennifer Roskies\*

*The key point about multiculturalism is that there has been almost no place in it for Jews.*<sup>1</sup>  
David A. Hollinger

## 1. JEWISH IDENTITY AND MULTICULTURAL DISCOURSE

“When it’s good for the Jews, it’s bad for Judaism.”<sup>2</sup> This saying encapsulates the notion that the unprecedented freedom that served Jewish emigrants to the United States and their descendants so well has come at a price. Data that point to trends such as population decline<sup>3</sup> have prompted numerous responses, including a concerted drive to re-search the state of Jewish identity. The driving motivation behind much of this research is an overriding concern with Jewish survival in the face of, not antisemitism and persecution, but the welcoming environment of pluralistic society in the United States. The overall objective of these studies, whether stated or implicit, is to leave no stone unturned in search of prescriptions to secure US Jewry’s future “in the struggle to preserve Jewish identity” and hence US Jewry itself.<sup>4</sup>

Recent decades have also seen a surge of academic inquiry in the fields of identity and multicultural theory, which have become among “the most extensively studied constructs in the social sciences” and historical research. The research examines issues

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<sup>1</sup> Hollinger, David A. 2009. “Communalist and Dispersionist Approaches to American Jewish History in an Increasingly Post-Jewish Era.” *American Jewish History* 95(1), pp. 1-32 at p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Cited by Lazerwitz, Bernard and Ephraim Tabory. 2002. “National Religious Context and Familial Religiosity within a Jewish Framework.” *Review of Religious Research* 44(1), pp. 22-37 at p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Kosmin, Barry. A. et al. (eds.). 1991. *National Jewish Population Survey*. New York: Council of Jewish Federations; Kosmin, Barry A. et al. (eds.). 2000-2001. *National Jewish Population Survey*. New York: United Jewish Communities.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Cohen, Steven M. and Leonard J. Fein. 1985. “From Integration to Survival: American Jewish Anxieties in Transition.” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Religion in America Today* 480, pp. 75-88; Himmelfarb, Harold S. 1980. “The Study of American Jewish Identification: How it is Defined, Obtained, Sustained and Lost.” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 19(1), pp. 48-60; Wertheimer, Jack, Charles S. Liebman and Steven M. Cohen. 1996. “How to Save American Jews.” *Commentary*, January, p. 49; Herring, Hayim. 2000. “How the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey Was Used by Federation Professionals for Jewish Continuity Purposes.” *Journal of Jewish Communal Service*, pp. 216-227.

related to identity in a range of forms — individual, collective, single, multiple, cultural, ethnic, gender, occupational, national, narrative, social and more — all in relation to “the complex interface of diversity in cultural and ethnic heritage in contemporary globalized society.”<sup>5</sup>

Considering the imperative nature of these goals for bolstering the future of US Jewry as well as for understanding it from within the context of multiculturalism, one might think that scholars’ examination of these topics would be exhaustive. Yet notwithstanding volumes of valuable research that appraise emerging indicators of Jewish behaviors, attitudes and affiliations while weighing what they may portend for US Jewry’s numbers and resilience, certain areas of omission mar a cohesive overall picture.

One of these blind spots concerns much of Jewish studies’ overwhelmingly “inward” orientation, overlooking what Debra Kaufman referred to as “the subjective by-product of social location,”<sup>6</sup> namely Jewish identity’s context within the US non-Jewish mainstream. To David A. Hollinger, this inward perspective typifies what he termed a “communalist” perspective, meaning:

an emphasis on the history of communal Jewry, including the organizations and institutions that proclaim Jewishness, and the activities of individuals who identify themselves as Jewish and/or are so identified by non-Jews with the implication it somehow matters.<sup>7</sup>

This, as opposed to the “dispersionist” approach he advocated in order to rectify the disparity and to understand the “demographic overrepresentations” of Jews in “the US worlds of finance, film, science, psychoanalysis, philanthropy, political radicalism, modernist movements in the arts and other domains of modernity.” He explains:

[b]y “dispersionist,” I [refer to] a more expanded compass that takes fuller account of the lives in any and all domains of persons with an ancestry in the Jewish diaspora, regardless of their degree of involvement with communal Jewry and no matter what their extent of declared or described Jewishness.<sup>8</sup> ... The skills promoted by the conditions of the European Diaspora ... surely help explain many kinds of Jewish success.<sup>9</sup> ... [A] large swath of American popular and professional discourse ... [was] led by ... people who carried Jewish cultural baggage with them in their creative careers ... [whether or not they] identif[ied] themselves as Jews.<sup>10</sup>

This broadened framework of study is in the interest of understanding both the overrepresentation and underrepresentation of different “descent groups,” an approach adopted by Yuri Slezkine, for example, who put forward the case that skills honed by centuries of life in the European diaspora paved the way for unprecedented Jewish

<sup>5</sup> Schwartz, Seth J., Koen Luyckx, and Vivian L. Vignoles (eds.). 2011. *The Handbook of Identity Theory and Research*. Springer Science and Business Media.

<sup>6</sup> Kaufman, Debra. 2005. “Measuring Jewishness in America: Some Feminist Concerns.” *Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women’s Studies & Gender Issues* 10, pp. 84-98 at p. 85.

<sup>7</sup> Hollinger, *supra* note 1, at p. 4.

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

<sup>9</sup> Hollinger, David A. 2004. “Rich, Powerful and Smart: Jewish Overrepresentations Should Be Explained Instead of Avoided or Mystified.” *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 94(4), pp. 595-602 at p. 599.

<sup>10</sup> Hollinger, *supra* note 1, at p. 12.



impact over the course of the twentieth century in the United States and elsewhere.<sup>11</sup> The dispersionist perspective, Hollinger claims, rejects the more common course of mystification or avoidance due to a perception that this would invite antisemitic inferences. Rather than opening the door to theories of “Jewish domination” or “Jewish genius,”<sup>12</sup> he says:

The grounds for this reticence diminish, if not disappear, if these statistics can be explained by taking full account of the conditions under which the various descent groups have been shaped. Avoiding the forthright historical and social-scientific study of the question perpetuates the mystification of Jewish history and subtly fuels the idea that the answer is really biological and will serve to reinforce invidious distinctions between descent groups.<sup>13</sup>

Turning his attention to multicultural studies, Hollinger points to a vacuum that is a mirror image to the communalist-dispersionist dichotomy:

The key point about multiculturalism is that there has been almost no place in it for Jews.... [M]ainstream scholarship has been slow to recognize and appreciate Jewish history in relation to the larger prehistory and history of cultural diversity in America.... One might think that this story [—the impact of groups of Jews on trans-Jewish events and discourses—] would attract the attention of mainstream historians interested in the idea of identity formation and cultural diversity as general phenomena, which has been a huge preoccupation of American historians for the last forty years.<sup>14</sup>

Instead, due to an “ethnoracial manner of mapping cultural diversity,” which he dated back to the late 1970s, Hollinger contends that scholarship in multicultural and identity studies has discounted US Jews.

Jews were ignored [since] the main point of multiculturalism was color, and Jews were white, and a second point of multiculturalism was inequality, and Jews were doing very well. So, cool it, the collegial message was: let these [multicultural studies programs] deal with the needs of Americans color coded ... in contrast to the white demographic block.<sup>15</sup>

It is important to remember at this point that Jews have only recently come to be considered white, especially in the United States. Race as a social construct has been a remarkably fluid form of categorization over the past centuries.<sup>16</sup> As Sander Gilman notes:

<sup>11</sup> Slezkine, Yuri. 2004. *The Jewish Century*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, pp. 367-371.

<sup>12</sup> Michels, Tony. 2009. “Communalist History and Beyond: What is the Potential of American Jewish History?” *American Jewish History* 95(1), pp. 61-71 at pp. 65-66.

<sup>13</sup> Hollinger, *supra* note 9, at p. 597.

<sup>14</sup> Hollinger, *supra* note 1, at pp. 16, 12.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, at pp. 17-19.

<sup>16</sup> For discussion of the evolution of American Jews’ classification as white, see Brodtkin, Karen. 1999. *How the Jews Became White Folks: And What That Says about Race in America*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press; Cheyette, Bryan. 1995. “Neither Black nor White: The Figure of ‘the Jew’ in Imperial British Literature.” *The Jew in the Text*. Linda Nochlin and Tamar Garb (eds.). London: Thames and Hudson, pp 31-42; Gilman, Sander L. 2006. “Are Jews Multicultural Enough?” *Multiculturalism and the Jews*. New York: Routledge; Gilman, Sander L. 1994. “The Jewish Nose: Are

for the eighteenth and nineteenth-century scientist, the “blackness” of the Jew was taken as fact and as mark of racial inferiority [in addition to] ... an indicator of [his] diseased nature. ... By the midcentury, being black, being Jewish, being diseased and being ‘ugly’ came to be inexorably linked ... one bore the signs of one’s diseased status on one’s anatomy, and by extension, in one’s psyche.<sup>17</sup>

Literature documenting race in the United States dates the designation of Jews as white as recently as the 1920s or the period following World War II. With the awareness of Nazi Germany’s racial policies and resulting horror, “the 1940s produced a profound revision in the taxonomy of the world’s races.”<sup>18</sup> This is reflected in examples such as Arthur Miller’s 1945 novel *Focus* or Laura Z. Hobson’s 1947 novel *Gentleman’s Agreement*, later adapted into a film starring Gregory Peck, whose message was not only that Jews are difficult to tell apart from non-Jews but that their similarity to “real” Americans reflects their essential worthiness of racial equality as well. Expanding the definition of “whiteness” brought obvious benefits to Jews in terms of relative power within US society. The perceived differentiation from other racial groups coupled with the identification with mainstream white America positioned US Jewry to attain greater financial security and power during the second half of the twentieth century.

At the same time, in sources even more recent, Jews are described as “not quite white” or as “a different shade of white,” in other words, as not quite blending in. Ruth Frankenberg’s 1993 study involving white American women on the subject of their white identities noted statements by Jewish participants indicating that

several points must be made about the intersection of Jewishness and whiteness ... Ashkenazi Jews for much of this century in the United States and Europe have been placed at the borders of whiteness, at times viewed as cultural outsiders, at times as racial outsiders, but in any case never as constitutive of the cultural norm.<sup>19</sup>

Frankenberg’s study is revealing in other ways as well. In the relatively short section she devotes to the Jewish aspect of those women among her participants who were Jews (11 out of 30), the theme of experiencing antisemitism arose with every single one of them. Frankenberg picks up on statements by the Jewish women in her interviews, which describe their senses of identity as Jews over different stages in their lives, calling into question the “ethnoracial mapping” that excluded the experience of US Jews as a topic worthy of attention in its own right within mainstream research.

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Jews White? Or, the History of the Nose Job.” *The Other in Jewish Thought and History: Constructions of Jewish Culture and Identity*. Laurence J. Silberstein and Robert L. Cohn (eds.). New York: New York University Press; Boyarin, Jonathan. 1994. “The Other Within and the Other Without.” *The Other in Jewish Thought and History: Constructions of Jewish Culture and Identity*. Laurence J. Silberstein and Robert L. Cohn (eds.). New York: New York University Press; Goldstein, Eric L. 2006. *The Price of Whiteness: Jews, Race and American Identity*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press; Jacobson, Matthew Frye. 1998, 2002. *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

<sup>17</sup> Gilman, *supra* note 16, at p. 370.

<sup>18</sup> Jacobson, *supra* note 16, at p. 188.

<sup>19</sup> Frankenberg, Ruth. 1993. *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. pp. 216, 224.

## 2. JEWISH WOMEN: DOUBLY ECLIPSED

Consistent with Hollinger's observations, the intersection of Jewish women's identities goes unnoticed within the general field of identity studies as well. When it comes to research examining gender, feminist, or multicultural identity, Jewish women are practically absent as case studies.<sup>20</sup> Such "multiple exclusions," as Sara R. Horowitz describes them,<sup>21</sup> stand in marked contrast to the considerable literature in Black feminist theory<sup>22</sup> and that of other racial and ethnic groups.<sup>23</sup>

The omission of Jewish women from general multicultural research appears particularly curious in light of Jewish women's contributions to the feminist movement in the United States,<sup>24</sup> both as activists and as leading theorists.<sup>25</sup> Hollinger in fact cites the

<sup>20</sup> Friedman, Michelle. 2002. *Toward an Understanding of Jewish Identity: An Ethnographic Study*. Ph.D. dissertation. Albany: State University of New York; Friedman, M.L., M.L. Friedlander, and D.L. Blustein. 2005. "Toward an Understanding of Jewish Identity: A Phenomenological Study." *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 52, pp. 77-83; Gold, Nora. 1993. "Diversity, Jewish Women and Social Work." *Canadian Social Work Review* (Special Issue on Women and Social Work) 10(2), pp. 240-255.

<sup>21</sup> Horowitz, Sara R. 1998. "At the Borders, At the Margins: Feminist Theory, Jewish Studies, and Identity Politics." *Freedom and Responsibility: Exploring the Challenges of Jewish Continuity*. KTAV Publishing House, Inc., pp. 271-286 at p. 272. Available at: <<http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/details.cfm?PublicationID=5582>>.

<sup>22</sup> See, for example, Collins, Patricia Hill. 1991. *Black Feminist Thought*. New York: Routledge, Chapman & Hall, Inc.; Hooks, Bell. 1984. *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center*. Boston: South End Press; Christian, Barbara. 2007. "The Race for Theory." *New Black Feminist Criticism, 1985-2000* by Barbara Christian. Gloria Bowles, M. Giulia Fabi, and Arlene Keizer (eds.). Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

<sup>23</sup> See, for example, Anzaldúa, Gloria. 1997. "La conciencia de la mestiza: Towards a New Consciousness." *Feminisms: An Anthology of Literary Theory and Criticism*. Robyn D. Warhol and Diana Price Hernd (eds.). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, pp. 765-775; Geok-lin Lim, Shirley. 1997. "Feminist and Ethnic Theories in Asian American Literature." *Feminisms: An Anthology of Literary Theory and Criticism*. Robyn D. Warhol and Diana Price Hernd (eds.). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, pp. 807-826; Ling, Amy, 1997. "I'm Here: An Asian American Woman's Response." *Feminisms: An Anthology of Literary Theory and Criticism*. Robyn D. Warhol and Diana Price Hernd (eds.). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, pp. 776-783; Mohanty, Chandra Talpade. 2003. *Feminism without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. Chapel Hill: Duke University Press; Sanchez, Rosaura. 1997. "Discourses and Gender: Ethnicity and Class in Chicano Literature." *Feminisms: An Anthology of Literary Theory and Criticism*. Robyn D. Warhol and Diana Price Hernd (eds.). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, pp. 1009-1028.

<sup>24</sup> (a) One may certainly find research that has offered *historical documentation* of this involvement. See, for example, Antler, Joyce (ed.). 1998. *The Journey Home: How Jewish Women Shaped Modern America*. New York: Schocken Books; Antler, Joyce (ed.). 1997. *Talking Back: Images of Jewish Women in American Popular Culture*. Hanover, NH: Brandeis University, University of New England Press; Fishman, Sylvia Barack. 1989. "The Impact of Feminism on American Jewish Life." *American Jewish Year Book*; Fishman, Sylvia Barack. 1995. *A Breath of Life: Feminism in the American Jewish Community*. Lebanon, NH: Brandeis University Press, United University Press of New England; Fishman, Sylvia Barack. 2001. "Women's Transformations of Public Judaism: Religiosity, Egalitarianism and the Symbolic Power of Changing Gender Roles." *Studies in Contemporary Jewry Vol. XVII: Who Owns Judaism? Public Religion and Private Faith in America and Israel*. Peter Medding (ed.). Published for the Institute of Contemporary Jewry of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem by Oxford University Press. New York: Oxford University Press; Fishman, Sylvia Barack. 2008. *Matriarchal Ascent/Patriarchal Descent: The Gender Imbalance in American Jewish Life*. Lebanon, NH: Brandeis University Press, United University Press of New England; Hyman, Paula E. 2002.

"Gender and the Shaping of Modern Jewish Identity." *Jewish Social Studies* 8(2), pp. 153-161; Friedenreich, Harriet Pass. 2007. "Joining the Faculty Club: Jewish Women Academics in the United States." *Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies & Gender Issues*, pp. 68-101; Reinhartz, Shulamit and Mark A. Raider (eds.). 2005. *American Jewish Women and the Zionist Enterprise*. Lebanon, NH: Brandeis University Press, United University Press of New England; Chesler, Phyllis. 2005. *The Death of Feminism: What's Next in the Struggle for Women's Freedom*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan; Nadell, Pamela S. and Jonathan Sarna (eds.). 2001. *Women and American Judaism*. Lebanon, NH: Brandeis University Press, United University Press of New England.

(b) Within non-scholarly literature, one may find authors' *personal accounts* and reflections regarding what being a woman, Jewish, and feminist has meant to them. See, for example, Pogrebin, Letty C. 1991. *Deborah, Golda, and Me: Being Female and Jewish in America*. New York: Crown Publishers; Plaskow, Judith and Donna Berman (eds.). 2005. *The Coming of Lilith: Essays on Feminism, Judaism and Sexual Ethics, 1972-2003*. Boston: Beacon Press; Schneider, Susan Weidman. 1985. *Jewish and Female: Choices and Changes in Our Lives Today*. New York: Simon & Schuster; Levitt, Laura. 1997. *Jews and Feminism: The Ambivalent Search for Home*. New York: Routledge; Heschel, Susannah (ed.). 1983, 1995. *On Being a Jewish Feminist: A Reader*. New York: Schocken Books.

(c) The issue of Jewish women within the context of the *contemporary Jewish world*, their *religiosity* or *spirituality* (i.e. "Jewish feminism," *women and halacha*), has found worthy treatment in its own body of scholarship. See, for example, Dufour, Lynn Resnick. 2002. "Sifting Through Tradition: The Creation of Jewish Feminist Identities." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 39(1), pp. 90-106; Adler, Rachel. 1999. *Engendering Judaism: An Inclusive Theology and Ethics*. Boston: Beacon Press; Plaskow, Judith. 1991. *Standing Again at Sinai: Judaism from a Feminist Perspective*. New York: Harper One; Cohn Eskenazi, Tamara and Rabbi Andrea Weiss (eds.). 2007. *The Torah: A Women's Commentary*. Philadelphia: Union for Reconstructionist Judaism Press; Goldstein, Elyse. 2008. *New Jewish Feminism: Probing the Past, Forging the Future*. New York: Jewish Lights Publishing; Goldstein, Elyse (ed.). 2008. *The Women's Haftarah Commentary: New Insights from Women Rabbis on the 54 Weekly Haftarah Portions, the 5 Megillot and Special Shabbatot*. New York: Jewish Lights Publishing; Hartman, Tova. 2008. *Feminism Encounters Traditional Judaism: Resistance and Accommodation*. HBI Series on Jewish Women. Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press; Lavie, Aliza. 2008. *A Jewish Woman's Prayer Book*. Spiegel & Grau; Plaskow, Judith and Donna Berman (eds.). 2005. *The Coming of Lilith: Essays on Feminism, Judaism and Sexual Ethics, 1972-2003*. Boston: Beacon Press; Ross, Tamar. 2004. *Expanding the Palace of Torah: Orthodoxy and Feminism*. Brandeis Series on Jewish Women. Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press; Rutenber, Danya (ed.). 2001. *Yentl's Revenge: The Next Wave of Jewish Feminism*. Boston: Seal Press; Hartman, Tova. 2003. *Appropriately Subversive: Modern Mothers in Traditional Religions*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press; Haut, Rivka and Susan Grossman (eds.). 1992. *Daughters of the King: Women and the Synagogue*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society; Greenberg, Blu. 1991. *On Women and Judaism*. New York: Jewish Publication Society of America.

<sup>25</sup> See, for example, Friedan, Betty. 1964. *The Feminine Mystique*. New York: Dell Mass Market Paperback; Rich, Adrienne. 1967. *Of Woman Born: Motherhood as Institution and Experience*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co; Rich, Adrienne. 1979. "Disloyal to Civilization: Feminism, Racism, Gynophobia." *On Lies, Secrets and Silence: Selected Prose 1966-1978*. New York: W.W. Norton, pp. 275-310; Okin, Susan Moller. 1989. *Justice, Gender and the Family*. New York: Basic Books; Dworkin, Andrea. 1991. *Pornography: Men Possessing Women*. New York: Plume Books.

Leading feminist Jewish theorists in a range of academic disciplines include:

*History*: Lerner, Gerda. 1986. *The Creation of Patriarchy*. New York: Oxford University Press; Zemon Davis, Natalie. 1997. *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth-Century Lives*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press; Scott, Joan Wallach. 1999. *Gender and the Politics of History*. New York: Columbia University Press.

*Literary Criticism*: Gilbert, Sandra and Susan Gubar. 1979. *The Madwoman in the Attic*. New Haven: Yale University Press; Showalter, Elaine. 1981. "Feminist Criticism in the Wilderness." *Critical Inquiry* 8(2), pp. 179-205; Showalter, Elaine. 1985. "Writing and Sexual Difference." *New Feminist Criticism: Women, Literature and Theory*. New York: Pantheon.

feminist movement as a prime example of the lacunae he observes in multicultural research. “Despite the overrepresentation of Jewish women among the ranks of its leaders,” he notes, “(by how many thousand percentage points?) ... our scholarly and popular histories take virtually no notice of this astronomically huge demographic fact.”<sup>26</sup> Research asking “in what sense is Women’s Liberation ... a Jewish story,”<sup>27</sup> Hollinger claims, likening it to the way scholarship has explored the role of Protestantism in the abolitionist and civil rights movements, would help streamline US Jewish history’s integration into “mainstream US history.”

Joyce Antler’s documentation of radical feminism and Jewish women,<sup>28</sup> which is among rare examples of academic studies to examine the interface of identities for Jews within their non-Jewish “social location,” illustrates a redeeming approach. Revealingly, the movement leaders she interviewed had disregarded the potential significance of being Jewish during the time of their activism during the 1960s and 1970s at the height of second wave feminism. Only much more recently and in retrospect had they begun to assert its relevance. Dina Pinsky has added dimension to this chapter of history in her study interviewing 30 Jews, most of them women, on the subject of their Jewish identities and their involvement as activists in the women’s movement during the same period.<sup>29</sup>

When subjects in Debra Kaufman’s expressed sentiments to the effect that their identity as Jewish women “is grounded in their experience as ‘the Other’ within Judaism,” for example, it spoke directly to and in concert with the experience of being a Jewish woman vis-à-vis Jewish men, as well as vis-à-vis the greater world’s perception of the Jew as Other.<sup>30</sup> Nora Gold used both qualitative and quantitative methodology in interviewing 364 Jewish women from across Canada regarding their experiences of both sexism and antisemitism.<sup>31</sup> These five studies—by Frankenberg, Antler, Pinsky, Kaufman, and Gold—provide isolated examples that indicate how much may be gleaned in a more thorough probing of the intersection of Jewish women’s identities.

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*Psychology*: Chodorow, Nancy. 1978. *The Reproduction of Mothering*. Berkeley: The Regents University of California Press; Chodorow, Nancy. 1991. *Feminism and Psychoanalytic Theory*. New Haven: Yale University Press; Chesler, Phyllis. 1972. *Women and Madness*. New York: Doubleday & Co.; Gilligan, Carol. 1982. *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women’s Development*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

*Feminist Research Methodology*: Reinharz, Shulamit. 1992. *Feminist Methods in Social Research*. New York: Oxford University Press.

*Queer Theory*: Butler, Judith. 2004. *Undoing Gender*. New York: Routledge Press; Butler, Judith. 2006. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge; Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. 1990. *The Epistemology of the Closet*. Berkeley: The Regents of University of California Press.

<sup>26</sup> Hollinger, *supra* note 1, at p. 11.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, at p. 8.

<sup>28</sup> Antler, Joyce. 2010. “Radical Feminism and Jewish Women.” Paper delivered at the Biennial Scholars Conference on American Jewish History, New York, June 15, 2010.

<sup>29</sup> Pinsky, Dina. 2010. *Jewish Feminists: Complex Identities and Activist Lives*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

<sup>30</sup> Kaufman, *supra* note 6.

<sup>31</sup> Gold, Nora. 2004. “Sexism and Antisemitism as Experienced by Canadian Jewish Women: Results of a National Study.” *Women’s Studies International Forum* 27, pp. 55-74.

### 3. JEWS IN US ACADEMIA: A TACIT FOOTPRINT

If the rarity of research on Jewish women within mainstream multicultural research on the US feminist movement appears paradoxical, US Jewish scholars' "fail[ure] to get Jews on the standardized multicultural map of the United States,"<sup>32</sup> despite "the heavy demographic overrepresentation of Jews in the cultural industries, including academia," is all the more so. The reason for this lacuna may stem in part from what Alan M. Kraut recalls as the "chilling effect" of an US academia still "rife with anti-Semitism" in the post-war period, when many of today's senior scholars were embarking upon their academic careers.

In the aftermath of the war, unabashed Jew-haters in the academy needed to keep more of a lid on their attitudes when speaking publicly. However, graduate students with professional aspirations still often hesitated ... to select a dissertation topic that identified them as Jewish.... Wise doctoral mentors took care to counsel against a topic that type-cast the young aspiring academic as "too Jewish."<sup>33</sup>

Even those committed to writing history sans Jews had an uphill battle. "Jews specializing in American history had a particularly difficult time getting jobs," observes historian Edward Shapiro. "Historians were reluctant to entrust the teaching of the nation's sacred history to such outsiders."<sup>34</sup>

Examples of this aversion were given voice in a study where US Jewish women—all senior members of faculty in the humanities or social sciences—described their choice of academic field of research.<sup>35</sup> Many upheld the unwritten rule spurning Jewish themes within general academic contexts as a given assumption, some stating pointedly that choosing such a focus would have been akin to opting for "separatism" as opposed to the career they chose in the "mainstream." A professor of American studies recalled her decision to forego a dissertation topic related to Yiddish in favor of "mainstream" career prospects:

If you viewed yourself as someone who wanted to live and work in an integrated environment, [it] was not really a viable option. But taking that intellectual drive and channeling it into the secular arena and excelling in ... the bastions of American learning, that was something we [Jewish graduate students in the ivy league] could handle.

A professor of English literature and women's studies articulated this sense of mutual exclusivity between Jewish topics and mainstream research when she spoke of course syllabi she developed on women, race, and ethnicity in which she did not think to include Jewish perspectives:

I know of no one, certainly no one here at the university, who teaches Jewish women writers, or ... even Jewish writers, and that may be coincidence.... It may also have to

<sup>32</sup> Hollinger, *supra* note 1, at pp. 5, 18.

<sup>33</sup> Kraut, Alan M. 2009. "Dispersionism, Pluralism, and the Nebulous Contours of Post-Jewish Identity." *American Jewish History* 95(1), pp. 43-51 at pp. 43-44.

<sup>34</sup> Shapiro, Edward S. 1992. *A Time for Healing: American Jewry Since World War II*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, p. 105.

<sup>35</sup> Roskies, Jennifer, forthcoming. *The Multiple Identities of Jewish Academic Women*, Ph.D. dissertation. Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University.

do with a concern about a ghetto-ization. I'm not sure I would want to identify myself or be identified as someone circumscribed by a Jewish identification.

In contrast to the above trend of demarcation between mainstream academia and Jewish topics, recent documentation by Lila Corwin Berman<sup>36</sup> traces a very different development over the same general period, a phenomenon that functioned indirectly—and almost surely inadvertently—in countering marginalization. During the second half of the twentieth century, Jews in academia (along with Jewish leaders, rabbis, and intellectuals) “sought to generate a public language ... of presenting Jews to the United States” as a means of navigating relationships with non-Jews within an open, yet non-Jewish society. By creating this “intellectual framework,” Berman noted, Jewish leaders strove “to make Jewishness intelligible to the American public.”<sup>37</sup>

When properly conceived, a public language of Jewishness, instead of marking Jews as outside of or peripheral to American life, enabled Jewish leaders to define Jews as indispensable to the United States.<sup>38</sup>

Berman describes the intensive involvement of Jews within the academy, particularly the social sciences, and their active role in *creating both the theories and the very language* of academic discourse:

The Jewish attraction to the social sciences [was] a response to the particular circumstances of minority and Jewish life.... Sociology offered minority groups an opportunity to integrate their experiences into larger national contexts.... Sociological language and models became unrivaled sources of authority, sculpting the public language that American Jewish leaders used to talk about Jewishness.... The fact that Jews helped mold the field of sociology is critical to understanding why sociological language became so useful in Jews' efforts to explain themselves to the United States.<sup>39</sup>

In other words, for Berman, part of what secured US Jews' entrance and acceptance into academic life was the terminology they themselves crafted within emerging academic disciplines.

Again, countering these gains are the gaps to which Hollinger pointed. For when it comes to US Jewry as the *subject* of academic research, the communalist emphasis, on the one hand, and the marginalization of Jews from mainstream topics, on the other, “allowed the narratives of American history and American Jewish history to remain mutually exclusive.”<sup>40</sup> Yet what of the parallel effect he describes, the “large swath of American popular and professional discourse ... led by persons of Jewish ancestry [or] people who carried Jewish cultural baggage with them in their creative careers.”<sup>41</sup> How may this influence have “disseminated into [the] American public sphere” at large?<sup>42</sup> An excerpt from the interview with one of the scholars quoted above provides an example

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<sup>36</sup> Berman, Lila Corwin. 2009. *Speaking of Jews: Rabbis, Intellectuals and the Creation of an American Public Identity*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, at p. 6.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, at pp. 2-3.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> Antler, *supra* note 28.

<sup>41</sup> Hollinger, *supra* note 1, at p. 12.

<sup>42</sup> Berman, *supra* note 36, at p. 6.

of how her contributions to academic discourse may have incorporated elements of her Jewish identity as she construed it. Describing her current academic venture, an international journal, she wonders:

The [journal] has been a really fruitful area that I've gone into. . . . Do I find this congenial because being Jewish makes me somehow more cosmopolitan-focused or something?

and surmises:

I can't really say that I have had a sustained commitment to Jewish topics or Jewish intellectual concerns in my work, but in a sense . . . I like to feel that by doing the kind of scholarship that I do, and by being kind of both bold and careful and trying to move things in fresh directions, I'm somehow carrying on in Jewish intellectual traditions, even though it's in the secular realm. I'd like to think that.

The mid-twentieth century pressures to which Kraut refers, where "wise doctoral mentors" curtailed their Jewish protégées' academic areas of focus to exclude Jewish topics, imposed a doctrine of mutual exclusivity. The above excerpts reflect the kind of ingrained constraints that have shaped academic careers as well as the fields of multicultural and identity research. Yet the excerpts also suggest the "public language of Jewishness" to which Berman referred. Expressing that their "secular" areas of research may "carry on in Jewish intellectual traditions" indicates the degree to which Jewish academics' work may implicitly carry blueprints rooted in Jewish experience—elements traceable in their scholarship and ultimately in the public sphere beyond.

#### 4. "AN EMPIRICAL ORPHAN IN THE THEORETICAL STORM"

The absence of Jews as subjects within mainstream academic research stands in distinct contrast to another form of invisibility, namely that of Jewish women within the academic literature of feminist theory.<sup>43</sup> In the former case, the marginalization of Jews stemmed from a barely-concealed, often baldly antisemitic aversion communicated to researchers setting out on their academic careers. A concurrent development, as we have seen, was US Jews' leading contribution to social science theory and terminology, "molding the field," in Berman's words, and thus "enable[ing them] to define Jews as indispensable to the United States."<sup>44</sup> Perhaps ironically, the very fact of being "defined into" the mainstream, coupled with the prescribed "color-coded" cultural typologies,<sup>45</sup> may have swayed US Jewish feminists from developing distinct theoretical models and epistemological standpoints, akin to those of Black feminists.<sup>46</sup> Any perceived inclinations to do so were whitewashed.

Yet the absent "feminist Jewish standpoint" has signaled an element of homelessness both theoretically and in practice. Unarticulated and unnamed perspectives result in

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<sup>43</sup> See Roskies, Jennifer. 2010. *Missing from the Map: Feminist Theory and American Jewish Women*. Working Paper Series, The Yale Initiative for the Interdisciplinary Study of Antisemitism (YIISA).

<sup>44</sup> Berman, *supra* note 36, at p. 6.

<sup>45</sup> Hollinger, *supra* note 1, at pp. 17, 19.

<sup>46</sup> Patricia Collins states that, ultimately, the goal of Black feminist theory is to articulate Black women's standpoint, making full use of "access to both the Afrocentric and the feminist standpoints . . . [expecting that it] should reflect elements of both traditions, but be distinct—a search for the distinguishing features of an alternative epistemology." Collins, *supra* note 22, at p. 206.



“social, psychological and spiritual malaise,”<sup>47</sup> in Paula E. Hyman’s observation, as well as vulnerability.<sup>48</sup> To borrow Elaine Showalter’s image from her essay “Feminist Criticism in the Wilderness,” without a theoretical basis, Jewish women have remained “an empirical orphan in the theoretical storm,”<sup>49</sup> rendering US Jewish feminist women’s sense of belonging within the mainstream of the movement as ticklish if not tenuous. In truth, the experience of feeling like a “cultural outsider” (Frankenberg) and “Other” (Kaufman) is far from uncommon.<sup>50</sup> Jewish-targeted enmity often takes the form of anti-Zionism and hostility toward Israel—the interconnected nature of these two bigotries has been demonstrated by Kaplan and Small.<sup>51</sup> In certain circles, the option of being a feminist and a supporter of Israel is rendered mutually incompatible, a contradiction in terms. Bereft of theoretical belonging or anchor, not even loyal, committed, and radical feminists are exempt from bias, antisemitic slurs, and innuendo.

## 5. CONCLUSION: EXPANDING THE STORY

As we have seen, the “ethnoracial” mapping described by Hollinger that defined US Jewry as part of white mainstream culture complemented the Jewish “reticence” he cited to call attention to their own “overrepresentation” in so many facets of US life. The effective omission of Jews from multicultural and identity research as case studies in their own right leaves a gap in our understanding of US modernity. As in the case of Jewish women’s absence from feminist theory, it leaves Jews, women and men, ill-equipped to address the “not quite white” status that remains unexplored and unarticulated.

If the aim of studying Jewish identity is to channel understanding into securing US Jewry’s future; and of multicultural, identity, and feminist research to shed light on how individuals of different racial and ethnic groups—including Jewish women and men—negotiate their respective standpoints, the time for addressing the gaps in academic research is long overdue. Heeding Hollinger’s call to decipher matters such as “to what degree is Women’s Liberation a Jewish story,” future studies can aim to trace the “Jewish story” within different academic canons and thus shed light on its impact on developments during the past century both within academia and beyond. By the same token, additional study to trace the American, the multicultural, or the feminist “story” within the life stories of US Jews would stand to add valuable dimension to what we would learn of their Jewish identities, the course of their development, as well as where antisemitism’s impact was salient. Such study will move toward integrating Jewish and “mainstream” research, adding dimension with which to understand more fully the US—and US Jewish—experience.

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<sup>47</sup> Hyman, Paula E. 2002. Gender and the Shaping of Modern Jewish Identity. *Jewish Social Studies* 8(2), pp. 153-161.

<sup>48</sup> Beck, Evelyn Torton (1988). “The Politics of Jewish Invisibility.” *National Women’s Studies Association Journal* 1(1), pp. 93-102.

<sup>49</sup> Showalter (1981). *supra* note 25, at p. 180.

<sup>50</sup> Roskies, *supra* note 43.

<sup>51</sup> Kaplan, Edward and Charles A. Small. 2006. “Anti-Israel Sentiment Predicts Anti-Semitism in Europe.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50, pp. 548-561.



# NGOs and the New Antisemitism

Anne Herzberg\*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The intensification of the Palestinian terror campaign in the 2000s has been coupled with a renewal of attacks on Israel's legitimacy and Jewish self-determination rights not seen since the 1970s during the Cold War.<sup>1</sup> These attacks have been particularly severe in the United Kingdom, where senior Israeli officials have avoided travel for fear of being arrested for alleged "war crimes"<sup>2</sup> and anti-Israel boycott campaigns have a strong following in the country.<sup>3</sup> Violence has also accompanied these initiatives. In one case, Israel's second highest-ranking diplomat in Britain was assaulted by Palestinian protesters after lecturing at Manchester University in May 2010.<sup>4</sup>

This demonization is not confined to the United Kingdom, however. In August 2009, one of Sweden's largest circulation dailies, *Aftonbladet*, revived the medieval blood libel, claiming that the Israeli army deliberately killed Palestinians in order to harvest their organs for profit.<sup>5</sup> "Israel Apartheid Week" originated in Canada, where it continues to proliferate.<sup>6</sup> The United States has also not been immune. In April 2010, the Israeli

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<sup>1</sup> In the early to mid 1970s, the Arab League boycott of Israel was at its height. Backed by the Soviets, the League launched a campaign in various UN fora to brand Zionism a form of racism. These activities culminated in the 1975 "Zionism is racism" General Assembly resolution.

<sup>2</sup> Uri Blau, "Vice Premier and ex-IDF chief cancels U.K. visit over arrest fears," *Ha'aretz*, October 5, 2009, available at: <<http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/news/vice-premier-and-ex-idf-chief-cancels-u-k-visit-over-arrest-fears-1.6702>>. For more information on the politicization of universal jurisdiction laws, see Anne Herzberg, "NGO Lawfare: Exploitation of Courts in the Arab-Israeli Conflict," NGO Monitor Monograph Series (2nd ed. 2010), available at: <<http://www.ngo-monitor.org/data/images/File/lawfare-monograph.pdf>>; and Anne Herzberg, "Lawfare Against Israel," *The Wall Street Journal (Europe)*, November 5, 2008, available at: <<http://online.wsj.com/article/SB122583394143998285.html>>.

<sup>3</sup> Jonny Paul, "UK trade union federation to continue boycott support," *Jerusalem Post*, September 14, 2010, available at: <<http://www.jpost.com/International/Article.aspx?id=188104>>; Assaf Uni, "U.K. union backs calls for boycott of Israel academe," *Ha'aretz*, May 30, 2007, available at: <<http://www.haaretz.com/news/u-k-union-backs-calls-for-boycott-of-israel-academe-1.221819>>.

<sup>4</sup> Hagit Klaiman, "British protesters attack Israel's deputy ambassador," *Ynet*, April 29, 2010, available at: <<http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3882700,00.html>>.

<sup>5</sup> Donald Bostrom, "Our sons are plundered of their organs," *Aftonbladet*, August 26, 2009, available at: <<http://www.aftonbladet.se/kultur/article5691805.ab>>.

<sup>6</sup> Coalition Against Israeli Apartheid (<<http://www.caiaweb.org>>).

ambassador was heckled at the University of California, Irvine; at several other UC schools (San Diego, Berkeley), resolutions were introduced calling for divestment from companies doing business with Israel.<sup>7</sup>

These incidents represent extreme manifestations of a “new antisemitism,” described by Canada’s former Justice Minister, Irwin Cotler, as “a new, globalized, virulent anti-semitism” that “denies the Jewish People the right to live as equal members of the Family of Nations.”<sup>8</sup>

An often overlooked aspect of this “new antisemitism” is the role played by human rights and humanitarian nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in contributing to the environment of demonization via politicized campaigns and lobbying. Disturbingly, many of these activities are funded by the European Union and European governments; large humanitarian Christian organizations that receive substantial government funding, such as Diakonia (Sweden), Trocaire (Ireland), and Christian Aid (UK); large foundations, such as the Ford Foundation, George Soros’ Open Society Institute, and Oxfam NOVIB; and even the progressive Jewish New Israel Fund (NIF).<sup>9</sup>

These NGO campaigns can be traced to the NGO Forum at the UN’s 2001 World Conference Against Racism in Durban, South Africa, which marked a major increase in the re-emergence of antisemitism.<sup>10</sup> At the forum, officials from more than 1,500 participating NGOs, including international NGO superpowers, Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International, singled out Israel for condemnation, accusing it of perpetrating “holocausts,” “ethnic cleansing,” and “genocide,” and declared Israel to be a “racist, apartheid state in which Israel’s [sic] brand of apartheid” is a “crime against humanity.” The Conference revived the hateful 1975 “Zionism is racism” slogan, repealed in 1991 by the UN General Assembly, but still promoted by anti-Israel actors. At Durban, anti-semitic flyers were distributed at official UN events, including one featuring Hitler’s visage asking, “What if I had won? The good things: There would be NO Israel and NO Palestinian’s [sic] blood shed” (see Appendix, Image 1). Mass demonstrations included the chant, “What we have done to apartheid in South Africa, must be done to Zionism in Palestine.” In preparatory events held in Tehran and at the conference itself, Jewish and Israeli participants were intimidated or excluded from meetings.

As Professor Gerald Steinberg notes, “the NGO Forum’s Final Declaration established the ‘Durban Strategy’—a policy of complete and total isolation of Israel as an apartheid state,’ and call[ed] for ‘the imposition of mandatory and comprehensive

<sup>7</sup> “Oren heckled at US college,” *Jerusalem Post*, February 9, 2010, available at: <<http://www.jpost.com/International/Article.aspx?id=168199>>; “Berkeley student divestment veto upheld,” *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, April 16, 2010, available at: <<http://www.jpost.com/International/Article.aspx?id=173318>>.

<sup>8</sup> Prof. Irwin Cotler, “Beyond Durban,” *The Agenda*, June 17, 2002, available at: <<http://www.jafi.org.il/agenda/2001/english/wk3-22/6.asp>>.

<sup>9</sup> Funding information available at: <<http://www.ngo-monitor.org>>.

<sup>10</sup> NGO Monitor’s Submission to Canadian Parliamentary Coalition to Combat Antisemitism, “Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and the ‘Durban Strategy’: The Emergence of an Antisemitic Global Movement,” August 31, 2009, available at: <[http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/canada\\_canadian\\_international\\_development\\_agency\\_cida\\_](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/canada_canadian_international_development_agency_cida_)>; Gerald Steinberg, “NGOs and Antisemitism: Oxfam’s ‘Blood Oranges,’ Christian Aid’s ‘Bethlehem’s Child,’ and HRW’s ‘Indiscriminate Killings,’” *NGO Monitor*, January 28, 2007, available at: <<http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article.php?id=1313>>.

sanctions and embargoes, the full cessation of all links (diplomatic, economic, social, aid, military cooperation, and training) between all states and Israel."<sup>11</sup>

The "Durban Strategy" has underpinned a decade of anti-Israel efforts by NGOs, including the global boycott, divestment, and sanctions (BDS) movement against Israel; NGO-initiated lawsuits throughout Europe and North America against Israeli officials for "war crimes" ("lawfare"); campaigns in the UN (e.g., the Goldstone mission, Human Rights Council) and other international fora such as the European Parliament; and "pursuing the parastatal Zionist organizations worldwide" by "dealing with them legally as racist, colonial institutions."<sup>12</sup>

NGOs carrying out the Durban Strategy invest millions in publications, public relations blitzes, and lobbying efforts utilizing the rhetoric of human rights and international law to single out Israel as their ultimate violator and abuser.<sup>13</sup> By couching political attacks in these terms, NGOs seek to create a veneer of credibility and expertise, thereby increasing international pressure against Israel. Since the 2001 Durban conference, this process has played itself out on many occasions—Jenin in 2002, the International Court of Justice's case against Israel's "apartheid wall" in 2004, the 2006 Lebanon War, the 2008-2009 Gaza War and the Goldstone process, and the May 2010 "Free Gaza" flotilla.

These cases have followed a standard pattern. Israel is faced with a spate of terror attacks and responds with counter measures of increasing severity in order to protect its population. NGOs immediately issue numerous condemnations, almost all against Israel, with accusations of "war crimes," "crimes against humanity," and the intentional targeting of civilians. These allegations are generally based on speculation with little to no hard evidence. The media and the international community adopt these claims at face value, rarely conducting independent verification. The UN, particularly the structurally biased Human Rights Council,<sup>14</sup> engages in further condemnations, calling for international investigations and war crimes trials. NGOs are recruited to play an integral role in these processes further entrenching their influence and claims. The context of terror is completely erased, as are Israel's rights to self-defense and self-determination. At the same time, virulent antisemitism from Iran, Hamas, and Hezbollah is completely ignored.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Gerald M. Steinberg, "Soft Powers Play Hardball: NGOs Wage War Against Israel," *Israel Affairs* 12(4), October 2006, at p. 753; "The Centrality of NGOs in the Durban Strategy," *Yale Israel Journal*, Summer 2006, available at: <<http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article.php?id=196>>.

<sup>12</sup> Palestinian BDS National Committee, "Palestinian Civil Society Strategic Position Paper Towards the UN Durban Review Conference," November 28, 2008, available at: <<http://bdsmovement.net/?q=node/222>>.

<sup>13</sup> For instance, at a conference sponsored by Swedish NGO Diakonia, Hassan Jabareen of the EU- and NIF-funded Adalah announced a strategy where pro-Palestinian activists would try to portray Israel as an "inherent undemocratic state" and to "use that as part of campaigning internationally." Diakonia, "Conference Report: Palestine/Israel: Making Monitoring Work: (Re-)Enforcing International Law in Europe," September 2008. Report available on file with the author.

<sup>14</sup> Close to two-thirds of the HRC membership are representatives from the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the non-aligned Movement. See: <<http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrcouncil/membership.htm>>.

<sup>15</sup> NGO Monitor has documented dozens, if not hundreds, of examples of these activities. See: <<http://www.ngo-monitor.org>>.

Significantly, under the Durban Strategy, the concepts of Zionism and a Jewish state per se (not specific policies or territorial disputes) are the causes of Israeli “racism,” “apartheid,” and “occupation.” As such, NGO campaigns based on the Durban Strategy meet the working definition of antisemitism developed by the EU Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, and recommended for adoption by the United Kingdom’s All-Party Parliamentary Groups Against Antisemitism. The guidelines note the following as forms of contemporary antisemitism:

- Accusing the Jews as a people, or Israel as a state, of inventing or exaggerating the Holocaust.
- Accusing Jewish citizens of being more loyal to Israel, or to the alleged priorities of Jews worldwide, than to the interests of their own nations.
- Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, e.g., by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavor.
- Applying double standards by requiring of it a behavior not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation.
- Using the symbols and images associated with classic antisemitism (e.g., claims of Jews killing Jesus or blood libel) to characterize Israel or Israelis.
- Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.
- Holding Jews collectively responsible for actions of the State of Israel.<sup>16</sup>

Harvard Law Professor Alan Dershowitz has also presented criteria that distinguish antisemitism from legitimate criticism of Israeli policies or actions. Dershowitz’s criteria include:

- Comparing Israel to the Nazis or its leaders to Hitler, the German army, or the Gestapo. Denying, minimizing, or trivializing the Holocaust as part of a campaign against Israel.
- Characterizing Israel as “the worst,” when it is clear that this is not an accurate comparative assessment.
- Singling out only Israel for sanctions for policies that are widespread among other nations, or demanding that Jews be better or more moral than others because of their history as victims.
- Blaming Israel for the problems of the world and exaggerating the influence of the Jewish state on world affairs.<sup>17</sup>

Similarly, British lawyer Anthony Julius has observed that this new antisemitism “became hegemonic in the 1990s and 2000s.... It is to be distinguished from the ‘old antisemitism’ because it takes Israel and the Zionist project as its collective term for the Jews.”<sup>18</sup> Nevertheless, it is “continuous with the ‘old antisemitism’ in its principal stratagems and tropes, while novel in its specific focus upon the Jewish State—uniquely evil and without the right to exist.” He further notes that

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<sup>16</sup> European Union Monitoring Center, “Working Definition of Antisemitism,” available at: <<http://www.european-forum-on-antisemitism.org/working-definition-of-antisemitism/english>>.

<sup>17</sup> See Alan Dershowitz, “When Legit Criticism Crosses the Anti-Semitism Line,” *Huffington Post*, July 1, 2005, available at: <[http://www.huffingtonpost.com/alan-dershowitz/when-legit-criticism-cros\\_b\\_3524.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/alan-dershowitz/when-legit-criticism-cros_b_3524.html)>.

<sup>18</sup> Anthony Julius, *Trials of the Diaspora* (Oxford University Press, 2010) at pp. 441-588.

in its milder form, it seeks to fix the world's attention on the injustices of the Occupation ... and its one-eyed refusal to find fault with any party other than Israel. In its stronger form it recasts the 1948 War as an originary act of persecution.... In both forms it tends to seize upon misjudgments and acts of injustice as proof of fundamental iniquity.

The following examples reflect several themes adopted by NGOs in carrying out the Durban Strategy that manifests this "new antisemitism."

## 2. NAZI-ERA ANTISEMITIC STEREOTYPES

Several NGOs promote antisemitic stereotypes in their anti-Israel campaigning reminiscent of the most virulent images published during the Nazi era. One of the most egregious examples was posted on the website of the Bethlehem-based NGO Badil, which advocates for a Palestinian "right of return" to Israel, a policy intended to erase demographically the Jewish character of the country. A 2010 monetary award winner of its annual "Nakba"<sup>19</sup> Commemoration" poster contest shows a grotesque caricature of a Jewish man, garbed in traditional Hasidic attire with a menacing grin, hooked nose, and sidelocks. Surrounded by skulls, he stands on a platform dated "1948," crushing to death an Arab woman and child. He holds a pitch-fork dripping with blood (see Appendix, Image 2).<sup>20</sup>

In addition to its poster contest, Badil is often involved in inflammatory activities that antagonize Jews. In 2007, Badil launched "A Call to Action" to mark 60 years of "Nakba." The campaign called upon "global civil society" to take part in "BDS, legal actions, media work, and public education and publicity campaigns." One program sought to enlist journalists "to organize a targeted campaign to expose the lies of AIPAC and the Anti-Defamation League and to expose the Jewish and Zionist community's double standards regarding Nakba & Occupation." Several large, European-government funded NGOs including Trocaire (Ireland), DanChurchAid (Denmark), and Oxfam Solidarity Belgium co-sponsored these activities.<sup>21</sup> Badil has also been funded by the Norwegian, Swiss, Swedish, and Dutch governments.

## 3. THE GLOBAL BDS MOVEMENT: SINGLING ISRAEL OUT FOR CENSURE

The global anti-Israel boycott, divestment, and sanctions (BDS) movement is another manifestation of antisemitism that is spearheaded by NGOs. As noted by Anthony Julius, this movement is a way of "segregating Jews" and directed solely at Israel as opposed to the dozens of other countries that engage in far worse abuses both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Promoting the "Zionism is racism" slogan is a cornerstone of BDS. For proponents of this strategy, the term "occupation" does not refer to an Israeli presence in territories acquired in the 1967 war, but rather refers to the establishment of Israel in 1948. In other

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<sup>19</sup> The term "Nakba" or "catastrophe" is used by pro-Palestinian activists to refer to the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948.

<sup>20</sup> Image available on Badil's website at: <<http://www.badil.org/award2010/2010-winners/02-caricature.jpg>>.

<sup>21</sup> Campaign materials on file with the author.

words, this movement rejects a State of Israel within any boundaries. BDS rallies are frequently marred by violence, particularly in the United Kingdom, where patrons of Israeli goods are often threatened and intimidated.<sup>22</sup> According to the BDS National Committee, a coalition of dozens of organizations that includes many EU- and European-funded NGOs:

The sources of Israel's regime are found in the *racist ideology of late 19th century European colonialism* which was adopted by the dominant stream of the Zionist movement (World Zionist Organization, Jewish Agency, Jewish National Fund, a.o.) in order to justify and recruit political support for its *colonial project of an exclusive Jewish state in Palestine* (i.e. in the area of current Israel and the OPT). Thus, *secular political Zionism translated ancient religious-spiritual notions of Jews as "a chosen people" and of "Eretz Israel" into an aggressive and racist, political colonial program, which—based on the doctrine that Jews were a nation in political terms with superior claims to Palestine—called to "redeem" Palestine, which was declared to be "a land without people."*<sup>23</sup>

BDS campaigns also frequently utilize classic theological antisemitic tropes such as the blood libel. In a notorious campaign in 2004, Oxfam Belgium released a poster of a Jaffa orange dripping with blood, reading "Israeli fruits have a bitter taste ... reject the occupation of Palestine, don't buy Israeli fruits and vegetables" (see Appendix, Image 3). In May 2010, representatives from the NIF- and EU-funded Coalition of Women for Peace (CWP) and the EU-funded Israel Committee Against House Demolitions (ICAHAD), participated in an anti-Israel divestment rally in Brussels, targeting Dexia, a bank with an Israeli subsidiary. During the event, one rally leader drank "blood" out of a wine glass—an apparent reference to the Medieval-era libel of Jews drinking Christian blood—supposedly to symbolize Israel's alleged brutality (see Appendix, Image 4).

International NGO "superpowers" are active in the BDS movement as well and as such contribute to the spread of contemporary antisemitism as defined by the EU and others. Human Rights Watch (HRW) is a proponent of the Caterpillar boycott campaign,<sup>24</sup> and Oxfam is involved in the boycott effort against Israeli cosmetics manufacturer Ahava.<sup>25</sup> Amnesty International and Oxfam campaigned for an arms embargo against Israel at a March 2009 session of the UK House of Commons.<sup>26</sup> Oxfam joined NGOs Trocaire, Diakonia, Christian Aid, and others calling for the suspension of the

<sup>22</sup> UK NGO War on Want frequently organizes such demonstrations. See Jonny Paul, "UK Regulators to Look at War on Want," *Jerusalem Post*, April 14, 2010, available at: <<http://www.jpost.com/International/Article.aspx?id=173088>>.

<sup>23</sup> "Palestinian Civil Society Strategic Position Paper for the Durban Review Conference," available at: <[http://bdsmovement.net/files/English-BNC\\_Position\\_Paper-Durban\\_Review.pdf](http://bdsmovement.net/files/English-BNC_Position_Paper-Durban_Review.pdf)>; see also an ad placed by the BNC in the *International Herald Tribune* in May 2009 admonishing that, "celebrating 'Israel at 60' is tantamount to dancing on Palestinian graves...." Available at: <<http://www.pacbi.org/pdfs/No-Reason-to-Celebrate-Ad-FINAL.pdf>>.

<sup>24</sup> Electronic Intifada, "NYC Activists Call for End of CAT's Support for Israeli Human Rights Abuses," April 14, 2005, available at: <<http://electronicintifada.net/v2/article3762.shtml>>.

<sup>25</sup> E.B. Solomont, "'Charlotte' gets no love for Ahava link," *Jerusalem Post*, August 7, 2009, available at: <<http://www.jpost.com/Home/Article.aspx?id=151124>>.

<sup>26</sup> UK House of Commons hearings on Scrutiny of Arms Export Controls (2009), "Examination of Witnesses," March 11, 2009, available at: <<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200809/cmselect/cmquad/178/9031102.htm>>.



EU-Israel Association Agreement.<sup>27</sup> These organizations also engaged in lobbying throughout Europe, hoping to block Israel's entry into the OECD.<sup>28</sup>

The BDS National Committee (BNC) not only targets companies doing business with Israel, but has waged aggressive attacks against Zionist and Jewish organizations as "parastatal agents" of Israel. These attacks involve

[e]ngaging in judicial and criminal pursuit and accountability against, and applying pressure to remove the charity status and tax exemptions from, the Zionist organizations worldwide, including the World Zionist Organization, the Jewish Agency, and the Jewish National Fund, and dealing with them legally as racist, colonial institutions.<sup>29</sup>

As noted above, Badil (which is also a BNC leader) organized a "targeted campaign to expose the lies of AIPAC and the Anti-Defamation League and to expose the Jewish and Zionist community's double standards regarding Nakba & Occupation."

#### 4. APARTHEID RHETORIC

A key component of the Durban Strategy is to equate Israel with apartheid South Africa, despite the manifest differences between the two countries.<sup>30</sup> Former South African dissident Benjamin Pogrund has remarked that the term "apartheid" is used "because it comes easily to hand: it is a lazy label for the complexities of the Middle East conflict." Irwin Cotler notes that "the indictment of Israel as an apartheid state ... also involves the call for the dismantling of Israel...." The singling-out of Israel as an "apartheid state," therefore, is a form of incitement and in itself may be an expression of racism.

NGO campaigns invoking the apartheid canard take several forms, including: (1) gratuitous use of apartheid rhetoric; (2) characterizing the Arab-Israeli conflict as motivated by alleged Jewish race-hatred of Arabs, rather than one based on competing national and territorial claims; (3) disregarding the role of Arab bigotry; (4) ignoring the context of terror; (5) claiming all alleged violations of human rights and humanitarian law rise to the level of "apartheid," albeit only if committed by Israel; (6) hypocritically accusing Israel of "apartheid" while actively participating in the political process and enjoying the benefits conferred by the state; and (7) ignoring practices in Arab and Muslim countries that more closely resemble apartheid South Africa.

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<sup>27</sup> Although the EU has association agreements with Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, and other abusive and authoritarian regimes, these NGOs have not engaged in any substantive lobbying efforts to suspend these agreements.

<sup>28</sup> "Aid agencies call for suspension of enhanced EU-Israel agreements," January 7, 2009, available at: <[http://www.diakonia.se/Documents/public/MEDIA\\_SERVICE/Gaza\\_Media\\_release\\_full\\_version\\_Jan\\_7th2009.pdf](http://www.diakonia.se/Documents/public/MEDIA_SERVICE/Gaza_Media_release_full_version_Jan_7th2009.pdf)>; NGO Monitor>; "NGOs protest Israel's OECD acceptance," April-May 2010 Digest, available at: <[http://www.ngo-monitor.org/digest\\_info.php?id=2924#ngosoeccd](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/digest_info.php?id=2924#ngosoeccd)>.

<sup>29</sup> "Palestinian Civil Society Strategic Position Paper for the Durban Review Conference," available at: <[http://bdsmovement.net/files/English-BNC\\_Position\\_Paper-Durban\\_Review.pdf](http://bdsmovement.net/files/English-BNC_Position_Paper-Durban_Review.pdf)>.

<sup>30</sup> For more on these campaigns, see Anne Herzberg, "NGO 'Apartheid State' Campaign: Deliberately Immoral or Intellectually Lazy?" NGO Monitor, March 22, 2010, available at: <[http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/ngo\\_apartheid\\_state\\_campaign\\_deliberately\\_immoral\\_or\\_intellectually\\_lazy](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/ngo_apartheid_state_campaign_deliberately_immoral_or_intellectually_lazy)>.

Despite claims of being founded in principles of universal human rights and international law, many of these NGO allegations and legal arguments originate with the PLO's Negotiations Affairs Department and were developed for propaganda purposes. Again, European and foundation funding plays a significant role in facilitating these campaigns, including grants from the New Israel Fund. Such funding is clearly inconsistent with a March 2010 statement by NIF CEO Daniel Sokatch, claiming that NIF "deeply disagree[s] with the use of 'apartheid' in the Israeli context. It is a historically inaccurate and inflammatory term that serves only to demonize Israel and alienate a majority of Jews around the world, including those who care deeply about issues of democracy, human rights, social justice and peace."

Some notable examples of "apartheid" rhetoric from NGOs include a statement by Sarah Leah Whitson, director of HRW's Mid-East North Africa Division, who claimed that Israel has put "a vastly discriminatory system of laws and policies in place that create a system of apartheid under any legal definition." Jessica Montell, Executive Director of the NIF- and European-funded B'Tselem, commented that "the word apartheid is useful for mobilizing people because of its emotional power. *In some cases*, the situation in the West Bank is worse than apartheid in South Africa." NIF- and EU-funded Adalah joined with European-funded Al Haq to issue a 302-page publication entitled, "Occupation, Colonialism, Apartheid? A Re-Assessment of Israel's Practices in the Occupied Palestinian Territories under International Law." The publication declares Israel guilty of "colonialism" and "apartheid" and purports to catalogue Israel's "violations" including implementing a "Grand Apartheid" policy by placing Palestinians in "reserves and ghettos." The report concludes by demanding the international community "request an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice regarding Israel's practices of apartheid and colonialism."

## 5. "JUDAIZATION"

Many of the NGOs invoking the Durban Strategy use the terms "Judaization" or "Judaize" in their campaigning. The PLO developed these expressions to erase the Jewish historical connection to the region, as well as to suggest that the very presence of Jews is alien and unacceptable. The use of the term "Judaize," therefore, is an articulation of anti-Jewish discrimination.

This terminology bolsters several NGO themes, including that Jews are "foreign, colonial occupiers" in the region; that Jewish self-determination is "racist" and illegitimate, as opposed to Palestinian self-determination, which is an international legal obligation; and that the Law of Return and symbols such as the Israeli flag or national anthem are "racist" even though most European countries and all Islamic countries have official state religions and official state religious symbols. The term "Judaize" is not only used for East Jerusalem and the West Bank,<sup>31</sup> but also to delegitimize Jewish neighborhoods in Jaffa, Acre (Akko), and the Negev—or, in other words, challenging the legitimacy of a Jewish presence even within the Green Line. While it is perhaps not surprising that the

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<sup>31</sup> Regardless of one's views on the current legal status of East Jerusalem and the West Bank, the continual historical Jewish presence in these areas prior to 1948 is also denied by these organizations as is the destruction of Jewish symbols and infrastructure in this area during the Jordanian occupation from 1948 to 1967.

PLO would employ such terminology, it is immoral for human rights organizations to use phrases supporting ethnically-based exclusion.

Ir Amim, an Israeli NGO funded by the EU, NIF, Sweden, Norway, the United Kingdom, and the Netherlands, claimed in an October 2009 update that

[T]his process of accelerated Judaization and Israelization in East Jerusalem, ... is part of an effort to change the existing discourse ... of which the Muslim Quarter becomes "the renewed Jewish Quarter," the Old City and the Holy Basin become "ancient Jerusalem."

Similarly, in a September 2010 publication on alleged Israeli policy in Jerusalem, entitled *Unsafe Space*, the Association of Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI) stated the report's purpose was "to bring to light the stories of the Palestinian residents, to reveal the experience of life in the neighborhood as others attempt to 'Judaize' it."<sup>32</sup> Other NGOs that frequently invoke "Judaization" terminology include European-funded NGOs Defence for Children International—Palestine Section, the Alternative Information Center, and the Palestinian Center for Human Rights.

## 6. NAZI/HOLOCAUST COMPARISONS

As highlighted in the EU working definition, "accusing the Jews as a people, or Israel as a state, of inventing or exaggerating the Holocaust" and "drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis" are forms of antisemitism. Many NGOs engage in these accusations and comparisons and use Nazi or Holocaust rhetoric in their campaigns to describe alleged Israeli abuses toward the Palestinians. Terms such as "ghettos," "ethnic cleansing," "genocide," and "concentration camps" frequently appear.

In a June 2007 report, Amnesty International referred to Israel's security barrier, erected to protect against a wave of Palestinian suicide bombings targeting restaurants, malls, and buses that had killed hundreds and wounded thousands, as "the Wall of Death."<sup>33</sup> This phrase mirrored an appellation used to describe the notorious site near Block 11 at Auschwitz where thousands of prisoners were summarily executed.

Many NGOs exploited the Gaza War and the Goldstone process to engage in this form of demonization. For instance, Michael Warschawski of the European-funded Alternative Information Center<sup>34</sup> issued highly inflammatory remarks during the war, offensively stating:

Ehud Barak, Tzipi Livni, Gabi Ashkenazi and Ehud Olmert don't you dare show your faces at any memorial ceremony for the heroes of the Warsaw Ghetto, Lublin, Vilna or Kishinev.... You are not representing any continuity with the Warsaw Ghetto, because today the Warsaw Ghetto is right in front of you, targeted by your own tanks and artillery, and its name is Gaza....<sup>35</sup>

<sup>32</sup> ACRI is funded by NIF, EU, Sweden, UK, Norway, the Netherlands, Spain, Belgium, the Ford Foundation, and Christian Aid.

<sup>33</sup> Amnesty International, "Enduring Occupation: Palestinians under siege in the West Bank," June 2007.

<sup>34</sup> For more on the Alternative Information Center, see <[http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/alternative\\_information\\_center\\_aic\\_profile](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/alternative_information_center_aic_profile)>.

<sup>35</sup> Michael Warschawski, "Absolutely Not in Their Name, Not in Ours," AIC, January 18, 2009.

Al Mezan, a Gaza-based NGO that receives substantial funding from the EU, Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Ireland accused Israeli officials of “inciting a ‘holocaust’ (genocide).”

In its submission to the Goldstone panel, a group of NIF- and EU-funded NGOs<sup>36</sup> (Gisha, ACRI, Adalah, Yesh Din, HaMoked, Physicians for Human Rights-Israel, and the Public Committee Against Torture in Israel) claimed that “a shocking picture emerges of harsh, inhuman and degrading conditions ... [m]any prisoners ... were held in pits in the ground, 1-3 meters deep, apparently dug by the army,” harkening to the execution and cremation pits used by the Nazis to exterminate Jews.

During the public hearings of the Goldstone mission, member Desmond Travers asked pre-vetted<sup>37</sup> representatives of the Gaza-based NGO Gaza Community Mental Health Project (funded by the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Torino) a question laced with antisemitic undertones and which elicited a comparison of Israelis to Nazis:

We have heard testimony of great, uh, violence, *seemingly un-militarily, unnecessary violence* inflicted particularly on children. There have been instances of the shooting of children in front of their parents. As an ex-soldier I find that kind of action *to be very, very strange and very unique*. I would like to ask you if you have any professional insights as to *what mindset or what conditioning or what training could bring around a state of behavior that would cause a soldier, a fellow human being to shoot children in front of their parents*. Do you have any professional insights into that kind of behavior? [emphasis added]

In response, the representatives stated that:

With time the Israeli soldier has the image of absolute superiority.... There we see the arrogance of power and he uses it without thinking of humanity at all ... inside Israel there is an identification with the aggressor, the Nazis.

Imagery associated with the Holocaust such as emaciated prisoners caged behind barbed wire or children holding up their hands while being threatened at gunpoint by soldiers is also commonly used by NGOs (see Appendix, Images 5 and 6). Other NGOs, like NIF-funded and EU-funded Mada al-Carmel and Adalah, accuse Israel and Jews of “exploiting” the Holocaust at the expense of Palestinian self determination:

We believe that exploiting [the Holocaust] and its consequences in order to legitimize the right of the Jews to establish a state at the expense of the Palestinian people serves to belittle the universal, human, and moral lessons to be learned from this catastrophic event, which concerns the whole of humanity.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Adalah, “Submission of Human Rights Organizations based in Israel to the Goldstone Inquiry Delegation,” June 2009, available at: <[http://www.adalah.org/newsletter/eng/jun09/goldstone%20report\\_and\\_appendix\[1\].pdf](http://www.adalah.org/newsletter/eng/jun09/goldstone%20report_and_appendix[1].pdf)>.

<sup>37</sup> Witnesses chosen by the Goldstone mission to appear at the public hearings were extensively interviewed prior to their “testimony.”

<sup>38</sup> Haifa Declaration, May 15, 2007, available at: <<http://www.mada-research.org/UserFiles/file/haifaenglish.pdf>>.

## 7. CHRISTIAN ANTISEMITISM, SUPERSESSIONISM

Classic Christian antisemitism accuses Jews of deicide, the blood libel, and the libel of “poisoning wells” and advances supersessionism (replacement theology). Many NGOs have adopted these themes, substituting Palestinians as the new victims of these alleged Jewish crimes. These campaigns are highly offensive and reflect a gross insensitivity to interfaith relationships.

Sabeel Ecumenical Liberation Theology Center, a Jerusalem-based NGO, is a leader in the anti-Israel church divestment movement and frequently campaigns against a two-state solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Palestinian Anglican, Naim Ateek, heads the organization and frequently employs antisemitic theological themes and imagery in his speeches and publications. His 2001 Easter message stated that “it seems to many of us that Jesus is on the cross again with thousands of crucified Palestinians around him. ... The Israeli government crucifixion system is operating daily.” In a February 2001 sermon, Ateek intimated that Israel was responsible for the death of Jesus (the Palestinians): “Israel has placed a large boulder, a big stone that has metaphorically shut off the Palestinians in a tomb. It is similar to the stone placed on the entrance of Jesus’ tomb...” Sabeel is funded by the Swedish government via Diakonia, a Christian humanitarian aid organization.<sup>39</sup>

Other NGOs exploit Christian holidays to issue condemnations of the Jewish state that invoke these classical antisemitic theological themes. In 2006, British NGO War on Want issued a Christmas card entitled, “Mary and Joseph being frisked on their way to find an inn for the night,” showing a pregnant Mary and Joseph being searched by IDF officers at the security barrier in Bethlehem (see Appendix, Image 7). Similarly, Amos Trust sells a “wall nativity” scene where a model of the security barrier runs through a traditional nativity setting (see Appendix, Image 8). Christian Aid promoted a Christmas appeal, entitled “Child of Bethlehem,” featuring the story of “Jessica,” a seven-year-old Palestinian girl allegedly injured by Israeli soldiers (see Appendix, Image 9) Christian Aid was heavily criticized by both Jewish and Christian groups for exploiting Christmas for its anti-Israel advocacy.

These anti-Israel theological campaigns are not only confined to Christian NGOs but are also promoted by NGO “superpowers.” During the 2006 Lebanon War, Human Rights Watch’s executive director, Ken Roth issued a supersessionist anti-Jewish slur that denigrated the Old Testament, claiming that Israel’s actions were motivated by “an eye for an eye—or more accurately in this case twenty eyes for an eye” which “may have been the morality of a more primitive moment.”

Modern-day expressions of these Medieval libels frequently reoccur in NGO campaigning. These include accusations of Israel uniquely imposing “collective punishment” on the population of Gaza and claims of a systematic Israeli policy to deliberately target Palestinian and Lebanese civilians in counter-terror operations.<sup>40</sup> The context of Hamas and Hezbollah attacks against Israeli citizens are minimized or even erased.

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<sup>39</sup> For more on Sabeel’s activities, see NGO Monitor, “Sabeel Conferences: Fuelling the Arab-Israeli Conflict,” October 8, 2007, available at: <[http://www.ngo-monitor.org/data/images/File/sabeel\\_conference\\_101107.pdf](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/data/images/File/sabeel_conference_101107.pdf)>.

<sup>40</sup> For examples of these campaigns, see NGO Monitor’s monograph, “The NGO Front in the Gaza War: the Durban Strategy Continues (February 2009),” available at: <[http://www.ngo-monitor.org/data/images/File/NGO\\_Front\\_Gaza.pdf](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/data/images/File/NGO_Front_Gaza.pdf)>.

During the Gaza War these types of accusations were particularly pronounced and also underlay the conclusions of the Goldstone report. Diakonia, for instance, declared that “[Israel’s] policy amounts to the collective punishment of the entire Gaza population....” Oxfam charged that Israel engaged in “... massive and disproportionate violence against Gazan civilians in violation of international law.” A joint submission to Goldstone by ACRI, Gisha, Adalah, PHR-I, HaMoked, PCATI, and Yesh Din claimed Israel “deliberately and knowingly shelled civilian institutions....” PCHR joined the chorus by alleging that Israel perpetrated “indiscriminate killing and continued systematic destruction of all the Palestinian institutions and civilian facilities in the Gaza Strip.”

Ken Roth also played a highly public role in promoting these charges. In December 2009, Roth wrote, “[t]oday, the prevailing U.S. doctrine—most notably in Afghanistan—stresses the importance of protecting civilians....<sup>41</sup> Israel’s view [is] that one prevails in asymmetric warfare by pummeling rather than protecting civilians....”<sup>42</sup> To support his claim, Roth misrepresented remarks of former Israeli Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni:

there is strong evidence that Israel wanted Gazan civilians to pay the price for Hamas’s abuses ... as ... Tzipi Livni, said...: ‘I heard that Hamas declared the man killed by a rocket in Ashkelon “one of the Zionists” despite being an Israeli Arab. They don’t make a distinction, and neither should we.’

Roth used this quote as proof that the IDF was ordered by the highest levels of the Israeli government to indiscriminately kill Palestinians in Gaza. In fact, Livni was actually rebuking Israeli Knesset Member Ahmed Tibi for his remarks exacerbating racial divisions between Israeli Jews and Arabs and was encouraging Israelis to embrace a common identity in the face of rocket attacks from Gaza. Roth omitted this context entirely from his article, including Tibi’s remarks, in order to bolster his anti-Israel slander.<sup>43</sup>

Several Christian NGOs, including Christian Peacemaker Teams and other groups active in the BDS movement, accuse Israel of poisoning the Palestinian water supply. Amnesty International has also aided these claims. In October 2009, Amnesty released a 112-page report, entitled “Troubled Waters—Palestinians Denied Fair Access to Water,” claiming that Israel enacts “water policies and practices” in order to “discriminate against the Palestinian population of the OPT.” However, the report ignored evidence not only that Israel provides West Bank Palestinians with more water than required

<sup>41</sup> Roth repeatedly advances this claim even though the empirical evidence does not support his charges. In fact, the United States and NATO have a much higher ratio of civilian casualties to combatants than Israel. For instance, in the November–December 2004 Battle of Fallujah in Iraq, US and British troops were alleged to have killed several thousand civilians. A forthcoming study examining the effectiveness of US targeted killings in Afghanistan and Pakistan have found that an average of nine civilians are killed for every combatant. The rate for Israeli operations was found to be two civilians for every combatant.

<sup>42</sup> Ken Roth, “Geneva Conventions Still Hold Up,” *Foreign Policy in Focus*, December 30, 2009, available at: <[http://www.fpif.org/articles/geneva\\_conventions\\_still\\_hold\\_up](http://www.fpif.org/articles/geneva_conventions_still_hold_up)>.

<sup>43</sup> When NGO Monitor pointed out that Roth had distorted Livni’s remarks, HRW posted an “explanation” on its web page reprinting the op-ed, claiming the statement was “ambiguous” (even though it was not). No correction, however, was posted on the *Foreign Policy in Focus* site where the original piece is still available, nor did HRW amend its earlier reports that had made this same claim.

under the Oslo framework but also that in some areas Palestinian water thieves were responsible for stealing up to 50% of supplies. Amnesty also claimed that Palestinian water consumption (60-70 liters per person per day), is “the lowest in the region” even though this level is similar, if not better, than that of comparable cities like Amman, Tunis, and Algiers. Notably, the report was issued to coincide with a November 2009 speaking tour in the United States organized by the Palestinian Cultural Academic Boycott of Israel (PCABI) movement, entitled “Israel’s Control of Water as a Tool of Apartheid and Means of Ethnic Cleansing.”

Similarly, Amnesty International was also responsible for originating a claim during the Gaza War that Israel had “wantonly” destroyed Gaza’s only flour mill in order to hamper the Palestinian food supply.<sup>44</sup> It further claimed that the mill’s “owners are adamant that the site was neither a launch pad for rockets nor a weapons cache, and the Israeli army has provided no evidence to the contrary.”<sup>45</sup> Documentary evidence released by the UN (UNITAR)<sup>46</sup> and the IDF refuted Amnesty’s version of events, clearly showing that the mill was damaged by artillery during a firefight with Hamas combatants.

## 8. CONCLUSION

Given the tens of millions of dollars funneled each year by European governments and prominent foundations to NGOs that are used to promote themes that fall under the EU’s own definition of antisemitism, it is important to highlight these examples and bring them to the attention of those underwriting such NGO activities. These funding agencies must recognize their role in spreading antisemitism by financing organizations that engage in these highly offensive and inflammatory activities. It is critical that funders adopt guidelines to prevent further abuse of taxpayer largesse and generous donations. It is also essential that such funding is regularly monitored and independent evaluations are conducted with mechanisms put in place for oversight. At present, little to no substantive evaluation of NGO activities is conducted by the European Union, governments or foundation funders.

Peace between Israelis and Palestinians is one of the most complex political issues of our time. Solutions cannot be found, however, when problems are solely viewed through a narrow ideological lens and morality and universal principles are exploited to promote bias and racism. Palestinian self-determination cannot be considered a just cause if it is obtained by propagating antisemitism—the “oldest hatred”—or by denigrating and seeking to exterminate Jewish self-determination rights. Hopefully, the critical questions raised in this paper will inform the debate and lead to the necessary reforms. Without such changes, peace and co-existence will be farther away than ever.

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<sup>44</sup> Amnesty International, “22 Days of Death and Destruction,” July 2009, at 71.

<sup>45</sup> *Id.*

<sup>46</sup> UNITAR, “Satellite Image Analysis in Support to the United Nations Fact Finding Mission to the Gaza Conflict”, July 31, 2009, at 33, available at: <[http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hr\\_council/specialsession/9/docs/UNITAR\\_UNOSAT\\_FFMGC\\_31July2009.pdf](http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hr_council/specialsession/9/docs/UNITAR_UNOSAT_FFMGC_31July2009.pdf)>. The UNITAR report notes that most of the damage found at the mill appeared to have occurred on January 16-18, 2009 (not January 10 as claimed by Amnesty) and was the result of “ground fire,” not an airstrike.

## APPENDIX: NGO IMAGERY

Image 1: Flyer distributed at the NGO Forum of the 2001 UN Durban Conference

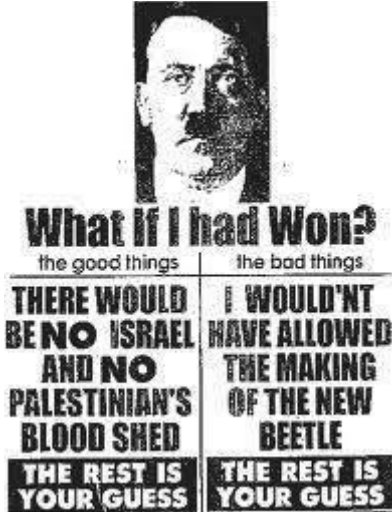


Image 2: Award-winning submission to Badil's 2009-10 Annual Al-Awda Award



Image 3: Oxfam "blood orange" poster



Les fruits israéliens ont un goût amer.

Refusez l'occupation de la Palestine.  
 N'achetez pas de fruits et légumes israéliens.



Association Belge-Palestinoise  
 A.I. Initiative de - de Paul Lucien - action Palestine - 1 - rue 11 Belgique



**Image 4: Anti-Israel divestment rally  
in Brussels, May 12, 2010**



**Image 5: "Civilians Under Siege"**



Source: B'Tselem, *The Gaza Strip: One Big Prison* (2007)

Image 6: Poster advertising Israeli Apartheid Week



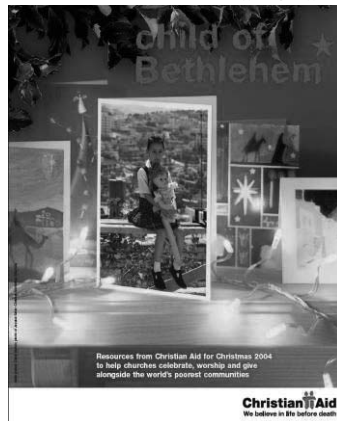
Image 7: War on Want Christmas Card



Image 8: Amos Trust's "Small Wall Nativity"



Image 9: Christian Aid's "Bethlehem's Child" campaign poster



# The Image of Israel and Israelis in the French, British, and Italian Press During the 1982 Lebanon War

Marianna Scherini\*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The current debate on “new antisemitism” often identifies the media as one of the main sources of today’s antisemitism in European societies due to its representation of the Arab-Israeli conflict. In fact, a majority of observers highlight the media’s liability for depicting the State of Israel as a “collective Jew,” thus providing a convenient channel for the outpouring of prejudice and—sometimes—hatred against Jews in general. In 2005, for example, Robert Wistrich, highlighted that

The problem in Europe today comes primarily from civil society—especially from the educated elites and the media, whose barely disguised hostility to Israel has created a new climate of suspicion toward Jews. This atmosphere is in many ways more reminiscent of *fin-de-siècle* Europe during the Dreyfus Affair than the 1930s. Then, as now, with Israel, the Jew in the collective sense was stigmatized as a pariah in European society.<sup>1</sup>

Yet, the issue is controversial. Opinions, as formulated during the a decade of debate, diverge on the main question of whether and, if so, when anti-Zionist statements and criticism of Israel turn into antisemitic discourse.<sup>2</sup>

Among those who criticize the notion of what Wistrich refers to as “antisemitic anti-Zionism,”<sup>3</sup> the philosopher Brian Klug argues that “the depth and bitterness of [the Arab-Israeli] conflict is sufficient to explain, for the most part, the strength and intensity of the polemic against the state.”<sup>4</sup> In Klug’s view, most anti-Israeli opinions, especially

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<sup>1</sup> Robert S. Wistrich, *Antisemitism in Western Europe at the Turn of the 21st Century*, Institute of the World Jewish Congress, Jerusalem, 2005, p. 6. For more on the identification of Israel as “the collective Jew,” see Jonathan Sacks, “The hatred that won’t die,” *The Guardian*, February 28, 2002; and Irwin Cotler, “Making the World ‘Judenstaatrein,’” *The Jerusalem Post*, February 22, 2009.

<sup>2</sup> For an excellent critical analysis of the debate on the relationship between antisemitism and anti-Zionism, see David Hirsh, *Anti-Zionism and Antisemitism Cosmopolitan Reflections*, The Yale Initiative for the Interdisciplinary Study of Antisemitism, New Haven, 2007.

<sup>3</sup> Wistrich, *Antisemitism in Western Europe*, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Brian Klug, “The collective Jew: Israel and the new antisemitism,” *Patterns of Prejudice*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (2003), p. 133.

those expressed in Muslim and left-wing or liberal environments, originate from “mere” anti-Western or anti-imperialist rather than anti-Jewish feelings. Klug does not rule out that criticism of Israeli politics could sometimes hide antisemitic contents, but he considers that only those cases that present classic anti-Jewish stereotypes (either in the text or subtext) can be addressed as antisemitic without fear of emphasizing the phenomenon of the new antisemitism.<sup>5</sup>

This ultimately reduces the question where to draw the line between legitimate and antisemitic criticism of Israel to a matter of interpretation. Most authors in fact identify the same stereotypes whose antisemitic contents Klug denies as the latest form of classic antisemitic representations, analyzing how the same “patterns of anti-Jewish prejudice” have adapted to the new reality in which the State of Israel exists. The main tendency when analyzing the media discourse on Israel is therefore to trace back and expose the common roots of past antisemitic stereotypes and today’s representations of Israel.<sup>6</sup>

The present article contributes to this debate from a historical perspective. It aims to assess how the media representation of Israel was conveyed at a critical moment and turning point in Israel’s history: the events in Lebanon of September 1982.<sup>7</sup>

This article argues that although it encompassed *extremely negative features*, the image of Israel and “the Israelis” painted during this time was not part of the classic antisemitic discourse. Although not (entirely) disconnected from past antisemitic representations, these features instead generated an image specifically describing the Israelis, conveying a “new” *set of stereotypes* about them. At the same time, by conveying a new perception of the role of Jewish communities in the Diaspora vis-à-vis Israel, the press indeed represented Israel as “the collective Jew.” However, the Diaspora Jews were compared to the image of Israelis. In other words, they were observed through the lens of the “new” representation of Israel rather than vice versa.

This article also addresses a second issue that emerges from the current debate. Most scholars and commentators indicate the key role played by the left-wing media in relation to today’s antisemitism in Europe. This article argues that, although they were

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 131. In Klug’s view, the phenomenon of the “new antisemitism” in European societies is greatly exaggerated by scholars and commentators because of “a certain outlook or mentality: a way of viewing the world such that a person is disposed to overstate hostility towards Israel and Jews, or to assume that this hostility is antisemitic, or both.” Brian Klug, “Is Europe a lost cause? The European debate on antisemitism and the Middle East conflict,” *Patterns of Prejudice*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (2005), p. 47.

<sup>6</sup> See Manfred Gerstenfeld, “Anti-Israelism and Anti-Semitism: Common Characteristics and Motifs,” *Jewish Political Studies Review*, Vol. 19, Nos. 1-2 (Spring 2007). Gerstenfeld examines the “common characteristics and motifs” between anti-Israelism and antisemitism, highlighting for instance how the widespread representation of the Israelis as Nazis is clearly a new form of the past antisemitic core theme that identified the Jews with absolute evil. For an analysis of anti-Zionist contents underlying antisemitism focused on the British context, see Winston Pickett, “Nasty or Nazi? The Use of Antisemitic Topoi by the Left-Liberal Media,” in Paul Iganski and Barry Kosmin, eds., *A New Antisemitism? Debating Judeophobia in 21st Century Britain*, Profile Book/Institute for Jewish Policy Research, London, 2003, pp. 149-166.

<sup>7</sup> As stressed by the literature on new antisemitism, the media representation of Israel that developed during the period following these events contributed significantly to shaping images of “the Israelis” that are still vivid today. See, for instance, Pierre André Taguieff, *La nouvelle propagande antijuive*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 2010, p. 145; cf. Gerstenfeld, “Anti-Israelism and Anti-Semitism,” p. 85.

more prominent in the left-wing press, the stereotypes concerning Israel were not confined to this perspective but were shared by the press in general.

The article analyzes the coverage of the events in five major mainstream newspapers from three European countries. These include the conservative *Corriere della Sera* and the left-wing *La Repubblica* for Italy, the conservative *The Times* and the left-wing *The Guardian* for the United Kingdom, and the left-wing *Le Monde* for France. The analysis is based primarily on news articles and aims to examine the features of "the Israelis" conveyed by the press in its *daily reporting of events*. Attention is also given to leading articles and commentaries, which expressed the newspapers political line throughout this period.<sup>8</sup>

The article is organized around the chronologic sequence of events, with a view to underlining significant evolutions in the discourse. It concentrates on two events that immediately followed the assassination of Lebanese President-elect Bashir Gemayel on September 14, 1982, namely the Israeli military intervention in West Beirut and the massacre of Palestinian refugees in the camps of Sabra and Shatila on September 16-18, 1982.

## 2. THE PRESS COVERAGE OF THE ASSASSINATION OF BASHIR GEMAYEL AND THE ISRAELI MILITARY OPERATION IN WEST BEIRUT

At the beginning of September 1982, the Lebanon war, which had broken out in June of the same year, seemed to be headed toward a solution. Furthermore, a new diplomatic era likely to usher in a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict seemed within reach. These developments benefited from a series of events that occurred during the preceding month, including the election of Maronite leader Bashir Gemayel as president of Lebanon and the evacuation of the PLO's political and military leadership from Beirut.

However, on September 14, hopes for a peaceful resolution of the Middle East conflict were shattered when President-elect Gemayel was assassinated in a bombing in Beirut and Israeli forces moved in toward the western (Muslim) areas of the Lebanese capital a few hours later.

These events, which thrust the Middle East back into the limelight, received great attention in the press. In the following days, all the opening headlines focused on the Lebanese news, although coverage of similar events varied significantly among newspapers. This aspect attests to the variety of approaches taken when dealing with Middle East issues and particularly Israel.

While news articles described the destruction caused by the explosion and reported in detail the relief work at the scene of the attack, the press simultaneously devoted prominent attention to the portrait of the assassinated president.

In the British newspapers, Gemayel was depicted as a controversial figure. Both *The Times* and *The Guardian* reported on the violence that had marked his past deeds as the leader of the Maronite Phalangist militia. They minutely described some of his cruelest actions against Maronite opponents in the struggle for the group's leadership as well as against the Palestinians during Lebanon's civil war.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, both newspa-

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<sup>8</sup> The analysis does not take into consideration those opinions that are detached from the main newspapers' vision, which were sometimes presented but ultimately became collateral or isolated.

<sup>9</sup> See, for instance, "Death in Lebanon," *The Times*, September 16, 1982; "Obituary: Bashir Gemayel," *The Times*, September 16, 1982; "Gemayel 'aimed to heal the wounds of conflict,'" *The Guardian*, September 16, 1982; "A bomb to blast away brief hope," *The Guardian*, September 16, 1982.

pers praised Gemayel for his conversion from a military to a political approach after his election to the Lebanese presidency and for his call for reconciliation between Christians and Muslims.<sup>10</sup> Gemayel was the only Lebanese leader with enough support among different communities to be able to restore the country's sovereignty. He was also the closest ally Israel had in Lebanese politics. For these reasons, the two British newspapers concluded that his death had led to a political void, which in turn could lead to the destabilization of the whole region. The newspapers thus assessed the importance and implications of this event mainly from the point of view of international relations.

A completely different interpretation of the attack appeared in *Le Monde*. The French newspaper chose to report on this event from the point of view of Lebanese society or at least one of its political factions. Both through the coverage of the news by Beirut correspondent Lucien George, a left-wing Lebanese national, and the numerous commentaries and editorials written by some of the newspaper's most prominent columnists,<sup>11</sup> *Le Monde* drew an hagiographic portrait of Gemayel. While completely omitting the violent aspects of his past, it described Gemayel as a charismatic and "romantic" leader, driven by "an almost insane passion for his country" and "a destiny to save Lebanon."<sup>12</sup> Moreover, the newspaper emphasized the consensus Gemayel enjoyed, which went beyond the ethnic and political boundaries of his own group, representing Lebanese society as unanimously animated by a determination to regain political unity after years of civil war.<sup>13</sup> By doing so, it clearly ignored the conflicts that were still affecting Lebanon at the time, given that its recent past was marked by a bloody civil war.

The same perspective appeared in Italy's *La Repubblica*, which was completely subordinate to *Le Monde* in this respect. In fact, its coverage and interpretation of events were supplied exclusively by *Le Monde's* Beirut correspondent, Lucien George, who also acted as a correspondent for the Italian newspaper and whose articles were translated into Italian and published in *La Repubblica* either on the same day or the day after appearing in *Le Monde*.<sup>14</sup>

Finally, another interpretation of this event appeared in the *Corriere della Sera*. In presenting Gemayel's biography, the Italian daily emphasized the most brutal aspects of his past and explaining them by reference to the alleged "essence" of Lebanese politics and society, which it described — using an Orientalist paradigm — as being based on "feuds" and "feudal systems," "principles unaccounted for in Western democracies."<sup>15</sup> The newspaper did not show further interest in the complex reality of Lebanon, thus failing

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. Cf. "Street fighter turn into political conciliator," *The Times*, 15 September 1982.

<sup>11</sup> Among others, the newspaper's editor André Fontaine and the newspaper's Cairo correspondent Jean-Pierre Péroncel-Hugoz.

<sup>12</sup> J.-P. Péroncel-Hugoz, "Une passion presque insensée," *Le Monde*, September 16, 1982; cf. André Fontaine, "Défense d'espérer!," *Le Monde*, September 16, 1982.

<sup>13</sup> See, for instance, Lucien George, "La solidarité nationale retrouvée," *Le Monde*, September 17, 1982.

<sup>14</sup> Lucien George, "Bechir non ha avuto il tempo di pacificare il Libano," *La Repubblica*, September 16, 1982; cf. Lucien George, "Trois semaines pour prouver que la solution passait par lui," *Le Monde*, September 16, 1982; Lucien George, "Anche l'Islam libanese voterà per Amin Gemayel," *La Repubblica*, September 18, 1982; cf. Lucien George, "La solidarité nationale retrouvée," *Le Monde*, September 17, 1982.

<sup>15</sup> M. Ch., "Chi è Amin Gemayel," *Corriere della Sera*, September 18, 1982. See also Maurizio Chierici, "Gemayel, una breve vita tra sanguinose faide," *Corriere della Sera*, September 16, 1982.

to transmit a realistic frame of reference for comprehending the attack and its implications for Lebanese politics and the situation in the Middle East.

From the beginning, the press also covered another issue relating to the attack. Ignoring who the attackers might have been (only later historiography would point to Syrian responsibility), reports, comments, and leading articles speculated about possible instigators and compiled lists of past and present enemies of Gemayel.<sup>16</sup> Attention focused on the Palestinians, the Syrians, and the Maronite Franjeh and Chamoun families, but without any further analysis of these groups' conflicts with Gemayel or their political views.

While the issue was abandoned by the British press, presumably due to lack of information, the Italian newspapers and *Le Monde* continued to speculate in the following days. In these newspapers, the hypothesis that the attack might have been committed by the Israelis—which had first been formulated in the Lebanese left-wing press and had been explicitly dismissed as irrelevant by *The Guardian*—was closely examined and received more and more credit. In news articles and comments, both *La Repubblica* and *Corriere della Sera* devoted increasing attention to the “advantages”<sup>17</sup> that Israel might have gained from Gemayel's death, while in *Le Monde* this issue appeared, albeit marginally, in George's articles.

Concerning the reasons why the Israelis might have wanted Gemayel's death, these newspapers supported the hypothesis that the Israelis wanted to get rid of Gemayel to prevent the stabilization of Lebanon, in order to forestall a potential withdrawal from the occupied territories of Gaza and the West Bank. Moreover, by highlighting the recent tensions between the Israeli government and Gemayel, because of the latter's refusal to sign a peace treaty with Israel, the Italian newspapers regarded the Israeli leaders' desire to take revenge on an ex-ally who had become recalcitrant as a second motive. For example, the *Corriere della Sera* supported the opinion of unspecified Lebanese Muslim leaders who stated that “the Israelis have killed Gemayel because he was adopting a hard line against them ... they do not forgive whoever hampers their plans and they would do anything to boycott any attempts to bring peace to the region.”<sup>18</sup> Because of the attention and interest it received, the hypothesis regarding Israeli involvement in the attack eventually gained prominence and legitimacy, despite the fact that it was not presented as a certainty.

From the outset, the news of the bombing against Gemayel was connected to the entry of Israeli troops into West Beirut. This was not only because of the sequence of events (articles reporting the attack appeared side-by-side with those reporting the military events), but also because the press, with the exception of *The Guardian*, interpreted Gemayel's death as providing Israel with a “pretext” or “excuse”<sup>19</sup> to launch a new military operation.

<sup>16</sup> See, for instance, Dominique Pouchin, “Une catastrophe!,” *Le Monde*, September 16, 1982.

<sup>17</sup> Sandro Viola, “Continua l'operazione Pace in Galilea...,” *La Repubblica*, September 17, 1982.

<sup>18</sup> Giuseppe Josca, “Sospetti e accuse sull'assassinio del presidente,” *Corriere della Sera*, September 17, 1982.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. Cf. Lucien George, “Torna la paura a Beirut,” *La Repubblica*, September 17, 1982; “Israeli troops advance as Lebanon buries its leader,” *The Times*, September 16, 1982; “Jérusalem: oui à l'évacuation mais pas immédiatement...,” *Le Monde*, September 18, 1982.

*The Guardian* was the only newspaper that, in accordance with the official declarations of the Israeli authorities, described the operation as a search for hidden arms depots and the Palestinian militiamen who had remained in Beirut following the PLO evacuation, who were said to number between 2,000 and 4,000. The newspaper therefore interpreted Israel's motive as preventing the military reorganization of the PLO and its allies in the political void caused by the assassination of Gemayel.<sup>20</sup>

This interpretation also appeared in *The Times*, which announced the news of the military operation on its front page, stating that *Begin had acted to preserve gains*, i.e. to prevent the redeployment of PLO military groups in West Beirut.<sup>21</sup> However, *The Times* also presented a second reading, which explicitly denied the officially Israeli position. Indeed, on the same front page, a report by Beirut correspondent Robert Fisk focused on the invalidation of the official Israeli declarations by reporting the words of the Lebanese Prime Minister Chaffiq Wazzan and the opinion of a young member of the Communist Party, who both referred to these declarations as "an excuse."<sup>22</sup> In another report on the same day, Robert Fisk reaffirmed this interpretation by linking the military action to the fact that "there was a favorite saying among Israeli officers in Beirut during the past four months: nature, they would say, abhors a vacuum." In the correspondent's words, "this anodyne phrase accompanied each tiny shift forward"<sup>23</sup> that the Israelis had made in Lebanon.

Thus, although *The Times*, like *The Guardian*, gave a "rational" explanation for the Israeli intervention, the newspaper also ascribed it to an almost anthropologic factor: the fact that the Israelis liked to play the lord and master.

Conversely, the Italian press and *Le Monde* concentrated exclusively on the interpretation that denied any tactical or strategic purpose to Israel. Accordingly, the military intervention was explained by the emotions driving the Israeli leadership, particularly Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, speaking of their "dreams," "desires," and "ambition." *Le Monde*, for instance, stated that the Defense Minister "has decided to take advantage of the attack against Bashir Gemayel to fulfill the occupation he has dreamt about since the beginning of the war."<sup>24</sup> Similarly, in the *Corriere della Sera*, the Israeli intervention was judged as being "from the beginning Sharon's objective," who "having gotten rid of the PLO, was waiting for the occasion to 'complete the work' and get rid of every terrorist, every PLO supporter, even the Palestinian refugees themselves."<sup>25</sup>

The interpretation of the operation as originating in irrational impulses was bolstered by the approach the newspapers adopted toward the military news, i.e. the way in which they reported the unfolding events. Alongside opinions and commentaries devoted to the examination of Israel's possible motives behind the intervention, news

<sup>20</sup> Eric Silver and Loren Jenkins, "Tanks go in while Lebanon mourns," *The Guardian*, September 16, 1982.

<sup>21</sup> Leslie Plommer, "Begin acted to save battle gains," *The Times*, September 16, 1982.

<sup>22</sup> "Israeli troops advance as Lebanon buries its leader," *The Times*, September 16, 1982.

<sup>23</sup> Robert Fisk, "Begin's fateful hand of friendship," *The Times*, September 16, 1982.

<sup>24</sup> "Jérusalem: oui à l'évacuation mais pas immédiatement..." *Le Monde*, September 18, 1982; on the same issue, cf. Jean-Paul Franceschini, "Le vrai successeur..." *Le Monde*, September 18, 1982.

<sup>25</sup> Giuseppe Josca, "Sospetti e accuse sull'assassinio del presidente," *Corriere della Sera*, September 17, 1982.



articles described the events in extremely general terms, often using highly metaphorical language. All of this without any indication about the sequence of events, the quality of the troops and military means involved, or information about tactical and strategic decisions. News articles generically reported "gunfire and shooting," "tanks progressing with confident slowness," "combat aircraft flying low over the city," and "forces tightening their grip" against residential areas of West Beirut.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, the newspapers' correspondents and special envoys contested the Israeli estimate that more than 1,000 militiamen remained in West Beirut.<sup>27</sup> They further repeatedly reported that the Israeli targets (imaginary PLO and left-wing militias) only had at their disposal automatic machineguns, thereby suggesting there was an imbalance between the forces while also suggesting that the action was directed against civilians. For instance, *Le Monde* published a general report by its special envoy in Beirut as follows:

The kfir [missiles] awaken the city, and soon they throw people into shelters. The grip tightens on all sides and, just before eight, the assault is launched. Tanks and commandos come up from the sea.... Panic. Cars rush to a safe shelter. Women run, babies in their arms, toward the nearest shelter. Men follow them, carrying bread and water.<sup>28</sup>

In this respect, *The Guardian* also gave a different account. It was the only newspaper to report a sequence of events, as well as the way the attack was conducted, together with an indication that the operation had taken place in an area that was the stronghold of Palestinian militias.<sup>29</sup> The newspaper's account therefore proves that information about what was going on was in fact available and that, using this information, events could be accounted for in a more comprehensive way.

### 3. THE SABRA AND SHATILA MASSACRES

The alarming Lebanese situation set in motion by Gemayel's death suddenly took a dramatic turn with the massacres in the Palestinian refugees camps of Sabra and Shatila, in which, depending on the estimates, between 700 and 2,000 people were killed, most of whom were civilians. From September 19 onwards, news of the massacres made the front page headlines in all newspapers and news relating to these events monopolized the front pages during the following week.

Due to an initial lack of information about the exact nature of the massacres, the first reports described what had happened mainly through "television-style" descriptions of the destruction and the unburied corpses in the camps, as witnessed by the international

<sup>26</sup> See, for instance, "Israeli troops advance as Lebanon buries its leader," *The Times*, September 16, 1982; cf. Ettore Mo, "Begin respinge l'appello a lasciare Beirut Ovest. Preparativi per demolire i campi palestinesi," *Corriere della Sera*, September 18, 1982; Lucien George, "A Beirut ritorna la guerra," *La Repubblica*, September 16, 1982.

<sup>27</sup> See, for instance, Leslie Plommer, "Israelis occupy Soviet buildings," *The Times*, September 18, 1982: "The Israelis believe there are several thousand armed leftists and Palestinians still in West Beirut, but inside the camps they seemed to number to a few score of scared and trigger-happy guerrillas."

<sup>28</sup> Dominique Pouchin, "Une colère unanime," *Le Monde*, September 18, 1982.

<sup>29</sup> Eric Silver and Loren Jenkins, "Tanks go in while Lebanon mourns," *The Guardian*, September 16, 1982.

journalists in Beirut who first entered the area after the killers had left. At the same time, these first accounts focused on Israel's role in the massacres, which was also highlighted in headlines and leading articles.<sup>30</sup> In fact, whilst rapidly reporting that the actual perpetrators of the massacres were confusedly identified by survivors as belonging either to the Phalangist militias or the Christian militia commanded by Major Saad Haddad (a military renegade who was Israel's closest ally in Southern Lebanon), all reports mainly explored the Israeli leaders' and soldiers' responsibilities, either based on available information or in a hypothetical way. In fact, from the beginning and during the following days, this issue constituted the main focus of the majority of the commentaries and editorials.

Various newspapers blamed Israel with different degrees of responsibility. *Le Monde* and *La Repubblica* ascribed to Israel a *direct* involvement in the massacres. For instance, *Le Monde's* first leading article commenting on the massacres asserted that with this episode

Israel has reached the limits of the crazy logic that belongs to Begin, a paranoiac folly that identifies every Palestinian as a terrorist—and therefore each Palestinian is believed to be one, the absolute evil to exterminate.<sup>31</sup>

Similarly, *La Repubblica's* leader explicitly identified Begin and Sharon as "the architects of the massacre," adding that "we would never have imagined that the Israeli government could organize this latest manhunt (and womanhunt and childhunt) in the Palestinian camps in Beirut."<sup>32</sup>

During the following days *Le Monde* on three occasions devoted its second page entirely to opinions focused on Israel, discussing its involvement and role in the massacres, as well as the implications for the country at a political and moral level. Although various points of view were featured, those accusing Israel for the massacres were preponderant.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, because *Le Monde* exclusively explored Israel's involvement, its reading of the massacres clearly assigned more than a marginal or indirect role to Israel in the events, and instead portrayed it as the main character.

The *Corriere della Sera* ambiguously suggested there had been *indirect* Israeli involvement. Most of the news articles referred to the fact that Israeli soldiers were (only) indirectly involved for having failed to stop the killers in spite of their position around the camps' perimeter. Nevertheless, the newspaper's special envoy in Beirut, describing his conversation with a mother from Shatila whose family had been killed, declared that "we would like to suggest to the woman to put her four dead children, father, and husband on Begin's desk."<sup>34</sup> Moreover, the newspaper's leading article assigned major responsibility to the Israeli government, although it did not accuse the Israeli leaders of planning the massacres.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>30</sup> See, for instance, "La mise en cause d'Israël dans le massacre de Palestiniens," *Le Monde*, September 21, 1982; James MacManus, "Lebanon accuses US and Israel," *The Guardian*, September 20, 1982.

<sup>31</sup> "La faillite de M. Begin," *Le Monde*, September 21, 1982.

<sup>32</sup> Sandro Viola, "Le menzogne israeliane," *La Repubblica*, September 19-20, 1982.

<sup>33</sup> Among the newspaper's most violent accusations of Israel, see, for instance, Tahar Ben Jelloun, "La haine de la paix," *Le Monde*, September 22, 1982.

<sup>34</sup> Ettore Mo, "Strage a Beirut Ovest: centinaia di morti," *Corriere della Sera*, September 19, 1982.

<sup>35</sup> "Ora Israele condannati se stesso," *Corriere della Sera*, September 19, 1982.

Similarly, in leading articles and opinion pieces, the British newspapers endorsed the theory of Israel's indirect responsibility for having failed to stop the massacres and for being somewhat involved with the alleged killers at the military and political level.<sup>36</sup> Two in-depth documentary reports, which appeared in the newspapers when more information had been gathered, provided a chronology of the massacres starting from the Israeli operation in West Beirut, thereby directly linking what had happened to Israel. Moreover, both reports — *The Guardian's* suggestively entitled "Complicity in a massacre" — focused on Israel's role and aimed to establish what the position and the involvement of the troops had been, as well as the degree of government's responsibility that could be inferred from available information and official declarations.<sup>37</sup>

While reports from Beirut continued to analyze Israel's role in depth, in the following days all newspapers prominently featured reports from Israel that conveyed new information, mostly revealed by Israeli military correspondents in Beirut, about the government's and the soldiers' awareness that massacres were being perpetrated against civilians in the camps. The official version given by Defense Minister Sharon in the Knesset also received prominence. Sharon stated that, in agreement with top Phalangist leaders, Israel had indeed planned a military operation, which, according to those plans, should have been confined to action against armed militiamen still hiding in the camps, with Phalangists guaranteeing that no civilians would be harmed.

The press reported on this declaration as "evidence" of Israel's responsibility, in some cases depicting it as an open "confession" by the defense minister. Sharon's specific allegation that Phalangist militias had carried out the massacre, which was corroborated by evidence gathered by Israeli journalists in Lebanon at the same time, was either completely ignored or explicitly denied as fraudulent by the press.

Articles used the word "Phalangists" more frequently than the expression "Haddad's forces" to refer to the killers, although correspondents continued to mention both armies, sometimes in the same story. Even more often, newspapers wrote about the perpetrators of the massacres while underlining their connection to Israel or, alternatively, their subordinate role vis-à-vis Israel. For instance, Robert Fisk, who often referred to the killers as "Christian militias" or "Israel's Lebanese auxiliaries and allies," wrote a report in *The Times* dealing primarily with the connection between the two groups and Israel rather than the two Lebanese armies.<sup>38</sup>

*The Guardian* was the only newspaper that pointed to militia chief Elias Khobeika as the author of the massacres, as indicated by Sharon, and was also the only newspaper that explored the consequences this entailed for Lebanon.<sup>39</sup> As evidence of Maronite involvement increasingly mounted, no other newspaper contemplated the political implications for Lebanon of the Phalangist militias' responsibility, even when Bashir Gemayel's brother, Amin, was elected to the Lebanese presidency.

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<sup>36</sup> "After the massacre," *The Times*, September 20, 1982; cf. "Israel and the massacre," *The Guardian*, September 20, 1982.

<sup>37</sup> James MacManus, "Complicity in a massacre," *The Guardian*, September 25, 1982; "Massacre in Beirut: the evidence from four shameful days," *The Times*, September 24, 1982.

<sup>38</sup> Robert Fisk, "Militias are sustained by Israelis," *The Times*, September 21, 1982.

<sup>39</sup> Eric Silver, "Israel reveals Phalangist plans," *The Guardian*, September 24, 1982. On the issue of the implications for Lebanon of Maronite involvement in the massacres, see, for instance, the following leading article: "The hands that held the smoking gun," *The Guardian*, September 25, 1982.

The press also failed to investigate the motives behind the militias' action. The first reports in the *Corriere della Sera* and *The Guardian* about the massacres raised this issue, but only marginally. In practice, both newspapers simply attributed the massacres to "endemic" Lebanese violence and the "atavistic hatred" nurtured by Christian groups against Muslims and Palestinians.<sup>40</sup> *La Repubblica* and *Le Monde* never contemplated and even explicitly denied the possibility that the Phalangists were animated by revenge because of the assassination of their leader Gemayel. The newspapers' idyllic representation of the national unity fostered by Bashir clearly collided with the reality of the massacres. Both newspapers instead interpreted Sharon's allegations as another Israeli attempt to destabilize Lebanon. This view was also shared by *The Times*, mainly through Fisk's reports.<sup>41</sup>

In contrast, the Israeli "motives" for organizing or allowing the massacres were analyzed in depth by the press, both in news reports and in leading articles and comments. All newspapers considered that one of the reasons behind the massacres was, as *La Repubblica* put it, "the intention of the Israelis to disperse the refugees in order to prevent national and cultural unity, which could favor the formation of armed groups."<sup>42</sup> This comment clearly assumes a political and strategic—and brutal—motive behind Israel's involvement in the massacres. It was the only version presented by *The Guardian*, which, for instance, talked about a "strong suspicion that Mr. Begin, Mr. Sharon and a few more are intent on prolonging the [Lebanese] crisis to extract everything they can from it, including an atmosphere of terror among the Palestinians."<sup>43</sup> However, this interpretation was marginal and the massacres were more often interpreted as deriving from Israeli leaders' willingness to annihilate Palestinians, a "desire" belonging to the irrational sphere, beyond any political or military rationale.

For instance, the *Corriere della Sera* stated that the massacres were "absurd and found no justification in the logic of war." It assigned their responsibility to Israel and suggested, using a comparison to World War II, that the Israelis were in fact animated by a desire of extermination similar to the one once suffered by the Jews during that period: "the Israelis have committed a historic crime. Indeed a people who came out of the lager could not and should not have committed the massacre of the Palestinians who stayed in the lager after the evacuation of the guerrilla."<sup>44</sup>

*La Repubblica* conveyed a similar view. It held that the Jewish people had undergone a process of "mutation" in Israel by introducing the idea of an "Israeli disease" as the key to interpret events. The newspaper found the origin of the disease, characterized as the "emergence of a systematic and uncontrollable violence both at the level of the leadership and amongst the entire society,"<sup>45</sup> in the Jewish character of the state. In the editor's words:

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<sup>40</sup> Ettore Mo, "Strage a Beirut Ovest: centinaia di morti," *Corriere della Sera*, September 19, 1982; James MacManus, "Beirut stunned by barbarism," *The Guardian*, September 20, 1982.

<sup>41</sup> Robert Fisk, "Gemayel sworn in as President," *The Times*, September 24, 1982.

<sup>42</sup> Miriam Mafai, "Anche commandos israeliani erano presenti alla strage," *La Repubblica*, September 23, 1982; cf. Michel Tatu, "Le Liban, pays divisé ou Etat satellite?," *Le Monde*, September 23, 1982.

<sup>43</sup> "Israel needs an inquiry," *The Guardian*, September 23, 1982.

<sup>44</sup> "Ora Israele condanni se stesso," *Corriere della Sera*, September 19, 1982.

<sup>45</sup> Francesco Alberoni, "Occhio per occhio dente per dente," *La Repubblica*, September 22, 1982. The newspaper developed the concept of an "Israeli disease" in ten leading articles that were published during the fortnight following the massacres.

[the origin of the disease] is primarily psychological. Israel has introjected part of the violence it has suffered from over centuries and now that it can, it gives it back furiously. From sacrificial victim, it has become executioner; from defenseless people, it has become a conqueror State.<sup>46</sup>

Much like the Italian newspapers, *Le Monde* considered that the Israeli leaders' "folie exterminatrice" was one of the primary motives of the massacres. It featured several comments that assigned this irrational feeling to a "mutation" the Jews had undergone in Israel.

Finally, *The Times* did not focus on the reasons behind the massacres. Nevertheless, a comment by Fisk conveyed the idea that the massacres were to be understood as an Israeli "obsession" vis-à-vis terrorism, thus once again placing the Israeli motivation primarily in the irrational sphere.<sup>47</sup>

#### 4. "ANOTHER ISRAEL": THE REACTIONS TO THE MASSACRES IN ISRAEL AND AMONG DIASPORA JEWS

Another issue emerges from the analysis of the press during this period. The image of Israel described so far concentrates mainly on the representation of the government and the military. Following the massacres, newspapers also conveyed the image of what they described as "another Israel," which referred not only to what was, in the newspapers' judgment, "the finest part" of the Israeli public but also to Jews in the Diaspora.

From the beginning, the reactions of Israeli civil society to the massacres received attention in the press. News articles and reports from Israel described Israeli citizens as "anguished" and "distracted," as well as "ashamed," because of what had happened in the refugee camps.<sup>48</sup> However, these feelings were never further explored. The news from Israel instead dealt with the political struggle that was raging in parliament between the government and the Labor opposition party, due to the refusal of the former to set up an impartial commission of inquiry into the involvement of the army and politicians in the events.

In addition to political coverage, correspondents reported on the protests that were taking place in the country. On September 25, the front page headlines of all newspapers were devoted to the news of a demonstration that the opposition and peace movements had organized the day before in Tel Aviv.

Although the news emphasized that this had been the biggest demonstration ever held in Israel since the foundation of the state, all newspapers also pointed out that only a minority of the population opposed the government. Moreover, no newspaper examined Israeli pacifism in and of itself. The demands of the pacifist movement therefore appeared to be directly related to the massacres and the opposition's demands for a

<sup>46</sup> Eugenio Scalfari, "Un male oscuro divora Israele," *La Repubblica*, September 22, 1982.

<sup>47</sup> Robert Fisk, "Israel, victim of its own fears," *The Times*, September 29, 1982.

<sup>48</sup> See, for instance, Marco Bianchi, "Duramente repressa dalla polizia in Israele una manifestazione laborista contro Begin," *Corriere della Sera*, September 20, 1982; cf. Avigdor Livni, "Per Israele è l'ora della vergogna," *La Repubblica*, September 21, 1982; Eric Silver, "Israel reveals Phalangist plans," *The Guardian*, September 23, 1982; "The first and second schedules," *The Guardian*, September 29, 1982; "La faille de M. Begin," *Le Monde*, September 21, 1982.

commission of inquiry and the resignation of the government. The peace movement, as represented in the press, ultimately coincided with the parliamentary opposition.

The press's analysis of Israeli society was thus limited to an investigation of political parties and political events, and the newspapers were unable to echo the various points of view circulating in Israeli social and political life.

Furthermore, from the start, the newspapers drew parallels between the Israeli reaction and the reaction of Jewish communities in the Diaspora. Both issues appeared in articles that were placed side-by-side on front and inside pages.

Several articles reported on the official declarations of the international Jewish community concerning the massacres and covered large and small initiatives promoted by Jewish institutions and groups. A protest organized by a few dozen Jews in Rome was thus compared to the 400,000-strong demonstration in Tel Aviv.

While the views of individual Israelis were either marginalized or ignored, on several occasions news articles conveyed the opinions of individual non-Israelis explicitly identified as Jews and gave prominence to interviews with intellectuals and community leaders.<sup>49</sup>

These "Jewish opinions" often unanimously condemned the Israeli deeds in Lebanon. As a consequence, newspapers represented Diaspora Jews as the true holders of the "original values of Judaism,"<sup>50</sup> as opposed to the transgression of those values perpetrated by Israeli politicians.

The fact that, in the press's view, the massacres concerned Diaspora Jews as well as Israelis can be clearly seen, for instance, in the following comment in the *Corriere della Sera*:

What is going on in the heart, in the mind, in the feelings of those who are called Levi or Segre, of those who have the name of a city and are linked, heart and soul, to the people of the "Exodus"? We asked intellectuals, writers ... common people who are experiencing, once again, the nightmare of the uncertainty and of the Biblical curse, because of a now generalized condemnation.<sup>51</sup>

Clearly, the quality of the articles conveying the reaction of the Diaspora Jews was superior to that of the articles concerning the Israelis' reaction. In addition, the repetition of these articles gave the impression that the members of the "other Israel" whom the newspapers talked about were first and foremost Diaspora Jews, whose image conflicted greatly with the negative image of the Israelis as presented in the news.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

From this analysis of the newspapers' coverage of the events in Lebanon of September 1982, three key issues emerge about the image of Israel and the Israelis as conveyed by the press during this period.

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<sup>49</sup> Giampaolo Pansa, "Io, Primo Levi, chiedo le dimissioni di Begin," *La Repubblica*, September 24, 1982; cf. Antonio Ferrari, "Gli ebrei italiani: 'Processo internazionale per Sharon,'" *Corriere della Sera*, September 20, 1982; "'Israel's act of lunacy' deplored," *The Times*, September 24, 1982; David Pallister, "British Jews join in criticism," *The Guardian*, September 20, 1982.

<sup>50</sup> *Supra*. See also Claire Nash, "Chief Rabbi urges Begin to explain," *The Guardian*, September 21, 1982; cf. "The Jews of Britain condemn Begin," *The Times*, September 20, 1982.

<sup>51</sup> Antonio Ferrari, "Gli ebrei di italiani: 'Processo internazionale per Sharon,'" *Corriere della Sera*, September 20, 1982.

First of all, all newspapers tended to detach Israel from the surrounding historical and political context, which was merely presented as a "stage" on which the Israelis operated. In other words, the actions of the Israelis received prominent or exclusive attention, as clearly suggested in the analysis of the coverage of Gemayel's assassination. Both the Orientalist representation of Lebanese society adopted by the *Corriere della Sera* and the approach of the British newspapers, which focused on the international consequences of Gemayel's death, ignored Lebanon's multifaceted ethnic and political reality. *Le Monde* and *La Repubblica*, on the other hand, chose to depict an idyllic image of Lebanese society that equally deprived the readers of the possibility to fully comprehend the complexity of the events.

When mentioned in the press, the various Lebanese groups were simply "labeled" under general political or ethnic terms (the left-wing, the Muslims, the Maronites, etc.) without any information on their political positions or ambitions.

The press adopted a similar aphasic representation of the Palestinians. In the accounts of the military operation in West Beirut, they emerged in an abstract manner as potential targets of the Israelis. Conversely, in reports about the massacres at Sabra and Shatila, they appeared either as unburied corpses or small groups of survivors (most often women) mourning what had happened. On this occasion, the press did not show any interest in their emotional individuality nor, as was the case for other Lebanese factions, in their political specificity. Instead, they were represented as symbolic victims of Israeli (mis)deeds.

Secondly, concerning the way the press portrayed the Israelis, the analysis reveals that their image was often based on prejudices toward Israeli leaders' actions and motives rather than on an examination of the available data and information. This can clearly be inferred from the attitude of the press toward information from Israeli sources, which the press relied on only when it corroborated already established opinions, as happened with evidence gathered by Israeli journalists about Israel's military and political involvement in the massacres. In contrast, information coming from the Israeli government was either ignored or denied regardless of its validity when it did not match "expectations," as happened in the case of official declarations making allegations against the Phalangist militias. Although the Italian newspapers and *Le Monde* used this approach more often, it was sometimes also adopted by *The Times*. Certainly, the greater the amount of available information and the deeper the elaboration of the facts, like in *The Guardian*, the more balanced the ideas conveyed about the facts themselves and about the main characters involved in the events.

Nevertheless, the image of Israel and the Israelis painted by the press was misleading and almost exclusively represented the actions and opinions of the army and the government. Leaders were portrayed in very negative terms in all newspapers and were mostly described as being driven by a conquering will and irrational (negative) impulses, such as vengeance and a desire for annihilation. The image of the Israeli army that appeared in the news consisted mainly of military means (aircraft and tanks), conveying the idea of devastating force and the disproportionate (and indiscriminate) use of those means. These reports converged in validating the expression "Israeli war machine," which was used by journalists and commentators in all newspapers as a synonym for the Israeli army, together with the use of phrases like "Sharon's army" or "Begin's troops," which explicitly identified the army with the government.

Moreover, by referring to World War II when describing the massacres in Sabra and Shatila, the press implicitly drew a parallel between the Nazis and the Israelis, who were referred to as the executioners of today's victims (the Palestinians). The Israelis were thus depicted in terms of absolute evil, and the interpretation of their actions, deprived of any political or sociological analysis, resorted to psychological categories. "Insane passion," "folly," and "mental disease" were all identified as belonging specifically to the Israelis.

Discussing the press coverage of the events in Lebanon of 1982 in his latest work *La nouvelle propagande antijuive*, the French sociologist Pierré-André Taguieff argues that

The criminalization of Israel based on the accusation of the Sabra and Shatila massacres derives from a campaign of disinformation that has all in all succeeded. But this campaign was successful because it offered a confirmation of what the audience already believed it knew. Something like an illustration considered as evidence of what Israel was expected to do.<sup>52</sup>

From the analysis of the press, it is not a conscious campaign of disinformation that emerges but rather a "set of prejudices" about Israel that informed the work of the journalists, affecting their coverage of events, and was presumably shared by the audience the newspapers addressed. Moreover, these prejudices, although more prominent in the left-wing *Le Monde* and *La Repubblica*, were by no means exclusive to this side of the political spectrum. In practice, they were shared by the conservative *Corriere della Sera* and *The Times*. In the left-wing *The Guardian*, however, these prejudices were mitigated by the more comprehensive information provided by the newspaper.

Finally, the emerging image of "another Israel" was awarded a positive connotation through an ambiguous parallelism between a segment of the Israeli public and Jews in the Diaspora. Without any elaboration on the reality and the complexity of the relationship between Diaspora Jews and the State of Israel, the former were regarded as primary interpreters of Israeli actions and were treated almost as full characters taking part in the events.

The press presented Israel as the lens through which Diaspora Jews were observed, thus portraying it as the "collective Jew."

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# Durban Reviewed: The Transformation of Antisemitism in a Cosmopolitanizing Environment

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## I. INTRODUCTION

The objective of this paper is to discuss antisemitism<sup>1</sup> in the cosmopolitanizing environment of the UN Durban Review Conference (henceforth, Durban II), which took place in Geneva in 2009. Based on our definition of antisemitism, we will map the transformations and continuities of antisemitism at Durban II as compared to traditional antisemitism. Instead of a mere description of the events, we seek to capture Durban II, the preparatory process, and the surrounding debates as a cosmopolitanizing environment. As shall be explained later, such an environment is a fairly institutionalized setting that is located between the nation-state and (the so far non-existent) world society. This more abstract conceptualization of Durban II allows for an evidence-based investigation of the degree to which antisemitic practices<sup>2</sup> were modified at Durban II. By way of conclusion, we suggest that, on the surface, antisemitic speech has been adapted to the new cosmopolitanizing environment of Durban II. A more thorough inspection reveals that the most remarkable turning point in modern antisemitism remains the Shoah and the subsequent establishment of the State of Israel. In other words, the patterns of resentment unfolding at Durban II are to be understood as antisemitism coming after the Nazi annihilation of European Jews and in light of the continued threat to the existence of a Jewish and democratic sovereign state.

The 2001 World Conference Against Racism (WCAR) in Durban and its 2009 follow-up, both organized by the UN, garnered wide media attention due to the antisemitic acts

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<sup>1</sup> Throughout this text, the spelling *antisemitism* is preferred. In contrast to the hyphenated version, it visualizes that antisemitism is an ideology directed against Jews or people perceived as such and that it bears no relation to opposition against *Semitism*, which outside the field of linguistics is a largely meaningless concept.

<sup>2</sup> In an earlier article (Falter & Kuebler 2010), based on a comprehensive analysis of all documents pertinent to Durban II, we identified the obsession with Israel as the sole bearer of blame for the Middle East conflict, the delegitimation of Jewish statehood, the equation of Israel with Nazi Germany, the Jewish world conspiracy myth, and the hijacking of Jewish Holocaust remembrance as the core antisemitic moments at Durban II.

of various conference participants and accredited NGO representatives, the almost obsessive concentration on Israel's role in the Middle East conflict, and the corresponding protest, which included the withdrawal of several country delegations.<sup>3</sup> Even commentators who are rather critical of Israel, such as Banton, argue that a unique opportunity to address racism, colonialism, and slavery at global level was thereby missed (Banton 2002: 359). In September 2011, Durban III took place in New York to mark one decade of what could be called the Durban process of UN anti-racism events and related preparatory processes.<sup>4</sup>

The UN-Israel relationship has been tense since its inception. The UN's disproportionate focus on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is characterized by an anti-Israel bias (cf. Mréjen 1998). Resolution 3379, branding Zionism as a form of racism, which was passed in 1975 and revoked in 1991, represents the pre-Durban nadir of this relationship. At the same time, the UN refers to the end of World War II as its founding moment, following the failure of the League of Nations, and has been active in Holocaust remembrance and genocide prevention since the turn of the millennium.

Before analyzing antisemitism and Durban II, our normative point of departure should be clarified. We advocate the viewpoint that international and regional organizations are shaped by power relations and unequal access. They accordingly constitute venues of politics, i.e. the ideologically grounded contestation of interests and preferences, and are clearly not a-political regulators. These international and regional actors by no means render the nation-state obsolete, but rather supplement it in terms of moderating member-state positions and re-importing adapted or novel policies to the domestic level. Conceding to Dahl's skepticism (Dahl 2010), this does not automatically imply that international or regional organizations promote or at least partially function according to Western liberal democratic principles. This is especially true of intergovernmental organizations, whose actors are delegated or appointed by nation-state governments and cannot be elected into office or forced to resign by the people. Dahl's critique of unrealistic expectations regarding global democracy can be expanded to the realm of transnational civil society. Yet ideology and interest-based politics do not necessarily need a full-blown democratic framework to materialize. Moreover, it is important to emphasize the significance of the UN's legitimacy, which is due to its foundation as an immediate response to the crimes against humanity and atrocities of World War II and the inclusion of practically all sovereign nation-states. Antisemitic agitation in such an environment does not only bestow acceptability on this ideology but can also have a very tangible impact on concrete geo-political decisions.

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<sup>3</sup> Israel and the United States withdrew their delegations from the WCAR. Australia, Canada, Germany, Israel, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Poland, and the United States refused to participate in Durban II due to the anti-Israel stances that became obvious during the preparatory process. The United Kingdom and 22 other European countries boycotted President Ahmadinejad's speech. The Czech Republic, which held the rotating European Council presidency at the time, recalled its delegation shortly after Ahmadinejad's antisemitic tirade.

<sup>4</sup> Due to time constraints, Durban III is not covered in this analysis. It can only be assumed that our theoretical argument will be at least partially applicable to the decennial conference. As of the beginning of September 2011, Australia, Austria, Canada, the Czech Republic, Germany, Israel, Italy, the Netherlands and the United States had announced their intention to boycott the event.

## II. ANTISEMITISM AFTER THE SHOAH AND IN LIGHT OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL

We regard antisemitism as ideologically shaped hostility toward people who define themselves or are defined by others as being Jewish. Antisemitism is a complex of resentments against Jews as well as an ideological explanation of the world and society (Rensmann & Schoeps 2011: 21; Salzborn 2010b: 91). Antisemitic prejudices are anti-pluralistic, since they reject the idea of a diverse society. Antisemites pursue the idea of a harmonious community devoid of conflict and difference in standpoints. Contrary to racism, modern antisemitism conveys a Manichean dimension by imagining a “counter-race,” which according to antisemites ought to be annihilated (Horkheimer & Adorno 2001: 177). In this ideological assumption, Jews embody by their very existence the “principle of evil,” which clashes with other peoples’ welfare and interests (Sartre 1994: 28). Jews are blamed for social and political conflicts as well as economic crises, and they are regarded as a powerful clique that affects various social structures and phenomena. Antisemitism can therefore be regarded as a distorted perception and explanation of reality.

Being a hermetic worldview, antisemitism tends to resist all empirical evidence countering its ideological suppositions (Arendt 2001: 763; Salzborn 2010a: 331). However, antisemitic resentments do not remain completely steady, and their frames of ideological argumentation have transformed throughout history due to changing political, economic, and social circumstances (Laqueur 2006; Maccoby 2006; Wistrich 2010: 34). Since the Holocaust, overt antisemitic attacks against Jews have been gradually replaced with a coded political language that produces and reproduces antisemitic resentments less blatantly, especially within Western democratic nation-states and/or international and regional organizations shaped by the West (Rensmann & Schoeps 2011: 18). In addition, Holocaust denial, the fight against remembrance of the Shoah, and rejection of the State of Israel have been incorporated into the complex of antisemitic ideology. Though already an expression of antisemitic resentment before the establishment of Israel, in its aftermath anti-Zionism has increasingly become a focal point of antisemitic ideology (Wistrich 2010: 62). Displaying most features common to an ethnically defined nation-state, contemporary Israel’s self-characterization as a Jewish state<sup>5</sup> is used as an accusation against it, turning it into a “Jew among the nations” in a seemingly post-national world. In this context, criticism of Israel serves as a smokescreen for less acceptable overt antisemitic attacks.

## III. HALF-WAY TO A GLOBAL COSMOPOLITAN DEMOCRACY

By analyzing antisemitic contributions to Durban II, we highlight current changes and continuities in antisemitism in a cosmopolitanizing environment. Fine’s useful distinction between the “cosmopolitan outlook” and the “cosmopolitan condition” (Fine 2007: 134) describes the tension between the ideal of a cosmopolitan world, as envisioned by

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<sup>5</sup> As stated in the introduction, Israel defines itself as a democratic and Jewish state. Among its foes, its perception as a Jewish state is most salient. Likewise, Israel displays elements of liberal, ethnic, and republican statehood and citizenship (cf. Shafir & Peled 2002). The ethnic component is stressed here, as Israel’s immigration and naturalization laws are predominantly defined by criteria of ethnicity.

the Stoics in antiquity, Kant, and contemporary thinkers such as Held, and present-day globalized society with its existing — albeit isolated — actualizations of cosmopolitanism. In order to make sense of this non-linear process toward a (currently utopian) world society, the term *cosmopolitanizing environment* is introduced. This describes a partially institutionalized setting (more concretely UN bodies or regular meetings and large-scale conferences) that clearly transcends the boundaries of the sovereign nation-state or mere intergovernmental cooperation, is inclusive toward non-state actors, and realizes core elements of cosmopolitanism.

Such programmatic political cosmopolitanism in its idealized form has been cogently described by Archibugi (2010) and Held (2010). A future cosmopolitan democracy would be anchored in a UN-based world parliament, representing governments and individuals, with the important qualification that decisions should be taken most closely to the citizens affected. Issues that transcend the limits of subsidiarity and make it on to the agenda of the world parliament are thus understood to be of global significance. Archibugi (2010: 321) explains one of the key features of his and Held's vision: "Admission to intergovernmental organizations is regulated by the principle of effective control over a given territory, excluding only governments that violate fundamental human rights (for instance, genocide and apartheid)." A watershed controversy within the discussion of political cosmopolitanism concerns the question of basic constitutional rules, most probably of Western liberal democratic design (a viewpoint advocated by Habermas), and Mouffe's call for ongoing contestation that transforms antagonism into agonism (cf. Tambakaki 2009).

The case of Durban II is conceptually challenging, because it merges the existing cosmopolitan condition (as expressed in low thresholds to participation, (temporary) recognition irrespective of concrete form of government, and the cherished principle of dialogue) with the ideal of a global community stripped of racism, the negative legacy of slavery, and (neo-)colonialism. Certainly, the cosmopolitanizing environment that emerged during the Durban process is host to fundamental arguments concerning the potential membership of world society. Although this is a rather illusionary goal, disputes in this regard are fought out with the means provided by the existing cosmopolitan condition. Furthermore, Durban II was clearly informed by the framing of the issue of racism and the purported domination of the world by the West, the United States and, most ridiculously, Israel as a joint predicament. According to Beck (2010), affectedness shared by all or at least large segments of humanity provokes the search for cosmopolitan answers. Drawing on Pogge (2010), the principle of sovereignty is entirely abolished, but political units are reshaped in order to adequately respond to threats that cut across nation-state borders. Finally, the cosmopolitanizing environment of Durban II prominently features more or less explicit references to (real or perceived) crimes against humanity. This mirrors and possibly also perverts the basic cosmopolitan principle of the human rights of the individual superseding the power of sovereign states (as expressed in the juridification of the issue at the Nuremberg, Rwanda, and Bosnia tribunals and the ICC) (cf. Benhabib 2006; Hayden 2005). As explained in the seminal study by Levy and Sznajder (2005) on the globalization and universalization of Holocaust remembrance, the Holocaust serves as a blueprint for the global recognition of victimhood in a cosmopolitanizing environment.

#### IV. JEWS AND ISRAEL: A STUMBLING BLOCK ON THE ROAD TO A HARMONIOUS WORLD SOCIETY?

At Durban II, the struggle over inclusion in and exclusion from an ideal cosmopolitan world society culminated in an effort by Arab and Muslim countries and similarly aligned NGOs to exclude Israel from a future world society. Not surprisingly, this received a rather lukewarm reaction from UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon (4) and UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Navanethem Pillay (5), who vacillated between their outrage at Ahmadinejad's antisemitism and their desire to keep the conference as inclusive and dialogue-based as possible. According to the conceptualization of antisemitism as outlined above, the singling-out of Israel from the apparently harmonious global community revolves around five dimensions, which include both changes and continuities in traditional antisemitic resentments. These dimensions are: the construction of a harmonious global community;<sup>6</sup> exclusion from such a community; the deflation and reversal of guilt; falling victim to imagined Jewish domination and conspiracies; and the rejection of nationhood and nation-states.

Although 20th century antisemitism has always had an international dimension (Arendt 1948), it tended to be framed by national semantics (Holz 2001). Ironically, Jews were considered to be a cosmopolitan threat to the nation-state by undermining the national community through modern capitalism and international conspiracies (Rensmann & Schoeps 2011: 23). The notion of a homogenous collective is a key aspect of antisemitic ideology, but in the cosmopolitanizing environment the point of reference is gradually shifting to the idea of a harmonious world community devoid of conflict. Whereas in the national context Jews were depicted as an anti-national or cosmopolitan menace to the nation concerned, in a cosmopolitanizing environment that promotes the notion of global dialogue antisemites accuse Israel and Zionists of being a nationalist, racist, and particularist remnant in an imagined universalist surrounding. In both cases, Jews are perceived as the cause for international conflicts, economic crises, and human suffering. Due to the politically correct speech adopted after the Shoah, antisemitic speech rarely refers to the Jews but rather to the Jewish national movement, i.e. Zionism.

The overarching theme of the antisemitic speech acts at Durban II was the attempt to ostracize Israel and by extension, perhaps, the Jewish people from the desired harmony of the global community. The cosmopolitanization of international politics contributes to the globalization of the discourses of inclusion and exclusion beyond the nation-state. A Janus-faced process of *othering* can be discerned. On the one hand, the *Other* can be a respected part of humankind, whose diversity has to be accommodated by means of deliberation. On the other hand, a different *Other* is completely shunned from the imagined global community, as its very existence is regarded as a threat to the former. The discursive and practical exclusion of Jews and Jewish collectives from various types of community is a core device of antisemitic ideology. Whereas in Medieval Europe Jews

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<sup>6</sup> The terms *world society* and *global community* are not used entirely interchangeably here. While the first is indicative of an idealized cosmopolitan future, in which people associate with and assume responsibility for each other by dint of their belonging to humankind, the latter contains the notion of a more closely knit collective, which excludes people on the ground of certain criteria of belonging. One such criterion could be compliance with cosmopolitan ideals as defined by the insiders or potential insiders of the global community.

were expelled from towns and boroughs, in more modern times they have been regarded as a menace to gentile communities. Antisemitic outbursts in a cosmopolitanizing environment clearly include a disproportionate focus on the Middle East conflict. Under this distorted perception, the Palestinian side is made out to be the victim while the Israeli state is demonized. For example, the statement by the head of the Sudanese delegation at Durban II singled out the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and referred to “heinous crimes committed against the Palestinian people by the Israeli occupation” (10). Moreover he stated that “Israel continues to act against humanity,” thereby excluding it from the imagined community concerned with the protection of humanity. Two months prior to Durban II, the Iranian minister of foreign affairs accused Israel of “committing multiple crimes against humanity and war crimes.” Israel would not “pay the faintest respect to humanity and human rights” and would ignore “the values of the international community and the civilized world” (11). By demonizing Israel, antisemitic actors attempt to build the discursive foundations for its exclusion from a cosmopolitanizing global community.

The term Holocaust has been universalized to characterize other (real or perceived) crimes against humanity and the subsequent legitimate recognition of victimhood. This is part of a tendency to hijack and delegitimize this specific Jewish memory. A wealth of contributions at Durban II attempted to claim victimhood of a Holocaust-like crime in order to delegitimize the status of the State of Israel, which is an historical consequence of Nazis’ mass extermination of the Jews. This link is increasingly and awkwardly used by Holocaust deniers, who trivialize or reject the Shoah but also compare contemporary Israeli policies and military action to that of Nazi Germany in order to justify their hatred of the State of Israel. A consortium of several NGOs contributed a statement at Durban II accusing Israel of “implementing a policy of slow ‘ethnic cleansing’” (1). Another attempt to claim victimhood was displayed in a statement by Algeria during a session of the Preparatory Committee in which it claimed that Arabs were also “Semites” and hence that they were affected by the exclusionary practices of European societies in a similar fashion to Jews (12). Others did not adopt the term of antisemitism for their own cause but, like the Secretary General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), rejected any discussion on antisemitism. At Durban II, he remarked that the Review Process should not be “an anti-Semitism exercise” and in so doing repudiated any engagement with charges of antisemitism. Furthermore, he proposed that the participants should “address the *real* and serious challenges of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and islamophobia” (8, emphasis added). It was frequently suggested that the concept of Islamophobia was the exact equivalent of antisemitism and an even more pressing and ardent issue. In the most extreme cases, Israeli policies toward the Palestinians were equated with Nazi crimes. For example, the Iranian Neda Institute for Scientific and Political Research accused Israel of “intentionally and indiscriminately” targeting civilians in the Palestinian territories, arguing that “[t]his can only be explained by incessant indoctrinations of racial superiority....” It went on to state that a “genuine opposition to Nazism can only be achieved by fighting the concepts of racial superiority” (3). This statement thus links (alleged) Israeli policies to the Nazi concept of racial superiority and is tantamount to a reversal of guilt.

In a fiercely criticized speech at Durban II, Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad incorporated key elements of several classic antisemitic conspiracies by suggesting to the assembly that “you are all aware of the conspiracies of some powers and



Zionist circles against the goals and objectives of this conference" (7). Shortly thereafter, he stated that the "making of a global society is in fact the accomplishment of a noble goal held in the establishment of a common global system". In antisemitic ideology, the successful construction of a homogeneous world community is inextricably bound up with the projection of all real-life contradictions and cleavages onto an allegedly powerful clique of people (i.e. the Jews) who are perceived as inhibiting the progress and well-being of all other nations. Put succinctly, antisemites tend to regard themselves and/or their allies as victims of alleged Jewish domination. The perception of victimhood requires an easily identifiable perpetrator. By reducing complex phenomena and relations to the form of a single clique, this Manichean and distorted worldview is able to gain momentum. Antisemitic conspiracy theories have always transcended national boundaries, but in a cosmopolitanizing environment and given the universalization of Holocaust remembrance the presumed moral surplus of victimhood is outweighed by antisemitic fear of Jewish domination. Even the Western media's criticism of antisemitic and anti-Zionist tendencies within the Durban process was linked to conspiracy theories. For example, an NGO named Europe-Third World Centre (CETIM) ascribed the "disinformation" to the influence of "financial oligarchies" (2).

The challenge posed by the imposition of globalization on a world still structured according to nation-state divisions and the uncertainties arising from that situation are projected onto Israel, which in the eyes of its enemies is an example of outdated and ultimately illegitimate nationalism. The nationalist agendas of other sovereign states were simply ignored at Durban II and were even defended against foreign interference. A collective of NGOs against racism against Arabs, Africans, and Muslims issued a statement singling out the Middle East conflict as the only evil in the region, while simultaneously protesting against the charges brought by the International Criminal Court against the Sudanese president (6). At the closing session of Durban II, the Pakistani representative of the OIC emphasized the "positive role played by the delegations of Palestine, Syria and Iran" and protested against the occupation of "Muslim lands" (9).

This examination of the contributions to the debate on Israel within the Durban process demonstrates that the concept of the nation-state as such had not been abandoned, but rather that a distinction had been created between legitimate and illegitimate statehood. In this vein, the branding of Israel as racist and nationalist must be deemed antisemitic, since almost every other country, as well as the general nexus of ethnically defined nationalism and racism, was not branded in this manner.

## V. CONCLUSION: OLD WINE IN NEW BOTTLES

Antisemitism is changing its appearance in response to changing social circumstances, while simultaneously preserving some of its core features. This statement holds true for the entire history of antisemitism and is also applicable, as argued here, in the case of Durban II. We have grouped the antisemitic practices at Durban II into five dimensions—the construction of a harmonious global community; exclusion from such a community; the deflation and reversal of guilt; falling victim to imagined Jewish domination and conspiracies; and the rejection of nationhood and nation-states—and buttressed our argument with particularly telling quotes from various Durban II documents. All of these dimensions contain specific elements of antisemitism in a cosmopolitanizing environment, such as the desire to overcome a nation-state-centered

world, the drafting of membership criteria that pretend to be inclusive to all but exclude some by delegitimizing them, and the reference to the international rejection of and jurisdiction over crimes against humanity. Comparable, if not identical, mechanisms of ostracism and dehumanization were employed against Jewish individuals and collectives throughout history. The deflation of guilt and the accusation of outdated nationhood clearly relate to post-Holocaust antisemitism and the establishment of a sovereign Jewish and democratic state. While one can discern changes in the antisemitic resentment expressed at Durban II and, more generally speaking, in a cosmopolitanizing environment, caution must be exercised in deciding whether there is anything really new here. We challenge the proposition of novelty and conclude that the antisemitism displayed at Durban II continues to draw on the post-1945 (defeat of Nazi Germany) and post-1948 (foundation of the State of Israel) features of antisemitism. This does not preclude that more substantial transformations could materialize on the path to further cosmopolitanization. For the time being, research on antisemitism should focus on the necessary criticism of the social conditions that produce and reproduce antisemitism.

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