

# Anti-Semitism in Europe

Images, Media, and Stereotypes



By Emanuele Ottolenghi

Senior Research Fellow  
The Oxford Centre for Hebrew and  
Jewish Studies, Oxford University

© Emanuele Ottolenghi 2004

# What is anti-Semitism?

- The term anti-Semitism was coined by Jew-hating German writer Wilhelm Marr in 1879 in order to define a racially-based type of anti-Jewish feeling. It refers to Jews only
- Semites do not exist. There are Semitic languages, not Semitic people
- The current use of the term anti-Semitism does not reflect the narrower definition originally suggested, which was based on now discredited racist theories, despite their credence in certain circles
- The current use of the term is thus a conflation of various, variously motivated forms of anti-Jewish feeling, including old Christian prejudice, socio-economic prejudice, racially inspired extreme right-wing and Nazi-like anti-Semitism, conspiracy theories about Jews and Jewish power in the world of finance, the Media and politics

# Anti-Semitism=Anti-Zionism?

- Anti-Semitism, Anti-Zionism, and Criticism of Israeli policies are not necessarily synonymous
- Nevertheless, anti-Semitic themes sometimes find their way in anti-Zionist rhetoric and in criticism of Israel, its government, policies and society
- Since October 2000, a debate has been raging, mainly in Europe, on where to draw the line between legitimate criticism of Israel, its government and its policies and anti-Semitism



# When Is Anti-Zionism not Anti-Semitism?

- Anti-Zionism may be defined as opposition to the Jewish national idea as well as the consequences of Zionism:
- The historical cost of its realisation was too high
- Jews are better off as a scattered, stateless minority
- Jews are not a nation, just members of a religious faith
- This is a serious argument, based on interests, moral claims, and an interpretation of history, which may not be equated to anti-Semitism

# When Is Anti-Zionism not Anti-Semitism?

- To oppose Zionism in its essence and to refuse to accept its political offspring, Israel, as a legitimate entity, entails more. Zionism comprises a belief that Jews are a nation, and as such are entitled to self-determination as all other nations are

- It could be suggested that nationalism is a pernicious force. In which case one should oppose Palestinian nationalism as well
- It could even be argued that though both claims are true and noble, it would have been better to pursue Jewish national rights elsewhere

# When Is Anti-Zionism Anti-Semitism?

- Negating Zionism, by claiming that Zionism equals racism, goes further and denies the Jews the right to identify, understand and imagine themselves - and consequently behave as - a nation. Many anti-Zionists deny Jews a right that they all too readily bestow on others, first of all Palestinians
- Jews have been arguing about their own identity for the last two hundred years: it is up to them to define themselves, nationally or otherwise, not on the international community to dictate Jews an identity as a precondition for equality, acceptance and integration



# If That Were The Case

- It would mean that Jews, unlike all other groups, are restricted in the way they can imagine themselves as a collective
- It means that their equal status in societies is dependent on the kind of identity they hold and the kind of opinions they espouse
- It means that Jews are on probation

In order to draw distinctions one needs to ask the following questions:

- What is the present state of anti-Semitism?
- Does anti-Semitism make its way into the coverage of the Arab-Israeli conflict?
- How so?
- Where does one draw the line between legitimate criticism and stereotyping?

# Defining the Problem: is there a connection between anti-Semitism and the Middle East conflict?

‘Although we know – and opinion polls show - that anti-Semitism is permanently present in Europe in a more or less hidden way, many of us have hoped that manifest forms of anti-Semitism will not see any revival in Europe again. At present, Jews are rather well integrated economically, socially and culturally in the Member States of the European Union (EU). But the attacks in New York and Washington on September 11 and the conflict in the Middle East have contributed to an atmosphere in Europe, which gives latent anti-Semitism and hate and incitement a new strength and power of seduction. Even rumours that Israel was responsible for 11 September 2001, for the attacks on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon, and that Jews bring about a situation in their interest in order to put the blame on somebody else, found a receptive audience in some places. Anti-Semitic conspiracy theories are spreading over the Internet, which provides a cheap vehicle for the distribution of hate.’

# Data and Statistics

- Anti-Semitic incidents have risen across Europe since October 2000
- Surveys show the resilience of anti-Semitic prejudice in Europe
- Data from across the Continent show a correlation between events in the Middle East and anti-Semitic incidents
- The nature and the extent of the coverage of the ME crisis has a direct correlation with fluctuations in the level of recorded incidents

# UK Statistics: Anti-Semitic incidents, 1999-2003

Category	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Extreme Violence	1	4	0	0	2	1	5	0
Assault	13	19	17	33	51	40	42	54
Damage and Desecration of Property	31	58	31	25	73	90	55	72
Threats	42	19	16	31	39	37	18	22
Abusive Behaviour	115	86	136	127	196	122	216	211
Literature	26	33	36	54	44	20	14	16
Information Collection	46	36	58	45	56	39	34	48
Criminal	39	32	47	47	35	40	29	92
Suspicious Behaviour	56	34	44	50	80	132	50	94
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>369</b>	<b>321</b>	<b>385</b>	<b>412</b>	<b>576</b>	<b>521</b>	<b>463</b>	<b>609</b>



# Monthly Statistics UK (Categories 1-6)

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	
January	16	7	14	26	37	16	15	23	
February	12	24	16	19	19	14	11	24	
March	26	25	20	18	25	20	26	48	
April	44	10	23	34	35	33	47	29	
May	24	20	22	29	29	32	47	27	
June	23	20	38	21	24	30	26	34	
July	14	20	18	20	29	28	31	30	
August	11	15	18	18	16	20	15	30	War debate begins
September	16	23	14	25	23	50	47	22	
October	17	19	20	23	105	48	45	57	
November	20	13	11	24	42	14	28	36	
December	5	18	22	13	21	5	12	25	
TOTAL	228	219	236	270	405	310	350	375	Fence campaign begins

Hammas bus bombings claim 120 Israeli lives

War in Afghanistan

Hammas Bombings (March); Defensive Shield (April/May)

War in Iraq

War debate begins

Fence campaign begins

Israel's Operation Grapes of Wrath

Tel Aviv bombing and Israeli retaliation

Botched assassination attempt against Khaled Mashal

Second Intifadah

9/11

# Italy's Survey, November 2003: Measuring traditional anti-Jewish stereotypes

- Jews are not 'true' Italians: Agree 22%, Disagree 74%, Don't Know 4%
- Jews should leave Italy: Agree 8%, Disagree 91%, Don't Know 1%
- Jews differ in mentality and ways of life from other Italians: Agree 51%, Disagree 41%, Don't Know 8%
- Judaism is intollerant: Agree 20%, Disagree 66%, Don't know 14%

# Italy's Survey, November 2003: Measuring traditional anti-Jewish stereotypes

- Jews have a special relation with money: Agree 39%, Disagree 41%, Don't Know 20%
- I don't like Jews and they inspire no confidence: 11% agree, 82% disagree, 7% Don't Know
- Jews are partial in their support of Israel's policies: Agree 37%, Disagree 41%, Don't Know 22%
- Jews should stop playing victims for the Holocaust and persecution of 50 years ago: Agree 38%, Disagree 56%, Don't Know 6%
- Jews lie when they claim that Nazism murdered millions of Jews in the gas chambers: Agree 11%, Disagree 83%, Don't know 5%

# Italy's Survey, November 2003: Jews and Israel

- A number of questions were asked to participants in the survey, in order to determine their knowledge of the Arab-Israeli conflict
- Correlations were established between knowledge of history and levels of prejudice
- The higher the knowledge, the lower the level of prejudice (27% show a high index of prejudice in correspondence of little or no knowledge of the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict, approximately 7% of those who prove to be highly informed on the subject show high levels of prejudice against Jews)
- Respondents were asked to rate countries, among them Israel, similarly to the Eurobarometer survey released at the end of October 2003

# Italy's Survey, November 2003: Jews and Israel

- Israel emerged as strongly or moderately liked by 42% of respondents, and strongly and moderately disliked by 52%, with 6% not knowing
- 17% thought that it would be better that Israel did not exist as a way to solve the Arab-Israeli conflict; 74% disagreed, with 9% not knowing
- 70% agreed with the statement 'Israel has a right to exist, but its government is making wrong policy choices', while 14% disagreed and 16% did not know
- 72% agreed that Israel should leave the Territories AND that Palestinians should stop attacking Israel, with 16% disagreeing and 12% not knowing
- These questions were then correlated to the questionnaire on views about the Jews to establish a correlation between anti-Jewish prejudice and perceptions toward the Arab-Israeli conflict



# ADL Surveys, June-September 2002, Europe

- Two surveys were conducted among representative samples of European citizens in ten countries, between June and September 2002
- Surveys tried to measure anti-Jewish sentiments and to determine whether there exists a correlation between the Arab-Israeli conflict and anti-Jewish prejudice
- The June Survey covered France, Denmark, the UK, Germany and Belgium
- The September Survey covered Switzerland, Spain, Italy, Austria and The Netherlands

# ADL Findings: attitudes

- Approximately one third of Europeans harbor some traditional anti-Jewish views.
- 45% of respondents said that it is 'probably true' to characterize Jews as being more loyal to Israel than to their own country (33% in US).
- 30% believes that Jews have too much power in the business world (24%).
- 19% believe that Jews do not care what happens to anyone but their own kind (16%).
- 16% say that Jews are more willing than others to use shady practices to get what they want (19%).
- In the area of traditional anti-Jewish prejudice, the survey shows a direct correlation between the level of prejudice and either the age group or education level.
- The prejudice is highest among those older than 65 and among those who completed their education at 17 or younger.

# Is the Public Concerned about Rising Anti-Semitism?

- More than 25% were not concerned about recent outbreaks of violence against Jews, though opinions are divided as to whether there has been an increase in anti-Jewish prejudice in the last five years, with 36% responding in the affirmative versus 38% denying it
- 42% consider it likely that violence will increase in the next five years, Germany and Belgium having the highest share (48%)

# Is the Public Concerned about Rising Anti-Semitism?

- 54% of European respondents expect anti-Semitism worldwide to increase
- 63% of Europeans feel most people in their own country are prejudiced against other ethnic groups, though this prejudice will not be admitted in public.
- 21% of European respondents are 'very concerned' about anti-Jewish violence across Europe (14% in France). 48% are 'fairly concerned'. Over a third of French respondents are either 'fairly unconcerned' or 'not concerned at all'. A majority of Europeans think that their governments are doing enough to ensure the safety and security of Jewish citizens. One third of French respondents think the opposite is true

# European Attitudes to Jews and to the ME

- The survey shows a direct correlation between European attitudes to the Arab-Israeli conflict and to Jews.
- 45% doubt Jewish loyalty to their own country over Israel.
- 28% view Israel favorably.



- 14% sympathize with Israel in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.
- 41% do not think Israel wants to reach a peace agreement with the Palestinians, while 44% believe that the Palestinian Authority genuinely wants to make peace with Israel. 49% feel Arafat is genuine about peace, while less than a third think he wants to destroy Israel.

- 38% say that Israel's treatment of Palestinians is similar to South Africa's treatment of blacks during the apartheid era.
- 60% feel Israel's use of military force is excessive. Though nearly unanimous in their condemnation of suicide bombings (86%), which they see as lacking any justification, they still disapprove of Israel's response.

- When asked who is more at fault for the current conflict 27% blame Israel more than the Palestinians, 20% the other way around
- The American ratio is 42-17 in favor of Israel.

- 42% do not think Israel is an open and democratic society
- 62% believe that the recent violence is a product of anti-Israel sentiments and not traditional anti-Semitic or anti-Jewish feelings
- While a majority of respondents claim to know little or nothing about the history of the conflict, a third say they know 'a great deal' or 'a good amount' about it
- The survey shows that the more informed citizens are, the more likely they are to view Israel unfavorably

- While respondents in general view both Sharon's government and Yasser Arafat's Palestinian Authority unfavorably, there is a pro-Palestinian imbalance: 56% view Ariel Sharon unfavorably as opposed to 50% with Yasser Arafat



- By a margin of 2 to 1, Europeans sympathize more with the Palestinians than the Israelis, while a third takes no sides
- Overall, 44% of Europeans feel that their government policies are unbiased as opposed to American policies (17%), where 59% actually believe that US policies are biased toward Israel

- In stark contrast to the extent of prejudice reflected in this survey, most respondents declare that they rarely come into contact with Jews at all
- 60% say they rarely come into contact with Jews either at work or in social occasions, whereas nearly a third say they never have any contact with Jews.

- The same respondents are likely to come into contact with Muslims twice as much. The more they are familiar with Muslims, the more they are likely to be sympathetic to the Palestinians
- Those who never come into contact with Muslims are more likely to take Israel's side

# The Media and European attitudes toward Israel.

- 57% of Europeans are closely following the news coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The more closely people follow, the more they sympathize with the Palestinians
- The highest percentage of those following is in Germany (63%), the lowest in France (49%), with only 15% across the continent not following at all

# The Media and European attitudes toward Israel.

- Of the people interviewed, 55% believe that EU media coverage of the conflict is balanced
- A third believes the coverage is biased. In Germany, Britain, France and Belgium, among those believing the media coverage is biased, a plurality feels it favors Israel.



# What Does One Learn from these Data?

- There is a fertile ground of prejudice that already exists in Europe, quite independently from the conflict
- This prejudice is latent and not publicly expressed
- Media coverage of the conflict may or may not bring it out in the open
- Testing the media over their coverage of the conflict with regard to anti-Semitism must therefore focus on whether traditional anti-Jewish and anti-Semitic prejudices are subtly or blatantly used in presenting the conflict to viewers and readers.

- Anti-Semitism is recognized nearly universally as a negative and particularly pernicious prejudice
- While it exists, it is not readily recognized or acknowledged
- The result is that while some news items appear anti-Semitic to Jews, in Europe they are deemed to be hostile to Israel, but not necessarily anti-Semitic.

# Anti-Semitism or Criticism of Israel? Criteria to discern

- Criticism is not confined to specific individuals, organisations or policies, but to anonymous collectives, such as 'The Jewish community', 'the Jewish lobby', 'the Jews', or 'the Jewish vote'
- Emphasizing the Jewish affiliation of the person targeted for criticism (the Jewish businessman, the Jewish politician, the Jewish merchant etc.)
- Emphasizing or exaggerating the economic status of Jews with regard to wealth of media ownership or other 'typically' Jewish characters according to the anti-Semitic profile
- Voicing the complaint that every criticism of Israel is invariably denounced as anti-Semitic
- Qualifying every anti-Semitic attack or terrorist outrage, where condemnation is conditional: the proverbial 'But'

# Anti-Semitism or Criticism of Israel? Criteria to discern

- Comparing Sharon's government to Nazism, Israel's soldiers to the SS, and their military actions to genocide, the Holocaust or Apartheid
- Calling for a boycott or sanctions exclusively against Israel and its institutions, without supporting similar actions against other countries much more deserving of such a treatment around the world
- Using the Star of David and other Jewish religious symbols to identify Israeli military personnel and equipment or the Kippah to identify Israeli politicians
- Using the svastika to identify Israelis or Zionists
- Depict Israelis, Zionists, or Jews according to traditional anti-Jewish stereotypes
- Referring, more or less explicitly, to traditional Christian anti-Jewish accusations, such as the blood libel and the characterisation of Jews as Christ-killers



# Images – Catholic Fundamentalism and Extreme Right





# ‘Jews control US foreign policy’

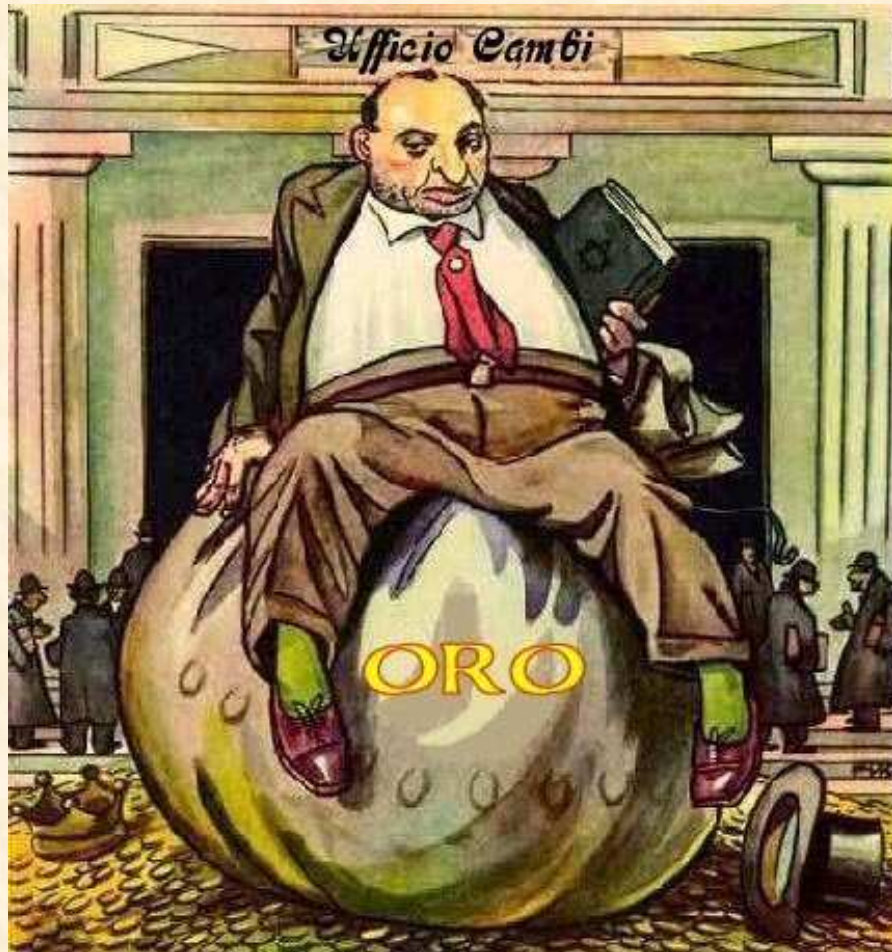


# 'The Holocaust: A Hoax To Impose Zionist/Jewish Control'





# 'Jewish Finance Controls The World'



**IL DENARO E' IL  
DIO DEI GIUDEI !  
PER SODDISFARE  
LA LORO AVIDITA' HANNO  
COMMESSO I PIU' GRANDI  
CRIMINI COME - ENRON,  
XEROX, TYCO, WORLDCOM,  
Ecc. LA MAFIA RAZZISTA EBRAICA  
E' PROPRIETARIA DELLA FEDERAL  
RESERVE. ECCO I NOMI DI CHI - SIN  
DAL 1914 - CONTROLLA LA POLITICA E  
L'ECONOMIA NEL MONDO:  
I ROTHSCHILD, I FRATELLI LAZARE  
(Eugene Mayer), ISRAEL SIEFF, KUHN  
LOEB COMPANY, WARBURG COMPANY,  
LEHMAN BROTHERS, GOLDMAN SACHS,  
J.P.MORGAN, LA FAMIGLIA ROCKFELLER  
IN POCHE PAROLE LORO SONO  
TUTTI EBREI RAZZISTI!  
LORO SONO I RESPONSABILI  
DELLA BANCAROTTA AMERICANA  
E DEL MONDO INTERO!  
HOLY WAR <http://holywar.org>**



# 'Israel is Nazism'



# ‘Jewish Media Corrupts Our Youth’

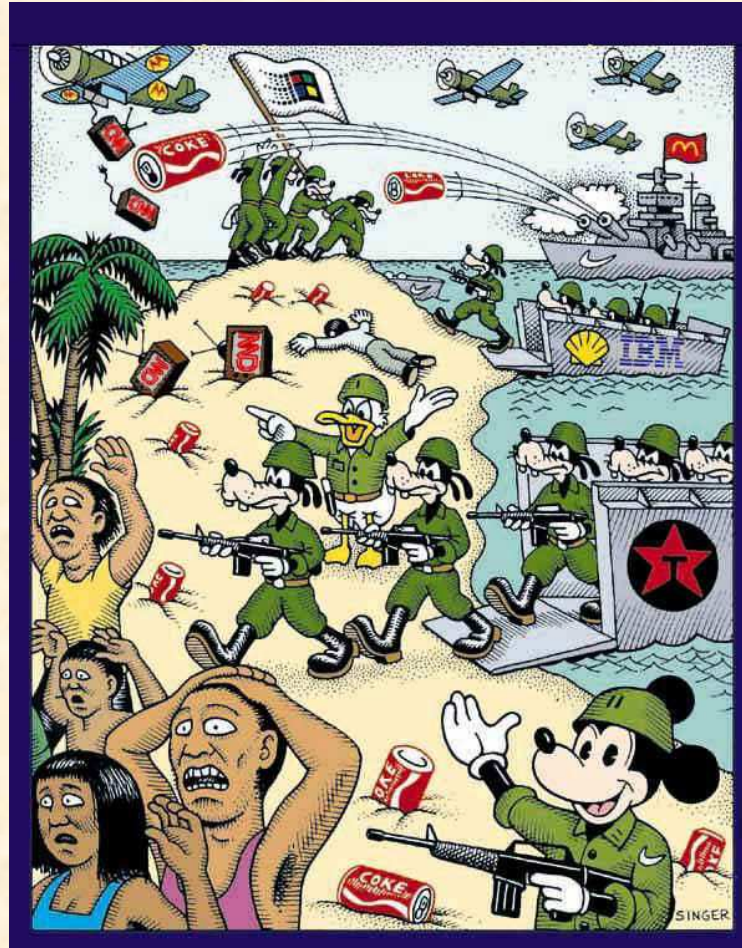




# Zionist Occupation Government = Satan (666)



# Globalisation = Mondialism = Jewish Conspiracy



# Opposition to Israel's Fence



# ‘The Main Obstacle to Peace: the Star of David’



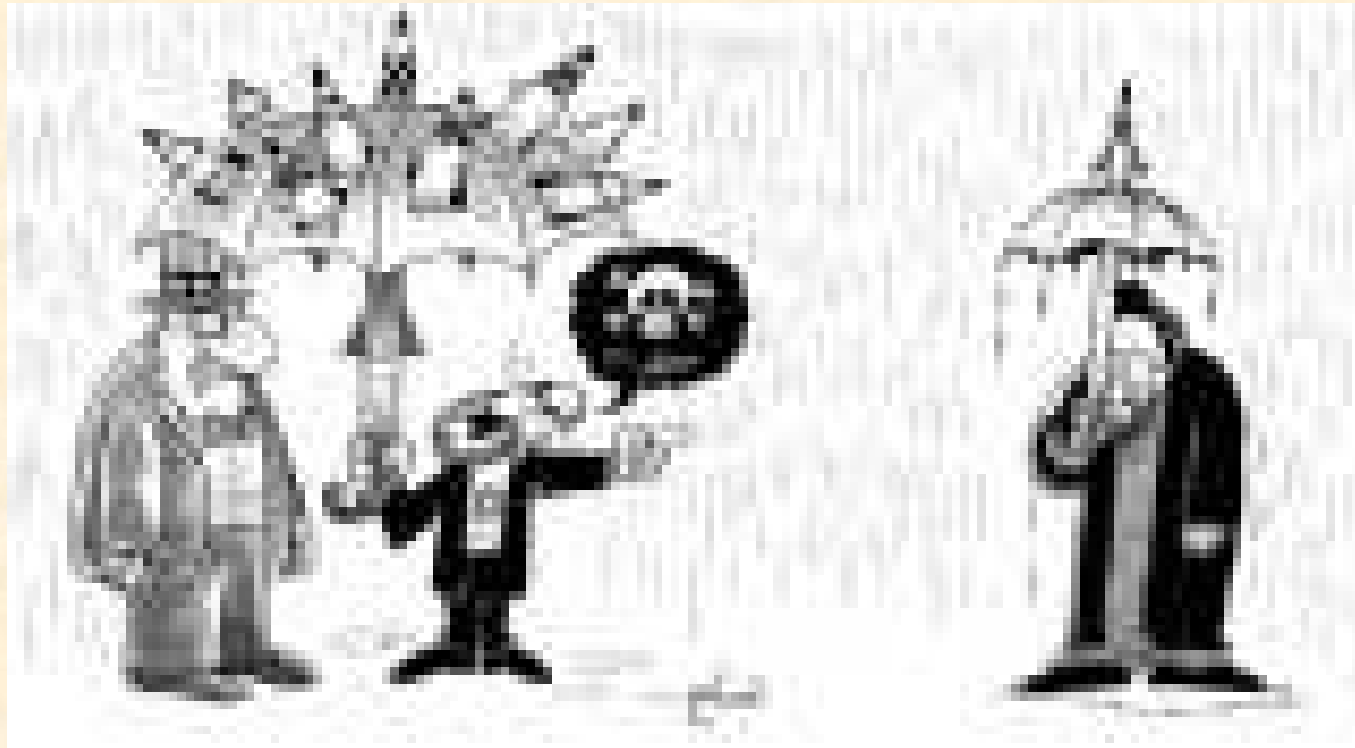


# Anti-Semitism in the Arab Press

- Traditional anti-Semitism has been prominent in the Arab press
- Electronic and printed media based in the West are spreading anti-Semitic stereotypes
- Themes common to the anti-global movements find frequent expression in these media outlets, suggesting the development of a common agenda



# 'Jews Control US foreign policy – Preventing Iran from Going Nuclear'



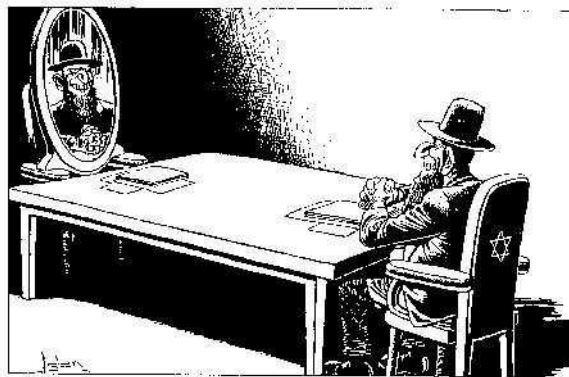
# American diplomacy and 'Jewish Peace-Making'



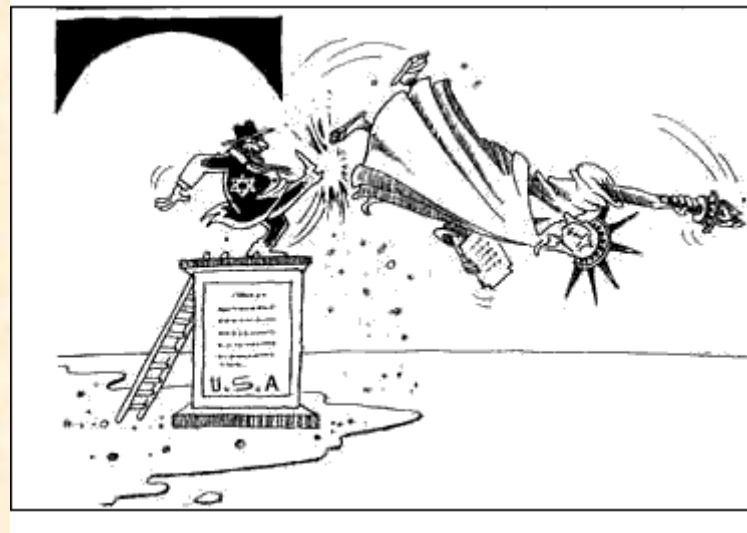
# 'Jews control America'



# ‘Jews Negotiating’



# Jews Control America





# Tilling the Soil with the Blood of Palestinian Children – Nazi Symbols and Ariel Sharon



# Depicting Jewish Symbols as Instruments of Mass-Murder



# 'Israel Controls US Foreign Policy'





# More of the same...





# Comparing the Holocaust to the Palestinian Plight, and US Media Double Standards



# ‘Turkey and Israel: Partners in Genocide (Sponsored by the US)’



# 'Jewish Money+Muslim Blood=Re-election'



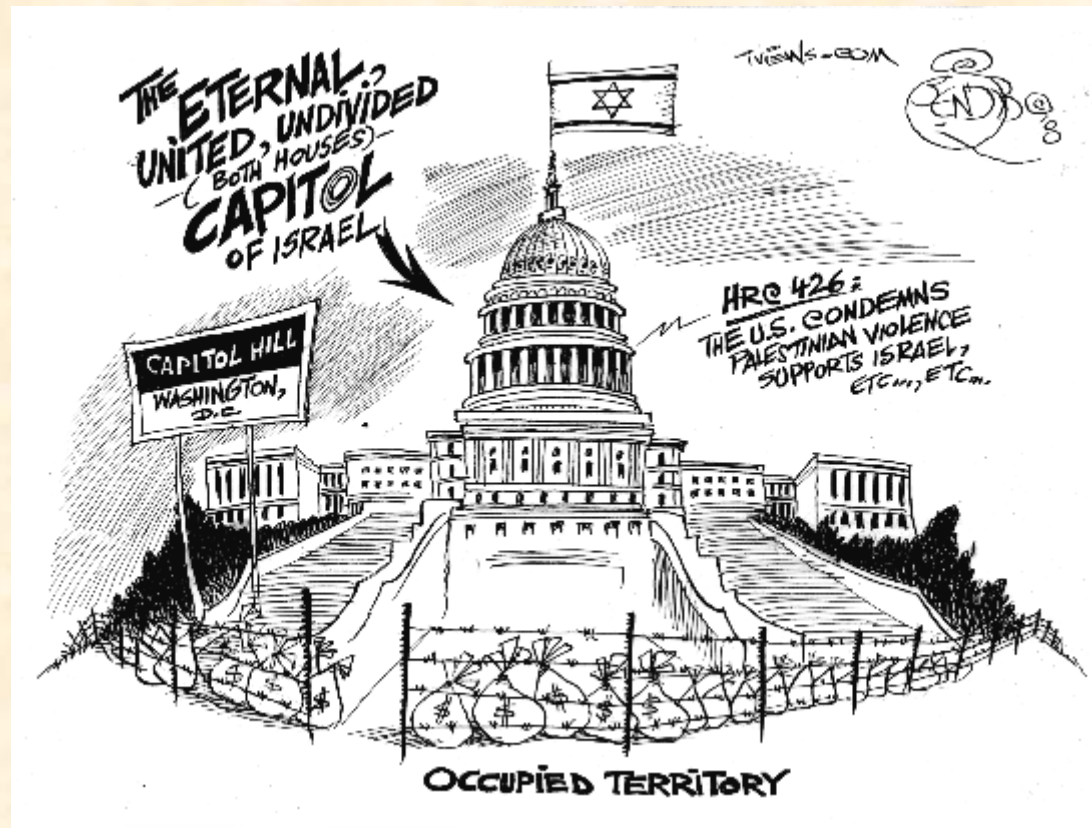


# 'Israelis=Jews=Murderers of Children'

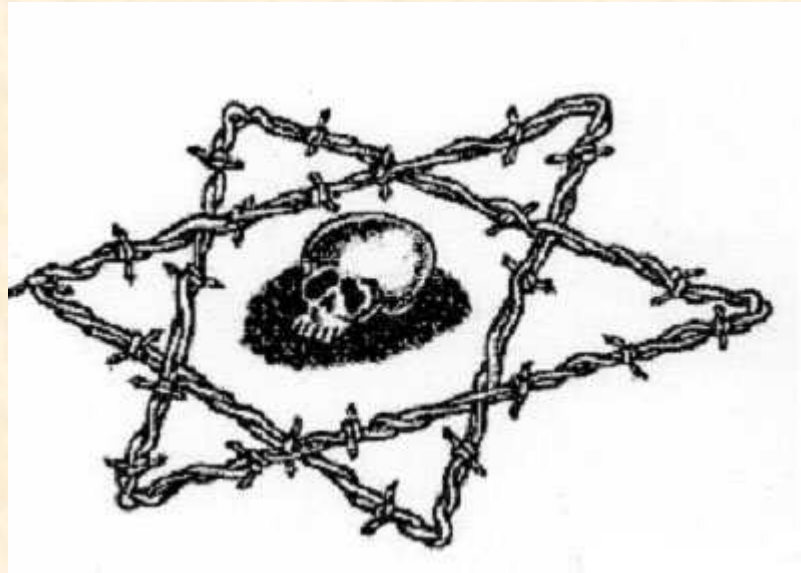




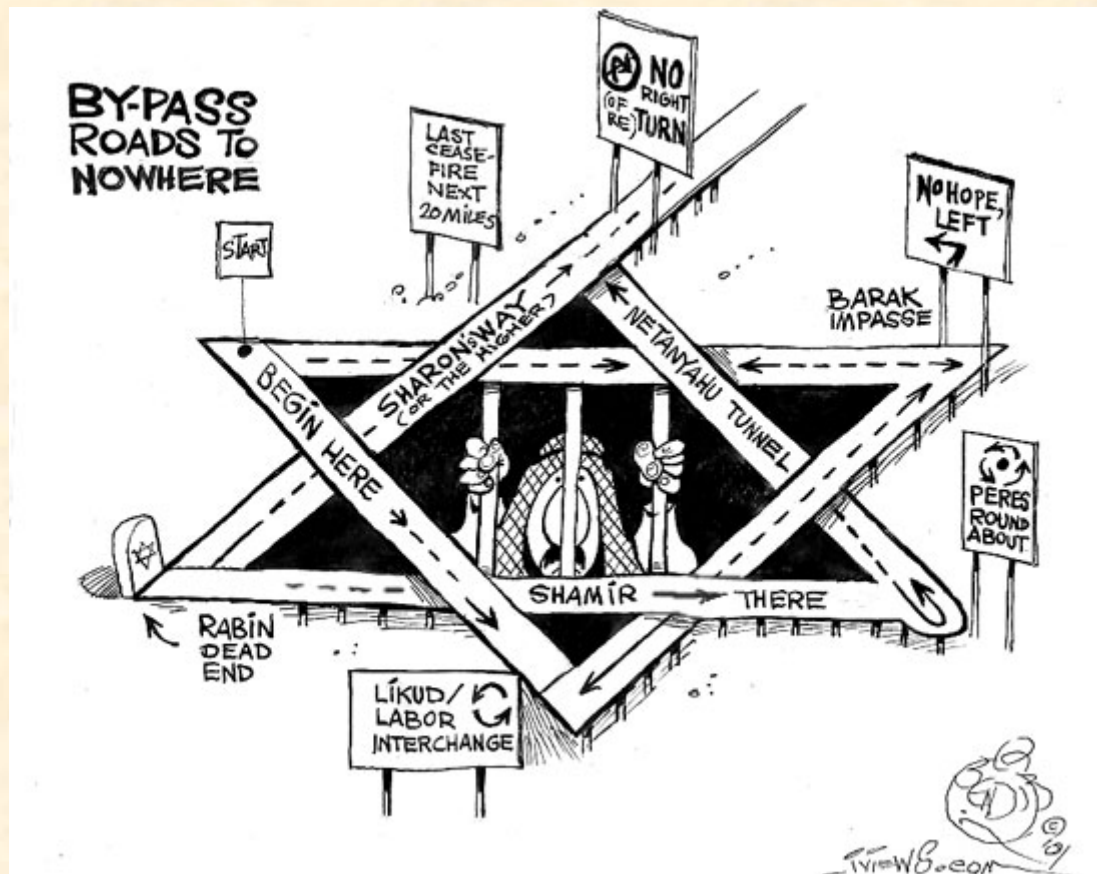
# ‘Jews Control Capitol Hill’



# Jewish Symbols



# Jewish Symbols

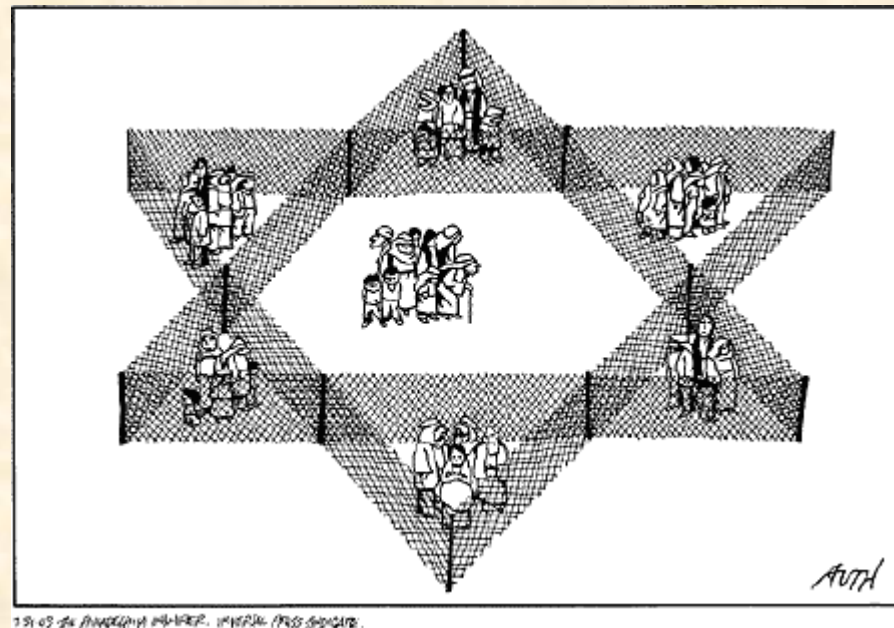


# Anti-Semitism and the ME conflict

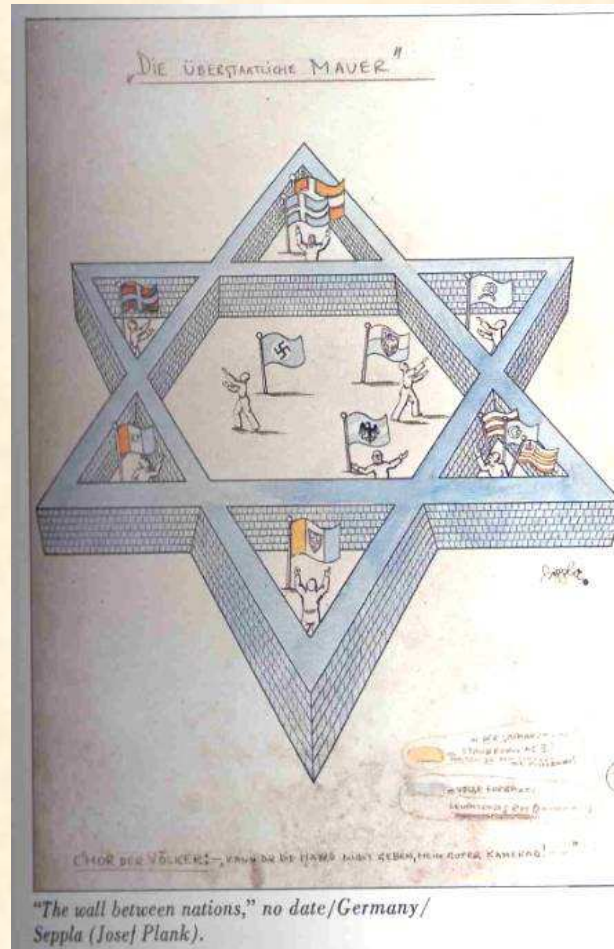
- Jewish Symbols are used to identify Israel, conflating Israel and the Jews
- Anti-Jewish stereotypes are used (control of the media, the Jewish conspiracy, Jews and money)
- Comparing the Holocaust to Israel's policies
- Using anti-Jewish Christian imagery (the blood libel, Jews as Christ-killers)
- Comparing the Palestinians under Israeli Occupation to Jews during the Holocaust



# Use of Jewish Symbols



Now compare the previous three slides with this:



# The Turning Point



# The Symbolism of the New Statesman Cover

- Gold: Jews and money
- Jewish wealth is used for shady purposes –to control the media
- It is a ‘conspiracy’ The money was linked to an ‘arms dealer’ – an illegitimate source
- The conspiracy pierces through the Union Jack – the old accusation of Jews being disloyal to their country
- No other article in the British national press has since inquired about other minorities or ‘lobbies’ trying to exert pressure on the media or on policies – a privilege reserved to pro-Israel advocates



# Jewish Symbols Associated with Brutality against Defenseless Civilians



# After the Elections

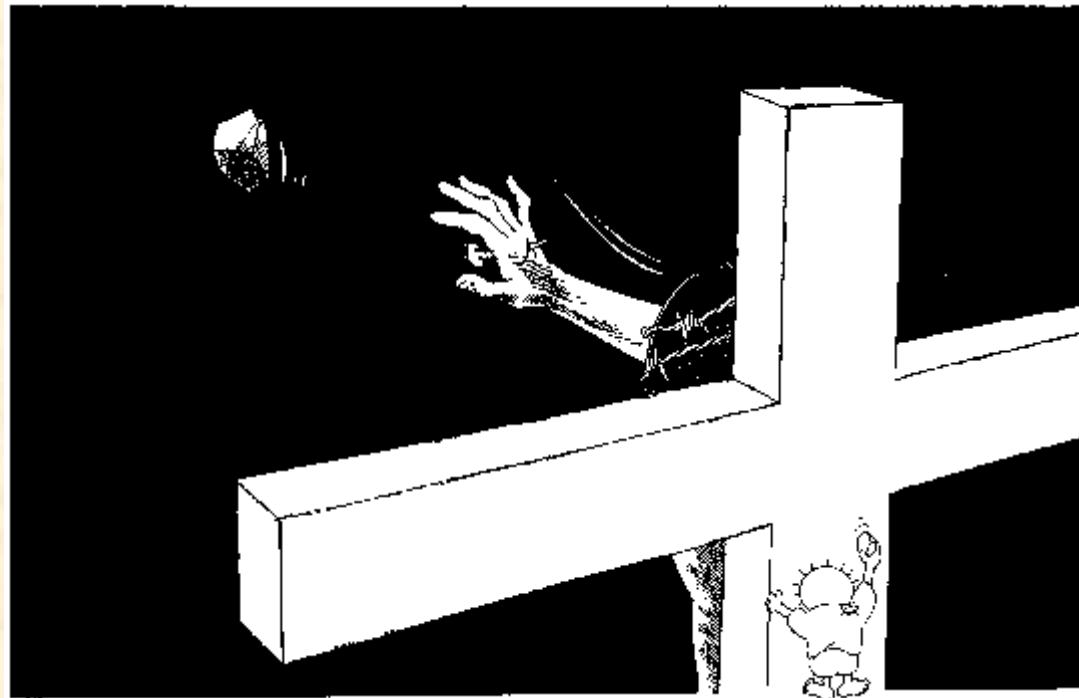


# 'The Jewish Tradition of a Vindictive God'





# Palestinian Replacement Theology: Jesus Was a Palestinian (Guess Who Killed Him...)





# Jews as Christ Killers



# Combining Stereotypes: Eating a Child, on Holocaust Memorial Day



# Media and Responses: Blurring the Lines

- As the analysis of cartoons and images show, old anti-Jewish tropes make their way into print
- The debate over anti-Semitism since October 2000 cannot find an agreement on where to draw the line between legitimate criticism of Israel and anti-Semitism
- Reports from the ME are often targeted for crossing that line
- Critics of Israel retort that accusations of anti-Semitism are thinly disguised attempts to gag whistle blowers on Israel's reprehensible behaviour

# Two Wrongs do not make one right

- Dear Mr. ...
- 
- I suggest you read Norman Finkelstein's The Holocaust Industry before you go off half-cocked again. It is Jews who've exploited the Holocaust and no one else. And, the degree to which they've done so shocks the conscience.
- 
- As regards your other points. Ariel Sharon invokes the name of "the Jewish people" to hide behind Israel's Neo-Nazi war crimes. Jews who do not stand up against that are complicit in Israel's crimes. Just as Germans were held collectively responsible for Hitler.
- 
- And, while you implore us all to cry for the poor, poor Jews, it is Jewish soldiers who are MURDERING their neighbors daily. The defacement of a synagogue (most of which raise money for Israel!) hardly compares.
- 
- It was the great Jewish novelist Philip Roth who summed up the case succinctly: "The hunt for anti-semites is a hunt for pockets of Resistance to the New World Order, like Nazis going house to house."
- 
- Considering what Israel, the American neo-cons, and neo-liberalism has been doing to the planet, anti-Semitism is practically become a moral obligation, now.
- Signed...



# Two wrongs...

- Hi - That is a really CRAPPY article in the Guardian. When we were opposing Apartheid did we worry about the poor innocent Africaners, or in the War about the good Germans? If you behave like pigs you must expect to be treated collectively AS pigs - just as we deserve to be unless we somehow manage to catch and hang the war criminal B.liar and his squalid henchmen, then pay compensation to the Muslims. Otherwise, if we get bombed by the Maquis, we have no better claim than the Wehrmacht in France. Even those of us who marched will deserve it.
- 
- It is not true that the Zionists do not equate opposition to their Colony with antisemitism - they do it all the time. I have seen these nazis again and again equating opposition to the Colony with Belsen - where, of course, it was largely OUR comrades, not the Zionists, who were murdered. Again, the majority of Arabs do NOT support Bin Laden and his alleged organisation (Mossad, as some of us call it) whereas the vast majority of Jews do support the nazis occupying Palestine. Many Nazi charities doubtless supported passivity in the Jews en route to the camps.
- 
- You once had some decency. We who were antinazi when they ruled Germany and still are now they are trying to kill off the Palestinians, cannot, of course. get our voice heard - we are just travestied by such drivel as yours and drowned out by the Zionist Noise Machine.. Aren't you ASHAMED?

# The Jewish Conspiracy: Does Israel Control the US or The Other Way Around? More Likely... both!

- 'Israel is the guard dog of America's plans for the Middle East.'
- Until recently, a group of Zionists ran their own intelligence service inside the Pentagon. This was known as the Office of Special Plans, and was overseen by Douglas Feith, an under-secretary of defence, extreme Zionist and opponent of any negotiated peace with the Palestinians. It was the Office of Special Plans that supplied Downing Street with much of its scuttlebutt about Iraq's weapons of mass destruction; more often than not, the original source was Israel.'

# More on the Jewish Conspiracy

- ‘Dietro questo ammasso fiammeggiante di balle c'era una unità speciale di *intelligence* del Pentagono, chiamata *Office of Special Plans*. E dietro l'*Office* c'era il sottosegretario alla difesa Douglas Feith, una delle menti perverse dei *neocons*, che l'aveva creato dopo l'11 settembre (e dietro Feith, a fornire a piene mani tutto quel ben di dio di «prove», c'era il governo di Israele). Erano loro a tenere i *briefing*-che-contano negli uffici di Cheney e della Rice.’

# Authors cannot resist...

- 'Israel has adopted tactics which are reminiscent of the Nazis' Louis de Bernières, The Independent, 14/10/02
- 'Thus the Israelis were educated by the Nazis and the Palestinians suffer' Irvine Welsh, The Independent, 14/10/02
- 'It is the story of the abused child... growing up to be an abusive adult' Blake Morrison, The Independent, 14/10/02
- 'The Palestinians have more right on their side because they are clearly at a disadvantage' Marina Warner, The Independent, 14/10/02



# Journalists Cannot Resist...

- Israeli troops' activity around the Church of the Nativity in Betlehem is 'the equivalent of the Taliban destroying Bhuddist sculpture' A.N. Wilson, The Evening Standard, 15/04/02

# Poets Cannot Resist...

- 'We are fed this inert
- This lying phrase
- Like comfort food
- As another little Palestinian boy
- In trainers jeans and white tee-shirt
- Is gunned down by Zionist SS
- Whose initials we should
- --but we don't—dumb goys
- Clock in that weasel word
- Crossfire – Tom Paulin, Fellow, Hertford College, and BBC art commentator, The Observer, 18 February 2001

# Who used the expression 'Dumb Goyim'?

- While the Zionists try to make the rest of the world believe that the national consciousness of the Jew finds its satisfaction in the creation of a Palestinian state, the Jew again slyly dupe *The Dumb Goyim*. It doesn't even enter their heads to build up a Jewish state in Palestine for the purpose of living there; all they want is a central organization for their international world swindle, endowed with its own sovereign rights and removed from the intervention of other states.
- Adolph Hitler, *Mein Kampf*

# Hating Israel or Hating the Jews?





# Is Every Injustice Equal to Auschwitz?



# Being Able to Tell the Difference

- ‘One thing is not another thing. What makes a thing the thing it is and not something else is not just a question for artists and intellectuals, it is *the* question. Where all things look the same, there is no life of the mind.’

Stop The War  
Coalition  
Demonstration,  
London, 15  
February 2003



# ‘Sharon Is Hitler, Bush Is Hitler’

- Turning Israel and the Jews into the Nazis of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century is an attempt to do three things:



- The equation between the victims and the murderers belittles the Holocaust.

- The equation between the victims and the murderers provides a retroactive justification for the Holocaust.

- The equation of what Nazis did to Jews and what the Jews are supposedly doing to the Palestinians gives credence and legitimacy to the call for a war of annihilation against Israel and provides justification for terrorism, once both are disguised as an expression of grievance and as a struggle for freedom against barbarism

- Those who describe Israel as the root of all evil provide the linguistic mandate and the moral justification to destroy it
- By the same logic, Jews everywhere may deservedly become legitimate targets, unless they publicly dissociate themselves from Israel
- Those who demand that Jews condemn Israel lest they themselves become legitimate targets are simply providing a rational excuse for anti-Semitism



# One Thing Is Not Another Thing

- Remember, if Sharon is Hitler, then Hitler is just Sharon
- If Bush is Hitler, then Hitler is just Bush
- Comparing the two does not only lead to demonizing one, it also means trivializing the other
- If every opponent becomes a demon, demons also lose their evil character
- If all evils are the same, there is no evil