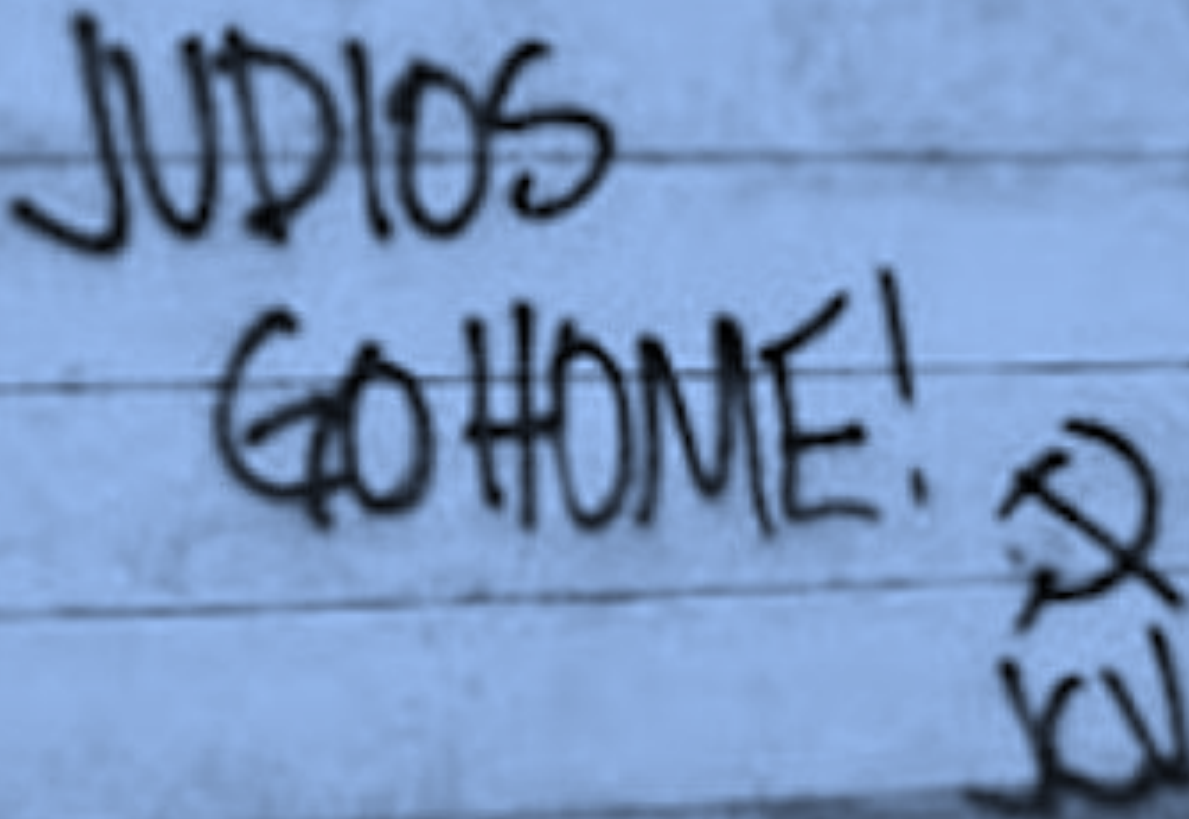


ANTI-SEMITISM RESURGENT: MANIFESTATIONS OF ANTI- SEMITISM IN THE 21ST CENTURY



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Key Points



Modern anti-Semitism is a repackaging of historic tropes. Anti-Semites have adapted conspiracy theories of the blood libel as well as Jewish influence in economic and governmental affairs to fit new circumstances, such as the accusation that Jews are responsible for spreading COVID-19, just as Jews were accused of spreading the plague a millennium ago.



Jews have historically been denied political and economic rights, and modern anti-Semitism is an expression of the rejection of Jewish integration into society. While the twentieth century saw the rise of influential Jewish politicians around the world as well as the creation of the Jewish nation-state of Israel, conspiracy theorists continue to accuse Jews of dual loyalties and exerting too much influence in world affairs. Partisan politicians are also increasingly willing to incorporate anti-Semitic tropes into their rhetoric to attack opponents they view as serving other interests.



Blatantly anti-Semitic historical legal restrictions on Jewish life have evolved into modern laws restricting basic tenets of Jewish life—e.g., kosher slaughter and circumcision—with support from both the left and the right, who argue they are protecting animal and children's rights. These laws largely do not specifically target Jews but still have the effect of restricting Jewish practice.

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Anti-Semitism Resurgent: Manifestations of Anti-Semitism in the 21st Century

Since the tragic shooting deaths at Pittsburgh’s Tree of Life synagogue in October 2018, the media and commentators have noted an increasing number of anti-Semitic attacks and the emergence of what many are calling the new anti-Semitism. While modern communication technologies and globalization have created new outlets for anti-Semitism, the new anti-Semitism looks remarkably familiar. Classic anti-Semitic tropes and conspiracy theories are being repurposed and even finding their way into mainstream political discourse. Rather than being a new type of anti-Semitism, this is more of a resurgence of classic anti-Semitism in new clothing. This report explores the types of anti-Semitism embraced by the far right, the far left, radical Islam, and in politics. It will also examine the common core of anti-Semitism as practiced by these groups.

The emergence of wealthy Jews in Europe—particularly the Rothschilds—gave rise to the notion that Jews manipulate global events, which was later codified in *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*. More than a century since it first appeared in Russia, the *Protocols* remains a prominent source of anti-Semitic theories. The forgery has endured and has been repackaged and reinterpreted in a contemporary context. In 2002, for example, an Egyptian TV series drew international outrage for promoting the forgery.¹

Central to these examples is the idea of the Jew as the powerful puppet master and manipulator, which is rooted in the oldest anti-Semitic conspiracies. Early Christians blamed Jews for killing Jesus. Medieval rulers blamed Jews for spreading the plague.

¹ Stephen Farrell and Issandr El Amrani, “Israel outraged by ‘anti Semitic’ TV drama,” *The Times* (London), November 15, 2002, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/israel-outraged-by-anti-semitic-tv-drama-8c6pxcsxvgx>.

Jews were blamed for Russia's communist revolution. Throughout history, Jews were portrayed as shadowy villains. And then *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* gave life to new conspiracies about Jewish power and the desire to manipulate and control world affairs.

Take, for example, the conspiracy theories surrounding the Rothschild dynasty. In the nineteenth century, the family was accused of using foreknowledge of Napoleon Bonaparte's defeat at Waterloo to manipulate the London stock market.² Conspiracy theorists blamed—and continue to blame—the family for causing and profiting from the Great Depression as well as World War II. According to one theory, Nathan Rothschild—one of Mayer Amschel Rothschild's four children—created a secret intelligence service that alerted him to Bonaparte's defeat and allowed him to take advantage of the news through stock trading. The family then continued to employ this secret intelligence service through the ensuing decades, allowing them to then take control of America through stock market manipulation during the Great Depression.³

Conspiracies involving Jewish political power and influence are deeply rooted and influential. As shown in a 2018 CNN poll, one-third of Europeans think Jews are too politically powerful.⁴ Conspiracies about the Rothschilds still abound but new Jewish faces have taken center stage. One of the most prominent Jews at the center of these new conspiracies is George Soros, the Hungarian Holocaust survivor who created a

² Brian Cathcart, "The Rothschild Libel: Why has it taken 200 years for an anti-Semitic slur that emerged from the Battle of Waterloo to be dismissed?," *Independent* (London), May 3, 2015, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/the-rothschild-libel-why-has-it-taken-200-years-for-an-anti-semitic-slur-that-emerged-from-the-10216101.html>.

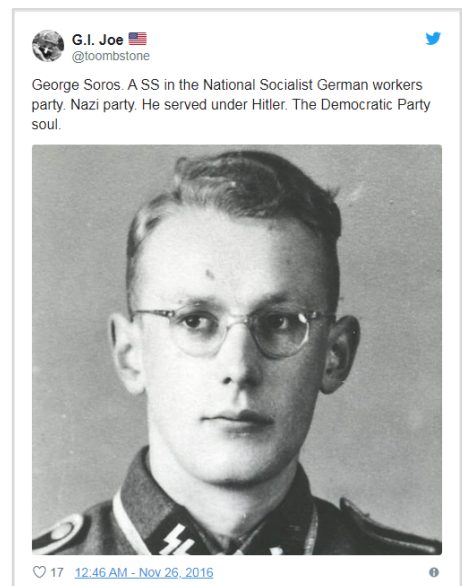
³ Brian Cathcart, "The Rothschild Libel: Why has it taken 200 years for an anti-Semitic slur that emerged from the Battle of Waterloo to be dismissed?," *Independent* (London), May 3, 2015, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/the-rothschild-libel-why-has-it-taken-200-years-for-an-anti-semitic-slur-that-emerged-from-the-10216101.html>.

⁴ Richard Allen Greene, "CNN poll reveals depth of anti-Semitism in Europe," CNN, November 2018, <https://www.cnn.com/interactive/2018/11/europe/antisemitism-poll-2018-intl/>.

financial empire and is a strong supporter of liberal causes as well as the Democratic Party.

Soros has become a favorite target for the right and far right. Among the crimes blamed on Soros are being a Nazi collaborator,⁵ causing the 2008 financial crisis, and funding the migrant caravans that reached the U.S.-Mexican border in late 2018 and early 2019.⁶

These claims anoint Soros the puppet master of a grand far-left conspiracy. Conspiracies circulate about how Soros survived the Holocaust, painting him as a Nazi collaborator who as a child aided Nazis in looting valuables from the dead bodies of Jews. Other theories have him enlisting in the SS. A 2016 tweet by the user @toombstone, for example, spread an image of a young man, allegedly Soros, in an SS uniform. A Google image search of the photo reveals the individual to be Oskar Groening, a Nazi guard at Auschwitz known as “the book-keeper of Auschwitz.”⁷



⁵ Jamie White, “ROSEANNE IS RIGHT: GEORGE SOROS IS A NAZI COLLABORATOR,” InfoWars, May 29, 2018, <https://www.infowars.com/roseanne-is-right-george-soros-is-a-nazi-collaborator/>.

⁶ Adam Shaw, “Border apprehensions plunge as Trump administration hails Mexico pact,” Fox News, September 9, 2019, <https://www.foxnews.com/politics/border-apprehensions-plunge-as-administration-hails-mexico-pact>; John Wagner, “Trump says he ‘wouldn’t be surprised’ if unfounded conspiracy theory about George Soros funding caravan is true,” *Washington Post*, November 1, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-wouldnt-be-surprised-if-democratic-megadonor-george-soros-is-funding-the-migrant-caravan/2018/11/01/9ea196a0-ddcf-11e8-85df-7a6b4d25cfbb_story.html.

⁷ “‘Auschwitz book-keeper’ Oskar Groening sentenced to four years,” BBC News, July 15, 2015, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-33533264>.

Hundreds of years ago, European peasantry accused Jews of spreading the plague by poisoning the wells of Europe. As the world struggled to address the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, Jews once again became a target of conspiracies. In the early days of the outbreak in the United States, an Orthodox Jewish attorney became Patient Zero in New York state, making the New York Jewish community among the first to contract and spread the virus.⁸ Within the white supremacist sphere, accusations swirled that Jews were either directly responsible for the transmission of the virus or were holding back a cure to maximize profits.⁹ In one case in New York City, a couple attacked a group of Hasidic men, tried to rip off their facemasks, and shouted, "You're the reason why we're getting sick!"¹⁰ According to another conspiracy theory, a Soros-owned company created the coronavirus in a lab.¹¹

The accusations all come from the same place: the notion that Jews wield outsized political influence and the ability to manipulate government policies. Resentment toward the Jewish emancipation of the nineteenth century and their emerging prosperity, as well as the migration of Russians into Europe, fed the spread of the fictitious *Protocols* throughout Europe in the last century. And while the *Protocols* itself

⁸ Danielle Ziri, "N.Y. Governor Says Coronavirus Patient Zero Cured, Urges Jews to Celebrate Passover at Home," *Haaretz* (Tel Aviv), March 29, 2020, <https://www.haaretz.com/us-news/.premium-n-y-gov-says-coronavirus-patient-zero-cured-urges-jews-to-hold-passover-at-home-1.8722532>.

⁹ Gareth Narunsky, "COVID-19 antisemitism reaches Australia," *Australian Jewish News*, April 30, 2020, <https://ajn.timesofisrael.com/covid-19-antisemitism-reaches-australia/>; Rory Butler, "Coronavirus has sparked rise in anti-Semitism with Jews blamed for the spread of Covid-19," *Daily Mail* (London), April 21, 2020, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8240319/Coronavirus-sparked-rise-anti-Semitism-Jews-blamed-spread-Covid-19.html>; Leila Ettachfini, "Orthodox Jews Were Blamed for Spreading COVID. Now They're Donating Plasma," *Vice*, April 30, 2020, https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/pke7wg/orthodox-jews-were-blamed-for-spreading-covid-now-theyre-donating-plasma.

¹⁰ Aaron Katersky and Ivan Pereira, "Couple arrested for hate crime in Brooklyn, allegedly blaming spread of COVID-19 on Jews: Police," *ABC News*, May 11, 2020, <https://abcnews.go.com/US/couple-arrested-hate-crime-brooklyn-allegedly-blaming-spread/story?id=70616958>.

¹¹ "Argentine journalist said the coronavirus was created by rich Americans and Israelis," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, April 6, 2020, <https://www.jta.org/quick-reads/argentinean-journalist-said-the-coronavirus-was-created-by-rich-americans-and-israelis>; "Exploiting the Coronavirus for Anti-Israel Campaigns," *NGO Monitor*, May 12, 2020, <https://www.ngo-monitor.org/exploiting-the-coronavirus-for-anti-israel-campaigns/>; David Mikkelsen, "Does George Soros Own a Lab That 'Developed' COVID-19?," *Snopes*, April 2, 2020, <https://www.snopes.com/fact-check/soros-wuhan-lab/>.

may be relegated to the corners of far-right websites, anti-Semites have adapted the essence of its message for the modern era.

This report explores how those perceptions have shaped modern anti-Semitism, infected every aspect of modern life, and resulted in the highest record of anti-Semitic violence against Jews in years.

Anti-Semitism By The Numbers

According to an October 2019 poll by the American Jewish Committee (AJC), 38 percent of respondents believe anti-Semitism in the United States is a serious problem, while 50 percent believe it to be somewhat of a problem. The poll of 1,283 American Jews over age 18 also found that 84 percent of Jews believe anti-Semitism had increased in the past five years.¹² In the same poll, 42 percent reported they felt the status of Jews in the United States was less secure than it had been a year ago, while 36 percent reported that college campuses had become more hostile to pro-Israel students over the preceding year.¹³

These beliefs are substantiated by international polling about anti-Semitic beliefs. A June 2019 poll of 1,000 Americans by the Public Religion Research Institute on whether small businesses should be able to refuse service based on proprietors' religious beliefs found that a growing number believe it is permissible to refuse service to Jews. According to the poll, 19 percent felt it was permissible to refuse service to Jews if doing so violated religious beliefs. This marks an increase from 12 percent in 2014. The

¹² "AJC Survey of American Jews on Antisemitism in America," American Jewish Committee, October 23, 2019, <https://www.ajc.org/AntisemitismSurvey2019>.

¹³ "AJC Survey of American Jews on Antisemitism in America," American Jewish Committee, October 23, 2019, <https://www.ajc.org/AntisemitismSurvey2019>.

poll also found this belief had mostly increased among political and religious subgroups and gender lines:

- Men: 22 percent in 2019 versus approximately 10 percent in 2014
- Women: 16 percent in 2019 versus approximately 10 percent in 2014
- Republicans: 24 percent in 2019 versus 16 percent in 2014
- Democrats: 17 percent in 2019 versus 9 percent in 2014
- White evangelical Protestants: 24 percent in 2019 versus 12 percent in 2014
- White mainline Protestants: 26 percent in 2019 versus 11 percent in 2014
- Catholics: 20 percent in 2019 versus 10 percent in 2014
- Nonwhite Protestants: 19 percent in 2019 versus 14 percent in 2014
- Religiously unaffiliated: 11 percent in 2019 versus 11 percent in 2014.¹⁴

Violence against Jews and Jewish targets has spiked in recent years. Researchers at Tel Aviv University (TAU) recorded 387 assaults targeting Jews worldwide in 2018, a 13 percent increase over the previous year.¹⁵ That trend continued through 2019 when TAU researchers recorded 456 major violent incidents worldwide, which they defined as arson, weapon attacks, weaponless attacks, serious threats, and vandalism or desecration.¹⁶ While more than one-quarter of these attacks took place in the United States, the increase was most noticeable in Western Europe.¹⁷

¹⁴ Robert P. Jones, Natalie Jackson, Maxine Najle, Oyindamola Bola, and Daniel Greenberg, "Increasing Support for Religiously Based Service Refusals," Public Religion Research Institute, June 25, 2019, <https://www.prrri.org/research/increasing-support-for-religiously-based-service-refusals/>.

¹⁵ Aron Heller, "Anti-Semitic attacks spike, killing most Jews in decades," Associated Press, May 1, 2019, <https://apnews.com/article/0457e96b9eb74d30b66c2d190c6ed7e5>.

¹⁶ Moshe Kantor Database for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism and Racism, "Antisemitism Worldwide 2019 and the Beginning of 2020," Tel Aviv University, 194, https://en-humanities.tau.ac.il/sites/humanities_en.tau.ac.il/files/media_server/humanities/kantor/Kantor%20Report%202020_130820.pdf.

¹⁷ Aron Heller, "Anti-Semitic attacks spike, killing most Jews in decades," Associated Press, May 1, 2019, <https://apnews.com/article/0457e96b9eb74d30b66c2d190c6ed7e5>.

Levels of anti-Semitism and anti-Semitic violence have risen across Europe since 2014. According to a July 2019 United Nations report, 89 percent of respondents living in Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Germany, France, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom believe anti-Semitism has increased within the past five years. France recorded an 84 percent increase in violent anti-Semitic attacks from 2017 to 2018. Germany's Federal Ministry of the Interior recorded an annual increase of 13.5 percent in anti-Semitic incidents between 2015 and 2018. Violent anti-Semitic incidents in Germany increased by almost 37 percent during that time period.¹⁸

The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention recorded 280 anti-Semitic hate crimes in 2018, the highest number of yearly incidents on record and a 53 percent increase over the 182 incidents recorded in 2016. The United Kingdom recorded 1,652 anti-Semitic incidents in 2018, the highest number on record and a 16 percent increase over 2017.¹⁹ Incidents included physical attacks on victims as young as 11, vandalism of synagogues, and anti-Semitic abuse of Jewish members of parliament. The Community Security Trust (CST), the central umbrella organization for the U.K. Jewish community, reported that the figures represented the continuation of a growing trend over the past two years. According to the CST, "this sustained high level of antisemitic incidents suggests a longer-term phenomenon in which people with antisemitic attitudes appear to be more confident to express their views, while incident victims and reporters may be more motivated to report the antisemitism they experience or encounter."²⁰

¹⁸ E. Tendayi Achiume, "Contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance," U.N. General Assembly, July 30, 2019, 10-11, <https://undocs.org/A/74/253>.

¹⁹ "2017 Annual Review," Community Security Trust, accessed October 28, 2019, <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/8/8/Annual%20Review%202017%20web.1521476984.pdf>; "2018 Annual Review," Community Security Trust, accessed October 28, 2019, <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/2/c/Annual%20Review%202018%20-%20ER%20edit%20web.1550505710.pdf>.

²⁰ Lizzie Dearden, "More than 100 antisemitic incidents recorded in UK every month as bigots 'become more confident,'" *Independent* (London), July 26, 2018, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/antisemitic-uk-figurers-racism-anti-jewish-crime-police-a8465031.html>.

In the United States, the FBI recorded a total of 7,314 hate crime incidents in 2019, an increase from 7,120 in 2018 and the highest number since 2008. Of those 7,314 incidents, 1,650 offenses were motivated by religious bias and 60.3 percent of those incidents targeted Jews.²¹ Jews comprised 56.9 percent of the 1,617 victims of religious bias crimes recorded by the FBI in 2018.²² The FBI's statistics over the 10-year period between 2009 and 2018 demonstrate that Jews have consistently been the largest group targeted group by bias crimes in the United States.²³

Year	Number of Reported Anti-Religious Bias Crimes	Percentage Targeting Jews
2019	1,650	60.3 ²⁴
2018	1,617	56.9 ²⁵
2017	1,749	58.1 ²⁶
2016	1,538	54.2 ²⁷
2015	1,354	51.3 ²⁸

²¹ "2019 Hate Crime Statistics," FBI, November 2020, 1, 3, <https://ucr.fbi.gov/hate-crime/2019/topic-pages/incidents-and-offenses.pdf>; Masood Farivar, "FBI: Hate Crime Incidents Rose 2.7% in 2019," Voice of America, November 16, 2020, https://www.voanews.com/usa/fbi-hate-crime-incidents-rose-27-2019?utm_source=iterable&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=1726020.

²² "Uniform Crime Report – Hate Crime Statistics," FBI, Fall 2019, <https://ucr.fbi.gov/hate-crime/2018/topic-pages/victims.pdf>.

²³ "2001 Uniform Crime Report," FBI, October 2002, 5, <https://ucr.fbi.gov/hate-crime/2001/hatecrime01.pdf>.

²⁴ "2019 Hate Crime Statistics," FBI, November 2020, 1, 3, <https://ucr.fbi.gov/hate-crime/2019/topic-pages/incidents-and-offenses.pdf>; Masood Farivar, "FBI: Hate Crime Incidents Rose 2.7% in 2019," Voice of America, November 16, 2020, https://www.voanews.com/usa/fbi-hate-crime-incidents-rose-27-2019?utm_source=iterable&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=1726020.

²⁵ "Uniform Crime Report – Hate Crime Statistics, 2018," FBI, Fall 2019, <https://ucr.fbi.gov/hate-crime/2018/topic-pages/victims.pdf>.

²⁶ "Uniform Crime Report – Hate Crime Statistics, 2017," FBI, Fall 2018, <https://ucr.fbi.gov/hate-crime/2017/topic-pages/victims.pdf>.

²⁷ "Uniform Crime Report – Hate Crime Statistics, 2016," FBI, November 13, 2017, <https://ucr.fbi.gov/hate-crime/2016/topic-pages/incidentsandoffenses>.

²⁸ "2015 Hate Crime Statistics," FBI Uniform Crime Report 2015, November 14, 2016, https://ucr.fbi.gov/hate-crime/2015/topic-pages/incidentsandoffenses_final.

2014	1,092	58.2 ²⁹
2013	1,163	59.2 ³⁰
2012	1,340	62.4 ³¹
2011	1,480	63.2 ³²
2010	1,552	67 ³³
2009	1,575	71.9 ³⁴

Local and state authorities are not required to submit statistics to the FBI for inclusion in its UCR.³⁵ In October 2019, the New York Police Department (NYPD) reported an increase in hate crimes targeting Jews in the first nine months of 2019 compared with the same period in 2018. The NYPD recorded 311 hate crimes from January through September 2019, 163 of which (52 percent) targeted Jews. During the same period in 2018, the NYPD recorded 250 hate crimes, 108 of which (43 percent) targeted Jews.³⁶

Since the October 2018 Tree of Life murders, there has been a noticeable increase in the number of publicly reported attacks against people who are visibly Jewish, particularly in areas of New York City and other areas with significant Jewish populations. For example, two identifiably Jewish men were physically assaulted in

²⁹ "2014 Hate Crime Statistics," FBI Uniform Crime Report 2014, November 16, 2015, https://ucr.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/hate-crime/2014/topic-pages/incidentsandoffenses_final.

³⁰ "2013 Hate Crime Statistics," FBI Uniform Crime Report 2013, December 8, 2014, https://ucr.fbi.gov/hate-crime/2013/topic-pages/incidents-and-offenses/incidentsandoffenses_final.

³¹ "2012 Hate Crime Statistics," FBI Uniform Crime Report 2012, accessed November 4, 2019, https://ucr.fbi.gov/hate-crime/2012/topic-pages/victims/victims_final

³² "2011 Hate Crime Statistics," FBI Uniform Crime Report 2011, accessed November 4, 2019, <https://ucr.fbi.gov/hate-crime/2011/narratives/victims>.

³³ "2010 Hate Crime Statistics," FBI Uniform Crime Report 2010, accessed November 4, 2019, <https://ucr.fbi.gov/hate-crime/2010/narratives/hate-crime-2010-victims>.

³⁴ "2010 Hate Crime Statistics," FBI Uniform Crime Report 2009, accessed November 4, 2019, <https://ucr.fbi.gov/hate-crime/2009>.

³⁵ "Hate Crime Statistics," FBI, accessed November 4, 2019, <https://www.fbi.gov/services/cjis/ucr/hate-crime>.

³⁶ Ben Sales, "Anti-Semitic hate crimes in NYC have risen significantly in 2019," Jewish Telegraphic Agency, October 4, 2019, <https://www.jta.org/2019/10/04/united-states/anti-semitic-hate-crimes-in-nyc-have-risen-significantly-in-2019>.

separate incidents in Brooklyn, New York, on January 30, 2019, resulting in the arrest of two individuals for assault and hate crimes.³⁷ On August 27, 2019, a 64-year-old rabbi was hit in the head with a brick while walking to synagogue in Brooklyn.³⁸

On one hand, the increased numbers are indicative of better reporting of anti-Semitic crimes to law enforcement and amplified public awareness. Still, the numbers point to a worrisome trend of increased Jewish harassment and persecution. Speaking to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency in September 2019, Deborah Lautner, the head of New York City's new Office for the Prevention of Hate Crimes, suggested multiple possible reasons for the increase, from hostility from New York's other ethnic communities and increasingly antagonistic rhetoric from elected officials, to wider press coverage leading to copycats.³⁹

On October 27, 2018, Robert Bowers killed 11 people in an attack on the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. It was the deadliest attack on a synagogue in U.S. history.⁴⁰ Following the Pittsburgh attack, U.S. media reported an increased number of anti-Semitic vandalism and attacks on Jewish sites around the United States.⁴¹ According to the 2018 Global anti-Semitism Report, released by the Israeli government

³⁷ Marcy Oster, "2 Jewish men assaulted in Brooklyn's Crown Heights neighborhood," Jewish Telegraphic Agency, January 31, 2019, <https://www.jta.org/quick-reads/two-jewish-men-assaulted-in-brooklyns-crown-heights-neighborhood>.

³⁸ Laura E. Adkins, "64-year-old Brooklyn rabbi hit in head with brick," Jewish Telegraphic Agency, August 27, 2019, <https://www.jta.org/quick-reads/father-in-law-of-hasidic-singer-benny-friedman-hit-in-head-with-thrown-brick-while-walking>.

³⁹ Ben Sales, "Here's how New York City's new hate crimes chief plans to tackle rising anti-Semitism," Jewish Telegraphic Agency, September 5, 2019, <https://www.jta.org/2019/09/05/culture/heres-how-new-york-citys-new-hate-crimes-chief-plans-to-tackle-rising-anti-semitism>.

⁴⁰ Campbell Robertson, Christopher Mele and Sabrina Tavernise, "11 Killed in Synagogue Massacre; Suspect Charged with 29 Counts," *New York Times*, October 27, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/27/us/active-shooter-pittsburgh-synagogue-shooting.html>.

⁴¹ Steve Lipman, "Increasingly On Edge, Jews Asking: How Bad Is It?" *New York Jewish Week*, November 6, 2018, <https://jewishweek.timesofisrael.com/increasingly-on-edge-jews-asking-how-bad-is-it/>.

in January 2019, 13 Jews were killed in anti-Semitic attacks worldwide in 2018, the highest number recorded in decades.⁴²

Major attacks like that at the Tree of Life and the April 2019 attack on the Chabad house in Poway, California, were perpetrated by individuals who expressed their hatred of Jews in the language of the far right. According to authorities, Bowers accused Jews during the attack of “committing genocide of my people” and so he “just wanted to kill Jews.”⁴³ On April 27, 2019, John Earnest attacked the Chabad house in Poway, California, on the last day of Passover, killing one and wounding three others. Had his assault weapon not malfunctioned, the death toll would have likely been much higher. Earnest claimed inspiration from [Brenton Tarrant](#), who killed 51 people during twin mosque shootings in New Zealand a month before.⁴⁴ On October 9, 2019, during Yom Kippur, Stephan Balliet attacked the Humbolt Street synagogue in Halle, Germany, killing two. Authorities said Balliet was motivated by anti-Semitic and far-right ideologies.⁴⁵

⁴² Agence France-Presse, “Anti-Semitic killings in 2018 ‘highest’ in decades: Israel,” Yahoo News, January 27, 2019, <https://www.yahoo.com/news/anti-semitic-killings-2018-highest-decades-israel-135544539.html>.

⁴³ Chas Danner and Adam K. Raymond, “What to Know About the Pittsburgh Synagogue Shooting,” *Intelligencer*, October 28, 2018, <http://nymag.com/intelligencer/2018/10/what-to-know-about-the-pittsburgh-synagogue-shooting.html>.

⁴⁴ “California Man Charged with Federal Hate Crimes for Poway Synagogue Shooting,” U.S. Department of Justice, May 9, 2019, <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/california-man-charged-federal-hate-crimes-poway-synagogue-shooting>; “Accused Poway synagogue gunman pleads not guilty to deadly shooting,” Jewish Telegraphic Agency, October 6, 2019, <https://www.jta.org/quick-reads/accused-poway-synagogue-gunman-pleads-not-guilty-to-deadly-shooting>; “Online Manifestos Inspire Other Extremists,” State of New Jersey Office of Homeland Security and Preparedness, May 1, 2019, <https://www.njhomelandsecurity.gov/analysis/online-manifestos-inspire-other-extremists>.

⁴⁵ Marcy Oster, “German synagogue attacker confesses and says he had anti-Semitic motive,” Jewish Telegraphic Agency, October 13, 2019, <https://www.jta.org/quick-reads/german-synagogue-attacker-confesses-and-says-he-had-anti-semitic-motive>; Sven Robel, “Halle-Attentäter wurde von Unbekanntem finanziell unterstützt,” *Der Spiegel* (Berlin), October 11, 2019, <https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/justiz/halle-saale-attentaeter-wurde-von-unbekanntem-finanziell-unterstuetzt-a-1291171.html>; Petra Sorge, Ruth Bender, and Sara Germano, “German Man Arrested After Failed Attack on Synagogue,” *Wall Street Journal*, October 9, 2019, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/two-killed-in-shooting-in-eastern-germany-11570621267>; Marcy Oster, “Germany’s chief prosecutor says Halle shooting suspect planned a ‘massacre,’” Jewish Telegraphic Agency, October 10, 2019, <http://www.jta.org/quick-reads/germanys-chief-prosecutor-says-halle-shooting-suspect-planned-a-massacre>.

By the end of 2019, anti-Semitic attacks in the United States reached a four-decade high, according to the Anti-Defamation League (ADL). The organization recorded a 56 percent increase in assaults over the previous year, resulting in five fatalities.⁴⁶ French police recorded 687 anti-Semitic acts in 2019, including vandalism and physical threats.⁴⁷

The timeline below highlights major violent attacks from the year 2000 through 2020. It also examines the motives of the attackers when possible. The attacks included are specifically violent and targeted primarily at Jewish institutions and religious observances, such as Passover seders or Chanukah parties. The timeline also includes major attacks on individual Jews.

Timeline of Major Violent Attacks on Jews, 2000 – 2020⁴⁸

– March 27, 2002

Twenty-five-year-old Abdel-Basset Odeh, disguised as a woman, blows himself up at the Park Hotel in the Israeli city of Netanya, killing 30 and wounding 140 others during a Passover Seder. Hamas claims responsibility. The attack is the deadliest of the Second Intifada, the Palestinian uprising against Israel.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ “Antisemitic Incidents Hit All-Time High in 2019,” Anti-Defamation League, May 12, 2020, <https://www.adl.org/news/press-releases/antisemitic-incidents-hit-all-time-high-in-2019>.

⁴⁷ “Paris prosecutors investigate apparent anti-Semitic attack,” Associated Press, August 12, 2020, <https://apnews.com/article/paris-race-and-ethnicity-theft-france-bd8b69ee27cb2d0e1563f74c3500e3fe>.

⁴⁸ This list does not include suicide bombings and other attacks inside Israel during the Second Intifada between 2000 and 2005. The exception is Hamas’s Passover bombing, which specifically targeted a Jewish religious event.

⁴⁹ Suzanne Goldenberg and Graham Usher, “Suicide bomb kills 16 Israelis in hotel,” *Guardian* (London), March 27, 2002, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2002/mar/28/israel1>; Matti Friedman, “Ten years after Passover blast, survivors return to Park Hotel,” *Times of Israel*, March 27, 2012,

– **April 11, 2002**

A suicide bomber blows up a tanker truck filled with flammable gas outside the El Ghriba synagogue on the Tunisian island of Djerba, killing 21. Al-Qaeda claims responsibility.⁵⁰

– **November 15, 2003**

Explosives-filled vehicles are blown up outside the Neve Shalom and Beth Israel synagogues in Istanbul, Turkey, killing 30 and wounding 300. A Turkish al-Qaeda cell claims responsibility.⁵¹

– **January 21, 2006**

A group 20 individuals calling themselves the Gang of Barbarians kidnap 23-year-old Ilan Halimi, of Moroccan-Jewish decent, in Paris and hold him captive for three weeks in the Paris suburb of Bagneux. The kidnappers demand 450,000 euros from Halimi's family. Gang leader Youssouf Fofana tells his accomplices they will receive the ransom because all Jews are rich. They torture Halimi while negotiating with his parents over the phone and reportedly read passages from the Quran to Halimi's parents while he screams in the background. After three weeks without a negotiated settlement, the kidnappers leave Halimi naked and with burns on 80 percent of his body on a road in Sainte-Geneviève-Des-Bois on February 13. A passerby calls an ambulance and Halimi later dies at a hospital. During his trial, gang leader Youssouf Fofana describes himself as a "trader of terror." He is sentenced to life in prison in 2009, while 26 others involved in the kidnapping/murder receive sentences ranging

<https://www.timesofisrael.com/ten-years-after-pasover-bombing-survivors-return-to-netanyas-park-hotel/>.

⁵⁰ "From Djerba to San Diego, previous attacks on synagogues around the world," Times of Israel, October 10, 2019, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/previous-attacks-on-synagogues-around-the-world/>.

⁵¹ "From Djerba to San Diego, previous attacks on synagogues around the world," Times of Israel, October 10, 2019, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/previous-attacks-on-synagogues-around-the-world/>.

from six months to 18 years in prison. Some of the accomplices are minors. Fofana receives an additional 10-year sentence in 2017. Halimi's mother, Ruth, later writes that French police ignored the anti-Semitic nature of the kidnapping.⁵²

– **July 28, 2006**

Naveed Afzal Haq enters the headquarters of the Jewish Federation of Greater Seattle and shoots six people, killing one. He then calls the police and says he has taken hostages. Haq reportedly shouts that he is Muslim and rails against Jews and Israel. He eventually surrenders to the police. In 2010, he is sentenced to life in prison.⁵³

– **November 26-29, 2008**

On November 26, gunmen armed with grenades and automatic weapons launch a three-day siege of Nariman House, the local Chabad center in Mumbai, India, taking hostage at least eight people. One of the gunmen identifies himself as Imran Babar and complains to an Indian television station about Israeli interference in Indian affairs. Indian special forces storm the building on the third day. Seven people are killed in the attack, including the Chabad emissaries Rabbi Gavriel and Rivka Holtzberg. According to Mumbai police, some of the victims inside the Chabad house were killed by strangulation. The Holtzbergs' nanny escaped on the second

⁵² "The rising tide of anti-Semitism," *Washington Times*, April 2, 2006, <https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2006/apr/02/20060402-112829-7874r/>; Marc Weitzmann, "Ilan Halimi's Tortured Ghost Will Continue Haunting France," *Tablet*, September 2, 2014, <https://www.tabletmag.com/sections/news/articles/frances-toxic-hate-5>; "French 'Barbarian' killer jailed," *BBC News*, July 10, 2009, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8145616.stm>; "Man who kidnapped, murdered Parisian Jew gets 10 more years in jail," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, January 12, 2017, <https://www.jta.org/2017/01/12/global/man-who-kidnapped-murdered-parisian-jew-gets-10-more-years-in-jail>; Devorah Lauter, "Murdered man's mother blames police," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, April 2, 2009, <https://www.jta.org/2009/04/02/global/murdered-mans-mother-blames-police>.

⁵³ Jennifer Sullivan, "Seattle Jewish center shooter gets life sentence," *Los Angeles Times*, January 15, 2010, <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2010-jan-15-la-na-seattle-jewish-center15-2010jan15-story.html>.

day of the siege with the couple's almost-2-year-old son. The attack is part of a series of coordinated attacks by 10 Pakistani militants affiliated with Lashkar-e-Tayyiba on multiple targets around Mumbai frequented by Westerners that altogether kill 164 people. The lone surviving gunman, Mohammed Ajmal Kasab, is executed in November 2012.⁵⁴

– **June 10, 2009**

James Wenneker von Brunn shoots and kills a security guard inside the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. Security guards shoot and wound von Brunn, but he continues to fire until he is apprehended. An avowed white supremacist, von Brunn had previously self-published a book praising Adolf Hitler and ran a website called Holy Western Empire. Von Brunn is charged with first-degree murder, killing in a federal building, and bias-motivated crime. He died in 2010 at age 89 before facing trial.⁵⁵

– **December 2011 – January 2012**

Anthony Graziano and Aakash Dalal spray paint anti-Semitic graffiti on two synagogues in Maywood and Hackensack, in New Jersey. On January 3, Graziano

⁵⁴ "Mumbai Terror Attacks Fast Facts," CNN, last updated November 15, 2020, <https://www.cnn.com/2013/09/18/world/asia/mumbai-terror-attacks/index.html>; Liz Robbins and Jack Healy, "Brooklyn Couple Killed in Attacks," *New York Times*, November 28, 2008, <https://www.nytimes.com/2008/11/29/nyregion/28chabad-2.html>; Marcy Oster, "Moshe Holtzberg, whose parents were killed in 2008 Mumbai attack, celebrates bar mitzvah," Jewish Telegraphic Agency, December 1, 2019, <https://www.jta.org/quick-reads/moshe-holtzberg-whose-parents-were-killed-in-the-mumbai-attack-called-to-torah-for-bar-mitzvah>; Richard Boudreaux, "How Mumbai attack on Jews unfolded," *Los Angeles Times*, December 3, 2008, <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2008-dec-03-fg-israelis3-story.html>; James Gordon Meek and Corky Siemaszko, "Forensic experts: Several Jews slain in Mumbai attacks tortured – officials," *Daily News*, December 4, 2008, <https://www.nydailynews.com/news/world/forensic-experts-jews-slain-mumbai-attacks-tortured-officials-article-1.353535>.

⁵⁵ David Stout, "Museum Gunman a Longtime Foe of Government," *New York Times*, June 10, 2009, <https://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/11/us/11shoot.html>; Jim Iovino and Michael Clancy, "Who is James Wenneker von Brunn?," NBC 4 News, July 14, 2009, <https://www.nbcnewyork.com/news/archive/Who-is-James-Wenneker-von-Brunn.html>; "US Holocaust museum murder suspect dies aged 89," BBC News, January 6, 2010, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/8444654.stm>.

starts a fire outside of Temple K'hal Adath Jeshrun in Paramus, New Jersey. There are no injuries. On January 7, Graziano attempts to throw a firebomb at the Jewish Community Center in Paramus but abandons the plan. On January 11, Graziano throws Molotov cocktails through the second-floor window of Congregation Beth El in Rutherford, New Jersey, into the bedroom of the synagogue's rabbi, Nosson Schuman, who lives on the second floor with his family. The Molotov cocktail starts a fire, causing minor injuries. All incidents take place in New Jersey's Bergen County. In 2016, Graziano is convicted of terrorism and 19 other counts and sentenced to 35 years in prison. Dalal is convicted on 16 counts and sentenced to 35 years. Dalal is accused of masterminding the attacks. He previously told Graziano, "I don't trust you until you kill a Jew."⁵⁶

– March 19, 2012

After killing three French soldiers in seven days, Mohamed Merah opens fire outside the Ozar Hatorah Jewish School in Toulouse, France, killing four people, including three children, and critically wounds another boy. Merah corners one of the girls in the schoolyard, shooting her in the head. Police surround Merah's apartment on March 22 and kill him as he tries to escape through a window. Three days later, Merah's brother Abdelkader is indicted on charges of complicity in the attacks.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Associated Press, "Man arrested in firebombings of 2 NJ synagogues," Fox News, November 29, 2015, <https://www.foxnews.com/us/man-arrested-in-firebombings-of-2-nj-synagogues>; Associated Press, "Firebombings at 2 Synagogues in New Jersey Lead to Arrest," *New York Times*, January 24, 2012, <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/25/nyregion/arrest-in-firebombings-of-2-nj-synagogues.html>; Allison Pries, "Jurors get glimpse into relationship between Lodi man and his co-defendant at firebombing trial," Associated Press, October 11, 2016, <https://apnews.com/664cb74fdf4c4c5e88bf3f7ab5c53270>; "'Partners in hate' get prison for anti-Semitic firebombings," Associated Press, July 28, 2017, <https://apnews.com/9dbfad02e7144dd9b0e6e79e499dd1da>; "Prosecutors: Synagogue Firebomb Suspect Also Targeted Paramus J.C.C.," CBS 2 New York, January 27, 2012, <https://newyork.cbslocal.com/2012/01/27/prosecutors-synagogue-firebomb-suspect-targeted-another-facility/>.

⁵⁷ "Shootings in Toulouse and Montauban: What we know," BBC News, March 22, 2012, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-17428860>; Fiona Govan, "Toulouse shooting: little girl cornered in school and shot in head," *Telegraph* (London), March 19, 2012, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/9154350/Toulouse-shooting-little-girl->

– **April 13, 2014**

White nationalist and former Ku Klux Klan Grand Dragon Frazier Glenn Miller Jr. enters the Jewish Community Center of Greater Kansas City in Overland Park, Kansas, and shoots and kills a man and his grandson. Miller then drives to Village Shalom, a retirement center a little over a mile away, where he shoots and kills a woman in the parking lot. When later arrested, Miller shouts “Heil Hitler” as he is led away. Police search Miller’s Missouri home and find a copy of *Mein Kampf*, a shirt with a swastika, and a list of area kosher restaurants and synagogues. Miller is convicted in 2015 and sentenced to death.⁵⁸

– **May 24, 2014**

Ex-ISIS fighter and French national Mehdi Nemmouche goes on a shooting rampage at the Jewish Museum in Brussels, killing four. Nemmouche is arrested and convicted of murder in March 2019. He is sentenced to life in prison. Nacer Bendori is sentenced to 15 years in prison for helping plan the attack and supplying

[cornered-in-school-and-shot-in-head.html](#); Hillary Zaken, “French teen who tried to save Toulouse victim still hospitalized,” Times of Israel, March 22, 2012, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/french-teenager-who-tried-to-save-toulouse-victim-still-hospitalized/>; “Toulouse siege: Mohamed Merah shot in head,” Telegraph (London), March 22, 2012, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/9160670/Toulouse-siege-Mohamed-Merah-shot-in-head.html>; Dan Bilefsky, “Toulouse Killer’s Path to Radicalism a Bitter Puzzle,” New York Times, March 29, 2012, <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/30/world/europe/toulouse-killers-path-a-bitter-puzzle.html>.

⁵⁸ Tony Rizzo, “F. Glenn Miller Jr. deserves death for killings outside Jewish facilities, jury says,” Kansas City Star, September 8, 2015, <https://www.kansascity.com/news/local/crime/article34347921.html>; Kathleen Belew, Bring the War Home (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 2018), 110-113; Associated Press, “FBI search warrant returns show Jewish center shooting suspect did research before killings,” Fox News, last updated January 8, 2015, <https://www.foxnews.com/us/fbi-search-warrant-returns-show-jewish-center-shooting-suspect-did-research-before-killings>; Chris Oberholtz, “FBI: Jewish center shooting suspect did research before killings,” KCTV 5 News, May 7, 2014, https://www.kctv5.com/news/fbi-jewish-center-shooting-suspect-did-research-before-killings/article_efa23a97-2520-56d8-ad4c-774b9031f16a.html; “Man yells ‘Heil Hitler’ after fatally shooting 3 at Jewish centers,” KCTV 5 News, April 13, 2014, https://www.kctv5.com/news/man-yells-heil-hitler-after-fatally-shooting-at-jewish-centers/article_acf957ff-4e93-5cc1-ae06-6689a0da238d.html.

Nemmouche with weapons. In October 2019, the Brussels criminal court orders Nemmouche and Bendrer to pay a total of €985,000 to the families of the four victims.⁵⁹

– **January 7, 2015 – January 9, 2015**

Brothers [Cherif](#) and [Said Kouachi](#) launch a deadly assault on the offices of French satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo* in Paris, killing 12 in the name of [al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula](#) (AQAP). On January 8, accomplice [Amedy Coulibaly](#) shoots and kills a French policewoman near a Jewish school in Montrouge, outside of Paris. On January 9, Coulibaly carries out a gun attack and takes hostages at the Hyper Cacher kosher supermarket in eastern Paris. Coulibaly kills four hostages before he is killed by French counterterrorism police. The Kouachi brothers are also killed by French police on January 9.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ “Brussels Jewish Museum killings: Suspect ‘admitted attack,’” BBC News, June 1, 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-27654505>; Anne Penketh, “Brussels Jewish Museum shooting: suspect with Islamist links arrested,” *Guardian* (London), June 1, 2014, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/01/suspect-arrest-brussels-jewish-museum-shooting>; “Brussels Jewish Museum murders: Mehdi Nemmouche jailed for life,” BBC News, March 12, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-47533533>; “Jewish Museum terrorists ordered to pay nearly €1 million in victim compensation,” *Brussels Times*, October 22, 2019, <https://www.brusselstimes.com/all-news/belgium-all-news/74818/jewish-museum-terrorists-ordered-to-pay-nearly-e1-million-in-victim-compensation-mehdi-nemmouche-nacer-bendrer-terrorist-attacks/>.

⁶⁰ Matthew Weaver, Josh Halliday, Alexandra Topping, Jonathan Bucks, et al, “Charlie Hebdo: officials establish link between gunmen in both attacks – as it happened,” *Guardian* (London), December 23, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/live/2015/jan/09/charlie-hebdo-manhunt-kouachi-terrorist-links-live-updates>; Fidelma Cook, Lucy Crossley, Tom Kelly, and Claire Duffin, “Deli jihadist admits link to Charlie Hebdo killers in ISIS martyrdom video - as French police discover his massive arms cache and link him to ANOTHER shooting two days earlier,” *Daily Mail* (London), January 11, 2015, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2905302/Calm-stare-Jewish-deli-terrorist-Jihadist-s-ISIS-suicide-video-emerges-confirms-link-Charlie-Hebdo-killers-calls-fellow-vigorous-Muslims-defend-prophet-Mohammed.html>; Fidelma Cook, Lucy Crossley, Tom Kelly, and Claire Duffin, “Hebdo killers in ISIS martyrdom video – as French police discover his massive arms cache and link him to another shooting two days earlier,” *Daily Mail* (London), January 11, 2015, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2905302/Calm-stare-Jewish-deli-terrorist-Jihadist-s-ISIS-suicide-video-emerges-confirms-link-Charlie-Hebdo-killers-calls-fellow-vigorous-Muslims-defend-prophet-Mohammed.html>; David Chazan, “France honours policewoman killed after Charlie Hebdo attacks,” *Telegraph* (London), January 9, 2016, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/12091052/France-honours-policewoman-killed-after-Charlie-Hebdo-attacks.html>; “Charlie Hebdo hunt: Bloody end to sieges,” BBC News, January 10, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-30752239>.

– **February 14, 2015**

Omar El-Hussein kills one person during an attack on a free-speech event in Copenhagen. Later that night, he attacks Copenhagen’s Grand Synagogue during a bar mitzvah celebration, killing a Jewish security volunteer outside the building. Police kill Hussein during an ensuing gunfight. Hussein had previously pledged allegiance to ISIS.⁶¹

– **April 3, 2017**

Kobili Traoré breaks into the Paris apartment of 65-year-old Jewish woman Sarah Halimi. He allegedly recites verses from the Quran as he beats her and then throws her from her third-story window. According to witnesses, Traoré shouts, “I’ve killed the Shaitan [devil]!” Traore confesses to the murder but says he was not motivated by anti-Semitism and not in the correct state of mind. Authorities initially rule that the crime was anti-Semitic, but in July 2019 a judge rules that Traoré is “not criminally responsible” because he was high on marijuana at the time. A court of appeal upholds that decision later in the year, sparking protest in Paris’s Jewish community.⁶²

⁶¹ “Denmark gunman openly ‘hated Jews,’ ex-classmate says,” Times of Israel, February 16, 2015, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/denmark-gunman-openly-hated-jews-ex-classmate-says/>; Angelique Chrisafis, “Copenhagen shooting suspect Omar el-Hussein – a past full of contradictions in Copenhagen,” Guardian (London), February 16, 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/feb/16/copenhagen-shooting-suspect-omar-el-hussein-a-past-full-of-contradictions>; Agence France-Presse, “From Djerba to San Diego, previous attacks on synagogues around the world,” Times of Israel, October 10, 2019, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/previous-attacks-on-synagogues-around-the-world/>.

⁶² Samuel Osborne, “Man who killed Jewish woman in antisemitic attack not criminally responsible as he was high on cannabis, French judge rules,” Independent (London), July 16, 2019, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/france-jewish-woman-antisemitic-attack-cannabis-high-sarah-halimi-kobili-traore-paris-a9006631.html>; Cnaan Liphshiz, “Jewish woman’s killer not criminally liable because he was high on marijuana, French judge rules,” Jewish Telegraphic Agency, July 15, 2020, <https://www.jta.org/quick-reads/jewish-womans-killer-not-criminally-liable-because-he-was-high-on-marijuana-french-judge-rules>; Cnaan Liphshiz, “Paris appeals court agrees: Killer of Jewish woman not responsible for his actions because he was too high on marijuana,” Jewish Telegraphic Agency, December 19, 2019, <https://www.jta.org/quick-reads/paris-appeals-court-killer-of-jewish-woman-not>.

– **December 9, 2017**

During protests in Sweden against U.S. President Donald Trump’s decision to recognize Jerusalem as Israel’s capital, more than a dozen men throw firebombs at a synagogue in Gothenburg, Sweden, while congregants gathered inside for a party. No injuries and only minor property damage are reported. Police classify the attack as a hate crime. In June 2018, three Arab men are convicted for the attack. Two are sentenced to two years in prison each while the third is sentenced to 15 months.⁶³

– **January 9, 2018**

An unknown assailant throws a Molotov cocktail at a synagogue on the Tunisian island of Djerba. There are no reported injuries and only minor damage.⁶⁴

– **March 23, 2018**

Two suspects break into the apartment of 85-year-old Holocaust survivor Mireille Knoll in Paris, stab her, and set her body on fire. Police arrest suspects Yacine Mihoub and Alex Carrimbacus, who go to trial in July 2020. Carrimbacus accuses Mihoub of yelling “Allahu Akbar” while stabbing Knoll, and of justifying the attack by saying “Jews have money.” He later recanted his account, leading to questions about whether there was an anti-Semitic motive.⁶⁵

[responsible-for-his-actions-because-he-was-too-high-on-marijuana](https://www.france24.com/en/20200105-hundreds-rally-in-paris-to-seek-justice-for-murdered-jewish-woman-sarah-halimi); Philippe Theise, “Hundreds rally in Paris to seek justice for murdered Jewish woman Sarah Halimi,” France 24, January 5, 2020, <https://www.france24.com/en/20200105-hundreds-rally-in-paris-to-seek-justice-for-murdered-jewish-woman-sarah-halimi>.

⁶³ Cnaan Liphshiz, “Firebombs hurled at synagogue in Sweden after protest march about Jerusalem,” Jewish Telegraphic Agency, December 9, 2017, https://www.jta.org/2017/12/09/global/shouts-about-shooting-jews-heard-at-sweden-rally-on-jerusalem?_ga=2.243775941.1354113791.1571250637-2141083927.1564774097; “3 Arab men convicted of firebombing Swedish synagogue,” Jewish Telegraphic Agency, June 25, 2018, <https://www.jta.org/2018/06/25/global/3-men-convicted-firebomb-attack-swedish-synagogue>.

⁶⁴ Jack Moore, “Tunisia Synagogue Firebombed as Protests Rock Arab Spring Success Story,” *Newsweek*, January 10, 2018, <https://www.newsweek.com/tunisia-synagogue-firebombed-protests-rock-arab-spring-success-story-776834>.

⁶⁵ Agence France-Presse, “Two charged with anti-Semitic murder of elderly French Jewish woman,” France 24, March 27, 2018, <https://www.france24.com/en/20180327-two-charged-with-anti-semitic->

– **October 27, 2018**

Armed with an AR-15 assault rifle and other weapons, Robert Bowers attacks the Tree of Life Synagogue in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where members of the Tree of Life, Dor Hadash, and New Light Jewish congregations gather for Shabbat services. Bowers talks during the attack of his desire to “kill Jews,” claiming Jews are “committing genocide of my people.” Bowers kills 11 people and wounds six others. Bowers is wounded during an ensuing gunfight with police. He is taken into custody and charged with multiple hate crimes, murder, and attempted murder. Bowers pleads not guilty in February 2019. The attack is the worst on worshipping Jews in American history.⁶⁶

– **March 28, 2019**

An unidentified attacker throws a Molotov cocktail at the Beth Israel Synagogue in Izmir, Turkey. There is no damage reported.⁶⁷

[murder-elderly-french-jewish-woman](#); Charles Bremner, “Two charged with killing 85-year-old Holocaust survivor Mireille Knoll,” *Times* (London), March 28, 2018, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/two-charged-with-killing-85-year-old-holocaust-survivor-mireille-knoll-antisemitism-nz39s09jg>; Agence France-Presse, “French court orders trial over brutal, alleged anti-Semitic murder of woman, 85,” *Times of Israel*, July 13, 2020, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/french-court-orders-trial-over-womans-alleged-anti-semitic-murder/>.

⁶⁶ “US v. Robert Bowers,” U.S. Department of Justice, January 29, 2019, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-wdpa/vw/us-v-bowers>; Chas Danner and Adam K. Raymond, “What to Know About the Pittsburgh Synagogue Shooting,” *Intelligencer*, October 28, 2018, <http://nymag.com/intelligencer/2018/10/what-to-know-about-the-pittsburgh-synagogue-shooting.html>; Ramesh Santanam, “Pittsburgh synagogue shooting suspect pleads not guilty,” *Associated Press*, February 11, 2019, <https://www.apnews.com/8dcd0b6b03624272af4ab1d4e8a48412>; Max Londberg, “Pittsburgh synagogue attack worst on worshipping Jews in U.S. history, Cincy archivist says,” *Cincinnati Enquirer*, October 27, 2018, <https://www.cincinnati.com/story/news/crime/2018/10/27/pittsburgh-synagogue-shooting-attack-jewish-worshippers-worst-u-s-cincinnati-archivist-says/1789293002/>; “Poway synagogue shooting captured on video, prosecutors say, as they describe attack,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 2, 2019, <https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-san-diego-synagogue-shooter-camera-explainer-john-earnest-20190502-story.html>.

⁶⁷ Marcy Oster, “Synagogue firebombed in Turkey,” *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, April 4, 2019, <http://www.jta.org/quick-reads/synagogue-firebombed-in-turkey>.

– **April 27, 2019**

Six months to the day after the Pittsburgh shooting, John Earnest attacks the Chabad house in Poway, California, with an AR-15 on the last day of Passover, killing one and wounding three others, including the rabbi and an 8-year-old girl. An armed off-duty Border Patrol officer and other congregants chase Earnest out of the building. Police arrest Earnest as he is attempting to flee in his car. Earnest is charged with 109 federal hate crimes, including murder and attempted murder. Earnest pleads not guilty in October 2019. Earnest claims inspiration from New Zealand shooter Brenton Tarrant, who killed 51 people at two mosques a month earlier. Earnest wrote in his manifesto that he hoped to inspire similar shootings.⁶⁸

– **May 18-19, 2019**

An arsonist attempts to start multiple fires at the Anshei Sholom B'nei Israel synagogue in Chicago overnight. The remains of Molotov cocktails are found outside the building. Police identify two suspects. On the morning of May 19, police find car windows smashed outside another Chicago synagogue.⁶⁹

– **July 28, 2019**

Prior to evening prayers at the Young Israel of Greater Miami synagogue in North Miami Beach, Florida, a man is shot while sitting on a bench waiting for the service. The victim survives. Less than a month later, police arrest Carlints St. Louis on

⁶⁸ “California Man Charged with Federal Hate Crimes for Poway Synagogue Shooting,” U.S. Department of Justice, May 9, 2019, <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/california-man-charged-federal-hate-crimes-poway-synagogue-shooting>; “Accused Poway synagogue gunman pleads not guilty to deadly shooting,” Jewish Telegraphic Agency, October 6, 2019, <https://www.jta.org/quick-reads/accused-poway-synagogue-gunman-pleads-not-guilty-to-deadly-shooting>; “Online Manifestos Inspire Other Extremists,” State of New Jersey Office of Homeland Security and “Online Manifestos Inspire Other Extremists,” Preparedness, May 1, 2019, <https://www.njhomelandsecurity.gov/analysis/online-manifestos-inspire-other-extremists>.

⁶⁹ Marcy Oster, “Chicago synagogue targeted by arson attacks,” Jewish Telegraphic Agency, May 20, 2019, <http://www.jta.org/quick-reads/chicago-synagogue-target-of-arson-attacks>.

charges of attempted murder with a firearm, aggravated battery on a person 65 years or older, and discharging a firearm from a vehicle.⁷⁰

– October 9, 2019

On Yom Kippur, a gunman identified as Stephan Balliet attacks the Humbolt Street synagogue in Halle, Germany, while simultaneously livestreaming the attack on Twitch, an Amazon-owned streaming platform. Unable to get inside, he shoots one woman outside the synagogue before he goes on to shoot another man at a nearby kebab shop, killing both. Two others are wounded in the attack. Balliet confesses to authorities after his arrest and claims anti-Semitic and far-right motives, according to the German federal prosecutor's office. Balliet carried nine pounds of explosives in his car at the time of his arrest and intended to carry out a "massacre," according to the prosecutor.⁷¹

– December 10, 2019

After fatally shooting a police detective at the Bay View Cemetery in Jersey City, New Jersey, David Anderson and Francine Graham attack the JC Kosher Supermarket,

⁷⁰ Ben Sales, "'We no longer feel comfortable in our own shul': North Miami Beach's Jews cope after another synagogue shooting," Jewish Telegraphic Agency, July 30, 2019, <http://www.jta.org/2019/07/30/united-states/we-no-longer-feel-comfortable-in-our-own-shul-miami-beachs-jews-cope-after-another-shooting-at-a-synagogue>; "Arrest Made Weeks After Shooting Outside North Miami Beach Synagogue," NBC 6 News, last updated August 21, 2019, <https://www.nbcmiami.com/news/local/Arrest-Made-in-Shooting-Outside-North-Miami-Beach-Synagogue-557609851.html>.

⁷¹ Marcy Oster, "German synagogue attacker confesses and says he had anti-Semitic motive," Jewish Telegraphic Agency, October 13, 2019, <https://www.jta.org/quick-reads/german-synagogue-attacker-confesses-and-says-he-had-anti-semitic-motive>; Sven Robel, "Halle-Attentäter wurde von Unbekanntem finanziell unterstützt," *Der Spiegel* (Berlin), October 11, 2019, <https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/justiz/halle-saale-attentaeter-wurde-von-unbekanntem-finanziell-unterstuetzt-a-1291171.html>; Petra Sorge, Ruth Bender, and Sara Germano, "German Man Arrested After Failed Attack on Synagogue," *Wall Street Journal*, (October 9, 2019, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/two-killed-in-shooting-in-eastern-germany-11570621267>); Marcy Oster, "Germany's chief prosecutor says Halle shooting suspect planned a 'massacre,'" Jewish Telegraphic Agency, October 10, 2019, <http://www.jta.org/quick-reads/germanys-chief-prosecutor-says-halle-shooting-suspect-planned-a-massacre>.

killing three. Anderson and Graham are subsequently killed during an hours-long shootout with police. Explosives are found in a stolen U-Haul truck that the pair drove to the store. The incident is labeled a terrorist attack. Authorities find an anti-Semitic manifesto and other writings that support conclusions the store was specifically targeted. Anderson previously belonged to the Black Hebrew Israelite movement, which anti-extremism experts accuse of trading in racism and anti-Semitism.⁷²

– December 28, 2019

A masked African American male armed with a machete, later identified as Grafton E. Thomas, screams “I’ll get you!” as he attacks a Chanukah party at the home of Rabbi Chaim Rottenberg in Monsey, New York, killing one and wounding four. Guests attack the assailant with chairs and force him to flee. Thomas attempts to enter the synagogue next door, Congregation Netzach Yisroel, but the doors are locked. Thomas is arrested shortly after in Harlem after police trace his license plate using a picture taken by a guest. Governor Andrew Cuomo calls the attack “an act of domestic terrorism.” Thomas is charged with five counts of attempted murder and one count of first-degree murder, as well as federal hate crime charges. A judge rules in April 2020 that Thomas is mentally unfit to stand trial.⁷³

⁷² Associated Press, “Timeline of events in Jersey City shootout,” *Morning Call*, December 11, 2019, <https://www.mcall.com/news/breaking/mc-nws--20191211-igfpyntxjbef5a2hzsyqomg2wa-story.html>; David Porter and Michael R. Sisak, “Jersey City attack being investigated as domestic terrorism,” Associated Press, December 13, 2019, <https://apnews.com/b8ead490e3616d7234442b5b2c63e6d6>; Sarah Maslin Nir, “Black Hebrew Israelites: What We Know About the Fringe Group,” *New York Times*, December 12, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/11/nyregion/black-hebrew-israelites-jersey-city-suspects.html>; Jonathan Dienst and Brian Thompson, “Jersey City Shooters Identified, Were Prime Suspects in Other Homicide,” NBC 4 New York, last updated December 12, 2019, <https://www.nbcnewyork.com/news/local/jersey-city-shootout-developing-details-3-2/2239660/>.

⁷³ Rebecca Liebson, Christina Goldbaum, Joseph Goldstein, and Nicholas Bogel-Burroughs, “Intruder Screamed ‘I’ll Get You’ in Attack on Jews at Rabbi’s Home,” *New York Times*, December 28, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/29/nyregion/monsey-new-york-stabbing.html>; Michael Gold and Benjamin Weiser, “Suspect in Monsey Stabbings Searched Online for ‘Hitler,’ Charges Say,” *New York Times*, December 30, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/30/nyregion/jewish-attacks.html>; Phil Helsel, “Suspect in Hanukkah machete attack at rabbi’s NY home not fit for trial, judge rules,” NBC News,

– **October 4, 2020**

A suspect wearing military fatigues attacks a 26-year-old with a spade outside a synagogue in Hamburg, Germany, during the Sukkot holiday. The victim is “seriously” injured, according to authorities. Police soon after arrest a suspect who has a note with a swastika in his pocket. Police describe the suspect as “extremely confused.” German political leaders condemn the attack.⁷⁴

– **November 2, 2020**

Austrian-North Macedonian dual citizen Kujtim Fejzulai, wearing a fake explosive vest and armed with an automatic rifle, a handgun, and a machete attacks Vienna’s city center, including areas busy with people in bars and restaurants as well as outside the Seitenstettengasse synagogue, killing at least four and wounding at least 22 before he is killed by police. The synagogue’s non-Jewish security guard is among the fatalities. Fejzulai had previously been convicted for attempting to join ISIS but was released early after serving only part of his 22-month sentence. Jewish communal leaders are uncertain if the synagogue, which was closed at the time of the attack, was a primary target. The attack takes place the night before Austria is set to begin a new coronavirus lockdown, with bars and restaurants closing for a month at midnight. Austria begins three days of official mourning the day after the attack. ISIS supporters on the encrypted messaging service Telegram praise the attack, and ISIS claims responsibility the following day through its Amaq News Agency.⁷⁵

April 21, 2020, <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/suspect-hanukkah-machete-attack-rabbi-s-ny-home-not-fit-n1188426>; Azi Paybarah, “Rabbi Dies Three Months After Hanukkah Night Attack,” *New York Times*, March 30, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/30/nyregion/rabbi-monsey-attack.html>.

⁷⁴ “Jewish student ‘seriously injured’ outside Hamburg synagogue in ‘anti-Semitic motivated attack,’” Euronews, October 5, 2020, <https://www.euronews.com/2020/10/05/jewish-student-seriously-injured-outside-hamburg-synagogue>; Katrin Bennhold, “Attack at German Synagogue During Sukkot Raises Anti-Semitism Fears,” *New York Times*, October 4, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/04/world/europe/synagogue-attack-germany-hamburg.html>.

⁷⁵ Philipp Jenne and Geir Moulson, “Gunman who killed 4 in Vienna attack had sought to join IS,” Associated Press, November 3, 2020, <https://apnews.com/article/vienna-shooter-tried-to-join-isis->

An examination of violent anti-Semitic attacks on Jews and Jewish institutions of the twenty-first century reveals the patterns of who is threatening the Jewish community. Of the recorded major attacks in the United States since 2000, one attacker—Naveed Afzal Haq in the July 2006 Seattle shooting—claimed he was directly motivated to attack Jews because of his Muslim identity and anger over U.S.-Israeli policies. Four other U.S. attacks were identifiably motivated by white nationalism. One unsuccessful December 2018 plot drew inspiration from both white nationalism and Islamism. That month, the FBI arrested 21-year-old Dutch native Damon Joseph on charges of plotting to attack a synagogue in Toledo, Ohio. Joseph told an undercover FBI agent that he wanted to kill a rabbi and was inspired by the Pittsburgh attack. Joseph went by the name Abdullah Ali Yusuf and was charged with attempting to provide material support to ISIS.⁷⁶ Authorities in Las Vegas, Nevada, stopped another attack on August 8, 2019, when they arrested Conor Climo for planning to bomb a synagogue or LGBTQ club.⁷⁷ In February 2020, Climo pleaded guilty to possession of an unregistered firearm—specifically, the component parts of a destructive device. Climo had also been in communication with

[53282a7da4f3a1903358b4b16d8a17a6](https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-austria-attacks-claim/islamic-state-claims-responsibility-for-vienna-attack-groups-amaq-news-idUKKBN27J2FA); “Islamic State claims responsibility for Vienna attack,” Reuters, November 3, 2020, <https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-austria-attacks-claim/islamic-state-claims-responsibility-for-vienna-attack-groups-amaq-news-idUKKBN27J2FA>; Michael Bachner and staff, “At least 2 dead in ‘repulsive terror attack’ at multiple sites in Vienna,” Times of Israel, November 2, 2020, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/shots-fired-near-vienna-synagogue-prompting-massive-police-operation/>; “Vienna shooting: Gunman hunted after deadly ‘terror’ attack,” BBC News, November 3, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-54786952>; Bojan Pancevski, Ruth Bender, and William Boston, “Vienna Shooting Kills Four, Injures Several in Terrorist Act,” *Wall Street Journal*, November 3, 2020, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/three-injured-in-armed-attack-on-vienna-synagogue-11604348986>.

⁷⁶ Marcy Oster, “Ohio man arrested for planning deadly attack on synagogue,” Jewish Telegraphic Agency, December 10, 2018, <https://www.jta.org/2018/12/10/united-states/toledo-ohio-man-arrested-for-planning-deadly-attack-on-area-synagogue>; “Suspect in Ohio synagogue bombing plan indicted on federal hate crimes charge,” Jewish Telegraphic Agency, January 31, 2019, <https://www.jta.org/quick-reads/ohio-man-who-planned-attack-on-local-synagogue-indicted-on-federal-hate-crimes-charge>.

⁷⁷ Marcy Oster, “Las Vegas man planned to bomb local synagogue, federal authorities charge,” Jewish Telegraphic Agency, August 11, 2019, <https://www.jta.org/quick-reads/las-vegas-man-planned-to-bomb-local-synagogue-federal-authorities-charge>.

members of the white supremacist group Feuerkrieg Division, a European offshoot of the U.S.-based [Atomwaffen Division](#).⁷⁸

While white nationalists have largely—but not exclusively—carried out violent anti-Jewish attacks in the United States, Arab and Muslim assailants have been largely responsible for attacks in Europe. Further, the European attackers have more often claimed affiliation with a larger jihadist terrorist network, such as [al-Qaeda](#) or [ISIS](#). [Mohamed Merah](#), who killed four people at the Ozar Hatorah Jewish School in Toulouse, France, in March 2012, was affiliated with al-Qaeda and claimed during a standoff with police that he was avenging the deaths of Palestinians while attacking France for banning Islamic veils. Merah died during the confrontation.⁷⁹ [Mehdi Nemmouche](#), who killed four in a 2014 attack at the Jewish Museum in Brussels, Belgium, was a former ISIS fighter whose lawyer claimed he was targeting Mossad (Israel's national intelligence agency) agents during his assault on the museum.⁸⁰

Two U.S. attacks that do not fit into the far-right/Islamist paradigm are the December 10, 2019, attack on a kosher supermarket in Jersey City, New Jersey, and the December 28, 2019, attack on a Chanukah party in Monsey, New York. The Jersey City attack left three people dead, as well as the two attackers, David Anderson and Francine Graham. Anderson had previously belonged to a group known as the Black Hebrew Israelites, a U.S. religious movement that believes that Blacks, not modern Jews, are the true descendants of the ancient tribes of Israel. Sects within the movement, which has been

⁷⁸ "Las Vegas Man Pleads Guilty To Possession Of Bomb-Making Components," U.S. Department of Justice, February 10, 2020, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-nv/pr/las-vegas-man-pleads-guilty-possession-bomb-making-components>.

⁷⁹ Harriet Alexander and Fiona Govan, "Toulouse shootings: the making of a French jihadi killer with a double life," *Telegraph* (London), March 24, 2012, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/9165091/Toulouse-shootings-the-making-of-a-French-jihadi-killer-with-a-double-life.html>.

⁸⁰ "Brussels Jewish Museum murders: Mehdi Nemmouche guilty," BBC News, March 7, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-47490332>.

dubbed a hate group by anti-extremism experts, stand accused of trading in racism and anti-Semitism. There are divergences within the larger movement and not all Black Israelites groups adhere to the same anti-Semitic propaganda.⁸¹ In the second attack, an African American man identified as Grafton E. Thomas attacked a Chanukah party in Monsey, New York, killing one and wounding four.⁸² According to the criminal complaint against him, Thomas had searched the Internet for Nazi-related terms, as well as “why did Hitler hate the Jews” and “prominent companies founded by Jews in America.” He had also searched for “German Jewish Temples near me” and “Zionist Temples” in New Jersey and Staten Island. Thomas appeared unaffiliated with any major group but had written about Adolf Hitler and “Nazi culture” in his journals.⁸³

Reviving Anti-Jewish Laws

In the twenty-first century, Jews enjoy more political and economic freedom than at any other time in history. But while Jews are not directly targeted by state sponsored regulations, they have found themselves targeted indirectly by new laws that restrict historical practices of the Jewish community. In the twenty-first century, European

⁸¹ Sam Kestenbaum, “Who are the Black Israelites at the center of the viral standoff at the Lincoln Memorial?,” *Washington Post*, January 22, 2019, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/religion/2019/01/22/who-are-black-israelites-center-viral-standoff-lincoln-memorial/>; David Porter and Michael R. Sisak, “Jersey City attack being investigated as domestic terrorism,” Associated Press, December 13, 2019, <https://apnews.com/b8ead490e3616d7234442b5b2c63e6d6>; Sarah Maslin Nir, “Black Hebrew Israelites: What We Know About the Fringe Group,” *New York Times*, December 12, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/11/nyregion/black-hebrew-israelites-jersey-city-suspects.html>.

⁸² Rebecca Liebson, Christina Goldbaum, Joseph Goldstein, and Nicholas Bogel-Burroughs, “Intruder Screamed ‘I’ll Get You’ in Attack on Jews at Rabbi’s Home,” *New York Times*, December 28, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/29/nyregion/monsey-new-york-stabbing.html>.

⁸³ Michael Gold and Benjamin Weiser, “Suspect in Monsey Stabbings Searched Online for ‘Hitler,’ Charges Say,” *New York Times*, December 30, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/30/nyregion/jewish-attacks.html>; Phil Helsel, “Suspect in Hanukkah machete attack at rabbi’s NY home not fit for trial, judge rules,” NBC News, April 21, 2020, <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/suspect-hanukkah-machete-attack-rabbi-s-ny-home-not-fit-n1188426>.

nations have begun to restrict religious slaughter of meat, public displays of religious clothing, and the practice of circumcision. Europe's far-right parties have spearheaded these types of restrictions to curb growing Islamic migrant communities, but Jews have also found themselves caught in the crossfire. Many of these new legalistic restrictions on Jewish life have also garnered support from the left under the guise of protecting human—and animal—rights.

Across Europe, governments are imposing restrictions on the practice of circumcision on the basis of protecting the rights of children. The right views circumcision as an alien practice imposed by Muslim immigrants, while left-wing political parties also argue the rights of children outweigh their parents' rights to freedom of religion. A German court issued a non-binding ruling in 2012 that male circumcision for religious purposes "causes bodily harm" that outweighs parents' right to their beliefs.⁸⁴ In September 2013, the children's ombudsmen representing Finland, Iceland, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway jointly called for a ban on the practice.⁸⁵ Iceland's government became the first in 2018 to announce a proposed ban on non-medical circumcision, which Jewish, Muslim, and Catholic leaders called an attack on religious freedom.⁸⁶ Jewish groups have warned that criminalizing circumcision would make Jewish life impossible, as it is an integral part of the Jewish lifecycle.

Circumcision is not the only Jewish practice under legal threat in Europe. Spurred by both far-left animal-rights groups as well as by far-right xenophobes, Belgium became the latest in a growing list of European countries to ban kosher slaughter in January

⁸⁴ "German court rules circumcision is 'bodily harm,'" BBC News, June 26, 2017, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-18604664>.

⁸⁵ "Joint statement from the Nordic Ombudsmen for Children and pediatric experts," Finland Ombudsman for Children, September 30, 2013, <http://lapsiasia.fi/en/tata-mielta/aloitteet/aloitteet-2013/joint-statement-from-the-nordic-ombudsmen-for-children-and-pediatric-experts/>.

⁸⁶ Harriet Sherwood, "Iceland law to outlaw male circumcision sparks row over religious freedom," *Guardian* (London), February 17, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2018/feb/18/iceland-ban-male-circumcision-first-european-country>.

2019.⁸⁷ European law requires that animals be stunned prior to slaughter.⁸⁸ Both kosher and Islamic halal laws require the animal to be in perfect health prior to slaughter. Stunning is considered an abrogation of the laws of kosher slaughter (“*shechita*” in Hebrew) because the animal is no longer in perfect health.⁸⁹ In both Jewish and Islamic ritual slaughter, a sharp knife is used to cut the trachea, esophagus, and the carotid arteries of the throat in one fluid motion, causing instant death.

Several European countries have moved to eliminate religious exemptions. Poland banned kosher slaughter in 2013, though a court overturned the decree the following year after a religious freedom challenge by Poland’s Union of Jewish Religious Communities.⁹⁰ In December 2018, laws banning the methods of kosher and halal slaughter went into effect in Belgium. Belgian Jewish leaders told the Jewish Telegraphic Agency they feared the ban would be a prelude to a ban on importing kosher meat from elsewhere within the European Union.⁹¹

While they are largely at odds with each other, the left and the right have found common ground in opposing circumcision and religious animal slaughter. Both sides argue the issues as promoting the rights of animals and voiceless children. Europe’s right wing, however, has also made clear that practices such as circumcision are viewed as a foreign import by Muslim migrants and thus these restrictions would protect Europe’s

⁸⁷ Milan Schreuer, “Belgium Bans Religious Slaughtering Practices, Drawing Praise and Protest,” *New York Times*, January 5, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/05/world/europe/belgium-ban-jewish-muslim-animal-slaughter.html>.

⁸⁸ “Legal Restrictions on Religious Slaughter in Europe,” Law Library of Congress, March 2018, 1, <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/religious-slaughter/religious-slaughter-europe.pdf>.

⁸⁹ “Legal Restrictions on Religious Slaughter in Europe,” Law Library of Congress, March 2018, 2, <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/religious-slaughter/religious-slaughter-europe.pdf>.

⁹⁰ “Polish ban on kosher slaughter of animals is overturned,” BBC News, December 10, 2014, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-30412551>.

⁹¹ Cnaan Liphshiz, “Belgian ban on kosher slaughter has Jews worried about what comes next,” Jewish Telegraphic Agency, January 4, 2019, <https://www.jta.org/2019/01/04/global/in-belgiums-ritual-slaughter-ban-some-jews-see-sign-theyre-unwelcome>.

identity.⁹² The anti-Semitism of these laws is not as blatant as those of the past as Jews are not the specific target, but the effect is the same: Jews would be forced to either relocate to other countries or abandon their core religious practices.⁹³

Modern Political Anti-Semitism

Blatant anti-Semitism has been a rhetorical component of the far right and the far left, but it has also bled into the mainstream political language of the left and right as the U.S. political sphere has become increasingly polarized. With that division, classic anti-Semitic tropes have seeped into the political conversation, both targeting Jews directly and in attacking political opponents who happen to be Jewish. Conversely, anti-Semitism has become a political football as the left and the right accuse each other of being more anti-Semitic and thus the larger danger—all while ignoring the anti-Semitism within their own political circles.

Some of this political anti-Semitism has been overt. Ahead of the U.S. midterm elections in November 2018, for example, several Republicans across the country released images painting their Jewish political opponents clutching money, playing on the stereotype of greedy Jews.⁹⁴ During a December 2015 address to the Republican

⁹² Milan Schreuer, "Belgium Bans Religious Slaughtering Practices, Drawing Praise and Protest," *New York Times*, January 5, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/05/world/europe/belgium-ban-jewish-muslim-animal-slaughter.html>; "Swedish far-right party submits motion calling for circumcision ban," Jewish Telegraphic Agency, October 4, 2018, <https://www.jta.org/2018/10/04/global/swedish-far-right-party-submits-motion-calling-circumcision-ban>.

⁹³ Catherine Edwards, "Jews and Muslims in Sweden outraged over call to ban male circumcision," *Local (Sweden)*, October 2, 2019, <https://www.thelocal.se/20191002/jews-and-muslims-in-sweden-outraged-over-call-to-ban-male-circumcision>; "Jews join fight against Swedish party's call to ban circumcisions," *Times of Israel*, October 3, 2019, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/jews-join-fight-against-swedish-partys-call-to-ban-circumcisions/>.

⁹⁴ Ron Kampeas and Ben Sales, "Republicans in several states run ads depicting Jewish opponents clutching money," Jewish Telegraphic Agency, November 6, 2018, <https://www.jta.org/2018/11/06/news-opinion/politics/jewish-candidates-clutching-cash-theme-appears-gop-attack-ads-6-states>.

Jewish Coalition, U.S. President Donald Trump seemed to reference supposed Jewish political and financial power:

You're not gonna support me because I don't want your money. You want to control your politicians, that's fine. Five months ago I was with you. I do want your support, but I don't want your money.⁹⁵

Some on the far right have viewed Trump's comments as a validation of their own anti-Semitic positions.⁹⁶ Others on the far right have viewed Trump as subservient to Jews. Robert Bowers, who murdered 11 in his 2018 attack on Pittsburgh's Tree of Life synagogue, castigated Trump for not sufficiently calling out Jewish power.⁹⁷ Indeed, Trump's Jewish son-in-law, Jared Kushner, and his daughter Ivanka, a convert to Judaism, have been the target of anti-Semitic attacks. Kushner found himself targeted by a group of far-right individuals who developed an online script that placed the names of prominent Jews in parentheses to signal that they were Jewish.⁹⁸

Jews have long been subjected to the accusation that they are disloyal to the nations in which they reside. Napoleon Bonaparte demanded Jews declare loyalty to France before they could gain political rights. In 1896, a group of Jewish Civil War veterans formed the Hebrew Union Veterans, which eventually became known as the Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A. (JWV).⁹⁹ The JWV's mission statement includes fostering love of

⁹⁵ Jeremy Diamond, "Trump to Republican Jewish Coalition: 'I'm a negotiator like you,'" CNN, December 3, 2015, <https://www.cnn.com/2015/12/03/politics/donald-trump-rjc-negotiator/index.html>.

⁹⁶ Dennis Jett, "President validates anti-Semitic rhetoric," *Pittsburgh Jewish Chronicle*, October 10, 2019, <https://jewishchronicle.timesofisrael.com/president-validates-anti-semitic-rhetoric/>.

⁹⁷ Kelly Weill, "Pittsburgh Synagogue Suspect Robert Bowers Hated Trump—for Not Hating Jews," *Daily Beast*, October 30, 2019, <https://www.thedailybeast.com/robert-bowers-is-neo-nazi-who-posted-about-killing-jews-on-gab>.

⁹⁸ Joe Veix, "Racist 'Jew Tracker' Targets Trump's Son-in-Law," *Daily Beast*, last updated July 12, 2017, <https://www.thedailybeast.com/racist-jew-tracker-targets-trumps-son-in-law>.

⁹⁹ "JWV of the USA – 120 Years of Patriotic Service," Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A., accessed August 23, 2019, <http://jwv.org/wp-content/uploads/JWV-History-Timeline-Final-2.pdf>.

America, maintaining “true allegiance” to the United States, instilling “love of country and flag,” and fighting against bigotry.¹⁰⁰ Groups like the J WV were necessitated by the continuation of the disloyalty charge. While that charge led to historic tragedies such as the Dreyfus Affair in France at the turn of the nineteenth century, it has become a political weapon of both the left and right in modern politics.

U.S. Jews have been subjected to two strands of dual loyalty claims: The accusation of loyalty to the global Jewish community; and the relatively newer accusation of loyalty to the State of Israel. In an effort to circumvent the latter, Israeli Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion declared in 1950 that the “Jews of the United States, as a community and as individuals, have only one political attachment and that is to the United States of America. They owe no political allegiance to Israel.”¹⁰¹ Nonetheless, Jews in the United States—like the majority of the general U.S. public—overwhelmingly support the State of Israel.¹⁰² The American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) is one of the most powerful lobbies in Washington. As such, it has become a symbol—rightly or wrongly—of Jewish influence over the U.S. government. As AIPAC’s *raison d’être* is the promotion of U.S. ties with the Jewish nation-state, its critics often accuse it of putting foreign interests above U.S. interests and accuse AIPAC’s supporters of dual loyalties.

During national discussions in 2015 on the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Actions, the so-called Iran deal negotiated by President Barack Obama, world powers, and Iran to prevent the Islamic Republic from acquiring nuclear weapons, voices from both sides of the political aisle accused Obama of inciting anti-Semitism through comments about

¹⁰⁰ “Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A. Mission Statement,” Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A., accessed August 23, 2019, https://www.jwv.org/who_we_are/about/.

¹⁰¹ Charles S. Liebman, “Diaspora Influence on Israel: The Ben-Gurion: Blaustein “Exchange” and Its Aftermath,” *Jewish Social Studies* 36, no. 3/4 (1974): 271-80. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4466837>.

¹⁰² Lydia Saad, “Americans, but Not Liberal Democrats, Mostly Pro-Israel,” Gallup, March 6, 2019, https://news.gallup.com/poll/247376/americans-not-liberal-democrats-mostly-pro-israel.aspx?utm_source=alert&utm_medium=email&utm_content=morelink&utm_campaign=syndication.

AIPAC and the power of the Jewish lobby, as well as his alleged dismissal of anti-Semitism in the Iranian government. In a May 2015 interview with Jeffrey Goldberg of the *Atlantic*, Obama attempted to portray the Iranian regime as a rational actor whose desire to remain in power outweighed its animosity toward Jews: “Well the fact that you are anti-Semitic, or racist, doesn’t preclude you from being interested in survival.”¹⁰³ Tony Badran of the Foundation for Defense of Democracies accused Obama of attempting to excuse Iranian anti-Semitism and “whitewash” the regime in order to promote the nuclear deal.¹⁰⁴

AIPAC at the time was one of the leading opponents of the Iran deal and was actively campaigning against it. Obama further enflamed the U.S. Jewish community as he was promoting the Iran deal during the summer of 2015. During an appearance on *The Daily Show With Jon Stewart* that July, Obama called out “lobbyists” and “money” the deal’s opponents were corralling.¹⁰⁵ After the deal was signed that month, Obama challenged his critics in Congress to evaluate the agreement “not based on lobbying, but based on what’s in the national interests of the United States of America.”¹⁰⁶ Later that summer, Obama accused opponents of the deal of seeking to lead the United States to war as they did with Iraq in 2003. Republican Jewish Coalition executive director Matt Brooks accused Obama of “demonizing Americans who are rightly skeptical of his dubious deal with the Tehran regime.”¹⁰⁷ Obama’s comments raised concerns across the U.S. Jewish

¹⁰³ Jeffrey Goldberg, “‘Look ... It’s My Name on This’: Obama Defends the Iran Nuclear Deal,” *Atlantic*, May 21, 2015, <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/05/obama-interview-iran-isis-israel/393782/>.

¹⁰⁴ Tony Badran, “Obama is defending Iranian anti-Semitism to spin his nuclear deal,” *Business Insider*, May 29, 2015, <https://www.businessinsider.com/obama-is-defending-anti-semitism-to-spin-his-iran-deal-2015-5>.

¹⁰⁵ “Obama slams ‘lobbyists, money’ working against his Iran deal,” *Times of Israel*, July 22, 2015, https://www.timesofisrael.com/obama-slams-lobbyists-money-working-against-his-iran-deal/?utm_content=bufferc53df&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter.com&utm_campaign=buffer.

¹⁰⁶ Adam Kredo, “Obama Lashes Out at Nuke Critics,” *Washington Free Beacon*, July 15, 2015, <https://freebeacon.com/national-security/obama-lashes-out-at-uke-critics/>.

¹⁰⁷ Kevin Liptak and Hilary Krieger, “Obama’s Iran nuclear deal rhetoric troubles American Jews,” *CNN*, August 10, 2015, <https://www.cnn.com/2015/08/10/politics/jewish-concern-obama-rhetoric-iran-nuclear-deal/index.html>.

community that Obama was specifically blaming the Jewish community for pushing the United States toward war out of a greater loyalty to Israel. Former ADL League director Abraham Foxman said that while he did not believe Obama was deliberately promoting tropes of Jewish political influence, the president's comments could end up "fueling and legitimizing anti-Semitic stereotypes out there that Jews are warmongers."¹⁰⁸

In both the leadup to the Iran deal and to the 2003 Iraq war, some viewed the so-called Jewish lobby as either directly influencing or attempting to influence U.S. policy to war to promote the interests of Israel—a clear representation of the dual loyalty accusation. In both cases, accusations emerged that the organized U.S. Jewish community was promoting the interests of Israel over the interests of the United States. In 2013, *New York Times* columnist Thomas Friedman directly accused pro-Israel lobbyists and U.S. lawmakers of putting the interests of AIPAC and Jewish campaign donations above that of the country. He wrote he had never seen more lawmakers on either side of the aisle "more willing to take Israel's side against their own president's," and he was "certain this comes less from any careful consideration of the facts and more from a growing tendency by many American lawmakers to do whatever the Israel lobby asks them to do in order to garner Jewish votes and campaign donations."¹⁰⁹ Former *Atlantic* writer and editor Matthew Yglesias noted in 2007 that AIPAC and other pro-Israel groups such as the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, the Saban Center, and Jewish Institute for National Security of America (JINSA) "advocated strongly in favor of invasion."¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Kevin Liptak and Hilary Krieger, "Obama's Iran nuclear deal rhetoric troubles American Jews," CNN, August 10, 2015, <https://www.cnn.com/2015/08/10/politics/jewish-concern-obama-rhetoric-iran-nuclear-deal/index.html>.

¹⁰⁹ Thomas L. Friedman, "Let's Make a Deal," *New York Times*, November 19, 2013, https://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/20/opinion/friedman-lets-make-a-deal.html?_r=0&gwh=09E484FD6FB538445C61ABFC54C622CC.

¹¹⁰ Matthew Yglesias, "AIPAC and Iraq," *Atlantic*, October 3, 2007, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2007/10/aipac-and-iraq/46561/>.

Yglesias added that he did not mean to imply “the Jews caused the war,” but said it was “still true” these pro-Israel organizations played a role.¹¹¹

These accusations merited outcry,¹¹² but were ultimately forgotten by the zeitgeist. Nevertheless, they set a tone that has allowed other politicians to continue to promote charges of undue Jewish political power and the divided loyalty of the American Jewish community. Democratic Representative Ilhan Omar of Minnesota has elicited widespread condemnation for a series of statements and tweets alleging dual loyalty and Jewish financial influence over the U.S. government. During a February 2019 progressive town hall, Omar took issue with what she called the “political influence in this country that says it is okay for people to push for allegiance to a foreign country.”¹¹³ In a since-deleted tweet that month, Omar declared that U.S. support for Israel was “all about the Benjamins.” In response to a Twitter comment asking who was paying for that support, she responded, “AIPAC.”¹¹⁴ The House’s Democratic leadership condemned Omar’s “use of anti-Semitic tropes and prejudicial accusations about Israel’s supporters” as “deeply offensive.”¹¹⁵ Omar apologized for the comments after receiving backlash but at the same time again called out AIPAC, among other lobby groups.¹¹⁶ The following month, Omar tweeted a suggestion that Jewish Representative

¹¹¹ Matthew Yglesias, “AIPAC and Iraq,” *Atlantic*, October 3, 2007, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2007/10/aipac-and-iraq/46561/>.

¹¹² Jennifer Rubin, “Anti-Semitism and Obama’s Iran policy,” *Washington Post*, November 21, 2013, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/right-turn/wp/2013/11/21/anti-semitism-and-obamas-iran-policy/>.

¹¹³ Busboys and Poets Facebook post, February 27, 2019, <https://www.facebook.com/busboysandpoets/videos/353129905294312/>.

¹¹⁴ William Cummings, “Rep. Ilhan Omar deletes the controversial tweets that drew charges of anti-Semitism,” *USA Today*, February 26, 2019, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/onpolitics/2019/02/26/ilhan-omar-deletes-israel-tweets-that-drew-charges-of-anti-semitism/2989404002/>.

¹¹⁵ “Democratic Leadership Statement on Anti-Semitic Comments of Congresswoman Ilhan Omar,” Website of Nancy Pelosi, February 11, 2019, <https://www.speaker.gov/newsroom/21119>.

¹¹⁶ Ilhan Omar, Twitter post, February 11, 2019, 2:46 p.m., <https://twitter.com/IlhanMN/status/1095046561254567937>.

Nita Lowy and other members of Congress maintained allegiance to a foreign power, i.e., Israel.¹¹⁷



The dual loyalty question has not manifested itself solely in U.S. politics. In October 2019, U.K. Labour Party lawmaker Louise Ellman resigned from the party she had belonged to for 55 years, alleging that far-left activists within the party had accused her of dual loyalty to Israel. She told the *Telegraph* that since she joined parliament in 1997, a new far-left contingent of lawmakers had joined the Labour Party and “endorsed anti-Semitic conspiracy theories and came from revolutionary Communist groups.”¹¹⁸

According to Ellman, far-left anti-Semitism has risen in the Labour Party under the leadership of M.P. Jeremy Corbyn, who himself has been accused of forming relationships with terrorist groups such as Hezbollah and Hamas, which he described as “friends” during a 2009 parliamentary meeting. Corbyn later said he regretted the

¹¹⁷ Zack Beauchamp, “The Ilhan Omar anti-Semitism controversy, explained,” Vox, March 6, 2019, [https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2019/3/6/18251639/ilhan-omar-israel-anti-semitism-jews](\"https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2019/3/6/18251639/ilhan-omar-israel-anti-semitism-jews\").

¹¹⁸ “Former UK Labour MP says activists accused her of dual loyalty to Israel,” Times of Israel, October 23, 2019, [https://www.timesofisrael.com/former-uk-labour-mp-says-activists-accused-her-of-dual-loyalty-to-israel/](\"https://www.timesofisrael.com/former-uk-labour-mp-says-activists-accused-her-of-dual-loyalty-to-israel/\").

classification, describing it as “inclusive language I used which with hindsight I would rather not have used.”¹¹⁹ In 2014, Corbyn attended a wreath-laying ceremony in Tunisia that honored members of Black September, the Palestinian terrorist group that orchestrated the 1972 massacre of Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics. A Labour statement said he was attending a ceremony honoring those killed in a 1985 Israeli airstrike on Palestine Liberation Organization offices in Tunis, but Corbyn later told the *Guardian* that there was also a commemoration for Black September members allegedly killed by the Mossad in 1992 in retaliation for Munich.¹²⁰ Corbyn assumed the leadership of the Labour Party in 2015.¹²¹ Corbyn again sparked controversy in June 2016 when he made a comparison between ISIS and Israel:

Our Jewish friends are no more responsible for the actions of Israel or the Netanyahu government than our Muslim friends are for those of various self-styled Islamic states or organisations.¹²²

Other members of Labour—including former London Mayor Ken Livingstone and parliamentarians Naz Shah and Chris Williamson—have also faced accusations of anti-Semitism for various comments and been suspended from the party as a result. Corbyn issued apologies in 2018 for a 2010 event he attended during which a Holocaust survivor compared Israel to Nazis and for sending a supportive message in 2012 to the

¹¹⁹ Rajeev Syal, “Jeremy Corbyn says he regrets calling Hamas and Hezbollah ‘friends,’” *Guardian* (London), July 4, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jul/04/jeremy-corbyn-says-he-regrets-calling-hamas-and-hezbollah-friends>.

¹²⁰ Dan Sabbagh, “Jeremy Corbyn: I was present at wreath-laying but don’t think I was involved,” *Guardian* (London), August 14, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/aug/13/jeremy-corbyn-not-involved-munich-olympics-massacre-wreath-laying>.

¹²¹ Patrick Wintour and Nicholas Watt, “Labour frontbenchers rule out serving in Corbyn’s shadow cabinet,” *Guardian* (London), September 12, 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/sep/12/labour-frontbenchers-rule-out-serving-in-jeremy-corbyn-shadow-cabinet>.

¹²² Harriet Sherwood, “Jeremy Corbyn launches antisemitism report amid controversy,” *Guardian* (London), June 30, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/30/jeremy-corbyn-compares-israeli-government-islamic-state-labour-antisemitism-review>.

creator of a mural that depicted a cabal controlling the world order and employed historic anti-Semitic tropes.¹²³ Several Labour Party members resigned in early 2019 in protest over Corbyn's handling of Brexit and anti-Semitism within the party.¹²⁴ In April 2018, the Jewish Labour Movement passed a no-confidence motion against Corbyn.¹²⁵ A September 2018 poll found that 85 percent of British Jews believed Corbyn to be anti-Semitic, while 85.6 percent believed the Labour Party to be anti-Semitic. By comparison, a poll of the general public found that 39 percent believed Corbyn to be anti-Semitic.¹²⁶

After Corbyn's Labour Party had its worst showing since 1935 in the U.K.'s December 2019 parliamentary elections, Labour loyalists and Corbyn allies alleged that foreign agents—i.e., supporters of Israel—had mobilized against Labour to sway the vote. Accusations ranged from indirectly blaming foreign powers to specifically saying Likud—the right-wing political party of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu—had orchestrated the defeat. Others alleged that Jews had used claims of anti-Semitism to manipulate the election.¹²⁷

Accusations that Jews wield disproportional political power and influence continue to resurface. In Britain, the left blamed Jews for Labour's defeat. In the U.S., the right

¹²³ "A guide to Labour Party anti-Semitism claims," BBC News, July 16, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-45030552>; Michael Segalov, "If you can't see antisemitism, it's time to open your eyes," *Guardian* (London), March 28, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/mar/28/antisemitism-open-your-eyes-jeremy-corbyn-labour>.

¹²⁴ "Seven MPs leave Labour Party in protest at Jeremy Corbyn's leadership," BBC News, February 18, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-47278902>.

¹²⁵ Elizabeth Piper, "Jewish Labour Movement passes motion of no confidence in Corbyn," Reuters, April 7, 2019, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-britain-labour-antisemitism/jewish-labour-movement-passes-motion-of-no-confidence-in-corbyn-idUSKCN1RJ0J3>.

¹²⁶ Daniel Sugarman, "More than 85 per cent of British Jews think Jeremy Corbyn is antisemitic," *Jewish Chronicle* (London), September 13, 2018, <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/more-than-85-per-cent-of-british-jews-think-jeremy-corbyn-is-antisemitic-1.469654>.

¹²⁷ Cnaan Lipshiz, "More anti-Israel stalwarts blame Zionists and Jews for Jeremy Corbyn's defeat in Britain," Jewish Telegraphic Agency, December 17, 2019, <https://www.jta.org/2019/12/17/global/more-anti-israel-stalwarts-blame-zionists-and-jews-for-jeremy-corbyns-defeat-in-britain>.

accuses wealthy and influential Jews such as George Soros of masterminding a leftist revolution. The proliferation of anti-Semitic stereotypes in political conversations—such as Jewish wealth or political influence—in political contexts succeeds in sowing division among political opponents.

The propagation of anti-Semitism in politics can be partially attributed to increased polarization. The Pew Research Center found in 2016 and 2017 surveys that the American public had become increasingly entrenched in ideological and partisan positions since the 1990s.¹²⁸ One result of this polarization is an increased willingness to demonize the opposing side. Classic anti-Semitic tropes were designed to sow discord and mistrust, so it may not be surprising they would surface in a political environment. As with the modern European legislation targeting Jewish practices, Jews as a group may not be the primary target but they are caught in the backlash. Political propaganda utilizing these anti-Semitic tropes tends to inspire violence. In October 2018, for instance, authorities discovered a pipe bomb at Soros's home.¹²⁹

The United States and the other member nations of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) adopted the organization's definition of anti-Semitism in 2016, though it is legally non-binding and there have been calls for Congress to make it into law.¹³⁰ The IHRA specifies accusing Jewish citizens of "being more loyal to Israel,

¹²⁸ John Gramlich, "America's political divisions in 5 charts," Pew Research Center, November 7, 2016, <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/11/07/americas-political-divisions-in-5-charts/>; "The Partisan Divide on Political Values Grows Even Wider," Pew Research Center, October 5, 2017, <http://assets.pewresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/5/2017/10/05162647/10-05-2017-Political-landscape-release.pdf>.

¹²⁹ Jason Wilson, "'Dripping with poison of antisemitism': the demonization of George Soros," *Guardian* (London), October 25, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/oct/24/george-soros-antisemitism-bomb-attacks>;

¹³⁰ "Defining Anti-Semitism," U.S. Department of State, May 26, 2016, <https://www.state.gov/defining-anti-semitism/>; Gennady Favel, "Congress needs to adopt the IHRA definition of antisemitism," *Jerusalem Post*, May 23, 2020, <https://www.jpost.com/opinion/congress-needs-to-adopt-the-ihra-definition-of-antisemitism-629071>.

or to the alleged priorities of Jews worldwide, than to the interests of their own nations” is a form of anti-Semitism.¹³¹

Jews are not alone in facing accusations of dual loyalty. As a presidential candidate in 1960, John F. Kennedy faced charges that as a Catholic he would be more loyal to the pope and the Vatican than to the U.S. Constitution.¹³² American Muslims have also been subjected to accusations that they are loyal to the Muslim Brotherhood or other extremist groups.¹³³ For American Jews who have long struggled for equality—in the United States and elsewhere—the accusation is particularly damning. The charge declares that one can be Jewish or American but not both. It is an attack on the very identity of American Jews that robs them of the ability to define themselves.

The charge becomes even more disturbing when those in political power hurl it, which harkens back to the disastrous recent past. The Nazi regime destroyed the German-Jewish identity by forcing its own definition of who is a Jew upon the country’s Jews. Secular Jews who completely assimilated into German culture in the early twentieth century—to the point of serving in the German army in World War I—found themselves on the same transports to the concentration camps as their more observant coreligionists. That memory is still fresh for many in the Jewish community who understandably become nervous when politicians begin to toss around the dual loyalty charge.

¹³¹ “Working Definition of Anti-Semitism,” International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, accessed October 29, 2019, <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/working-definition-antisemitism?usergroup=5>.

¹³² “John F. Kennedy and Religion,” John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, accessed December 17, 2019, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/learn/about-jfk/jfk-in-history/john-f-kennedy-and-religion>.

¹³³ Arjun Singh Sethi, “Calling the Muslim Brotherhood a terrorist group would hurt all American Muslims,” *Washington Post*, February 8, 2017, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2017/02/08/calling-the-muslim-brotherhood-a-terrorist-group-would-hurt-all-american-muslims/>.

Holocaust Denial

Between 1943 and 1944, an average of 6,000 Jews were gassed to death per day at the Auschwitz concentration camp in Poland, according to the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. The Nazis previously used diesel engines to produce carbon monoxide in mobile killing centers at other camps, but discovered at Auschwitz that Zyklon B was a more efficient method for mass murder.¹³⁴ On October 14, 2019, Jordan's Al-Finiq TV broadcast a conference held in the country called "The Holocaust – the Biggest Lie in Modern History." Over the course of the conference, Jordanian researcher Mahmoud Awad concluded that the Nazis had used Zyklon B to disinfect clothing, not to murder Jews. The goal of the Final Solution, Awad argued, was only to drive the Jews out of Germany because they were detrimental to both German and Western culture.¹³⁵

Holocaust denial and revisionism have become central components of anti-Semitic conspiracies regarding Jewish power and influence. In December 2006, then-Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad convened the International Conference to Review the Global Vision of the Holocaust. The conference drew almost 70 attendees from 30 countries, including notables such as former [Ku Klux Klan](#) leader David Duke, who praised Ahmadinejad for providing a forum in which to question the official record of the Holocaust.¹³⁶ Ahmadinejad himself had previously referred to the Holocaust as a myth "above God, religion and the prophets."¹³⁷ According to a September 2018 CNN

¹³⁴ "Gassing Operations," U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, accessed November 21, 2019, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/gassing-operations>.

¹³⁵ "Researchers At Holocaust Denial Conference In Jordan: Jews Were Not Systematically Murdered In Holocaust, 'Final Solution' Was To Expel Jews Due To Their Destructive Influence," Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI), November 8, 2019, <https://www.memri.org/reports/researchers-holocaust-denial-conference-jordan-jews-were-not-systematically-murdered>.

¹³⁶ Nazila Fathi, "Holocaust Deniers and Skeptics Gather in Iran," *New York Times*, December 11, 2006, <https://www.nytimes.com/2006/12/11/world/middleeast/11cnd-iran.html>.

¹³⁷ Associated Press, "Holocaust a myth, says Iranian president," *Guardian* (London), December 14, 2005, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2005/dec/14/iran.secondworldwar>.

poll, half of Europeans believe commemorating the Holocaust helps fight anti-Semitism but one-third believe Jews use the Holocaust to advance their own goals.¹³⁸ The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) 2016 definition of anti-Semitism specifically classifies Holocaust denial and revisionism as anti-Semitism. According to the classification:

Denying the fact, scope, mechanisms (e.g. gas chambers) or intentionality of the genocide of the Jewish people at the hands of National Socialist Germany and its supporters and accomplices during World War II (the Holocaust).¹³⁹

The veracity of the Holocaust is a matter of historical record. Museums and archives have preserved eyewitness accounts, photographs, and physical evidence of its horrors. Nonetheless, revisionists have created an industry around Holocaust denial and revisionism. It can be broken down into two primary intersecting ideas: The record of the Holocaust is false or has been exaggerated and Jews abuse the memory of the Holocaust to garner sympathy and maintain influence. At the core of each is the accusation that Jews have distorted history, drawing again from the idea of a powerful Jewish conspiracy that manipulates global attitudes, historical records, and international affairs.

Holocaust Myth One: Jews Falsify or Exaggerate the Holocaust

¹³⁸ Richard Allen Greene, "CNN poll reveals depth of anti-Semitism in Europe," CNN, November 2018, <https://www.cnn.com/interactive/2018/11/europe/antisemitism-poll-2018-intl/>.

¹³⁹ "Working Definition of Anti-Semitism," International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, accessed October 29, 2019, <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/working-definition-antisemitism?usergroup=5>.

The details and scope of the Holocaust continue to come under attack by litigious revisionist historians using dubious scholarship and abusing academic freedoms. British revisionist David Irving, who has argued in books and papers that Jews were not gassed at the Auschwitz extermination camp, is one of many who contend that Jews have misrepresented and exaggerated the Holocaust. His website is a collection of Holocaust denial and anti-Semitic conspiracies, defenses of Nazism, and accusations of Jewish manipulation, lies, and thievery.¹⁴⁰ In her 1994 book *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*, noted Holocaust historian Deborah Lipstadt labeled Irving a Holocaust denier and a bigot who manipulated historical records to fit his agenda. Irving launched a libel suit against Lipstadt in 1996. In 2000, a judge ruled that Irving had failed to prove that Lipstadt had damaged his reputation. The judge further ruled that Irving was “an active Holocaust denier; that he was anti-Semitic and racist and that he associated with right-wing extremists who promoted neo-Nazism.”¹⁴¹ Irving was later jailed for 13 months in Austria, where Holocaust denial is a crime.¹⁴² He has since organized tours of Nazi sites in Germany, including the bunker where Hitler committed suicide.¹⁴³

A separate publishing industry has cropped up around Holocaust revisionism after World War II. Pseudo-historians typically attempt to cast doubt on the Holocaust while claiming that they are “just asking questions.” Groups like the U.S.-based Institute for Historical Review (IHR), known for publishing material promoting Holocaust denial, claim they do not deny history but seek to provide more in-depth investigations to

¹⁴⁰ “Action Report Online,” Focal Point Publications, accessed October 31, 2019, <http://www.fpp.co.uk/online/index.html>.

¹⁴¹ Steve Busfield, “Irving loses Holocaust denial case,” *Guardian* (London), April 11, 2000, <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2000/apr/11/irving.uk>.

¹⁴² “David Irving Free After 13 Months in Jail,” Spiegel Online, December 20, 2006, <https://www.spiegel.de/international/holocaust-denier-released-from-prison-david-irving-free-after-13-months-in-jail-a-455726.html>.

¹⁴³ Marcy Oster, “British Holocaust denier David Irving leading tour of Nazi death camps,” Jewish Telegraphic Agency, March 18, 2019, <https://www.jta.org/quick-reads/british-holocaust-denier-david-irving-leading-tour-of-nazi-death-camps>.

ascertain the truth. The IHR claims to have no position on the Holocaust and denies accusations of historical revisionism, arguing instead that they “encourage more objective investigation.”¹⁴⁴ IHR research has referred to the Holocaust as a “sacred cow” that is nothing more than a metaphor for Jewish history,¹⁴⁵ and decried global Holocaust remembrances as “an expression of Jewish-Zionist power ... designed to further Jewish-Zionist interests.”¹⁴⁶

International courts have ruled against Holocaust revisionism since the 1980s. Nonetheless, pseudo-scholars have continued to use the court system in attempts to shield their views under the guise of free speech and academic freedom. In 1981, Los Angeles County Superior Court Judge Thomas T. Johnson ruled that the Holocaust was “a fact and not subject to dispute.”¹⁴⁷ Canadian courts twice convicted German-born scholar Ernst Zündel in 1985 and 1988 under a Canadian law that prohibits spreading false news likely to harm the public interest.¹⁴⁸ Zündel produced books, audio tapes, and other media denying the Holocaust and promoting neo-Nazi propaganda while living in Canada. During Zündel’s 1985 trial, Alan Shefman, the Canadian national director of the League for Human Rights of B’nai B’rith, called Holocaust denial “the future of anti-Semitism.”¹⁴⁹ Both of Zündel’s convictions were overturned—the first on a technicality and the second after the Canadian Supreme Court ruled the original law unreasonably

¹⁴⁴ “About The IHR,” Institute for Historical Review, accessed October 31, 2019, <http://www.ihr.org/main/about.shtml>.

¹⁴⁵ L.A. Rollins, “The Holocaust As Sacred Cow,” Institute for Historical Review, accessed October 31, 2019, https://www.ihr.org/jhr/v04/v04p-29_Rollins.html.

¹⁴⁶ Mark Weber, “Holocaust Remembrance: What’s Behind the Campaign?,” Institute for Historical Review, accessed October 31, 2019, https://www.ihr.org/leaflets/holocaust_remembrance.shtml.

¹⁴⁷ Elaine Woo, “Thomas T. Johnson dies at 88; judge ruled that Holocaust was a fact,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 31, 2011, <http://articles.latimes.com/2011/dec/31/local/la-me-thomas-johnson-20111231>.

¹⁴⁸ Sewell Chan, “Ernst Zündel, Holocaust Denier Tried for Spreading His Message, Dies at 78,” *New York Times*, August 7, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/07/world/europe/ernst-zundel-canada-germany-holocaust-denial.html>.

¹⁴⁹ Douglas Martin, “Anti-Semite is on Trial, But Did Ontario Blunder?,” February 15, 1985, <https://www.nytimes.com/1985/02/15/world/anti-semite-is-on-trial-but-did-ontario-blunder.html?module=inline>.

restricted free speech. Following his 2003 arrest in the United States for overstaying his visa, Zündel was deported to Germany, where he was convicted for inciting hatred and violating the memory of the dead. Zündel died in 2017.¹⁵⁰

On October 3, 2019, the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) ruled that Holocaust denial is not protected speech, rejecting a complaint by [Udo Pastörs](#), a former politician from Germany's far-right [National Democratic Party \(NPD\)](#). Pastörs's complaint stemmed from his 2012 conviction for inciting hatred against Jews and Turks during an NPD meeting. Pastörs argued that the conviction trampled on his right to free speech.¹⁵¹

Holocaust revisionists have used academia to distort the level of persecution against Jews during the Holocaust. Israeli researchers in October 2019 revealed that Polish nationals had manipulated Wikipedia for 15 years to present a false history of the Holocaust that portrayed ethnic Poles as victims of the Nazis as much as Jewish Poles. The manipulation took the form of an entry about a Nazi death camp in Warsaw called Konzentrationslager Warschau in which more than 200,000 people were killed. The entry went online in 2004 and remained there until 2019 when researchers discovered it and confirmed that no such camp existed.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ Sewell Chan, "Ernst Zündel, Holocaust Denier Tried for Spreading His Message, Dies at 78," *New York Times*, August 7, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/07/world/europe/ernst-zundel-canada-germany-holocaust-denial.html>.

¹⁵¹ "Holocaust denial not a human right, European court rules," *Times of Israel*, October 3, 2019, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/holocaust-denial-not-a-human-right-european-court-rules/>.

¹⁵² Omer Benjakob, "The Fake Nazi Death Camp: Wikipedia's Longest Hoax, Exposed," *Haaretz* (Tel Aviv), October 4, 2019, <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium.MAGAZINE-the-fake-nazi-death-camp-wikipedia-s-longest-hoax-exposed-1.7942233>.

Holocaust Myth Two: Jews Abuse the Holocaust for Sympathy and Influence

The far-right has embraced Holocaust denial and revisionism in its quest to demonstrate Jewish domination. In the summer of 2019, the Daily Stormer Book Club posted fliers on synagogues and churches in New England calling the Holocaust “fake news” and declaring that the people who “lied about soap and lampshades are lying about gas chambers and ovens.”¹⁵³ White nationalist John De Nugent has uploaded multiple videos glorifying Hitler and examining historic cases of anti-Semitism through the lens of white nationalism.¹⁵⁴ De Nugent has praised Hitler and warned of a white genocide and the “Jewish war machine” while calling for the creation of a new white republic.¹⁵⁵

One common form of revisionism is to reverse the roles of victim and persecutor, painting Germany as victim of a Jewish conspiracy. In one theory, Jews—and specifically the Rothschild family—started World War II because Hitler brought Germany out of the banking debt that was drowning the German people and took Germany off the Rothschild gold standard.¹⁵⁶ Another theory draws upon a March 1933 *Daily Express* headline that read, “Judea Declared War on Germany.” The article is about a proposed economic boycott of Germany by international Jewish leaders in response to German

¹⁵³ Penny Schwartz, “Anti-Semitic fliers in Massachusetts declare Holocaust ‘fake news,’” Jewish Telegraphic Agency, July 16, 2019, <http://www.jta.org/2019/07/16/united-states/anti-semitic-fliers-in-massachusetts-declare-holocaust-fake-news>.

¹⁵⁴ “JOHN DE NUGENT,” Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed November 11, 2019, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/john-de-nugent>.

¹⁵⁵ “Adolf Hitler My Heart Will Go On,” Internet Archive video, 5:11, posted September 1, 2010, by “John de Nugent,” <https://archive.org/details/AdolfHitlerMyHeartWillGoOn>.

¹⁵⁶ “Adolf Hitler Against The Jewish Banksters,” YouTube video, 4:59, posted July 16, 2017, by “Alt-Right Tankie,” <https://archive.org/details/youtube-cKaoHss9ALK>.

persecution of its Jews, but it has been used as a basis for casting Jews as the aggressors against Germany.¹⁵⁷

The perpetrator-as-victim mentality has given rise to an interesting twist on Holocaust revisionism in Germany, where Holocaust denial and Nazi symbols are forbidden under law. The phenomenon is called “secondary anti-Semitism,” which is based on German resentment of Jews who remind them of their collective guilt for the Holocaust.¹⁵⁸ In the 1968 book *Post-Mortem: The Jews in Germany Today*, German-Jewish journalist Hilde Walter described to author Leo Katcher what it was like for her to live in a post-war Germany. Walter was a secular Jew who considered herself a German first and was never a practicing Jew before the war. Hitler, she told Katcher, made her a Jew, and the Jews who remained in Germany after World War II were a “national monument” whose continued presence in Germany was an act of “mercy” without which “Germans would not be able to live with their guilt feelings.”¹⁵⁹ That guilt had a negative effect on Germans, according to Walter, who then introduced the basis for what would become known as secondary anti-Semitism:

It seems the Germans will never forgive us Auschwitz. That is their sickness and they desperately want a cure. But they want it to be easy, painless. They refuse to go under the knife by facing up to the past and their part in it.¹⁶⁰

Walter alludes to the notion that Jews provide a reminder to Germans of their culpability, which they would rather forget. This consequently breeds German resentment of Jews for simply remaining in Germany.

¹⁵⁷ Debunking Denial – “Judea Declares War on Germany in 1933,” YouTube video, 30:28, posted April 18, 2018, by Holocaust Documents, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y8JFv3wP49M>.

¹⁵⁸ James Angelos, “The New German Anti-Semitism,” *New York Times Magazine*, May 21, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/21/magazine/anti-semitism-germany.html>.

¹⁵⁹ Leo Katcher, *Post Mortem: The Jews in Germany Today* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1968), 88.

¹⁶⁰ Leo Katcher, *Post Mortem: The Jews in Germany Today* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1968), 89.

Today, Germany continues to pay reparations to elderly Holocaust survivors around the world through the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany (a.k.a. the Claims Conference). Since its inception in 1952, the Claims Conference has negotiated with Germany and Austria for more than \$70 billion in compensation to more than 800,000 Holocaust victims. The Claims Conference continues to negotiate with these governments to provide care for aging victims around the world whose needs grow greater even as their numbers decrease.¹⁶¹

The only country that has thus far refused to accept any culpability for the Holocaust has been Poland, home to Europe's largest Jewish population before the war. That population numbered more than three million—about 10 percent of the country's total—before the war and was almost entirely wiped out.¹⁶² Jews who returned to Poland after the war found themselves victims of violence as they tried to resettle in their former towns. In 1968, the communist government in Poland classified Jews as enemies of the state, blaming them for all the economic and political problems plaguing the communist system. Approximately 20,000 Jews were expelled from Poland between 1968 and 1972.¹⁶³ Jewish property that was stolen by the Nazis fell into the hands of the communist government and was nationalized.¹⁶⁴ Survivor advocates have called for restitution of approximately \$300 billion, the value of property seized under the Nazi and

¹⁶¹ "About Us," Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, accessed November 5, 2019, <http://www.claimscon.org/about/>.

¹⁶² "Polish PM: Paying Holocaust property restitution would be 'victory for Hitler,'" Times of Israel, May 20, 2019, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/polish-pm-paying-holocaust-property-restitution-would-be-victory-for-hitler/>.

¹⁶³ Monika Sieradzka, "Poland marks 50 years since 1968 anti-Semitic purge," *Deutsche Welle*, March 8, 2018, <https://www.dw.com/en/poland-marks-50-years-since-1968-anti-semitic-purge/a-42877652>.

¹⁶⁴ James McAuley, "Poland's Jewish community had rebounded, but now there's 'a growing feeling of unease,'" *Washington Post*, February 27, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/polands-jewish-community-had-rebounded-but-now-theres-a-growing-feeling-of-unease/2018/02/26/d9409b64-10e6-11e8-a68c-e9374188170e_story.html.

communist regimes.¹⁶⁵ Polish officials and nationalists argue that restitution would bankrupt Poland.¹⁶⁶

Calls for restitution have sparked a major anti-Semitic backlash in the country among Polish nationalists who accuse Jews of manipulating the Holocaust and minimizing Polish suffering under the Nazi regime. In May 2019, several thousand far-right activists marched in Poland after President Donald Trump signed into law the Justice for Uncompensated Survivors Today (JUST) Act, which requires the U.S. State Department to report to Congress on the compliance of 47 countries—including Poland—on the restitution of Jewish assets seized during and after World War II. The JUST Act is based on the 2009 Terezin Declaration, a non-binding agreement signed by 47 nations—including Poland and the United States—recognizing the need to provide care for and restitution to Nazi victims. One Polish protester complained to France 24 that “Americans only think about Jewish and not Polish interests.”¹⁶⁷ Protests against the JUST Act spread across the United States as well, with protesters calling Poland a victim of the so-called Holocaust industry.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁵ Marek Strzelecki and Konrad Krasuski, “Polish Far-Right Protests Against Jewish Property Restitution,” Bloomberg, May 11, 2019, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-05-11/polish-far-right-protests-against-jewish-property-restitution>.

¹⁶⁶ “Polish PM: Paying Holocaust property restitution would be ‘victory for Hitler,’” Times of Israel, May 20, 2019, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/polish-pm-paying-holocaust-property-restitution-would-be-victory-for-hitler/>; Noga Tarnopolsky, “Poland cancels Israeli officials’ visit over Holocaust restitution conflict,” Los Angeles Times, May 13, 2019, <https://www.latimes.com/world/la-fg-israel-poland-jewish-assets-restitution-holocaust-20190513-story.html>.

¹⁶⁷ “Prague Holocaust Era Assets Conference: Terezin Declaration,” U.S. Department of State, June 30, 2009, <https://2009-2017.state.gov/p/eur/rls/or/126162.htm>; “Polish nationalists protest against US over Holocaust claims,” France 24, May 11, 2019, <https://www.france24.com/en/20190511-poland-nationalists-protest-usa-holocaust-far-right-anti-semitism>; “S.447 - Justice for Uncompensated Survivors Today (JUST) Act of 2017,” Congress.gov, accessed November 21, 2019, <https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/senate-bill/447/text>; Michael Wilner, “Trump signs act strengthening Holocaust restitution efforts,” Jerusalem Post, May 10, 2018, <https://www.jpost.com/American-Politics/Trump-signs-act-strengthening-Holocaust-restitution-efforts-556114>.

¹⁶⁸ David Brennan, “Nationalist Protesters Take Over New York Square as Polish Anti-Semitic Debate Spreads to U.S.,” Newsweek, <https://www.newsweek.com/poland-nationalism-anti-semitism-holocaust-denial-new-york-city-foley-square-1381690>.

The Far Right

A July 2019 report by E. Tendayi Achiume, the U.N. special rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia, and related intolerance concluded that anti-Semitism is on the rise among the far right. According to her findings, far-right anti-Semitism—and violent far-right anti-Semitism in particular—is on the rise across Europe.¹⁶⁹

The Jewish Invaders and Domination

Neo-Nazi groups such as the National Socialist Movement and Combat 18 have openly espoused anti-Semitic positions, while far-right ethnonationalist groups such as Les Identitaires have applied historically anti-Semitic tropes to immigrants and other minority groups.¹⁷⁰ Chief among these is the idea of the Jew as the outsider seeking to infiltrate society in order to destroy it from within. During the August 2017 Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, white nationalists marched through the streets chanting “Jews will not replace us!”¹⁷¹ Robert Bowers, who murdered 11 people during the October 2018 attack at Pittsburgh’s Tree of Life synagogue, accused the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS)—a Jewish refugee aid organization—of bringing foreign

¹⁶⁹ E. Tendayi Achiume, “Contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance,” U.N. General Assembly, July 30, 2019, <https://undocs.org/A/74/253>.

¹⁷⁰ “The Aims of C18,” Combat 18, accessed April 10, 2018, https://ia600104.us.archive.org/15/items/Combat18/Combat%2018/Ef3824e2beb9985f682e99fd133515b22cfa03ef4_Q20647_R331396_D1942757.pdf; “French crack down on ‘racist soup,’” BBC News, January 25, 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4644766.stm>.

¹⁷¹ Emma Green, “Why the Charlottesville Marchers Were Obsessed With Jews,” *Atlantic*, August 16, 2017, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/08/nazis-racism-charlottesville/536928/>.

invaders into the United States.¹⁷² On March 15, 2019, Brenton Tarrant attacked two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand, killing 51.¹⁷³ Tarrant also believed he was defending the white race from invading immigrants.

This philosophy is known as the Great Replacement theory, which postulates that non-European migrants threaten to replace the dominant white European culture.¹⁷⁴ Tarrant entitled his manifesto “The Great Replacement” and wrote about the “crisis of mass immigration ... that, if not combated, will ultimately result in the complete racial and cultural replacement of the European people.”¹⁷⁵ Tarrant and white-nationalist groups have attempted to define a broader white European ethnic identity prevalent in the Western world that transcends national borders. They believe that that identity is threatened by non-European invaders who want to uproot the dominant culture and implant their own. Tarrant focused his hatred on Muslims, but others like Bowers have included Jews as part of the perceived foreign threat.

The idea of a Jewish invasion aligns easily with theories of Jewish domination that have proliferated among the global far right. The conspiracies of an international Jewish cabal manipulating international politics and finances found in the pages of *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* have gained international prominence among the far right.

¹⁷² Abby Ohlheiser and Ian Shapira, “Gab, the white supremacist sanctuary linked to the Pittsburgh suspect, goes offline (for now),” *Washington Post*, October 29, 2018, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2018/10/28/how-gab-became-white-supremacist-sanctuary-before-it-was-linked-pittsburgh-suspect/>.

¹⁷³ “Christchurch attack: Brenton Tarrant pleads not guilty to all charges,” BBC News, June 14, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-48631488>.

¹⁷⁴ “Frequently Asked Question,” Generation Identity United Kingdom and Ireland, accessed March 8, 2018, <https://www.generation-identity.org.uk/faqs/>.

¹⁷⁵ Brenton Tarrant, “The Great Replacement,” Internet Archive, accessed April 1, 2019.

Far-right protesters marched through Poland in November 2017 on the occasion of the country's independence day to, as one protester told the media, "remove Jewry from power."¹⁷⁶ At the 2013 meeting of the World Jewish Congress in Budapest, the neo-fascist Hungarian political party [Jobbik](#) protested what it called a Jewish attempt to buy Hungary. According to Jobbik Parliamentarian Marton Gyongyosi, Hungary had "become subjugated to Zionism, it has become a target of colonisation while we, the indigenous people, can play only the role of extras."¹⁷⁷ Then-Jobbik leader [Gabor Vona](#) decried "Israeli conquerors, these investors, should look for another country in the world for themselves because Hungary is not for sale."¹⁷⁸

Created in 2003, Jobbik has made anti-Semitism an inextricable part of its platform. Jobbik believes that its fundamental purpose is the protection of "Hungarian values."¹⁷⁹ The movement directly links Jews to the communist occupation of Hungary after World War II, on which Jobbik blames Hungary's economic and cultural decline. Groups like Jobbik present historical figures such as Karl Marx and Leon Trotsky¹⁸⁰ as proof that communism is an inherently Jewish invention. Further, they view communism as part of an older, global Jewish plot to gain domination—first locally and then nationally and internationally.

¹⁷⁶ Matthew Taylor and agencies, "'White Europe': 60,000 nationalists march on Poland's independence day," *Guardian* (London), November 12, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/nov/12/white-europe-60000-nationalists-march-on-polands-independence-day>.

¹⁷⁷ "Jobbik rally against World Jewish Congress in Budapest," BBC News, May 4, 2013, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-22413301>.

¹⁷⁸ "Jobbik rally against World Jewish Congress in Budapest," BBC News, May 4, 2013, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-22413301>.

¹⁷⁹ "Jobbik - The Movement for a Better Hungary," Facebook page, accessed April 4, 2019, <https://www.facebook.com/JobbikEnglish?sk=info>.

¹⁸⁰ Marx's father was a non-practicing Jew who converted to Lutheranism and his mother was a gentile. Nor was Marx raised Jewish. Trotsky was a secular, non-practicing Jew.

The Far Right Redefines Who is a Jew

To promote the idea of Jews as invaders, the far right and white nationalists have to define who is a Jew. According to Jewish religious law, anyone born of a Jewish mother is Jewish regardless of practice or belief. The far right has long assigned a racial component to Jewish identity to create a visible enemy through easily identifiable racial features, such as the hook nose. The Nazi regime made Jewish identity completely reliant on genetics and declared that anyone with three or more Jewish grandparents—on either side—to be Jewish.¹⁸¹ This genetic definition served the purpose of keeping Jews in the role of outsiders—even assimilated secular Jews who married gentiles were still considered Jews. Beliefs can be changed but if Jews are a distinct race, they are always Jews.

The modern far right has embraced this idea of a separate Jewish race made up of ersatz whites who are attempting to subvert the European white race. To the far right, it is this ability to “pass” that makes Jews even more dangerous. [James Mason](#), the American neo-Nazi author of the anthology *Siege*, has argued that Jesus led a split between the white Jews and non-white Jews. According to Mason, the white race is the remnants of the true Israelites who became Christians.¹⁸² Jews, according to Mason, “are the spearhead of this traitorous drive to subvert and to sell out our people.”¹⁸³ In *Siege*, Mason described a “healthy state” as one that would “expel – or kill – the Jew; a decadent one will take him to its bosom. The Jew corrupts the nation.”¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ “Nuremberg Race Laws,” U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, accessed November 25, 2019, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/nuremberg-laws>.

¹⁸² James Mason, “That Poisonous Crap,” Universal Order, accessed December 20, 2018, <http://siegeculture.biz/that-poisonous-crap/> (site discontinued).

¹⁸³ James Mason, “Islam,” Universal Order, accessed December 20, 2018, <http://siegeculture.biz/islam/> (site discontinued).

¹⁸⁴ James Mason, *Siege* (IronMarch.org, 2015), 55.



Dick Toles → Thomas Paul Nichols · a day ago

you're proving my point. jews look white and therefore brainwash and subvert white people into thinking they are acting in their best interest but in reality jews only act in their best interest and not in "white" people's best interest.

^ | v 10 · Reply · Share >

October 10, 2019: Comments on a story on *Entertainment Weekly's* website.



Dick Toles · a day ago

Funny. I'd like to really know how many of those "white men" were actually Jewish. Please stop lumping white people in with Jews. Jews are not white.

^ | v 19 · Reply · Share >

October 10, 2019: Comments on a story on *Entertainment Weekly's* website.

The Jews-as-a-separate-race argument actually received a legal boost in 2018 from a Louisiana court that ruled Jews were a race, though the court's intentions were not to lift the arguments of white supremacists. Citing racial discrimination, Joshua Bonadona had filed a civil lawsuit that February against his alma mater, the Baptist institution Louisiana College, after he was passed over for an assistant football coach position because of what college president Rick Brewer allegedly called Bonadona's "Jewish blood," according to the complaint. Bonadona had been born to a Jewish mother and grew up practicing Judaism but converted to Christianity in college. His argument, thus, was based on his racial heritage rather than the religion of which he no longer considered himself a part.¹⁸⁵

The college denied that Jews constituted a race and so were not protected under racial discrimination laws. U.S. Magistrate Mark Hornsby ruled later in 2018 that Jews did, in fact, merit protection under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which specifically forbids employers from discriminating based on sex, race, or religion. The case was the

¹⁸⁵ Hannah Natanson, "Louisiana judge says Jews are a race and protected by anti-racial-discrimination laws," *Washington Post*, July 20, 2018, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/acts-of-faith/wp/2018/07/20/louisiana-judge-says-jews-are-a-race-are-protected-by-anti-racial-discrimination-laws/>.

first time in U.S. legal history that Jews had specifically been granted legal protection as a race under the Civil Rights Act.¹⁸⁶ According to Hornsby's decision:

Jewish citizens have been excluded from certain clubs or neighborhoods, and they have been denied jobs and other opportunities based on the fact that they were Jewish, with no particular concern as to a given individual's religious leanings. Thus, they have been treated like a racial or ethnic group that Title VII was designed to protect from employment discrimination based on membership in that group.¹⁸⁷

However, some legal and civil rights activists also warned that white supremacists would use the ruling as proof Jews are a distinct—and inherently inferior—race.¹⁸⁸ The far right maintains the distinction of Jews as a separate race altogether in order to justify acts of violence against them in defense of the white race, as Bowers did when he blamed Jews for a white genocide.¹⁸⁹ As with the Church-sponsored religious anti-Semitism of the past, violent far-right anti-Semitism is viewed as defensive in the interests of protecting the white race from Jewish attack. Horrific acts like the Tree of Life shooting are justifiable if one is led by the misguided belief that such violence is a

¹⁸⁶ Hannah Natanson, "Louisiana judge says Jews are a race and protected by anti-racial-discrimination laws," *Washington Post*, July 20, 2018, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/acts-of-faith/wp/2018/07/20/louisiana-judge-says-jews-are-a-race-are-protected-by-anti-racial-discrimination-laws/>.

¹⁸⁷ "Bonadona v. Louisiana College, et al," Law360, July 13, 2018, https://www.law360.com/dockets/download/5b49117ca701e72ec0000019?doc_url=https%3A%2F%2Fecf.lawd.uscourts.gov%2Fdoc1%2F08915327266&label=Case+Filing.

¹⁸⁸ Michael Kunzelman, "Judge: Jewish heritage can be basis for race discrimination," Associated Press, July 16, 2018, <https://apnews.com/82c5075c54ce4f179e6517f0e4f07824>; Hannah Natanson, "Louisiana judge says Jews are a race and protected by anti-racial-discrimination laws," *Washington Post*, July 20, 2018, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/acts-of-faith/wp/2018/07/20/louisiana-judge-says-jews-are-a-race-are-protected-by-anti-racial-discrimination-laws/>.

¹⁸⁹ Chas Danner and Adam K. Raymond, "What to Know About the Pittsburgh Synagogue Shooting," *Intelligencer*, October 28, 2018, <http://nymag.com/intelligencer/2018/10/what-to-know-about-the-pittsburgh-synagogue-shooting.html>.

response to genocide. And with encouragement from ideologues like Mason, violent anti-Semitism will surely remain a permanent staple of the far right.

The Left

In a 1973 piece for the American Jewish Congress, Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban accused “the new left” of responsibility for a “new anti-Semitism” that accepts “the right to establish and maintain an independent national sovereign state is the prerogative of all nations, so long as they happen not to be Jewish.”¹⁹⁰ French President Emmanuel Macron labeled anti-Zionism as “a reinvention of anti-Semitism” during a July 2017 commemoration of the Nazi roundup of Jews in France.¹⁹¹ This “new” anti-Semitism has come to represent modern left-wing anti-Semitism, which has branded the Jewish nation-state a symbol of colonialism and oppression.

While the far right’s anti-Semitism is overt and thus easy to identify and condemn, the left and far left have embraced anti-Semitism by blurring the line between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism. The anti-Semitism of the far left holds that oppressive Zionists and Israel, the Jewish nation-state, symbolize colonialism and oppression. The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) specifically notes that criticism of Israel is not in itself anti-Semitic, but specifically targeting Israel with standards that are not universally applied, comparing Israeli actions to those of the Nazis, holding Jews

¹⁹⁰ *Congress Bi-weekly*, American Jewish Congress, Vol. 40, Issues 2-14, 1973, p. xxv.

¹⁹¹ Raphael Ahren, “Macron denounces anti-Zionism as a new form of anti-Semitism,” *Times of Israel*, July 16, 2017, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/macron-denounces-anti-zionism-as-a-new-form-of-anti-semitism/>.

collectively responsible for Israeli government policies, and claiming Israel's very existence is racist are all manifestations of anti-Semitism.¹⁹²

Israel, Social Justice, and Oppression

Beth Hillel Temple in Kenosha, Wisconsin, is a liberal Reform synagogue whose rabbi has spoken out against white privilege and police brutality. In June 2020, the synagogue signed onto an interfaith letter supporting peaceful protest and condemning societal racism. Despite embracing values promoted on the liberal left, the synagogue fell victim to left-wing attack that August when vandals targeted the Jewish house of worship as a representative of Israeli policies by graffitiing "Free Palestine" on the building.¹⁹³

Left-wing anti-Semitism is often not as overt as it is on the far right, where neo-Nazi groups outwardly display a hatred of Jews. Modern left-wing anti-Semitism is, oddly enough, largely driven by a quest for social justice. Traditionally, the Jewish community has been drawn to left-wing ideology and causes because of the idea of *tikkun olam*—the concept of repairing the world. Nonetheless, the left has mainstreamed strands of anti-Semitism through its embrace of social justice causes. Israel—and its supporters—has become a favored target among the far left because of its control of lands Palestinians claim for their own state. While there is certainly space for legitimate criticism of Israeli policies, the IHRA recognizes the delegitimization of the state itself as a form of anti-Semitism. The Working Definition of Anti-Semitism specifically classifies the following behaviors regarding Israel as anti-Semitic:

¹⁹² "Working Definition of Anti-Semitism," International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, accessed October 29, 2019, <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/working-definition-antisemitism?usergroup=5>.

¹⁹³ Ben Sales, "Kenosha's rabbi on graffiti at her synagogue: 'What's happened these last few days is not about us,'" Jewish Telegraphic Agency, August 27, 2020, <https://www.jta.org/2020/08/27/united-states/kenoshas-synagogue-was-vandalized-during-black-lives-matter-protests-the-rabbi-says-her-commitment-to-racial-justice-is-unshaken>.

- 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 Israel a behavior not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation.
- Using the symbols and images associated with classic anti-Semitism (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.¹⁹⁴

A popular mantra on the left is that it rejects Zionism and the State of Israel, not Jews as a whole. Left-wing groups such as Act Now to Stop War and End Racism (ANSWER) Coalition—which otherwise promotes ideals that liberal Jews would likely would find themselves in agreement with—have furthered the de-legitimization of the State of Israel by painting it as racist and colonialist.¹⁹⁵ The anti-Israel website Electronic Intifada, for example, has accused “Israel and its lobby groups” of trying to “inoculate Israel against criticism by obscuring the line between anti-Jewish bigotry, on the one hand, and criticism of Israel and its state ideology Zionism, on the other.”¹⁹⁶ But the

¹⁹⁴ “Working Definition of Anti-Semitism,” International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, accessed October 29, 2019, <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/working-definition-antisemitism?usergroup=5>.

¹⁹⁵ “Protest Israeli War Crimes and Netanyahu’s Speech to a Joint Session of Congress Tuesday, March 3 at the U.S. Capitol Building,” ANSWER Coalition, February 4, 2015, https://www.answercoalition.org/shut_down_aipac; “An apartheid state: Israel makes it official,” ANSWER Coalition, July 20, 2018, https://www.answercoalition.org/an_apartheid_state_israel_makes_it_official.

¹⁹⁶ Ali Abunimah, “Chicago Dyke March accuser A Wider Bridge has record of fabrications,” Electronic Intifada, June 26, 2017, <https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/ali-abunimah/chicago-dyke-march-accuser->

reality is that otherwise left-leaning Jews are forced to separate their Jewish identities from their liberal values and choose between the false dichotomy of being liberal or being Zionist. Just as the social justice-embracing Beth Hillel Temple was targeted as a representative of the Jewish state, left-wing anti-Semitism equates even modest affiliation with Israel with support for the oppression of the Palestinians.

In June 2017, for example, organizers of the Dyke March in Chicago told Jewish would-be participants that they were forbidden from carrying the Jewish Pride flag—a Star of David against a rainbow backdrop—because it too closely resembled the Israeli flag and would upset other marchers.¹⁹⁷ Later that month, the Chicago Dyke March posted a statement on Facebook pledging its “undying solidarity with Palestine and our Palestinian comrades.”¹⁹⁸

This forced separation of Zionist and non-Zionist Jews has obvious historical parallels. European Jews who abandoned their religious practices and embraced secularism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were granted access to political, economic, and social circles, while those who clung to tradition remained outsiders. This modern form of anti-Semitism is again creating a distinction between “good Jews” and “bad Jews.” Support for Israel becomes a litmus test for inclusion in liberal causes that otherwise have nothing to do with Israel.

This devotion to social justice has given rise to certain celebrities on the left who promote anti-Semitism as they champion just causes. Some left-wing groups have become bedfellows with blatantly anti-Semitic organizations out of a sense of shared

[wider-bridge-has-record-fabrications?fbclid=IwAR0ssFD45JaDYP5-r36DzBpx3iG3MeAaJLgMSQC7cWvif-rfVkytj5ySybl](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/acts-of-faith/wp/2017/06/26/jewish-marchers-say-they-were-kicked-out-of-a-rally-for-inclusiveness-because-of-their-beliefs/).

¹⁹⁷ Peter Holley, “Jewish marchers say they were kicked out of a rally for inclusiveness because of their beliefs,” *Washington Post*, June 26, 2017, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/acts-of-faith/wp/2017/06/26/jewish-marchers-say-they-were-kicked-out-of-a-rally-for-inclusiveness-because-of-their-beliefs/>.

¹⁹⁸ Chicago Dyke March, Facebook post, June 27, 2017, <https://bit.ly/2q9OocA>.

oppression. The Women’s March, for example, has had to issue multiple explanations of its leadership’s affiliation with the Nation of Islam and its leader, Louis Farrakhan, who has made numerous vicious anti-Semitic statements over the course of several decades. On February 25, 2018, Women’s March co-president Tamika Mallory attended the Nation of Islam’s annual Saviour’s Day conference, during which Farrakhan announced “the powerful Jews are my enemy” and declared Jews to be false Jews belonging to the “synagogue of Satan” who have wrought destruction “everywhere they have gone.”¹⁹⁹

Mallory had previously posted a photo of herself alongside Farrakhan in May 2017 and referred to him as “the GOAT”—Greatest Of All Time.²⁰⁰ Following her appearance at the Saviour’s Day event, just three months after Farrakhan declared that he’s not an anti-Semite but an “anti-termite,” Mallory refused to condemn Farrakhan’s record of anti-Semitic statements.²⁰¹ The Women’s March released a statement in March 2018 that Farrakhan’s statements about “Jewish, queer, and trans people are not aligned with the Women’s March Unity Principles, which were created by women of color leaders and are grounded in Kingian Nonviolence.” The statement went on to repeat the organization’s commitment to intersectionality—the idea that various forms of oppression, such as racism, homophobia, and anti-Semitism, are connected—and the organization’s support for Mallory.²⁰²

¹⁹⁹ Tamika Mallory, Instagram post, March 10, 2018, https://www.instagram.com/p/Bfog6_QBKrj/?hl=en&taken-by=tamikadmallory; “Saviour’s Day 2018,” Nation of Islam, February 2018, <https://www.noi.org/sd18/>.

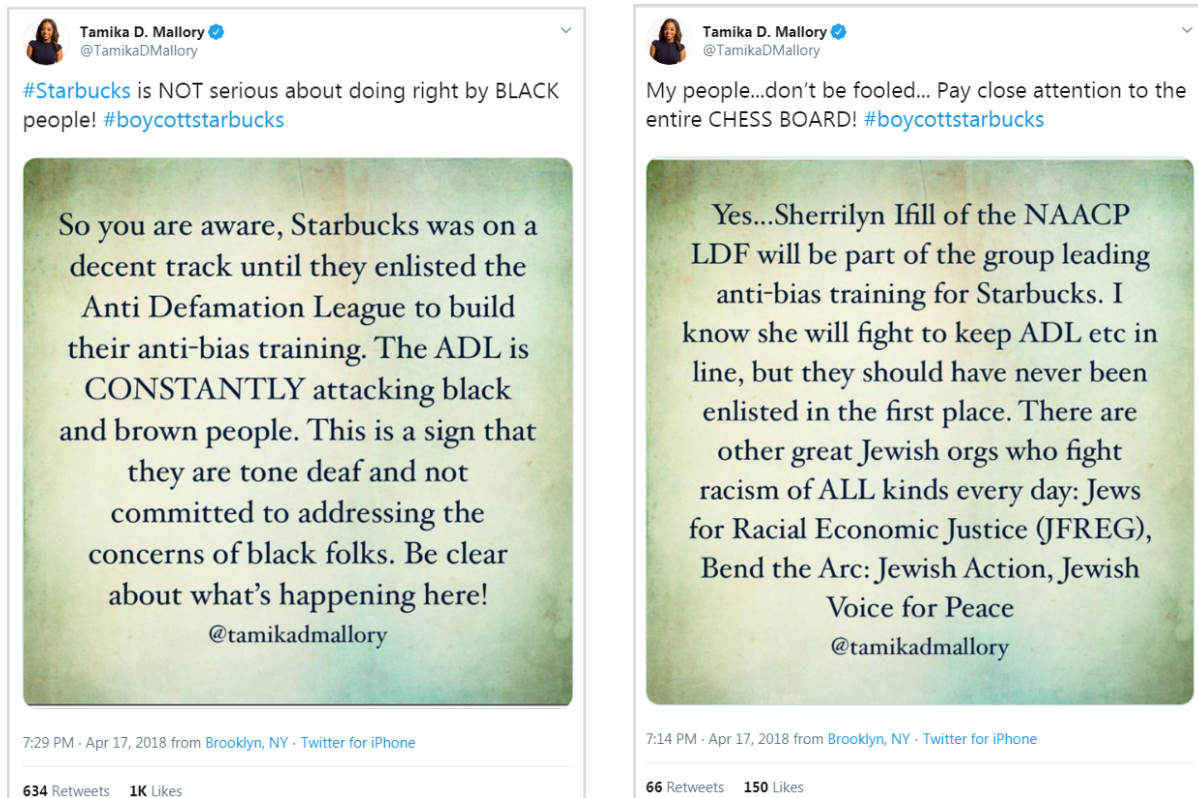
²⁰⁰ Tamika Mallory, Instagram post, May 11, 2017, https://www.instagram.com/p/BT9wDcUBShs/?utm_source=ig_embed.

²⁰¹ Allie Yang, “Women’s March co-president Tamika Mallory discusses controversial relationship with Louis Farrakhan,” ABC News, January 14, 2019, <https://abcnews.go.com/US/womens-march-president-tamika-mallory-discusses-controversial-relationship/story?id=60362553>.

²⁰² Debra Nussbaum Cohen, “Women’s March renounces Farrakhan’s anti-Semitism, but supports a leader who embraced him,” Jewish Telegraphic Agency, March 6, 2018, <https://www.jta.org/2018/03/06/united-states/womens-march-renounces-farrakhans-anti-semitism-supports-leader-embraced>.



Tamika Mallory's May 11, 2017, Instagram post praising Louis Farrakhan as "the GOAT."



Tamika Mallory's April 2018 tweets attacking the ADL.

Women's March co-president Linda Sarsour defended Mallory in a Facebook post, lamenting that a "strong, bold, unapologetic, committed Black woman who risks her life every day to speak truth to power and organize and mobilize movements" is being "questioned, berated and abused."²⁰³ The following month, Mallory attacked the ADL for "constantly attacking black and brown people" and decried the group's involvement in anti-bias training with Starbucks.²⁰⁴ In October 2018, just days after the Tree of Life shooting in Pittsburgh, actress Alyssa Milano, who had previously spoken at the 2017 Women's March, announced she was withdrawing her support for the movement while

²⁰³ Linda Sarsour, Facebook post, March 2, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/linda.sarsour/posts/10156384425810572>.

²⁰⁴ Tamika Mallory, Twitter post, April 17, 2018, 7:29 p.m., <https://twitter.com/TamikaDMallory/status/986386072685940736>.

Mallory and Sarsour remained involved because of their ties to Farrakhan.²⁰⁵ Sarsour issued an apology to Jewish members of the Women’s March in November 2018.²⁰⁶ In September 2019, Women’s March founders Mallory, Sarsour, and Bob Bland resigned amid continuing accusations of anti-Semitism and their ongoing relationship with the Nation of Islam.²⁰⁷

This form of left-wing anti-Semitism is increasingly dangerous because it has seeped into the culture of the political left, which makes it both less transparent and more acceptable to those who deeply care about the otherwise just causes being promoted. For example, U.S. Representative Ilhan Omar deployed overt anti-Semitic canards while lambasting the influence of political lobbies—arguments she certainly could have made without allusions to Jewish power and money controlling the government. In calling for an economic and cultural boycott of Israel, U.S. Representative Rashida Tlaib of Michigan likened boycotting Israel to boycotting Nazi Germany, comparing the Jewish nation-state to the Nazi regime that had attempted to destroy the Jews.²⁰⁸ Piotr Cywiński, director of the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, clarified the issue for a *Washington Post* columnist in August 2019, saying that hatred of Israel is just a mask for hatred of Jews.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁵ Ariel Sobel, “Why #MeToo Activist Alyssa Milano Will Not Speak at Next Women’s March,” *Advocate*, October 30, 2018, <https://www.advocate.com/women/2018/10/30/metoo-activist-alyssa-milano-wont-be-stopped>.

²⁰⁶ Ben Sales, “Linda Sarsour apologizes to Jewish members of the Women’s March,” *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, November 20, 2018, <https://www.jta.org/2018/11/20/united-states/linda-sarsour-apologizes-jewish-members-womens-march>.

²⁰⁷ “‘Women’s March’ board members resign amid accusations of anti-Semitism,” *Yahoo News*, September 16, 2019, <https://www.yahoo.com/news/womens-march-board-members-resign-amid-accusations-anti-002648168.html>.

²⁰⁸ Stuart Winer and staff, “Rep. Tlaib recalls boycotts against Nazi Germany to defend right to snub Israel,” *Times of Israel*, July 25, 2019, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/rep-tlaib-recalls-boycotts-against-nazi-germany-to-defend-right-to-snob-israel/>.

²⁰⁹ Marc A. Thiessen, “The rise of anti-Semitism on the left,” *Washington Post*, August 13, 2019, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/08/13/rise-anti-semitism-left/>.

Anti-Semitism on Campus

Anti-Semitism on the university level has taken on a new dimension in the twenty-first century as Jewish students have found themselves targeted not because of their religion specifically, but because of links—whether real or only perceived—to the Jewish State of Israel. A 2005 report by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights found that the American campus had become increasingly hostile to Jewish students as anti-Semitism “is often cloaked as criticism of Israel.”²¹⁰ The commission found evidence that federally funded ideologically biased campus programs were spurring some anti-Semitic incidents on campus.²¹¹ According to the ADL, the American university has “emerged as one of the major sites for the expression and dissemination of anti-Semitism.”²¹² While only 20 percent of respondents in the American Jewish Committee’s 2019 Survey of American Jews on Anti-Semitic Attitudes said that they experienced anti-Semitism on campus within the past five years, 36 percent responded that campuses had become more hostile to pro-Israel students since the year before.²¹³ A July 2020 report by the U.S. nonprofit Amcha Initiative noted a decrease in traditional anti-Semitism on campus but recorded increases in the denigration, suppression, and exclusion of Jewish students based on attitudes toward Israel.²¹⁴

The delegitimization of Israel has resulted in the harassment of and even violence against Jewish students on college campuses across the United States by left-wing

²¹⁰ “Campus Anti-Semitism,” U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, November 18, 2005, 1, <https://www.usccr.gov/pubs/docs/081506campusantibrief07.pdf>.

²¹¹ “Campus Anti-Semitism,” U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, November 18, 2005, 1, <https://www.usccr.gov/pubs/docs/081506campusantibrief07.pdf>.

²¹² “Schooled in Hate: Anti-Semitism on Campus,” Anti-Defamation League, accessed November 5, 2020, <https://www.adl.org/resources/reports/schooled-in-hate-anti-semitism-on-campus>.

²¹³ “AJC 2019 Survey of American Jews on Anti-Semitic Attitudes,” American Jewish Committee, November 2019, <https://www.ajc.org/AntisemitismSurvey2019>.

²¹⁴ “Understanding Campus Antisemitism in 2019 And Its Lessons for Pandemic and Post-Pandemic U.S. Campuses,” Amcha Initiative, July 2020, <https://amchainitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Antisemitism-Report-2019.pdf>.

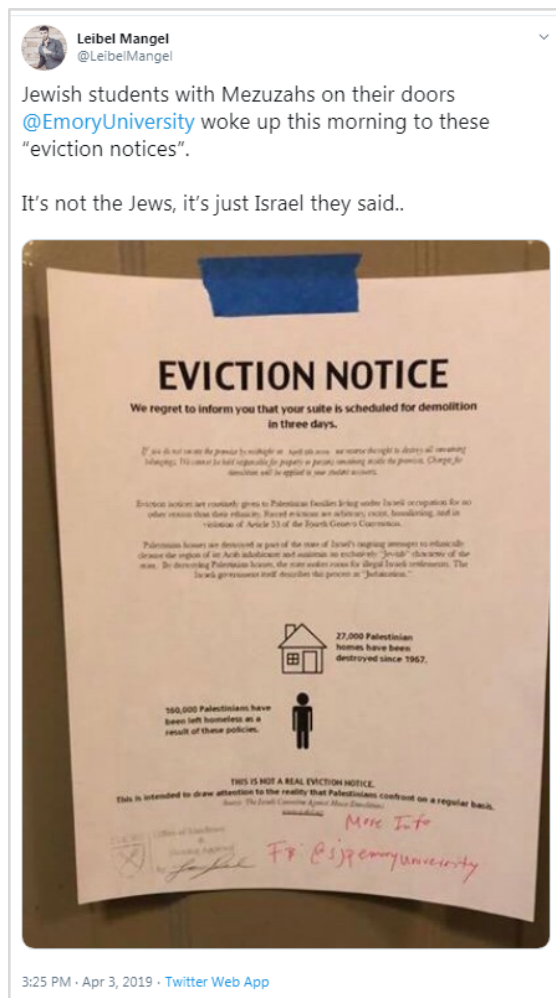
groups that claim to pursue social justice and have led harassment campaigns against Jewish students regardless of their support for Israel. In April 2019, for example, members of the Emory University chapter of Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) posted fake eviction notices on the doors of Jewish students in Emory's residence halls and off-campus housing. The notices were a protest against Israeli demolitions of Palestinian homes. Emory Jewish groups stated that they did not have "explicit evidence" that the notices specifically singled out Jewish students, but it appears that the sole qualification for receiving a notice was to be identifiably Jewish.²¹⁵ Emory's Office of Residence and Housing Approval reportedly approved the SJP activity.²¹⁶ Following a public outcry against Emory SJP, the group called for a boycott of Jewish groups on campus, including Hillel and Chabad, which they accused of leading a smear campaign against the group.²¹⁷ SJP has posted similar notices at New York University, Harvard, Florida Atlantic University, and others.²¹⁸

²¹⁵ Lee Brown, "'Eviction' notices placed on doors of Jewish students at Emory University," *New York Post*, April 5, 2019, <https://nypost.com/2019/04/05/eviction-notices-placed-on-doors-of-jewish-students-at-emory-university/>.

²¹⁶ Jeremy Sharon, "Pro-Palestinian Activists Post Eviction Notices on Jewish Students' Doors," *Jerusalem Post*, April 4, 2019, <https://www.jpost.com/Diaspora/Pro-Palestinian-activists-post-eviction-notices-on-Jewish-students-doors-585761>.

²¹⁷ Dave Schechter, "Emory Pro-Palestinian Students Call to Boycott Jewish Organizations," *Atlanta Jewish Times*, April 8, 2019, <https://atlantajewishtimes.timesofisrael.com/emory-pro-palestinian-students-call-to-boycott-jewish-organizations/>.

²¹⁸ "Jews in NYU dorm served 'eviction notices,'" *Times of Israel*, April 25, 2014, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/jewish-nyu-students-served-eviction-notices/>.



Students for Justice in Palestine posted the above notice on Jewish student residences at Emory University in April 2019.

SJP's actions deliberately targeted Jewish students, regardless of their support for Israel. On other campuses, Israeli and Jewish students have reported harassment by SJP and similar groups. A 2012 ADL report documented a decade's worth of anti-Semitism at the University of California, Irvine, which the ADL primarily blamed on the Muslim Student Union (MSU). For example, in May 2007, the MSU organized a

Holocaust Memorial Week, featuring a speaker who blamed Jewish bankers for the slave trade.²¹⁹

Campus leftists have vociferously rejected any relationship between anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism. These student groups deny they are anti-Semitic, instead arguing they are combating the oppressive nature of modern Zionism. For example, the student government at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign passed a resolution in October 2019 distinguishing between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism.²²⁰ Yet the actions of these campus groups collectively hold all Jews responsible for the actions of the Israeli government.

The Far Left

While the far right has been largely responsible for recent violent anti-Semitism in the United States, the far left has also been responsible for promoting anti-Semitic agendas, if not directly driving violence. Antifa and other far-left activists have been linked to violence on university campuses during protests against visiting Israeli officials and in support of the Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) campaign against Israel, which seeks a cultural and economic boycott of the state.²²¹

²¹⁹ "Anti-Semitism at UC Irvine," Anti-Defamation League, 2012, <https://www.adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/assets/pdf/israel-international/Anti-Semitism-at-UC-Irvine-NW.pdf>.

²²⁰ Josefin Dolsten, "University of Illinois student government passes resolution saying anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism are different," Jewish Telegraphic Agency, October 28, 2019, <https://www.jta.org/quick-reads/university-of-illinois-student-government-passes-resolution-saying-anti-semitism-and-anti-zionism-are-different>.

²²¹ Ilanit Chernick, "Activists get violent during Reservists on Duty event at York University," *Jerusalem Post*, November 28, 2019, <https://www.jpost.com/Diaspora/Activists-get-violent-during-Reservists-on-Duty-at-York-University-608617>.

A December 2019 report by StopAntisemitism.org and Zachor Legal Institute concluded that BDS “directly drives anti-Semitism and radicalizes public discourse in Western democracies.”²²² Its authors also found an overlap between BDS and far-right rhetoric, which they deemed “an increasingly public intellectual and philosophical alliance between the BDS movement and far-right groups.”²²³

While those on the far-left have used anti-Semitic rhetoric and tactics, anti-Semitism is not universal to these movements. Unlike far-right groups, far-left movements lack well-established hierarchies and organizational structures, which means there are also no specific unifying philosophies or tactics. One group of antifa activists may act fundamentally differently from another.

Jews who themselves identify as antifa deny that the movement is inherently anti-Semitic. Daniel Sieradski, who has been called “Antifa’s most prominent Jew,” told the Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA) in 2017 that the spirit of antifa is “to challenge racists when they come into your community and try to incite hatred and violence.”²²⁴ Sieradski told JTA that Jews are welcomed in antifa because antifa is fighting Nazis “and anti-Semitism is the prime ideological viewpoint of Nazis.”²²⁵

²²² Zachor Legal Institute and StopAntisemitism.org, “The New Anti-Semites,” StopAntisemitism.org, December 16, 2019, <https://www.stopantisemitism.org/new-anti-semite-report>; Talia Kaplan, “Anti-Semitism in US linked to BDS movement, new NGO-backed report finds,” Fox News, December 16, 2019, <https://www.foxnews.com/us/anti-semitism-bds-movement-report>.

²²³ Talia Kaplan, “Anti-Semitism in US linked to BDS movement, new NGO-backed report finds,” Fox News, December 16, 2019, <https://www.foxnews.com/us/anti-semitism-bds-movement-report>.

²²⁴ Sam Kestenbaum, “‘Antifa’s Most Prominent Jew’ Booted From Twitter,” *Forward*, June 9, 2017, <https://forward.com/fast-forward/374276/antifas-most-prominent-jew-booted-from-twitter/>; Ben Sales, “What you need to know about antifa, the group that fought white supremacists in Charlottesville,” Jewish Telegraphic Agency, August 16, 2017, <https://www.jta.org/2017/08/16/united-states/what-you-need-to-know-about-antifa-the-group-that-fought-white-supremacists-in-charlottesville>.

²²⁵ Ben Sales, “What you need to know about antifa, the group that fought white supremacists in Charlottesville,” Jewish Telegraphic Agency, August 16, 2017, <https://www.jta.org/2017/08/16/united-states/what-you-need-to-know-about-antifa-the-group-that-fought-white-supremacists-in-charlottesville>.

Specific Jewish antifa groups have also formed. In January 2019, a group called Jewish Antifascist Action vandalized a plaque in New York City's Canyon of Heroes honoring World War I French general Philippe Petain. Petain went on to lead France's Vichy regime and oversaw the deportation of more than 75,000 French Jews to Nazi concentration camps.²²⁶ The *Canadian Jewish News* (CJN) interviewed three members about antifa views on Jews and Israel, and each responded differently. The commonality was that all three felt safe and welcome as Jews within the antifa movement. Views on Israel varied, with some calling it fascist and others saying it's not. One Jewish antifa member said that Jews do tend to avoid antifa events because they feel antifa is demanding that all Jews abandon Israel. That same activist told CJN that "Nazis support the State of Israel" because they use the example of a Jewish ethno-state to argue that whites should also have their own ethno-state and Jews expelled from this ethno-state could just go to Israel.²²⁷

The left, and the far left in particular, have coalesced around the idea of defending those living under oppression. Anti-Zionism itself is not inherently anti-Semitism. There are, of course, anti-Zionist Jews who do not believe that a state of Israel should exist without the coming of the messiah or who lament the secularized nature of the modern Israeli state. But, as recognized by the IHRA, anti-Zionism becomes anti-Semitic when it is driven by the specific notion that Jews are the only group not entitled to a state of their own. Those on the left and the far left have found their anti-Semitic rhetoric is more palatable when coating it with the patina of anti-Zionism. Groups like SJP and the Women's March believe themselves to be proponents of human rights, defending victims of oppression while targeting all Jews regardless of their support for the policies of the State of Israel.

²²⁶ Aiden Pink, "Jewish Antifa Group Vandalizes Nazi Collaborator Plaque," *Forward*, January 30, 2019, <https://forward.com/fast-forward/418429/jewish-antifa-nazi-petain-plaque-new-york/>.

²²⁷ Evan Balgord, "Anti-Fascist and Anti-Israel; Jewish Antifa Talks Views on Israel and Jews," *Canadian Jewish News*, November 22, 2017, <https://www.cjnews.com/news/international/anti-fascist-anti-israel-jewish-antifa-talks-views-israel-jews>.

Anti-Semitism in U.S. Black Communities

In a 1967 essay for the *New York Times*, African American author and activist James Baldwin wrote that Blacks were anti-Semitic because they were anti-white. For Blacks in New York City in the 1960s, many of their landlords and employers were Jewish and Jews came to represent the system that was systemically unfair to Black people. “The root of anti-Semitism among Negroes is, ironically, the relationship of colored peoples--all over the globe--to the Christian world,” he wrote.²²⁸ According to Baldwin’s interpretations, despite their long history of persecution, Jews had not only become accepted in America, they had become comfortable and thus shared the status of the white Christians who continued to degrade the Black community:

*In the American context, the most ironical thing about Negro anti-Semitism is that the Negro is really condemning the Jew for having become an American white man--for having become, in effect, a Christian. The Jew profits from his status in America, and he must expect Negroes to distrust him for it. The Jew does not realize that the credential he offers, the fact that he has been despised and slaughtered, does not increase the Negro’s understanding. It increases the Negro’s rage.*²²⁹

Decades later, Baldwin’s observation of Jews as a stand-in for the American white man because of their successful integration into American society continues to resonate and contribute to the promulgation of anti-Semitism in the Black community. And as the American Black community gained equality, its relationship with the Jewish community has become more tenuous as many in the Black community—as Baldwin described—equated successful Jewish integration in America with shared Jewish responsibility for

²²⁸ James Baldwin, “Negroes Are Anti-Semitic Because They’re Anti-White,” *New York Times*, April 9, 1967, <https://movies2.nytimes.com/books/98/03/29/specials/baldwin-antisem.html>.

²²⁹ James Baldwin, “Negroes Are Anti-Semitic Because They’re Anti-White,” *New York Times*, April 9, 1967, <https://movies2.nytimes.com/books/98/03/29/specials/baldwin-antisem.html>.

Black oppression. Among the many who helped shape the Black nationalist scene in the 1980s and 1990s, the Reverend Jesse Jackson and the Minister [Louis Farrakhan](#) stand out in particular for advancing an adversarial relationship between the Black and Jewish communities.

Farrakhan took over the leadership of the Black nationalist-religious movement Nation of Islam in 1977.²³⁰ In 1979, Jackson allegedly said he was “sick and tired” of hearing about the Holocaust, and Jews didn’t have a “monopoly on suffering.”²³¹ Allegations of anti-Semitism continued as Jackson ran for the 1984 Democratic presidential nomination. In a January 1984 interview with the *Washington Post*, Jackson referred to New York City by the anti-Semitic slur Hymietown.²³² Jackson later apologized,²³³ but Farrakhan defended the slur, labeled Judaism a “gutter religion,” and designated supporters of Israel as criminals in the eyes of God. Jackson condemned Farrakhan’s remarks as “reprehensible” and accused him of dividing the Democratic Party,²³⁴ but Farrakhan continued on to become a symbol of Black pride in America, organizing events such as 1995’s Million Man March in Washington, D.C.²³⁵ At the same time, he earned a reputation for making anti-white and anti-Semitic comments.²³⁶ For many

²³⁰ “Louis Farrakhan Fast Facts,” CNN, last updated June 19, 2020, <https://www.cnn.com/2013/05/24/us/louis-farrakhan-fast-facts/>; “Louis Farrakhan,” Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed July 24, 2020, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/louis-farrakhan>.

²³¹ Fay S. Joyce, “Jackson Admits Saying ‘Hymie’ and Apologizes at a Synagogue,” *New York Times*, February 27, 1984, <https://www.nytimes.com/1984/02/27/us/jackson-admits-saying-hymie-and-apologizes-at-a-synagogue.html>.

²³² “Jesse Jackson’s ‘Hymietown’ Remark – 1984,” *Washington Post*, accessed October 13, 2020, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/special/clinton/frenzy/jackson.htm>.

²³³ Fay S. Joyce, “Jackson Admits Saying ‘Hymie’ and Apologizes at a Synagogue,” *New York Times*, February 27, 1984, <https://www.nytimes.com/1984/02/27/us/jackson-admits-saying-hymie-and-apologizes-at-a-synagogue.html>.

²³⁴ Fay S. Joyce, “Jackson Criticized Remarks Made By Farrakhan as ‘Reprehensible,’” *New York Times*, June 29, 1984, <https://www.nytimes.com/1984/06/29/world/jackson-criticizes-remarks-made-by-farrakhan-as-reprehensible.html>.

²³⁵ “Farrakhan revels in the spotlight of Million Man March,” CNN, October 16, 1995, <http://edition.cnn.com/US/9510/megamarch/10-16/update/index.html>.

²³⁶ Louis Farrakhan,” Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed July 24, 2020, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/louis-farrakhan>; Twitter removes

young African Americans coming of age in the 1980s and 1990s, Farrakhan's charisma and outspokenness—including his unveiled anti-Semitism—introduced them to Black pride.²³⁷

The Black-Jewish communal relationship reached a low point in August 1991 with the Crown Heights race riots. The motorcade of Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson, leader of the Chabad-Lubavitch Hasidic group, accidentally struck two Black children in Brooklyn, New York, on August 19, killing one. Hours later, Australian yeshiva student Yankel Rosenbaum was pulled from his car in Brooklyn and stabbed to death by 16-year-old Lemrick Nelson. That attack was the start of three days that became known as the Crown Heights Riots, during which rioters burnt and looted businesses, homes, and cars owned by Orthodox Jews. Jews were physically attacked in the streets.²³⁸ Nelson was convicted of murdering Rosenbaum, but that conviction was overturned. He was later convicted of violating Rosenbaum's civil rights, for which he was sentenced to 10 years in prison. He was released after only one, however, because of time served for his overturned conviction for the murder.²³⁹

Friction between the Jewish and Black communities remained elevated in the twenty-first century. A 2013 ADL survey on anti-Semitic attitudes recorded an average of 22 percent of the U.S. African American population held anti-Semitic beliefs. That number

verified status from Louis Farrakhan's account," Jewish Telegraphic Agency, June 11, 2018, <https://www.jta.org/2018/06/11/united-states/twitter-removes-verified-status-louis-farrakhans-account>; "Video of Louis Farrakhan comparing Jews to termites removed from Facebook," Jewish Telegraphic Agency, October 21, 2018, <https://www.jta.org/2018/10/21/united-states/farrakhan-termites-video-removed-facebook>.

²³⁷ "Revisiting Louis Farrakhan's Influence Amid Celebrities' Anti-Semitic Comments," NPR, July 19, 2020, <https://www.npr.org/2020/07/19/892855781/revisiting-louis-farrakhans-influence-amid-celebrities-anti-semitic-comments>.

²³⁸ Michael Kamber, "Faded Rage," *Village Voice*, January 15, 2002, <https://www.villagevoice.com/2002/01/15/faded-rage/>; "Take a look back at the 1991 Crown Heights riots," *Daily News*, accessed October 13, 2020, <https://www.nydailynews.com/new-york/crown-heights-riot-gallery-1.2759946?pmSlide=1.2759934>.

²³⁹ "Man Convicted in '91 Unrest Is Stabbed," *New York Times*, September 12, 2010, <https://www.nytimes.com/2010/09/13/nyregion/13lemrick.html>.

had declined from 29 percent in 2011, 28 percent in 2009, and 25 percent in 2007.²⁴⁰ Nonetheless, the study noted that while “Anti-Semitic propensities” within the African American population were in decline, they continued “to be higher than the general population.”²⁴¹

Violence would again mar the relationship between the two communities in 2019. On December 10, 2019, David Anderson and Francine Graham attacked the JC Kosher Supermarket in Jersey City, New Jersey, killing three. Anderson and Graham were subsequently killed during an hours-long shootout with police. Anderson previously belonged to the Black Hebrew Israelite movement, which has a history of engaging in racism and anti-Semitism.²⁴²

The Black Hebrew movement dates to nineteenth century America. The movement is based around the narrative that they are the true descendants of the ancient Israelites, while modern Jews are imposters. According to the narrative, the original 12 Tribes of Israel were divided by ethnic groups, which did not include whites. While the movement has subgroups that are more open to relations with mainstream Judaism, a particularly militant faction emerged in the 1960s calling themselves Black Israelites. This

²⁴⁰ ADL 100 – A Survey About Attitudes Towards Jews in America, Anti-Defamation League, October 2013, 22, <https://www.adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/assets/pdf/press-center/adl-survey-attitudes-towards-jews-in-us-2013.pdf>.

²⁴¹ ADL 100 – A Survey About Attitudes Towards Jews in America, Anti-Defamation League, October 2013, 4, <https://www.adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/assets/pdf/press-center/adl-survey-attitudes-towards-jews-in-us-2013.pdf>.

²⁴² Associated Press, “Timeline of events in Jersey City shootout,” *Morning Call*, December 11, 2019, <https://www.mcall.com/news/breaking/mc-nws-20191211-igfpyntxjbef5a2hzsyqomg2wa-story.html>; David Porter and Michael R. Sisak, “Jersey City attack being investigated as domestic terrorism,” Associated Press, December 13, 2019, <https://apnews.com/b8ead490e3616d7234442b5b2c63e6d6>; Sarah Maslin Nir, “Black Hebrew Israelites: What We Know About the Fringe Group,” *New York Times*, December 12, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/11/nyregion/black-hebrew-israelites-jersey-city-suspects.html>; Jonathan Dienst and Brian Thompson, “Jersey City Shooters Identified, Were Prime Suspects in Other Homicide,” NBC 4 New York, last updated December 12, 2019, <https://www.nbcnewyork.com/news/local/jersey-city-shootout-developing-details-3-2/2239660/>.

denomination began openly espousing racism toward white Jews. And this is the group to which Anderson at one point belonged.²⁴³

In recent years, several Black celebrities have visibly promoted and mainstreamed anti-Semitic stereotypes and conspiracy theories. In 2017, rapper Jay-Z drew criticism for a line in his song “The Story of O.J.”: “You wanna know what’s more important than throwin’ away money at a strip club? Credit. You ever wonder why Jewish people own all the property in America? This how they did it.”²⁴⁴ The following year, rapper 21 Savage apologized after creating controversy with his song lyric, “We been getting that Jewish money. Everything is kosher.”²⁴⁵ While these incidents raised some objections within the Black community, their continued use in pop culture indicates some level of wider acceptance. In 1989, hip hop artist Richard Griffin, a.k.a. Professor Griff of the group Public Enemy, called Jews evil and claimed to have proof during an interview with the *Washington Times*.²⁴⁶ During a July 2020 appearance on Nick Cannon’s podcast “Cannon’s Class,” Griffin said he was hated because he told the truth. Cannon agreed and declared Blacks were the true Hebrews.²⁴⁷ Cannon later apologized,²⁴⁸ but several Black celebrities defended his comments as well. Rapper Ice Cube and professional

²⁴³ Daniel Burke, “Who are the Black Hebrew Israelites?,” CNN, December 12, 2019, <https://www.cnn.com/2019/12/11/us/hebrew-black-israelites-jersey-city/index.html>; Sarah Maslin Nir, “Black Hebrew Israelites: What We Know About the Fringe Group,” *New York Times*, December 11, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/11/nyregion/black-hebrew-israelites-jersey-city-suspects.html>.

²⁴⁴ Adam Serwer, “The Story of Jay-Z,” *Atlantic*, July 7, 2017, <https://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2017/07/the-story-of-jay-z/532896/>.

²⁴⁵ Alexander Fulbright, “Rapper sorry for ‘Jewish money’ lyrics that snagged LeBron,” *Times of Israel*, December 25, 2018, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/rapper-sorry-for-jewish-money-lyrics-that-snagged-lebron/>.

²⁴⁶ Jon Pareles, “Public Enemy Rap Group Reorganizes After Anti-Semitic Comments,” *New York Times*, August 11, 1989, <https://www.nytimes.com/1989/08/11/arts/public-enemy-rap-group-reorganizes-after-anti-semitic-comments.html>.

²⁴⁷ Lisa Respers France, “Nick Cannon’s planned daytime talk show is pushed back amid anti-Semitism controversy,” CNN, July 17, 2020, <https://www.cnn.com/2020/07/17/entertainment/nick-cannon-backlash-tweet/index.html>.

²⁴⁸ Christi Carras, “Nick Cannon apologizes to Jewish community, keeps ‘Masked Singer’ hosting gig,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 16, 2020, <https://www.latimes.com/entertainment-arts/story/2020-07-16/nick-cannon-apology-masked-singer-fox>.

athletes DeSean Jackson, Larry Johnson, and Stephen Jackson made headlines that year for making blatant anti-Semitic comments or promoting anti-Semitic conspiracy theories.²⁴⁹ Some directly praised Farrakhan and cited him as their inspiration, demonstrating that Farrakhan's decades of influence helped cement an antagonistic relationship between the Black and Jewish communities.

In July 2020, former basketball star Kareem Abdul-Jabbar condemned anti-Semitic comments by Black celebrities as an offense against all who seek social justice. "It's so disheartening to see people from groups that have been violently marginalized do the same thing to others without realizing that perpetuating this kind of bad logic is what perpetuates racism," he wrote.²⁵⁰ Harkening back to Baldwin's 1967 essay, *Atlantic* writer Jemele Hill wrote that some in the Black community have a "certain cultural blindspot about Jews," while "stereotypical and hurtful tropes about Jews are widely accepted in the African American community."²⁵¹

These stereotypes have been long perpetuated in the community and can be seen at the core of worsening relations between the Black and Jewish communities. In her 2020 piece, Hill pointed to the prevalence of her parents' generation repeating stereotypes of Jews' obsession with money.²⁵² In the 1960s, Al Vorspan, then director of the

²⁴⁹ Gil Kaufman, "Ice Cube Criticized For Posting String of Anti-Semitic Images and Conspiracy Theories," *Billboard*, June 11, 2020, <https://www.billboard.com/articles/columns/hip-hop/9400472/ice-cube-criticized-anti-semitic-images-conspiracy-theories>; "Eagles' DeSean Jackson says he doesn't hate Jewish community after posting anti-Semitic messages," ESPN, July 7, 2020, https://www.espn.com/nfl/story/_/id/29422431/eagles-desean-jackson-says-hate-jewish-community-posting-anti-semitic-messages; Des Bieler, "Stephen Jackson says DeSean Jackson is 'speaking the truth,' adds anti-Semitic claims of his own," *Washington Post*, July 8, 2020, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/sports/2020/07/08/stephen-jackson-says-desean-jackson-is-speaking-truth-adds-anti-semitic-claims-his-own/>.

²⁵⁰ Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, "Kareem Abdul-Jabbar: Where Is the Outrage Over Anti-Semitism in Sports and Hollywood?," *Hollywood Reporter*, July 14, 2020, <https://www.hollywoodreporter.com/news/kareem-abdul-jabbar-is-outrage-anti-semitism-sports-hollywood-1303210>.

²⁵¹ Jemele Hill, "The Anti-Semitism We Didn't See," *Atlantic*, July 13, 2020, <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/07/desean-jacksons-blind-spot-and-mine/614095/>.

²⁵² Jemele Hill, "The Anti-Semitism We Didn't See," *Atlantic*, July 13, 2020, <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/07/desean-jacksons-blind-spot-and-mine/614095/>.

Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism, observed that as Jews migrated to the suburbs, many Black-Jewish relationships in inner-city communities ceased to be neighborly and became transactional as tenant-landlord-tenant, merchant-customer, or social worker-client relationships. “These are inherently tense, unequal relations. They are fraught with conflict and resentment. Jews in the core neighborhoods are represented by landlords and pawnbrokers and small merchants,” he said.²⁵³ Both Vorspan and Baldwin cited the relational shift between African Americans and Jews from neighbors to moving parts of a larger system. And it is that system that Baldwin ultimately blamed: “The crisis taking place in the world, and in the minds and hearts of black men everywhere, is not produced by the star of David, but by the old, rugged Roman cross on which Christendom’s most celebrated Jew was murdered. And not by Jews.”²⁵⁴

Religion and Anti-Semitism

In November 2019, an unidentified man began screaming at a visibly Jewish family on London’s subway. The man accused Jews of murdering Jesus while holding up what appeared to be a Bible. When confronted by another passenger to stop his invective, he shouted, “It’s not my opinion. It’s God’s word.”²⁵⁵ The man was arrested days later for racially aggravated offenses after a video of the encounter went viral.²⁵⁶

²⁵³ Tema Smith, “How to Talk About Black Anti-Semitism,” *Forward*, January 9, 2020, <https://forward.com/opinion/438053/how-to-talk-about-black-anti-semitism/>.

²⁵⁴ James Baldwin, “Negroes Are Anti-Semitic Because They’re Anti-White,” *New York Times*, April 9, 1967, <https://movies2.nytimes.com/books/98/03/29/specials/baldwin-antisem.html>.

²⁵⁵ “Suspect arrested over anti-Semitic abuse on London Underground,” *Times of Israel*, November 24, 2019, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/suspect-arrested-over-anti-semitic-abuse-on-london-underground/>.

²⁵⁶ “Man arrested over anti-Semitic abuse on Tube,” *BBC News*, November 24, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-london-50533617>.

The incident is evidence of how ingrained old stereotypes and hatreds can be. Just days before the incident in London, the Church of England took responsibility for the role of Christianity in perpetuating anti-Semitism over the centuries, eventually leading up to the Holocaust. According to a report by the Church's Faith and Order Commission, "Christians have been guilty of promoting and fostering negative stereotypes of Jewish people that have contributed to grave suffering and injustice."²⁵⁷ The Church of England and the Catholic Church made strides in the twentieth century to rectify historic anti-Semitic policies and declarations, but anti-Semitic attitudes based on centuries of religious indoctrination remain difficult to overcome.

Those like U.S. Pastor Steven Anderson, leader of the Arizona Faithful World Baptist Church, embrace classic Christian anti-Semitic tropes in their religious interpretations. Anderson has posted several videos on YouTube accusing Jews of being the anti-Christ, killing Jesus, and being children of the devil.²⁵⁸ Ireland banned Anderson from the country in 2019,²⁵⁹ while Arab News named Anderson to a list of "Hate Preachers" that same year.²⁶⁰ Demonstrating the continued power of anti-Semitic religious indoctrination, Evangelical Christian Luba Yanko told the *Washington Post* in August 2019 that U.S. President Donald Trump is trying to act on Christian values, but he is inundated with "Zionist" and "kabbalist" values.²⁶¹

²⁵⁷ Faith and Order Commission, *God's Unfailing Word* (London: Church House Publishing, 2019), Xiv, <https://www.churchofengland.org/sites/default/files/2019-11/godsunfailingwordweb.pdf>.

²⁵⁸ Stephen Lemons, "Steven Anderson, Wacko Tempe Pastor, Now in Anti-Semitism Business," *Phoenix New Times*, December 1, 2014, <https://www.phoenixnewtimes.com/news/steven-anderson-wacko-tempe-pastor-now-in-anti-semitism-business-6651793>.

²⁵⁹ Andy Campbell, "Anti-Gay Pastor Steven Anderson Banned From Ireland," *Huffington Post*, May 13, 2019, https://www.huffpost.com/entry/anti-gay-pastor-steven-anderson-banned-from-ireland_n_5cd998d5e4b073aa0b31a381.

²⁶⁰ Jennifer Bell, "Steven Anderson: Serial abuser of free speech," *Arab News*, last updated July 9, 2019, <https://www.arabnews.com/node/1522901/world>.

²⁶¹ Julie Zauzmer, "How anti-Semitic beliefs have quietly taken hold among some evangelical Christians," *Washington Post*, August 22, 2019, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/religion/2019/08/22/how-anti-semitic-beliefs-have-quietly-taken-hold-among-some-evangelical-christians/?fbclid=IwAR0pubUFXjDG-kfdaKgUTCzLKzW0gaqyBX-6-5dUTvSO5PBAiARCBf9kdcs>.

While acknowledging that some Jews pressed for Jesus's crucifixion, the Catholic Church absolved Jews as a whole of responsibility for the death of Jesus with the publication in 1965 of *Nostra Aetate*.²⁶² Offshoots of certain Christian denominations have continued to reject the reforms of *Nostra Aetate*, promulgating the narrative that blames Jews for deicide. Before John Earnest attacked a Chabad synagogue in Poway, California, on April 27, 2019, he penned a manifesto explaining his background as an evangelical Presbyterian Christian. He wrote that Jews deserved to die as they were responsible for killing Jesus and controlled the media. Killing Jews, Earnest wrote, would glorify God. Earnest belonged to the Orthodox Presbyterian Church, an evangelical offshoot meant to counter what it considers liberalization of the Presbyterian Church. Reverend Mika Edmondson, a pastor in the Orthodox Presbyterian Church, told the *Washington Post* that the church must take some responsibility as Earnest was "radicalized into white nationalism from within the very midst of our church."²⁶³

The *Washington Post* also noted the opinions of others who felt the church should not have to take responsibility for Earnest's actions, as he acted alone. Still others told the paper that the church bears the same responsibility to disavow Earnest as Muslim communities do when an Islamic extremist carries out an attack.²⁶⁴ While Christianity as a whole should not be held responsible for Earnest, just as Islam as a whole should not be held responsible for Islamist attacks, both religions must reconcile that elements

²⁶² "Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions *Nostra Aetate* – Proclaimed by His Holiness Pope Paul VI on October 28, 1965," The Holy See, October 28, 1965, http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651028_nostra_aetate_en.html.

²⁶³ Julie Zauzmer, "The alleged synagogue shooter was a churchgoer who talked Christian theology, raising tough questions for evangelical pastors," *Washington Post*, May 1, 2019, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/religion/2019/05/01/alleged-synagogue-shooter-was-churchgoer-who-articulated-christian-theology-prompting-tough-questions-evangelical-pastors/>.

²⁶⁴ Julie Zauzmer, "The alleged synagogue shooter was a churchgoer who talked Christian theology, raising tough questions for evangelical pastors," *Washington Post*, May 1, 2019, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/religion/2019/05/01/alleged-synagogue-shooter-was-churchgoer-who-articulated-christian-theology-prompting-tough-questions-evangelical-pastors/>.

of their religions have been and continue to be used by extremists to justify horrific crimes.

Within Islam, both religious leaders and Islamist radicals have interpreted passages within the Quran in a manner that ensures the continuation of anti-Semitism. Arab News also singled out [Qatar](#)-based [Muslim Brotherhood](#) ideologue [Yusuf al-Qaradawi](#) as a hate preacher because of, among other things, his repeated instigation of his followers to anti-Semitism and to the influence of numerous other radicals.²⁶⁵ During a 2005 address, for example, Qaradawi cited a particularly anti-Semitic hadith and exhorted his listeners to “continue to fight the Jews and they will fight you, until the Muslims will kill them. And the Jew will hide behind the stone and the tree, and the stone and the tree will say: ‘Oh, servant of Allah, oh Muslim, this is a Jew behind me. Come and kill him!’ The resurrection will not come before this happens.”²⁶⁶

Qaradawi is but one of many modern Islamist clerics who overtly fold anti-Semitism into their theology. More than a decade after Qaradawi called the death of Jews necessary for the resurrection, an imam in Copenhagen issued a similar call. In March 2018, Mundhir Abdallah of the Masjid Al-Faruq mosque in Copenhagen said during a sermon that the Quran instructs followers to “fight the Jews and kill them.”²⁶⁷ [Abdullah al-Faisal](#) is a U.S.-designated Islamist propagandist who has recruited for ISIS and facilitated travel to ISIS-held territory. The Counter Extremism Project (CEP) has documented dozens of extremists who have worked with or otherwise been influenced by Faisal. These include Garland, Texas, attacker [Nadir Soofi](#), London Bridge attacker [Khuram Shazad Butt](#), and British extremist [Anjem Choudary](#). Faisal claimed he learned of *The*

²⁶⁵ Siraj Wahab, “Qaradawi and Qatar: the hate preacher who became Doha’s spiritual guide,” Arab News, March 31, 2019, <https://www.arabnews.com/node/1475626/middle-east>.

²⁶⁶ Antony Barnett, “Suicide bombs are a duty, says Islamic scholar,” *Guardian* (London), August 27, 2005, <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2005/aug/28/uk.terrorism>.

²⁶⁷ “Denmark charges imam with incitement for sermon that called for killing Jews,” Jewish Telegraphic Agency, July 24, 2018, <https://www.jta.org/2018/07/24/global/denmark-imam-charged-with-incitement-for-sermon-that-called-for-killing-jews>.

Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion in university and subsequently recommended it as “an excellent source of knowledge.”²⁶⁸ He has also accused Jews—not Israelis—of committing genocide and “playing the race card,” while underlining his belief that “Hitler was right.”²⁶⁹

Faisal’s brand of propaganda demonstrates a willingness to accept long debunked conspiracy theories as factual. Both Qaradawi and Faisal have used anti-Semitism to create a singular enemy for Islam. The hadith Qaradawi referenced in 2005 tells of the end times and the need for Muslims to confront that enemy in order to fulfill prophecy. As with Anderson’s likening of Jews to the devil, Qaradawi and Faisal are constructing a narrative that places Muslims on the side of the holy and Jews on the opposite side. Such a paradigm can then be used to excuse acts of violence—such as suicide bombings or Earnest’s attack on the Poway Chabad—as a venerable act against the enemies of God.

Such characterizations have provided justification for horrific terrorist acts by Islamist groups such as [Hamas](#), the Palestinian offshoot of the Muslim Brotherhood. Hamas’s original 1988 charter reads: “Israel, Judaism and Jews challenge Islam and the Moslem people.”²⁷⁰ The charter further accuses Jews of using their money to buy control of global media, while Article 22 specifically accuses Jews of responsibility for World War I and the destruction of the last Islamic caliphate, the Ottoman Empire.²⁷¹ The Hamas charter justifies its blatant anti-Semitism by drawing on sections of the Quran and the hadith, a collection of practices and philosophy attributed to Muhammad. In particular,

²⁶⁸ “Former Revolution Muslim Imam Encourages Support for ISIS,” Anti-Defamation League, September 10, 2014, <http://blog.adl.org/anti-semitism/abdullah-al-faisal-isis>.

²⁶⁹ “Former Revolution Muslim Imam Encourages Support for ISIS,” Anti-Defamation League, September 10, 2014, <http://blog.adl.org/anti-semitism/abdullah-al-faisal-isis>.

²⁷⁰ “The Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement,” Avalon Project, Yale Law School, August 18, 1988, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp.

²⁷¹ “The Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement,” Avalon Project, Yale Law School, August 18, 1988, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp.

the Hamas charter references a hadith necessitating an apocalyptic battle between Jews and Muslims to bring about the Day of Judgement:

The Day of Judgement will not come about until Moslems fight the Jews (killing the Jews), when the Jew will hide behind stones and trees. The stones and trees will say O Moslems, O Abdulla, there is a Jew behind me, come and kill him. Only the Gharkad tree, would not do that because it is one of the trees of the Jews.²⁷²

The hadith is the same one referenced by Qaradawi in 2005, predicating the salvation of Muslims and God's final judgement of humanity following the defeat of the Jews. Qaradawi himself was a student of Muslim Brotherhood ideologue [Sayyid Qutb](#). And as a Muslim Brotherhood offshoot, Hamas is also faithful to Qutb's writings. Hamas's charter essentially rephrases a passage in Qutb's book *Ma'rakutuna ma'a al-Yahud*, "Our Struggle Against the Jews," in which Qutb argues that Jews "stand behind" the "war waged against Islam...which persists against the Islamic revival in all places on earth."²⁷³ Though Hamas's leadership protests that its fight is with only Israel and not Jews as a whole, anti-Semitism has permeated the Gaza Strip since Hamas took control in 2007. And although this anti-Semitism is rooted in the religious justifications provided by Islamist clerics such as Qutb, it also draws on historical tropes and conspiracies that lend support to the initial religion-based claims.

Hamas released an updated version of its charter in May 2017 that removed overtly anti-Semitic passages and references to Jews. Hamas leaders explained that their fight was against Israel, not against the Jewish people. However, Hamas leaders also stated

²⁷² "The Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement," Avalon Project, Yale Law School, August 18, 1988, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp.

²⁷³ Bassam Tibi, "From Sayyid Qutb to Hamas: The Middle East Conflict and the Islamization of Antisemitism," Yale University, 2010, <https://isgap.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/bassam-tibi-online-working-paper-20101.pdf>.

that the new charter is not a replacement for the original document, which remained in effect.²⁷⁴

Similar hadiths to the tree story have also appeared in official state sources in Islamic nations. In the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, attacks and the revelation that 15 of the 19 hijackers were Saudi citizens, U.S. media outlets reported that extremist language in Saudi textbooks may have helped fuel radicalism in the country.

Saudi officials have worked in the ensuing years to overhaul the educational system. In 2015, the Saudi education ministry banned books by Qutb, Qaradawi, and Brotherhood founder Hassan al-Banna.²⁷⁵

Conclusion

Throughout history, Jews have been denied standing and power. They have been restricted professionally, forced to wear identifying clothing, forced to live in specific areas, and generally made subservient to the whims of the ruling class.

In a politically polarized United States, it has become common to hear those on the right and the left accuse one another of presenting the greatest danger. In fact, both sides are dangerous. By attacking the legitimacy of the Jewish nation-state in the form of anti-Zionism and targeting all Jews as representatives of Israel, the left targets the Jewish way of life. Conversely, the far right is largely responsible for targeting Jewish life itself through violent attacks, such as the 2018 assault on Pittsburgh's Tree of Life

²⁷⁴ "New Hamas policy document 'aims to soften image,'" BBC News, May 1, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-39744551>.

²⁷⁵ "Saudi bans Qutb, Al-Banna and Al-Qaradawi from schools," Al Arabiya, December 1, 2015, <https://english.alarabiya.net/en/webtv/reports/2015/12/01/Saudi-bans-Qutb-Al-Banna-and-Al-Qaradawi-from-schools.html>.

synagogue. Voices on both sides of the political spectrum are quick to absolve themselves of the actions of a few, but extremism coming from either side warrants alarm.

Both ideologies rely on the promotion of old stereotypes. For one side to argue that the other side is far more anti-Semitic, however, is dismissive of the larger problem. In reality, both ends of the spectrum have employed anti-Semitic rhetoric and tactics that slowly but surely legitimizes anti-Semitism.

The commonality among anti-Semitism on the far left, the far right, radical Islamism, and Christian anti-Semitism is a manufactured fear of perceived Jewish power and the need to defend against it. This underlying theme is present among all forms of anti-Semitism. Historically, it was easy to assign blame to a powerless and nomadic group. Charging Jews with responsibility for society's ills alleviated responsibility from those with actual power—and, more importantly, it distracted the general population from holding those in power responsible.

As Jews began to gain a modicum of freedom, the historical scapegoat became even a larger target. Jews were the easy answer to every stubborn problem: Uncertainty in global financial markets, the rise of communism, or Hollywood undermining morality. But the core of modern anti-Semitism is primarily based on a fear of perceived Jewish power and strength. The Jew is the enemy that needs to be defended against. The Jew is controlling and influencing the system and thus responsible for the ills of the world. For those who feel insecure in their current place in the modern world, and especially for those who wish to manipulate unease in order to gain power, the Jew continues to be a convenient target.