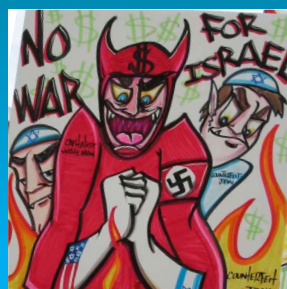


FAR-LEFT ANTISEMITISM

ANTIZIONIST LEFT AND
LEFTIST ANTISEMITISM



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Introduction

Throughout history, anti-Jewish sentiment has been promoted and has grown in many different eras and contexts. Today, antisemitism is resurging through political movements on both the right and left and unfortunately becoming increasingly mainstream.

This booklet is part of a four-part series produced by the Center for Combating Antisemitism, a division of StandWithUs. These four volumes detail the manifestations of contemporary antisemitism, covering the following subjects:

Volume 1: Antisemitism: An Introduction

Volume 2: Far-Right Antisemitism

Volume 3: The Antisemitism at the Heart of Radical Islamism

Volume 4: Far-Left Antisemitism

This volume explores the different ways antisemitism is expressed within leftist circles. The left is not monolithic. It spans a wide range of perspectives, movements, and streams. Many progressives are not antisemitic or antizionist, even if they are critical of specific policies of the Israeli government.

This booklet focuses on the section of the left that is overtly antizionist and whose rhetoric and actions often descend into overt antisemitism. The examples in this booklet are taken from a variety of far-left sources and compared with far-right white supremacist, antisemitic tropes. The similarities are striking: often it is impossible to distinguish between the two.

Ever since the Holocaust, antisemitism has been associated almost exclusively with white supremacy in the popular mind. The racist right, however, does not hold a monopoly on antisemitism. There is also a long history of bigotry toward Jews and Judaism on the far left, including some who proudly identify as “anti-racist.” This is mostly unacknowledged and often denied by many progressives. Usually, such attitudes are the result of ignorance rather than bad intentions, but sometimes they are also rooted in genuine hatred toward Jews and/or the State of Israel.

Making it even harder to recognize and acknowledge this left-wing antisemitism is the role played by a radical fringe of the Jewish community. Much like the infamous Yevsektsiya (Jewish Section) of the Soviet Communist Party, this fringe acts as a shield for the radical left against charges of antisemitism.



Compare this antisemitic caricature (above) of a monstrous-looking, dehumanized Jew, used in advertising by far-left antizionist student activists, with a strikingly similar image from the Nazi newspaper *Der Stürmer*, July 14, 1936 (below).



Misunderstanding Antisemitism

Antisemitic thinking is defined by looking at the world's complexities and concluding they are the result of dangers posed by "the Jews," who are cast as the "misfortune" of a given society, group, movement, or community. Jews, individually and collectively, are accused of acting as a homogenous and secretive cabal that controls centers of power such as governments, media, and banks. This stereotype is deeply embedded in Western culture, religion, thought, and politics.

Strongly held stereotypes against people of color, LGBTQ people, women, Muslims, and other communities are also deeply rooted in society. These attitudes are learned by children as they grow up. Those who join progressive movements as adults become aware of how they were shaped by these oppressive attitudes and reject them.



Jean-Luc Melenchon: "I don't know if Jesus was on a cross, but he was apparently put there by his own people," meaning Jews.

Regarding Jews and antisemitism, however, many on the left balk at examining the anti-Jewish stereotypes and assumptions they likely absorbed growing up.

For example, on July 16, 2020, when Jean-Luc Melenchon, leader of the French far-left La France Insoumise party, held Jews responsible for putting Jesus on the cross,¹ he echoed an antisemitic stereotype deeply embedded in Western culture.



Jackie walker
@Jackiew80333500

Why is the Nazi holocaust more important? We all know the answer!! Because it's white lives that matter duh!



Why is the Nazi holocaust more important than the Slave Trade and the Death of 10 mi...

British far-left activist Jackie Walker posted this antisemitic tweet on June 9, 2020. Its antisemitism lies in its flattening of Jewish identity as being "white" while erasing the reality that the Nazis carried out a race war on Jews, murdering 6 million of them. It also assumes that somehow Jews are benefiting from their own genocide, which plays on racist anti-Jewish tropes, such as assuming Jews craftily plot to greedily profit from the memory of their dead families. Further, it mocks and minimizes Jewish oppression while playing "oppression Olympics," which turns the suffering of millions into a competition that only serves to divide oppressed communities from each other.

While many progressives do understand antisemitism and reject it when it emerges from among their ranks, there are clear patterns of antisemitism denial, minimization, and deflection that are important to recognize.

Antisemitism is often disguised as a social justice position. While racism punches down (viewing people of color as inferiors), antisemitism punches up at the powerful “Jews” (or “Zionists”) who are positioned not only as “white” but as super white because they are believed to “control” powerful Western governments. It is lost on progressives who think this way that this trope originates in white supremacism, which ironically views Jews as being an anti-white force seeking to destroy the “white race.”

Many on the far left minimize and even disparage the history of Jewish oppression. Jews are routinely accused of slyly wielding the “Holocaust card” as a means of silencing any and all criticism of Israeli policies.

Many progressives dismiss Jews who describe their deep fears based on their recent history of genocide and centuries of oppression. According to this line of thought, criticism of Israeli policies can never be motivated by antisemitism, so Jews must be lying as a tactic to “silence” criticism of Israeli policies. This assumes a Jewish conspiracy and is itself antisemitic.

The far-left anti-Israel website called “Redress Information & Analysis” demonstrated this on June 21, 2016, with a cartoon by Carlos Latuff.²

Look closely. The cartoon does not depict an Israeli politician. Instead, it is a caricature of a Jew, complete with sidelocks and a kippa. Yes, there is an Israeli flag, a political symbol, on the caricature. The artist, however, drew a stereotyped Jew to say “the Jews” are dishonest. This is antisemitism.

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Redress Information & Analysis
Exposing injustice, disinformation and bigotry

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The truth behind the charge of anti-Semitism in Britain

21st June 2016 | British stooges Home, Highlights

ANTI-SEMITISM! ANTI-SEMITISM!

FREE PALESTINE! END OCCUPATION!

DavidDuke.com
For Human Freedom & Diversity
The Official Website of Dr. David Duke -Member of the House of Representatives-LA 1989 - 1993

POLITICS Home > Politics > Zionist Extremists Stop Europeans Leaving their Own Airports!

Zionist Extremists Stop Europeans Leaving their Own Airports!

APRIL 17, 2012 / 976 VIEWS

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Anyone who still needed proof about the anti-democratic power of the extremist Zionist lobby in Europe need look no further than the recent news that "Israeli pressure" has caused the cancellation —without refunds—of a number of airline tickets of private individuals from European nations who wished to attend a peace rally in Gaza.

A recent newspaper report revealed that "Israel has forced low-cost airline Jet2 . com to cancel the tickets of three women from Manchester intending to travel to Bethlehem via Tel Aviv for a gathering of pro-Palestinian activists."

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ABOUT DR. DUKE

The very same cartoon resonated with white supremacist David Duke, who also posted it on his website.

Who is Carlos Latuff? He won second prize in the Iranian regime's 2006 International Holocaust Cartoon Competition (dedicated to promoting Holocaust denial). He shared the \$8,000 prize with French far-right cartoonist Françoise Pichard, known for her racist and antisemitic cartoons. Despite Latuff's association with Holocaust denial, he is regularly featured on many far-left "antizionist" websites, including Mondoweiss, the BDS Movement, Electronic Intifada, and the Palestine Solidarity Campaign (UK).



**The exact same stereotype of Jews
is believed and propagated
on the far left and far right.**

Why?

A Little History

The Far Left's Historical Antagonism Toward Jews

Antisemitism on the far left has a long history. It first emerged in the late 19th century when antisemitism became a modern political force described as “the Jewish Question.” Since most European society, including the working class, held antisemitic views, some leftists thought antisemitism could be used in a progressive manner, believing it was a form of anti-capitalism that could benefit the socialist cause. This is playing out again in the 21st century as many antizionist leftists believe radical Islamism, which is anti-Western (but also ultra-right-wing, patriarchal, homophobic, and antisemitic), can play a similar role.

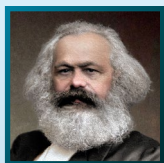
One example is how feminist philosopher [Judith Butler](#), during an anti-Israel “teach-in,” replied to a question about the left’s relationship with far-right, fascist, and antisemitic Islamist terror groups Hamas and Hezbollah. She said:

I think: Yes, understanding Hamas, Hezbollah as social movements that are progressive, that are on the left, that are part of a global left, is extremely important.³

Roots: Karl Marx and His “Essay on the Jewish Question”

The roots of this antipathy toward Jews and Judaism go back to the 19th century, as exemplified by [Karl Marx’s](#) “Essay on the Jewish Question,” written in 1844. Marx was born into a Jewish family that converted to Protestantism when he was six.

“Let us not look for the secret of the Jew in his religion, but let us look for the secret of his religion in the real Jew. What is the secular basis of



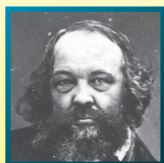
Judaism? Practical need, self-interest. What is the worldly religion of the Jew? Huckstering. What is his worldly God? Money ... Money is the jealous god of Israel, in face of which no other god may exist. ... The god of the Jews has become secularized and has become the god of the world. ... The social emancipation of the Jew is the emancipation of society from Judaism” (emphasis in the original).

For Marx the “real Jew” is a greedy adversary of progress, symbolizing the evils of capitalism, which Marxists seek to eradicate.

This became a common theme within early socialist thought. Almost a half century later, the Marxist German Social Democratic Party (SPD) wrote in its newspaper *Vorwärts*:

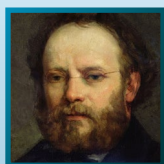
Our solution consists in saying, that the so-called “Jewish spirit” is the spirit of capitalism. Certainly not every Jew is a capitalist but every capitalist is a Jew.⁴

Other progressives of the period shared these anti-Jewish stereotypes. Russian anarchist [Mikhail Bakunin](#), who otherwise opposed Marx, was one. In language prescient of Nazi propaganda:



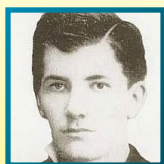
“The whole Jewish world constitutes one exploiting sect, one people of leeches, one single devouring parasite closely and intimately bound together not only across national boundaries but also across all divergences of political opinion.”⁵

French anarchist [Pierre-Joseph Proudhon](#), another leftist opponent of Marx, frequently reflected antisemitism in his writing. One example:



“Jews—Write an article against this race which poisons everything, by meddling everywhere without ever joining itself to another people—Demand their expulsion from France. ... Abolish the synagogues. ... It is not for nothing the Christians call them deicides. The Jew is the enemy of the human race.”⁶

Ukrainian socialist [Sergei Podolinsky](#) wrote in 1876,



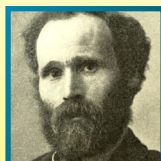
“In my view Yidophobia is as indispensable for every Russian socialist as is hatred of the bourgeoisie ... it is not possible for the existence in Russia (not only in the Ukraine) of socialist kikes.”⁷

Wilhelm Hasselman, a German socialist politician and editor of various socialist newspapers, reprinted Marx's "Essay on the Jewish Question," claiming:



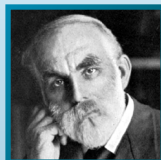
*"[Marx and] all other clear-headed Socialists look upon the Jewish tribe as the nucleus of bourgeois society and as the enemy of the workers' causes, bound to perish when the hour has come for the emancipation of the proletariat."*⁸

Keir Hardie, a founder of the British Labour Party, used the party's newspaper, *The Labour Leader*, to attack Jews. In 1891 he wrote:



*"Wherever there is trouble in Europe, wherever rumors of war circulate and men's minds are distraught with fear of change and calamity, you may be sure that a hooked-nosed Rothschild is at his games somewhere near the region of the disturbances."*⁹

Another major British Labour leader, **John Burns**, blamed Jews for the Boer War in South Africa:



*"Wherever we go in this matter we find the same thing. Wherever we examine, there is the financial Jew, operating, directing, inspiring the agonies that have led to this war."*¹⁰

In 1923, **Ruth Fischer**, a leader of the German Communist Party, used antisemitic language in an attempt to sway pro-Nazi students to communism:



*"Those who call for a struggle against Jewish capital are already, gentlemen, class strugglers, even if they don't know it. You are against Jewish capital and want to fight the speculators. Very good. Throw down the Jewish capitalists, hang them from the lamp-post, stamp on them."*¹¹

These early leftist thinkers were trying to channel antisemitism into a revolutionary force. Instead they unwittingly reinforced the rise of the hatred that would, in the aftermath of World War I, become the core of Nazi ideology.

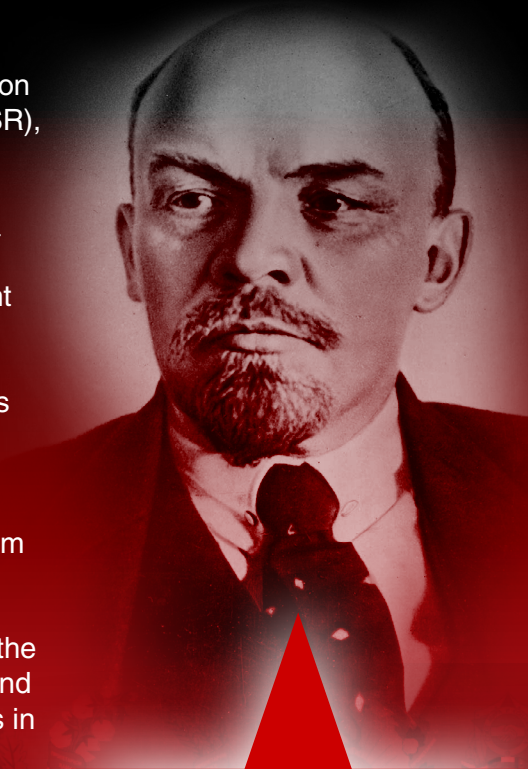
This deeply embedded antisemitism within so many streams of early leftist thought would be enormously amplified in the 20th century by the Soviet Union. Today's far left has adapted and updated this legacy. How did we get here?

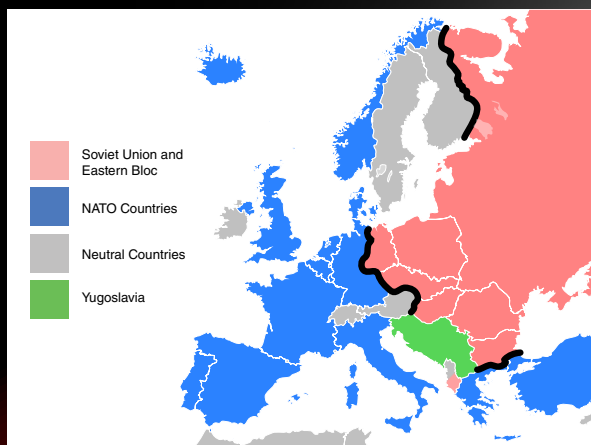
Soviet Union (1922–1991)

The first Marxist state was the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), or Soviet Union. In March 1917, Russia's corrupt and antisemitic Tsarist monarchy was toppled in a popular revolution. In its place, a democratic provisional government was established that began instituting democratic reforms. In October 1917 this government was toppled in a Marxist coup led by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

From 1922–1991 the Soviet system destroyed the economy, the environment, human rights, and individual freedoms in Russia, in the "republics" it forcefully occupied and annexed, and in its satellite states in Eastern Europe.

The Soviets under Joseph Stalin committed genocides and massive ethnic cleansing against numerous national groups. One of the most notorious was the deliberate starvation of millions of Ukrainians in 1932–33. Millions of other nationalities were "transferred" by the regime, including Azerbaijanis, Chechens, Crimean Tatars, Greeks, Estonians, and many more. Millions died in these ethnic purges.¹²





"Map of the Iron Curtain in Europe" by Sémhur / Wikimedia Commons / CC-BY-SA-3.0, or Free Art License

Tens of millions of innocent people perished in a network of Soviet labor/concentration camps. These "Gulags" were known for savagely cruel conditions. Throughout its entire history, the Soviet regime sought to silence every dissenting voice by physical, psychological, and economic means.

The Soviet Union became a brutally repressive totalitarian regime, governing more than ninety nationalities and ethnic minorities, most of which lived in their own territories now ruled by Moscow.

One of these minorities, the Yiddish-speaking Jews, did not have their own territory. Yet, because Jewish identity is both national and religious, Jews became particularly suspect. Long and deeply held anti-Jewish stereotypes in Russian culture were also carried over from pre-revolutionary times.

The Soviet's "Jewish Section": Using Jews to Undermine Jewish Identity

Lenin, a non-Jew, determined he could define Jewish identity for Jews. He denied that Jews are a living nation and believed the answer to the "Jewish



Question” in Russia was assimilation. “The idea of a separate Jewish people is politically reactionary and scientifically untenable,” he wrote.¹³

If Jews sought a national culture, this had to be opposed. “Whoever, directly or indirectly, puts forward the slogan of Jewish ‘national culture’ is ... an enemy of the proletariat, a supporter of all that is outmoded and connected with caste among the Jewish people; he is an accomplice of the rabbis and the bourgeoisie.”¹⁴

Millions of Soviet Jews spoke Yiddish, maintained their own institutions, and were mostly religious. To force them to assimilate, Lenin created a special section within the Communist Party designed to suppress Jewish culture.

This “Jewish Section,” called Yevseksiya in Russian, was made up of communists of Jewish origin. With the backing of the Soviet state, they became the harshest opponents of Judaism. Their stated purpose was the “destruction of traditional Jewish life, the Zionist movement, and Hebrew culture.”¹⁵ The Yevseksiya seized synagogues and Jewish schools and outlawed Hebrew literature. Only Yiddish, they decreed, could be the language of the Jewish working class, with the intent of eventually replacing Yiddish with Russian.

The Yevseksiya attacked Zionism, eventually banning it and forcing many Zionists into exile.

The Yevseksiya also served another purpose: deflecting charges of antisemitism away from the Soviet government. Its members willingly served as token Jewish shields against outside criticism of the Soviet regime’s assault on Jewish life.

In 1929, Lenin’s successor, Joseph Stalin, disbanded the Yevseksiya. Stalin’s secret police murdered many of its leaders in the Great Purges of the 1930s.

In 1939, Stalin signed a non-aggression pact with Hitler’s Germany. The two dictators agreed to divide up Poland. Germany took western Poland, and the Soviets took eastern Poland. The result was to deliver millions of Jews into Nazi hands, most of whom were murdered.

Throughout its history, the Soviet Union's treatment of Jews was horrific. The Soviets subjected Jews to discrimination at work, in education, and in housing. The regime fueled the fires of everyday antisemitism, while officially discouraging it for foreign consumption. The average Soviet citizen was indoctrinated to see Jews as the ultimate other: sinister, greedy, and cowardly.

Stalin enacted antisemitic policies, such as the 1952 Slansky show trial in Czechoslovakia, which involved the purge and execution of Jewish-born communists.

The “Night of the Murdered Poets” was the execution of thirteen Jews on August 12, 1952. They were falsely charged with espionage and treason. After their arrest they were tortured and held in isolation. Five of the victims were renowned Yiddish poets, the remaining eight were trade unionists, doctors, editors, and scientists.

The “Doctors’ Plot” of 1952–53 was another purge Stalin ordered against a group of doctors, almost all Jews, he accused of plotting to assassinate him. The purge was to include a major show trial and execution of the alleged plotters. The state-owned media launched a vicious antisemitic campaign that spoke of the “Zionist threat” to the USSR. The campaign’s planned second phase was to round up the Soviet Jewish population for mass deportation to concentration camps. The genocide was averted by Stalin’s death in 1953.¹⁶

Stalin’s main accusation against Jews was they were both “Zionists” and “rootless cosmopolitans.” That is, they were at the same time too tribal and too universalistic.



The Cold War: Soviet Antisemitism Goes Global

The anti-Jewish propaganda fostered by the ruling communists served the Soviet Union's aggressive foreign policy, particularly in the Middle East.

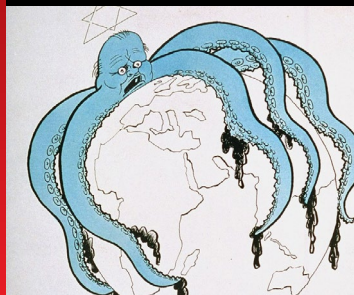
The Soviets had been supporting various Arab regimes (specifically Egypt and Syria) with military and economic aid since the early 1950s. These Arab states used their state-of-the-art Soviet arms to attack Israel from the Egyptian-occupied Gaza Strip and the Syrian-controlled Golan Heights, killing hundreds of Israeli civilians. It was the ongoing intensity of these attacks that led to Israel's decision to join Britain and France in the 1956 Suez war against Egypt.

Soviet meddling fueled the Arab–Israeli conflict for decades. Israel's victory in the 1967 Six-Day War (which the Soviet Union provoked by giving Egypt and Syria false intelligence about Israeli troop movements) was unexpected and went against Soviet regional interests. As such, Moscow was determined to destroy Israel's positive image in the West and the Third World, where Israel had established extensive diplomatic relations.

According to Lt. Gen. Ion Pacepa, one of the highest-ranking Soviet officials to defect to the West, “By 1972, [the KGB] disinformation machinery was working around the clock to persuade the Islamic world that Israel and the United States intended to transform the rest of the world into a Zionist fiefdom.”¹⁷ This included distributing Arabic copies of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* in the Arab world. The Soviet secret police, the KGB, deployed antisemitic “antizionist” propaganda throughout the Middle East, the West, and the developing world. Soviet propaganda references to Zionism and Israel as racist, imperialist, colonial, genocidal, and practicing apartheid were adopted and amplified by the Western New Left in the 1960s and '70s. Today's left carries on this legacy.



In the cartoon above, “Tentacles of the Octopus” from the Soviet journal *Krokodil*, an octopus with a Star of David reaches out its arms to control the world. It is strikingly similar to a 1938 cartoon (below) by Josef Plank, one of Nazi Germany's leading cartoonists. It also uses the imagery of an octopus with a Star of David encompassing the world with its tentacles.

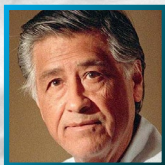


1975: The U.N. “Zionism Is Racism” Resolution —Made in Moscow

In 1975, during the height of the Cold War, the Soviet Union and its eastern European client states originated and pushed through a shameful resolution at the United Nations, equating Zionism with racism. Not a single democratic state voted for this resolution, but an automatic majority of Soviet bloc, Arab and Islamic states, and Soviet-leaning “non-aligned” states railroaded it through the General Assembly. In 1991, after the fall of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, the U.N. rescinded it.

A prominent example of how the American New Left of that era parroted Soviet ideology was when the New York-based Socialist Workers Party (SWP) attacked United Farm Workers icon César Chávez for his support of Israel.

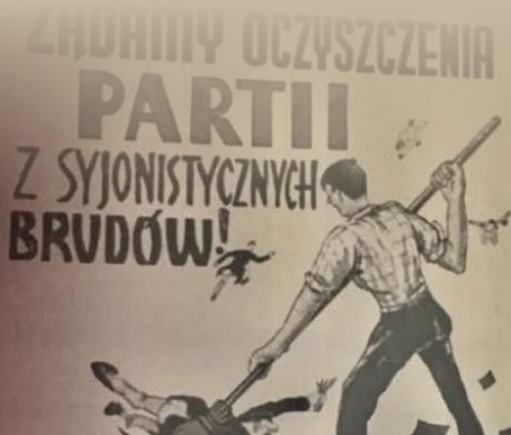
In March 1974, Chávez wrote:



“As individuals committed to the cause of freedom, concerned with the fate of victims of racial, ethnic and religious prejudice and discrimination, we feel a particular sense of solidarity with Israel’s struggle to survive as a democracy in peace ... [and] as persons of minority backgrounds, we share Israel’s aspirations to integrate people from vastly different backgrounds and to provide them all, including Jew and Arab alike, with the benefits of an advanced social system.”¹⁸

1968: Communist Poland Purges Jews

In 1968 the ruling Communist Party in Warsaw began targeting “Zionist agents” in its ranks. This quickly morphed into overt antisemitism when the Polish government declared thousands of Jews to be “enemies of the state.” Some 20,000 Jews fled. Only two decades earlier, the Nazis murdered 3 million Polish Jews, leaving only 50,000 alive. The communists pushed most of the survivors out.



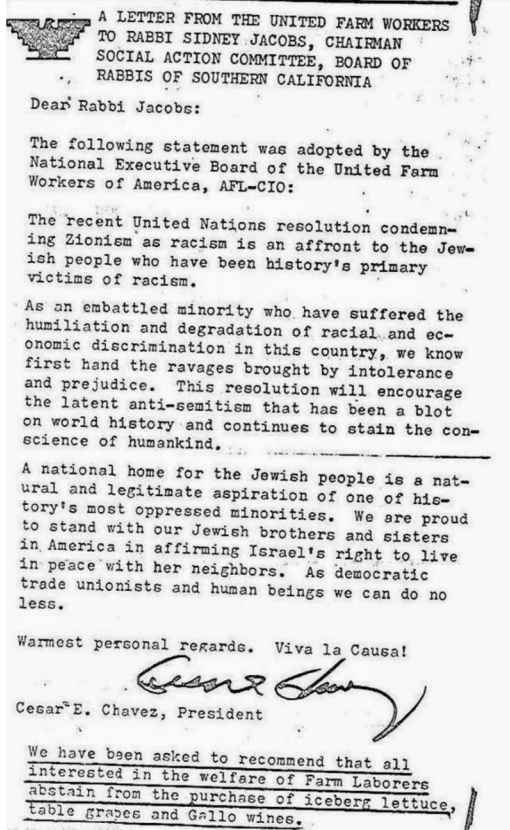
“We Demand the Party be purged of Zionist filth!” This was part of the large-scale 1968 antisemitic purge of Jews from the Polish Communist Party that resulted in half of the surviving remnant of Polish Jews to flee.

Parroting Soviet propaganda, the SWP assailed Chávez, attacked Israel as a “settler-colonialist state,” declared “Zionists” to be “the pawns of the American ruling class—the very people who are now trying to crush the Farm Workers Union,” and called for “the dismantling of the present State of Israel.”¹⁹ After the U.N. passed the Soviet-sponsored “Zionism is racism” resolution, an undeterred Chávez wrote a second letter condemning the vote (pictured right).

Zionism, Antizionism, and Antisemitism

Today’s antizionist left promotes the idea that the Jewish state and its Jewish supporters are causing great harm to humanity in general—and this evil must be stopped. This “singles out Israel and turns Zionism into ‘the universal equivalent of the deficiencies of all nationalism’ in order to reproduce old stereotypes about the ‘tribalism’ of the Jews.”²⁰ Jews and the Jewish state are presented as being all that is wrong in the world today.

A stark example of this was when former leader of the UK Labour Party Jeremy Corbyn and his supporters defended an antisemitic mural (pictured right) that portrayed hooked-nosed men, depicted as “the enemy of humanity,” playing Monopoly on a table supported by the bent backs of people of color.



The artist, Kalen Ockerman, acknowledged his target was Jews:

“Some of the older white Jewish folk in the local community had an issue with me portraying their beloved #Rothschild or #Warburg etc. as the demons they are.”²¹ This literal demonizing of prominent Jews was a central theme in Nazi antisemitic propaganda.²²

In speaking of the UK Labour Party, Alan Johnson could easily be describing the whole of the antizionist left:

[It] does not have a neo-Nazi problem. It does, however, have a problem with a modern anti-Zionism of a particularly excessive, obsessive, and demonizing kind, which has co-mingled with an older set of classical antisemitic tropes, images and assumptions to create antisemitic anti-Zionism. ... In short, that which the demonized Jew once was in older forms of antisemitism, demonized Israel now is in contemporary antisemitic anti-Zionism: all-controlling, the hidden hand, tricky (sic), always acting in bad faith, the obstacle to a better, purer, more spiritual world, uniquely malevolent, full of blood lust, uniquely deserving of punishment, and so on.²³

Criticizing Israeli Policies Is Not Antisemitic ... Except When It Is

The relationship between Jews and Israel often complicates efforts to identify and oppose antisemitism on the left.

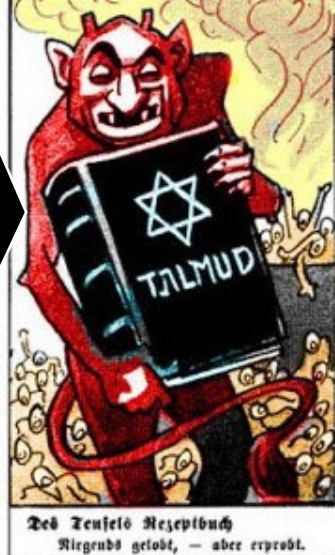
To be clear: criticism of Israeli policies is not necessarily antisemitic. However, when such criticism is made using anti-Jewish stereotypes or is used to deny Israel's very right to exist as a Jewish state, then it becomes antisemitic.

Pictured on the right is an example of how antisemitism is adaptable to many different political uses.



This placard was displayed at an anti-war march in San Francisco on February 16, 2003, organized by the International A.N.S.W.E.R. Coalition, a Marxist group.

This cartoon is from the Nazi newspaper *Der Stürmer*. Note the striking similarity between this and the image from the far-left rally in San Francisco (below left).



10 Ways the Antizionist Left Promotes Antisemitism

1 The core of modern left antisemitism is the assertion that Israel should not exist. The right of a people to exercise self-determination is a basic principle of international law. Israel is the embodiment of the Jewish people's right to self-determination. Antizionism means supporting the disempowerment of a historically oppressed people living in their ancestral homeland after suffering genocide and other forms of persecution as a minority across Europe and the Middle East. This perpetuates anti-Jewish oppression and is antisemitic in effect, if not intent.

2 The antizionist left paints Zionism as a demonic force existing outside of Jewish history. It denies or ignores that Zionism was conceived by Jews to liberate themselves from antisemitism and regain freedom in their ancestral home. Too many voices on the left imagine Zionism's only purpose was to be a "tool of imperialism," rather than a grassroots movement by and for the Jewish people. Echoing Lenin, these voices demand or imply that Jews must lose some or all of their Jewish identity and seek liberation only within a general movement of solidarity for all oppressed peoples. They ignore how, earlier, such efforts utterly failed the Jews of Europe and the Middle East in the 20th century. As Lenin did a century ago, today's antizionist left refuses to acknowledge that Zionism is not a minority viewpoint among Jews. Nearly half the world's Jews are Israelis. Of the other half, the vast majority supports and identifies with Israel. The antizionist left

denies the right of Jews to define their own identity, which would rightly be seen as racist if applied to other historically oppressed communities. This double standard is antisemitic.

3 The antizionist left claims that only Israel is responsible for the Arab–Israeli conflict. There is no accountability for Palestinian and Arab leaders who, according to historian Benny Morris and many others, were primarily responsible for the crisis. These distortions of fact are frequently used to justify antisemitism, manifested in such ways as denying the Jewish people's right to self-determination.

4 Blaming Israel and Israel alone for the 1948 Palestinian refugees is simplistic and can lead some to arrive at antisemitic conclusions. The tragic Palestinian refugee crisis of 1948 was the result of a complex process caused primarily by the decisions of Palestinian and Arab leaders to start a war to destroy the nascent State of Israel. Arab governments then prevented the establishment of a Palestinian state by conquering and occupying the Gaza Strip (Egypt) and the West Bank (Jordan). Finally, they prolonged the suffering of Palestinians for generations through discriminatory policies, including denial of rights to citizenship, work, resettlement, rehabilitation, health care, and education. The antizionist left also generally disregards the role of Arab governments in pushing out nearly 1 million Jews from across the Middle East, most of whom now make up the majority of Israel's Jewish population. Blaming Israel alone is not only antisemitic but also ultimately harmful to Palestinians because it shields their leaders from accountability and obstructs potential progress.



5 Uncritically supporting the Palestinian nationalist claim of a “right of return” to Israel, rather than to a future Palestinian state, is part of this shortsightedness. As President Obama acknowledged, the “right of return” would “extinguish Israel as a

Jewish state.” It is forcing Jews to accept the elimination of their own state. Omar Barghouti, a founder of the Boycott, Divest, and Sanctions movement against Israel (BDS), said in May 2020, “International law and the right of return? There won’t be any Zionist state like the one we speak about [in present-day Israel]. There will be two states: One democratic for all its citizens here [Palestine] and one democratic for all its citizens there [Israel]. ... The Palestinian minority will become a Palestinian majority of what is today called Israel.”²⁴

6 Insisting that the Palestinian refugee crisis is unique is profoundly ahistorical. It ignores how, during and after World War II, the Soviet Union brutally expelled some 12 to 14 million ethnic Germans from eastern Europe. Some 600,000 of these refugees died in Soviet slave labor camps and during their trek to a defeated and destroyed Germany. Unlike Arab states that continue to refuse Palestinians the right to settle and gain citizenship, West Germany did not force the ethnic German refugees to live in impoverished refugee camps for nearly a century. Instead West Germany gave them citizenship and integrated them into its society. Today, only German ultra-nationalists demand a “right of return” for the descendants of these refugees and call for reconquering territories like western Poland.²⁵

7 The antizionist left promotes Holocaust denial through minimization and inversion. This occurs when Israel is falsely compared with Nazi Germany. It is precisely because Israel is a Jewish state that this specific insult was created by the Soviet Union. Holocaust inversion trivializes what Jews endured and clouds understanding of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. It diminishes and mocks the still-powerful consequences of the Holocaust on Jews in both Israel and the Diaspora. Insulting the memory of the historical suffering of Africans at the hands of European empires would be racist. Yet, mocking and demeaning Jewish oppression are given a pass and even encouraged. That is antisemitic.

8 Demonizing language evoking “global Zionism” or “Zionist cabals” is heard in many leftist quarters. It echoes *The*



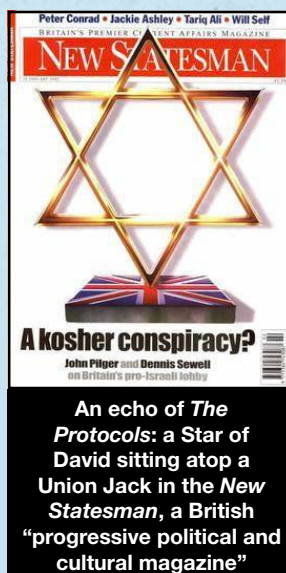
Top: Soviet-era cartoon using Jewish stereotypes comparing Israel to Nazi Germany; Below: placard at a 21st-century rally in San Francisco



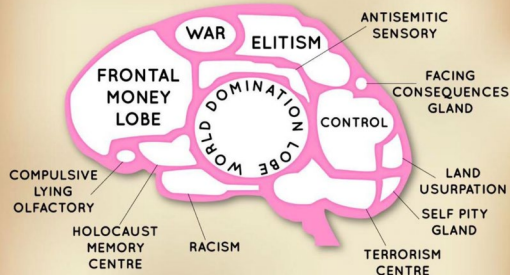
Protocols of the Elders of Zion, the antisemitic forgery that white supremacists frequently cite as proof of a global Jewish conspiracy. Leftist antisemitism includes accusations of “Zionist” control of governments, the media, cultural institutions, and economies. This, too, is a direct reflection of the antisemitic *Protocols* and even Hitler’s paranoid manifesto, *Mein Kampf*.

9 Leftist opposition to Jewish nationalism (Zionism) is posited as part of a general opposition to nationalism. A century ago, much of the left did oppose all forms of nationalism. But today’s antizionist left actively supports many nationalisms (including Palestinian), while uniquely opposing Zionism. The typical justification is that these nation-states represent people achieving liberation from colonialism. Israel was established in the Jewish ancestral home by a grassroots Jewish liberation movement, ending 1,900 years of oppression by numerous empires. Yet, the antizionist left dismisses and derides Israel’s primary purpose as a haven for the historically oppressed Jewish people. This is a double standard and is antisemitic.

10 The antizionist left accuses Israel of being “racist” because it embodies Jewish national self-determination. This echoes Soviet propaganda, which called Zionism a “racist ideology” springing from the “theory of the chosen people.”²⁶ This is an attack on Judaism, not Zionism, and is heard repeatedly today on the antizionist left. As with many other democratic states, Israel has a national minority with equal rights under the law. Many Arab nation-states discriminate against large non-Arab minorities, yet the left never advocates for dismantling those states. The antizionist left gives Palestinian nationalism a pass, though the Palestinian Authority’s constitutional Basic Law explicitly describes Palestinian identity as being exclusively Arab, its official religion as Islam, and Arabic as the sole official language. Hamas, the Islamist terrorist group ruling Gaza, calls for an exclusively Islamic state to replace Israel. Yet, the antizionist left is often uncritically supportive of these Palestinian nationalists while opposing Israel’s existence. This is a double standard and is antisemitic.



THE ZIONIST BRAIN



NOTE : COMPASSION FOR OTHERS GLAND IS NOT SHOWN DUE TO ITS SMALL AND UNDER DEVELOPED NATURE. BEST VIEWED UNDER A MICROSCOPE.

An “antizionist” poster at a 2015 rally in Amsterdam uses classic anti-Jewish stereotypes in the name of anti-racism.²⁷

The Persistence of Jew-Hatred Across Ideological Lines

Much of the antizionist left publicly rejects *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, an antisemitic Tsarist forgery alleging a Jewish conspiracy to control world finance, media, and governments.

Yet, the major themes of *The Protocols* are all too often employed by many on the far left when they paint Israel as a “major symbol of the evils of world imperialism” and “the product of a diabolical criminal conspiracy whose dimensions are global.”²⁸



Socialist Voice
@SocialistVoice

Replying to @CZMartin07

@CZMartin07 @shirleykay11 @stevetopple
@AndyCavster David Cameron's bedroom
wallpaper



2014 antisemitic tweet from the Socialist Voice saying the BBC and then British Prime Minister David Cameron are controlled by Jews

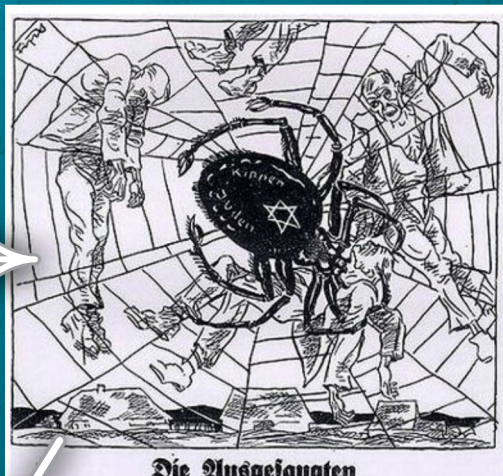


The Protocols of the Elders of Zion (France, 1910s)



Both the far right and far left dehumanize Jews, such as through the “Jewish Spider” imagery they have used for over a century.

Nazi Germany, 1930s



Soviet Union, 1972



Left: “Zionism is a weapon of Imperialism”: Antisemitic float at a May Day parade in Moscow, 1972. Note the spider as a stereotyped hooked-nosed Jew.

Image posted by British Labour activist Kayla Bibby on Facebook, 2018



Antizionist Antisemitism in Everyday Life

Ways in Which “Criticism of Israel” Becomes Antisemitic

Criticizing Israeli government policies should not be automatically viewed as antisemitic. However, anti-Israel rhetoric often crosses the line into antisemitism in numerous ways.

Accusing Jews of Being Deceitful When They Talk About Antisemitism

In 2006, left-wing British politician Jenny Tonge said, “The pro-Israeli lobby has got its grips on the Western world, its financial grips. I think they’ve probably got a certain grip on our party.”²⁹



Anti-Semitism Card

Get Out of
JAIL FREE



When your Zionist Agenda gets busted, play the Anti-Semitism Card.

Claim Everything. Admit Nothing.

When she was criticized for using language echoing *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, she responded indignantly, “I am sick of being accused of antisemitism when what I am doing is criticizing Israel and the state of Israel.”³⁰

David Hirsh, a British

Labour Party activist and author of the book *Contemporary Left Antisemitism*, writes, “Antisemites always pose as victims of the Jews, or of ‘Zionism’ or of the ‘Israel lobby.’ And the claim that Jews try to silence criticism of Israel by mobilizing a dishonest accusation against them is now recognizable as one of the defining tropes of contemporary antisemitism” by accusing Jews of deviously playing the “antisemitism card.”

Hirsh calls this the “Livingstone Formulation,” named for the former mayor of London, Ken Livingstone, who said in 2006, “For far too long the accusation of antisemitism has been used against anyone who is critical of the policies of the Israeli government, as I have been.”

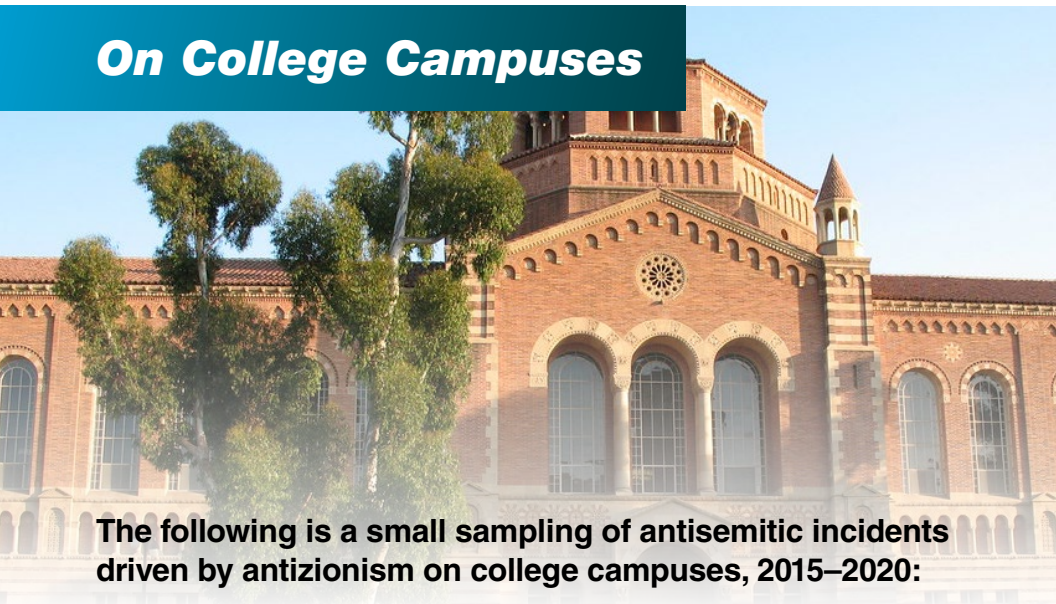
David Hirsh's "Livingstone Formulation"

The key elements of the Livingstone Formulation are:

1. It is a response to a charge of antisemitism.
2. It is a rhetorical device used by Jews to avoid accountability.
3. It forces the Jewish accusers to prove they are not part of a dishonest Jewish (or "Zionist") conspiracy.
4. It accuses people who raise the issue of antisemitism of not only being wrong but being wrong *on purpose*.

A variation of the Livingstone Formulation is the "Holocaust card." Hirsh describes this as the antisemitic notion that the source of "Zionist power" today is Zionism's "ability to mobilize Jewish victimhood and their ownership of the Holocaust. This, again, is an old libel, that the Jews are so clever and so morally lacking, that they are able to benefit from their own persecution."

On College Campuses



The following is a small sampling of antisemitic incidents driven by antizionism on college campuses, 2015–2020:

- At the University of Toronto, a Jewish graduate student formally requested the graduate student union to support a kosher food program. The union rejected the request, saying kosher food would be "pro-Israel."³¹
- Blake Flayton, a George Washington University student who is progressive and gay, wrote in the *New York Times* of being

“pushed to the fringes of a movement I thought I was at the heart of, marginalized as someone suspicious at best and oppressive at worst. This is because I am a Zionist.”³²

- A Jewish student leader at Montreal’s McGill University was pressured to resign from her position in the student union because she was going on a Hillel-sponsored trip to Israel. A non-Jewish student union leader who was going on the same trip was not asked to resign.
- A University of Michigan professor refused to give a student a letter of recommendation to study in Israel.
- A University of Southern California Jewish student resigned from her role as vice president of the student government after being harassed and attacked on social media due to her pro-Israel views.
- At Florida State University, the student senate president was found to have a long history of antisemitic posts on social media. Instead of apologizing, he doubled down on some of his antisemitic rhetoric, including vile comparisons between Israelis and Nazis (Holocaust inversion).
- At Syracuse University, a social media page aiming to expose bigotry and racism was used as a platform for a campaign to fire a professor for the “crime” of Zionism.
- In the University of California system, a petition focused on Black Lives Matter was used to promote an antisemitic conspiracy theory blaming Israel for the horrific murder of George Floyd and police brutality in America in general.
- A UCLA student was explicitly questioned about her ability to remain impartial as a student government leader because she is Jewish.
- A different UCLA student was harassed by a guest lecturer, who told the student that her Zionism was equivalent to white supremacy, claiming that Israel is racist. The professor in whose class the lecturer spoke later told the student she agreed with the guest lecturer about Zionism.

- At Stony Brook University, antizionist students compared the Jewish student group Hillel with neo-Nazis and the KKK and said it should therefore be expelled from campus.
- Duke University and University of North Carolina cosponsored a conference about Gaza, during which a Palestinian rapper used the stage to engage in blatant antisemitism.
- At New York University, antizionist students harassed and assaulted Jewish students at an Israel block party. Separately, a group of 51 student organizations at NYU signed a statement pledging to boycott not only Israel but also the two pro-Israel student organizations on campus, including eight off-campus groups, mostly Jewish.
- At UC Berkeley, anti-Israel protesters disrupted a talk by Holocaust scholar Professor Deborah Lipstadt.
- At Benedictine University, an antizionist student attended a talk by an octogenarian Holocaust survivor and harassed him by demanding that he condemn Israel's existence.
- A Stanford student resident assistant wrote on his Facebook page an antisemitic post threatening violence against fellow students.
- Also at Stanford, a candidate for the student senate was explicitly asked, "Given your strong Jewish identity, how would you vote on divestment?"
- At Drexel University, the word "Jew" and a swastika were graffitied next to a student's Israeli flag in a dorm room.



Intersectionality and Antisemitism

Intersectionality, or intersectional theory, was developed by Kimberlé Crenshaw, a professor at both Columbia and UCLA Law Schools, as a tool that could describe how the oppression of African American women works. The central observation is African American women are at the intersection of racism and patriarchy and experience each differently than white women and Black men. In recent years antizionists have been exploiting and weaponizing intersectionality to promote a destructive political agenda that excludes Jews and their concerns from social justice movements. They have constructed false claims that Israeli and American Jews are responsible for injustices suffered by people of color in the U.S. and elsewhere.

Progressive Jewish activists seeking involvement in social justice spaces are frequently subjected to political litmus tests, requiring them to denounce Israel. This has led many progressive Jews to wonder if they have a place in social justice movements. Where does this come from?

Jews do not fit the far left's traditional definition of marginalization. "Unlike other forms of racism, antisemitism constructs its subject (the Jews) as powerful, dominating, and privileged. If Jews are oppressors, then they cannot be included in intersectional coalitions, and their experience of oppression is erased. Thus, antisemites are easily able to infiltrate and hijack intersectional movements."³³

One result has been the injection of antisemitic stereotypes.

Blaming Israel and American Jews for U.S. Police Shootings of African Americans



Palestinian American activist Linda Sarsour has deployed intersectionality in her attacks on Israel. In one instance, she crossed the line into antisemitism when she told the 2018 national convention of the Islamic Society of North America that a major American Jewish organization, the Anti-Defamation League, was responsible for the

spate of killings by police of young Black men:

If you believe in the idea of ending police brutality and the misconduct of law enforcement officers across the country, then you do not support an organization [ADL] that takes police officers from America, funds their trips, takes them to Israel so they can be trained by the Israeli police and military, and then they come back here and do what? Stop and frisk, killing unarmed black people across the country.³⁴

Why is this antisemitic?

First, she is wrong on the facts. The ADL program is a counter-terrorism project that “provides a select number of American law enforcement officials with advanced education to prevent, prepare for and respond to terrorist threats and violence.” It was created after the September 11, 2001, attacks “to protect all people and communities.”³⁵

Despite Sarsour’s false allegations, the program does not provide training for daily policing methods. The Israeli police do not train American police to “stop and frisk” and “kill unarmed black people across the country.”

So it is a lie.

Nor has Sarsour, or anyone else, ever produced any evidence showing that the ADL (and other) law enforcement exchange programs with Israel cause police killings of Black people in America.

Sarsour also ignores the dozens of other exchange programs between U.S. police departments and those of other countries, choosing to focus solely on Israel.³⁶ International police training exchanges are the norm in today’s world, and the U.S. is no exception. Sarsour did not criticize, for instance, the China–U.S. Joint Liaison Group on Law Enforcement Cooperation organized by the official Chinese International Law Enforcement Training Programme of the Criminal Investigation Police University of China. Sarsour, a Muslim, is silent on the role China’s highly militarized police play in incarcerating an estimated 1 million Uyghur Muslims in concentration camps. She says nothing about how this may supposedly influence U.S. police treatment of minorities.

Sarsour's message: if not for American Jews, their institutions, and the Jewish state, the police would not be killing Black people. This plays heavily on the dangerous stereotype of Jews being powerful and hidden puppeteers who are behind all major social ills. It creates the image of "the Jews" as essentially evil.

This is fundamentally antisemitic.

Jews as "White" / Israeli Jews as "White Supremacists"

Many leftist antizionists promote the theme that Israel, Zionism, and American Jewish organizations are "white supremacists." Meanwhile, white supremacists believe Jews are *non-whites* plotting to destroy "white" civilization.

Getting It from Both Sides



A far-left antizionist poster equates Zionism with white supremacy.



A 21st-century white supremacist leaflet views Jews as non-white enemies of the "White race."

This antizionist left accusation inverts the neo-Nazi message by combining the supposed whiteness of Jews and their liberation movement, Zionism, with the fear of "Jewish power." Together, the antizionist and neo-Nazi messages are two sides of the same antisemitic coin.

This stereotype of Jews as a malign force is sourced in white supremacy. This creates a dangerous situation that divides white supremacy's primary victims: people of color and Jews.

Homogenizing and Othering Jews

The misuse of intersectional theory to attack Israeli and American Jews also flattens Jewish identity, experience, history, and culture into a homogenous whiteness. It deprives Jews of their own narrative, including oppression and genocide. It ignores the millions of non-white Jews who are, in actuality, the majority in Israel. And it “others” Jews.

This is antisemitism.

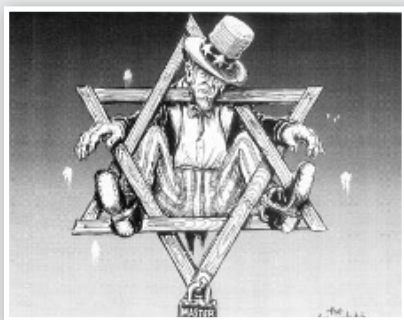


**The majority of Israeli Jews
are people of color.**

Fear of “Jewish Power”—Then and Now

Connecting Jews with power in a conspiratorial manner is antisemitic. This theme has been used for centuries to rationalize anti-Jewish violence. Nazi Germany used this stereotype to justify its genocide of European Jews.

Today, the antizionist left often mirrors this antisemitism. One example is the cartoon by John Kloss (below, left) that appeared in the progressive *Sacramento News & Review* in 2006. It portrayed Uncle Sam held captive in a Star of David stockade. It is strikingly similar to a 1943 cartoon called “Nailed Down” in the Nazi weekly *Lustige Blätter* (below, right) that portrayed world powers (including Uncle Sam) held captive to Jewish power.



Sacramento, California, 2006



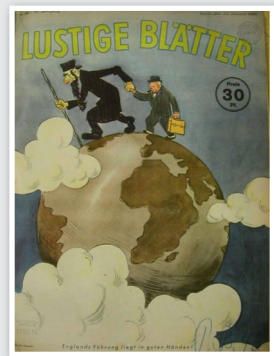
Nazi Germany, 1943

This antisemitic message gained mainstream credibility when the *New York Times* published a cartoon in 2019 of a blind U.S. president being led on a leash by an Israeli prime minister. This, too, has its precedent in Nazi Germany, where the *Lustige Blätter* published a cartoon with a caricatured Jew leading British Prime Minister Winston Churchill by the hand.

Coincidentally, the *New York Times* cartoon was published on the same day a white supremacist attacked a San Diego synagogue, killing one person and wounding several others. After receiving massive criticism, the *New York Times* issued an apology.



New York Times, April 27, 2019



Lustige Blätter, October 25, 1940

Banning Jewish Symbols: The Chicago Dyke March

In 2017 the Chicago Dyke March expelled three Jewish women carrying rainbow Star of David flags to express their identities as Jews and lesbians. Some other marchers complained to leaders of the Chicago Dyke March Collective, who then demanded that the Jewish women leave.



The *Windy City Times*, a Chicago-based LGBTQ newspaper, reported, “One Dyke March collective member ... said the women

were told to leave because the flags ‘made people feel unsafe,’ that the march was ‘anti-Zionist’ and ‘pro-Palestinian.’”³⁷

One of the women ejected from the march said, “It was a flag from my congregation which celebrates my queer, Jewish identity, which I have done for over a decade marching in the Dyke March with the same flag.”



Gretchen Rachel Hammond

Gretchen Rachel Hammond, the award-winning reporter for the *Windy City Times* who broke the story, faced widespread antisemitic harassment. “Hammond, who is Jewish, told *JTA* that in the wake of her article, she received dozens of threatening anonymous phone calls. She said one caller called her a ‘kike,’ while others told her she should lose her job or said she ‘betrayed’ the LGBT community.”³⁸

One person threatened, “I’m going to get your bitch ass fired.” That is exactly what happened when the *Windy City Times* terminated her employment.

The Dyke March then tweeted, “Zio tears replenish my electrolytes!”—using a term, “Zio,” invented by white supremacist David Duke as a slur for Jews. The Dyke March also released a statement calling Zionism “an inherently white-supremacist ideology.”³⁹

David Duke took notice of the Dyke March’s use of his antisemitic “Zio” meme and boasted about it on his website, using it as a springboard for an antisemitic attack on “Jewish racists.”



Chicago Dyke March @DykeMarch... · 14m ▾

Replying to @DykeMarchChi

Zio tears replenish my electrolytes! 🍷



RADIO SHOW

Home - Radio Show

Dr. Duke & Pastor Dankof - Jewish Racists Scream Bloody Murder about Duke's 'Zio' Meme - Zio Tears Replenish my electrolytes!

Dr. Duke & Pastor Dankof - Jewish Racists Scream Bloody Murder about Duke's "Zio" Meme - Zio Tears Replenish my electrolytes!

JULY 17, 2017 / 1,175 VIEWS

Antisemitism

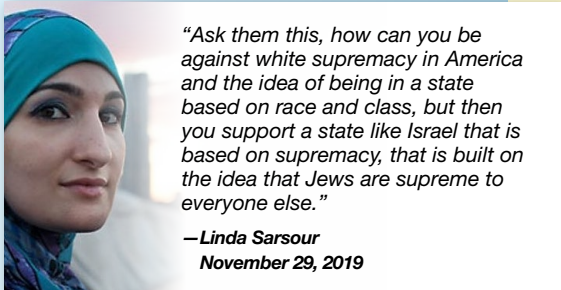
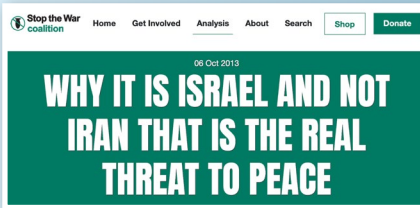
Where Far Left and Far Right Reflect Each Other

Antizionist Left

David Duke



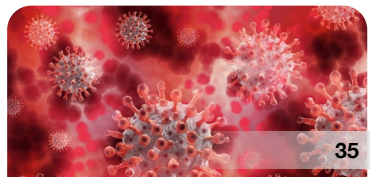
Rebel Voice: far-left online journal (Ireland)



Website of the far-left Basque political party, Herriatar Batasuna



"Today, March 14, we emphatically declare that the coronavirus is an instrument of the Third World War that has unleashed Yankee Zionist imperialism. The Anglo-Saxon capitalist and Zionist elite that is the enemy of all Humanity has taken a further step in its criminal and genocidal offensive."




Conclusion

Over the centuries, antisemitism has shown its adaptability to new cultures and political ideologies, including the left. Professor Alan Johnson, a British Labour Party activist and lifelong socialist, likens antisemitism to a piano and “each historic form of antisemitism is the specific tune played on that piano. There have been many ‘pianists’—i.e., many ideologies, religions, movements and leaders—that have adapted the core demonology about the Jews to suit their own world views and their own political agendas.”⁴⁰

Johnson points out:

There is a new form of antisemitism which has been the consequence of the development of a Jewish State—Israel—and the demonization of it. “Zionism,” properly understood as a movement of national liberation for the Jewish people, is demonized through the antisemitic ideas of the “The Zios,” “The Zionists,” “Global Zionism” and “the all-powerful Jewish Lobby”. In tandem with earlier forms of antisemitism, these conceptions of Zionism see the Zionists as still malign, still controlling the world for Jewish purposes, and still string-pulling. ... Not a lot has changed, except in post-Holocaust times, the antisemite tries to remember to say “Zionist” not “Jew.” This is antisemitism “dressed up” as anti-Zionism.





“We live in an age in which millions of people are exposed daily to some variant of the argument that the challenges of the world they live in are best explained in terms of ‘Israel.’”

Prof. David Nirenberg
Anti-Judaism: The History of a Way of Thinking

FOR
WORLD PEACE
ISRAEL MUST
BE DESTROYED

Suggested Reading:

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Take Action!

Whether on campus, in the community, at work, in school, or on social media, you are not helpless in the face of antisemitism. Here is a list of some actions you may wish to consider:

- 1.** If it sounds antisemitic, it probably is. So, call it out, whether on social media, at the "water cooler," or wherever. That said, don't assume everyone is a malicious antisemite. Many people are simply ignorant and can change if you engage them constructively about antisemitism and educate them.
- 2.** Antisemitism exists not only among our political rivals but even in our own political circles. It comes from all sides. Call it out when you hear it.
- 3.** Report incidents of antisemitism to the proper agencies and institutions (law enforcement, campus administration, StandWithUs, etc.). To report an incident to the StandWithUs Center for Combating Antisemitism, visit StandUpToHatred.com/report.
- 4.** If it is clear you are confronting a malicious antisemite, arguing is a waste of time. They are baiting you, claiming a right to

interrogate you. Don't fall into that trap. If someone calls you a pig, don't waste your time arguing that you are not a pig. But DO educate yourself on the contemporary manifestations of antisemitism. Learn more at StandUpToHatred.com.

5. We are not alone. We have allies in all faith and ethnic communities. Develop relationships with members of these communities.

6. A rising tide floats all boats. All forms of bigotry should be of deep concern to us. Just as we expect our fellow citizens to stand with us against antisemitism, we need to stand with them when they are threatened.

7. Support Israel. Did you know that Israel's 6.7 million Jews make up almost half of the world's Jewish population? Supporting Israel can mean many things.

- Support it when it is in danger, particularly if there is a war.
- Support its people even if you disagree with some of its government's policies.
- Visit Israel, meet its diverse population of Jews, Muslims, Christians, Druze, and Baha'is.
- Read Israeli online newspapers in English and learn about its politics, dilemmas, challenges, achievements.
- **Support groups like StandWithUs so we can continue telling Israel's amazing story and fighting antisemitism.**



For an in-depth study of these topics, please visit the following.

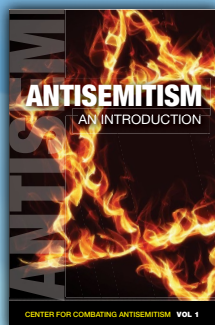
• **StandWithUs.com/booklets-footnotes**

Access accompanying bibliographies and footnotes for this and other volumes in the series.

• **StandWithUs.com/booklets**

Find complete, digital versions of this and other volumes, including their bibliographies and footnotes.

For more in-depth reading on this complex subject, the StandWithUs Center for Combating Antisemitism has published dozens of booklets, including a four-part introduction to antisemitism in all its permutations:



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