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"I swore never to be silent whenever and wherever human beings endure suffering and humiliation.

We must always take sides.

Neutrality helps the oppressor, never the victim. Silence encourages the tormentor, never the tormented."

-Nobel Laureate and Holocaust Survivor, Elie Wiesel, 1986

Introduction

This booklet is the first volume in the "Antisemitism 101" series produced by the **Center for Combating Antisemitism**, a division of StandWithUs (StandUptoHatred.com). Each booklet will examine specific aspects of contemporary antisemitism, which is propagated by three ideologically disparate groups: the far right, radical Islamists, and the far left.

This volume is an introduction to the history of antisemitism. Volume 2 addresses white supremacy and far-right antisemitism, Volume 3 focuses on Islamist antisemitism, and Volume 4 examines antisemitism on the far left. Each volume has an accompanying bibliography and recommended action items.

This series is necessary because antisemitism, which retreated into the shadows after the horrors of the Holocaust (1938–1945), is surging back into the mainstream. Further, while there is much talk of antisemitism, many people are unfamiliar with its ideologies, motivations, history, mechanisms, and language. Well-intentioned individuals, particularly those in positions of public leadership, often do not recognize antisemitism or understand how it works. This frequently results in non-action by university administrators, clergy, politicians, law enforcement, and educators. This allows antisemitism to grow until it is expressed through acts of violence, which have increased in frequency in recent years.

- "2019 witnessed a rise of 18% in major violent cases compared to 2018 ... and a rise in most other manifestations antisemitic expressions continue to infiltrate from the fringes of society into the mainstream."
- The 2020 coronavirus pandemic unleashed numerous antisemitic conspiracy theories from the far right, the far left, and radical Islamists.
- "In the U.S., a new phenomenon is emerging, one of increased violent antisemitic manifestations, with shooting sprees and numerous casualties, inspired mainly by right-wing ideologies as well as by certain groups within the Black Hebrew Israelites and the Nation of Islam."²

The October 2018 massacre of 11 Jews by a white supremacist terrorist at the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh raised awareness that antisemitism is a clear and present danger. Other antisemitic attacks followed, perpetrated by people from diverse backgrounds:

- The fatal shooting near a German synagogue on Yom Kippur, October 9, 2019
- A fatal shooting at a San Diego synagogue in April 2019, killing one
- The December 10, 2019, killing of three people at a kosher grocery store in Jersey City, New Jersey, which began with a killing of a police officer earlier that day. (The intended target was a Jewish school in the same building.)
- The December 28 machete attack at a Monsey, New York, synagogue that left one person dead and four people wounded, one critically
- Ongoing, almost daily, assaults on Orthodox Jews in Brooklyn, New York
- Death threats and vandalism of Jewish homes, businesses, synagogues, and community centers

Other indicators confirm that lethal antisemitism is not a thing of the past:

- Though Jews make up just under two percent of all Americans, in 2017,³ they were subjected to 58 percent of all religiously motivated hate crimes. In 2018, the FBI reported that Jews were the victims in 56.9 percent of all religiously motivated hate crimes, including 12 killed that year.⁴
- Jews were the "most targeted minority group" for hate crimes committed in Canada from 2017 to 2019.⁵
- Australia saw a 59 percent increase in reported antisemitic attacks in 2018.⁶

The situation in Europe is even more dire. As a result of an increase in assaults, vandalism, and discrimination, a majority of European Jews believe that antisemitic hate speech and harassment is the new normal, to the point that many of them fear identifying as Jews.

- In France antisemitic attacks in 2018 rose by 74 percent over 2017⁷ and included the murder of 85-year-old Mireille Knoll, a Holocaust survivor.⁸ Thousands of French Jews left and resettled in Israel and elsewhere.
- Antisemitic incidents in the UK are at a record high, with 1,652 reported in 2018.⁹
- Antisemitic float at street carnival in Aalst, Belgium
- In Germany, there were 2,032 antisemitic crimes—including two murders—in 2019, a 13 percent rise over 2018.¹⁰
- In Sweden antisemitic hate crimes rose by 53 percent in 2018.
- In the Netherlands, anti-Jewish hate crimes increased by 19 percent in 2018.
- In Belgium, "different forms of Jewhatred exist alongside each other. They derive from the extreme right and from the extreme left, and recently also from the Muslim population. There is also a sort of 'everyday antisemitism' in the form of stereotypes."12 In March 2019, at a street carnival in Aalst, Belgium, giant puppets of stereotyped Jews with a rat perched on money bags were paraded down the street. In 2018, a Belgian trade union leader wrote in a far-left newspaper that Israel kidnaps Palestinian children and murders them for their organs.13

The Mainstreaming of Antisemitism

These violent assaults on Jews have been accompanied by the mainstreaming and normalizing of antisemitic discourse in major media,



This poster displayed at an anti-war rally in San Francisco incorporates numerous antisemitic slurs: Jews are the cause of wars, Jews cause wars for Israel, Jews are Nazis, Jews control the world, today's Jews are not the "real Jews," Jews idolize money, Jews are the devil, Jews are white supremacists, Jews are capitalists, Jews are Zionist pigs, and Jews influence America.

public forums, universities, and mostly on social media platforms. This mainstreaming also includes the use of overt antisemitism in the guise of antizionism.

One striking feature about antisemitism is its adaptability from one civilization to another. Its history can be traced back to Greco-Roman civilization. Anti-Jewish theologies of the church adopted and amplified this hate over the centuries, fertilizing European soil for the emergence in the 19th century of a post-religious racialized Jew hatred that would eventually morph into Nazism and its industrialized genocide of six million Jews in the Holocaust.

Today, antisemitism is often expressed as "antizionism," an ideology that claims to be "only criticizing Israel." Yet, too often antizionist discourse contains the same or similar anti-Jewish stereotypes as those of antisemitism. Our booklet series will explore this in greater detail.

"Antisemitism" and "Antizionism" - A note on spelling

Antisemites don't oppose "Semitism." They hate Jews.

The term "antisemitism" (or "anti-Semitism") is problematic for a number of reasons. Jews didn't invent the term. It was created in the 19th century by people who hated Jews.

"Semitic" or "Aryan" races are a fiction. Originally "Aryan" and "Semitic" were used to describe language families. Semitic languages include Hebrew and Arabic. Aryan languages include those belonging to Indo-European tongues.

In the 19th century, European racists began viewing the world as a permanent life-and-death struggle between the white "Aryan



race" and the "Semitic Jewish race." In 1879, German journalist Wilhelm Marr coined the term "antisemitism" to give a "scientific" facade to his brand of Jew hatred.

Since the Nazi genocide of six million Jews under the cover of World War II, "antisemitism" has come to be universally understood as meaning anti-Jewish hatred.

Anti-Zionism or Antizionism?

The "Zionism" that the vast majority of antizionists oppose doesn't exist. Rather, antizionists oppose the many ugly caricatures of Zionism they created, often retooling old antisemitic myths. David Hirsh, a professor of sociology at the University of London, wrote:

Antizionists created a whole new "-ism" around their campaign against Israel—a way of thinking about the whole world. Within this antizionist framework, a caricature of Israel is endowed with huge symbolic significance. It is a significance which relates only here and there to the actual State of Israel. ... If the Palestinians stand, in the antizionist imagination, as symbolic of all the victims of "the west" or "imperialism," then Israel is thrust into the center of the world as being symbolic of oppression everywhere. Like antisemitism, antizionism imagines Jews as being central to all that is bad in the world.¹⁴

Dropping the hyphen in "anti-Zionism" describes it for what it is: an ideology that has very little to do with the actual meaning of Zionism.



Antisemitism: A Brief History Of The Longest Hatred

THE GRECO-ROMAN WORLD

The renowned scholar Robert S. Wistrich describes antisemitism as "the longest hatred,"¹⁵ tracing it to the ancient Greco-Roman world. The Jews are an ancient people, with a history stretching back some 3,400 years, during which time they encountered many different civilizations.

These encounters left varying impressions on Greco-Roman writers, who held a belief in the superiority of their own civilization,

expressing xenophobia toward Jews and other cultures by labeling them "barbarians." Many Roman philosophers saw Judaism as a direct challenge to the basis of their culture.

Some examples:

• Paganism vs Monotheism:
Romans believed in a
pantheon of gods. Jews,
however, believe in ethical
monotheism, which proposes
there is but one single, invisible
god who created the universe
according to a moral and eternal
plan. Romans took offense over
Jewish rejection of their gods. A
stereotype of Jewish "arrogance"
began to circulate.

Detail from the Arch of Titus (see below) in Rome (81 CE) depicting Roman soldiers' removal of the Jewish menorah from the Temple in Jerusalem

- **Food:** Pork was a favorite Roman dish. Jewish dietary laws (*kashrut*), however, forbid pork, preventing Jews from participating in Roman feasts. Romans took this as a personal affront, giving rise to the stereotype of Jews as anti-social.
- Sabbath: Jews refrained from work every seventh day, the Sabbath. Romans had no weekly day of rest and labeled Jews as lazy and unproductive.

Rome ruled its empire with brutality, including its occupation of Judea, causing numerous rebellions by subject peoples. In 67 CE¹⁶ Judea rose in a mass rebellion that Roman legions crushed in 70 CE. Jerusalem and its Temple, the center of Jewish life, were destroyed. Another Jewish rebellion erupted in 115 CE. Again, in 132 CE, Jews rebelled, but Rome crushed the uprising, killing nearly 600,000 Jews according to one Roman historian.¹⁷

CHRISTIANITY

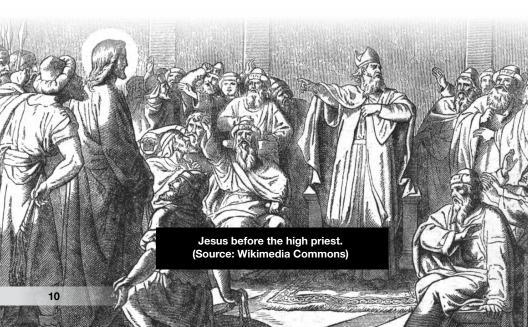
The growth and spread of Christianity, beginning 2,000 years ago, also brought with it a turning point in the history of antisemitism.

Jesus and his disciples were Jews born in Roman-occupied Judea. They originally focused on spreading Jesus' teachings to other Jews.

This was a turbulent period in Judea. Jewish relations with their Roman rulers were tense, and Jewish society was fragmented into different rival factions. The primary ones were the aristocratic Sadducees and their main rivals the Pharisees, who formed the basis of rabbinic Judaism practiced today. The early Christians were one of many other small Jewish factions.

Early Christian Teachings About Jews

The New Testament narrative tells of Jesus' three years of intense



religious activity in the Galilee. He then traveled to Jerusalem, where he came into conflict with the Jewish authorities of that time. According to the New Testament, Jesus' trial and crucifixion were the result of a conspiracy by Jewish "priests, scribes and elders" who "plotted to take Jesus by trickery and kill Him" and give him to the Romans¹⁸ to be executed by crucifixion.¹⁹ In this narrative, the Jewish leaders are in the background but ultimately held responsible for manipulating the circumstances in order to have Jesus put to death on the cross, a Roman method of execution.

Christianity separated from Judaism in a gradual process several centuries after Jesus' death. When Christianity became the Roman Empire's state religion, "[t]he religious quarrel between two small and relatively powerless sects, both at odds with the pagan world in which they lived, was suddenly transformed into an unequal relationship between a triumphant state religion and a beleaguered religious minority."²⁰ It was no longer politically acceptable to interpret the New Testament in a way that cast Romans as the "bad guys" in the story of Jesus' death. Since texts are open to multiple understandings, the early church shifted the blame for Jesus' death to "the Jews" collectively.

Replacement Theology

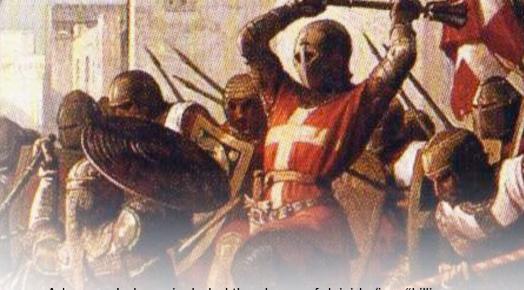
In early church theology, portions of the New Testament were

interpreted so that "the Jew" became "the other." A tradition called Adversus Judaeos (Latin for "Against the Jews") developed. It was "a body of Christian polemical texts specifically directed against Jews, which were written from the first century to at least the 18th century CE." Central to Adversus Judaeos was the doctrine of replacement theology, which asserts "the Jews" lost their status as God's chosen



Killing of Jews during the First Crusade. (Note the "Jewish hat." [See page 14.])

people, having been replaced by the "new Israel" (the church), making the Jews the "old Israel."



Adversus Judaeos included the charge of deicide (i.e., "killing of a god"), claiming "the Jews" murdered Jesus, believed by Christians to be the son of God and God incarnate. This literally demonized Jews, portraying them as the "Devil incarnal [sic]."²²

Thus, Jews were perceived as the "inveterate enemy of mankind"²³ for which a "defense" was required. "Defense" meant systematic discrimination, mass expulsions, massacres, forced conversions, and physical isolation.

The Crusades

Between 1096 and 1270, a series of crusades was launched from Christian Europe. Ostensibly the Crusaders sought to recapture the holy land from the Muslims, who in turn took it from the Christian Byzantine Empire in the seventh century.

While the Crusaders' main objective was the holy land, the Jews of Europe—also seen as enemies—were their first target.

The First Crusade (1096–1099)

The First Crusade set out in 1096 from southern France toward Constantinople. The Crusaders passed through the Rhineland in today's Germany, where they destroyed many Jewish communities. All along their way to the Holy Land, they murdered tens of thousands of Jews.

Once the Crusaders arrived in Jerusalem, they laid siege to the city, conquered it, and massacred all its Muslim and Jewish defenders.

The Second Crusade (1147–1150)

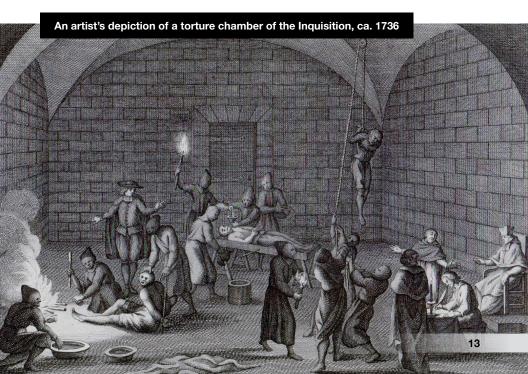
A second crusade was launched over fears the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem was under threat. Again, Crusaders massacred many Jews in the Rhineland. This time, however, both ecclesiastical and secular authorities sought to prevent further violence against Jews.

The Third Crusade (1189–1192)

In 1187, Salah-a-Din (Saladin) retook Jerusalem in the name of Islam. A Third Crusade was declared in 1189 to reconquer Jerusalem. Again, anti-Jewish massacres ignited. In England, York's Jews took refuge in the castle keep, while those left in the town were massacred. The castle keep was then besieged and about to fall when the 150 trapped Jews chose martyrdom and committed suicide.

The Spanish Inquisition (1478–1834)

Established in 1478 by Spain's King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, the Inquisition's original purpose was to oppose heresy in Catholic Spain. The Inquisition is remembered for its brutality, including torture to extract confessions and mass burnings at the stake of "heretics." Many Jews were among the victims.



Among the main targets of the Inquisition were the "New Christians," Jews who feigned conversion nearly a century earlier

in 1391 after being given the choice of converting to Christianity or death. The Spanish "Old Christians" disparagingly called them maranos, meaning swine. The "New Christians" were legally stigmatized by the *limpieza de sangre* (blood purity) law. This was the first time in history that Jews were classified along racial lines, setting a precedent for Nazi Germany. On March 31, 1492, Ferdinand and Isabella gave Spanish Jews a choice: expulsion or conversion. Most chose expulsion, and some 160,000 Jews left, mostly going to the Muslim Ottoman Empire. Those who converted remained under suspicion. Many remained Catholics but secretly kept Jewish traditions in their homes.



Jewish hat, England, 13th century

Ghettos and the "Jew Badge"

To physically separate Jews from Christians in western Europe, *ghettos* were establishment. These were walled districts, locked and guarded at night, where Jews were forced to live. The word ghetto likely comes from the Italian *getto*, meaning to pour molten metal into a mold. The first walled Jewish ghetto was established in Venice in 1516 in the area of the city that was once a foundry.

The ghetto was a refinement of a centuries-old practice that segregated Jews into specified areas of Europe's



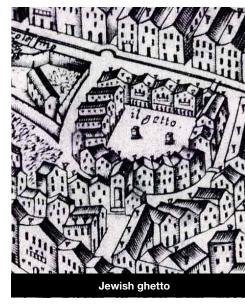
cities. In 1179 and 1215, the Roman Catholic Church's Lateran Councils called for segregating Jews and forcing them to wear distinctive clothing to identify and debase them. One such badge was the "Jewish hat," made to look preposterous to humiliate the wearer.

In 1262 Prague segregated its Jews into a ghetto, and in 1460 Frankfurt established a "Jews' Alley." Elsewhere in Europe, Jews were also forced into ghettos. In 1555 Pope Paul IV issued a proclamation forcing Rome's Jews to live in a ghetto.

Ghettos were impoverished, unsanitary, dangerous, and overcrowded. They could not expand, forcing the inhabitants to build up, creating the first "skyscrapers" of up to six or seven floors. Rome's ghetto near the Tiber River often flooded.

Being locked in at night, the Jews were easy targets for pogroms.

One such attack was the Fettmilch riot of 1614 in Frankfurt.





The Deadly Blood Libel: from 15th-Century Italy to 21st-Century San Diego

In the Middle Ages, fantastical myths emerged accusing Jews of murdering Christian children and baking their blood into the Passover *matzah* (unleavened bread). Even in the 21st century, this myth—known as the blood libel—still gets traction.

In 1475 the body of a Christian boy named Simon was found in Trent, Italy. A Franciscan friar, Bernardinus of Feltre, incited against the Jews, claiming they had killed Simon to bake his blood into the Passover matzah. Authorities arrested all the Jews in the city, and, after interrogations involving torture, some of the Jews "confessed" to the crime of ritual murder. Leaders of the Jewish community were burned at the stake and beheaded.²⁵

So deeply woven into the fabric of European societies were these beliefs that this medieval episode left a lasting literary, visual, and racist legacy over the centuries that is sometimes still used up to the present. The Nazis drew from this deep reservoir of anti-Jewish hate as a means of gaining power in Germany in 1933.

On April 27, 2019, a synagogue in Poway, near San Diego, was attacked. The shooter killed one person and injured several others. His online manifesto invoked the blood libel: "You are not forgotten Simon of Trent, the horror that you and countless children have endured at the hands of the Jews will never be forgiven."²⁶



In March 2020, Giovanni Gasparro released a new painting called

The Martyrdom of St. Simon of Trento for Jewish ritual murder, depicting grinning Jews as they collect blood from a child's body.

After the Holocaust: Christians Rethink Theology on Jews and Judaism

The shock of the Holocaust resulted in a serious reflection by major western Christian churches. In 1965 the Second Vatican Council issued the Nostra Aetate "Declaration on the Relation"

of the Church with Non-Christian Religions." The document unequivocally renounced the charge that "the Jews" were collectively responsible for the death of Jesus.²⁷ It forbade antisemitism for Christians and renounced replacement theology, calling God's covenant with the Jewish people "eternal."

Many Protestant churches also began a long process of reassessing their beliefs, reaching similar theological conclusions as the Roman Catholic Church.

This reexamination of Christian teachings opened the gateway for a historic flowering in Jewish–Christian relations that has resulted in growing mutual respect between many Christians and Jews. There are many positive developments in Jewish–Christian relations:

The Roman Catholic Church

In 1904, Theodor Herzl, founder of modern Zionism, met with Pope Pius X, hoping for Vatican support. Instead, the pope told Herzl, "The Jews have not recognized our Lord, therefore we cannot recognize the Jewish people."

In sharp contrast, when Pope John Paul II (1978–2005) came to Israel, he visited the Yad VaShem Holocaust Memorial and placed a letter at Jerusalem's Western Wall asking for God's forgiveness. He assured "the Jewish people the Catholic Church ... is deeply saddened by the hatred, acts of persecution and displays of antisemitism directed against the Jews by Christians at any time and in any place."²⁸

Pope Francis (2013–present) went even further, saying, "To attack Jews is antisemitism, but an outright attack on the State of Israel is also antisemitism."²⁹

Evangelical Protestants

Evangelical Christians are not a monolith, but they comprise the largest pro-Israel bloc of voters in the United States. This is largely based on theological considerations, specifically a biblical belief that God gave the Land of Israel to the Jewish people, with whom God made an eternal covenant that is essential to the Christian faith.³⁰

While most Jews appreciate this support, there are often sharp differences over social issues with the largely politically liberal Jewish community.

Mainline Protestants

The situation is reversed in some "mainline" or liberal Protestant denominations. Most American Jews and liberal Protestants embrace progressive religious, social, and political views. While mainline Protestants have taken very similar theological stances on Jews and Judaism as the Catholic Church, there are serious strains over Israel.

Within many of these churches, an overtly anti-Israel movement has emerged. Many liberal Christian allies have pushed back internally, asking why Israel, a democracy, is singled out every year in numerous resolutions while most other Middle Eastern states, all dictatorships, are ignored. This obsessive focus on Israel is criticized as involving unresolved issues of antisemitism within these churches.

ISLAM

Islam and the Jews in History

The Muslim–Jewish relationship began in the Arabian Peninsula of the seventh century, where Jews had been living for centuries. By the sixth century CE, "Jews were not only to be found in considerable numbers in Arabia but were well integrated into the life and culture of

the peninsula."³¹ By the time of Muhammad, Islam's founder, Jews spoke a Judeo-Arabic dialect, were organized into tribes, and had "assimilated many of the values of desert society."³²

Islam's holy book, the Qur'an, describes the interactions between Muhammad and Jews—offering an Islamic theological view of these events. Historians, however, do not rely on theology but seek to understand history based on objective sources, such as archaeology.

In 622 CE, Muhammad encountered in Medina a large and longestablished Jewish community divided into Jewish tribes.³³ At first Muhammad tried to convince Medina's Jews to join his faith,³⁴ but they were not persuaded.³⁵ The three Jewish tribes were drawn into the battles between Muhammad's Muslim followers and Medina's pagan Arab tribes. The Muslim army was victorious and expelled two of the Jewish tribes. The fate of the third Jewish tribe, the Banu Qaynuqa, was far more brutal: Muhammad ordered all the men (about 900) executed and gave the women and children to his warriors.³⁶

The Battle of Khaybar

After their expulsion by Muhammad from Medina, the Jewish Banu Nadir tribe took refuge in Khaybar,³⁷ a thriving Jewish district. Muhammad led his army to Khaybar, laid siege, and, after a brief but fierce battle, the Jewish defenders surrendered.

Here, the precedent was set for relations between Muslim authority and a conquered non-Muslim people. The Khaybari Jews' personal safety and property were guaranteed in this treaty of surrender, but they had to pay a 50 percent tax. Qur'anic support for this requirement is found at Sura 9:29: "Make war upon those who have been given the Scripture, until they pay tribute, being brought low."

The phrase "being brought low" is key. Jewish communities were "tolerated" and "protected" with limited rights if they accepted Islam's superior position³⁸ and paid an annual *jizya*, or poll tax. The Arabic word for this system is *dhimma*, and a protected person is a *dhimmi*. The dhimmi laws became known as the Pact of Umar.

Khaybar's Legacy Today

The seventh-century Muslim military assault and defeat of the Jews of Khaybar echoes in the 21st century. At numerous anti-Israel demonstrations, both in the Muslim world and in Western cities, protesters chant in Arabic:

"Khaybar Khaybar ya Yahud, jaysh-i Muhammad sawf-a ya'ud!" ("Khaybar, Khaybar oh Jews, Muhammad's army will return!")

This chant is a battle cry, calling for a repeat of Muhammad's military defeat and subjugation of the Khaybari Jews as the model for the defeat and destruction of Israel. Its subtext, given its Qur'anic origins, is the demand for Israeli Jews to be returned to the inferior status of dhimmi.



Meme from a radical Islamist website in Indonesia carrying the anti-Jewish slogan.³⁹

Expulsion of Jews from Arabia

Caliph Umar ibn al-Khattab (634–44) pursued a military campaign of conquest of the Middle East. "Vast numbers of prisoners of war were brought into Arabia as slaves ... the Jewish labor force was no longer necessary," and the remaining Khaybari Jews were expelled, with many going to the Land of Israel.⁴⁰

The Pact of Umar: Codifying the Status of Non-Muslims

The Pact of Umar, attributed to Caliph Umar, one of Muhammad's most senior and trusted companions, became the main principle governing the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims. As the Islamic empire expanded, ruling over newly conquered indigenous peoples, Muslim rulers committed themselves to protecting their protégés (dhimmis) the Jews and

The dhimmi would have to convert, become a slave, go to prison, or be executed.

Christians. In return, "the dhimmis had to pay the *jizya* and kharaj" (poll and land taxes). If the dhimmis failed to pay the jizya, the pledge of protection of a dhimmi's life and property was subject to cancellation, meaning the dhimmi would have to convert, become a slave, go to prison, or be executed.⁴¹

According to Algerian-born scholar André N. Chouraqui,

There were twelve laws that limited the conditions under which the dhimmi was permitted to dwell within the community of the Believers, the first six of which were considered of binding and absolute importance.⁴²

Violation of any of the first six laws was punishable by death.

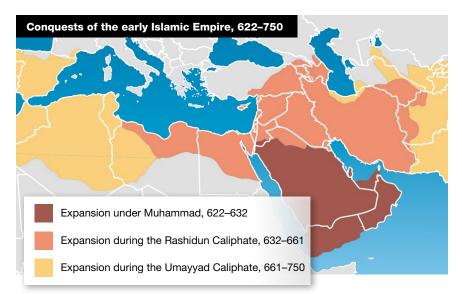
Dhimmis were forbidden to:43

- 1. touch the Qur'an lest they mock it or falsify its text;
- 2. speak of the Prophet in false or contemptuous terms;
- 3. speak of the faith of Islam with irreverence;
- 4. touch Muslim women—marriage between a male dhimmi and a Muslim woman also being prohibited (but not between a dhimmi woman and a Muslim man);
- 5. do anything that would turn a Muslim against his faith; or
- 6. do anything that would aid the enemies of Islam or their spies.

The remaining six laws were not capital crimes but were nonetheless enforced. Dhimmis were:

- 1. compelled to wear distinctive clothes with a sash and a piece of cloth in yellow for the Jews and in blue for the Christians;
- 2. prohibited from building their homes, synagogues, or churches higher than the Muslims' tallest buildings;
- prohibited from performing their religious ritual in public or letting their bells, shofars, prayers, or chants be heard in a Muslim city;
- 4. prohibited from drinking wine in public or, for the Christians, from displaying their crucifixes;
- 5. required to bury their dead discreetly without letting their prayers or their lamentations be heard; and
- 6. forbidden to own horses (considered noble animals), being relegated to donkeys or mules.





The Jewish experience in Arabia "foreshadowed that of all the peoples subsequently conquered by the Arabs"⁴⁴ when, in the seventh and eighth centuries, Arabian Islamic armies invaded and colonized the eastern Mediterranean, North Africa, and parts of Europe. Many indigenous non-Muslim and non-Arab peoples and religions, including centuries-

old Jewish communities, came under Arabian Muslim rule.

The Khaybar treaty of surrender became the model governing relations between the newly arrived Muslim conquerors and their majority non-Muslim subjects, mostly Christians and Zoroastrians.^{45–46}

Identifying Badges and "Ghettos"

Early in Islamic history, dhimmis were required to wear identifying garments.⁴⁷ These badges long preceded similar regulations enforced on Jews in Christian lands.



In 15th-century Morocco, the Merinid dynasty required all Jews of Fez to live in a walled district of the city. This area was called a *mellah*, meaning "salt" in both Arabic and Hebrew, probably because the area's soil had a high salt content. A century later another Jewish mellah was established in Merrakesh. In the early 19th century, the ruler of Morocco, Sultan Sulayman, ordered all Jews to live in mellahs. In the cities, these were walled areas with gates. In rural areas, Jews were required to live in separate villages.⁴⁸

Jews in Islamic Thought

The history of Muslim–Jewish relations is different from the Christian–Jewish dynamic in one key area: classical Islam does not demonize Jews as being of the devil.⁴⁹

Unlike the New Testament, the Qur'an does not present itself as being the fulfillment of the Jewish Bible but as a reassertion of its original message. This does not mean that Judaism is considered an equal to Islam but rather to be "tolerated" as a monotheistic religion. This is not the same as equality.

Tolerance in the pre-modern Islamic world assumed that Muslims naturally had more rights than non-Muslims. While this gave dhimmis (i.e., Jews and Christians) some, but not all, the rights and privileges that Muslims enjoyed, those rights could be taken away if, in the judgment of a given ruler, the dhimmis forgot their place.

There are many verses in the Qur'an that portray Jews in a positive light, and there are many others that are hostile, allowing for different interpretations. Consequently, sometimes Jews were treated well under Islamic rule, and other times Jews were oppressed.



Maimonides (Rabbi Moshe ben Maimon)

Jewish life flourished in the "Golden Age" of Muslim Spain. Yet, these Golden Ages were fragile, as the following episode in the life of Maimonides (Rabbi Moshe ben Maimon) illustrates.

Maimonides lived in 12th-century Cordoba in Muslim Spain. Born in 1135, he would become a renowned rabbi, philosopher, and physician. He remains one of Judaism's towering figures.

Jews and Christians were given three options: conversion, exile, or death. In 1148, when he was 13, Cordoba was invaded by the Al-Mohads, a North African Berber-led Islamic movement that sought to purify Islam of all foreign influences. Jews and Christians were given three options: conversion, exile, or death. The Maimon family remained in Cordoba by feigning conversion. Secretly, they remained Jews. They

then moved to Fez, Morocco, which was also under Al-Mohad rule.

In Fez, Maimonides and his family were outwardly Muslim while continuing to live Jewishly in private. When Maimonides' teacher, Rabbi Yehuda HaKohen ibn Shushan, was arrested and executed for secretly following Judaism, the Maimon family fled to the Land of Israel but then settled near Cairo, Egypt, far from the fanatical Al-Mohads. There Maimonides became a renowned physician, becoming the personal physician to Salah-a-din, the famed Muslim general who defeated the Crusaders and founded the Egyptian Ayubid dynasty.

In Yemen in 1168, an extreme Muslim cleric came to power and decreed that Yemen's Jews must convert to Islam. Yemen's leading rabbi sent a letter to Maimonides seeking counsel. Maimonides wrote his famous "Iggeret Teyman" ("Letter to Yemen"), in which he guided Yemen's Jews on how to weather the persecution. He also received assistance from Salah-a-din to intervene on behalf of the Yemenite Jews.⁵⁰

This story illustrates how uncertain the situation of Jews living under Islamic rule could be. Maimonides was born into the Jewish Golden Age in Muslim Spain, saw its end, suffered persecution, witnessed the execution of his teacher, and fled for his life. He found refuge in another Muslim-ruled land (Egypt) and rose to a very high position in the court of a renowned Muslim leader, which gave him the opportunity to advise a persecuted Jewish community in another Muslim-ruled land and use his influence with Salah-a-din to intercede for them.

Islamism: Adopting and Adapting European Antisemitism

Syrian–German historian Bassam Tibi writes, "Islam is a religion and a civilization that deserves respect, while Islamism is a political ideology to be subjected to critical inquiry." Tibi explains that the term "Islamism" is a translation of the Arabic word *al-Islamiyyah*, coined by Hassan al Bannah, founder of the Muslim Brotherhood in 1928. 52

Grounded in this important distinction between *Islam*, the religion, and *Islamism*, the political ideology, Tibi describes a process

of the "Islamization of Antisemitism" and identifies antisemitism as a *key component* of Islamist ideology.⁵³

Islamism is a 20th-century political ideology that synthesizes Islamic teachings with modern European political organizing methods. There are two major strategies Islamists follow: the ballot or the bullet.



Among the violent Islamists are two groups: Islamist organizations like Al Qaeda, ISIS, and Boko Haram, among many others, with a global vision to fight liberal democracy and all unbelievers, including fellow Muslims. Other Islamists include ultranationalists, such as Hamas, that have nationalist agendas while also supporting the ultimate goal of a global caliphate.⁵⁴



The leader of Palestinian Arab nationalism was Haj Amin al-Husseini. He and many other pan-Arab nationalists dedicated themselves to Nazi Germany's cause. On November 28, 1941, al-Husseini (left) was Hitler's honored guest in Berlin. Al-Husseini recruited Bosnian Muslims to fight for Nazi Germany, made regular pro-Nazi Arabic radio broadcasts to the Middle East, and used his high level-contacts to prevent the rescue of 4,000 Jewish children, all of whom were murdered. After WWII he returned to the Middle East and led the effort to violently prevent Israel's establishment.

Islamism synthesized the negative Qur'anic verses regarding Jews with modern European antisemitism imported to the Middle East in the 19th and 20th centuries. Islamist ideologues such as Sayyid Qutb created a thoroughly modern *Islamist antisemitism* that strongly echoes Nazi-style anti-Jewish imagery. It is a major component of the ideologies of a variety of terror groups, both Sunni and Shi'ite.

In a massive global survey on antisemitic attitudes, the Anti-Defamation League measured 100 countries in seven regions. The region with the highest average score of antisemitic attitudes was the Middle East and North Africa.⁵⁵

The Americas	Western Europe	Eastern Europe	Middle East and North Africa	Sub- Saharan Africa	Asia	Oceana (Australia, New Zealand)
19%	24%	34%	74%	23%	22%	14%

This likely indicates the impact of the Arab–Israeli conflict. Nonetheless, it also demonstrates the strong influence of antisemitic Islamist teachings on hundreds of millions of people in the region. These antisemitic attitudes are not merely "antizionist"; rather, they reflect specific anti-Jewish stereotypes about control of governments, banks, and media.

(For an in-depth background on this, see the third booklet in our series, "The Antisemitism at the Heart of Radical Islamism.")

THE FAR LEFT-ISLAMIST ALLIANCE

Many of these right-wing, anti-democratic, antisemitic, homophobic, and misogynistic Islamist movements find support among some Western leftists. One example:

During an anti-Israel "teach-in" in Berkeley in 2006, feminist philosopher Judith Butler replied to a question from the audience about the Left's relationship with the 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." 56

Eva Illouz, an Israeli leftist often critical of her government's policies, strongly criticized Butler,

"To call Hamas and Hezbollah members of the global left is not only an insult to the left, but a serious blow to it. Two armed movements, financed by Iran, calling for Sharia law, Jihad, and the murder of Jews, that practice the sexual purity of women, endorse capital punishment, and are self-declared homophobes cannot belong to any left that I and most people know ... [and] she did not explicitly disavow the sexual, gender, and religious politics of these groups, let alone their antisemitism." 57

Some on the Left see in Islamism an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist force, despite Islamism's reactionary views on women, LGBTQ people, religious minorities, and democracy.⁵⁸

(For an in-depth background on this, see the fourth booklet in our series, "Far-Left Antisemitism: Antizionist Left & Leftist Antizionism.")

THE "JEWISH QUESTION":

Antisemitism from the 19th Century to Nazi Germany

Prior to the French Revolution, Jews in western and central Europe were compelled to live within walled ghettos. ⁵⁹ The French Revolution overturned the old order, wresting power from the monarchs and clerics and giving it to the people. Both the American (1776) and French (1789) Revolutions were the political expression of the "Age of Enlightenment," which began the secularization and democratization of European societies and the emergence of modern states.

Napoléon, who declared himself emperor in 1804, expanded the French Empire to most of Europe. "Throughout French-occupied territory, Jewish equality before the law, as indeed legal equality for all inhabitants, was constitutionalized." 60

Western and Central European Jews experienced the Enlightenment as *emancipation*.

The vast majority of the world's Jews, however, lived within the Russian Empire, which continued to be ruled by a monarch. All Jews were confined in a segregated region called the Pale of Settlement, mostly in today's Poland.

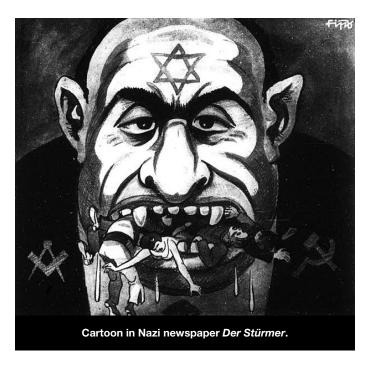
After Napoléon's fall in 1815, Jews were not yet fully enfranchised

in France, Germany, or England. Yet, as the century moved forward, these Jews slowly gained more civil rights. They began assimilating and taking their place in European secular society in the professions, arts, sciences, and economy.

At the same time, there was a reaction by monarchists and the church to the Enlightenment. They opposed secularization and liberal democracy, which they equated with Jewish emancipation. This is the origin of the antisemitic "Jewish Question" that haunted modern Europe up until the 20th century.

A range of political and social forces were also unleashed. Nationalism, communism, socialism, liberalism, capitalism, secularism, and racism offered competing explanations and solutions to modern societies' shortcomings. There was a constant tug between these forces, often erupting in revolutions and wars.

In this environment, the "Jewish Question" became a significant negative focus for many of these movements, each marginalizing and casting Jews as their enemy. Socialists perceived Jews as central to capitalism, while capitalists saw Jews as leaders



of socialism. Nationalists accused Jews of disloyalty, while internationalists cast Jews as "tribalists." Different "solutions" to the "Jewish Question" were offered by these movements, including calls for Jews to assimilate or be expelled or returned to ghettos.

In this environment, racial antisemitism emerged. This new antisemitism used bogus scientific claims that Jews were a foreign Semitic "race" that was lethally dangerous to white "Aryan" civilization. ⁶¹ The slogan "The Jews Are Our Misfortune" became popularized and later adopted by the Nazis. ⁶²

Nazi Antisemitism: Jews as the "Anti-Race"

The Nazi state was built on an ideology that viewed human existence as a perpetual life-and-death conflict between the races. They claimed a racial hierarchy with the Aryans (white Germanic Europeans) at the top. Other races such as Slavs, Africans, and the Roma were categorized as *untermenschen* (sub-humans).

The Nazis put Jews in a separate category altogether: *Gegenrasse* (German for "anti-race"), the Aryans' most bitter and eternal enemy. Nazism visualized "the Jew" as a dehumanized disease-carrying parasite contaminating the essence of a healthy world.⁶³



Redemptive Antisemitism

Antisemitic beliefs are adaptable. It was but a short step from imagining "the Jew" as the Antichrist to "the Jew" as the antirace, leading to the formulation of a cosmic and eternal racial struggle between "Aryan" and "Jew." Germany's redemption, indeed that of the entire world, required nothing less than the complete destruction of "the Jews."

Antisemitism became "redemptive," ⁶⁴ with Hitler casting himself as the white race's "savior." In *Mein Kampf* he declared, "Hence today I believe that I am acting in accordance with the will of the Almighty Creator: by defending myself against the Jew, I am fighting for the work of the Lord." ⁶⁵



Protocols of the Elders of Zion:

A Warrant for Genocide

The infamous *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, written around 1900 by Russian secret police, remains a main source for most modern antisemitic conspiracy theories. It is "a crude and ugly, but tragically influential, forgery alleging a Jewish world conspiracy." Its lies about Jews. which have "been

PROTOCOLS

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repeatedly discredited, continue to circulate today, especially on the internet. The individuals and groups who have used the *Protocols* are all linked by a common DANGEROUS purpose: to spread hatred of Jews."⁶⁷

The *Protocols* are "purported to plan Jewish domination of the globe through control of political parties, banks, the press and public opinion, 'casting a net of gold and steel around the world.'"68 The *Protocols* were proven to be a deliberate hoax in 1935. By then, however, it had long been widely distributed and read years earlier by a young Adolf Hitler, feeding his antisemitic obsessions. For this, historian Norman Cohn dubbed the *Protocols* a "warrant for genocide."

As the 19th century gave way to the 20th, antisemitism grew into a mass movement. After its defeat in World War I (1914–1918), a humiliated and economically desperate Germany was wracked by political instability. Racist antisemitic theories promoted by Adolf Hitler's Nazi Party, which used the *Protocols*, gained greater popularity, propelling the Nazis to power in 1933.









The *Protocols* have been translated into scores of languages. These include every European language, plus Arabic, Farsi, Urdu, Turkish, Japanese, Malay, and others.



The Holocaust: An Intercontinental Anti-Jewish Genocide

The Holocaust was the systematic, bureaucratic, statesponsored persecution and murder of six million Jews by the Nazi regime and its collaborators.

-United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

The Nazi genocide of the Jews was not the first, nor the last, in human history. It was, however, unique in several ways. According to historian Deborah E. Lipstadt:

It was the only time in recorded history that a state tried to destroy an entire people, regardless of an individual's age, sex, location, profession, or belief. And it is the only instance in which the perpetrators conducted this genocide for no ostensible material, territorial, or political gain.⁷⁰

The genocide progressed in stages under cover of the Second World War, starting with Germany's invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939. At first, it sent battalion-sized death squads called Einsatzgruppen (special deployment groups) to Poland to carry out mass-murder operations, primarily against Jews but also murdering political enemies such as Polish intellectuals, clergy, and communists. After the Nazis attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941, the Einsatzgruppen followed the German Army as it swept into eastern Europe. In all, they murdered more than a million Jews, mostly by firing squads, in thousands of



locations. Babi Yar, a ravine in Kiev, Ukraine, was the site of one such massacre, where German forces and Ukrainian collaborators murdered the entire Jewish population of Kiev, 33,000 people, over a two-day period in September 1941.⁷¹

Bullets Were Too Expensive: Mass Murder by Gas

The Nazis deemed these efforts to be "inefficient" and sought more "effective" methods of mass murder in the form of "extermination centers" (Auschwitz, Sobibor, Treblinka, and others), all in occupied Poland. They were designed as mass murder factories and, for efficient lethality, used specifically designed, industrialized gas chambers.

The Nazis pressed their genocide not only throughout continental Europe but also in North Africa, where they and their fascist allies, Vichy France and Mussolini's Italy, established slave labor camps in Morocco, Algeria, Libya, and Tunisia. An estimated 4,000 Jews died in the Tunisian camps.

In 1941, in a bid to control Iraq's strategic oil fields, pro-Nazi Arab nationalists in Iraq, with assistance from Berlin, overthrew the pro-British government. As the British retook Iraq, Arab mobs in Baghdad and Basra, incited by Nazi propaganda, committed a two-day massacre of at least 200 Iraqi Jews, known as the Farhud.⁷²

The Romani Genocide

The Nazis also considered the Romani peoples (known pejoratively as "Gypsies") as sub-humans, considering them to be "enemies

of the race-based state." During the war, the Nazi death machine murdered an estimated 1.5 million Romani by firing squad, by starvation, and in the gas chambers of the death camps.⁷³ The genocide covered much of Europe.

Hitler's Last Order: Destroy the Jews

Hitler's obsession with annihilating the Jews was demonstrated right to the end with his "Political Testament," his last communication to the German nation, written at 4 a.m. on April 29, 1945, just before he committed suicide in his Berlin bunker. With Berlin lying in ruins, overrun by Allied forces, he declared,

Above all I charge the leadership of the nation and their followers with the strict observance of the racial laws and with merciless resistance against the universal poisoners of all peoples, international Jewry.⁷⁴

The Allied victory over Nazi Germany came the next day. But for two-thirds of European Jews, some six million men, women, and children, it was too late.

Antisemitism Adapts to 21st-Century Politics

After the shock of the Holocaust, antisemitism was forced into the fringes. Today, however, collective memory of that period is fading fast.

Historian Gil Troy describes antisemitism as "a stain on the body politic we just can't remove." He elaborates:

It not only is the 'longest hatred,' but it is the most plastic hatred: adaptable, flexible, artificial, durable and mass produced. It keeps mutating like a computer virus, targeting our ideological vulnerabilities.⁷⁵

Antisemitism's adaptability is seen in the strikingly similar language used by white supremacists, radical Islamists, and many Left antizionists. The Islamists and Leftist antizionists often weave these antisemitic tropes, sometimes coded and sometimes blatantly, into their antizionist messaging.

Antisemitism's common denominator:

How extremist ideologies define Jews and/or Zionists in 4 steps:

WHITE SUPREMACISTS



The white race, Aryans, European civilization

RADICAL ISLAMISTS



The *umma* (the global Muslim community)

FAR LEFTISTS



Workers, formerly colonized peoples, women, people of color, Muslims, LGBTQ

2. Define the "problem": show how and why your "community of the good" is oppressed by Jews and

Zionists.

1. Define your

"community of

the good" that

is in peril.

Hitler, Mein Kampf, 1924

"In gaining political power the Jew casts off the few cloaks that he still wears. The democratic peoples Jew becomes the blood-Jew and tyrant over peoples. ... With satanic joy in his face, the black-haired Jewish youth lurks in wait for the unsuspecting girl whom he defiles with his blood, thus stealing her from her people. With every means he tries to destroy the racial foundations of the people he has set out to subjugate. ... For while the Zionists try to make the rest of the world believe that the national consciousness of the Jew finds its satisfaction in the creation of a Palestinian state, the Jews again slyly dupe the dumb Govim. It doesn't even enter their heads to build up a Jewish state in Palestine for the purpose of living there: all they want is a central organization for their international world swindle."

Hamas Charter, 1988

"With wealth they [the Jews] controlled imperialistic nations and pushed them to occupy many nations to exhaust their (natural) resources and spread mischief in them. They are behind the First World War in which they destroyed the Islamic Caliphate and gained material profit. monopolized raw wealth."

Sayyid Qutb, major Islamist ideologue, 1950

"The Jews were enemies of the Muslim Community from the first day. ... This bitter war which the Jews launched against Islam ... is a war, which has not been extinguished, even for one moment, for close on fourteen centuries."

Karl Marx, "Essay on the Jewish Question," 1844

"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.* ... The social emancipation of the Jew is the emancipation of society from Judaism" (emphasis in the original).

Soviet propaganda, 1977

"The system of organizations of international Zionism (which extends throughout the entire world and, at the same time, is strongly centralized) united with a powerful financial—economic base in the shape of the monopoly bourgeoisie of Jewish origin."

Socialist Fight (UK), 2015

"Zionism is the cutting edge of bourgeois reaction today ... the Jewish–Zionist bourgeoisie play a vanguard role for the capitalist offensive against the workers."

3. Define the consequences for your specific "community of the good."

The "natural order" is disrupted, and the "community of the good" ("Aryans" or Muslims or workers) cannot realize its potential. To remedy this situation, an ultimate and radical solution must be found.

4. Define the ultimate solution that will save your "community of the good."

All Jews must be destroyed.

Hitler, Speech, January 30, 1939

"Today I will once more be a prophet: If the international Jewish financiers in and outside Europe should succeed in plunging the nations once more into a world war, then the result will not be the Bolshevization of the Earth, and thus the victory of Jewry, but the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe!"

Israel and Jews must be destroyed.

Sayyid Qutb, major Islamist ideologue, 1950

"The Jews again returned to evil-doing and consequently Allah ... brought Hitler to rule over them. ... Once again today the Jews have returned to evildoing, in the form of 'Israel.' ... So let Allah bring down upon the Jewish people ... the worst kind of punishment."

Israel must be destroyed.

Communist Party of Great Britain, 2018

"[We] oppose the poisonous ideology of zionism (sic) as being a reactionary tool in the hands of imperialism. ... [We] resolve to create public opinion in favour of the destruction of the racist, oppressive apartheid state of Israel."

Compare and Contrast:

Antisemitic Tropes Connecting the Extremes

This chart demonstrates the similarity in antisemitic language used by three totalitarian ideologies.

The common antisemitic stereotypes shared by extremists of widely different ideologies:

JEWS AND/OR ZIONISTS	WHITE SUPREMACISTS	RADICAL ISLAMISTS	FAR LEFTISTS
control the media, news, Hollywood	✓	\checkmark	✓
control the U.S. and other governments	✓	✓	✓
are rich and powerful; control banking and finances	✓	✓	✓
are "tribal," "racist"	✓	✓	✓
conspire to control the world	✓	✓	✓
are "foreigners," "interlopers," "invaders," etc.	✓	✓	✓
are irredeemably evil	✓	✓	✓
are loyal only to themselves	✓	✓	✓
deliberately murder children	✓	✓	✓
are warmongers	✓	✓	✓
are disloyal, unfaithful, treacherous	✓	✓	✓
distort, exaggerate, or lie about the Holocaust to profit from it	✓	✓	✓
use the "antisemitism" card to silence debate about Israel or the Holocaust	✓	✓	✓

Final Note

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

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

• StandWithUs.com/booklets-footnotes

Access these volumes' accompanying bibliographies and footnotes.

StandWithUs.com/booklets
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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 can take:

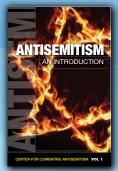
- If it sounds antisemitic, it probably is. So, call it out, whether on social media, at the "water cooler," or wherever. That said, don't assume everyone is a malicious antisemite. Many people are simply ignorant and can change if you engage them constructively about antisemitism.
- Antisemitism exists 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.).
- 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.
- 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 raises 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 policies.

- Visit Israel, meet its diverse population of Jews, Muslims, Christians, Druze, and Baha'is.
- Read Israeli online newspapers in English. Learn about Israel's politics, dilemmas, challenges, and achievements.
- Support groups like StandWithUs so we can continue telling Israel's amazing story.

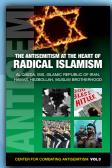


For more in-depth reading on this complex subject, the StandWithUs Center for Combating Antisemitism

has published dozens of booklets, including a four-part introduction to antisemitism in all its permutations:









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