

THE ANTISEMITISM AT THE HEART OF RADICAL ISLAMISM

AL QAEDA, ISIS, ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN, HAMAS, HEZBOLLAH, MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD







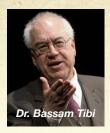


Contents

Introduction3
Islamist-inspired Terrorism5
Islamist Antisemitism in the 21st Century7
Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi7
Ayatollah Khamenei: Iran's Supreme Leader8
Islamist Ideology: Eternal War Against "the Jews"9
The Grand Mufti of Jerusalem and Hitler Meet in Berlin 12
The Muslim Brotherhood Adopts and Adapts European Antisemitism14
Sayyid Qutb, the Intellectual Father of Islamism16
Nazi-like Antisemitism in Today's Arabic and Muslim Media18
Islamist Antisemitism Preventing Israeli-Palestinian Peace 20
Conclusion24
Final Note
Take Action!

Introduction

For Syrian-German historian Bassam Tibi,



"Islam is a religion and a civilization that deserves respect, while Islamism is a political ideology to be subjected to critical inquiry."

"Islamism" is a translation of the Arabic word *al-Islamiyyah*, coined by Hassan al-Bannah, who founded the religious and political group the Muslim Brotherhood in 1928.²

Grounded in this important distinction between *Islam* and *Islamism* is what Tibi describes as the "Islamization of Antisemitism," with antisemitism as a *key component* of Islamist ideology.³

Tibi explains:

"Historically, there exists Judeophobia in Islam, but not Antisemitism ... both are evil, but to a differing degree. While Judeophobia is a hatred and prejudice, Antisemitism is a genocidal ideology that identifies the Jews as evil and calls for their eradication. This genocidal sentiment did not exist in classical Islam. The story of Antisemitism in the Middle East exists in two segments, one is secular (pan-Arab nationalism), the other is religiousfundamentalist (Islamism)."4



Historically, Islam did not demonize "the Jews" as being of the devil, as Christian theology did. ⁵ The Qur'an refers to Jews both *positively* and *negatively*. Under some Islamic rulers, Jewish life flourished, while under others, Jews faced persecution.

Islamism, the *modern ideology*, ignores Islam's various positive

depictions of Jews. Instead, as described by Tibi, Islamism fuses Judeophobic passages within Islamic texts with European antisemitism.

Egypt's Islamist Muslim Brotherhood, founded in 1928, adapted and disseminated European antisemitic conspiracy theories throughout the Arab and broader Muslim worlds. This included translations of the 20th century's most notorious antisemitic documents, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. (See page 14.)





Princeton Middle Eastern scholar Bernard Lewis wrote that Islamic law forbids terrorism, and the "classical jurists of Islam never remotely considered [jihad] the kind of unprovoked, unannounced mass slaughter of uninvolved civil populations." *Islamist* ideology, in contrast, has inspired scores of terrorist groups (including Al Qaeda, ISIS, Hamas, and Hezbollah) that have randomly murdered tens of thousands of people in the last two decades.

The Iranian regime is inspired by Islamist ideology and is a major supporter of terrorism.

- "Iran has been one of the world's most active sponsors of terrorism. Tehran has armed, trained, financed, inspired, organized, and otherwise supported dozens of violent groups over the years."
- "The Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC)
 oversees and directs Iran's proxy activities as an
 extension of Iran's power and influence. It has been
 particularly successful in Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq."8

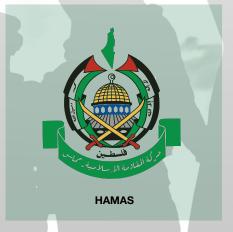
On July 18, 1994, in a major antisemitic attack, Iran and Hezbollah carried out the bombing of the AMIA Jewish community center in Buenos Aires, murdering 85 people and wounding 150.9

Iran's regime is the main supporter of the antisemitic terrorist groups Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad. It currently funds Hamas with \$30 million per month and, in return, receives intelligence on Israel. In 2014, Ali Nourizadeh, director of the Center for Iranian Studies in London, told the Palestinian newspaper *Raya* that "Hamas since its inception so far has received financial support amounting to more than two billion dollars from Iran, while Islamic Jihad receives from 100 to 150 million dollars annually." In the support amounting to more than two billion dollars annually."









EMBLEMS OF TERRORISM

Islamist Antisemitism in the 21st Century

The two most prominent leaders promoting Islamist antisemitism today are Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi, an Egyptian theologian based in Qatar, and Ayatollah Khamenei, supreme leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

SHEIKH YUSUF AL-QARADAWI

Al-Qaradawi, an Egyptian scholar of the Sunni-oriented Muslim Brotherhood, has a TV program (*Sharia and Life*) on Al Jazeera with a viewership of an estimated 40–60 million worldwide.¹²

Al-Qaradawi has justified the Holocaust as "a divine punishment for [the Jews]" while hoping Muslims would carry out another anti-Jewish genocide. His full comments were reported on *Arab News*:



"Throughout history, Allah has imposed upon the [Jews] people who would punish them for their corruption. The last punishment was carried out by Hitler. By means of all the things he did to them—even though they exaggerated this issue—he managed to put them in their place. This was divine punishment for them. Allah willing, the next time will be at the hand of the Believers." 13

Al-Qaradawi is also known for sanctioning suicide attacks against innocent civilians in Israel.¹⁴

In 2017, al-Qaradawi reversed this decree, yet Hamas, "founded in late 1980s as a direct splinter group from the Muslim Brotherhood organization based in Egypt seems to have shrugged off [al-Qaradawi's] ruling and its spokesmen have explicitly dismissed it. In fact, the terror group in control of the Gaza Strip is relentlessly trying to inspire Palestinians in the West Bank to commit suicide attacks" against innocent Israeli civilians.¹⁵

AYATOLLAH KHAMENEI

Iran's Supreme Leader

Holocaust denial is antisemitic. It "delegitimizes the suffering of Jews, and ... codifies antisemitic propaganda under the guise of academic research. Deniers promote conspiracy theories about Jewish-controlled governments and media by attempting to undermine a history of horrific suffering. Their denials provide a foundation for much of the antisemitism permeating the radical right." ¹⁶

Khamenei is a promoter of Holocaust denial. In 2014, he tweeted:



THIS WAS NOT KHAMENEI'S FIRST VENTURE INTO THIS KIND OF ANTISEMITISM.

2002

In 2002, "he referred to gas chambers in concentration camps as a story about which its truth was 'not clear' and which was being used as 'Zionist propaganda' to gain the sympathy of the world." 17

2012

In 2012, he said, "When a person expresses his objection to the myth of Holocaust and announced that he does not believe it, they [Europe] throw him into prison. They sentence him to prison for denying a fictitious event." 18

2016

In 2016, in honor of the fourth anniversary of French Holocaust denier Roger Garaudy's death, Khamenei's website published the remarks of both men at a 1998 meeting between the two in Tehran, where Garaudy said, "The Zionists have all the levers of powers at hand in the U.S. and American press, Radio, TV and cinema are all dominated by the Zionists. Thus I believe the U.S. is currently a colony of Israel." ¹⁹

At that 1998 meeting, Khamenei praised Gaurady as a "prominent French philosopher" ²⁰ and then echoed Gaurady's antisemitism, merely substituting the word "Jew" with the word "Zionist":

"There is no doubt that the American, European, Canadian and some other nations are utterly dissatisfied with the current situation and the dominant role the Zionists play in their lives. Today, the Zionists are truly considered as a predicament and a plight for nations."²¹



Ayatollah Khamenei

Islamist Ideology

Eternal War Against "the Jews"

Islamist antisemitism goes back to the 1930s, coinciding with the rise to power of the Nazi Party in Germany. In 1937, the Syrian city of Bloudan hosted the National Arab Congress. German historian Matthias Küntzel describes it as "the starting point of a pan-Arab movement centered on the fight against Zionism." ²²

The gathering was closed to the public, including journalists and British and French consular officials. Yet, "the press officer of the NSDAP/AO (Foreign Organization of the Nazi Party) in Beirut managed to attend the conference through his personal contacts with some of the organizers. The Nazi daily *Völkischer Beobachter* reported about the Congress and even included a large photo." ²³



A British agent infiltrated the conference. He reported on a "violently anti-Jewish pamphlet printed in Cairo for the Palestine Defense Committee," which was given to all those attending the Bloudan congress.²⁴

This pamphlet was called *Islam and Jewry*. Historian Jeffrey Herf describes it as "one of the founding texts of the Islamist tradition, one that defined the religion of Islam as a source of hatred of the Jews." ²⁵

What made the pamphlet "violently anti-Jewish" was the inclusion of a specific *hadith*, not widely known to most Muslims at the time, 26 describing a titanic end-of-days battle between Islam and "the Jews." (Hadith is the Arabic word for "news" or "story" and is viewed by Muslims as the "traditions or sayings of the Prophet Muhammad.") 27

This particular hadith states:

"Judgment Day will come only when the Muslims fight the Jews and kill them, until the Jew hides behind the tree and the stone, and the tree and the stone say: 'Oh Muslim, Oh servant of Allah, there is a Jew behind me, come and kill him!""²⁸

By amplifying this previously obscure, minor hadith to center stage, Islamism "not only makes the killing of the Jews essential to Muslim salvation but also makes even the tree (a symbol of living nature) and the stone demand that the Jews be killed, as if the whole universe were condemning them to



death," ²⁹ thus establishing an eternal religious war against "the Jews" until they are destroyed.

Tibi writes, "The reference to this hadith is a telling story in itself, it prescribes the 'killing of the Jew' as 'a religious obligation' and thus includes the most perilous implication of the religionization of Antisemitism." ³⁰



Excerpts From The Hamas Charter, a booklet produced by StandWithUs This violent hadith is found in the Hamas charter (Article 7), the founding document of the Palestinian militant group Hamas.³¹ Islamist Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan has cited it,³² and innumerable Islamist preachers are on record quoting it in their televised sermons reaching millions of viewers.³³

The antisemitic Islamist pamphlet *Islam* and *Jewry* concludes, "The verses from the Qur'an and hadith prove to you that the Jews have been the bitterest enemies of Islam and continue to try to destroy it. Do not believe them, they only know hypocrisy and cunning. Hold

together, fight for the Islamic thought, fight for your religion and your existence! Do not rest until your land is free of the Jews."34



The principal organizer of the Bloudan congress and the author of *Islam and Jewry* was the leader of Palestinian Arab nationalism and Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin al-Husseini.³⁵ By 1937, he was working to create an alliance with Nazi Germany in his efforts to prevent a Jewish state from being established.³⁶

THE GRAND MUFTI OF JERUSALEM AND HITLER

Meet in Berlin

The infiltration of Nazi Germany into the Middle East and North Africa was a top strategic goal of Germany as it pursued its war to destroy democracy, murder every Jew it could find, and dominate the world. The full history is too comprehensive to cover in this volume. (For in-depth reading on this history, see the bibliography at StandWithUs.com/booklets-footnotes.)

Some of the fiercest battles of World War Two took place in North Africa. Before the war, in the 1930s, Nazi Germany began cultivating pan-Arab nationalists and Islamists as partners to defeat the British and French.³⁷

Many Islamists and pan-Arab nationalists supported Hitler and dedicated themselves to Nazi Germany's cause. Chief among them was al-Husseini. He and hundreds of Palestinian and other pan-Arab nationalists lived in Germany during the war as VIP guests. "The Mufti subsequently settled in Berlin and assembled



Opposite page: Haj Amin al-Husseini (left) meeting with Hitler, November 28, 1941, in Berlin; Above: Al-Husseini (second from right) with SS Reichsführer Heinrich Himmler (far right) in 1943

an extensive staff. The Germans provided him with a monthly sum of 75,000 Reichsmarks [about \$3.3 million today]." ³⁸ In return, al-Husseini "used his influence in the Middle East on the Nazis' behalf and recruited Muslims for the Nazi war effort. On the airwaves of Nazi Germany's Arabic language radio service, he called for a Holy War, a jihad, against the Allies and Jews." ³⁹

In 1941 al-Husseini met Hitler as his honored guest in Berlin. The mufti was placed under SS chief Heinrich Himmler, who was the architect of the genocide of the Jews. ⁴⁰ Al-Husseini's memoirs (in Arabic) record his close relationship with Himmler, with whom he met frequently. ⁴¹ After one such meeting, al-Husseini described in his diary "what Himmler said to him in that summer of 1943 about the persecution of the Jews. ... Himmler told him that 'up to now we have liquidated around three million of them.'"

The Nazis translated the pamphlet Islam and Jewry, originally introduced for the 1937 National Arab Congress in Bloudan, into German and other languages.43 Himmler tasked al-Husseini to recruit Bosnian Muslims to form the 13th Mountain Division of the Waffen SS,44 which committed war crimes against Jews and Serbs in Nazioccupied Yugoslavia.45 Among the indoctrination tools for members of this unit was Islam and Jewry.



Bosnian Muslim recruits of the Waffen SS read the pamphlet *Islam und Judentum* (*Islam and Jewry*). Note their headdress: a fez with the SS death's head emblem.

After the war, al-Husseini was wanted by the Yugoslavian government for war crimes. He escaped Europe and returned to the Middle East as a popular figure throughout the Arab world. The founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, Hassan al-Banna, welcomed him effusively:

"What a hero, what a miracle of a man. Yes, this hero who challenged an empire and fought Zionism, with the help of Hitler and Germany. Germany and Hitler are gone, but Amin al-Husseini will continue the struggle."

Al-Husseini did indeed "continue the struggle," leading an oftenviolent campaign to prevent Israel's establishment. This led to Palestinian and Arab forces starting the 1947–49 war, which they lost. ⁴⁷ During this period, Nazi war criminals were given safe haven by Arab governments, particularly Syria and Egypt, which employed them in their intelligence and propaganda agencies. ⁴⁸

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

Adopts and Adapts European Antisemitism

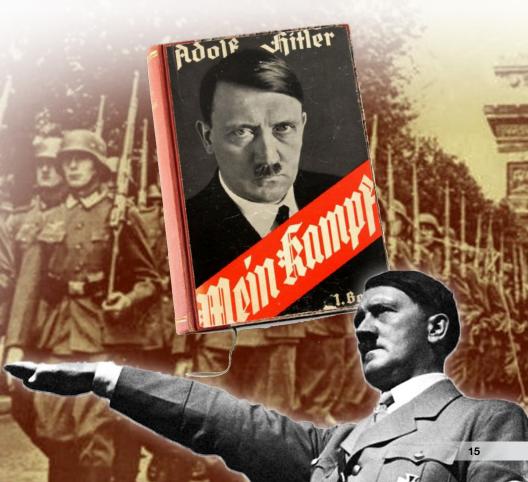
Al Arabiya English reports that al-Husseini was a "leading member of the Muslim Brotherhood, who ran its branch in Palestine." 49

The Muslim Brotherhood also established strong ties with Nazi Germany and carried out anti-British agitation, espionage, and sabotage on behalf of German interests before and during World War Two.⁵⁰ The Brotherhood's founder, al-Banna, "had Hitler's autobiography and political anthology, *Mein Kampf [My Struggle]*, translated into Arabic." ⁵¹

Nazi Germany also reached out to secularist Arab nationalists such as the Syrian Ba'ath Party, which today continues to rule Syria under dictator Bashar al-Assad. An early leader of the Ba'ath Party was Sami al-Jundi, who wrote of the mood of many pan-Arab nationalists in the 1930s:

"We were racists, admiring Nazism, reading its books and the source of its thought. ... We were the first to think of translating *Mein Kampf*. Whoever lived during this period in Damascus would appreciate the inclination of the Arab people to Nazism, for Nazism was the power which could serve as its champion." 52

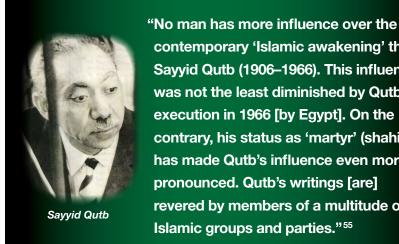
This alliance of Nazi Germany, the Muslim Brotherhood, Palestinian nationalist leader al-Husseini, other Islamists, and pan-Arab nationalists would have lasting and deadly effects into the 21st century.



SAYYID QUTB

The Intellectual Father of Islamism

Egyptian-born Sayyid Qutb is to Islamism what Karl Marx is to communism.53 He was the Muslim Brotherhood's chief ideologist.⁵⁴ His works are widely distributed throughout the Muslim world. Libyan Islamic scholar Aref Ali Nayed writes,



contemporary 'Islamic awakening' than Sayyid Qutb (1906–1966). This influence was not the least diminished by Qutb's execution in 1966 [by Egypt]. On the contrary, his status as 'martyr' (shahid) has made Qutb's influence even more pronounced. Qutb's writings [are] revered by members of a multitude of Islamic groups and parties."55

German historian Matthias Küntzel writes,

"For today's global Islamist movement the Muslim Brothers are what the Bolsheviks were for the Communist movement of the 1920s: the ideological reference point and organizational core which decisively inspired all the subsequent tendencies and continues to do so to this day."56

Qutb is described in the Journal of Palestine Studies as "a true symbol of revolutionary Islam" and serves as an "important model for Palestinian Islamists."57

In 1950, just five years after the Holocaust, Qutb wrote Our Struggle Against the Jews. This book is among the primary connections between Nazism and Islamist ideology. Its title and antisemitic content echo Hitler's manifesto Mein Kampf. Just as Hitler imagined "the Jews" as the central and timeless enemy of the white race, Qutb saw "the Jews" as the principal and eternal enemy of Islam. He wrote admirably of Hitler while calling for another anti-Jewish genocide:

"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. ... The Jews again returned to evil-doing and consequently Allah ... brought Hitler to rule over them. ... Once again today the Jews have returned to evil-doing, in the form of 'Israel.' ... So let Allah bring down upon the Jewish people ... the worst kind of punishment." 58

Elsewhere in *Our Struggle with the Jews*, Qutb writes in language virtually identical to Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, laying out his worldview in which everything Jewish is evil and everything evil is Jewish:

"Behind the doctrine of atheistic materialism was a Jew; behind the doctrine of animalistic sexuality was a Jew; and behind the destruction of the family and shattering of the sacred relationship in society ... was a Jew. ... [T]hey free the sensual desires from their restraints and they destroy the moral foundation on which the pure Creed [Islam] rests, in order that the Creed should fall into the filth which they spread so widely on the earth. ... From such creatures who kill, massacre and defame prophets one can only expect the spilling of human blood and dirty means which would further their machinations." 59

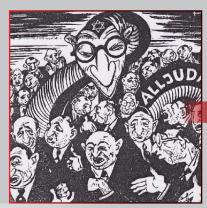
Nazi-like Antisemitism IN TODAY'S ARABIC AND MUSLIM MEDIA

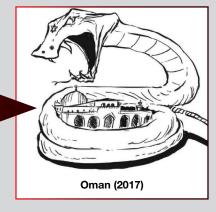
Nazism's antisemitic legacy is found in today's Middle Eastern media. They share common characteristics: Jews with exaggerated hooked noses, demonic or shifty eyes, and misshapen bodies; animalization of Jews; Jews controlling governments; Jews as "Christ killers"; and Jews as sexual predators. Here is a tiny sampling of the pervasive problem.

NAZI GERMANY (1933-1945) VS MIDDLE EASTERN MEDIA TODAY

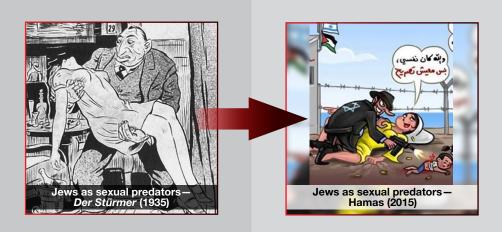


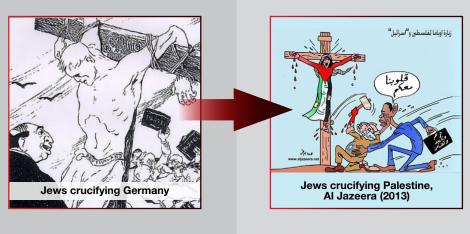






NAZI GERMANY (1933-1945) VS MIDDLE EASTERN MEDIA TODAY





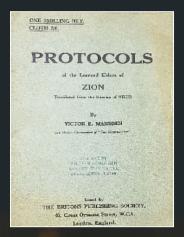


ISLAMIST ANTISEMITISM

Preventing Israeli-Palestinian Peace



The most prominent Palestinian Islamist group is Hamas. Since 2007 it has ruled the Gaza Strip and brutally oppressed Palestinians while using the territory to launch tens of thousands of rockets at Israeli homes and families, sparking three major



conflicts. An offshoot of the Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas was founded in 1987. It rejects peace with Israel, calling for Israel to be destroyed and replaced with an Islamic state.

Its manifesto, the Hamas charter, cites the infamous *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (Article 32). Article 22 reads like a passage from *Mein Kampf*:

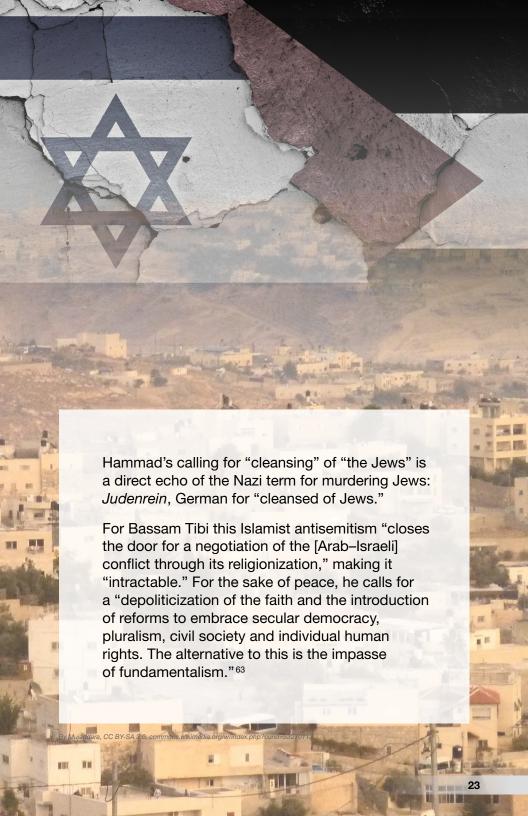
"With wealth [the Jews] controlled international mass media. ... With money they ignited revolutions in all parts of the world to realize their benefits and reap the fruits of them. ... With wealth they formed secret organizations throughout the world to destroy societies and promote the Zionist cause. ... They are behind the First World War in which they destroyed the Islamic Caliphate and gained material profit, monopolized raw wealth, and got the Balfour Declaration. They created the League of Nations so they could control the world through that organization. They are behind the Second World War where they grossed huge profits ... and set down the foundations to establish their nation by forming the United Nations and Security Council, instead of the League of Nations, in order to rule the world."60

Hamas officials use their media outlets to promote this antisemitism. For instance, in a televised sermon on Hamas' Al-Aqsa TV, the former Hamas minister of culture said:

"The Jews are the most despicable and contemptible nation to crawl upon the face of the Earth, because they have displayed hostility to Allah. ... Allah will kill the Jews in the hell of the world to come, just like they killed the believers in the hell of this world." 61

Former Hamas Minister of the Interior and current Hamas Political Bureau member Fathi Hammad declared at a 2018 televised rally in Gaza:

"We are looking forward to two important things, which are within sight: The first is the cleansing of Palestine of the filth of the Jews, and their uprooting from it, Allah willing. This is within sight. ... It is unacceptable that the Jews control some of the Arab states—their regimes, their armies, and their security agencies." 62





Conclusion

To repeat Bassam Tibi's explanation, "Islam is a religion and a civilization that deserves respect, while Islamism is a political ideology to be subjected to critical inquiry." ⁶⁴ Unfortunately, this important distinction between *Islam*, the religion, and *Islamism*, the political ideology, too often gets lost in the heat of political debates. Yet, we must understand that distinction to avoid demonizing or dehumanizing Muslims while confronting the destructive *political ideology* of Islamism.

Radical Islamism imagines it's in an eternal religious battle against "the Jews" (similar to the Nazi fantasy that "Aryans" are in a permanent racial struggle with "the Jews"). With its weaponizing and distorting of classical Islamic texts, radical Islamism envisions an apocalyptic genocidal destruction of "the Jews" in an end-of-days final solution.

The major factor undermining the possibility of peace between Israelis and Palestinians is radical Islamism in the form of Hamas, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, and Hezbollah. The common denominator of these three groups is the support they receive from Iran's Islamist regime, which seeks to dominate the Sunni Arab Middle East and North Africa and to destroy Israel.

Peace and stability for all the peoples in the Middle East—Arabs, Israelis, Iranians, Muslims, Christians, and Jews—depends on defeating the forces of radical Islamism. Oceans of blood have already been spilled by radical Islamist terrorists in Syria, Iraq, Iran, Lebanon, Israel, Tunisia, Egypt, the Gulf, Libya, and Yemen.



Other regions—the United States, Europe, south central Asia, and sub-Saharan Africa—have also experienced this Islamist violence.

Regarding the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians, Tibi writes:

"Islamism closes the door for any effort of a peaceful resolution of the Middle East conflict. The much needed peace process requires the acknowledgment of the nationhood of the other as an equal. Islamism rebuffs this requirement most vehemently and insists on a de-humanization of the Jews in its Islamization of Antisemitism." 65

Islamism offers only religious absolutism fused with 20th-century European antisemitism and follows the same logic: The Jews are evil, compromise with evil is not possible, and therefore the only solution is endless war until total victory is achieved.

Peace requires the give and take of negotiations. Rigidly held religious beliefs are not negotiable and offer no hope of peace for Israelis or Palestinians. For peace to be possible, the toxic ideas spread by Islamism must be drowned out by good ideas that promote mutual recognition, cooperation, and respect. The 2020 agreements between Israel, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, and possibly other Arab countries show that a better future is possible.

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.
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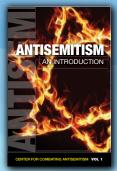
Take Action!

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:

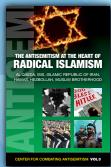
- 1. If it sounds antisemitic, it probably is. So, call it out, whether on social media, at the "water cooler," or wherever. That said, don't assume everyone is a malicious antisemite. Many people are simply ignorant and can change if you engage them constructively about antisemitism.
- Antisemitism exists not only among our political rivals but even in our own political circles. It comes from all sides. Call it out.
- **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. But DO educate yourself on the contemporary manifestations of antisemitism.
- We are not alone. We have allies in all faith and ethnic communities. Develop relationships with them.
- 6. A rising tide raises all boats. All forms of bigotry should be of deep concern. 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 its 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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