

Master Degree in Peace Studies and Conflict Transformation  
Faculty of Social Sciences  
University of Tromsø

AMIR APPELBAUM

Master Thesis

Autumn 2005

NEW CLOTHES BUT OLD DEMONS:  
EUROPEAN ANTISEMITISM FROM CHRISTIANITY TO  
PROGRESSIVE LEFT WING MILIEU



## **NIHIL NOVI ( Nothing New)**

*I have followed my sorrowful way  
for two thousand years  
and my track  
day by day  
have dragged behind me like a shadow –  
a litany of infamy and evil*

- *that I am poisoning the water wells*
- *that I am bringing bad weather*
- *that I cast spells on the cattle*
- *that I steal golden crosses from the temples*
- *to spit on them and smear them with mud*
- *and sell them at high price*
- *a bloodied tribute am I paying to God*
- *and mixing the matzah with children's blood*
- *and for all my festivals*
- *I always kidnap pale-faced kids*
- *to pluck their dead eyes out*
- *and draw their hearty blood...*

*years after have passed  
the image of the world has changed  
culture enlightenment progress  
yet for you it has remained so simple:  
that I have secret dungeons  
that I am counting gold at night  
the wars are made quickly  
when the Elders of Zion wish so*

*A Big Profiteer – a Big Sorcerer  
A revolution – just on my signal!  
The calendars keep falling into the abyss  
so many events so many ones  
bosh and prejudice keep perishing away  
the radio has arrived speed cinema  
the mankind racks its brains to everything  
yet only with me...  
nihil novi: noting new.*

- *I am – the bourgeois exploitation*
- *I am – the world crisis*
- *I am a Communist and a rich man*
- *I am a Hassid – I fight with God*
- *all the evil from the whole world*
- *in one heart interlocks*
- *I continue robbing and strangling*
- *in order to hide gold in my cellars*
- *the world would capture the golden fleece*
- *if only I was removed*
- *it has always been me – a gunpowder barrel*
- *... to stun the mob*

*How annoying it is, is it not? Shameful even  
but just to spite them...  
it is well-known  
A Jew*

*Nasz Przegląd ('Our Review') July 18, 1937*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION..... 1

ANTISEMITISM IN THE CHRISTIAN THOUGHT..... 3

ANTISEMITISM IN THE ENLIGHTENMENT.....25

CONTEMPORARY ANTISEMITISM – FOCUS ON THE LEFT WING MILIEU.....36

SYNTHESIS.....52

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....57

APPENDIX 1-6.....61

## INTRODUCTION

Is there one root, and one infrastructure under the hatred of Israel, since the late 19th century, called antisemitism? Can we dare and raise such a question with regard to a phenomenon so prolonged in time and so diversified in its appearances and explanations – a human phenomenon which started as early as the charge of deicide, and which is present during a couple of thousands of years, as steady hatred in a changing world, and in a changing Europe: hatred and opposition to Jews among the followers of Christianity, hatred towards Jews in secular anti-Christian societies, and also hostility and discrimination towards Jews in liberal and left-wing circles. And along all of this, during hundreds of years, the Jews are also undergoing changes in many aspects and sociologically alternating and expanding their lifestyle, their occupations, their places of residence etc.

Can we imagine any correlation between the early Church father Chrysostom, of the fourth century, who called the Jews ‘inveterate murderers, destroyers, men possessed by the devil’, to the French philosopher Voltaire, or between Martin Luther of the sixteenth century who called the Jews ‘the children of evil’ to the Portuguese author and Nobel Prize winner Jose Saramago? In spite of the many centuries time gap between them, in spite of the vast cultural, social and moral differences between them, in spite of the fact that the Jews they knew were very different from those whom their pair partner encountered, all these personages share the same notions about the Jews.

When I wish to identify and understand the structure of the infrastructure of the hatred of Israel, called antisemitism, I am actually relying upon a traditional Jewish conviction, which intuitively accepted the assumption that there is indeed one, eternal and permanent root, although it could not explain it. A decisive statement by Rabbi Simeon Bar-Yachai: ‘The religious law is: the hatred of Jacob is known’, was accepted as a general and inclusive popular determination regarding the hatred of Jews by the non-Jew as a regular and unchangeable phenomenon. This also is true of the verse that the Jews sing enthusiastically on Passover night – ‘and in each and every generation, they try to annihilate us’ (‘try’ in present tense, not ‘tried’ in past tense), which derives the basic assumption that the active hatred of Israel aspiring for annihilation (and the meaning here is more annihilation as people, as nation than physical annihilation) is everlasting hatred, which is handed down from generation to generation, under various circumstances and in different places. And even the continuation of the verse – ‘and God Almighty save us from them’ presumes that even the rescue can be

merely partial and temporary. It is not possible to essentially fix this thing, if God is required to 'save' time and time again. In other words, even as far as the devoted follower is concerned, God does not have the power to cancel the hatred of Jews, but merely to save them, and even such rescue is only partial and generational. In seeking after common root, a mutual infrastructure, it seems to me that I am expressing the basic Jewish conviction, which in itself could not explain the essence of the antisemitic origins, yet regarded it to be steady factor of the human behaviour. This conviction has also fatally assumed that it would be impossible to annihilate this permanent infrastructure, and that it would always exist. In a certain tragic sense, antisemitism had become a highly important and most natural factor in establishing the Jewish identity, to the extent that the absence of antisemitism appears to many Jews as suspicious and unnatural phenomena. The traditional Jew often identifies the proper order of the world, when he/she also detects an active antisemitic element within it.

## ANTISEMITISM IN THE CHRISTIAN THOUGHT

The Hebrew Encyclopedia raises the question of the reason for antisemitism, claiming, 'the roots for antisemitism as hatred of Jews are rooted in psychological and sociological factors, which serve as the basis for the phenomenon of minority hatred, and as such, we must distinguish between the activity of three factors:

- (a) Hatred towards the different;
- (b) Hatred towards the weak;
- (c) Xenophobia – the hate towards the 'other'.

Furthermore, 'the uniqueness of antisemitism as a type of minority hatred is what included the three aforementioned factors in a more constant and predominant manner than all other phenomena of minority hatred... indeed except for the Jews, it is hard to point out a congregation, forced to withstand the three aforementioned factors in unison for such a long period of time, although even in reference to the Jews, the unison of these factors was devised from a long historical development'.

There is no doubt that minority hatred, as a general phenomenon, does exist. There is no doubt that people do tend to hate the different, the weak, the foreign. Yet the approach which regards antisemitism as merely a private case of a general phenomenon, minority hatred, differentiated from other factors by aspects which can only be referred to as 'quantitative', immediately arouses questions and doubt. If antisemitism was no more than the result of the simultaneous combination of three general factors, then it had to cease to exist if one of them was missing. Furthermore, antisemitism would not be possible without a Jewish minority. Yet we witness antisemitism even when the Jews are not foreign or different or particularly weaker than other members of the society, and even when not in a status of minority, but when they are the majority in a sovereign state. We even witness cases of antisemitism in countries that do not even have any Jews.

My claim is that antisemitism relies on a theological and metaphysical discourse. This is precisely why there has always been something unique and special about it. It is probably the only case in history when for centuries a whole people have been turned into a theological and metaphysical proof. Of course, in antisemitism, one can always discover the seeds of 'normal' xenophobia, racism, nationalism, economic and political interests, as everywhere

when a minority is persecuted. Yet antisemitism is more than that. I am not saying that the Jewish suffering has to be privileged as such, as being more 'precious' than that of the Armenians, the Tutsis, the witches or the black. What I am saying is that the Jewish suffering is different to the extent that it has a theological root, which is missing in other cases. Therefore it must be understood differently from all other collective and racial hatreds, and it is likely that for the European civilization its meaning is crucial.

Given the predominance of Christianity in European society for more than a thousand years, we may consider most of European history as Christian history. If antisemitism is a Christian disease reinforced by the power of theological legitimation and mythic emotion, it is not surprising that over the years the theological/mythical expressions of Christianity became familiar turf for many, if not most people in Europe. This saying indeed applies: 'The special succession threaded through thousands of years of Jewish oppression ... is apparent through the fact that a striking majority of Europeans are Christians in heart and soul' (Bacharach 1991:16). To separate the European from the Christian is simply not possible. Did Luther speak as a Christian theologian in his essay 'On the Jews and Their Lies', or was he speaking as a European (a German)? I cannot see how the two, even in Luther's own eyes could be separated. In my opinion, then antisemitism is intrinsically linked to Christianity and as such intrinsically linked to Europe. But it is so in two opposite ways. First, any fundamentalist Christian, no matter what his/her exact denomination, could not help but develop anti-Semitic attitudes. Secondly, and paradoxically enough, (as I will show in the chapter about antisemitism in the Enlightenment), any radical anti-Christian outlooks tends to be anti-Semitic as well.

The story goes that once Frederick the Great, King of Prussia, asked his personal physician whether he knew any irrefutable and supreme proof of God existence. 'The Jews, your majesty', the doctor answered (Poliakov 1974:7). Indeed, the mere survival of this people, scattered across the whole world, subjected to such suffering and yet outliving most of its former persecutors still seemed to many of Frederick's contemporaries to be a most divine plan. But as time went by, a lot of people became interested in finding any supreme proof. They simply claimed that 'God died' and since nothing transcendental was worth proving anymore, what more need could there be for the Jews themselves? What could you do with a 'supreme' and even living proof of God you wanted dead?

Before I continue with our discussion, we have to ask a question that seems absurd: is antisemitism actually exists?

Antisemitism is such an emotive subject that it is best characterised by way of a thought experiment. Let us suppose that someone claimed to have discovered a phenomenon he/she called anti-kiwism, a pathological hatred of New-Zealanders. What would have to be the case to convince us that he/she was right, and that there really is such a phenomenon?

The fact that the government of New Zealand is criticized? Clearly not.

The publicly voiced claim that New Zealand has no right to exist? Perhaps.

The fact that in twelve months – February 2003 to February 2004 there have been almost 7,732 terrorist attacks in Europe alone, on New Zealand citizens, almost one every hour, everyday for 365 days (source: Anti Defamation League). Maybe.

Suppose that at a United Nation Conference against racism in Durban (South Africa), New Zealand, because of its treatment of Maoris, is, alone among the Nations of the world, singled out and accused of apartheid, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity; and that those making these charges carry posters inspired by 'Der Sturmer', the paper published in Nazi Germany.

Suppose that there are calls to murder all those with New Zealand loyalties, even though they were born elsewhere and live elsewhere.

Suppose academics spearhead a campaign to shun New Zealand professors simply on the basis of their nationality.

Suppose that New Zealand was believed to control the USA.

Suppose all that, then I think one might be considerably convinced that there is such a thing as anti-kiwism, and that it is alive and well, disturbing and dangerous.

Every statement I have just made with New Zealand deleted and the words 'Israeli' and 'Jews' substituted has happened in the past. This might seem to be worthy of some concern. But putting it this way altogether fails to communicate the real pathos of the situation, because we are not dealing with anti-Kiwism. We are dealing with antisemitism, and antisemitism has a history.

Authentic antisemitism begins as soon as, with St. Paul, Christianity asserts itself as distinct from Judaism. I do not consider that the pre-Christian anti-Judaic outbursts among Greeks and Romans ever represented a real antisemitism because the terms 'universal' and 'stereotype' did not exist in their history.

In Greece and Rome the general universality considered everything that revolved around Athens and Rome.



The anti-Judaic outbursts in Rome and Greece as well didn't originate within a theological idea, either transcendent or secularised and 'pagan hostility towards Jews ... lacked the religious foundations that were to make Christian Jew hatred an enduring feature of Western culture' (Steiman, 1998:2).

Persecutions against Jews in the pre-Christian Roman Empire were almost always politically-socially motivated and they used to last just as long as the rulers found it expedient, i.e. not very long. 'The motive for such hostility (pre-Christian towards Jews hostility. A.A.) was not racial prejudice, economic envy or disdain of Jewish ways' (Cohn-Sherbok 2002:2). The Roman respected the particularity of the Jews and 'even though most Jews were not granted citizenship, they were permitted to practice their faith' (Cohn-Sherbok, 2002:6). The writing of the great historian of that time, Philo of Alexandria, tells us in his 'Ambassade to Caius' that from Julius Caesar onwards, Jews were granted a unique exemption from worshipping Rome's gods and imperial images, and neither Caligula's paranoia, nor Hadrianus temporary decrees could end this privilege. Lionel Steiman in his book 'Paths to Genocide' suggests that recent studies have minimized even the mild political-social antisemitism of pre-Christian antiquity and support the claim that Jews were well liked and widely admired in the ancient world (Steiman, 1998:2). One of these recent studies is the book of Bernard Lazare called 'Antisemitism – its history and causes'. Lazare claim in his book that 'at Rome, at Alexandria, at Antioch, in Cyrenaica they were (the Jews A.A.) allowed full freedom' (Lazare 1995:10) and that the Jews 'exempt from all practices contrary to their religion; they enjoyed complete self-government; they had their own chiefs, their own senate, their ethnarch, and were not subject to the general municipal authorities. Everywhere they wanted to remain Jews, and everywhere they were granted the privilege of establishing a state within a state' (Lazare, 1995:10). Even researchers that support the opposite narrative of Lazare and his such and suggest as Gavin Langmuir in his book 'History, Religion and Antisemitism' that 'many pagans in the Roman Empire were strongly, even violently anti-Judaic' (Langmuir, 1990:275), add that 'I do not think their attitudes significantly influenced the formation of antisemitism in Western Europe' (Langmuir, 1990:275).

On the contrary to the pre-Christian era, the universal Christian history passed a Copernican revolt where the ancient gravity centre destroyed and instead of it came something new.

This new Christian outlook is so universal and it is clear that also the image of the Jew gets a totally different universal meaning compared to the Greek and Rome period (Bacharach, 1979:11).

In addition to that there has always been a 'Jewish problem' for Christianity. This problem is located in the very core of its identity, even when there was no political reason for it.

For Christians, Jews and Judaism remained crucially important. Although Jews posed no serious threat to the survival of Pauline Christianity, 'the very existence of Jewish religiosity and Judaic religions posed a fundamental problem for Christians and the new Christian religion, for it was an internal problem, a birth trauma' (Langmuir, 1990:282). Christians could never escape their awareness of competing with Judaism. Almost 100 years ago, the German scholar Julius Wellhausen formulated briefly this problem as follows: 'Jesus was not a Christian, but a Jew.' (in Bratton, 1969:16).

Before I go deep into the subject of Antisemitism in the writing of Paul, Augustine and other early Church fathers, I found it properly to present an objection on the implication of the term 'Antisemitism' concerning their writings, objection made by Emil Fackenheim in his book 'To Mend the World'.

Fackenheim's assertion implies that the term 'Antisemitism' cannot apply to disputes within Judaism, and, therefore, is not appropriate for describing early Christian texts, which reflect such internecine disputes. Since, the argument goes, the followers of Jesus saw themselves as Jews with a new perspective, namely, the belief that Jesus was the Messiah, the violent language directed at the Jews in early Christian literature cannot be read as anti-Jewish. Rather it should be seen as criticism levelled at Jewish conservatives by reforming coreligionists. The character of early Christianity changed, according to this theory, when the followers of Jesus began to include gentiles, not as converts to Judaism, but on wholly different terms. According to this theory, Christian scripture becomes anti-Jewish when it becomes the scripture of gentiles and not of Jewish Christians.

I should challenge Fackenheim's theory.

John Pawlikowski argued in his book 'Christ in the light of Christian-Jewish dialogue' that as likely as it may have been for early followers of Jesus to see in him the hoped-for Jewish Messiah, his death forced a re-evaluation of that claim. Jesus did not really fulfil any of the principal prophecies of his time. Therefore, as Littell Franklin point out in her book 'The Crucifixion of the Jews', the early Christian movement was very early on needed to devise a new form of Messianic belief that was not constrained by the contours of Judaism. Probably from the earliest times, and certainly after 70 C. E., Christianity, at least theologically, was not a movement within Judaism, and 'hostility toward the Pharisees (the

main Jews group of that time A.A.) tended to grow during the Church's early mission' (Ruether, 1974:65).

The issue of the Jewishness of early Christianity is even more problematical. Ruether's book, 'Faith and Fratricide' teach us that there are signs that very soon after the birth of the new movement, gentiles were welcome into full membership without first converting to Judaism. In fact, it is not clear from the evidence that Jewish Christians existed as a group for very long. Early in the history of the developing movement, being Christian was already different from being Jewish and incompatible with it. Careful reading of the Gospels makes it clear that early Christianity is not in any real sense a Jewish reform movement. Christian scripture is framed by a non-Jewish perspective and the authors of those texts, for most part, wrote from outside Judaism.

Studies such as 'John Chrysostom and the Jews' of Robert Wilkin and Ruether 'faith and Fratricide', have demonstrated that although Jews and Christians maintained an ongoing relationship until the fourth century, that relationship was wary and tenuous, and that early Christian thought produced a clear and by no means benign anti-Judaism.

In Claude Lanzman's movie 'Shoah' he interviews a Polish farmer that stands on the steps of the Church where Jews during the Second World War were imprisoned before being sent to the nearest extermination camp. Lanzman presses on her to give an explanation. Her answer is the story of the trial of Jews as it is written in the New Testament. After offering the crowd to choose between Jesus and Bar-abas, who is going to be crucified and who is going to go free, and the crowd chooses to free Bar-abas, declares Pontius Pilatus, the Roman commissioner, that his hands are clean from the blood of Jesus. The crowd answers: 'His blood be on us, and on our children' (St Matthew, Chapter 27, Verse 25).

Probably no other Christian accusation with a seeming New Testament basis against the Jewish people has been responsible for more Jewish suffering throughout history than the charge of deicide. This was the accusation that the Jewish community of Jesus time, in its blindness and spiritual haughtiness, put to death the very son of God.

Taking on account the terrible consequences of the charge of deicide for 2000 years, and since that charge is the source of Antisemitism, I found it necessary to explore the reasons for its existence.

Being familiar with recent myth theories (such as the one of Russell McCutcheon, Graeme MacQueen and others), make it easy for me to refer to the charge of deicide as a myth. According to McCutcheon the distinction between logos and mythos (between lie and

truth) is not an innocent one but a distinction that its object is to strengthen a particular worldview and particular self interest of the mythmaker (McCutcheon 2000:201). ‘Myth is above all a story that is believed, believed to be true, and that people continue to believe despite sometimes massive evidence that it is, in fact, a lie...’ (McCutcheon, 2000:197).

Crucifixion was one of the modes of capital punishment in the Roman Empire. It was never a punishment that Jews used as part of their capital punishment. Jesus was crucified in a state that was under Roman military occupation. The death penalty, the crucifixion was used against people who seemed to threaten the order of the state, people that threatened the political status quo. To Romans any Messianic claim amounted to treason, for ‘Messiah’ was an old, Jewish royal title, challenging the Roman authority over Judea. That makes the story about Pontius Pilatus that repudiate from the decision to crucify a political troublemaker like Jesus unacceptable. ‘Christian theology has disseminated idea which not only depart from historical truth, but which often distort and contradict it in such a way that they may justly be termed myths... these myths have their origin in passionate controversies which took place during the first centuries of the Christian era, between the scholars of the old law and those of the new Church, the men referred to as the Church fathers’ (Jules, 1964:41).

The process that shape the final face of Christianity, that establish the foundation of its thoughts, notion, structure and myths, and that turn Christianity from a trend within Judaism to a new religion, is not the doing of one man, but Paul fulfil in that process an overwhelming role (Lozato, 1987:28).

Why Paul and other Church fathers created the myth about the guilt of the Jews in the killings of Jesus – the myth of deicide?<sup>1</sup>

After Jesus died on the cross, his followers never gave up the hope for the coming of ‘God’s Kingdom’ as Jesus preached (Mark, 1.15).

They believed that, somehow, their master has been resuscitated and that the coming of the kingdom was not cancelled, but just delayed. But for how long? First they thought the arrival of the kingdom, along with Jesus’ second coming, would occur within their lifetime. Then, as some of them began to pass away, the survivors hoped that at least one of them would live to see it. But when the entire generation who had known Jesus died away, second generation Christians realised that the kingdom was not meant to come during the foreseeable future. Then these Christians who had not known Jesus of Nazareth personally, said to each other: perhaps Jesus’ message was misunderstood by his close followers. And so, an

---

<sup>1</sup> Its need to be mention that in Mark and Matthew, Jesus was effectively beaten and crucified by the Roman soldiers while only in Lucas and in the first letter of Paul to the Thessalonians by the Jews themselves.

apocalyptic Jewish sect, who had lost its *raison d'être*, seized the opportunity to transform itself into an universal salvation religion. Since the coming of the 'kingdom' was not about to happen in the near future, Christians could not live any further by the *ad interim* ethics preached by Jesus and his close apostles so Paul replaced 'the message of Jesus' with 'the message on Jesus' (in Corinthians 1,23). Paul realised that the Christian sect had no future with Judaism. A new religion created, and new myths were necessary. The first and the explicit accusation of the Jews as the 'God's killers' found in the first letter of Paul to the Thessalonians where he held the views that the Jews 'who both killed the Lord Jesus, and their own prophets...' (in the first Thessalonians, 2,15). Modern historians explain the need of the Gospels to shift the blame for the death of Jesus from Rome to the Jews 'due to the exigencies of the gentile mission' (Ruether, 1974:88). The main 'customers' for the new Christianity were the gentiles. The huge 'market' of the Roman Empire open up to Christianity. As Lozato mentions in his book amongst the empire nations it was a period of increasing curiosity concerning new faiths (Lozato, 1987:29). But the Church couldn't convert the Romans to their new religion while blaming them for the crucifixion of Christ. The despicable of the story should be the Jews.

In addition to that as Ruether point out in her book: 'it is important to note that the shift is not merely from Roman to Jewish authority, but from political to religious authority. It is important to the Gospel tradition to throw the blame for the death of Jesus not merely upon Jewish political authorities, but specifically upon the head of the Jewish religious tradition and its authority' (Ruether, 1974:88).

I see the reason for this shift as such: as I mention before a new religion needs new myths. There is no mythical meaning to execution of a person by a pure political power, that missing any contact to a superhuman authority, and that have no implication beyond the limits of time and space where that execution took place. The Roman didn't fit the duty of the murderer in the myth. If the duty of the murderer was laying on them, the drama was losing its mythical dimension and becoming an historical episode with only limited importance.

In front of the god-victim should stand a figure of a murderer, with transcendental dimensions, with virtues that are parallel-polaric to the one of the God-victim. Only the people of Israel fulfil that demand. The people of Israel, then, are not just the tool of the crucifixion, but they are the essential antagonist, that without it, the myth can't stand, the antagonist that supply the polarity that is a principle component of a myth.

He who killed Jesus, or he who killed God, must be punished.

The deicide charge then, laid the groundwork for a highly developed theology within Christianity claiming that Jews, for the remainder of human history, were to be subjected to continual suffering and to live in a state of perpetual wandering without a homeland as a punishment for this monumental crime.

Augustine, one of the main Church patriarchs from the fifth century, 'second only to St Paul as a Christian authority for the Western world' (Wistrich, 1992:17) is the founder of the doctrine, which is called 'the humiliation doctrine' or 'the theory of the mystery of the Jewish survival'. The Jews should be accursed, scattered over the earth, enslaved, condemned to serve the new religion that has inherited their chosenness, and subjected to the princes and peoples in political servitude. But they should be kept alive as eternal witnesses to their own guilt and also to bear witness to the truth of the prophecies in their writings in favour of the Christians and to Christianity's triumph over them. In his 'city of God' (book 18, Chapter 46), says Augustine: 'But the Jews who rejected Him and slew Him, after that were miserably spoiled by the Romans, under the domination of strangers, and dispersed over the face of the whole earth. For they are in all places with their testament, to show that we have not forged those prophecies of Christ... But that suffices us which we have from the books of our enemies, which we acknowledge in that they preserve it for us against their wills, themselves and their books being dispersed as far as Gods Church is extended and spread, in every corner of the world... And therefore He (God) slew them not, that is, He left their name of Jews still, although they be the Roman's slaves, lest their utter dissolution should make us forget the law of God concerning his testimony of theirs. So it were nothing to say, 'slay them not' but that He adds 'scatter them abroad'; for if they were not dispersed throughout the whole world with their scriptures, the Church would lack their testimonies concerning those prophecies fulfilled in our Messiah' (in Bein 1990: 71-72). This doctrine is based on the writing on the book of psalm 'slay them not, lest my people forget: scatter them by the power; and bring them down, o Lord our shield' (The Book of Psalm, Chapter 59, Verse 11). Augustine's Christian interpretation of that verse says that the Jews must not be killed so the Christians wouldn't forget their bible and their superiority: 'Lest my people forget'. But the Christians should humiliate the Jew: 'scatter them by the power and bring them down'. The humiliated Jews should be the victory symbol of the Christian faith.

The Jews here become the means for the Christian faith, and as long as Christianity will wish to strengthen itself it will need the humiliated Jew.

In other words, the existence of the Jews is important because of their humiliation.

Augustine compared the Jews to Cain who deceitfully killed his brother and deserved to die. Nevertheless he was spared by God and cursed to wander unhappily across the whole world after that. Like Cain, the Jews deserved to die because they were guilty of deicide. Yet God wanted them to be alive but subjected them to a humiliating status so they could bear witness to the superiority of the Christian truth.

Augustine was not alone in his accusation. Many other Church fathers share the same identification of the Jews with Cain. Among others were Ephrem that argued in the fourth century that 'the glory that was with the people of Israel, has passed from them, and they now stand among the nations as ashamed as Cain was of his murderous deed' (Cohn-Sherbok 2002:38). The fourth century poet Prudentius wrote: 'From place to place the homeless Jew wonders in ever shifting exile, since the time when he was torn from the abode of his fathers and has been suffering the penalty for murder and having stained his hands with the blood of Christ, whom he denied, paying the price of sin... This noble race (is)... scattered and enslaved... It is in captivity under the younger faith... a race that was formerly unfaithful confesses Christ and triumphs. But that which denied Christ is conquered and subdued and has fallen into the hands of Masters who keep the faith' (in Ruether 1974:134).

The antithesis between the two peoples (Cain and Abel) also drew on the image of the two wives of Abraham, Sara and Hagar, and the two wives of Jacob, Rachel and Leah. Paul provided the basis for the interpretation of the Two wives of Abraham (in Galatians 4:21-31), as he did also for that of Jacob and Esau (in Romans 9:13). In Paul and later in Augustine 'not only Cain, but also Hagar, Ishmael and Esau, symbolise the Jews who have been rejected, whereas their contrasting pairs, Abel, Sarah, Isaac and Jacob, prefigure the election of the Church' (Wistrich, 1992:19).

The miserable and humiliated status of the Jews, express and perpetuate as well by the testament and the Church father in their comparison between Jews and woman. While examining the New Testaments attitude towards women, Rosemary Ruether realised certain parallels with its attitude towards Jews. In her view, the Christian male establishment has incorporated certain dualism into its thinking that consistently place women in an inferior position and men in a superior one. She describes 'the basic dualities' as 'the alienation of the mind from the body; the alienation of the subjective self from the objective world; the subjective retreat of the individual; alienated from the social community; the domination or rejection of nature by spirit' (Ruether, 1979:45).

Jews as well as women have been the victims of these dualities, and often have been derogated for similar qualities. Both have been considered carnal rather than spiritual, evil rather than good.

While referring to Augustin's thoughts, Ruether claims that in his thought the synagogue is described as a wicked, conniving woman who has been 'caught in adultery more than once, and still has not given up all her stolen ornaments and false claims' (Ruether, 1974:136). While referring to the writings of another key Church father called Tertullian in his 'On the Guilty Nature of Women' claim Ruether that the term you in the quotation that follows refers to women, but Jews can quite effectively be substituted as the term's referent: 'You are the devil's gateway. You are the unsealer of that forbidden tree. You are the first deserter of the divine law. You are she who persuaded him whom the devil was not valiant enough to attack. You destroyed so easily God's image of man. On account of your desert, that is death, even the son of God had to die' (Ruether, 1974: 157). Or in the 'Demonstrations against the Jews' of another Church father called Aphrahat that refer to the book of Hosea: 'concerning them Hosea preached when he called them a licentious and adulterous woman. He said concerning the Congregation of Israel, 'remove her adultery from between her breasts' (Hosea, 2:2). The prophet spoke concerning both their congregations and called them licentious and adulterous when he said at the end of the verse 'If she does not remove her licentiousness from before her face and her adultery from between her breasts, then I shall throw her out naked and shall abandon her as on the day when she was born'...'Israel has played the whore, and Judah has committed adultery. And the people which is of the peoples (the Church) is the holy and faithful people, which has gone down and adhered to the Lord'. (in Ruether 1974:136)

The fact that both women and the Jews are able to give birth (Jews to the Christian faith) is also a comparative matter. While studies such as of 'Biblical Affirmations of Women' by Leonard Swindler or 'When God Was a Woman' of Merlin Stone suggest that giving birth indicates superiority, and thus both the recognition that women give birth and the lack of acknowledgement of male paternity must mean that women were accorded more value, many other anthropological studies would be suspicious of applying this suggestion to the past and to other cultures in the present. In studies such as 'Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture?' by Sherry Ortner, or 'Nature, Culture and Gender' by Carol MacCormack and Marilyn Strathern, the opposite has been argued. This viewpoint states that women, because of the pain and messiness of childbirth, have been associated with 'nature' rather than with



‘culture’. ‘Culture’, the domain of the artificially created, the sphere of social activities, is more valued and is associated primarily with men.

The idea that relates Christianity to ‘culture’ and Judaism to ‘nature’ is well spread in the Church thoughts. For example, a Church father called John Chrysostom claims that ‘As an animal when it has been fattened by getting all it wants to eat, grows stubborn and hard to manage, so it is with the Jewish people.’ (in Cohn-Sherbok, 2002:36).

As I see it, in this dualism, or this similarity between the attitudes to Jews and the attitudes to women we deal in both cases with a desired object to turn into an abuse object. The Jews are the desired objects of the Christian faith because the Christians accept the idea that the people of Israel are the spouse of God and as such they are jealous of them, since the Jewish people were chosen to this duty while the Christians need to work hard to receive this position.

Until the end of the eleventh century, Jewish communities lived, for most part, in tranquillity and cooperation with their gentile neighbours. Until that time, there was little ‘real’ government anywhere in Europe. This absence of effective control authority anywhere meant the absence of any uniform policy towards Jews. So whatever ideas about or against Jews that were evolving in the basic writings of Christianity, no agency capable of implementing them existed before the eleventh century.

In the beginning of the eleventh century, the rise of town and the increase economic activity they generated created a class of gentile traders to challenge what was in effect a Jewish monopoly.

The gradual feudalization of Europe, which placed all lands under Christian lords, was accompanied by the marginalization of Jews, who were gradually deprived of legal rights they formerly enjoyed. The exclusion of Jews from owning land and holding public office served as a kind of ideological safety-valve for the feudal system, who was a system of exploitation ideologically supported by the Church.

The combination then of the humiliated status of the Jews a la the ‘humiliation doctrine’ of Augustine with the exclusion of Jews from owning land or holding public office, in 11 century Christian Europe, forced the Jews into the kind of activities: usury and travelling merchants.

Usury was associated with the Jews ever since but it is important to point out that ‘Although the words ‘Jew’ and ‘usurer’ had become almost synonymous in the 12 century, prior to that time Jews were scarcely active in usury at all’ (Steiman, 1998:16).

The other activity that Jews were engaged in since the 11th century was travelling merchants and the image of the 'wondering Jew' arise. The Jew who roamed the countryside with a sack on his back in order to sell the products made in the cities became such a familiar figure that in the popular imagination he became almost identical with the perception of the Jew in general' (Bein, 1990:153).

There is no doubt that the stereotype of the 'wandering Jew' that raised in the 11th-12th century Europe contributed to the comparison of the Jew with the Devil-Satan. The origin of the Hebrew term Satan, as it is mentioned in the book of Job is from the root s.o.t. and the meaning of that root is wandering without limits.

As Wistrich mentions in his book, Church fathers like Chrysostom and Augustine already by the end of the fourth century crystallised a demonic image of the Jew who combined superhuman malevolence with total spiritual blindness. They portrayed the Jews as embodying Satan's synagogue, as the sons of darkness (Wistrich, 1992:17). Chrysostom described Jews as 'inveterate murderers, destroyers, men possessed by the devil... they murder their offspring and immolate them to the devil. They are impure and impious. ' The synagogue is 'the domicile of the devil as is also the soul of the Jews'. Their rites are 'criminal and impure', their religion is 'a disease' (in Perry and Schweitzer, 2002:75). But it was only at the end of the 11th century, with the emerging of the 'wondering Jew' stereotype that a 'radical change occurs in the image of the Satan in the Christian world' (Bonfil 1988:15). From now on 'the Church has isolated the image of the Jew, turning it into a demon, a diabolic, subhuman entity, something evil' (Bacharach, 1979:15). The Jew has been portrayed as a negative image during hundreds of years to come. In order to realize this, all we have to do is take a look (and the medieval art is a good example of it), at the various caricatures of Jews, drawn throughout generations. They always portray the Jew in the most monstrous form – a Satan with horns, a tail, donkey legs and other human deformities.

The Satanic image of the Jews portrayed as well in the writings and the speeches of the Church leaders. In the words of Goldhagen 'with its totalitarian control over European cosmology and mortal culture, the Church disseminated through its representatives, its bishops, and, most important, its parish priests, its view of Jews, creating a universal and relatively uniform, pan-European cognition about Jews in which the Jews were, as creatures of the devil, considered to be barely human, if human at all' (Goldhagen, 1997:53).

It was the Christian Church, which was the first to design the image of an inferior human being, according to a supposedly divine decree. By taking away from the Jew his

human image, the Church has played a part, if we may say so, an active part, in the historical developments to come, which damaged the Jew, as a human being, and the Jews, as a nation. Even though theologically mistaken, the words of Hitler to Bishop Berning in April 1933 say it all 'As for the Jews, I am just carrying on with the same policy which the Catholic Church had adapted for 1500 years'. (in Johnson 1977: 490)

Having already convicted Jews of deicide and serving as Satan's agents, it seemed, for many Christians since the 12th century, perfectly understandable that Jews would also thirst after the blood of pure Christian children. In terms of improbability and absurdity, of all the accusations which fanaticism and ignorance have used as a weapon against Judaism, none can be compared to the accusations of ritual murder. 'These fables gained wide acceptance despite the facts that human sacrifice was unknown to the Jews and was considered a particularly abhorrent act, strictly prohibited by God. Demanding respect for all life, including that of animals, the Torah forbade the consuming of blood or meat with blood in it'. (Perry and Schweitzer 2002:47).

Ironically, while consuming of blood is strictly forbidden to Jews, Christian tradition is very much concerned with the blood of Christ.

'Allegations of ritual murder, and the accompanying tortures, trials, burnings, massacres, expulsions, and pillage of property, occurred frequently in the middle ages' (Perry and Schweitzer, 2002:44).

The first case of ritual murder occurred in Norwich, England, in 1144 following the murder just before Easter of a 12 year old Christian boy called William. That crime was attributed without any evidence to local Jews that were accused of crucifying him in mockery of the passion of Jesus (Wistrich, 1992:30).

Similar accusations and allegations of sacrificial murder spread across England and then to the continent where 'in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, a series of blood libels produces more horrors for the Jews of Germany' (Perry and Schweitzer, 2002:52).

The accusation that Jews abduct Christian children in order to re-enact the crucifixion of Jesus at Easter time seems to have been connected with fantasies arising out of the notion that the Christ-child was actually present in the wafers of the Eucharist. Guilt feelings associated with the act of cutting up and eating a small child, could have preoccupied Christian believers at an unconscious level and would have been easier to handle once they were projected onto Jews (Maccoby, 1987:154).

The allegation that Jews used the blood of murdered Christian child by mixing it with their Matzot (unleavened bread) during the Passover added further dimension to the ritual killing myth.

Another Christian allegation during the middle age was that the Jewish men need the Christian blood as a compensation for the blood they lost through circumcision. 'Such primitive notions, when amalgamated with the older identification of Jews with the Satan, could only induce fear, loathing and horror, providing a pretext for pogroms and massacres down into our own century'. (Wistrich, 1992:31)

Reinforced during the Middle Ages, this distorted image of the Jew as a contemptible and demonic creature, that practice child murdering, persists in the European mentality into the 21st century.

In March-April 1892, an Italian Catholic newspaper called 'Osservatore Cattolico', published a series of 44 articles entitled the 'certainty of the ritual character of the murder practiced by the Jews' (Strack, 1909:170).

From 1881 to 1914 the Italian periodical 'Civiltà Cattolica' printed numerous articles purporting to 'prove' that Jews, in fulfilment of Talmudic law, murdered Christian children to obtain their blood for religious purposes (Hay, 1960: 120).

In July 1462 a three year old child named Andreas was found by his mother in a village near Innsbruck Austria hanged on a tree after being sold by his uncle to travelling merchants. Years later it was claimed that the merchants were Jews, and Andreas was declared a victim of ritual murder. A Church in which his bones were buried became a shrine. Only in 1994, the bishop of Innsbruck condemned the blood libel slander and declared that there had never been a ritual murder martyrdom and that the accusations against the Jews are false. (Perry and Schweitzer, 2002:53). Despite that Austrians in the Tyrol continue to celebrate the cult of the boy 'martyred by the Jews' and in December 1997 a lecturer at an Austrian Catholic theological seminary published an article in a right wing journal claiming that Jews had indeed killed Christians in the Middle Ages to use their blood for ritual purposes (Perry and Schweitzer, 2002:71).

Recently, a leader of the Church of Norway, Bishop Odd Bondevik renounces the Jewish God, who he presents as a violent counterpart of the Church's 'nice' God when he states: 'God is nice, at least the God we have come to know through Jesus – and that is what is important to me – and not a God who deceives men or plays games with them or who is violent towards men in that manner' (in an interview with NRK Radio, Channel P2, Program 'Dagsnytt Atten' 6.9.2005). Bishop Odd Bondevik goes on to describe the Biblical motive

‘the offering of Isaac’ as psychologically damaging for children and thereby giving the impression that the God of the Jews and the Old Testament is a motive for revenge and violence. The bishop presented, in his interview the 37 year old Isaac as a ‘child’ and ‘boy’. All that, at least hints, to the arguments used by the Church against the Jews ‘who killed children for ritual rites’.

In the 16th century, the coming of the new Protestant faith raised hopes among the Jews. At first, it did appear that the representatives of the new faith, especially Martin Luther (1483-1546) and his adherents, had greater understanding for Judaism. Soon after initiating the Reformation, Luther called for a gentler attitude towards Jews. Luther published a strong pamphlet in defence of the Jews ‘That Jesus Christ was born a Jew’ (1523). It seemed to contain the sharpest condemnation of Jew hatred and past Christian policy towards the Jews that had been voiced by the Christian side. Luther insisted that Christianity would never have survived, if the Apostles had treated their intended converts as cruelly as their descendants treat Jews – ‘if the Apostles who were also Jews, had dealt with us Gentiles as we Gentiles deal with Jews there would have never been a Christian among the Gentiles... we in turn ought to treat Jews in a brotherly manner in order that we might convert some of them... we are but Gentiles, while Jews are of the lineage of Christ. We are aliens and in-laws; they are blood relatives, cousins, and bothers of our Lord’ (in Wistrich, 1992:39).

In another part of that pamphlet Luther says: ‘But if we only use force against them, if we maintain that unless they have Christian blood they stink, and I know not what other kinds of foolishness... what good would that be? Also if we forbid them to work among us and have the kind of human intercourse that would not drive them to usury, how should that improve them? If we want to help them, we must make the laws more Christian and not more papal,, show them love, give them a friendly reception, and let them carry on trades and labour so that they can come to know the teachings and the lives of Christians from their own observations’ (quoted in Bein 1990:139).

The structure of this pamphlet and the context of these words did indicate that Luther hoped to convert the Jews to Christianity as he viewed and preached it. He thought that if they were treated more lovingly and prudently, they could be convinced of the truth of his religion. But the Jews did not meet Luther’s expectations. ‘To his astonishment they (= his words of peace A.A.) did not lead Jesus to convert to Christianity in appreciable numbers. And now it turned out that even the words that were regarded as praise and defence actually did not

reflect any change of heart but were only tactical and missionary in nature, with no change for the better in the theological and spiritual attitude towards the Jews' (Bein 1990:139-140).

When the hopes to convert the Jews were dashed, in ensuing years Luther increasingly made anti-Jewish remarks. These increasingly venomous attacks reached their zenith in an essay expressed directly against the Jews which Luther published in 1543, 20 years after his first writings on the Jews, 'Concerning the Jews and their lies'. Here Luther depicted the Jews as poisoners, ritual murderers, usurers, as devils incarnate and as parasites on Christian society.

Luther asks: 'What shall we Christians now do with this cast-out condemned Jewish people? He counsels 'severe mercy' as expressed in the following proposals: 'first, that their synagogues or schools be set on fire; whatever will not burn should be covered with earth so that no one will ever see a stone or a cinder... second, that their houses be similarly razed and destroyed... for this purpose they should be put under some roof or in some stable like the gypsies to make them realise that they are not the masters in our country... Third, that there be taken from them all prayer books and Talmudic writings in which such idolatry, lies, curses, and blasphemy are taught. Fourth, that henceforth their rabbis be forbidden on peril of their lives to teach. Fifth, that safe-conduct and the right of the roads be entirely taken away from them, for they have no business being abroad. Sixth, that usury be forbidden them and all money and precious things in gold and silver be taken from them and put away for safekeeping... Seventh, that the young and strong Jews and Jewesses be given flails, axes, hoes, spades, sticks and spindles and made to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, as has been imposed on Adam's children...' (in Bein, 1990:142).

Several months later, Luther published a pamphlet called 'On Shemhamphoras and the Lineage of Christ' where he attacked the Jews for their unwillingness to embrace Christ. Repeating medieval charges about the nature of Jewry he wrote: 'It is easy to convert the Jew as to convert the devil' and he states, 'A Jew, a Jewish heart, are as hard as stone, as iron, as the Devil himself. In short, they are children of the devil, condemned to the flames of hell' (in Cohn-Sherbok, 2002:90-91).

With such statements it is easy to agree with Daniel Goldhagen that 'Martin Luther's antisemitism was ferocious and influential enough to have earned him a place in the pantheon of antisemites' (Goldhagen, 1977:53).

Shortly after Kristallnacht's orgy of anti-Jewish violence in Germany, one leading Protestant Churchman, Bishop Martin Sasse of Thuringia, published a compendium of Martin Luther's anti-Semitic writings. In the foreword to the volume, he applauded the burning of the

synagogues and the coincidence of the day: 'on November 10, 1938, on Luther's birthday, the synagogues are burning in Germany'. The German people, he argued, ought to heed these words 'of the greatest anti-Semite of his time, the warner of his people against the Jews' (in Goldhagen 1997:111).

As harsh as Luther's statements are, and although undoubtedly those statements were the seed-bed of the racist Nazi 'final solution', it is important to point that, Luther's opinions about the Jews were still in the framework of a theological discourse and not a classical racist one. It is still the discourse of assimilation of the Jews and not physical annihilation of them. It still follows the Christian theological figure of the Jew's expected destination – assimilation via conversion to Christianity or humiliation and misery.

It is important to mention also the most humanistic voices in the Protestant new faith such as Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466-1536), were bitterly critical of the Jews. Erasmus, that the E.U. student exchange programme commemorates his name, carried a 'deeply rooted hatred for Jews' (Steiman, 1998:54). Erasmus that presented as a great Renaissance humanist who spoke out for toleration and peace said statements such as: 'if hate of Jews is the proof of genuine Christians, then we are all excellent Christians'. (in Perry and Schweitzer, 2002: 80). Just as Israeli-Jewish students are not included in the student exchange programme that carries his name 'his humane vision of the world simply did not include Jews' (Steiman, 1998: 54).

As the punishment for killing the Christian God, so claims Christian theology, the primogeniture was taken away from the nation of Israel because through their actions, they were in denial of the true faith, the right religion. Therefore, the promise given to Israel according to the Jewish tradition, the promise of being the chosen people, bringing the world the tidings of Messianism – this promise was transferred from the worldly Israel to the spiritual Israel, meaning the Christian Church.

The fall of Israel was announced by the Christian preachers in almost unanimous pattern, composed of three parts: a). the sin of the Jews, b). ruling out their choice, c). the triumph and superiority of Christianity. The sin was presented as denial of the Messianism of Jews, and this rejection by the Jews was considered severely offensive. The persistence of the Jews prevented their salvation. They appeared to be the eternal enemies of Jesus. The image of the stubborn, sinful Jew, subjected to the merciful grace of Jesus has become rooted in the Christian public awareness, and the term 'heresy' was pinned as obvious to the name Jew.

The heretic Jews rejected him as the Messiah and world saviour, and this resulted in what? In having them rejected by the Lord.

Churchgoers were hearing, day and night, that 'The Christians were now the chosen people, and the holy city of Jerusalem, centre and light of the world, was now the Church, which called itself the New Jerusalem.' (Steiman, 1998:7).

In this interpretation of the Bible, 'Christianity is regarded as pre-existent, secretly existed long before the appearance of Christ. The great figures of Jewish history mentioned in the Bible belong to it and the spiritual Israel is its precursor. As for the bad things that the Bible reports, that is the earthly Judaism, the actual Jewish people'. (Bein, 1990:67-68).

The blessing contained in the Bible, then, as well applies to the pre-existent Christianity or refers to the Christianity of the future. For example, in Romans 4 and Galatians 3, Paul 'proves' that Abraham is not the father of those who keep the law (=the Jews) in the lineage of tribal descent, but the father of those who believe apart from the works of the law. Abraham is the father of those made righteous through faith, not the father of those who seek righteousness through the works of the law. His fatherhood is universal, not tribal, because it is said that he was to be the father 'of many nations' (Genesis, 17:5).

'Reading the word nations as 'Gentiles', Paul understands this to mean that Abraham is the father of a universal people redeemed by faith. He is the father of the spiritual Israel, descended not by physical lineage but through faith in the promise that was given to Abraham apart from the works of the law. Isaac is the child of the promise. But the true spiritual Isaac is Christ, who is the child of the promise given to Abraham. (in Galatians, 3:6-9). Christians, not Jews, are the true offspring of Abraham and heir of the promise' (Ruether, 1974:98).

This theological doctrine that suggests that since the time of Jesus, Christians have replaced the Jews in God's favour and that Christianity has inherited all of Gods promises including the land of Israel called the 'Replacement theology'. An example for that we can find in the writings of Church fathers such as Ephrem who wrote that 'God's gates will be opened with joy, and gentiles shall enter into Zion and become an elect people. The lord shall reign over Zion, and many people shall come and worship in Jerusalem. The Jews, however, will be rejected and despair' (Cohn-Sherbok, 2002:40).

According to an article published by Melanie Phillips in the 'Spectator', February 2002, anti-Israel feelings in Christian circles has arisen as a result of replacement theology (Phillips, 6.2.2002).

Replacement theology is more evident, in the present time, in Protestant and Orthodox Churches than in the Roman Catholic which has done more to distance itself from it. In 1965



at the second Vatican Conference, the Catholic Church rejected antisemitism, described in positive theological terms the Jewish people and removed them from the blame of murdering Christ. Despite that the Catholic Church still thinks of itself as 'versus Israel' (the real Israel). Replacement theology, which dates from the early Church fathers and was suppressed after the Holocaust, has now been given a new lease of life under the impetus of the Middle East conflict. The writing of the Christian theologian Colin Chapman illustrates it well.

In his book 'Whose Promised Land?' Chapman claims that although the Jews are still in a special relationship with God, their only salvation is through Christ when they will be 'grafted back' on their own olive tree. Chapman delegitimizes Israel quite explicitly on theological grounds in his conclusion: 'when seen in the context of the whole Bible, however, both old and new testaments, the promise of the land to Abraham and his descendants does not give anyone a divine right to possess or live in the land for all time because of the coming of the kingdom of God through Jesus the Messiah has transformed and reinterpreted all the promises and prophecies in the Old Testament... Jesus the Messiah who lived, died and was raised from death in the land has opened the kingdom of God to people of all races, making all who follow him into one new humanity' (Chapman, 2002:32).

As we can see it in Chapman's book, replacement theology questioning the existence of the state of Israel as a Jewish state. Hence we can conclude that replacement theology is not just a form of anti-Zionism (Zionism in its meaning of believing in the existence of the Jewish state), but also a direct attack on Jewish religion, history and identity.

'Tapestries, frescoes, statues, inscriptions, and stained glass windows that adorn some Catholic Churches still show the myth of Jews torturing an innocent Christian child or desecrating the host, monuments to alleged victims still stand in town squares' (Perry and Schweitzer, 2002:71).

'The Protestant world council of Churches has in recent years adopted a platform which is not only anti-Israel and anti-Zionist, but which plucks the strings of classical, Christian Jew hatred' (Kriegel, 1992:23).

'There seems to be a return of abusive language towards Jesus' (Bergmann and Wetzel, 2003:72).

In such a setting statements such as the one of Archbishop Desmond Tutu comes as no surprise.

In a 'Church Times' article headlined 'Israel, the Unjust Steward', Tutu began: 'God is weeping over what he sees in the Middle East'. Tutu attacked what he sees as a Palestinian humiliation, Israel's horrific attacks and inhumanities, the powerful Jewish lobby and the

possibility that Israel might 'exterminate the Palestinians' ('Israel, the Unjust Steward' in 'Church Times', 26.4.2002). In an article in the Guardian Tutu claimed that people were scared to say that the Jewish lobby in the U.S.A was very powerful. Tutu compared this alleged power with the one of Hitler, Stalin and other tyrants. 'So what', he asked, 'the apartheid government was very powerful, but today it no longer exists. Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, Pinochet, Milosevic and Idi Amin were all powerful, but in the end they bit the dust' (Tutu, 'Apartheid in the Holy Land', Guardian, 29.04.2002).

Tutu is not alone. Christian newspapers and websites consistently prefer the name 'Holy Land' to Israel and represent Israel as a malevolent occupying power. A typical example is the article of Reverend Richard Spencer in the 'Church Times' on January 2003 (The Holocaust Memorial day), where Spencer argues that 'In Ramallah, in reality, was the suffering and deprivation that I could only imagine in Auschwitz'. That Ramallah/Auschwitz comparison was reinforced by the claim that in Israel the Holocaust is used 'as a means by which anything is justified' (Spencer, in 'Church Times', 24.1.2003).

In April 2003, the Vatican Daily 'L'Osservatore Romano' spoke of an aggression that is turning into an extermination of the Palestinian people; it also referred to a language of conspiracy and sacrilege committed by those who 'tread on a land they believe to be theirs but which, in reality belongs to Christ' (L'Osservatore Romano, 2.4.2003).

The examples are plenty, they all teach us that replacement theology is still alive and that the expectation from the Jews to be the weak and the helpless, a la the humiliation doctrine is still a common opinion in today's Christian world.

As I mention in p. 6, Christianity passed a universal Copernican revolt. Combined with the universalistic objectives of Paul, the new faith turns into a universal religion.

Universality, with its practical connotation of a homogenous political culture and of devotion to an international unity or to a concern for all humanity, is in a dialectical tension with the particularity of Jews, their different rituals, their observance of Sabbath, their practice of circumcision, their dietary laws, their customs and above all their refusal to recognise the Christian Messiah, set them apart from those who conformed to the universal beliefs and patterns of behaviour in the societies.

From early Modern European history on, Jews were castigated from their ethnic separation, culture and autonomous community.

Assumption of Jews' behaviour propelled Christian theology in the direction of Jew hatred. Christians held Jews responsible for the death of Jesus and condemned them to a life of humiliation, that they might serve as a witness to the true of Christianity and the falsehood

of Judaism. Murdering Jews was forbidden, at least according to law. Conversion was to be preferred. But until they would accept Jesus as the Messiah, Jews would continue to live in degradation, for Satan, it was believed, dwelled among them. As Martin Luther said in 1546: 'If the Jews are willing to convert and abandon their blasphemy and crime, then we will be glad to forgive them. If not we should not tolerate and suffer them.' (in Wistrich, 1992: 38). Either Jews accept salvation by baptism or they must be miserable.

If the Jews had given themselves up as a people and a religious community, if they were given up their unique culture, recognised Jesus of Nazareth as Messiah and become a part of Christendom, all the humiliation, the persecutions and the accusations such as the blood libel and their relationship with Satan could be spared. 'Both Catholics and Protestants sought and welcomed the Jews conversion to the true faith and believed that baptism would cleanse their evil character and terminate their special relationship with Satan' (Perry and Schweitzer 2002:83).

But the vast majority of the Jews refused the option. From a Christian point of view their refusal constituted a grievous sin. Christian believing that with the appearance of Jesus, Judaism had been superseded, its prophecies and doctrines fulfilled. 'Therefore, Jews as Jews ought to disappear from the earth. They ought to become Christians' (Goldhagen, 1997:49). Not only was the continued survival of the Jews a historical and religious anomaly, they were failing to play the crucial role that had been assigned to them in the redemptive process.

## ANTISEMITISM IN THE ENLIGHTENMENT

We have, therefore, discussed the Christian humiliation doctrine. But between humiliation and modern secular antisemitism there is a distance, which we wish to clarify for ourselves. How can we bridge this distance, and find the historical connection, and the idea connecting the element of antisemitic Christian humiliation, on one hand, and secular anti-Christian antisemitism on the other? This connection exists, from historical point of view, in the period after the reign of the Church, meaning, during the enlightenment era, the 17<sup>th</sup>, the 18<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Antisemitism is not a belief. It is a virus and, like a virus, it mutates. The human body has the most sophisticated of mechanisms, the immune system, to defend itself against viruses. It develops antibodies. Viruses defeat the immune system because they mutate. They are then able to get past the body's defences, in effect by persuading them that they are friends, not foes. The immune system, alert to last year's virus, fails to recognise this year's.

The classic case of mutation happened in Europe of the Enlightenment. There was a belief that in an age of Enlightenment-emanicipation, the French Revolution, the secular nation state-prejudice would die, not least the age old Christian prejudice against Judaism and Jews, and antisemitism would be rejected. What happened instead was that religious antisemitism mutated into secular antisemitism.

During the Enlightenment centuries certain disillusionment had taken place, disillusionment in the sense of refuting the Church dogmas.

The Enlightenment generation has turned its back on religious dogmas, as a result of the development of critical reasoning, and I would say from the time when human beings aspired to decode the laws of the universe in a rational manner. Man was becoming more and more aware of the fact that he can explain universal regularities with the power of his wisdom. From hereon he also reached a conclusion that he may explain the nature of the world by using reason. In other words: any phenomenon, which could withstand critical reasoning, was not considered to be a real one.

From here they have reached the conclusion that if the Church says that the existence of God is a fact, in the spirit of dogma, it is hard to place these thought under the examination of reason, of the ratio. It turns out, that theology does not withstand the examination of critical reasoning. So, if this theology, this religion, is to fall, so shall fall any assumption related to it, among which the assumption that the Jews must be humiliated, on behalf of Christian faith. This process can be called secularization, in the sense that it no longer accepts irrational

religious assumptions. It follows that the theology formulated by the fathers of the Church, has been replaced by empiricism, meaning, by a method of critical reason, science and rationality and this rational criticism put an end to the validity of the Christian truth. Now, a reverse process was starting to take place: the religious doctrine, the religious assumptions, had to get approved by critical rationalism. The secular has therefore won over the clerical.

If the Church has invented an entire doctrine, in order to humiliate the Jew, then the Church teachings fall, so should the hatred of Jews.

Yet we see that this was not the case.

The Christian religious antisemitism was replaced by anti-Christian secular antisemitism. The Jewish nation was attacked during the Enlightenment because of its faith, tradition and principles, since these principles, from which Christianity was devised, are principles of belief, which cannot be examined or rationally proved.

The Enlightenment thinkers wished to prove that the Holy Scriptures, and particularly the Old Testament, do not present the proper basis for what they consider to be moral behaviour and belief, and were nothing more than a bunch of ludicrous tales and dubious anecdotes. The founding fathers of the Jewish nation were perceived as liars, crooks and storytellers. The prophets were regarded as obscure fanatics, spreading ideas of intolerance and oppressing free thinking. The Jewish people, during that period, were seen as a dark element, hostile to human reasoning, ignorant and stubbornly preserving false and obsolete ideas.

The antisemitism of many of the enlightenment thinkers embarked upon a radical anti-Christian militancy. Their anti-Christian position was not real agnosticism or scepticism. Rather, it was a true religious passion, hardly disguised in secular clothes. These thinkers used to worship such modernity gods as reason, proletariat, nation or science of kneeling before the much hated Jewish Christian God.

Although their clear objection to Christianity, the words of many key thinkers of that period in the pages that follow will show us that concerning the 'Jewish question', their argumentation is soaked in pre-enlightenment Christian antisemitic arguments and sometimes even those Christian anti-Semitic arguments are repeated. As the work of Franklin Littell shows us, the growth of the secular state did not mean discarding the religious mythos (Littell, 1986), and the work of Paul Rose that shows us that the intellectual class, given independence from the Church, developed new mythos that made use of religious myth while shedding the connection to Christian theology (Rose 1991).

It seems like after hundreds of years of Christian antisemitism, it had already become component in the general culture, disassociated from any conscious connection, despite the tight bond on the subconscious level, to the archaic indictment, to the charge of deicide. The intellectuals, just like the common people, have been absorbing in antisemitism from childhood. Every book they ever read, every play they ever saw, and every story they ever heard, the connotation of every term, the entire semantic field related to Judaism, were all saturated with antisemitism. And if the Jew wants to escape his misery and humiliation in the Enlightenment, just as in Christianity, he should stop being a Jew. He should convert to the Enlightenment 'religion of reason'.

On 26 August 1789, in one of the most historical moments of modern history, the French National Assembly issued its Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. It proclaimed that 'all men are born and remain free and equal in rights'. It went on to assert that 'no person shall be molested for his opinions, even such as are religious, provided that the manifestation of these opinions does not disturb the public order established by the law' (in Steiman 1998:108).

The question was, did this include Jews? If they were human, they should be citizens, and if they were citizens, they must be guaranteed the same rights as other citizens. Soon after the Declaration presented 'widespread rioting erupted against the Jews in Alsace' where lived '80 per cent of the total Jewish population of France' (Steiman 1998:110).

The assembly equivocated and delayed. Then on the 23 of December, the Count of Clermont – Tonnerre rose to make a speech. That speech shows us that liberty, equality and fraternity have their limits and that a mode of thought designed to promote tolerance may have quite sharp intolerances of its own. The Declaration, said the Count of Clermont-Tonnerre, was clear. No one should be persecuted for his religious beliefs. The law has no concern with a person's beliefs. It is interested only in his actions. Jews therefore were entitled to equal rights within the state. But he made one proviso. If Jews were to be part of the French nation, they could not at the same time be part of the Jewish nation: 'Jews should be denied everything as a nation, but granted everything as individuals... it is intolerable that the Jews should become a separate political formation or class in the country. Every one of them must individually become a citizen; if they do not want this, they must inform us and we shall then be compelled to expel them' (in Mendes-Flohr and Reinhartz, eds., 1980:103-105).

Historical moment we said. But it is the 26<sup>th</sup> August 1789 was also a significant moment, a moment of real change? 'All men are born and remain free and equal in rights' declared the 'knights of tolerance' but with one major reservation – that those men who are

born and remain free and equal will remain so only if they will look, behave and think like them.

One of the most, if not the most advocate of antisemitism during the enlightenment is Voltaire (1694-1778).

Of its main work 'Dictionnaire philosophique', out of its 118 articles, 30 attack the Jews. 'Our masters and our enemies, whom we believe and whom we detest' (art. 'Abraham'), 'the most abominable people in the world' (art. 'Anthropophagi'), 'whose laws do not say a word about spirituality and the immortality of the soul' (art. 'Soul') (in Poliakov, 1968:88). The first part of the article 'Jew' in the Dictionnaire concludes as follows: 'An ignorant and barbarous people who for a long time have combined the most sordid greed with the most detestable superstition and the most invincible hatred for all the people who tolerate them and enrich them' (in Steiman, 1998:102). And then he added 'we ought not to burn them' (in Mendes-Flohr and Reinhartz 1980:252). His concept can be defined as 'cultural racism'. It differs from classical racism by the fact that it does not rule out a possibility of reform: if the Jews stop being Jews, if they give up their culture and embrace the 'principles of reason', then they become equal human being. The pure classical racism opposes to that possibility.

But until the day when the Jews will convert to Voltaire and his fellow enlightenment thinkers 'religion of reason', 'Judaism will remain a vile and superstitious sect, incapable of progress, a kind of despicable historical relic' (Voltaire 1786:16); and as Voltaire wrote in his 'Essai sur les moeurs' 'the Jews were regarded with the same eye as we see Negroes, as an inferior species of man' (in Poliakov, 1968:89).

The most serious sin of the Jews, a la Voltaire, was that they had invented Christianity. But it looks like the Jews are as guilty as their Christian hangmen, if not more: 'The only difference between you (the Jews A.A.) and our priests' – he wrote – 'is that our priests burned you with the help of the laymen, while your priests have always sacrificed human victims with their own hands' (in Wistrich, 1992:45). Voltaire hints here to the charge of deicide and to the blood libel.

As Alex Bein wrote in his book: 'It was certain that no longer necessary to be a devout Christian to adopt anti-Jewish theories from the Christian tradition' (Bein, 1990:187). Voltaire hint to the replacement theology when he wrote in the 'Letter to Chevalier de Lisle' in 1773 the following: 'But whenever these circumcised men of Israel, who sell old knickers to savages, call themselves the tribe of Naphtali or Issachar, has very little importance; it does not make them any less the biggest tramps who have ever soiled the face of the earth' (in

Poliakov, 1968:89). Voltaire receives the Christian accusation since the eleventh century of Jews as being usurers and traders. 'From the beginning their made law made usurers out of them, virtually imposed usury upon them as a sacred duty. In the Babylonian captivity they were brokers, money-changers and junk dealers. In Alexandria, too, they were usurers, and so they remained in the ensuing periods' (Bein, 1990:187:188), claims Voltaire in contradiction with the historical truth, since prior to the 12<sup>th</sup> century Jews were scarcely active in usury at all (see p.14) In a reference to the consequences of the humiliation doctrine and to the image of the 'wandering Jew' Voltaire claims that: 'Almost always were the Hebrews wanderers or robbers, or slaves or rebels and still today they wonder on the face of the earth and everyone abhorrence them' (Voltaire 1786:11). By referring to the story about hygienic regulations in a military camp, in the Old Testament Book of Deuteronomy (Chapter 23, Verses 13 ff.), Voltaire continues the Christian dogmatic interpretation of the Bible that interprets the human weakness, shared by all nations, which the legal regulations and the exhortations of the prophets try to combat, as specifically Jewish vices. 'The Jewish people' he writes 'was so gross, and even today the masses of this nation are so unclean and smelly, that its law-givers were forced to stoop to the tiniest and lowest details in order to regulate them' (in Bein, 1990:187). According to Voltaire, the history of the Jewish people, from the days of Moses and on, is one of a cruel, pretentious, barbaric nation, which hates all other nations and is hated by them as well. In his essay 'Manner and the Spirit of Nations' Voltaire writes: 'These descendants of Abraham, those sons of Israel chosen by the Lord almighty, have also claimed special rights for themselves, special privileges and special wages... they left Egypt like a bunch of bandits, sacrificing all along their history men, women and children, on the altar of superstition. They hated all other nations, envied the property of others, were cowardly and submissive during distress, and arrogant and impudent during times of welfare' (in Bacharach, 1979:20-21).

'The implication (of Voltaire's antisemitic statements A.A.) was that the intellectual foundations of the modern world were warped by antisemitism, for virtually all modern writers were influenced, directly or indirectly by Voltaire' (Johnson, 1986:40).

A disciple of Voltaire, Denis Diderot's, wrote in his flagship of the French Enlightenment 'Encyclopaedia' the following: 'Why it has given them (the Jews A.A.) eyes so that they do not see, and ears so that they do not hear' (art. 'Hebraic Language') (in Cohn-Sherbok 2002:169). 'The ancient Hebrews, stupid, superstitious, separated from other people...' (art. Medicine) (in Chon-Sherbok, 2002:169). And in his article on Jesus, Diderot described the Messiah as 'this obscure and fanatical Jew' (in Steiman 1998:93).



While Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) talks in few occasions gently about the Jews and while claiming that he find more truth in the Old Testament than in the new one: in other occasions he speaks of the Jews in conventional Christian terms as ‘the vilest of peoples’, ‘the baseness of this people, incapable of any virtue’ (in Poliakov, 1968:102).

The objection of Rousseau to the Jews seems connected, as a child of his time, to the deep tendency to reduce all relationships to contractual associations between atomic individuals. And from here the way to the objection of Jewish particularism in short. A good example for that is the support of Rousseau for the transfer of authority from the family to the state – ‘should the public authority, in assuming the place of father and charging itself with this important function, acquire his rights in the discharge of his duties, he should have little cause to protest; for he would only be altering his title, and would have in common, under the name citizen, the same authority over his children, that he was exercising separately under the name father’ (in Nisbet 1990:121).

Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), one of the most influential thinkers in history, that epitomized the German Enlightenment and his writings defined it, ‘had no understanding of Judaism and not approaching it with an open mind, made derogatory statements about it that had a negative effect as ‘philosophical truths’ beyond his place and his time’ (Bein, 1990: 188-189). As Steiman point out ‘religion interested him only in so far as it could demonstrate the reality of universal principles of ethical conduct’ and ‘Christianity ranked highest on this score; Judaism ranked low’ (Steiman, 1998:114). Kant defining Judaism as an obstacle to human progress and wrote about ‘Euthanasia’ of Judaism. He believed that once rid of their ‘Judaic spirit’ the Jewry would be able to mend their ways (Cohn-Sherbok, 2002:193). ‘Kant observed that while ethical injunctions should be followed because they are right and are so recognised by the free and rational moral faculty of the individual, the Jew obeyed his laws only because he felt their compulsion’ (Steinman, 1998:114). That is a repetition of the old Christian accusation that the Jews follow the law in a blind and stubborn way, without any compromises, and it is a clear repercussion of the replacement theology concept of ‘real Israel’ (versus Israel) where the separation between the spiritual Israel (the Church) and the earthly Israel (the Jews) takes place. We can conclude then, that ‘Kant view was nothing more than a secularization of the traditional Christian notion that Judaism and the Old Testament had been superseded by Christianity and the New Testament’ (Steiman, 1998:114-115).

Georg Wilhelm Hegel (1770-1831), who saw reason as the driving force in history, ‘regarded Judaism as a ignoble religion which was responsible for the primitive conception of God that had perpetrated great wrong...The Jewish God in Hegel’s view was a tyrant who

required unquestioning submission to an intolerable law' (Armstrong, 1993:404). Abraham, the father of all Jews was according to Hegel 'a stranger on earth, a stranger to the soil, and to men alike'(in Steiman 1998:115) and was a symbol of the alien nature of Judaism. 'Hegel saw a dual alienation, one that was between God and Nature, and another between Jews and the world' (Steiman, 1998:115).

Hegel took Judaism as his model of a slave morality in his master-slave theory. His theory is the logic behind the humiliation doctrine – the fight between rival desires should not lead to the death of one of the adversaries, because the recognised desire requires a recognition and a witness rather than a corpse. Killing the adversary destroys that witness and thus recognition renders impossible. For this reason the recognised desire does not kill the vanquished – the slave, but keeps him alive oppressed and humiliated. Hegel regarded Judaism as an example of everything that was wrong with religion (despite the fact that his philosophy was in some respects similar to Kabbalah as Karen Armstrong suggests in her book 'A History of God'), and he 'seems to have absorbed all the prejudices and misrepresentations of Judaism promulgated by Christian as well as rationalistic sources, and to have woven them into the texture of his philosophical concepts' (Steiman, 1998:115). Hegel repeats in philosophical terms the charge of deicide 'the Jewish multitude was bound to wreck his (Jesus) attempt to give them the consciousness of something divine, for faith of something divine, something great, cannot make its home in a dunghill' (in Cohn-Sherbok, 2002:193-194).

The disciples of Hegel, the young Hegelians, were radical atheist and despite their claims to follow the path of Hegel, their critique of Judaism owed more to Voltaire. One of them, Bruno Bauer wrote in 1843 a book called 'The Jewish Question', where like Voltaire before him, he 'depicted Judaism as a fossilised religion, based on superstition and obscurantism, whose deity was cruel, vengeful, stubborn and egotistical' (Wistrich, 1992:49). According to Bauer as a result of the Jews 'fanatical separatism and stubborn particularism, they had contributed nothing to the German struggle for liberation and had not begun the radical critique of Judaism which would have been the indispensable first step to their emancipation' (Wistrich 1992:50), the last step, in any case, in the eyes of those German Liberals and radicals is clear – 'the Jews must 'cease being Jews' and convert to a 'religion of reason' '(Goldhagen, 1997:58).

Some 19<sup>th</sup> century young Hegelians, German radicals, clearly revived the blood libel accusations. For example, Georg Friedrich, who wrote in 1842 about 'the cannibalism in the

Talmud' and 'drinking of human blood on purim' (a Jewish holiday A.A.) (in Wistich, 1992:50).

Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900), made up a conspiracy theory. While the philosopher opposed the ever-growing contemporary German antisemitism and nationalism, nonetheless, because of his fierce adversity to Christianity, he charged the Jews, in his 'The Genealogy of Morals', with authorship of the 'ethic of resentment': Nietzsche claimed that, in order to take revenge on the Romans, the Jews invented and spread Christianity, which eventually subverted the noble virtues of the ancient world and poisoned the spirit of modern time (Nietzsche, 1887). Every attack Nietzsche did on Christianity, than, is an attack on Judaism, and the Christian God he wanted dead, was actually the Jewish God. Nietzsche insisted that the death of God would bring about a newer, higher phase of human history. In 'Thus Spoke Zarathustra' (1883), he proclaimed the birth of a new enlightened universal superman who would replace God. That superman should have nothing to do with the Jewish-Christian ethics, which according to Nietzsche (while using Hegel's discourse) are 'ethics of slaves as contrasted with the ethics of master' (in Lazare, 1995:117).

The early French socialists linked the Jews to the new industrial revolution and the vast increase in world commerce that marked the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. 'They formed part of the background to Karl Marx's notions of how the world economy worked' (Johnson, 1986:40).

In a book published in 1808, Francois Fourier identified commerce as 'the source of all evil' and the Jews as 'the incarnation of commerce' (in Johnson, 1986:40). The Christian concept of Satan was dead, but legions of new devils were everywhere conspiring against humankind. Satan might be dead but Rothschild had taken his place.

The involvement of Jews in Modern European economic development gave rise to several denigrating myths, often updated version of medieval stereotypes, concerning their outlook and behaviour. 'The Jews were castigated as greedy and materialistic predators eager to exploit and rob gentiles, behaviour that was sanctioned by the Old Testament and the Talmud' (Perry and Schweitzer, 2002:138-139). To quote one example of many, we find Marx in a letter he sent in 1861 to Engels claiming that 'the Jews were a race of lepers, a rootless people without a country' (in Johnson, 1986:41). But in early Marx we can find the most violent caricatural attack on the Jews. In his essay 'On the Jewish Question' that he wrote in 1843, 'He simply took over the Christian stereotype of Jews as usurious manipulating financiers and made 'the Jew' the symbol of what he most hated' (Langmuir, 1990:335). Marx describes there the Jews as an economic remnant, forced into occupations

such as money lending and banking by an economic system destined to collapse. He denied the Jews any status as a nationality, and he believed that with the overthrow of capitalism, and its replacement by the dictatorship of the proletariat, this economic remnant would naturally disappear: 'Let us look at the real Jew of our time, the Jew of everyday life. What is the Jew's foundation in our world? Material necessity, private advantage. What is the object of the Jew's worship in this world? Usury/huckstering. What is his worldly God? Money.' (in Runes, 1959:36). 'Exchange is the true God of the Jew. His God is nothing more than illusory exchange' (Marx, 1975: 426). 'The earth in their eyes is nothing but one great stock exchange and they are convinced that they have no other mission here below than to become richer than their neighbours. Usury has taken hold of all their thoughts' (in Runes, 1959:37).

The Jews, Marx maintained, in his 'On the Jewish Question', had corrupted the Christians and 'decides the fate of Europe...the Jew has emancipated himself in the Jewish fashion not only by acquiring money power but also through money's having become... the world power and the Jewish spirits having become the practical spirit of the Christian people' (in Runes 1959:37-38). This Jewish world conspiracy theory of Marx is still wide spread till today in some left wing circles (as well as in right wing circles).

Marx's 'The Capital' contains a quotation from Luther referring to usury. Undoubtedly Marx knew that, in the minds of most of his readers, the usurer was the Jew since at least 700 years the terms usurer and Jew were interchangeable. Marx quotes Luther in his 'Capital' (Vol. II, Part VII, Chapter 22, Section 3) as saying that a usurer 'is a double-died thief and murderer ... whoever eats up, rots, and steals the nourishment of another, that man commits as great a murderer as he who starves a man or utterly undoes him. Such does a usurer, and sits there while safe on his stool when he ought rather to be hanging on the gallows, and be eaten by as many ravens as he has stolen guilders, if only there were so much flesh on him, that so many ravens could stick their beaks in and share it... therefore is there, on this earth, no greater enemy of man than a gripe-money and usurer, for he wants to be God over all men... such a one would have the whole world perish of hunger and thirst, misery and want... usury is a great huge monster, like a werewolf... and since we break on the wheel and behead highwaymen, murderers, and housebreakers, how much more ought we to break on the wheel and kill... hunt down, curse, and behead all usurers!' (in Johnson, 1986:45). But Marx that declared war on the Jews, Judaism, and Jewishness never advocated genocide. Marx's solution to the 'Jewish problem' comes at the end of his 'On the Jewish Question': 'The social emancipation of the Jew is the emancipation of society from Judaism' (in Wistrich, 1992:52). The Jew in the Jew must be down to death. The ultimate assimilation.

As in the pre-Enlightenment Christian thoughts (see p. 12-14) , the notion of the comparison between Jews and woman continued in the Enlightenment era. The objective of this notion, just as in the pre-Enlightenment Christian thoughts was to express the inferiority of the Jew. A good example of that comparison in the Enlightenment era is the influential 'Sex and Character' by Otto Weininger (1880-1903), a book that widely discussed in the early 'modernist' period by Ludwig Wittgenstein, Franz Kafka, Sigmund Freud and others.

Weininger's thirteenth chapter maintains with perverse ingenuity that the Jews as a people are predominantly feminine: 'Judaism is saturated with femininity with such an extent that the most manly Jew is more feminine than the least manly Aryan' (Weininger, 1906:306). Jews, like women, claims Weininger, lack the Kantian intelligible self and capacity for reason: 'Jewish monotheism has no relation to a true belief in God; it is not a religion of reason, but a belief of old women founded on fear' (Weininger, 1906:314). 'Jews who resemble women in having little sense of personal property' (Weininger, 1906:316), he goes on to claim, 'are addicted to pairing and the family' (Weininger, 1906:311), and 'are incapable of true genius' (Weininger, 1906:316). 'There cannot be a Jewish gentleman, just as women have no real dignity... admittedly, they also resemble woman in relatively seldom committing crimes' (Weininger, 1906:285). But this merely shows that Jews and women have a deficient moral sense – being amoral, they cannot rise even to immorality: 'woman has no relation to the idea, she neither affirms nor denies it; she is neither moral nor anti-moral; ... she is as non-moral as she is non-logical. But all existence is moral and logical existence. So woman has no existence' (Weininger, 1906:286). In a classical Enlightenment universalist anti-particularist assimilation discourse Weininger argues that 'Christ becomes a Kantian hero by shedding his particularist Jewish nature to respond to the categorical imperative. Judaism is the spirit of modern life, and must overcome just as Christ overcame the Jew in himself' (Weininger, 1906:329). The chapter ends with a call to choose between Christianity and Judaism: 'The decision must be made between Judaism and Christianity, between trade and culture, between woman and man, between the species and the individual, between emptiness and value, between the earthly and the higher life, between nothingness and divinity...' (Weininger, 1906:330).

The roots of Weininger's antisemitism and misogyny may well derive, claimed Freud, from his castration complex (Freud, 1955:36). It is important to mention it, since castration complex is one of my major explanations to the present antisemitism in the left-wing circles, as I will show in the next chapter.

In the Europe of the Enlightenment, the conviction that Jews could never be soldiers was deeply held. In the age when military virtues were the qualities most valued in citizens, a lack of military capacity perpetuated the stereotype of the feminized Jew. Why could not Jews be good soldiers? Christian Wilhelm von Dohm had a typical answer, in his 1781 'Of the Treatise on the Civil Improvement of the Jews': 'They were too short; their religious laws forbade fighting on the Sabbath and eating of non kosher food, which diminished their value as fighters and limited their integration into the general army; they did not respect an oath as gentiles did...' (in Steiman, 1998:100).

The feminized Jew appears as well in the writings of Nietzsche. Nietzsche texts on women 'reveal contradictory tendencies and prejudices in which Nietzsche both celebrates female sexuality as something powerful and subversive, but fears it when it becomes dissociated from the social functions of child-rearing and motherhood' (Ansell-Pearson, 1994:181). A similar contradiction haunts his remarks on Jews. He detested and praised the Jews in 'Beyond Good and Evil' as 'without any doubt the strongest, toughest and purest race at present in Europe' (Nietzsche transl. 1966:716), but he also gave massive impetus to antisemitism by blaming the Jews of the New Testament times for the slave revolt in 'morals'.

But how one can explain the Enlightenment phenomenon as an apparent paradox of extreme antisemitic thought blended with support for equal rights for the Jews?

Actually, only on the surface it is a paradox. We need to realise that these philosophers, from Rousseau to Voltaire, objected to the authority of the Church and regarded it as beneficial to denounce its harshest acts of antisemitism, but the Jew that these Enlightenment thinkers 'protected' from the antisemitic acts of the Church was an abstract Jew, kind of Platonic ideal of the Jew, while the 'real' Jew, the perceptible Jew, the one that they meet in the everyday life was their object of abhorrence. Hence, those enlightenment thinkers 'recognise the rights of the Jew that he will stop being a Jew' (Lozato, 1987:76).

## CONTEMPORARY ANTISEMITISM – FOCUS ON THE LEFT WING MILIEU

First and foremost I should clarify a couple of points.

The fact that I approach left wing antisemitism, does not mean that the right wing is clear of that phenomenon. The antisemitism on the right is alive and well. However while the far right antisemitism is obvious and easy to spot, left wing antisemitism is much more hidden and seems on the surface to contradict the left's fundamental beliefs and ideas and, as such is more important to expose and explore.

My wish to expose left antisemitism comes as well as result of the profound sense of betrayal that I and many other leftist Jews and Israelis feels in relation to our European leftist 'comrades' who obsessively condemn Israeli sins while consistently ignoring tyranny, misogyny and antisemitism in the Muslim world and in their own back garden; who excuse the murder and mutilation of Jews in Israel; who discriminate against Jews and Israelis only on the basis of their nationality and who have recurrently failed to understand antisemitism, much less to raise their voices or rally against it.

The second point I would like to clarify is the definition of the term 'left'. That definition is a subject for research of its own and I better not approach it.

I would call 'left' individuals, groups or media networks that identified themselves as such or that the public opinion identified as such. Obviously, while talking about the antisemitism of the left, I am not suggesting that all the left is infected with that virus. Finally, I would like to point out that opposition and criticism to individual policies of the Israeli government, even if fierce and outspoken, are not necessarily antisemitism. If they were, all Israelis could be considered antisemites, for they either opposed the labour government or the Likud government, or both; and one can assume that, being Israelis, they did so vociferously. We should not gag critics by branding the bogeyman of antisemitism; rather we should be concerned about the form the criticism takes.

If Israel's critics are truly opposed to antisemitism, they should not repeat traditional antisemitic themes under the anti-Israel banner.

How can we know when a particular speaker, writer or cartoonist has crossed the line from objective criticism of Israeli policies to the use of antisemitic allusions or codes?

How can we identify the antisemitic wolf in anti-Israeli sheep's clothing?

I suggest the checklist below.

The writer or speaker concerned:

- Criticises or attacks not only specific individuals or organisations, but anonymous collectivities, such as ‘the Jewish community’, ‘the Jewish Lobby’, or ‘the Jewish vote’.
- Qualifies every denunciation of antisemitism or suicide bombing with a ‘but...’.
- Distorts the Holocaust and compares the Israeli government with Nazism and the Israeli army’s actions with the SS, genocide and South African Apartheid.
- Emphasizes or exaggerates the economic status of Jews in wealth or media ownership or other easily recognised ‘Jewish’ characteristics.
- Demands boycotts and sanctions exclusively against Israel or Israeli institutions, but not the many more deserving objects of such measures world-wide.
- Panders to racist stereotypes such as: Jews are arrogant, money grubbing, power hungry, self-interested, narrow minded, clannish, schemers and ploters who seek world domination, and religious vampires who drink the blood of non-Jewish children etc..
- Remains silent about antisemitism even if he/she recognises it, or better still reacts contemptuously when Jews bring it up.
- Denies the Jewish people’s right to self-determination, de-legitimizes Israel as a state and attributes to Israel all the world’s evil.
- Judges Israel and the Jews by a double standard, judges Israel by the standards of utopia and not by the same standards adopted for others.
- Holds Jews everywhere responsible for the policies of the Israeli government.
- Singles out and attacks Israelis and Jews that support the state of Israel and treats them in a disproportionate manner in relationship to the issue at hand and in comparison to the actions of other nations.
- Blames Jews for antisemitism.

The artist concerned:

- Uses the star of David, a religious symbol, to identify Israeli military personnel or equipment, or a skull cup to identify Israeli politicians.
- Uses the swastika to identify Israelis or ‘Zionists’.
- Portrays Israelis or ‘Zionists’ in the manner of the traditionally caricatured Jew – with hooked noses, drinking blood, crucifixion motives etc.



While discussing left-wing antisemitism we should confront the relation between antisemitism and anti-Zionism.

It is one thing to object to the consequences of Zionism, to suggest that the historical cost of its realisation was too high. This is a serious argument, based on interests, moral claims, and an interpretation of history. But this is not anti-Zionism. To oppose Zionism in its essence and to refuse to accept its political offspring, Israel, as a legitimate entity, entails more. Zionism comprises a belief that Jews are a nation, and such are entitled to self-determination as all other nations are.

It could be suggested that nationalism is a pernicious force. The one that holds such a view should then oppose all nationalistic aspirations. But those anti-Zionists on the left are at the forefront of the struggle for all other minorities nationalistic aspirations – from the Basques to the Kurds, from the Corsicans to the Algerians and above all Palestinians. All but the Jews. Just as traditional antisemitism was the denial of the right of the individual Jew to live in society as an equal citizen, so the contemporary antisemitism on the left that masquerades as anti-Zionism is the denial of the right of the Jewish people to live as equal members of the family of nations. The former Swedish Deputy Prime Minister pointed out: ‘Antizionism today has become very similar to antisemitism. Antizionists accept the right of other peoples to national feelings and a defensible state. But they reject the right of the Jewish people to have its national consciousness expressed in the state of Israel and to make that state secure. Thus, they are not judging Israel with the values used to judge other countries. Such discrimination against Jews is called antisemitism’ (Ahlmark, 2004:307). But negating Zionism, by claiming that Zionism equals racism, goes further and denies the Jews the right to identify, understand and imagine themselves, and consequently behave as a nation.

Antizionists are prepared to treat Jews equally and fight antisemitic prejudice only if Jews give up their distinctiveness as a nation. Jews as a nation deserve no sympathy and no rights, Zionist Jews earn no respect, sympathy or protection. In contrast to the Zionist Jews, Jews who condemn Israel and reject Zionism earn the left’s antizionist praise. Denouncing Israel becomes a passport to full integration. Sympathy for Jews that is conditional on the political views they espouse is hardly an expression of tolerance. It singles Jews out. It is antisemitism.

Can someone deny that Norwegians are a nation, work to destroy Norway, and all the while claim that he is not an enemy of the Norwegian people because he does not hate all Norwegians? The question is obviously absurd. If you deny Norwegian nationhood and any Norwegian rights to their homeland, and seek to destroy Norway, no matter how sincerely you may claim to love some Norwegians, you are an enemy of the Norwegian people. The

same holds true for those who deny Jewish nationhood and the Jew's right to their state, and who advocate the destruction of Israel. Such people are enemies of the Jewish people and the term for their attitude, even when espoused by people who sincerely like some Jews, is antisemitism.

An antizionist would likely respond that the analogy between Norway and Israel is invalid, because Norwegian has meaning as a nationality, while Judaism has meaning only as a religion, and since Judaism is only a religion and Zionism is a national movement, one can oppose Zionism without being an enemy of the Jews or Judaism.

This argument is false on three scores:

First, it makes the extraordinary assumption that non-Jews can tell Jews what it means to be Jewish.

If Jews say they are a nation, what right does anybody else have to refuse them and insist they are this rather than that? If the right to self-definition is honoured in every other case – Palestinians and East Timorese and Algerians are all allowed to describe themselves and chart their own destinies, but not the Jews – then we are confronted with a straightforward case of discrimination, with antisemitism.

One should take in mind, as well, that Jews self-definition as a nation with a homeland in Israel is not some new political belief of contemporary Jews, but the essence of Judaism since biblical times.

Second, the contention that anti-Zionists are not enemies of the Jews, despite their advocacy of policies which would lead to the mass murder of Jews, is, to put it as generously as possible, disingenuous. If antizionism succeeds in its goal of destroying Israel, nearly all of Israel's five million Jews plus an untold number of non-Israeli Jews would die in their effort to maintain Israel. In the words of Israeli leftist writer, Amos Kenan: 'Shukairy (the head of the P.I.O. before Arafat, A.A.) used to say that the Jews should be driven into the sea. After the 1967 defeat, it became apparent that a slogan of this sort was not good public relations for the Arab cause. So today, only the Zionists are to be thrown into the sea. The only trouble is that when the Arabs get through pushing all the Zionists into the sea, there won't be a Jew left in Israel. For not a single Jew in Israel will agree to less than political and national sovereignty' (Kenan, 1971:311).

Third, it was possible before the establishment of Israel in 1948 to oppose the Zionist movement and not be an enemy of the Jews, just as prior to 1905 one could have opposed Norwegian statehood without being an enemy of Norwegians. Once Norway was established, however, anyone advocating its destruction would obviously be considered an enemy of

Norwegians. So, too, once Israel was established, anyone advocating its destruction is considered an enemy of the Jews.

‘The Israelis building concentration camps in the west bank’ (Jhon Galtung, in a lecture of the ‘Peace Studies’ Programme, November 2003).

As I mention in the beginning of the chapter about antisemitism in the Enlightenment, antisemitism is a virus and it mutates. In the Enlightenment, religious Christian antisemitism mutated into a secular one. What we face now in the past Holocaust era is one more mutation, an ingenious and demonic one that it paralyses the immune systems that the west built up over the past half century. The mutation is that: the worst crimes of the racist version of antisemitism in the past – ethnic cleansing, attempted genocide, crimes against humanity, are now attributed to Jews and the state of Israel.

This equation between victims and murders denies the Holocaust. Worse still, it provides its retroactive justification: if Jews turned out to be so evil, perhaps they deserved what they got. By describing Israel as a Nazi state, the left provide the linguistic mandate and the moral justification to destroy it.

There is no doubt that the unfinished business of the Holocaust plays its part here. Ever since the scale of the Nazi genocide was uncovered, Europe has sought to distance itself from moral responsibility. The way it could do so was somehow to blame the Jews as architects of their own destruction, or to claim that the Jew, while they have the opportunity to rule others, are not better than the Nazis.

‘The European liberal and leftist elites, in invoking the Holocaust, have in effect substitutes the Muslim Arab and Palestinian ‘other’ for the murdered Jews in Europe. They have established a cult of the colonised ‘other’ as the ‘absolute victim’, who, whatever horrors he may perpetrate, can never be wrong’ (Wistrich, 2004:2, in ‘Ha’aretz’ Israeli Daily, 9.09.2004).

The work of Sander Gilman suggests that ‘the other is invested with all the qualities of the ‘bad’, or the ‘good’. The ‘bad’ self, with its repressed sadistic impulses, becomes the ‘bad’ other; the ‘good’ self, with its infallible correctness, becomes the antithesis to the flawed image of the self, the self out of control. The ‘bad’ other becomes the negative stereotype. The former is that which we fear to become; the later, that which we fear we cannot achieve’ (Gilman, 1985:20). In our context, the ‘bad’ other is the demon, and the positive other is a God. That we have made God in our image is a common adage; but we have also made the demon in our image.

The contemporary left European politics have been polarised into a dialectic of colonisers and colonised, exploiters and oppressed, masters and slaves, in which Zionism has come to embody all the evils of European history.

One thing is not another thing.

What makes a thing the thing it is and not something else, is not just a question for artists and intellectuals, it is The Question. Where all things look the same, there is not life of the mind.

No matter how bad Israel is, it is not the Third Reich.

By comparison of Israel, to Nazi Germany and/or the I.D.F. to the SS, the left-liberal intellectuals, philosophers, artists, and poets betray to their mission that is so important to our wellbeing to explore the ways things are different, however much they may sometimes look the same.

The role of the left-liberal European media in promoting the demonization of Israel is notable.

On first of December 2003, in a television show with the symbolic name 'One cannot please everybody', presented by marc-Olivier Fogiel, on state owned France 3 TV Channel, a famous actor-comedian named Dieudonne made a guest appearance.

He stormed into the studio wearing the uniform of an Orthodox Jew, the appropriate bonnet on his head, decorated with side-locks, made the Hitler salute while shouting 'Hiel Israel'. Afterwards he offered the viewers to join 'the good Zionist-American axis'.

The French press reported the next day that the channel received hundreds of calls of denunciation and disgust and on interviews for French newspapers Fogiel (but not Dieudonne) apologised.

After a while the comedian did it again. In an interview for 'Journal de Dimanche' he blamed the 'Jewish leagues' for the disruption of his show in Lon. 'They're all slave traders, who converted to banking, or to the entertainment business, and now do acts of terror' ('Journal du Dimanche', 20.1.2004, p.3).

All of this did not deter him from declaring that he is not antisemitic. How can this be? He is black (father from Cameroon, mother from Brittany) and has been fighting against racism all his life. Of the three most widespread newspapers in France, the first, right wing 'Le Figaro', suffices with matter-of-fact information on the development of this affair. In its internet site, it is made a special forum on the question 'Can we make fun of everything?', only few readers joined the discussion. The other two newspapers, 'Le Monde' and

'Liberation', identified with the left and very critical towards Israel's policy, have dealt with the affair in articles pro and con and in extensive reportages, possibly because the problem that was arising by the Dieudonne affair was also their own problem: can we separate the condemnation of Israel, which has become a kind of moral duty and antisemitism?

'Le Figaro' has crowned the long interview held at the end of February with Israeli President Moshe Katzav, during his visit to France, with the President saying, 'France is not antisemitic' ('Le Figaro', 27.2.2004). 'Le Monde' warned about 'removing the taboo' of antisemitism in the French society, and expressed its opinion, on the same opportunity, that it is 'advisable and required' to criticize Sharon's policy, and that there is nothing antisemitic about this critique ('Le Monde', 29.2.2004).

The Dieudonne affair is therefore directly correlated with the internal discussion, which is probably taking place at the editorial boards of these newspapers: to what extent can Israel be denounced without being exposed to the claim that this is demonization with an antisemitic tone or such which encourages the hatred of Jews.

The story did not end with the miserable appearance of the comedian on TV and the responses, mostly negative, which followed. Dieudonne had to cancel some of his solo shows, particularly the one at the 'Olympia' pavilion in Paris, due to the many threats received over the phone and fax, leading the owners of the halls, in coordination with the police, to decide upon their cancellation, for reasons of security. Therefore, on February 20<sup>th</sup> 2004, several hundred people assembled on the sidewalk in front of the 'Olympia' hall to protest against damaging the 'artistic freedom of expression'. 'Le Monde' and 'Liberation' extensively reported of the demonstration. 'Le Monde' also had an interview with Dieudonne 'I'm prohibited from working. It is very hard to criticize the state of Israel nowadays. This is a fact. This cannot be done. I'm not antisemitic. I'm not racist.' He has an issue with Israel because this country 'completely supported the Apartheid regime in South Africa' ('Le Monde', 21.2.2004)

Dieudonne's ex-partner, Jewish actor Elie Semoun, published in the 'Liberation' a personal letter to his friend: 'You're not the Dieudonne I once knew... talent does not cover up everything and some of these little sentences ignite fire' ('Liberation', 27.2.2004). The response came a few days later. Dieudonne's mother, a sociologist from Brittany, wrote a letter in which she condemned the 'Judeo centrism' of 'extreme Zionist groups', and agreed to admit that the television appearance of her son was 'unsuccessful in its form, yet not in its content' ('Liberation', 1.3.2004).

What was the role of journalism this time? In general, they assume an approach of UN observers, publishing responses for and against the show cancellations. Unlike their apparent reservation from the television incident, they refrained from taking a stand in the debate over freedom of expression. Daniel Schneiderman, the media critic of the 'Liberation' wrote: 'Dieudonne and Mel Gibson have been censored in France for attacking the Jews: this is the message that you'll hear from the antisemitic monster with one thousand ears... the one which still believes, for instance, that the Jews in the twin towers were notified in advance of the terror attack' ('Liberation', 28.2.2004).

To conclude: an antisemitic comedian wishes to continue with his public appearances. People offended by him demand that he be forbidden performance and threaten to disrupt his shows. The shows are cancelled in fear of disrupting the public order.

Who are the threateners? Jews, probably 'extremist Jews' who obviously support the criminal policy of General Sharon. These bad people, who are damaging the freedom of expression, are feared by the authorities, and are doing with France as they please. They are not right. Did the French people reporting contribute to drawing this conclusion? And if so, did they do this on purpose? Or was this interpretation of things yet another expression of 'hysterical Judeo-centrism'?

The examples of antisemitic motives and expressions on the Western European media are plenty. I would like to present on the following pages a fair number of its samples, so one can see that it is not an isolated case, but a systematic approach, by the liberal central-left media, that uses clear Christological references, to delegitimize Israel and the Jews.

At the time of the siege of the Church of the Nativity in April-May 2002, the liberal left Italian daily 'La Stampa' published a cartoon of an Israeli tank pointing its gun at the baby Jesus who pleads 'surely they don't want to kill me again' (in 'La Stampa', 3.4. 2002) (see appendix 1). This iconography revives the classic, religious, antisemitic motif of deicide. The crucifixion motif was also central in a cartoon of the Belgian Flemish daily 'Nieuwsblad' after the Palestinian cleric, Sheik Ahamad Yassin was killed. It showed the Hamas leader in a wheelchair on a cross, part of which was a rocket; the caption read: 'Israel kills spiritual leader' (in Kotek, 2004:31).

In the end of December 2001, the French left wing daily 'Liberation' ran a cartoon about the fact that Arafat, a Muslim, was not allowed by the Israeli government to go to Bethlehem to celebrate Christmas. Sharon was shown preparing a cross for the Palestinian leader, with hammer and nails at the ready and a caption stated that Arafat would be welcome for Easter – i.e. for crucifixion. ('Liberation', 26.12.2001) (see appendix 2).

During Easter 2002 the Swedish Daily 'Aftenbladet' attacked Israeli policy with a headline 'Crucified Arafat' (in Bergmann and Wetzel, 2003:95).

On 2<sup>nd</sup> April 2002, two largest Greek dailies 'Ta Nea' and 'Eleftherotypia' (center-left) printed as unquestionable reality a heinous libel that Israelis were trafficking the organs of dead Palestinian fighters and performing medical experiments on Arab prisoners (in [http://www.greekhelsinki.gr/bhr/english/organizations/ghm\\_mrgg\\_antisemitism\\_2002.rtf](http://www.greekhelsinki.gr/bhr/english/organizations/ghm_mrgg_antisemitism_2002.rtf)).

The comparison of Jewish-Israeli military personnel with the Nazi is widespread as well: the Austrian 'Kleine Zeitung' newspaper published a cartoon on the 19.5.2004 that compared a Nazi and Israeli soldier (see appendix 3).

On 7<sup>th</sup> April 2002, Greek daily 'Ethnos' (associated with Pasok, the Greek socialist part) published a cartoon that showed two Jewish soldiers dressed as Nazi's with stars of David on their helmets, putting knives in Arabs. The text read: 'Do not feel yourself guilty, my brother. We were not in Auschwitz and Dachau to suffer, but to learn' (see appendix 4).

On 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2002, 'Le Monde' carried a cartoon that consisted of two identical pictures side by side, showing the ruins of 'Warsaw 1943' and 'Jenin today'. A comment stated that 'History has a strange way of repeating itself' (see appendix 5). This cartoon depicted an absolute equivalence between the Holocaust and the latest events of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This caricature not merely assume that the Israelis behave like the Nazi. It implied that the Palestinians are undergoing a fate similar to that of the Jews during the Second World War, i.e. that they are confronted by a massive extermination apparatus, and that this extermination has taken place.

On 27.1.2003, Britain's National Holocaust Remembrance Day, the 'Independent' published a cartoon of a naked Israel's Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, portrayed biting off the bleeding head of a Palestinian child as helicopter war ships bombarded villages and call out 'Sharon... Vote Sharon...'. In the right hand corner of the illustration are the words: 'After Goya', a reference to Goya's painting 'Saturn Devouring One of His Sons'. (see Appendix 6). This is the classic blood libel. This cartoon is inseparable from two critical contexts: the personification of Israel as the state of the Jews embodied by a blood-thirsty Sharon, and the choice of Britain's National Holocaust Remembrance day as the date of its promulgation. What is the lesson of that image and timing? Israel born from the rubble of the Holocaust now carries out its own blood-lust genocide against the Palestinians. One monstrous atrocity conveniently cancels out the other. That 'blood libel' classical antisemitic cartoon won the U.K. 'political cartoon of the year award for 2003' of the political cartoon society. The competition was held on 25<sup>th</sup> November 2003 on 'the Economist' weekly's premises and the

award was presented by Labour MP and former Minister for Overseas Aid Claire Short (see [www.politicalcartoon.co.uk/html/exhibition.html](http://www.politicalcartoon.co.uk/html/exhibition.html)).

The demonization of Israel Jews takes all accusations: an article published in the French leftist weekly 'Le Nouvel Observateur' in 8<sup>th</sup> November 2001, included a claim that Israeli soldiers rape Palestinian women at checkpoints so that women will later be subjected to 'honour killing' by their families. After protests, the paper was forced to admit the allegation was untrue, but tried to belittle its importance.

On the cover of the 14.1.2002 edition of the leftist 'New Stateman', a glistening, gold, oversized star of David stands with a sharp pointy edge sunk into a square block emblazoned with the Union Jack. Beneath the image, runs the title of the cover story: 'A kosher conspiracy?... Britain's pro-Israel lobby'. This cover was a master class in how antizionism becomes antisemitic. The idea is clear: the (rich=gold) Jews dominate British foreign policy vis-à-vis Israel. It hardly matters that the article to which the cover refers, itself ambiguously, concluded a negative answer to the 'New Stateman's' rhetorical question while simultaneously raising suspicious dual-loyalty. The punctuation simply added to the intrigue, as if to say: 'What about these Jews, whose classic apart-ness, epitomized by their dietary habits (keeping kosher), pits their own self interest over that of the supine UK?' Moreover, the use of the stabbing motif suggests treachery and disloyalty on the part of Jews. The heart of the matter is conspiracy itself, with the ancient Christian allegation that Jews are engaged in a secret plot to take over the world.

On the 18<sup>th</sup> February 2001, a poem by Tom Paulin, a 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century English literature lecturer at Oxford University published in the liberal-left 'Observer' (the Sunday sister paper of the 'Guardian'). The poem published as the 'Observer', 'poem of the week', and it goes like that:

'We are fed this inert  
This lying phrase  
Like comfort food  
As another little Palestinian boy  
In trainers jeans and a white tee-shirt  
Is gunned down by the Zionist SS  
Whose initials we should  
-but we don't- dumb goys  
clock in that weasel word  
crossfire'.



Paulin's poem is another example of tying the Israeli Jews to the SS and the Nazis and by that excuse, and, summarily deny, the historical Holocaust.

But Paulin's poem is more than that. Paulin employs the phrase 'dumb goys' (goy=gentile in Hebrew and Yiddish) to characterize the collective gullibility of the easily duped public incapable of seeing through Israel's 'true' intentions.

Someone used this parse before him and in exactly the same context. His name is Adolf Hitler. 'While the Zionist 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 goys. It doesn't even enter their heads to build up a Jewish state in Palestine for the purpose of living there; all they want is a central organization for their international world swindle, endowed with its own sovereignty rights and removed from the intervention of other states' (Hitler, 1969). Here we can see how Nazi terminology finds its place in the poem of the week in a left-liberal newspaper.

Those cartoons and newspaper articles (and what I show here is just an example, just a drop in the sea) of the past few years contain as we see most of the major classic antisemitic motifs – deicide, blood lust, child murder and Holocaust inversion recur.

Antisemitic statements come also from the leftish European intellectuals and public figures. Just to mention few: the famous Portuguese author and Nobel prize winner Jose Saramago (member of the Portuguese Communist Party) compared the blockaded Palestinian city of Ramallah to Auschwitz: 'It must be said that in Palestine, there is a crime which we can stop. We may compare it with what happened at Auschwitz' (in 'Miami Herald Tribune', 27.3.2002). When visiting Brazil he declared that the Jewish people deserve sympathy for the suffering they endured during the Holocaust (Anti-Defamation League press release: 'Portuguese Nobel Laureate's remarks on Jews and Holocaust are incendiary and offensive' 15.10.2003).

The famous Greek composer and former Minister (representative of the Greek Communist Party) Mikis Theodorakis, stated at a press conference in November 2003: 'We are two nations without brothers in the world, us (the Greeks) and the Jews, but they have fanaticism and are forceful... Today we can say that this small nation is the root of evil, not of good, which means that too much self-importance and too much stubbornness is evil... they only had Abraham and Jacob shadows... we had the great Pericles... '(in 'Centre Simon Wiesenthal-Europe' Report). In an interview with the Israeli Daily 'Haaretz' portrayed Theodorakis his cultural background 'I remember that in the eyes of the old religious women, the Jews were the one that crucified Jesus... my grandmother was very religious...and in the

spring time she told me: now, in Easter time, don't go to the Jewish neighbourhood, because in Easter time the Jews put Christian children in a barrel full of knives and then they drink their blood' (interview with Mikis Theodorakis, in Haaretz daily, 27.8.2004).

In a lecture at the 'Peace Studies' at Tromsø University (November 2003) claimed the 'peace researcher' John Galtung that 'Jews in America builds Holocaust Museums for money making reason'. Here Galtung refers to the old accusation that the Jews are greedy and only concerned about money and power. At the same time Galtung minimizes the significance of the Holocaust. Not a word of reservation heard in the class (except from mine) from either the students or the professors.

With such a media and public figure opinions, the antisemitic attitude of a large part of the West European population as it reflects on the public opinion polls below comes as no surprise. But those antisemitic outlooks are not only a direct effect of the contemporary media, but are the result of almost 2000 years of antisemitism and its consequences: prejudices, discriminations, blood libel etc.

A 2003 opinion poll carried out by the 'Centre for Research on Antisemitism' of the 'technical university of Berlin' showed the following result:

European Attitudes towards Jews, Israel and the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict

Statement	Belgium	Denmark	France	Germany	United Kingdom	Spain	Italy	Austria	The Netherlands
Jews don't care what happens to anyone but their own kind	25%	16%	20%	24%	10%	34%	30%	29%	15%
Jews are most willing to use shady practices to get what they want	18%	13%	16%	21%	11%	33%	27%	28%	9%
Jews are more loyal to Israel than to this country	50%	45%	42%	55%	34%	72%	58%	54%	48%
Jews have too much power in the business world	44%	13%	42%	32%	21%	63%	42%	40%	20%

(Source: Bergman and Wetzel, 2003: 43)

A 2002 opinion poll carried out on behalf of the Anti-Defamation League in five countries, Austria, Switzerland, Spain, Italy and the Netherlands showed that 25% of the respondents believe Jews do not care what happens to anyone but themselves, 40% feel Jews have too much power in the business world and international financial markets and the majority of the respondents perceive Jews as being more loyal to their own country (Source: 'Anti-Defamation League – Press release, 31.10.2002).

An Italian poll conducted in the fall of 2003 by Paola Merulla showed that 17% of the population think it would be better if Israel did not exist. 20% of the Italians think Jews are not real Italians and 10% think Jews lie when they maintain that Nazism murdered millions of Jews (in 'Haaretz' Israeli Daily, 15.10.2003).

A few months earlier, a poll of two thousand young Italians (aged 14-18) sponsored by the umbrella organization of Italian Jewry under the auspice of Italy's President, Carlo Azeglio Ciampi, showed substantial antisemitic stereotypes: nearly 35% of respondents agreed that 'the financial power in the world is mostly in the hands of Jews' and 17% believed that reports of the extermination of Jews during the Holocaust are 'exaggerated' (in Gruber, 2.7.2003).

In November 2003, a Euro-barometer study undertaken on behalf of the European Commission, found that more Europeans consider Israel a threat to world peace than any other country (Source: European Commission, Euro-barometer survey, No. 151, November 2003).

On January 2004, a poll conducted by the Ipsos Research Institute for the Italian Newspaper 'Corriere della Sera' in Italy, France, Belgium, Austria, Spain, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Germany and the UK, found out that 46% of the respondents said that Jews have a mentality and lifestyle different from other citizens. 40% felt that the Jews in their country have a particular relationship with money, and 35% believed that the Jews should stop 'playing the victim' regarding the Holocaust and its persecutions of 60 years ago. In all countries, antisemitic sentiment paralleled anti-Israel sentiment. (in 'Haaretz' Israel daily, 26.1.2004).

Professor Wolfgang Prindta, the head of the Faculty of Communication Psychology at the German University of Jena, conducted a poll in March 2004 that checked the German standpoints regarding Israel and the Jews. 38% of the respondents agree or totally agree that it would be better if the Jews were thrown out of the Middle East. 57% agree or totally agree that the Israeli treat the Palestinians as the Nazis treated the Jews. 43% agree or totally agree

that Jews have too much influence in the world and 56% agree or totally agree that Jews today try to extract advantages from their past (in 'Haaretz' Israeli Daily, 19.4.2004).

In November 2003, just after the Euro-barometer survey was published, columnist Julie Burchill bid farewell to the readers of 'The Guardian' as she moved to 'The Times'. She said that while she liked the paper, there was one factor that made her feel less loyal to it over the past year: as a non-Jew she perceived its strong bias against Israel. Commenting on the Euro-barometer poll, Burchill wrote: 'If you take into account the theory that Jews are responsible for everything nasty in the history of the world, and also the recent EU survey that found 60 percent of Europeans believe Israel is the biggest threat to peace in the world today, it's a short jump to reckoning that it was obviously a bloody good thing that the Nazis got rid of six million of the buggers. Perhaps this is why sales of 'Mein Kampf' are so buoyant, from the Middle Eastern bazaars into the Edgware Road, and why 'The protocols of the Elders of Zion' could be found for sale at the recent Anti-racism congress in Durban' (Burchill, in the 'Guardian', 29.11.2003).

In his book 'Au nom de l'autre' ('In the Name of the Other'), the French philosopher Alain Finkielkraut quotes the so-called left wing Italian journalist Spinelli: 'All European people, all states, institutions, and professional associations, have learnt to look their past in the eye and bravely admit their faults. All proscribe the teaching of intolerance and doggedly practice pedagogy of repentance. All confess the crimes that they committed or let other commit. All admit their share of darkness. All accept humbly the civilizing burden of guilt. All adopt a reflective distance with regard to what they are. All make it a point of honour to free themselves of themselves and to rein in their immediate drives through all manner of devices. All distrust the Nazi that sleeps within them. All have a hangover.

All, that is, except Jews. For them there is no obligation of memory and reparation. Used to being the superego of the old world they forgot to have a superego. Full of excuses, they feel no sense of duty. Thrilled by their sovereign power, filled with their existence as a national state, just in time for the great penitential deconstruction of national states, they alone', concludes Spinelli, 'live in a condition of absolute liberty' (Finkielkraut, 2004:24-25).

Until the six day war in 1967, the European left supported Israel. In any battle between David and Goliath, the European left always supported David; they always supported the underdog.

But David has mutated into a murderous Goliath. The Jew now, in a wide variety of circles of the left, resemble more Rambo than Shakespeare's Shylock. Stereotypically Jews

are supposed to be pasty-faced Yeshiva bochers, passive wimps and effeminate men who pose no threat. If they are macho (like the state of Israel that represents the collective Jew among the nation) they are Really bad – worse than anyone else. The pathetic, feminine Jew has transmogrified into a demonic threat – the Israeli Jew, armed to the hilt and raining down missiles from the sky – the repository of the greatest evil, identified with imperialism, terrorism, Nazism and worldwide conspiracy. ‘For Western leftists, Israel is too strong, too victorious, too Western, and looks too much like their own colonisers of the past, who have now been fully rejected, to attract the sympathy or understanding of Western leftists’ (Glazer, 1986:162).

As I mention of page 1, the Hebrew Encyclopedia defines antisemitism as a combination of three factors: a). hatred towards the different, b). xenophobia, c). hatred towards the weak. The contemporary left wing antisemitism contradicts the antisemitism definition of the Hebrew Encyclopedia. In our case, the hate towards the Jew is not as a result of ‘hatred towards the weak’. On the contrary, it is a result of hatred towards the strong, the powerful. A hate which is clearly related to the dissonance arising out of Israeli power, because Jews should be powerless.

In the European left wing, liberal circles, the current anti-Jewish animus is the implicit view that the Jews must never fight back. Since Zionism reversed Jewish historical passivity to persecution and asserted the Jewish right to self-determination and independent survival, by negating it, the antisemitic is arguing that the Jew must be passive in the face of terror and must always be the victim, for victims do no wrong and deserve sympathy and support.

‘Just as Barres beheld Dreyfus as representative of another species, so too, the champions of contrition insist, does Israel flout the religion of humanity to which Europe converted when it recognised its own antisemitism’ (Finkelkrant 2004:26).

Francoise Giroud, the late ‘grande dame’ of French journalism wrote in ‘Le Monde’ on 13<sup>th</sup> June 2002: ‘What’s happening now?... The chance to change the figure of the Jew as martyr into the Jew as executioner. The possibility to get rid of this exasperating, recurring guilt in order to free up the little reserve of antisemitism to be found in everyone’s cradle... The sons of a tortured people should know how to behave at table – I mean in a war – and know how to get hit without hitting back.’ (as quoted in the ‘International Herald Tribune’, 14.6.2002).

As I mentioned earlier, the origin of the Hebrew term Satan is from the root s.o.t., and the meaning of that root is wandering without limits. I associated the current criticism of the Israeli policy and actions, and thoughts such as the one of Barbara Spinelli, to the upheavals



of the romance of Europe with the image of Satan. The satanic principle is a very important component of the European culture. When we become aware of the original meaning of 'Satan', we can realise why the colonialist impulse was a clear and sharp expression of the European Satanic ethos (as it comes for example in Goethe's myth of Faust). Why this idea, this principle, is so prominent in the European culture? Maybe because this idea has a strong connection to seafaring people, from the Vikings to the European colonialists that in their voyages to far lands constantly broke boundaries. With the percolation of the ideas of Enlightenment, the European people study to live with the Satanic ethos and to restrain it (the Germans that only in the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with the unification of many princedoms by Bismarck, became a nation, did not develop that restraint, and that is why maybe their Satanic ethos rose in all its power).

The shock of the Second World War and the Holocaust created a very deep fear in the European culture from the satanic ethos and an action of a kind of self-castration was made. Europe took away the satanic ethos from itself. 'Traumatized by Hitler, Europe cannot be satisfied with a simple repudiation of antisemitism; it must unburden itself by switching from an admiring humanism to a reliving one. It is a humanism perfectly captured in the cry 'never again' – never again a politics of power. Never again nationalism. Never again Auschwitz' (Finkelkrant, 2004:14).

The European current ethos is a passive one. One can see it well, just recently, with the election of 'The International Atomic Energy Agency' as the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize for 2005. The choice of an agency that its goal, its aim is to keep the status quo as the winner of that prize (and not an agency or a movement that engage actively in trying to make the world better) is a classical example of the European passive ethos. One can see the passive European ethos as well also in the European playwriting when the heroes change from the adventuring hero style Peer Gynt of Henrik Ibsen to the passive heroes, as Vladimir and Estragon of Beckett in his play 'Waiting for Godot'. Those figures represent the new European man that moved the Satan from his soul and that is afraid to express publicly any progress that might be militant or power oriented.

And then, at the same time, the Jews, the one that in the European eyes, caused them that self-castration, start a romance with the Satanic ethos. They create a state, dealing with power oriented activities etc. that create in Europe frustration and rage against the Jews that in their name, the Satanic ethos was sacrificed and now they are the ones that practice it. The Jews stop being the weak, the underdog 'other' as the left like them to be, but also did not join, did not convert to the left 'religion of humanity'.

## SYNTHESIS

There has been no hatred in Western Christian civilisation more persistent and enduring than that directed against the Jews. Though the form and timing of the outbursts of anti-Jewish persecution throughout the ages have varied, the basic patterns of prejudice have remained remarkably consistent. Particularly striking is the deeply irrational and counter-factual character of most accusations that have been levelled against the Jewish people over the past two thousand years.

Antisemitism began in early Christian culture. It outbursts again in the secular culture of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Europe. It outbursts a third time after the six day war in 1967. But each outburst entails the absorption of earlier antisemitism. Each outburst is a recapitulation, adopting aspects of the version to which it succeeds, and integrating them into its own version of Jew hatred.

The root of antisemitism is Christianity. The wish to base antisemitism on grounds beyond the Jewish-Christian division remained in fact a mere declaration of intent. No antisemite, even if he himself was anti-Christian, ever forwent the use of those anti-Jewish arguments rooted in the denigration of Jews and Judaism in earlier Christian times.

Despite the different outlooks on life and despite the different period of time, all the three antisemitic doctrines that I presented – Christian antisemitism, Enlightenment antisemitism, and contemporary left-wing antisemitism preserve the same dualistic structure.

The good polarity exists; it is conditioned by the development of culture: Jesus, the Catholic Church, the Protestant Church, Christian society, the ethics as part of a philosophical approach regarded as 'correct', the proletariat, and so on... And on the other hand – the never-changing evil polarity: the Jews. The primordial accusation – the charge of deicide has positioned polarity in the most dramatic manner, rooting it in an everlasting process, within the collective soul of the Christian world. As we could see, the argumentation against the Jews, and the demonization of the Jews in all the three periods presented, follow a very simple logic and patterns. Despite all of the superficial differences, the masks, the attempts to reconcile the non-religious logic, the players in the drama do not change: Jesus the saviour and his murderer- Satan.

For Christians, Jews are associated with Satan because they executed God.

For Enlightenment thinkers, Jews are associated with Satan because they created God.

For the early French socialists, Jews are associated with Satan because they were, in their eyes, the incarnations of commerce.



For Marx, Jews are associated with Satan because they represent trade and capital.

For present left-wingers, Jews are associated with Satan because they support Zionism.

As the wheels of history turn, people invent themselves all kind of saviours, yet each saviour must be confronted with Satan, Christianity and the culture that developed from it, in all its incarnations, acknowledges only one single devil: the Jew. The Jew confronts every saviour and on every stage where the drama is presented upon, he/she acquires, using theoretical formulations, artistic descriptions, national beliefs, philosophy and legend - the qualities required in order to fulfil his/her demonic role, in relation with those attributed to the saviour, who appears on the same stage. The saviour – Satan relation is eternal and unchanging: this is the ‘crucifixion’ relation. Satan tries to ‘crucify’ the saviour: this is his role – he cannot do otherwise – what changes, is the manner in which the ‘crucifixion’ takes place, because each and every saviour has his/her own form of ‘crucifixion’. The actual act of ‘crucifixion’ and the identity of the crucifier remain as they are.

The persistence, longevity and mythic power of European hatred towards the Jews makes it an especially revealing barometer of the tensions and conflicts within European Christian culture from which it stemmed. We should bear in mind, that humans transfer their own moral weakness to demons, thereby nullifying any moral blame on themselves.<sup>2</sup> All the negative qualities, dark drives, or crimes that are attributed to the Jews surely represent part of their own selves that Europeans cannot live with and therefore have sought to expunge from their midst, we make God in our image, but we also make the demon in our image.

With such a bloody history – from the crucifixion of Christ by those who later become Catholics; via the crusades, the colonialism, the Holocaust and so on – it is not surprising that the Europeans need to attribute their dark sides to the ‘other’, to the Jews.

The French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre takes that idea forward. In his sustained attack on prejudice ‘Antisemite and Jew’, Sartre goes beyond all others in dejudiazing Jew hatred. Not only does he hold that the Jews are not the cause of Jew hatred, he holds that the Jews are not even the object of Jew hatred. As he writes: ‘The antisemite...is a man who is afraid. Not of the Jews to be sure, but of himself, of his own consciousness, of his own liberty... of everything except the Jews’ (Sartre 1965:53). The Jews, a la Sartre, are made to feel as Jews by Jew haters (who do not hate Jews but themselves). ‘The Jew’, writes Sartre, ‘is one whom other men consider a Jew... it is the antisemite who makes the Jew... it is neither their past, their religion, nor their soil, that unites the sons of Israel... the sole tie that

---

<sup>2</sup> A study that illustrates this theory well is the book of Charles Stewart, ‘Demons and the Devil: Moral Imagination in Modern Greek Culture’, 1991

binds them is the hostility and disdain of the societies which surround them' (Sartre, 1965:67).

While, as I presented earlier, I agree to a mild version of Sartre's philosophical argument, accepting his argumentation in full brings in two difficulties: first of all, the conclusion of Sartre, hinted at and inevitable, was that in a tolerant world there would be no Jews since their sole source of identity lays in the hatred others had for them. Isn't that the antisemite objective?!

Secondly, all the three ideologies which I refer to – Christianity, Enlightenment and contemporary left-wing are universal in their essence. As I constantly expose along my thesis, the particularity of the Jews, the 'otherness' of the Jews, was, and still is, one of the main reasons for their persecution and hatred throughout the ages. It creates as well a dialectical tension with the universalist idea. One cannot ignore the non-conformist nature of the Jews that for 2000 years the European interpreted as stubbornness and obstinacy. Versus universalistic Christianity the Jews keep 'tribalism' and particularity, versus capitalism-socialism and communism, versus modern nationalism-cosmopolitanism, versus modern liberalism and socialism-renewal nationalism and so on... It is possible in this context to apply to the Jews the words of Goethe, when Faust characterizes himself: 'I'm the consciousness that always says NO!'. It is not by accident that I want to characterize the Jewish non-conformism by a statement ascribed to Faust: thus maybe I reveal the demonic aspect attributed to the Jews.

Jews have been discriminated against and hated throughout the ages, to a large extent, not because they were better than anyone else, nor because they were worse than anyone else, but because they were different and because there is a natural human tendency to dislike the unlike, to fear the stranger and hate what we fear.

But every nation, each faith and every culture is different. What made Jews singular is that, with more tenacity than anyone else, they insisted on the right to be different, the duty to be different, and the dignity of difference.

Left-wing Western European discourses accuse now the 'chosen people' of believing themselves superior to other nations and rejecting the gospel of common universal identity. 'Enlightened' European discourses accused the 'chosen people' of rejecting the gospel of universal reason. Christian discourses accuse the 'chosen people' of rejecting the gospel of Christ and Pauline universalism.

The left discourse is a repercussion, a resonance, of the 'Epistle to Romans' in the affirmation that the people of Israel, the self infatuated people, exempt themselves from the

ordinary human condition and exempt themselves from all the nations, thus denying the equal dignity of man and obeying only their laws.

By claiming that the ‘otherness’, the particularism of the Jews, is a main source of the antisemitism that is directed against them during the last 2000 years, I am not suggesting that the Jews are the ones to be blamed for it, or that particularism is a negative force. On the contrary, antisemitism is a crime against humanity not because Jews are human beings, but because human beings are Jews, by which I mean difference is the essence of our humanity. A world that has no room for Jews as Jews has no space for difference; and a world that lacks space for difference has no room for humanity. That is why antisemitism is not A, but THE, paradigm of a crime against humanity.

So what should we do with that alien Jew, whose existence as a Jew possesses a fundamental problem for the correctness of our way?, the European asked themselves.

Except for the relatively short period when the European talked in the classical racist discourse, that emphasis on race and genes and impossibility of conversion, for 2000 years the solution to the ‘Jewish problem’ is identical.

There is a dualistic figure of expected destination from the Jews:

Christianity expect the Jews to be humiliated, weak, feminine and stateless or to convert to Christianity, to the ‘religion of Christ’.

The Enlightenment thinkers expect the Jew to be inferior, weak and feminine, or to follow the process of complete assimilation and join the ‘religion of reason’.

The ‘progressive’ left-wing milieu expects the Jew to be weak, underdog, passive, feminine, stateless and to behave like an ‘other’ should behave, or to follow their ‘religion of humanity’.

Christianity	Humiliated Weak Feminine Stateless	Convert to Christianity
Enlightenment	Inferior Weak Feminine	Complete assimilation

Left Wing Milieu

Underdog

Follow the 'religion of  
humanity'

Weak

Passive

Stateless

Behave like an 'other' should

behave

In whichever column in each period of the periods presented the Jews will find their safe refuge, it will confirm the European superiority and the correctness of their way. For 2000 years the European uses the Jews as a tool for showing the confirmation of their truth.

The similarity of the current antisemitism on the left-wing milieu and the form of antisemitism that precedes it, questions the correctness of the use of the term 'new antisemitism' while describing the contemporary antisemitism on the left. It seems to me that apart from differences that we can refer to as cosmetic ones, the term 'new antisemitism' is new mainly in its timing, but not in its essence and in its substance. New clothes, but old demons.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Ahlmark, Per, "Det ar demokratin", Stockholm, 2004.
2. Anti Defamation League press release, "Portuguese Nobel Laureate`s remarks on Jews and the Holocaust are incendiary and offensive", 15.10.2003.
3. Anti Defamation League press release, "Results of 2002 opinion poll", 31.10.2002.
4. Armstrong, Karen, "A History of God", London, 1993.
5. Ansell-Pearson, Keith, "An Introduction to Nietzsche as Political Thinker", Cambridge, 1994.
6. Bacharach, Zvi, "From Cross to Swastika", Tel Aviv, 1991.
7. Bacharach, Zvi, "Modern Antisemitism", Tel Aviv, 1979.
8. Bein, Alex, "The Jewish Question", London-Toronto, 1990.
9. Bergmann, Werner, and Wetzel, Juliane, "Manifestations of Antisemitism in the EU" Vinna, 2003.
10. Bonfil, Robert, "The Devil and the Jews in the Christian Consciousness of the Middle Age", in Almog, Shmuel (ed.), "Antisemitism through the Ages", Jerusalem, 1988.
11. Bratton, Fred Gladstone, "The Crime of Christendom", Boston, 1969.
12. Chapman, Colin, "Whose Promised Land?", Oxford, 2002.
13. Cohn-Sherbok, Dan, "Antisemitism: A History", Thrupp-Stroud-Gloucestershire, 2002.
14. "Elefterotypia" Greek Daily, 2.4.2002 ed. .
15. "Ethnon", Greek Daily, 7.4.2002 ed. .
16. "European Commission, Eurobarometer survey", no.151, november 2003, in:  
[http://europe.eu.int/comm/external\\_relations/iraq/doc/fl151\\_iraq\\_full\\_report.pdf#search=%60eurobarometer%20survey2003%20no.151%60](http://europe.eu.int/comm/external_relations/iraq/doc/fl151_iraq_full_report.pdf#search=%60eurobarometer%20survey2003%20no.151%60)
17. Fackenheim, Emil, "To Mend the World", New York, 1982.
18. Finkelkraut, Alain, "Au nom de l`autre" ("In the Name of the Other"), Paris, 2004.
19. Freud, Sigmund, "Analysis of a Phobia in a Five Years Old Boy", London, 1955.
20. Gilman, Sander, "Difference and pathology: stereotypes of sexuality, race, and madness", Ithaca, 1985.
21. Glazer, Nathan, "Anti-Zionism - A global Phenomenon", in Curtis, Michael (ed.), "Antisemitism in the Contemporary World", Boulder & London, 1986.
22. Goldhagen, Daniel Jonah, "Hitler`s Willing Executioners - Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust", New-York, 1997.

23. Gruber,Ruth,"Poll Shows Italians Teens Harbor Racist and Antisemitic Attitudes", New York,2.7.2003.
24. "Guardian" UK Daily,29.4.2002,29.11.2003 editions.
25. "Haaretz"Israeli Daily,15.10.2003,26.1.2004,19.4.2004,27.8.2004, 9.9.4004 editions.
26. Hay, Malcolm, "Europe and the Jews", Boston,1960.
27. "Herald Tribune",14.6.2002 ed. .
28. Hitler,Adolf,"Mein Kampf",New york,1969 ed. .
- 29."Independent", UK Daily,27.1.2003 ed. .
30. Johnson, Paul, 'A History of Christianity', New York, 1977
31. Johnson, Paul, "Marxism Versus the Jews",in Curtis Michael(ed.),"Antisemitim in the contemporary world", Boulder&London,1986.
32. "Journal du Dimanche",20.1.2004 ed.
33. Jules, Isaac, "The teaching of Contempt-Christian Roots of Antisemitism", New York-Chicago-San Francisco,1964.
34. Kenan, Amos, "New Left Go Home", in Chertoff, Mordecai(ed.),"The New Left and the Jews", New York,1971.
35. Klauzner, Y., Netanyahu, B., 'The Hebrew Encyclopedia', Jerusalem, 1968
36. "Kleine Zeitung", Austrian Daily,19.5.2002 ed. .
37. Kotek, Joel, "La Belgique et ses juifs, de l'antijudaisme come code cultural,a l'antisemitisme comme religion civique", Paris,2004.
38. Kriegel, Maurice, "The Modern Antisemitism of the Inquisition", in "Zionism"41, Jersalem,1992.
39. Langmuir, Gavin, "History, Religion and Antisemitism", Berkeley - Los Angeles - Oxford, 1990.
40. "La Stampa" Italian Daily,3.4.2002 ed. .
41. Lazare, Bernard, "Antisemitism - Its History and Causes", Lincoln-Loncon,1995.
42. "Le Figaro" French Daily, 27.2.2004 ed. .
43. "Le Monde" French Daily, 29.2.2002,2.5.2002,21.2.2004 editions.
44. "Le nouvel observateur"French Daily,8.11.2001 ed. .
45. "Liberation"French Daily,26.12.2001,27.2.2004,28.2.2004 editions.
46. Littell, Franklin, "The Crucifixion of the Jews", Macon,1986.
- 47." L'Osservatore Romano" Vatican Daily, 2.4.2003 ed. .

48. Lozato, Edgar, "The Depth of Antisemitism", Tel Aviv,1987.
49. Maccoby, Hyman, "The Sacred Executioner: Human Sacrifice and the Legacy of Guilt", London, 1987.
50. MacCormack, Carol & Strathern, Marilyn, "Nature, Culture and Gender", Cambridge, 1980.
51. Marx,Karl,"Early Writings - On the Jewish Question", London, 1975.
52. McCutcheon, Russell, "Myth", London-New York, 2000.
53. Mendes-Flohr,Paul & Reinhartz, Jehuda(eds.),"The Jew in the Modern World", New York,1980.
54. "Miami Herald Tribune",27.3.2002 ed. .
55. "New Statesman",14.1.2002 ed. .
56. Nietzsche, Friedrich, "The Genealogy of the Morals", Leipzig,1887.
57. Nisbet, Robert, "The Quest for Community: a Study in the Ethics of Order and Freedom", New York,1962.
58. "Observer",18.2.2001 ed. .
59. Ortner, Sherry, "Is female to male as nature is to culture?"; in Rosaldo & Lamphere (ed.),"Woman, Culture and Society",Stanford,1974.
60. Pawlikowski, John, "Christ in the Light of Christian-Jewish Dialogue" New York,1982.
61. Perry, Marvin & Schweitzer, Frederick, "Antisemitism-Myth and Hate from Antiquity to the Present",London,2002.
62. Phillips, Melanie, "Christians Who Hate Jews" in Spectator,London,16.2.2002.
63. Poliakov, Leon, "History of Antisemitism",London,1974.
64. Rose, Paul, "Revolutionary Antisemitism in Germany from Kant to Wagner". New Jersey, 1991.
65. Ruether, Rosemary (ed.),"Religion and Sexism", New York,1974.
66. Ruether, Rosemary, "Faith and Fratricide", New York,1974.
67. Ruether, Rosemary, "Motherearth and the Megamachine: a Theology of Liberation in a Feminine, Somatic and Ecological Perspective", in Christ & Plaskow ed., "Woman spirit rising", New York,1979.
68. Runes, Dagobert, "Karl Marx: a World Without Jews",London,1975.
69. Sartre, Jean-Paul, "Anti-Semite and Jew", New York,1965.
70. Spencer, Richard, in "Church Times", London, 24.1.2003.
71. Strack, Herman, "The Jew and Human Sacrifice" Vol. XI, London,1909.
72. Steiman, Lionel, "Paths to Genocide", New York,1998.

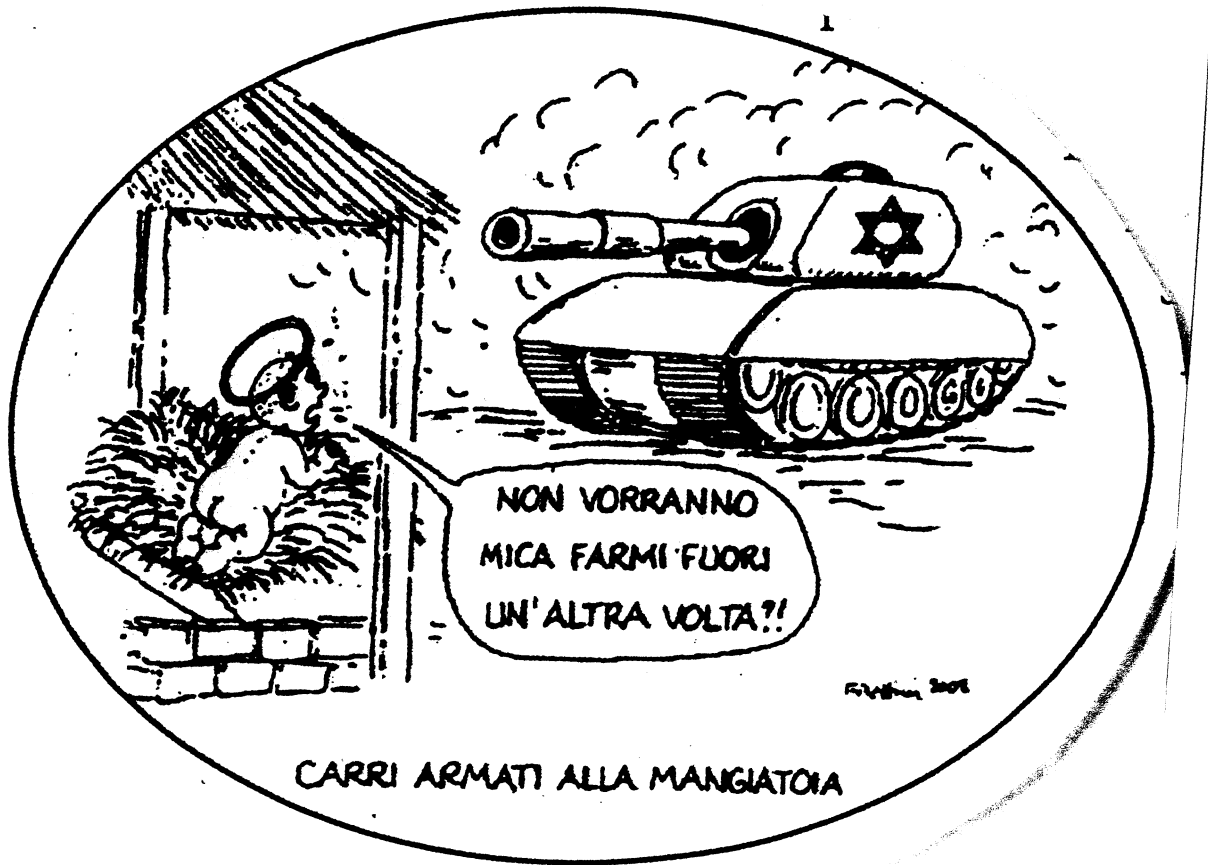
73. Stewart, Charles, "Demons and the Devil: Moral Imagination in Modern Greek Culture", Princeton, 1991.
74. Stone, Merlin, "When God Was a Woman" New York, 1978.
75. Swidler, Leonard, "Biblical Affirmations of Woman", Philadelphia, 1979.
76. "Ta Nea" Greek Daily, 2.4.2002 ed. .
77. Tutu, Desmond, "Israel, the Unjust Steward", in "Church Times", London, 26.4.2002
78. Voltaire, "The Jews" in "Dictionnaire philosophique", Basel, 1786.
79. Weininger, Otto, "Sex and Character", London, 1906.
80. Wilken, Robert, "John Chrysostom and the Jews", Berkeley, 1983.
81. Wistrich, Robert s., "Antisemitism, the Longest Hatred", New York, 1992.

The Old Testament: Book of Psalm,  
 Genesis,  
 Book of Deuteronomy

The New Testament: Book of Matthew  
 Book of Mark  
 Letter to Corinthians  
 First Thessalonians  
 Galatians  
 Romans



APPENDIX 1



APPENDIX 2



APPENDIX 3

PAST AND ...



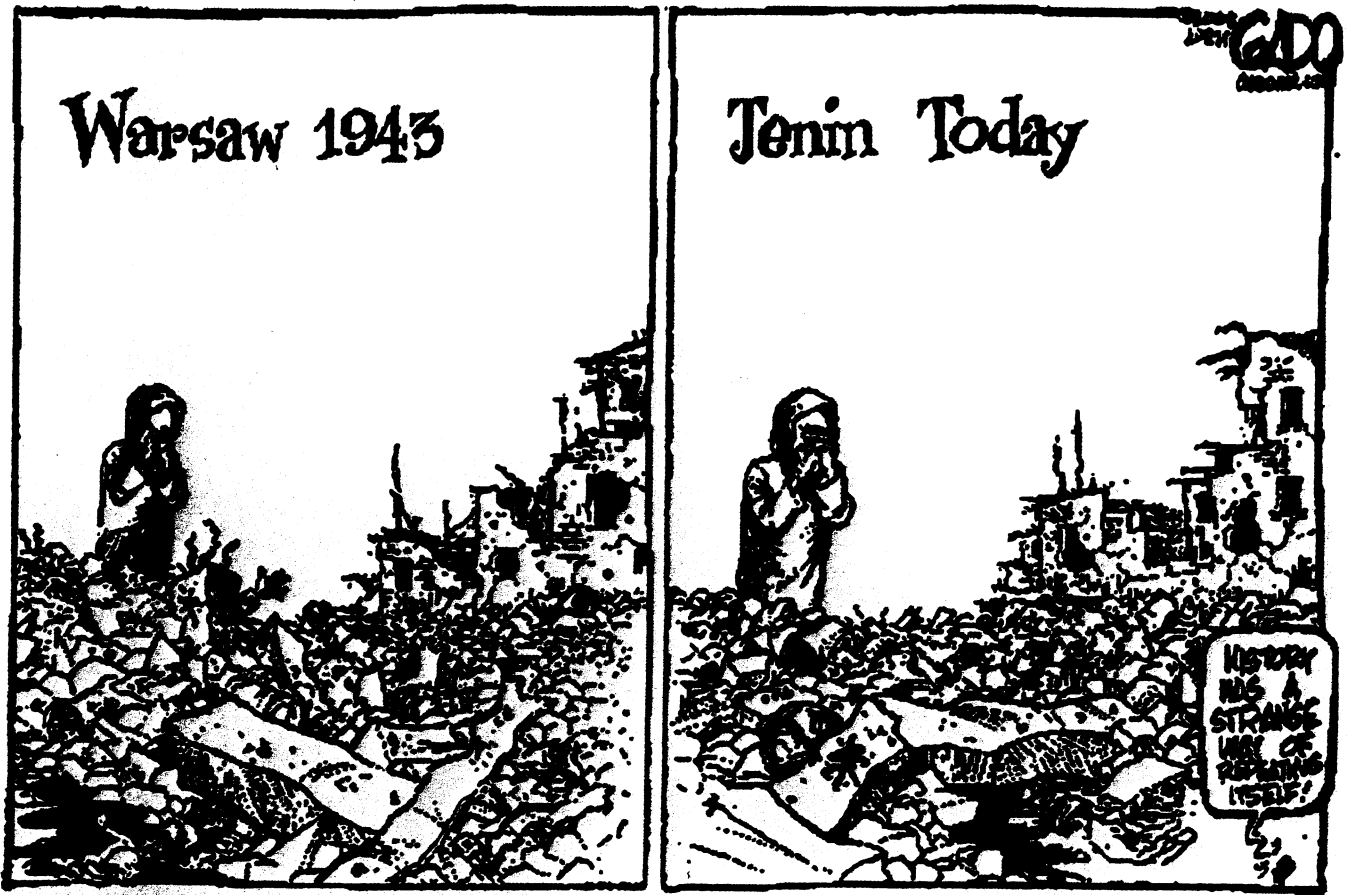
... PRESENT



APPENDIX 4



APPENDIX 5



*Nation* (Kenya) April 25, 2002.

APPENDIX 6

