

# Antisemitic Activity and Anti-Israel Bias At the Center for Near East Studies, University of California at Los Angeles

2010 - 2013

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#### I. Introduction

AMCHA Initiative systematically investigated antisemitic activity and anti-Israel bias in the public events of the Gustav E. von Grunebaum Center for Near East Studies (CNES) at UCLA during three academic years, 2010-2013. Significant antisemitic activity and anti-Israel bias were found in these events, as well as a singling out of Israel for opprobrium from among all other Middle Eastern countries. A majority of the events about Israel demonized and delegitimized it, with a significant minority condoning terrorism against Israeli civilians, as well as promoting boycott and divestment efforts. A large majority of the invited speakers at the events have demonized Israel and promoted boycott and divestment. One-third have compared Jews to Nazis, and one-third have condoned terrorism. The results indicate that CNES has a troubling anti-Israel bias, which distorts its scholarly and educational mission and is a violation of the funding requirements of Title VI of the Higher Education Act.

### CNES Background

CNES was founded at UCLA in 1957, in order to coordinate teaching and research in the languages and academic disciplines relevant to understanding the Middle East. According to its website, the Center "encourages, coordinates and integrates instruction and research in the humanities and the social sciences, business, law, medicine and the media, and in all languages essential to an understanding of the Near East." CNES has approximately 70 affiliated faculty in the following fields: anthropology, architecture, art history, comparative literature, economics, English, ethnomusicology, French, history, law, near eastern languages and culture, political science, public health, women's studies, and world culture. The Center sponsors interdisciplinary degree programs in Middle Eastern and North African Studies (B.A.) and Islamic Studies (M.A. and Ph.D.).

Among CNES's funded activities are seminars, symposia, conferences, research workshops, and a Resident Scholars program. The Center also has several public outreach programs, including teacher-training opportunities for K-12 teachers and community college instructors,<sup>2</sup> as well as cultural programs and lectures that are open to the public, many of which have been recorded and made accessible as podcasts on the CNES website.<sup>3</sup>

A significant portion of the academic and outreach programs sponsored and funded by CNES focus on Israel: Hebrew is one of the five Middle East languages supported by the Center, and 17 Hebrew language and literature courses were among those listed on the CNES website for the academic year  $2010 - 2011.^4$  CNES also administers Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowships that include funding for graduate and undergraduate students pursuing Hebrew language studies in the US and in Israel,<sup>5</sup> and on its website the Center promotes

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> http://www.international.ucla.edu/cnes/aboutus

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/cnes/outreach

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/cnes/podcasts/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Fall 2010: <a href="http://web.international.ucla.edu/cnes/article/116224">http://web.international.ucla.edu/cnes/article/116224</a>; Winter 2011: <a href="http://web.international.ucla.edu/cnes/article/118556">http://web.international.ucla.edu/cnes/article/118556</a>; Spring: <a href="http://web.international.ucla.edu/cnes/article/119963">http://web.international.ucla.edu/cnes/article/119963</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/cnes/article/15059

Education Abroad programs to Middle East destinations, including Israel. In addition, CNES includes on its course list several courses dealing with Israel and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and approximately 40 of the public lectures offered by the Center from Fall 2010 – Spring 2013 as part of its outreach programs dealt with Israel or the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.<sup>7</sup>

During the three-year period under investigation, July 2010 – June 2013, the faculty directors of CNES were: Susan Slyomovics, 2010-2012, and Sondra Hale and Gabriel Piterberg (Co-Interim Directors), 2012 - 2013.

## **CNES** Funding

CNES is one of the largest federally-designated National Resource Centers in the country, and has been deemed by the federal government a Center of Excellence. As an NRC, CNES receives its primary funding from the Department of Education under Title VI of the Higher Education Act of 1965.

Between August 15, 2010 and August 14, 2013, CNES was awarded \$557,180 under Title VI (HEA) for its NRC Program.<sup>8</sup> During the same period, the CNES also received \$826,500 in Title VI funding for being part of the Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowships program, 9 bringing the combined total for these two awards to \$1,383,680 for the period under investigation.

It is also noteworthy that in 2010 there was a donation to CNES of \$10,000 - \$20,000 from the Saudi government-owned Arabian American Oil Company.

### Title VI of the 1965 Higher Education Act

National Resource Centers (NRC), which are administered by the U.S. Department of Education, are awarded grants "to establish, strengthen, and operate comprehensive and undergraduate centers that are national resources for: Teaching modern foreign languages....disciplinary instruction to provide a thorough understanding of areas where these languages are used...Disciplinary instruction in international studies...center-related research and dissemination..." NRCs were originally established as part of the National Defense of Education Act (NDEA) of 1958. The original intent of Title VI of the NDEA was "...to ensure trained manpower of sufficient quality and quantity to meet the national defense needs of the United States."<sup>11</sup> However, in 1965 Title VI became part of the Higher Education Act of 1965, in order to place a "greater focus on international studies' value as a part of higher education, rather than solely as support for U.S. government, military and security needs."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> http://128.97.165.17/cnes/resources/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/cnes/events

<sup>8</sup> http://www.amchainitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/Grant-Awards-Notification-UCLA-Center-for-Near-Eastern-Studies-5.pdf

http://www.amchainitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/Grant-Award-Notification-2-UCLA-Center-for-Near-Eastern-Studies-6.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> www2.ed.gov/programs/iegpsnrc/brochure-nrc.pdf

<sup>11</sup> http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ope/iegps/title-six.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Ibid.

As a result of the concern of federal legislators over the misuse of Title VI funding by award recipients who had engaged in unbalanced and politically biased programming and actively discouraged students from contributing their expertise to U.S. intelligence and defense agencies, <sup>13</sup> the U.S. Congress amended Title VI in 2008 to include the following stipulations for all applicants for NRC and FLAS funding: <sup>14</sup>

- Applicants must demonstrate that the activities funded by the grant are not biased, and "will reflect diverse perspectives and a wide range of views and generate debate on world regions and international affairs."
- Applicants must demonstrate that they "will encourage government service in areas of national need, as identified by the U.S. Department of Education, as well as in areas of need in the education, business, and non-profit sectors."

### Research Questions

This study set out to investigate the following questions about CNES's public outreach events that pertain to Israel:

- Was the focus on Israel and the Arab-Israeli conflict disproportionate to the focus on other Middle Eastern countries and their conflicts?
- Were the Israel-related events biased, or did they "reflect diverse perspectives and a wide range of views," in keeping with the Title VI stipulations?
- Did these events contain antisemitic discourse?
- Did the speakers chosen to speak at the Israel-related events "reflect diverse perspectives and a wide range of views," or were they biased and had they engaged in antisemitic?

### II. Research Methods

In this study, we measured the following:

- The total number of Israel-related public events Fall 2010 Spring 2013 compared to the total number of public events for all other Middle Eastern countries during that same period.
- The total number of public events related to the Arab-Israeli conflict Fall 2010 Spring 2013 compared to the total number of public events focusing on other conflicts in the Middle East during that period.
- The proportion of Israel-related events Fall 2010 Spring 2013 that reflected an anti-Israel bias rather than "diverse perspectives and a wide range of views."
- The proportion of Israel-related events 2010 2013 that contained antisemitic discourse, and the nature of that discourse.
- The proportion of speakers at Israel-related events 2010 2013 who have engaged in antisemitic activity, and the nature of that activity.

<sup>13</sup> http://www.nationalreview.com/articles/226994/ucla-tests-congress-stanley-kurtz

http://www.amchainitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/Grant-supplement-2-UCLA-Center-for-Near-Eastern-Studies-3.pdf, pg. 38.

Selection of events for analysis of bias and antisemitic content

In order to obtain basic data for examination, we selected all Israel-related events Fall 2010 – Spring 2013, that were audio or videotaped or were films to which we had access. Four steps were necessary to identify the appropriate events:

- 1. All events listed by CNES on their website as podcasts that pertained to Israel and/or Palestine were included. <sup>15</sup> As of January, 2014, there were 9 such events.
- 2. Four podcasts in the academic year of 2012-2013 fit the criteria, but were omitted from the CNES list that had not been updated since an event on 10/25/2012.
- 3. Films shown by CNES that pertained to Israel and/or Palestine were added. There were 8 such films.
- 4. CNES abstracts of all other events during the appropriate time period, as listed on the CNES events webpage, <sup>16</sup> were reviewed, and any event was included whose title or description mentioned Israel. Nine events in academic years 2010-2011, and 2011-2012, that had been omitted from CNES's list of podcasts pertaining to Israel/Palestine, were found to include content about Israel and/or Palestine, including one entitled "Edward Said's Palestine/Israel."

In all, 30 events were examined, but two were found to be unrelated to Israel, resulting in 28 events being included in the study. See Appendix A for titles and dates of these events, and Appendix B for the list of speakers at the events.

Reviewing public events pertaining to all countries of the Middle East

In addition, we noted the total number of public events sponsored or co-sponsored by CNES that pertained to all countries of the Middle East during the time under consideration, as listed on their website, <sup>17</sup> and analyzed the number of events pertaining to significant political conflicts in the Middle East, including the Arab-Israeli conflict, Arab Spring, Egyptian uprising, Syrian civil war, Tunisia uprising, Libya uprising, Iranian revolution and Iranian nuclear threat.

Analysis of antisemitic activity in Israel-related events

The analysis used a systematic definition of antisemitic activity that focuses on ten categories of antisemitic behavior or discourse. Eight of the categories are included in the U.S. State Department's definition of antisemitism established through the Global Anti-Semitism Review Act of 2004. The State Department's "Fact Sheet Defining Anti-Semitism" identifies eight activities as "Contemporary Examples" of antisemitism and "Anti-Semitism Relative to Israel":

<sup>15</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/cnes/podcasts/

<sup>16</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/cnes/events

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/fs/2010/122352.htm

- 1. Using Symbols and Images Associated with Historical Anti-Semitism
- 2. Accusing Jews and Israel of Inventing or Exaggerating the Holocaust
- 3. Demonizing Israel
- 4. Comparing Jews to Nazis
- 5. Delegitimizing Israel
- 6. Denying Jews Their Right to Self-Determination
- 7. Holding Israel to a Double Standard
- 8. Condoning Terrorism Against Jews, Supporting Terrorist Organizations

Two additional categories consistent with the U.S. State Department's definition were added by AMCHA Initiative:

- 9. Promoting Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions Against Israel included because it demonizes the Jewish state and seeks to make it illegitimate, thereby denying the Jewish people the right of self-determination -- all categories of anti-Semitism listed by the U.S. State Department.
- 10. Targeting Jewish Students for Discrimination, Harassment, or Intimidation derived from the 1964 U.S. Civil Rights Law, specifically Title VI, that prohibits discrimination in higher education on the basis of race, color, and national origin in programs and activities that receive federal financial assistance.

See Appendix C for Identifying Antisemitic Activity and its 10 Forms.

In order to ensure accurate, systematic and consistent application of the definition and categorizations by the different researchers examining the events, the categories were operationalized and examples given in a "Procedures and Worksheet for Identifying Antisemitic Activity." See Appendix D for the worksheet and examples.

Identifying anti-Israel bias in Israel-related events

The events were also examined for anti-Israel bias, defined as pervasive criticism of government policies, society, and/or people of Israel.

Biographical information about speakers, including antisemitic activities

Biographical information was prepared about every speaker at the Israel-related events, including examples of antisemitic activity engaged in by the speaker. Antisemitic activity was defined by the same ten categories used to evaluate the events. Thirty-one speakers were investigated.

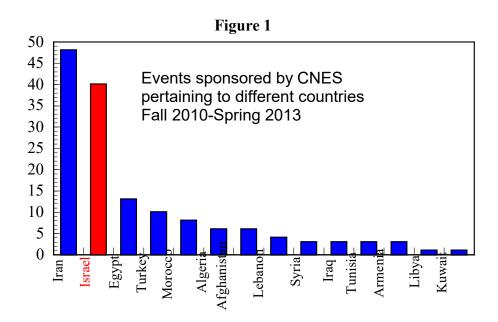
# **III. Findings about Events**

CNES categorization of events

The CNES website's categorization of public events that were podcasts and pertained to Israel and/or Palestine was incorrect. Of the 9 events occurring between Fall 2010 and Spring 2013 that CNES so categorized, one of the events had no Israel content and another event was not about Israel or Palestine but focused on the Arab Spring. Thirteen other podcast events that were focused on Israel were not listed: 9 events had been overlooked, and 4 omitted because the website had not been updated in the last year, with the last such entry being on 10/25/2012. In all, podcasts of 28 Israel-related events were analyzed as to antisemitic content and bias.

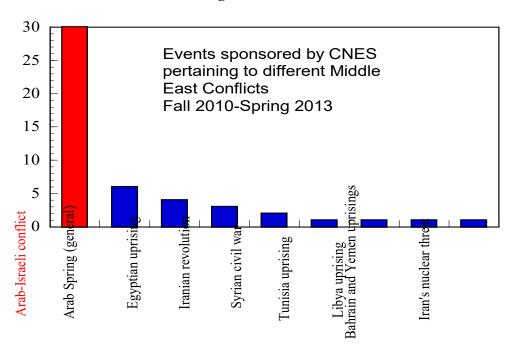
### Disproportionate focus on Israel and its conflicts

Of the 149 total CNES-sponsored or co-sponsored public events related to specific countries of the Middle East, 40 (27%) pertained to Israel. Only events pertaining to Iran -- most of them in Persian and most pertaining to cultural aspects of Iranian society and history -- exceeded the number of Israel-related events. See Figure 1 below.



Of the 49 total CNES-sponsored or co-sponsored public events pertaining to significant Middle East political conflicts, 30 (61%) focused on the Arab-Israeli conflict, by a large margin more than any other conflict. See Figure 2 below.

Figure 2



Anti-Israel bias and antisemitic content of Israel-related events

None of the 28 Israel-related podcasts or films from public events spoke positively about Israel's government, its laws, policies, society or people. In fact, 26 of 28 events, or 93%, exhibited bias against Israel. See Appendix E for examples of anti-Israel bias at CNES Israel-related events.

Antisemitic content was found in 21 (75%) of the 28 Israel-related public events. Multiple categories of antisemitic content were displayed, examples of which can be found in Appendix F.

Of the different forms of antisemitic content, 16 events (57%) contained demonization; 11 (39%) in delegitimization; and 5 (18%) promoted boycotts of Israel. See Table 1 below.

Table 1
Antisemitic Content in CNES Israel-Related Public Events

Type of Antisemitism	Number of Events (Total = 28)	Percentage of Events
Demonization of Israel	16	57%
Delegitimization of Israel	11	39%
Promoting BDS against Israel	5	18%
Holding Israel to Double Standard	3	11%
Denying Jews Right to Self-Determination	5	18%
Comparing Israelis to Nazis	3	11%
Condoning Terrorism	3	11%

See Appendix G for an analysis of the antisemitic content and anti-Israel bias of each of the 28 events.

# IV. Findings about Speakers

A review of the biographies and writings of the speakers indicated that 26 of the 31 speakers (84%) have engaged in antisemitic activity. In their public speaking, writing and endorsements, 25 speakers, (81%) have demonized Israel; 10 (32%) have compared Jews to Nazis; 20 (64%) have delegitimized Israel; 15 (48%) have denied Jews the right to self-determination; 10 (32%) have condoned terrorism against Israeli civilians. A majority, 21 (68%) have promoted boycott, divestment, or sanctions. See Table 2 below.

Examples of the forms of antisemitic activity that the speakers have engaged in can be found in Appendix H.

Table 2
Antisemitic Activities of Speakers at CNES Israel-Related Public Events

Type of Antisemitism	Number of Speakers (Total = 31)	Percentage of Speakers
Demonization of Israel	25	81%
Promoting BDS against Israel	21	68%
Delegitimization of Israel	20	64%
Denying Jews Right to Self-Determination	15	48%
Comparing Israelis to Nazis	10	32%
Condoning Terrorism	10	32%

See Appendix I for an analysis of the antisemitic content of the activities of each of the 31 speakers.

### V. Conclusions

A survey of the CNES public events over a three-year period reveals an extremely disproportionate focus on Israel and the Arab-Israeli conflict. Moreover, the 28 Israel-related events examined were not only overwhelmingly biased against Israel and lacking "diverse perspectives and a wide range of views," but antisemitic in many of their aspects, according to categories of antisemitic activity derived primarily from the U.S. Department of State's definition of antisemitism. An analysis of the 31 speakers chosen to speak at these events also demonstrated that the vast majority were biased against Israel and had engaged in antisemitic activity.

Despite the egregious bias in CNES's Israel-related public events 2010 - 2013, the Center's directors were fully aware of their obligation to ensure that their Title VI-funded activities represented "diverse perspectives and a wide range of views." In the 2010 – 2014 CNES grant proposal to the U.S. Department of Education National Resource Centers and Fellowship Programs, in the section entitled "Diverse Perspectives in Funded Activities," the proposal stated: 19

"CNES recognizes that many points of view exist on any given topic when bringing together varied audiences to analyze and discuss the past, present, and future of the Middle East and North Africa. A high value is placed in hearing and understanding multiple points of view and examining questions fundamental to diverse perspectives on

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 $<sup>\</sup>frac{\text{http://www.amchainitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/Grant-Suplement-1-UCLA-Center-for-Near-Eastern-Studies-2.pdf}, pp. 6-8.$ 

controversial issues...Diverse perspectives facilitate thinking and professional competency on behalf of future education professionals and global citizens."

The CNES directors clearly understood their obligation under Title VI funding, and yet did not honor it in the Israel-related public events hosted or sponsored by the Center.

Moreover, in the same 2010-2014 grant proposal, in the section entitled "Areas of National Need," the UCLA's Education Abroad programs to Middle Eastern destinations were touted as providing "information, knowledge, and access to increase student and faculty opportunities in areas of national need... These programs enable CNES to provide opportunities for students...to improve linguistic skills in the national need category of lesser-taught Middle East language (Arabic, Armenian, Persian, Turkish, and Hebrew)." Although the directors lauded the Education Abroad program and Hebrew instruction as part of the fulfillment of the Center's Title VI obligation to meet "areas of national need" in the proposal submitted in 2010, nevertheless in 2009 all three CNES directors – Susan Slyomovics, Sondra Hale and Gabriel Piterberg – signed a petition opposing the University of California Israel Abroad Program on the grounds that Israel discriminates against Palestinians, and deprives Palestinians of the "right to education." <sup>20</sup>

In addition to signing a petition that would limit UCLA students' opportunities for study abroad in Israel and improving their linguistic skills in Hebrew, all three directors have signed petitions supporting boycott, divestment or sanctions against Israel.<sup>21</sup> Two of the directors, Hale and Piterberg, have endorsed the boycott of Israeli academics and academic institutions. Hale was a founding member of the US Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel.<sup>22</sup> It is reasonable to presume that the egregious anti-Israel bias of CNES's Israel-related public events 2010 - 2013 is a reflection of the directors' own anti-Israel bias.

Furthermore, given the CNES's obligation under Title VI to ensure that its programming is unbiased and that it encourages study in areas of national need, including the Hebrew language and study abroad in Israel, it is troubling that the Center's funders include the Saudi government, whose virulent anti-Israel and antisemitic positions are well-known. Indeed, an official Saudi

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> http://normanfinkelstein.com/2009/another-important-initiative/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Susan Slyomovics has signed: <a href="http://www.amchainitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/JVP\_PetitionJune2010FINAL2-1.pdf">http://www.amchainitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/JVP\_PetitionJune2010FINAL2-1.pdf</a> and

http://www.refuseandresist.org/newresistance/051002mit-harv-fac.html; Sondra Hale has signed:

http://www.usacbi.org/endorsers/, http://www.amchainitiative.org/wp-

content/uploads/2014/02/JVP\_PetitionJune2010FINAL2-1.pdf, http://www.usacbi.org/2009/01/dear-president-elect-obama/, http://www.caldivestfromapartheid.com/2010/04/24/statement-from-california-faculty-members-in-support-of-sb118/, http://www.uruknet.de/?p=m25883, http://www.counterpunch.org/2010/03/10/a-joint-letter-to-the-international-society-of-iranian-studies-on-ariel-university-of-samaria-israel/, and http://www.israel-academia-

monitor.com/index.php?type=large\_advic&advice\_id=388&page\_data[id]=178&cookie\_lang=en&BLUEWEBS <u>ESSIONSID=781f2c120b6767363321c760775bf666</u>; Gabriel Piterberg has signed: <a href="http://www.aurdip.org/Call-to-Boycott-the-Oral-History.html">http://www.israel-academia-http://www.israel-academia-</a>

monitor.com/index.php?type=large advic&advice id=388&page data,

http://www.counterpunch.org/2010/03/10/a-joint-letter-to-the-international-society-of-iranian-studies-on-ariel-university-of-samaria-israel/, and http://dailybruin.com/2002/06/24/165-uc-professors-petition-for/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> http://www.usacbi.org/about-us/

government website<sup>23</sup> devoted to the promotion of Islam,<sup>24</sup> on which UCLA's International Institute and CNES are prominently highlighted,<sup>25</sup> contains openly anti-Israel<sup>26</sup> and antisemitic<sup>27</sup> discourse, as well as anti-homosexual<sup>28</sup> and sexist<sup>29</sup> rhetoric.

In conclusion, a systematic investigation of CNES's public outreach events about Israel revealed serious problems with the events, the selected speakers, and the directors, which appear to violate the stipulations of the Center's Title VI funding and distort its scholarly and educational mission. These problems should be forthrightly addressed by the UCLA administration and the U.S. Department of Education.

### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

AMCHA Initiative acknowledges the partial support of the Middle East Forum Education Fund for this research.

<sup>23</sup> http://en.kep.org.sa/page.php?page\_id=9

<sup>24</sup> http://en.kep.org.sa/page.php?page\_id=3

<sup>25</sup> http://en.kep.org.sa/page.php?page\_id=58

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> http://en.kep.org.sa/page.php?page\_id=21

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> http://en.kep.org.sa/page.php?page\_id=61

http://en.kep.org.sa/page.php?page\_id=86 http://en.kep.org.sa/page.php?page\_id=69

#### VI. Lead Researchers

Leila Beckwith is Professor Emeritus at UCLA and the co-founder of AMCHA Initiative. After receiving her Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, Beckwith went on to teach and do statistical research for more than 30 years at the Neuropsychiatric Institute and the Department of Pediatrics at UCLA. She has published more than 80 research publications in scientific, peer-reviewed journals. She is a board member of the California Association of Scholars and Scholars for Peace in the Middle East. A renowned scientist and researcher, she has been an editorial board member of Child Development, Infant Behavior and Development, and the Infant Mental Health Journal, as well as an ad hoc reviewer for research papers submitted to Developmental Psychology, and grants submitted to the National Science Foundation and the National Foundation for the March of Dimes. Beckwith served as an appointed member of research review committees for the National Institute of Mental Health, the National Institute of Drug Abuse and the National Institute of Child Health and Development. She was also a prevention research advisory committee member for the National Institute of Mental Health, the National Institute of Child Health and Development, and the Center for Disease Control.

Tammi Rossman-Benjamin is cofounder and director of AMCHA Initiative, and was a faculty member in Hebrew and Jewish Studies at the University of California Santa Cruz from 1996 - 2016. Rossman-Benjamin has written articles and reports about academic anti-Zionism and antisemitism and lectured widely on the growing threat to the safety of Jewish students on college campuses. She has presented her research in scholarly talks and academic conferences at several universities, including Indiana University, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Harvard University and McGill University. Rossman-Benjamin's research has been featured in several volumes on antisemitism. In July 2010, she co-organized a two-week scholarly workshop entitled "Contemporary Antisemitism in Higher Education" at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. Articles and opinion pieces from Rossman-Benjamin have been published in *Newsweek*, *The Hill*, *New York Daily News*, *Los Angeles Daily News*, *San Jose Mercury News*, *Sacramento Bee*, *Contra Costa Times*, *Jewish Journal of Los Angeles*, and dozens of others.

# Appendix A

# Israel-Related Events Investigated

Date	Event
10/21/10	Israel and Apartheid: The Jewish State
11/10/10	Preserving the Two-State Solution
11/16/10	Right to Education: Obstacles to Academic Freedom in Occupied Palestine
11/17/10	Z32: Film Screening and discussion
1/11/11	Hidden Histories: Palestine and the Eastern Mediterranean
1/20/11	Tears of Gaza: Film Screening and discussion
1/27/11	Traumatic Memory Discourses in Israel: Holocaust History, Territory and Self-Critique
4/4/11	Occupation Has No Future: Film Screening and Discussion
4/5/11	Melting Pots and Promised Lands: Early Zionism and the Idea of America
4/20/11	Violence's Law
4/28/11	Life Lived in Relief: Humanitarian Effects, Political Claims, and Palestinian Refugee Community
5/4/11	Edward Said's Palestine/Israel: Inclusion Without Domination
5/11/11	In Memoriam: Juliano Mer-Khamis, a film screening of Arna's Children
10/25/11	The Arabs and the Holocaust: The Arab-Israeli War of Narratives
11/9/11	Between Two Worlds: The American Jewish Culture Wars - Film Screening
11/15/11	What Does a Jew Want?: On Binationalism and Other Specters
2/24/12	The False Paradigm of Parity and Partition: Revisiting 1967
4/12/12	Text in Context: A Teach-in on President Yudof's Letter
4/25/12	Beautiful Resistance: Defying the Occupation Through the Theater and the Arts
4/26/12	The Other Shift: Settler Colonial Studies and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
9/20/12	What Happens After Zionism
10/25/12	Like a Straw Bird It Follows Me: Poetry by Palestinian Poet Ghassan Zaqtan
11/1/12	Israel/Palestine in Eyal Sivan's Cinematography - Izkor: Slaves of Memory - film screening and discussion
11/7/12	Perish the Thought: Israel and the Search for Peace in the Aftermath of the June 1967 War
1/24/13	Palestine and the U.N.
1/24/13	Israel/Palestine in Eyal Sivan's Cinematography - Route 181 Part 1 - film screening
1/31/13	Israel/Palestine in Eyal Sivan's Cinematography - Route 181 Part 2 - film screening
2/26/13	Pinkwashing: Gay Rights and Queer Indignities

# **Appendix B**

# Speakers at Israel-Related Events Investigated

Abdelfattah Abusrour

Gilbert Achcar

Udi Aloni

Maen Rashid Areikat

Asli Bali

George Bisharat

Arnon Degani

Nada Elia

Ilana Feldman

Gil Hochberg

Nubar Hovsepian

Marcy Jane Knopf-Newman

Mark LeVine

Antony Loewenstein

Mac Lojowsky

Vibeke Løkkeberg

Saree Makdisi

Hilton Obenzinger

Ilan Pappe

Gabriel Piterberg

Sasha Polakow-Suransky

Basam Ra'ad

Kal Rastiala

Avi Raz

Joseph Rosen

Randa Siniora

Eyal Sivan

Steven Spiegel

Lorenzo Veracini

Ghassan Zaqtan

David Zlutnick

### Appendix C

# **Identifying Antisemitic Activity**

AMCHA Initiative employs the definition of antisemitic activity, "Defining Antisemitism," adopted by the U.S. Department of State, under the Global Anti-Semitism Review Act of 2004. Included in the definition, and explicitly recognized by the U.S. State Department as forms of antisemitism, are behavior, rhetoric or imagery that:

- Uses symbols and images Associated with historical antisemitism, by making "mendacious, dehumanizing, demonizing, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such, or the power of Jews as a collective-especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, governments, or other societal institutions."
- Accuses Jews and Israel of inventing or exaggerating the Holocaust
- **Demonizes Israel** by using "the symbols and images associated with classic antisemitism to characterize Israel or Israelis," e.g. claims that Israelis are evil or blood-thirsty and deliberately murder children, or Jews control the world.
- Draws comparisons of Jews to Nazis.
- **Delegitimizes Israel** by suggesting that Israel is an illegitimate state and does not belong in the family of nations.
- Denies the Jewish people their right to self-determination, by denying Israel the right to exist or promoting the elimination of Israel as a Jewish state.
- Applies double standards to Israel, "by requiring of it a behavior not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation," eg. by claiming that Israel is the worst human rights violator in the world, while ignoring the countries in the world which have far worse human rights records than Israel.
- Condones or expresses support for terrorism against Israel or Jews, by calling for, aiding or justifying the killing or harming of Jews.

In addition, AMCHA Initiative has added two categories, which are consistent with U.S. Department of State's definition of antisemitism, although not explicitly stated within it. These include behavior, rhetoric or imagery that:

• **Promotes boycott, divestment, sanctions against Israel.** Virtually all recent campaigns to boycott, sanction, and divest from Israel (BDS) were established<sup>31</sup> in response to the political call issued by 171 Palestinian NonGovernmental Organizations, July 9, 2005.<sup>32</sup> The first and primary signatory of the Palestinian BDS Call was the Council of National and Islamic Forces in Palestine, which, according to the Anti-Defamation League, was founded by Yasser Arafat at the start of the Second Intifada in 2000 for the purpose of "organizing a unified effort among major Palestinian factions to oppose Israel and coordinate terror attacks." The Council includes among its constituent organizations Hamas, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and PFLP – General Command, all three of which are on the U.S. Department of State's list of Designated

32 http://www.pacbi.org/etemplate.php?id=1801

 $<sup>^{30}~\</sup>underline{http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/fs/2010/122352.htm}$ 

<sup>31</sup> http://www.usacbi.org/mission-statement/

http://archive.adl.org/terrorism/symbols/palestinian national islamic front.html

Foreign Terrorist Organizations<sup>34</sup> and are committed to the elimination of the Jewish state through violent means. Many of the founders of the BDS campaigns which were established in response to the Palestinian BDS Call have publicly expressed their goal of using BDS as a non-violent means of weakening the Jewish state and aiding in its elimination. Some BDS campaign founders have even condoned terrorism against Israel and the murder of Jews. Because the promotion of BDS demonizes, delegitimizes and applies a double standard it is identified as an antisemitic activity.

• Targets Jewish students for discrimination, harassment, or intimidation. Based on the legal standards of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act as interpreted by the U.S. Department of Education,<sup>35</sup> any behavior, rhetoric or imagery that singles out and/or targets Jewish students for discrimination, harassment, intimidation or violence eg. by disrupting Jewish student events, interfering with Jewish students' rights of free speech and association, or causing harm to Jewish students or their property, thereby denying them the ability to fully participate in, or derive equal benefit from, any University program or activity, is antisemitic.

# 10 Forms of Antisemitic Activity

- 1. Using Symbols and Images Associated with Historical Anti-Semitism
- 2. Accusing Jews and Israel of Inventing or Exaggerating the Holocaust
- 3. Demonizing Israel
- 4. Comparing Jews to Nazis
- 5. Delegitimizing Israel
- 6. Denying Jews Their Right to Self-Determination
- 7. Holding Israel to a Double Standard
- 8. Condoning Terrorism Against Jews, Supporting Terrorist Organizations
- 9. Promoting Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions Against Israel
- 10. Targeting Jewish Students for Discrimination, Harassment, or Intimidation

35 http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/hq43e4.html

<sup>34</sup> http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/other/des/123085.htm

### Appendix D

# Procedures and Worksheet For Identifying Antisemitic Activity

A. Use the following worksheet to describe examples---if they exist---of categories of antisemitic activity, sticking as closely as possible to actual language or pictures used by perpetrators. Each example may fit into more than one category; the categories are not mutually exclusive.

B. For each example, give a citation from an acceptable source

Data of Entire					
Date of Entry					
Is it an Event or Person	_or Organi	zation			
Name of Eventor Person	nor Or	ganization			
Source or Data: Podcast	Video	Transcript	Flyer	Article	

## 10 CATEGORIES of ANTISEMITIC ACTIVITY

# 1. USING SYMBOLS AND IMAGES ASSOCIATED WITH HISTORICAL ANTI-SEMITISM

Refers to statements or pictures that accuse Israelis or Jews of deliberately murdering non-Jews (especially children) for their own malevolent needs, or accuses Israelis or Jews of controlling the U.S. or the world

**Example:** A speaker accuses Israeli rabbis who live in the West Bank of urging their followers to kill non-Jews in order "to curb their evil intentions"

# 2. ACCUSING JEWS AND ISRAEL OF INVENTING OR EXAGGERATING THE HOLOCAUST

Disputes the number or manner of Jewish deaths during the Holocaust, either diminishing the number of declaring many to be "natural", or declares the Holocaust to be a Jewish conspiracy.

**Example:** An author claims that the number of Jewish deaths in the Holocaust is exaggerate by Zionists.

#### 3. DEMONIZING ISRAEL

C. WORKSHEET

Accuses Israel of being evil in intent, policies, and history; e.g. claims that Israel commits crimes against humanity such as ethnic cleansing and genocide.

**Example:** A speaker claims that the Israeli Defense Forces commit "crimes against humanity" and "ethnic cleansing."

### 4. COMPARING JEWS TO NAZIS

The comparison must use either language or photos or drawings that refers directly to Nazi SS, or Nazi concentration camps, or Nazi atrocities towards civilians

**Example:** A speaker stated: "I feel that those (Jews) who were persecuted and their descendants have become the persecutors. It seems that is the lesson they have learned from the Holocaust."

#### 5. DELEGITIMIZING ISRAEL

Claims that Israel as a Jewish state is not legitimate and does not have a historical, legal, or moral right to exist, (e.g. claims that Israel is a racist, colonialist, apartheid, etc. state)

**Example:** A speaker asserted: "I think the unpleasant and unavoidable comparison is with South Africa during the apartheid period, and I must say that, having visited South Africa, that they were much better off than the Palestinians living in refugee camps."

### 6. DENYING JEWS THEIR RIGHTS TO SELF-DETERMINATION

Denies the existence of Israel, considers Jewish national sovereignty as illicit, or calls for the elimination of the Jewish state, such as by calling for a non-Jewish bi-national state or the Palestinian "right of return"

**Example:** The charter of a non-governmental organization states: "Our commitment is to the dismantling of Israeli apartheid, the return of Palestinian refugees, and the ending of the Israeli colonization of historic Palestine."

## 7. HOLDING ISRAEL TO A DOUBLE STANDARD

Claims that Israel is the worst human rights violator in the world, while ignoring the countries in the world which have far worse human rights' records than Israel

**Example:** An author writes that "Israel is the most racist state in the world at this time."

# 8. CONDONING TERRORISM AGAINST JEWS, SUPPORTING TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS

Claims that terrorism against Jews or Israeli citizens is justified, or praises or advocates for Hezbollah, or Hamas, or other terrorist organizations

**Example:** A speaker has met with the leadership of Hezbollah and openly supports that terrorist organization.

## 9. PROMOTING BOYCOTT, DIVESTMENT, SANCTIONS AGAINST ISRAEL

Signs petitions that advocate boycott, divestment, or sanctions against Israel, or encourages others to do so, or actively works to boycott Israeli citizens or products

**Example:** At an event co-sponsored by UCLA Center for Near East Studies, event organizers encourage audience members to sign an anti-Israel divestment petition that was handed out at the event.

# 10. TARGETING JEWISH STUDENTS FOR DISCRIMINATION, HARASSMENT, OR INTIMIDATION

Disrupts Jewish student events, interferes with Jewish students' rights of free speech and assembly, or threatens or causes harm to Jewish students or their property

**Example:** Members of three student groups at UC Davis - SJP, MSA, and MEChA - conspired to shut down a Jewish student event in March 2012.

### Appendix E

## Examples of the Anti-Israel Bias in the CNES Israel-Related Events 2010 - 2013

- A lecturer presented Israel as the sole obstacle to peace. Israel was portrayed as a lawless entity, and Israelis as liars and deceivers.
- A film, focusing on an Israeli soldier who killed two Palestinian officers, provides no explanation for the killing and leaves the impression that Israelis are eager to kill.
- A speaker accused Jews and Israelis of exploiting their sacred sites through "abuse and exploitation."
- A film provided no historical context for the Israel-Gaza war, deliberately omitted the
  thousands of rockets fired from Gaza against Israeli citizens, and portrayed Israel only
  through Gazan children's pain and tears, while characterizing Gaza citizens as civilians
  trying to live wholesome and pious lives.
- A film that set out to study Israeli militarism interviewed only Jews and Palestinians who perceived Israel as overly militarized and an occupier of Palestinian land. Those interviewed argued that there is no real threat to Israel's existence, and a false sense of emergency is created in order to condone military violence.
- A film portrayed Israel as a cold, militaristic entity while it portrayed Palestinians as family-oriented and a warm community.
- A speaker described Zionism as a hypocritical ideology that colonizes Palestinians.
- A speaker characterized Israel's political and military leaders as devious and greedy. He accused them of falseness, evasiveness and duplicity, and did not offer a single instance of redeeming behavior to be credited to Israel.

### Appendix F

# Examples of the Forms of Antisemitic Content in the CNES Israel-Related Events 2010 - 2013

## 1. Demonizing Israel:

• A speaker claimed that Zionism views Palestinians as "subhuman, undesirable, a population that should not exist", and accused Israel of "denying the absolute basic inalienable human rights of Palestinians."

# 2. Comparing Jews to Nazis:

• A speaker stated, "There is a path which leads from humanity via nationality to bestiality. Along this path, the German people went all the way. And it is this path that we (Israel) have taken since the Six Day War."

## 3. Delegitimizing Israel:

• A speaker stated that Israel was created through colonialism, and that "colonialism and settler colonialism are both inherently unequal and unjust systems." Another speaker asserted that "Colonialism and colonization is not a civilizing mission, it's a violent mission of ethnic cleansing."

### 4. Holding Israel to a double standard:

• A speaker justified a double standard by saying, "Israel in my view receives such amazing amounts of foreign support and defense that it actually has to be held to a different standard." Another speaker listed the obstacles to peace, which were all laid on Israel's shoulders with no responsibility charged to the Arab side.

## 5. Condoning terrorism against Jews:

• The speaker explained that "Palestinians living under occupation...(they) have the right to resist occupation" and "some choose armed struggle."

## 6. Promoting a boycott of Israel:

• Not only did speakers in a panel discussion praise a proposed boycott, but at the end of the event, the audience was encouraged to sign an anti-Israel divestment petition.

## Appendix G

# Analysis of the Antisemitic Content and Anti-Israel Bias in 28 CNES or CNES-sponsored Israel-Related Events 2010 - 2013

1) October 21, 2010 - "Israel and Apartheid: The Jewish State's Unspoken Alliance with Apartheid South Africa," a lecture by Sasha Polakow-Suransky. 36

At this event, Sasha Polakow-Suransky, Senior Editor of *Foreign Affairs*, discussed ideas related to his book *The Unspoken Alliance: Israel's Secret Relationship with Apartheid South Africa*. Polakow-Suransky started with "A quick version" of the Israeli-South African relationship as related in his book, and followed this discussion with what he deemed "some of the more intriguing questions about this relationship." <sup>37</sup>

Polakow-Suransky revealed bias against Israelis when he held them to a double standard. He called the desire of "many Israelis" to maintain a "demographic majority [of Jews]" in the State of Israel "racist," yet he failed to similarly classify the same such desire of any other nationality residing in its native land. He also displayed bias against detractors of Jimmy Carter. For example, he questioned the moral consistency of the ADL by contrasting their readiness to criticize Carter for invoking "racist" South Africa in his treatment of Israel with their prior defense of that same South African Apartheid regime, noting that "during the South African State of Emergency in 1986 [the ADL] actually defended the South African government and denounced Nelson Mandella and the ANC as 'anti-humane,' 'anti-democratic,' [...]." Similarly, groups that criticized Carter showed inconsistency when they failed to criticize Jews such as Olmert and Barak, who made claims similar to those of Carter. Polakow-Suransky further suggested that Carter's detractors blow Carter's misdemeanors out of proportion when he noted that Carter's book "only contained about 5 pages addressing this issue [of Israeli Apartheid]."

This event was presented by CNES.

**Antisemitic Activity**: None

**Anti-Israel Bias**: Yes

<sup>36</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/institute/event/8323

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> http://128.97.165.17/cnes/podcasts/article.asp?parentid=118013, 0:07.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> ibid., 42:00.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> ibid., 35:05.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> ibid., 36:50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> ibid., 36:45.

2) November 10, 2010 – "Preserving the Two-State Solution," a lecture by Maen Rashid Areikat<sup>42</sup>

Ambassador Areikat is the Palestine Liberation Organization representative to the United States. In this lecture, Areikat explained the Palestinians' commitment to securing both a state of their own within the 1967 borders and, at the same time, regional peace. His stated goal in his lecture was to present the reasons why the two-state solution had been inhibited and to delineate the necessary steps and sacrifices required by both sides to achieve peace. 43

In his lecture, Areikat displayed antisemitism through the categories of demonizing and delegitimizing Israel. Areikat demonized Israel by accusing the Israeli government of sustaining a "brutal military occupation that has denied [Palestinians] their basic human rights." Areikat delegitimized Israel by claiming that Israel's settler-only segregated roads in the West Bank are evidence of a more severe apartheid than was even "in the darkest ages of apartheid South Africa."

Furthermore, Areikat's speech was slanted with anti-Israel bias, as displayed in three ways. Firstly, Areikat presented Israel as the sole obstacle to peace because of its government's lack of seriousness and its leader's incompetence. For example, he staunchly defended the Palestinian commitment to peace and negotiations, explaining that the Palestinians are committed to "put[ting] an end to the conflict",46 and have "submitted many ideas and proposals to the Israelis," but claims "that until today ... [the Palestinians] have not received even a response from Netanyahu," presenting Israel as the uninterested party. 47 He portrayed Netanyahu as an incompetent whiner, pushing off negotiations because of the stress of internal pressures, 48 and that when Israel does come to the negotiation table, the "Israeli government ... wants to bargain on th[e] compromise, and compromise on the historical [Palestinian] compromise [of 1988]."49 He concluded that this "tells us that the Israelis are not serious about ... ending the conflict." <sup>50</sup> Secondly, Areikat's anti-Israel bias was also demonstrated through his characterization of Israelis as liars and deceivers. For example, he reported that Israel is now claiming that the Jewish presence in the West Bank is only a tiny percentage of the West Bank, using a percentage that the Palestinians used in prior negotiations, while at those negotiations, the Israelis had used a larger percentage in referring to the extent of Jewish settlement growth. 51 Additionally, Areikat said that Israel had already agreed to cease settlement building in the Oslo agreements, so their continued construction was a demonstration of flouting not mere "Palestinian preconditions," but the "international position" that is "asking them to honor and respect the agreements they signed and accepted."52 He then decisively commented that the Palestinians "cannot be part in this

<sup>42</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/institute/event/8371

<sup>43</sup> http://128.97.165.17/cnes/podcasts/article.asp?parentid=118509, 1:30.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, 31:30.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, 32:57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Ibid, 7:39.

<sup>47</sup> **Ibid**, 18:13.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, 21:43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Ibid, 4:22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Ibid, 23:00.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Ibid, 26:15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Ibid, 27:23.

game of deception that the Israelis are undertaking right now by publicly pretending that they are committed to peace efforts."<sup>53</sup> Thirdly, Areikat's bias was clear through his portrayal of Israel as a lawless entity, claiming that it "violate[s] international law,"<sup>54</sup> especially in regard to settlement building, which Areikat claims is considered "illegal."<sup>55</sup>

CNES sponsored this event.

Antisemitic Activity: Demonization, Delegitimization

Anti-Israel Bias: Yes

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> <u>Ibid</u>, 34:58.
 <sup>54</sup> <u>Ibid</u>, 7:20.
 <sup>55</sup> <u>Ibid</u>, 17:40.

3) November 16, 2010 – "Right to Education: Obstacles to Academic Freedom in Occupied Palestine," a lecture by Randa Siniora<sup>56</sup>

This event consisted of a lecture with accompanying PowerPoint slides<sup>57</sup> by Randa Siniora, Executive Director of the Independent Commission for Human Rights, on the topic of the lack of access to education for Palestinian children. Siniora argued this was due to the "belligerent" and "illegal" "Israeli military occupation" of the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem.

During her talk, Siniora engaged in three forms of antisemitic discourse. She demonized Israel as an oppressive regime that restricts the access of Palestinians "to religious institutions, to medical institutions, to every aspect of their life." Siniora sought to delegitimize Israel, presenting a slide that read "Apartheid Wall" as its title with a picture of, and vocally referring to, "the apartheid wall, as we call it" and accusing Israel of running an illegitimate form of governance, saying they "have illegally annexed East Jerusalem and consider it part of Israel, and therefore they have imposed their own legislation, their own laws, their own regulation." Lastly, Siniora not only espoused support for the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement against Israel, she also encouraged her audience to engage in BDS efforts, saying, "We are hoping that you would join into these attempts to work towards boycotting, at least joining the academic initiative of boycotting Israeli education institutions, until the situation changes for the Palestinians" Palestinians"

Siniora exhibited strong pro-Palestinian biases, identifying with the ethnic group, as when she said "We suffer from what we find in great violation of international humanitarian law, we suffer from collective punishments that are inflicted on the whole civilian population." She likewise defended the Palestinian Authority, saying, "We are under a situation where even if the PA wanted to carry out measures in favor of the educational institutions in Jerusalem they are being restricted from carrying out their job." She also exhibited anti-Israel bias, as evidenced by her repeated mention of "the Israeli military occupation, which we believe is the root problem of what is happening in the occupied territory."

This event was sponsored by the UCLA Center for Near Eastern Studies, with support from the UCLA International Institute.

Antisemitic Activity: Demonization, Delegitimization, Promoting BDS

### **Anti-Israel Bias**: Yes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/institute/event/8525

<sup>57</sup> http://www.international.ucla.edu/media/files/Right to Education.pdf

<sup>58</sup> http://128.97.165.17/cnes/podcasts/article.asp?parentid=118612, 0:48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Ibid, 5:01.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Ibid, 2:55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Ibid, 12:15.

<sup>62</sup> http://www.international.ucla.edu/media/files/Right to Education, pdf p.9.

<sup>63</sup> http://128.97.165.17/cnes/podcasts/article.asp?parentid=118612, 8:06.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Ibid, 11:46.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, 33:47.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid, 16:19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Ibid, 32:22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Ibid, 35:07.

**4)** November 17, 2010 - Screening of *Z32*, a film by Avi Mograbi, followed by a discussion with Arnon Degani. <sup>69</sup>

This event consisted of a screening of Israeli filmmaker Avi Mograbi's documentary film Z32,<sup>70</sup> followed by a discussion of the film with Arnon Degani, a PhD student in the UCLA History Department, who had served in the IDF from 2000-2003. Z32 is a documentary about a young Israeli soldier who confesses to his girlfriend about having been involved in a retaliation that killed two Palestinian officers. This documentary is surreal, alternating between scenes of the Israeli soldier, whose face is covered with a digital mask, speaking with his girlfriend about the killings, and the camera recording Mograbi wearing a black mask in his living room, as he tries to read a statement which he never completes.

In the film, Mograbi demonizes Israel by trying to portray Israelis as eager killers and not giving any context to why any of the killings occurred. For example, Mograbi focuses on the young Israeli soldier saying "Commanders...they can send us on the worst missions, because we're so hungry for action...and eager to kill, that we'd do anything."<sup>71</sup> The documentary ends shortly after this soldier's statement, leaving the audience without an explanation for the killing, believing that Israeli soldiers are eager to kill.

Mograbi's documentary also includes anti-Israel bias. Mograbi intentionally did not provide context for why the young Israeli soldier killed the Palestinians; rather, he focused the documentary on the young Israeli soldier's uncertainty of whether he was a murderer and the indifference the soldier's girlfriend showed regarding the killings. By focusing the documentary on the couple's near indifference to the killings, Mograbi leaves the impression that Israelis kill Palestinians and likely feel no remorse afterwards.

This event was part of the UCLA International Institute's human rights film series and was hosted by the Center for Near Eastern Studies and sponsored by the UCLA International Institute.

**Antisemitic Activity**: Demonization

**Anti-Israel Bias:** Yes

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/institute/event/8369

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Z32. Dir. Avi Mograbi. Avi Mograbi Films, 2008.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Ibid, 14:56.

5) <u>January 11, 2011</u> - "Hidden Histories: Palestine and the Eastern Mediterranean," a lecture by Basem Ra'ad. <sup>72</sup>

Basem Ra'ad is a Professor at Al-Quds University in Jerusalem and author of the book *Hidden Histories: Palestine and the Eastern Mediterranean*.<sup>73</sup> In his lecture, Ra'ad argued that "Palestinians are a much more ancient people than assumed and are not therefore quote un-quote Arabs." Ra'ad also discussed the "insidious" Israeli cultural appropriation of the land, citing such things as the use of Israeli currency and the Hebrew language. <sup>75</sup>

In his lecture, Ra'ad demonized Israel by stating, "You [Jews] think God has chosen you, you're the actual or real Israelites, the chosen people, then you have the right do whatever you like to the people who are inhabiting this ideal land. The ideal land was given to you by God, and that way you can go in and exterminate them [Palestinians/Arabs]." Ra'ad also delegitimized Israel by arguing that the Western Wall "is actually a recent invention from the 16<sup>th</sup> century," and that it is being used as "an excuse to take over [Jewish occupancy]." Ra'ad further delegitimized Israel by claiming that present-day Israeli Jews are not related to the ancient Jews in Abrahamic times, referencing the book *The Invention of the Jewish People*, by Shlomo Sand. Referencing the book *The Invention of the Jewish People*, by Shlomo Sand.

Besides Ra'ad's antisemitic statements noted above, Ra'ad also demonstrated bias against Israel by stating "I think in our region, appropriation [by Israelis] is quite insidious." Ra'ad also showed bias when he briefly discussed how Jews have exploited sacred sites through "abuse and exploitation." 80

This event was hosted by the Center for Near Eastern Studies.

Antisemitic Activity: Demonization, Delegitimization

**Anti-Israel Bias**: Yes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/institute/event/8575

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Ra'ad, Basem. *Hidden Histories: Palestine And The Eastern Mediterranean*. Pluto Press. 15 August 2010.

<sup>74</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/cnes/podcast/119475,11:20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Ibid, 54:12-55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Ibid, 27:04.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Ibid, 48:22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Ibid, 52:30-54:00.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Ibid, 54:20-55:30.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid, 10:24-10:30.

6) January 20, 2011 - "Tears of Gaza," a film screening followed by Q&A with the director Vibeke Løkkeberg. 81

Tears of Gaza<sup>82</sup> showcases the lives of Gazan civilians during Operation Cast Lead, focusing on the destruction and bombings during the war, and the resulting losses and physical and emotional scars.

The film demonizes Israel in multiple ways: Firstly, there is no context provided and Israel's attacks are presented as being impending, random, and targeted. Secondly, the film focuses on the bloodshed of the innocent by Israel, namely that of children and women, or of men who aren't fighters; in fact, the film presents all citizens of Gaza as civilians leading regular, relatable, religious lives. Thirdly, the film capitalizes on the emotions of bereavement and physical pain to justify incitement against Israel, with the prevalent calls for Israel's destruction.

Examples of the ominous, impending sense of the Israeli attacks are the commonplace shots of the presence of Israeli warplanes, tanks or soldiers just outside or above the normal life. 83 Examples of the randomness of the Israeli attacks are the arbitrary image of a "bombed mosque,"84 the feature on a television of Israeli soldiers blowing up Arab homes at will, 85 an Israeli boat entering a crowded beach in Gaza and shooting at a fishing boat because of their "siege on the sea and siege on the land," 86 and the multiple bombs sent into Gaza throughout the film, <sup>87</sup> especially contrasted in one instance with a shot of Israeli soldiers walking, talking on cell phones, or smiling and waving, beside a plane alighting to shoot into Gaza. 88 Examples of Israeli targeting are stories told of soldiers "push[ing] sand on the front door so [the residents] couldn't leave the house" and then the soldiers "shooting at [their] house," <sup>89</sup> of soldiers shooting those who attempted to flee, 90 some of whom were fleeing for ambulances, 91 of "the army target[ing] [a man's] home while [he and his child] were in it" by "bomb[ing] them with phosphorous bombs" although the residents "weren't fighters,"92 of soldiers "intentionally" shooting toddlers at a close distance, 93 and of "the Israelis fir [ing] [a] rocket at where [a girl] was" and "another rocket at [her] father, [leaving him] torn to pieces" after having first knocked at his door and then shot a bomb at him as he opened it. 94 Examples of innocent bloodshed and pain focus on child victims, particularly the three child protagonists and generally the images and stories of the children hurt by bombs, 95 and the cries that "they killed the children, they killed

<sup>81</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/institute/event/8647

<sup>82</sup> Tears of Gaza. Dir. Vibeke Løkkeberg. Prod. Terje Kristiansen. By Vibeke Løkkeberg. Nero AS - Domestic Theatrical Distributor and Tour De Force (TDF) - Foreign Theatrical Distributor, 2010.

<sup>83</sup> http://viooz.co/movies/11585-tears-of-gaza-2010.html, 5:11; 8:06; 14:21; 32: 44; 33:54; 36:16.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid, 4:42.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid, 10:49.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid, 13:30.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid, 16:00; 18:40; 19:05; 34:40; 46:19; 60:00.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid, 34:40.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid, 25:46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Ibid, 26:40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Ibid, 76:14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Ibid, 41:08.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> Ibid, 64:00. <sup>94</sup> Ibid, 71:00.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid, 20:29; 42:29, 50, 60, 40, 64, etc.

officers, and women became widows,"96 and that "the children were so frightened they couldn't eat."97 Examples of the portrayal of Gazans as regular civilians, in contrast to the demonic portrayal of Israel, are the focus on the Gazans' religious life, 98 on children playing, 99 on family events, 100 on recreation, 101 on normal city life with public services and workers and shoppers, 102 and on the fact that the men are not "fighters." Examples of incitement are scenes of bereavement and pain, accompanied by pained calls for Israel's destruction and "punishment" in return. <sup>104</sup> Finally, Israel is considered demonic, with claims that "they are killing our children and stole all our land,"105 that "of course, they are known of their crimes and the Zionism and the destruction [seen] in the last war against Gaza,"106 that it is "inhumane,"107 and with the presentation of Israel inhibiting normal daily life of the Gazans to the point of attempting to obliterate the population by: "bomb[ing] the whole neighborhood" and firing the bombs "night and day," preventing people from "sleep[ing]," and leaving their home for "one night and one day;"109 by personally "refus[ing] to let [women and children] out" of their homes "for three days," during the incursion; 110 by maintaining a water shortage on Gaza; 111 by closing the borders so that women cannot buy for the needs of their children at the market; 112 and by targeting the tunnels, from which "everything [the Gazans] have comes" and which "the people of Gaza would die without."113

This film additionally carries strong bias against Israel, most notably through its lack of context and a painting of Israel through only the eyes of those pained by Israel. The film is highly propagandistic, relying on the pathos of children's pain and tears, <sup>114</sup> sad or ominous music, <sup>115</sup> a focus on mourning and bereavement scenes, <sup>116</sup> and a characterization of the Gaza citizens as being every-day civilians trying to live wholesome and religious lives. Through such propaganda, an unconditionally pro-Palestinian bias is conveyed, as well as an unconditionally anti-Israel bias.

This event was presented by CNES.

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid, 23:40.
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Ibid, 22:54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> Ibid, 5:04; 23:40; etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Ibid, 6:00; 10:29; etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> Ibid, 6:52; 8:06.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Ibid, 12:58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> Ibid, 14:54; 15:00.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> Ibid, 41:08; 6:16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> Ibid, 11:06,43; 65:29; etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> Ibid, 78:03.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> Ibid, 13:23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> Ibid, 52:38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> Ibid, 16:33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> Ibid, 22:54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> Ibid, 23:30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> Ibid, 57:15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> Ibid, 14:54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> Ibid, 9:52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> Ibid, 3:00, 20,29, 37, 40, 43, 55, 61, 64, 71, etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> Ibid, 2:28; 34:40, 61, etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> Ibid, 2:28; 7:50; 9:19; 29:05; etc.

Antisemitic Activity: Demonization

Anti-Israel Bias: Yes

7) <u>January 27, 2011</u>, "Traumatic Memory Discourses in Israel: Holocaust History, Territory, and Self-Critique," a lecture by Joseph Rosen. 117

Joseph Rosen is a postdoctoral fellow at Concordia University's Department of History & Centre for Ethnographic Research and Exhibition in the Aftermath of Violence. <sup>118</sup> In this lecture, Rosen explored the role of the cultural memory of the Holocaust as it leads to a historical cycle of violence among Israeli Jews, and the means by which this cycle could be broken as demonstrated by groups such as Breaking the Silence and Courage to Refuse.

In his lecture, Rosen displayed antisemitism through the categories of denying the Jewish right to self-determination and demonizing Israel. Rosen denied the Jewish right to self-determination by claiming that Jewish nationalism is merely a product of unprocessed violent cultural memory that begins with "territorial[ism]" and "turns expansionist" since "this anxious ... state of being is not remedied by actually getting your own nation-state," and then "this historical relation to the enemy is confused with contemporary political alterity," so that "in spite of the attainment of territorial self-determination," the "historical violence repeats" by the Jews seeking more land for their nation-state. 119 Rosen contrasted this expansionist response to trauma that "attempt[s] to create a space of pure self-determination,"120 with the response of Breaking the Silence which, instead, is "str[uc]k" by "an ethical ... inspiration" of "a call to responsibility beyond the self's constructed narrative of identity," and thus Rosen portrayed the seeking of Jewish selfdetermination as an unhealthy, negative act. <sup>121</sup> Rosen also demonized Israel, calling Israel "hegemonic," <sup>122</sup> considering the Knesset to be engaging in "McCarthyist" type proposals of investigating traitorous groups, 123 adding that Israel is acting "illegal according to international law" when listing Breaking the Silence's accusations of atrocities committed, <sup>124</sup> and claiming that the soldiers of the occupation experience a "dehumanization" that is a "violence ... [to themselves] equal to the violence exerted on Palestinians at checkpoints."<sup>125</sup>

Beyond the explicit antisemitism, Rosen's speech was slanted with implicit anti-Israel bias, as displayed by his focus on Jewish violence and cultural memory, ignoring that of the Palestinians. While his stated intent for his lecture was to relate his "investigation into the role of cultural memory in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict," in which "each side's national claim to the contested territory is grounded in collective memories of violence, the Holocaust for Jewish Israelis and the Nakba for Palestinians," he only explored the experience of the former, the Jewish Israelis, and none of the latter, the Palestinians. Furthermore, he claimed that "the conflict cannot be resolved in territorial terms," because "it is the traumatic production of identity that the force of history appears to repeat," but then placed full blame on Israel for the conflict, since he only

<sup>117</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/institute/event/8574

<sup>118</sup> http://cissc.concordia.ca/aboutthecentre/affiliatedfaculty/JosephRosen 000.htm

<sup>119</sup> Ibid, 21:48-23:40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> Ibid, 58:20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> Ibid, 58:00.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> Ibid, 57:10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> Ibid, 46:43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> Ibid, 47:25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> Ibid, 52:40-53.48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> Ibid, 00:43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> Ibid, 7:35.

mentioned that "working through traumatic mobilizations of Holocaust memory provides an important avenue towards dialogue and possibly reconciliation in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict," but did not mention any need for Palestinians to work through their own traumatic memories in order for dialogue and reconciliation to be reached. 128

This lecture was presented by CNES.

Antisemitic Activity: Demonization, Denying Jews the Right to Self-determination

**Anti-Israel Bias**: Yes

33

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> Ibid, 27:18.

**8)** <u>April 4, 2011</u> - "Occupation Has No Future," a film screening followed by Q&A session with director and writer David Zlutnick<sup>129</sup>

In the film *Occupation Has No Future*, a delegation of war resisters from the US called DAM (Dialogues Against Militarism) interviewed Israelis and Palestinians to "study Israeli militarism, examine the occupation of the Palestinian West Bank, and explore the work of Israelis and Palestinians organizing against militarism and occupation." They spoke to former Israeli soldiers, Palestinians from cities such as Hebron and Bil'in, Shministim (Israeli 12<sup>th</sup> graders who refuse to serve in the Israeli army), as well as members of: 1) Breaking the Silence – an organization that documents and makes public the testimonies of hundreds of current and former IDF soldiers about what they did and saw during their military service in the "Occupied Territories"; <sup>131</sup> and 2) The Israeli Committee Against House Demolition – a self-described "human rights and peace organisation" committed to ending "Israeli occupation"; <sup>132</sup> and 3) Stop the Wall, whose objective is to spread mass and coordinated civil disobedience against Israel's security fence. <sup>133</sup>

The film presents a demonic view of Israel without providing any dissenting opinions. Former IDF soldier Edo Medicks comments, "All these acts of so-called self defense they become just acts of murder, because you lose the ideological excuse to kill people." Maya Wind of the Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions says, "This is a form of ethnic cleansing – not giving them building permits, not creating zoning plans for them – that's a very effective way that seems legal and seems legitimate on a surface level to basically make them want to leave." The narrator of the film also describes "the ethnic cleansing of the old city." The film presents interviews in favor of Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions from Israel. Shachaf Palakow of Anarchists Against the Wall states, "[We need to] pressure Israel and tell Israel, 'You're building up settlements? You don't get money, you don't get arms. You're not going into honest negotiations? We stop supporting you.' There is no other way to do it." Edo Medicks says, "That's actually what I can do most – to assist others outside to boycott and divest from Israel." He also states, "If you think that the occupation and the murder of innocent people is wrong, then stop giving money to whomever is doing it."

The film is biased against Israel, interviewing only those who see the state as overly militarized and an occupier of Palestinian land. The narrator of the film states, "As the decades have worn on, the Israeli occupation has too, continuing to subjugate the lives of millions of Palestinians while illegally expanding into internationally recognized Palestinian land." Interviewees

<sup>129</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/institute/event/8757

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> The Occupation Has No Future. Dir. David Zlutnick. Upheaval Productions, 2009.

<sup>131</sup> http://www.breakingthesilence.org.il/about/organization

<sup>132</sup> http://www.icahd.org/

<sup>133</sup> http://www.stopthewall.org/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> Occupation Has No Future, 22:00.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup> Ibid, 51:16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> Ibid, 28:15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> Occupation Has No Future, 1:15:53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> Ibid, 1:15:16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> Ibid, 1:15:37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> Ibid, 4:07.

argue that there is no real threat to Israel's existence and a false sense of emergency is created in order to condone military violence. "If we're not in an emergency, we're going to create them — we're going to go into Gaza, we're going to bomb Lebanon, we're going to create a situation where no one will be able to stop and think about where all of it started," Naomi Marks states. One interviewee adds, "The occupation is a business in a way — a lot of people profit from it not only politically but economically." A number of comments are made about Israelis not wanting to accept what their country is doing to Palestinians, that injustice is going on in their backyards and it is just a matter of opening their eyes to it. Maya Wind comments, "We're unable to see other people's suffering even though we're causing it and it's right in front of us." She also says, "What concerns me in Israel is that racism is seen as a legitimate political opinion. They blur the distinction between being right-wing and being racist." <sup>144</sup>

This event was sponsored by the UCLA International Institute

Antisemitic Activity: Demonization, Promoting BDS

**Anti-Israel Bias**: Yes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> Ibid, 4:07.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> Ibid, 1:11:53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> Ibid, 7:02.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> Ibid, 9:01.

9) April 5, 2011 "Melting Pots and Promised Lands: Early Zionism and the idea of America," a lecture by Hilton Obenzinger<sup>145</sup>

Hilton Obenzinger is a professor of advanced writing at Stanford and is a writer of fiction, poetry, history and criticism. 146 Obenzinger discussed the similarities between Israel and America in terms of their ideology, each being a "holy land" and a settler colonialist culture.

Obenzinger engaged in the delegitimizing of Israel when he claimed that Israel was "created through settler colonial processes" <sup>147</sup> and identified Zionism as an ideology that is, "a component of western settler colonial cultures." 148

Several times Obenzinger was critical of Zionists in regards to their relationship to and conception of the Arabs living in Israel, for example, accusing Zionists of showing "a certain half-blindness, half-paternalism concerning native peoples." 149

The event was sponsored by the Center for Near Eastern Studies.

Antisemitic Activity: Delegitimization

**Anti-Israel Bias:** Yes

<sup>145</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/institute/event/8758

http://www.obenzinger.com/hilton\_bio.html

<sup>147</sup> http://128.97.165.17/cnes/podcasts/article.asp?parentid=120642, 4:52.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid, 2:00.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>149</sup> Ibid, 24:45.

**10)** <u>April 20, 2011</u> – "Violence's Law," a lecture with George Bisharat of UC Hastings College of the Law. <sup>150</sup>

In his talk, George Bisharat focused on Israel's history of international conflict and "Israel's attempted transformations of international law, and in particular international humanitarian law" <sup>151</sup> in the "occupied" territories to postulate that law is being used to justify violence instead of curbing it. To this end, he presented several early examples of what he called "Israel's international 'legal entrepreneurialism," which included the 1960 abduction of Adolf Eichmann from Argentina and his subsequent trial, the attempt to characterize the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as 'administered' rather than 'occupied' territories after 1967, and the attack on the 'Osiris' nuclear facility in Iraq in 1981. <sup>152</sup>

In his talk, Bisharat displayed a clear anti-Israel bias. He opened his talk with the claim that Israel, "a state that owes so much to international law [and] should be extraordinarily respectful of it... has a long history of what might be called 'legal entrepreneurialism.' That is, taking actions that are not accepted under the prevailing norms of international law, but with the hope that they will eventually gain approval." <sup>153</sup> Bisharat was harshly critical of Israel's policies and policy makers, <sup>154</sup> charging that they are using law to justify the use of force: "The Israeli campaign to transform international humanitarian law, appears ... not to limit or constrain violence, which is the true purpose of international humanitarian law, but rather to legalize its extension to new spaces and against new persons." 155 He further accused Israel of blurring the lines of combatants and civilians: "In other words what we're talking here is about rewriting the law concerning the principle of distinction between combatant and civilians. It's attempting to move that line."156 He criticized Israel's transformation from the occupation paradigm to that of armed conflict while governing the "occupied" territories. Occupation law dictates the use of the "minimum force necessary," while armed conflict "permits much greater use of force." Bisharat claimed that "Israel initially began pressing for this shift, from the occupation law enforcement model to the armed conflict model, to justify its assassinations of Palestinians in the occupied territories." <sup>157</sup> Bisharat also criticized Israel for characterizing the occupied territories as "administered," stating that "there is no such concept in international law as 'administered' territories, this was entirely an Israeli concoction... [which] served as a kind of a legal fig leaf for Israeli colonization of the West Bank." <sup>158</sup> He closed his talk with the question, "ask yourself how would it feel if the tables were turned and we were subjected to these legal norms, how would we like it. I think if you do that with respect to a number of these attempted innovations you find that they don't fit so well."159

<sup>150</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/institute/event/8760

<sup>151</sup> http://128.97.165.17/cnes/podcasts/article.asp?parentid=120844, 3:24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>152</sup> Ibid, 9:58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> Ibid, 7:55.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid, 4:26 - "While much of the world community looks at Israel's actions in each of these circumstances as lawless, this overlooks the very active participation of Israeli military lawyers, academics, policy makers, and others, in helping to define and identify targets and to craft legal doctrines to justify the actions of the Israeli military."

<sup>155</sup> Ibid, 38:17.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid, 28:30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>157</sup> Ibid, 19:19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>158</sup> Ibid, 13:08.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>159</sup> Ibid, 37:47.

This event was sponsored by the Center for Near Eastern Studies and co-sponsored by UCLA's International Human Rights Program, School of Law, and the Journal of Islamic and Near Eastern Law. 150

**Antisemitic Activity**: None **Anti-Israel Bias**: Yes

**11)** <u>April 28, 2011</u> - "Life Lived in Relief: Humanitarian Effects, Political Claims, and Palestinian Refugee Community," a lecture given by Professor Ilana Feldman<sup>160</sup>

Ilana Feldman is professor of anthropology and international affairs at George Washington University. Her lecture was based on her fieldwork in the Jerash refugee camp of Jordan, populated by Palestinians who were doubly displaced (to Gaza in 1948 and to Jordan 1967), as well as on information collected from the archives of the United Nations Relief & Works Agency for Palestine Refugees. Professor Feldman argued that 60 years of living under a humanitarian apparatus had affected Palestinian community and politics, creating a diverse community of people who are bonded in some ways and distanced in others.

Exhibiting bias towards the Palestinian narrative, Professor Feldman said, "What I want to note is that there were multiple categories of refugee and also of non-refugee from the earliest years after the Nakba," 161 using the term 'Nakba' or 'catastrophe' to describe the events of 1948.

CNES, the UCLA Anthropology Department, and the Culture, Power, and Social Change group co-sponsored this event.

**Antisemitic Activity**: None

<sup>160</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/institute/event/8764

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>161</sup> http://128.97.165.17/cnes/podcasts/article.asp?parentid=121029, 18:33.

**12)** <u>May 4, 2011</u> – "Edward Said's Palestine/Israel: Inclusion Without Domination," a lecture by Nubar Hovsepian, Chapman University<sup>162</sup>

At the time of giving this lecture, Nubar Hovsepian was reportedly working on a book under the title *Edward W. Said: The Politics of a Public Intellectual*. In this talk he discussed the evolution of Said's public opinion concerning Israeli and Palestinian nationalisms as he moved from being initially supportive of the two-state solution, to becoming vocal on behalf of a single, bi-national state.

Throughout his lecture, Hovsepian delegitimized Israel, substantiating Said's categorization of its form of governance as "apartheid." He praised Said's depiction of the Palestinians' oppression under an apartheid system in Israel, as when he said, "Instead of peace, Palestinians were subjected to continued expulsions and closures, and Said's book on this is perfect in detailing the quotidian of occupation of land and the resources...punctuated by increasing settlements and checkpoints at the wall...which the Palestinians experience as an apartheid wall." <sup>163</sup>

Hovsepian parroted many of Said's one-sided biases in favor of the Palestinians and against Israelis, reflecting them as his own. In one instance, he described Said as revolutionary because he was considering "an alternative to Zionism." Similarly, he highlighted Said's stance that the Oslo Accords were to be protested because they were about "a peace without any semblance of justice... Arabs have capitulated unnecessarily, and Israel has in fact achieved all of its tactical, strategic objectives at the expense of ... nearly every proclaimed peninsula of Arab nationalism and struggle." <sup>165</sup>

This event was sponsored by the UCLA Center for Near Eastern Studies with support from the UCLA International Institute.

Antisemitic Activity: Delegitimization

 $<sup>{}^{162}\,\</sup>underline{http://web.international.ucla.edu/institute/event/8765}$ 

<sup>163</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/cnes/podcast/121123, 37:30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>164</sup> Ibid, 41:38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>165</sup> Ibid, 36:05.

**13)** May 11, 2011 – "In Memoriam: Juliano Mer-Khamis," a film screening of *Arna's Children* followed by a discussion with Mac Lojowsky and Professor Gabriel Piterberg. <sup>166</sup>

Arna's Children<sup>167</sup> is a documentary following the fate of children in Jenin who were taught in Arna Mer-Khamis' acting school. Arna was a Jew who married a Palestinian and then, in sympathy with the plight of the refugee Palestinians, developed an acting program in the Jenin refugee camp in order to provide an outlet for the children. Her son Juliano, an actor himself, assisted in running the acting school, and the community came to greatly admire and love these two individuals who gave of themselves for the Palestinian cause. After Arna's death, Juliano created this film as a tribute to his mother, documenting her, and his, accomplishments with the youth and families of Jenin. The film alternates between clips of the children of Jenin in the acting school and of their teenage and young adult years in which they fight, and many die, in the second intifada.

The film demonized Israel by portraying Israel as the violent occupier. Israel was characterized only by its military, with the children of Jenin singing in a performance, "The[] [Israeli army] tortured me and killed me in the cell;"171 with the Israeli army entering Jenin, shooting indiscriminately; 172 with the description of the Israeli army as "destroy[ing] three hundred houses in one week;"173 and with the story of the Israeli army invading Jenin, and shooting a shell at a school, fatally wounding a girl, as an impetus for one of the youth's suicide attack. 174 The film also carries an explicit message of condoning terror against Jews. The film focuses on performances of the acting school that promote terror, such as when the children sang of incitement against Israel, saying "I will go on resisting," 175 and then Arna's rallying cry to the audience for "the intifada, for us and for our children," 176 concluding that "there is no peace without freedom."177 In another performance, two children act out tying a Jew up to explosives. <sup>178</sup> The film then highlights the children's responses to an interview by an Israeli media group on the topic of "the role of theater in the intifada." The responses of the children focus on violence, such as one child stating that "when [he is] on stage, [he] feel[s] like [he's] throwing stones." 180 This violence is initiated by Arna, who incites the children to express their animosity towards Israel through acting activities. This is exemplified when Arna asks the children leading questions about their feelings in response to an Israeli attack, and then asks what one of the children would like to do to the Israeli army, urging the child to say, "Kill them," and

<sup>166</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/cnes/event/8872

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>167</sup> *Arna's Children*. Dir. Juliano Mer-Khamis and Danniel Danniel. Prod. Osnat Trabelsi and Pieter Van Huystee. Trabelsi Productions Ltd., 2004.

<sup>168</sup> http://www.cultureunplugged.com/play/4981/Arna-s-Children, 1.44, 3.25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>169</sup> Ibid, 9.35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>170</sup> Ibid, 18.44-21.42, 44.15-45.57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>171</sup> Ibid, 5.45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>172</sup> Ibid, 51.25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>173</sup> Ibid, 78.12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>174</sup> Ibid, 58.37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>175</sup> Ibid, 5.49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>176</sup> Ibid, 6.30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>177</sup> Ibid, 6.59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>178</sup> Ibid, 54.40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>179</sup> Ibid, 30.45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>180</sup> Ibid, 30.49.

then tells the child to act that out with her, having him fight her and push her to the ground. As the children grow up, they are depicted in further violent roles, fighting in the intifada. One extreme example is when two of the original children video themselves as young adults preparing for a suicide attack in Hadera, and announcing that "Jihad is the way." Finally, the film concludes by continuing the call for terrorism into the next generation, with a group of children gathering, some with sticks in hand, to sing about fighting, and that "for every martyr that falls, a new one will rise." 183

This film additionally carries strong bias against Jews. This is most obviously displayed by the consistent references to the "Jews," 184 not just calling them "Israelis," when exhibiting all of the above antisemitism. Additionally, the film carries a strong bias against Israel, referring to it as "the occupation," and characterizing Israel only as a cold, silent militaristic entity, through only showing its army invading the Palestinian areas, while portraying the Palestinians throughout as family-oriented and a warm community, and through focusing on the homes, schools, families and friends in Jenin.

This event was presented by CNES.

Antisemitic Activity: Demonization, Condoning of Terrorism

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>181</sup> Ibid, 12.40-14.21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>182</sup> Ibid, 21.47-22.26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>183</sup> Ibid, 8.17-82.19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>184</sup> Ibid, 19.41-21.18, 48.29, 76.20, etc.

**14)** October 25, 2011 - "The Arabs and the Holocaust: The Arab-Israeli War of Narratives," a lecture by Gilbert Achcar, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London 185

In this lecture, based on his book with the same title, *The Arabs and the Holocaust: The Arab-Israeli War of Narratives*, Gilbert Achcar spoke on different currents in the Arab world surrounding World War II and analyzed several contemporary sources that point to their Nazi sympathies. He advances the argument that those who "Nazify" the Arabs are pro-Israel, and also that Israel uses the Holocaust to excuse oppression of the Palestinians. He provided several justifications for Arab support for the Nazis during WWII as well as Arab Holocaust denial in subsequent decades, and named Israel's exacerbation of the conflict in Palestine as a main cause for their continued denial of the Holocaust. <sup>186</sup>

There were two forms of antisemitic discourse in this talk. Achear compared Israel to a Nazi state when he said, "Fortunately the Holocaust is something [that] ended in forty-five; the ordeal of the Palestinians did not end." Finally, Achear demonized Israel when he claimed, "the fact remains that there was an act of ethnic cleansing of Palestine in 1948, and this is denied by the Israeli state." <sup>188</sup>

Besides the antisemitic content of his talk, Achcar exhibited pro-Arab and anti-Israel biases with regards to the treatment of minorities or ethnic groups, as when he condemned Israel's treatment of Palestinians as "second class citizens." <sup>189</sup>

This event was sponsored by the UCLA Center for Near Eastern Studies and the UCLA International Institute.

Antisemitic Activity: Demonization, Comparing Jews to Nazis

<sup>185</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/institute/event/8965

<sup>186</sup> http://128.97.165.17/cnes/podcasts/article.asp?parentid=122762

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>187</sup> Ibid, 56:33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>188</sup> Ibid, 55:42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>189</sup> Ibid, 47:46.

# 15) November 9, 2011 - "Between Two Worlds," a film screening 190

This event was a screening of Between Two Worlds, 191 a film released in 2011 by Alan Snitow and Deborah Kaufman, which documents Snitow and Kaufman's quest to figure out the cause behind the divisions in the Jewish community with respect to Israel. The motivation for this film began after the tremendous uproar within the Jewish community in regards to the screening of Rachel (A controversial film about Rachel Corrie, a young, female American activist who died in 2003, crushed under an Israeli bulldozer, while protesting a military demolition project in Gaza) by the San Francisco Film Festival in 2009. Snitow introduced the film by saying "This time, the Festival showed one film [Rachel] that escalated the conversation to angry confrontation.... It took us by surprise, and sent us on a journey to find out 'what's ripping our community apart?"<sup>192</sup> In an attempt to discover the cause of the divide in the Jewish community, Snitow and Kaufman interviewed prominent pro-Israel figures in the American Jewish community, including John Rothman (KGO Talk Show Host), Dr Michael Harris (the San Francisco spokesperson for Stand With Us and Voice for Israel), and Akiva Tor (Israeli Consul General for the Pacific North West), as well as Jewish critics of Israel, such as Cecilie Surasky (Deputy Director of Jewish Voice for Peace), Gershon Baskin (Israel-Palestine Center for Research and Information), and Naomi Chazan (President of New Israel Fund). Throughout the film, Snitow and Kaufman highlighted other controversial issues, such as the construction of a Museum of Tolerance in Jerusalem on top of what some believe to be a Muslim grave site, the question of what defines someone as being Jewish, and what role the Holocaust plays in Jewish society.

While *Between Two Worlds* is not an antisemitic film, certain individuals who were interviewed promoted BDS, accused Israel of exploiting the Holocaust, and demonized Israel. For instance, Gershon Baskin accused Jews of exploiting the Holocaust, by saying "we invoke the memory of the Holocaust to justify anything that we are doing." <sup>193</sup> In addition, Cecilie Surasky asserted that "We (JVP) vehemently support the right for people to engage in all aspects of boycott, divestment, and sanctions...." <sup>194</sup> The film also showed JVP members participating in antisemitic rallies holding up banners which demonized Israel and promoted BDS with slogans such as "No more US-funded massacres of Palestinians." <sup>195</sup> According to the Anti-Defamation League, JVP is the "largest and most influential Jewish anti-Zionist group in the United States." <sup>196</sup> JVP has signed at least eight petitions promoting BDS against Israel <sup>197</sup>, and openly opposes US aid to Israel on their website, on the grounds that "aid may not be delivered to countries that abuse human rights <sup>198</sup>".

190 http://web.international.ucla.edu/institute/event/9116

<sup>191</sup> Between Two Worlds. Dirs. Alan Sntitow and Deborah Kaufman. Video Arts/San Francisco. 2011.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>192</sup> Ibid, 01:50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>193</sup> Ibid, 31:00.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>194</sup> Ibid,12:33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>195</sup> Ibid, 12:07.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>196</sup> Ibid. 46:17-48:30.

<sup>197</sup> The BDS petitions that Jewish Voice for Peace has signed: TIAA CREF divestment petition; UCSD Divestment petition; Israeli divestment campaign; Statement of support for UC Berkeley Divestment from off campus organizations; Endorser of United Methodist divestment campaign; Support PennBDS; US Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation's Letter to the House Appropriation's Committee; Online Petition to the Irish Government demanding it Boycott Israel Ben & Jerry's

<sup>198</sup> http://www.adl.org/israel-international/anti-israel-activity/c/backgrounder-jewish-voice.html

While it may seem at first that Snitow and Kaufman take an even-handed approach in their initial choice of interviewees, it can be seen by the end of the film that they are biased against Israel through the number and amount of air time that they provide the critics of Israel as compared with the pro-Israel interviewees. For instance, when Snitow and Kaufman asked the interviewees what their opinions were regarding 'the political role of a Jew in the modern world of today', not a single pro-Israel individual was questioned. However, out of the four speakers who were asked for input, three were critics of Israel -- Tony Michaels, Daniel Sokatch, and Rabbi Irwin Kula -the fourth, Sarah Church, was apparently neutral. <sup>199</sup> There was also a sizable imbalance between the number of interviewees who were sympathetic to Israel and those who were critical of Israel, with five being staunchly pro-Israel, ten very critical of Israel or affiliated with organizations which routinely speak out against Israel and its policies, and four interviewees who appeared neutral with regards to Israel.<sup>200</sup>

This event was sponsored by the Center for Near Eastern Studies, Department of History, and J Street U.

**Antisemitic Activity**: None

Anti-Israel Bias: Yes

<sup>199</sup> Ibid, 46:17-48:30.

<sup>200</sup> <u>Interviewees</u>

Appeared Neutral

Peter Stein: Executive director of San Fransisco Jewish Film Festival

Rabbi Dorthy Richman: UC Berkeley Hillel Tobin Belzer: USC Center For Religion Sarah Church: Progressive Jewish Alliance

#### Critics of Israel

Daniel Sokatch: San Fransisco Jewish Community Federation Cecilie Surasky: Deputy Director of Jewish Voice for Peace

Rabbi Irwin Kula: National Jewish center for learning and leadership Gershon Baskin: Israel-Palestine Center for Research and Information

Walks Salem: Center for Democracy, Palestine

Amy Goodman: Democracy Now

Rashaida Khalidi: historian, Columbia University Tony Michels: Historian, university of Wisconsin Naomi Chazan: president, New Israel fund

Jeremy Ben Ami: J Street

#### Pro-Israel

Dr. Michael Harris: Stand With Us/ Voice For Israel

John Rothman: KGO,

Rabbi Marvin Hier: Simon Wisenthal Center - Museum of Tolerance

Akiva Tor: Consul General, Israel

Jack Wertheimer: Historian, Jewish theological Seminary

**16)** Nov. 15, 2011 - "What Does a Jew Want?: On Binationalism and Other Specters," a discussion between UCLA Professor of Comparative Literature Gil Hochberg and author and filmmaker Udi Aloni. 201

Udi Aloni discussed ideas presented in his co-authored book, *What Does a Jew Want? On Binationalism and Other Specters*. <sup>202</sup> Topics ranged from the contradictions Aloni perceived in his upbringing that influenced his world-view to his resulting solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, grounded in his quest for spirituality as a secular Jew.

In his talk, Aloni denied Jews the right to self-determination, and demonized and delegitimized Israel. Much of Aloni's talk centered around the details of his background that helped shape his ethos of "binationalism," an idea which Aloni equated vaguely with that of a "common destiny" for Israelis and Palestinians but that, without explicit clarification, implied a denial of Jews the right to self-determination through an elimination of Israel as a Jewish State. He demonized Israeli soldiers when he claimed that they are "there [on duty] to steal [Palestinian] land,"<sup>203</sup> and implied that all Zionists are racists when he joked, "The reason I cannot call myself anti-Zionist is because I know that as long as [my mother] is alive I know that there is at least one Zionist that is not racist."<sup>204</sup> In addition, Aloni's discussion was rife with delegitimizing "apartheid" rhetoric; for example, Aloni decried "The Two-State Solution" as a theoretical framework "that protect[s] [Israeli] Apartheid forever."<sup>205</sup>

In addition to his antisemitic statements, Aloni demonstrated bias against Jewish inhabitants of Judea and Samaria, referring to them as "fundamentalists," and denying them any substantive content by claiming that they were "created" as a political tool by the secular Jewish establishment.<sup>206</sup>

This event was presented by CNES and co-sponsored by the Departments of History and Comparative Literature, and the Center for Jewish Studies.

Antisemitic Activity: Demonization, Delegitimization, Denying Jews the Right to Self-Determination

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>201</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/institute/event/9097

http://128.97.165.17/cnes/podcasts/article.asp?parentid=122999

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>203</sup> Ibid, 30:15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>204</sup> Ibid, 14:02.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>205</sup> Ibid, 36:25

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>206</sup> Ibid, 41:30.

17) <u>February 24, 2012</u> - "The False Paradigm of Parity and Partition: Revisiting 1967," a lecture given by Professor Ilan Pappé<sup>207</sup>

Professor Ilan Pappé of the University of Exeter presented his new research based on recently declassified documents detailing meetings of the Israeli government around the time of the 1967 War. He argued that the concept of a peace process in Israel is a construct of Israeli propaganda designed to distract the world from the reality on the ground.

Throughout his talk, Pappé demonized Israel, referring repeatedly to Israel's "ethnic cleansing" of Palestine and the government's decision in 1967 to sentence "all the people who lived in [the West Bank and the Gaza Strip] for life imprisonment in the biggest ever human mega-prison witnessed in modern times." Delegitimizing Israel, Professor Pappé called Israel a "racist, ethnic state" and compared Israel to apartheid South Africa. Condoning terrorism against Jews, Pappé expressed the "understandable desperation in some of the Palestinian resistance, including the suicide bombs against this matrix of power." Furthermore, Pappé encouraged the activists who attended the lecture to "adopt the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions as a tough conversation with Israel that sends the Israelis a message that their ideology, their violation of human rights and civil rights is unacceptable, and there is a price attached to this."

Professor Pappé was harshly critical of Israelis involved in the development and enforcement of policy in the West Bank and Gaza. He called these Israelis "villains," "servants of the bureaucracy of evil," and "constant abusers, dehumanizers, and destroyers of Palestinian rights and lives." Expressing his overall bias when referring to Israelis' perception of their treatment of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, he said, "There is a certain air of satisfaction when Israelis are thinking about it. Unfortunately, they would find my narrative as proving how smart they were and are." <sup>215</sup>

CNES presented this event.

Antisemitic Activity: Demonization, Delegitimization, Promoting BDS

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>207</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/institute/event/9187

http://web.international.ucla.edu/cnes/podcast/124509, 18:18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>209</sup> Ibid, 35:44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>210</sup> Ibid, 1:04:47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>211</sup> Ibid, 1:42:22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>212</sup> Ibid, 57:52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>213</sup> Ibid, 1:46:10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>214</sup> Ibid, 59:23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>215</sup> Ibid, 1:12:38.

**18)** <u>April 12, 2012</u> – "Text in Context: A Teach-in on President Yudof's Letter," a lecture by Prof. Gabriel Piterberg<sup>216</sup>

Prof. Gabriel Piterberg, a UCLA History professor and CNES faculty member, analyzed the text and context of President Yudof's March 2012 letter to University of California campuses regarding recent campus hate crimes. President Yudof's letter was a response to intolerance on campus, specifically the incidents of disruptive hecklers at a UC Davis "Israeli Soldiers Speak Out" event, and of vandalization across campuses that targeted Jews, African Americans, and the LGBT community in separate incidents. This letter aimed to protect groups against "attacks ... that are meant to silence or intimidate," but Piterberg argued that the letter itself was a call specifically to "silence criticism of Israel on UC campuses" and "generally ... to ... silence ... dissent and opposition ... on UC campuses."

In his lecture, Piterberg sought to separate Judaism from Zionism and thereby suggest that Jews do not have the right to a sovereign state. He stated, "I don't think that factually, historically, the two [ie. Judaism and Zionism] are co-terminus. The ... history of Jews ... cannot be reduced to the state of Israel." Through such a statement, Piterberg demonstrated a belief that the foundation of the creation of the modern state of Israel is illegitimate, since he claimed the Jews have no basis for their proclaimed connection to the land.

While most of Piterberg's comments did not fit cleanly into categories of antisemitism, his words did convey bias against Zionist Jews. Following his attempt to distinguish between Jewish identity and Zionist identity, Piterberg turned the argument on its head to call anybody who does associate the two in an intrinsic way as almost guilty of antisemitism. He explained that such an association is "basically a racial generalization" that "is tantamount to antisemitism." And because he had dismissed the Jewish connection to the land, Piterberg considered any "heckling" or "protests" against Zionism as mere "political acts" rather than hate speech targeting the Jewish people. Purthermore, while Piterberg categorized protests against Zionism as political acts and thus inappropriate for inclusion in Yudof's letter, at the same time he questioned why "harassment and threats to the Palestinian, Arab and Muslim students and their allies do[n't] appear" in the letter, clearly not categorizing those activities as merely political and thus revealing his bias against Zionist Jews.

Furthermore, Piterberg's jabs against Zionist figures and organizations conveyed a strong bias against Israel. In referring to the ADL and the Museum of Tolerance, Piterberg said: "These are American Zionist organizations, who are not bona fide arbiters, or people who can settle disputes ... anywhere. The ADL is well enough known... the Museum of Tolerance is ... also problematic." <sup>224</sup> In referring to a series of conferences organized by David Horowitz, entitled

<sup>216</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/institute/event/9402

http://news.ucsc.edu/2012/03/yudof-letter-intolerance.html

<sup>218</sup> http://www1.international.ucla.edu/article.asp?parentid=125619, 5.25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>219</sup> Ibid, 32.48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>220</sup> Ibid, 34.07.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>221</sup> Ibid, 34.35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>222</sup> Ibid, 28.14, 6.47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>223</sup> Ibid, 11.16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>224</sup> Ibid, 31.12.

"Islamofascism," Piterberg retorted, "Can you imagine if I organized a series of conferences on Judeofascism? And I could find examples." Additionally, Piterberg often took swipes at the organization StandWithUs, calling it "an extreme, rightwing, Zionist organization," and added that in Yudof's letter, the mention of the event "Israeli Soldiers Speak Out" was misrepresented because it did not inform readers that the event was organized by StandWithUs, implying that if readers had been informed, they might have been wary and mistrusting of the event. Piterberg also claimed that at a CNES event regarding human rights and Gaza, StandWithUs was responsible for "creat[ing] a violent atmosphere." Finally, Piterberg closed his speech by suggesting that rather than Yudof being president of the UC campuses, he should instead be an AIPAC employee, commenting that "We'll write him good letters of recommendation." These side comments by Piterberg were antagonistic and inflammatory, and projected an anti-Zionist and anti-Israel bias.

CNES sponsored this event, with the co-sponsorship of the UCLA Center for Social Theory and Contemporary History<sup>229</sup>.

Antisemitic Activity: Denying Jews their Right to Self-Determination

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>225</sup> Ibid, 12.05.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>226</sup> Ibid, 17.23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>227</sup> Ibid, 14.50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>228</sup> Ibid, 36.28.

<sup>229</sup> http://lists.ucla.edu/pipermail/hum events/20120403/002088.html

**19)** <u>April 25, 2012</u> - "Beautiful Resistance: Defying the Occupation Through the Theater and the Arts," a talk by Abdelfattah Abusrour. <sup>230</sup>

Dr. Abdelfattah Abusrour, a Palestinian playwright, poet, and founder of Al-Rowwad Cultural & Theatre Center in the Aida Refugee Camp, was supposed to talk about how children's theater has empowered Palestinian youths on an educational and artistic level to resist occupation through non-violence; However, he spent a majority of the time stressing Israel's occupation over Palestinians and how the media inaccurately depicts Palestinian actions.<sup>231</sup>

In his talk, Abusrour condoned terrorism against Israel when he stated that even though "95% of Palestinians are non-violent," as "Palestinians living under occupation...[they] have the right to resist occupation," and "some chose armed struggle." Additionally, Abusrour delegitimized Israel when he claimed that Israel's founding ideology, Zionism, was "a philosophy of lying," based on the claim that Israel was "a land without a people for a people without a land," but that "this land wasn't empty...the origins of Jaffa were there before." <sup>233</sup>

In addition to his antisemitic statements, Abusrour showed a strong pro-Palestinian bias, accusing the media of portraying Palestinians in a very negative light, stating that he wanted to "show this other image of Palestine that the media a lot of times refuses to show... this pride of culture that is still alive despite the ugliness of occupation." He also said, "Our children do not only know how to throw stones and burn tires...but the images in the media would create only these angry fanatic people who are shooting or are burning tires." <sup>235</sup>

This event was presented by the Center for Near Eastern Studies and co-sponsored by the Department of History.

Antisemitic Activity: Delegitimization, Condoning Terrorism

<sup>230</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/institute/event/9449

http://web.international.ucla.edu/cnes/podcast/125903

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>232</sup> Ibid, 15:51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>233</sup> Ibid. 17:50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>234</sup> Ibid, 7:15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>235</sup> Ibid, 5:33.

**20**) **April 26, 2012** - "The Other Shift: Settler Colonial Studies and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict," a lecture by Lorenzo Veracini. <sup>236</sup>

Lorenzo Veracini is an Associate Professor at the Swinburne Institute for Social Research who focuses on the comparative history of colonial systems and settler colonialism. In this lecture, Veracini distinguishes between the constructs of colonialization and settler-colonialization, and argues that Israel aimed for, but failed to achieve, the latter, and instead remained stuck in the former, which is self-destructive.

In his lecture, Veracini displayed antisemitism through the categories of delegetimization of Israel and demonization of Israel. Veracini delegitimized Israel through his premise that Israel was created through colonialism, which is seen as an illegitimate form of sovereignty, as he explains that colonialism and settler-colonialism "are both inherently unequal and unjust systems." Veracini demonized Israel, calling it a "punishing regime," that is "oppressive, brutal and forceful," is "obsessively interested in controlling [Palestinian] mobility," is "direct[ly] oppressi[ng]" and "daily humilia[ting]" the Palestinian people.

Furthermore, Veracini displays anti-Israel bias through his disapproval of Israel as a colonializing society, to the extent that he speaks about the possibility of "decolonialization" through "the exit" of "occupation" with "the Palestinian Authority or a government led by Hamas in Gaza ... inherit[ing] the occupation structure and reconstitut[ing] themselves into a post-colonial successive polity."<sup>243</sup>

This lecture was sponsored by CNES<sup>244</sup> and co-sponsored by the UCLA Postcolonial Literature and Theory Colloquium and the Andrew W. Mellon Postdoctoral Program in the Humanities: "Cultures in Transnational Perspective."<sup>245</sup>

Antisemitic Activity: Demonization, Delegitimization

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>236</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/institute/event/9290

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>237</sup> http://128.97.165.17/cnes/podcasts/article.asp?parentid=125939, 5:40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>238</sup> Ibid, 16:18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>239</sup> Ibid, 11:00.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>240</sup> Ibid, 17:00.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>241</sup> Ibid, 18:57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>242</sup> Ibid, 17:32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>243</sup> Ibid, 19:20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>244</sup> Ibid, :02.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>245</sup> http://lists.ucla.edu/pipermail/hum events/20120425/002126.html

**21)** <u>September 20, 2012</u> – "What Happens After Zionism," a discussion with Antony Loewenstein, Saree Makdisi, and Marcy Jane Knopf-Newman, moderated by Mark LeVine. <sup>246</sup>

Journalist Antony Loewenstein,<sup>247</sup> UCLA's English and Comparative Literature Professor Saree Makdisi,<sup>248</sup> and professor and activist Marcy Jane Knopf-Newman<sup>249</sup> participated in a panel discussion moderated by UC Irvine's History Professor Mark LeVine,<sup>250</sup> which drew upon each of their recent publications. The discussion centered on the search for a one-state solution. After establishing that the two-state solution had generally been abandoned, the speakers defined what a one-state solution would require in order to achieve Palestinian and Israeli sovereignties. The speakers' assumption was that the status quo is an occupation by Israel of the Palestinians and that thus far all negotiations of land for peace or of one-state solutions have been on Israel's terms only.

In this discussion, Israel was delegitimized and held to a double standard and BDS was promoted. Each speaker delegitimized Israel: LeVine accused Israel of "politicide" by "mak[ing] it impossible for Palestinians to achieve self-determination,"251 and Loewenstein strengthened this point, charging Israel with "deliberate" "colonization to the point now where any partitioning of the land is impossible."252 Newman explained that she doesn't teach the Israeli narrative in the classroom because she refuses to "teach texts that humanize that point of view," implying that the Israeli narrative is not legitimate, <sup>253</sup> and Makdisi alleged that the Israeli narrative revises history in a way that is "so successful at ... erasing th[e] gross, profound imbalance of power [between Israel and the Palestinians] so it looks like there are two equal parties and two equal histories."254 LeVine also delegitimized Israel by arguing that it was based on a "settler colonial nationalist ideology."<sup>255</sup> Finally, Loewenstein demonstrated a double standard, when he spoke about "apartheid" in Australia and commented: "People have said to me, 'How can you, as a Jew, be so critical of Israel when you have your own colonial situation in [Australia]?' and my response on the one hand is 'You're right,' but the difference is that Israel, in my view, receives such amazing amounts of foreign support and defense that it actually has to be held to a different standard."<sup>256</sup> In addition, at the end of the event audience members were encouraged to sign an anti-Israel divestment petition that was handed out at the event. <sup>257</sup>

Throughout the discussion, there was also strong bias against Zionism and strong bias towards Palestinians. This was evidenced by statements of the speakers, as well as by the general topics and assumptions of the discussion. Specifically, Makdisi demonstrated a bias when he considered Zionism as a hypocritical ideology, with "part of [its] appeal" and foundational

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>246</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/institute/event/9579

<sup>247</sup> http://antonyloewenstein.com/bio/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>248</sup> http://sareemakdisi.net/

<sup>249</sup> http://bodyontheline.wordpress.com/about/

<sup>250</sup> http://www.huffingtonpost.com/mark-levine/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>251</sup> http://128.97.165.17/cnes/podcasts/article.asp?parentid=128249, 7:58

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>252</sup> <u>Ibid</u>, 9:58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>253</sup> Ibid, 15:59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>254</sup> Ibid, 28:13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>255</sup> Ibid, 23:38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>256</sup> Ibid, 29:00.

<sup>257</sup> http://amchainitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/BDSPetition.pdf

"logic" being a "fundamental cognitive disconnect between what [it's] advocating and what [it] says." To support this assertion, Makdisi gave examples of a Bedouin village that the Israelis bulldozed because "the Jewish National Fund want[ed] to build, to plant a forest there," and of the building of a Museum of Tolerance on a Muslim cemetery, for which the purpose of both were, literally and metaphorically, "to make the desert bloom," yet Makdisi sees "the mystery of Zionism" in "obsessively focus[ing] on [the claim of] ... making the desert bloom ... but not see[ing], on the flipside of that, which is built into it is, removing people, plots and graves, and destroying people's houses."<sup>259</sup> In general, the premise of the discussion was that Zionism is the movement of colonizing the Palestinian people who desire their own sovereignty and that a resolution must be achieved that gives Palestinians their demands. Thus, the event carried an anti-Zionist, pro-Palestinian bias.

This event occurred at Westwood Hills Congregational Church in Los Angeles, and was sponsored by CNES and the Levantine Cultural Center, along with support from the Council on American-Islamic Relations-Los Angeles, and Muslims for Progressive Values, and the media was sponsored by Pacifica Radio KPFK 90.7 FM.

The co-sponsors of this event have engaged in the following antisemitic behavior: Levantine Cultural Center has demonstrated demonization of Israel, as exemplified by a book review on its website that accuses Israel of "ethnic cleansing;" 260 has demonstrated delegitimization of Israel, exemplified by screening the film *Roadmap to Apartheid*, <sup>261</sup> and has sponsored and advertised lectures by individuals and organizations known for their antisemitic rhetoric, such as Shlomo Sand, <sup>262</sup> Norman Finkelstein, <sup>263</sup> and Students for Justice in Palestine. <sup>264</sup> The Council on American-Islamic Relations has demonstrated support for terrorism through the fact that since 9/11, at least 15 CAIR executives, staffers, directors and advisers have been convicted or implicated in terrorism investigations.<sup>265</sup> CAIR has supported BDS, signing a petition calling for sanctions from the United States against Israel. 266 Finally, CAIR has demonstrated a double standard when its National Communications Director, Ibrahim Hooper, claimed that the organization is "not in the business of condemning" when asked to condemn the terrorism of Hamas and Hezbollah, <sup>267</sup> yet CAIR did issue a statement of condemnation when Israel assassinated Hamas leader Ahmed Yassin. 268 Muslims for Progressive Values supports BDS. 269 Pacifica Radio KPFK 90.7 FM has supported BDS, <sup>270</sup> delegitimized Israel by featuring a lecture

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>258</sup> Ibid, 19:03.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>259</sup> Ibid. 20:20-22:50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>260</sup> http://www.levantinecenter.org/levantine-review/articles/book-review-generals-son

http://www.levantinecenter.org/event/special-oc-screening-roadmap-apartheid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>262</sup> http://qww.levantinecenter.org/arts/authors/tel-aviv-university-historian-examines-case-jewish-promised-land

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>263</sup> http://www.levantinecenter.org/events/dr-norman-finkelstein-israel-palestine-and-future-peace

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>264</sup> http://www.levantinecenter.org/one-state-solution

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>265</sup> http://www.wnd.com/2011/03/277349/#7Toeu66t3mvBqcAx.99

<sup>266</sup> http://endtheoccupation.org/modinput4.php?modin=156

<sup>267</sup> http://old.post-gazette.com/headlines/20020210islamlobby0210p3.asp

<sup>268</sup> http://www.cair.com/press-center/press-releases/790-cair-condemns-israeli-assassination-of-religious-leader.html

http://www.queersolidaritywithpalestine.com/

http://www.usacbi.org/2009/03/challenging-israeli-impunity-the-boycott-divestment-sanctions-movement/

that considered Israel an "apartheid regime," <sup>271</sup> and demonized Israel, accusing it of "ethnic cleansing."272

Antisemitic Activity: Delegitimization, Double Standard, Promoting BDS

**Anti-Israel Bias**: Yes

http://michaelslate.wordpress.com/2012/12/13/miko-peled-on-the-michael-slate-show-dec-14-at-10-a-m-pacific-

time-on-kpfk-90-7-fm/

http://www.kpfk.org/index.php/programs/166-radiointifada/2690-1029-radio-intifada-3pm-bds-movement-and-palestines-qsouth-africa-movementq#.Umn 1iTQHRw

22) October 25th, 2012 – "Like a Straw Bird It Follows Me: Poetry by Palestinian Poet Ghassan Zaqtan," a poetry reading<sup>273</sup>

Palestinian poet Ghassan Zaqtan read his poems in Arabic, and his translator Fady Joudah read them in English. The event was limited to a reading only. The author, while present, did not discuss or interpret any of the poems he read.<sup>274</sup>

While the poetic platform makes it difficult to determine exact meaning, an interjection between poems by the translator indicated anti-Israel bias. In the middle of the reading Fady Joudah praised a Palestinian artist who had boycotted Israel during the second intifada for providing the cover of his book. "The book cover is a mural by Sliman Mansour, the iconic Palestinian artist. At the beginning of the second intifada he chose to boycott his own art, as long as that art required materials that came through Israel. He realized that the one medium he had full access to was Palestinian soil so he made several wonderful murals from the earth."275

This event was sponsored by Comparative Literature, CNES, Near Eastern Languages and Cultures, UCLA Library, Dean of Humanities Fund, International Poets in Conversation, Harriet Monroe Poetry Institute's consortium tour.

**Antisemitic Activity**: None

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>273</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/institute/event/9345

http://128.97.165.17/cnes/podcasts/article.asp?parentid=128661 http://youtu.be/URXi2nKZTw0?t=26m24s

**23**) November 01, 2012 – "Israel/Palestine in Eyal Sivan's Cinematography - Izkor: Slaves of Memory (1990)," a film screening followed by discussion with Gabriel Piterberg, UCLA professor of history. The screening was the first installment of a 3-part quarterly series devoted to the films of Eyal Sivan. <sup>276</sup>

Director Eyal Sivan is an Israeli filmmaker who has made a series of documentaries critical of Israeli policies. His 1990 film, *Izkor: Slaves of Memory*,<sup>277</sup> examines what he believes to be the process of indoctrination that begins in elementary school and carries on through high school up to induction into the Israeli military, as set in the framework of the "remembrance" holidays of springtime: Passover, Yom HaShoah, Yom HaZikaron, Independence Day. In Sivan's words, these children "are puppets, from kindergarten to the army," and the holiday remembrances of "the terrible things that were done to us" become the justification for militarizing Israel's youth. Professor Yeshayahu Leibovitz, described on Sivan's website as the "spiritual leader of the Israeli soldiers who refuse to carry out their military national service in the Occupied Territories," becomes Sivan's voice of conscience within the film. <sup>280</sup>

Via Sivan's framing of the activities surrounding the spring holidays, the film takes on antisemitic overtones. Prof. Leibovitz's voice becomes a weapon by which Israel is demonized: "We remember what was done to us, and we are exempted from everything. We can kill Arabs in refugee camps, because of the terrible things that were done to us." In addition, Leibovitz's Nazi comparison serves to bolster notions that Israelis have genuinely become the new Nazis: "Here there is a program about which a 19th-century non-Jewish scholar said: 'There is a path which leads from humanity via nationality to bestiality. Along this path, the German people went all the way. And it is this path that we have taken since the Six Day War." 282

The film's bias is clear. Director Sivan appears to show how the Israeli educational system creates obedient soldiers and that the system does so by imposing a slavery to remembrance and a fear of the other. Leibovitz asserts that the students "have been perverted" by the national education which, in his view, consists of "making violence man's supreme end" and whose success is measured by answering the question "Will our pupils make good soldiers?" in lieu of "Will they be good people?" In Leibovitz's view, "Nothing is more convenient psychologically, than to define ourselves according to what others have done to us. No need to ask ourselves who we are, what we are worth, what we should do, what our values are. It was against us that all these horrors were perpetrated, and that relieves us of all responsibility." Various segments of Israeli society are shown to be obsessed with remembering the Holocaust. Fourteen-year-old Keren maintains that in school "we especially study the bad things, what goes on here, never the good things. ... But always the bad side." Consequently, she has fears: "Today

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>276</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/institute/event/9586

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>277</sup> *Izkor: Slaves of Memory*. Dir. Eyal Sivan. Momento!, 1990. DVD.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>278</sup> Ibid, 1:08:47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>279</sup> Ibid, 40:52.

<sup>280</sup> http://www.eyalsivan.info/index.php?p=fichefilm&id=23#&panel1-10

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>281</sup> Izkor: Slaves of Memory, 40:52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>282</sup> Ibid, 1:12:53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>283</sup> Ibid, 1:06:19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>284</sup> Ibid, 17:52.

we're afraid. We're wary of the Arabs, of stabs in the back."<sup>285</sup> Within Sivan's camera frame, almost all teachers lecture and drill in strident tones. From kindergarten through high school, children are presented as carrying through various exercises of remembrance and never shown having thoughtful conversations within a class about topics other than nationalism. A scene depicting high school students marching soldier-like in preparation for a Yom HaShoah commemoration takes on grotesque dimensions for the Western viewer when the camera comes to rest upon one set of girls, dressed in late '80s fashion, who stand at attention with assault weapons at their side. Intellectually, the students are also prepared to be good soldiers. Says one high school boy set to graduate in the following year: "The superior gives you orders, and you obey your boss. If he says, 'Shoot,' you shoot!" The film makes no effort to explain the demographic realities within Israel requiring universal military service.

The Center for Near Eastern Studies presented this event.

Antisemitic Activity: Comparing Israelis to Nazis, Demonization

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>285</sup> Ibid, 22:53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>286</sup> Ibid, 57:32.

**24)** November 07, 2012 – "Perish the Thought: Israel and the Search for Peace in the Aftermath of the June 1967 War," a lecture given by Professor Avi Raz. <sup>287</sup>

Dr. Avi Raz is an associate faculty member of Oriental Studies at the University of Oxford. <sup>288</sup> His talk centered on Israel's foreign policy in the two years following the Six Day War and was based on his most recent book, *The Bride and the Dowry: Israel, Jordan, and the Palestinians in the Aftermath of the June 1967 War.* <sup>289</sup> The title of his book and the theme of his lecture play off an expression attributed to Israeli Prime Minister Levi Eshkol: "The trouble is that the dowry is followed by a bride whom we don't want." In the metaphor, the "dowry" is the gained territory; the "bride," the Palestinian inhabitants. <sup>290</sup>

The antisemitism evident in the talk was mostly manifested in the steady double standard to which Raz held Israel. All of his examples given of long-term obstacles to peace were laid on Israel's shoulders, with no responsibility charged to the Arab side: the annexation of Jerusalem, the settlements, the denial of Palestinian refugee return, a "dishonest foreign policy." He glossed over the Arab run-up to the Six Day War, which, according to Raz, erupted with "an Israeli onslaught on Egypt." In order to give the impression that the Arab side was amenable to peace, whereas Israel was not, Raz was silent on the terms Israel initially offered. A hint that terms were offered came only when Raz justified Syria and Egypt's post-war behavior: "...Syria rejected any kind of accommodation with Israel, and Egypt, under President Gamal Abdel Nasser, was still not ready, seriously, to negotiate an accord with the Jewish State...." There was also an instance of comparing Israeli behavior to that of Nazis: "Twenty-two years after the Holocaust, Dayan was speaking of the need for 'living space,' a notion shockingly reminiscent of Adolph Hitler's infamous Lebernsraum."

In terms of bias, Israel's ruling elite were uniformly characterized as devious and greedy. In the mouth of Raz, terms describing Israel carried a pejorative sense: "drunk with victory," this megalomaniac moment," Israel's territorial appetite." To drive home the point that Israel was after the dowry, without the bride, Raz repeatedly struck the keynote of Israel's "foreign policy of deception." Charade," "evasive," "duplicity"—all of these were applied to Israel in the lecture. What is single instance of redeeming behavior was credited to the Jewish State. CNES presented this event.

Antisemitic Activity: Comparing Israelis to Nazis, Double Standard Anti-Israel Bias: Yes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>287</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/institute/event/9710

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>288</sup> http://www.orinst.ox.ac.uk/staff/iw/araz.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>289</sup> Avi Raz, The Bride and the Dowry: Israel, Jordan, and the Palestinians in the Aftermath of the June 1967 War (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>290</sup> http://128.97.165.17/cnes/news/article.asp?parentid=128810, 4:05.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>291</sup> Ibid., time: 0:31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>292</sup> Ibid., time: 1:52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>293</sup> Ibid., time: 19:23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>294</sup> Ibid., time: 15:37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>295</sup> Ibid, 3:35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>296</sup> Ibid, 3:45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>297</sup> Ibid, 36:36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>298</sup> Ibid, 0:54, 6:33, 33:36, 39:27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>299</sup> Ibid, 17:06, 32:21, 38:07.

**25)** <u>January 24, 2013</u> – "Palestine and the UN," a panel featuring UCLA professors Asli Bâli, Steven Spiegel, and Kal Raustiala<sup>300</sup>

The panel addressed the November 29, 2012 UN vote that granted non-member state observer status to Palestine. Professor Raustiala, who holds a joint appointment in the UCLA Law School and International Institute, provided background information about the vote in his introductory remarks, and he also moderated the panel discussion. Bâli, a professor in the UCLA Law School, discussed the implications of a Palestinian statehood bid, suggesting that the Palestinian Authority is using "lawfare" to advance their agenda. Professor Spiegel, of the Political Science Department, spoke about the Israeli perspective on the UN vote, arguing that Israelis support a two-state solution, which their current right-wing government does not reflect, contributing to the failure of the peace process to progress.

CNES, the Younes and Soraya Nazarian Center for Israeli Studies, and the Center for Middle East Development at UCLA presented this event.

**Antisemitic Activity**: None

Anti-Israel Bias: None

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> http://128.97.165.17/cnes/events/showevent.asp?eventid=9789

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> https://itunes.apple.com/us/itunes-u/ucla-burkle-center-for-international/id434136991?mt=10 [See Palestine & the U.N.], 46:45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ibid, 46:09.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ibid, 1:01:39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ibid, 56:20.

**26)** <u>January 24, 2013</u> – "Israel/Palestine in Eyal Sivan's Cinematography *Route 181 Part 1*", a film screening<sup>301</sup>

This event consisted of a screening of the first half of *Route 181*, a film released in 2004 which documents a series of interviews done by Jewish Israeli filmmaker Eyal Sivan and his Palestinian partner, Michel Khleifi. In this film, Sivan and Khleifi traveled along what they called "Route 181," (traveling from the city of Ashdod to the border of Gaza, from Lod to Jerusalem, and from Rosh Ha' ayn to the border of Lebanon), a route which travels roughly the original 1947 partition line, interviewing both Arab-Israelis and Jewish Israelis along the way.<sup>302</sup>

In the first half of the film, Sivan and certain interviewees demonized Israel and denied Jews the right of self-determination. For instance, Sivan demonized Israel when he asked an Arab Israeli if "the Jewish or Israeli people are inhuman, or just their laws are inhuman." His Arab Israeli interviewee denied Jews the right to self-determination when he responded that "the state should be disbanded." In addition, Israel is delegitimized in the film when it is compared to an apartheid state, as when an Israeli interviewee (religion unclear) stated: "South Africa is the settler's model. A white minority dominates a black majority. Here it's the Arabs who have no rights. They'll be well treated as long as they don't rise up. They'll have water and we won't beat them. But no civil rights...." Sivan also condoned terrorist activity through his statement to an Israeli soldier at a check point. When the soldier said that he was "protecting his country from terrorists," Sivan told him, "The attacks are due to the occupation."

Besides its antisemitic content, this film showed unabashed bias through Sivan's choice of words and his repeatedly leading questions. For instance, Sivan asked, "So what is it like living next to the world's biggest ghetto?" On another occasion, when Sivan found out that the young man whom he was interviewing intended to join the army, he asked the young man if he was joining the army "so you can beat Arabs?" Additionally, the interviewer accepted all manner of criticism of Israel from the interviewees but actively challenged interviewees' statements that painted Israel in anything but a negative light. For instance, when the Jewish tour guide whom Sivan was interviewing stated, "We don't want to expel the Arabs," Eyal Sivan retorted, "But we already did in '48... In '48, we chased them out and razed their villages." However, when an Arab Israeli man made the statement, "What's been happening for the past two years is the collective rape of an entire population. There is no way this is self-defense as Israel claims," Sivan accepted his statement without comment. Sivan also displayed a bias against the State of Israel when he repeatedly went out of his way to antagonize Israeli soldiers, such as when he

http://web.international.ucla.edu/institute/event/9586

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>302</sup> Route 181. Dir. Eyal Sivan, Michel Khleifi. Sinibad Films, 2004. DVD (4 disks).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>303</sup> D1, 19:54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>304</sup> D1, 19:54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>305</sup> D1, 1:14:34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>306</sup> D2, 57:11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>307</sup> D1, 1:12:15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>308</sup> D2, 32:36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>309</sup> D1, 1:03:45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>310</sup> D2, 1:17:58.

refused to stop filming a soldier at a check point, while at the same time not showing his ID because the soldier hadn't said 'please'. 311

This event was present by the CNES.

**Antisemitic Activity**: Demonization, Delegitimization, Denying Jews the Right to Self-Determination, Condoning Terrorism

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>311</sup> D2, 54:19

27) January 31, 2013 – "Israel/Palestine in Eyal Sivan's Cinematography Route 181, Part 2", a film screening followed by a discussion with filmmaker Eyal Sivan and Professor Gabriel Piterberg<sup>312</sup>

The first part of this event consisted of a screening of the second half of *Route 181*, a film released in 2004 which documents a series of interviews run by Jewish Israeli filmmaker Eyal Sivan and his Palestinian partner, Michel Khleifi. In this film, Sivan and Khleifi traveled along "Route 181," the original 1947 partition line as prescribed by the UN (from the city of Ashdod to the border of Gaza, from Lod to Jerusalem, and from Rosh Ha' ayn to the border of Lebanon), and they interviewed both Arab-Israelis and Jewish Israelis along the way. 313

In the second half of the film, Sivan and certain interviewees demonized Israel and denied Jews the right to self-determination. For instance, while interviewing a group of Arab Israelis working at an excavation site, Sivan asked "Who owns it (Israel)?" The answers he received ranged from, "It used to be ours, now its theirs" to "No tyrant can last long on this land (referring to Israel)."3

Besides its antisemitic content, this film shows bias against Israel through the images Sivan chose to record. For instance, unlike in the previous two disks, a large part of the second half was taken up with panoramic shots of the Israeli countryside taken during drives. However, these scenes tended to be of military installations and barbed wire fences, instead of views that might paint Israel in a less negative light.

This event was presented by CNES.

Antisemitic Activity: Denying Jews the Right to Self-Determination, Demonization

**Anti-Israel Bias**: Yes

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http://web.international.ucla.edu/institute/event/9796

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>313</sup> Route 181. Dir. Eyal Sivan, Michel Khleifi. Sinibad Films, 2004. DVD (4 disks).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>314</sup> D3, 7:36

**28)** February 26, 2013 – "Pinkwashing: Gay Rights and Queer Indigeneities," a lecture by Nada Elia 315

Nada Elia is a professor in the Gender and Global Studies Department at Antioch University. In her lecture, Elia spoke about "Pinkwashing," a termed coined by Israel's detractors, who claim that it is an official Israeli government policy to target the gay market in an effort to rebrand Israel's image as a gay-friendly country, and to whitewash Israel's mistreatment of Palestinians.

In her talk, Elia demonized Zionism by claiming that it viewed Palestinians "as subhuman, undesirable, a proclamation that should not exist."316 She also accused Israel of "denying the absolute basic inalienable human rights of Palestinians," as well as of "institutionalized violence and oppression for all Palestinians regardless of their sexuality."317 Elia continued to demonize Israel by asserting that the creation of the state was made possible "through the ethnic cleansing of the Palestinians from their villages."318 Elia correspondingly delegitimized Israel on several occasions by calling Zionism a colonialist movement. For example, she claimed that "the idea of the creation of a Jewish Nation actually goes back to the late 1800's, and it was at the height of imperial expansion... early Zionism was very comfortable with the fact that it was a colonialist movement."319 She further asserted that Israel's "colonialism and colonization is not a civilizing mission, it's a violent mission of ethnic cleansing, that is possession and disfranchisement." Finally, although Elia did not herself promote the boycott of Israel during her talk, she was nevertheless introduced at the event as serving "on the organizing committee of the US Campaign for the Academic and Cultural boycott of Israel...She was instrumental in getting the 300 plus member groups of the US Campaign to end Israel Occupation to endorse the Israel Academic and Cultural boycott."320

Elia's lecture was extremely biased. She constantly accused Israel of unjust crimes against the Palestinian people, exploiting the gay community and using "Pinkwashing" to whitewash Israel's "apartheid" and "colonial" activities. For instance, Elia said: "Pinkwashing then becomes... a method through which the terms of the Israeli occupation of Palestine are reiterated - Israel is civilized, Palestinians are barbaric, homophobic, uncivilized, suicide bombing fanatics,"<sup>321</sup> and she claimed that "Pinkwashing" is "strictly cosmetic" and that it is "one way to distract from [Israel's] crimes."<sup>322</sup> Elia asserted that "Pinkwashing" was harming the gay and gay friendly communities by "actually reproducing the Orientalist tropes of those barbaric people that we need to civilize with all of the sexual connotations of sexual backwardness and homophobia and everything. But what it also is – I think of it as…the 21st century manifestation of colonialist gender analysis."<sup>323</sup>

<sup>315</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/institute/event/9901

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FEZ57ygNL6Y, 5:42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>317</sup> Ibid, 33:29.

<sup>318</sup> Ibid, 11:16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>319</sup> Ibid, 6:45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>320</sup> Ibid, 2:42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>321</sup> Ibid, 30:00.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>322</sup> Ibid, 58:15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>323</sup> Ibid, 31:32.

This event was sponsored by the Department of Gender Studies, with support from the Gender Studies Graduate Council, the Center for Near East Studies Graduate Council and the Department of Sociology Gender Working Group.

Antisemitic Activity: Demonization, Delegitimization, Promoting BDS

#### Appendix H

# Examples of the Forms of Antisemitic Content in Activities of Speakers at CNES Israel-Related Events 2010 - 2013

#### 1. Demonized Israel:

- Signed a petition that accused Israel of "war crimes" and a "culture of impunity" that "encourages the callous disregard for human life."
- Wrote that Israel was guilty of "disproportionate and bloody use of force"; "one of the most massive, ethnocidal atrocities of modern times."

# 2. Compared Jews to Nazis:

- Wrote that "some legislation passing through the Knesset" was "reminiscent of certain Nuremberg laws."
- Wrote about what he identified as the "gigantic concentration camp the Israelis have built in Gaza."

## 3. Delegitimized Israel:

- On an NBC broadcast, stated that "Israel is an apartheid [state] which is suffocating us."
- Wrote, "Just as the British were a settler-colonial state in India, and just as South Africa was an apartheid regime, Israel is a combination of these two racist state systems, and Israelis are 'a foreign people' to the land."

## 4. Denied Jews the right to self-determination:

- Wrote that "Israel must be de-Zionized."
- Wrote, "It is obvious that what I'm talking about here is incompatible with the desire of Israeli Jews to maintain Israel as a Jewish majority state. But that desire... is neither morally nor legally justified, nor should it be."

# 5. Condoned terrorism against Israeli civilians:

- Wrote that those who "vent their rage in those mindless and bankrupt gestures of which suicide bombing is the ultimate expression" are products of "only the most impossibly desperate circumstances."
- Wrote, "I started to see how an oppressed and desperate people might resort to suicide bombing."

#### 6. Promoted boycott, divestment, or sanctions against Israel:

• Was a founder or signatory to a petition, letter or campaign calling for anti-Israel boycott, divestment or sanction measures.

## Appendix I

# Analysis of the Antisemitic Activity of the 31 Speakers at CNES or CNES-sponsored Israel-Related Events 2010 - 2013

#### Dr. Abdelfattah Abusrour

Abusrour is a Palestinian who was born and raised in Aida refugee camp. He founded the Al-Rowwad Cultural and Theatre Training Center for Palestinian children in the Aida Refugee Camp in 1988 and is its Director. <sup>324</sup> Al-Rowwad is an organizational endorser of the Palestinian Call for Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS). <sup>325</sup>

Abusrour is an activist and public speaker who publicly delegitimizes and demonizes Israel. For instance, in June 2012 he delegitimized Israel on NBC News, stating that Israel's government has "an apartheid system that is suffocating us [Palestinians]." Abusrour has demonized Israel by signing a statement claiming that "Israel has turned Palestine into a giant prison," and that "settler paramilitaries and [the Israeli] army commit brutal crimes against a virtually defenseless Palestinian civilian population." In 2006, Abusrour signed a petition calling for a cultural boycott of Israel, including the boycott of "Israeli film festivals, Israeli public venues, and Israeli institutions supported by the government, and to end all cooperation with these cultural and artistic institutions that to date have refused to take a stand against the Occupation, the root cause for this colonial conflict." <sup>328</sup>

Antisemitic Activity: Demonization, Delegitimization, Promoting BDS

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<sup>324</sup> http://www.synergos.org/bios/abdelfattahabusrour.htm

http://www.pacbi.org/etemplate.php?id=66

http://worldnews.nbcnews.com/\_news/2012/06/28/12444325-palestinian-us-supports-an-apartheid-system-that-is-suffocating-us?lite

http://mywaytofight.wordpress.com/2011/10/27/53-what-can-you-do-welcome-to-palestine/

<sup>328</sup> http://www.pacbi.org/etemplate.php?id=333

#### Gilbert Achcar

Achcar is a Professor of Development Studies and International Relations and Center Chair at the Center for Palestine Studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London.<sup>329</sup>

Achcar has demonstrated antisemitism in the following categories: He has compared Israelis to Nazis, calling Gaza "a huge concentration camp." He has also demonized Israel, as exemplified by his accusations of there being "more and more violence, barbarity and cruelty on the part of Israel," of Israel's "violation of international law and perpetration of war crimes and crimes against humanity,"331 and with his claim that it is "literally true" that Israel "strives to destroy Muslim and Christian holy places, tries to impoverish the Palestinians and destroy their agriculture and economy, maltreats its own Palestinian citizens, etc."332 Achear has delegitimized Israel, calling Zionism a "form of settler-colonialism intended to evict the preexisting population"333 and comparing it to "the Saudi kingdom, which was established by armed conquest less than one century ago."334 He has also delegitimized Israel by asserting that "[n]o people on earth would admit that recently arrived immigrants have a right to establish their own state in their country," and "there is no fair standard on earth by which this kind of resolution [to create a Jewish state] could be considered as legitimate and just; it was completely unjust and completely unfair."<sup>335</sup> Additionally, Achcar has displayed antisemitism in defending terrorism against Jews. Defending Hezbollah, he has claimed that "as with any resistance force that wages a resistance fight through guerilla type of struggle, they are labeled as terrorists by the occupying power, by Israel," but yet that "there's no standard by which Hezbollah could be considered a terrorist organization."336 Defending Hamas, Achcar has claimed that "Hamas' suicide attacks ... are trifling if compared to the violence of the Israeli oppression,"337 and that "[i]n some parts of the world one can't stand neutral, the priority is to fight occupation and war."338 Finally, Achcar has displayed antisemitism in the form of signing petitions promoting BDS. 339

Antisemitic Activity: Comparing Israelis to Nazis, Demonization, Delegitimization, Condoning Terrorism, Promoting BDS

<sup>329</sup> http://www.soas.ac.uk/staff/staff30529.php

<sup>330</sup> http://www.zcommunications.org/the-u-s-is-sowing-the-seeds-of-a-long-term-tragedy-by-gilbert-achcar.html

<sup>331</sup> http://dissidentvoice.org/2010/08/arab-ties-with-israel-damage-the-palestinian-cause-prof-gilbert-achcar/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>332</sup> Achcar, Gilbert. The Arabs and the Holocaust: The Arab-Israeli War of Narratives. New York: Metropolitan, 2010, p. 248.

<sup>333</sup> http://monthlyreview.org/2004/02/01/u-s-imperial-strategy-in-the-middle-east

http://dissidentvoice.org/2010/08/arab\_ties-with-israel-damage-the-palestinian-cause-prof-gilbert-achcar/

<sup>336</sup> http://www.solidarity-us.org/node/194

<sup>337</sup> http://internationalviewpoint.org/spip.php?article622

<sup>338</sup> http://www.tlaxcala.es/pp.asp?reference=863&lg=en

<sup>339</sup> http://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/jan/16/gaza-israel-petitions; http://boycottzionism.wordpress.com/2010/03/10/a-joint-letter-to-the-international-society-of-iranian-studies-onariel-university-of-samaria-israel/

#### **Udi Aloni**

Aloni is a filmmaker, artist and journalist who focuses on themes regarding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. As an Israeli, a Jew, and an American, he is involved in projects across geographies, working as a coach in the Freedom Theater in Jenin and working on the advisory board of the anti-Zionist organization Jewish Voice for Peace. The Freedom Theater in Jenin advocates BDS, considers Israel guilty of "ethnic cleansing," considers there to be "statesanctioned apartheid"340 in Israel, and it was co-founded by Zakaria Zubeidi, a former commander of the terrorist group, the Al Aqsa Martyr's Brigade. 341 The Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP) engages in antisemitic activities such as promoting BDS, <sup>342</sup> demonizing Israel, claiming Israel exploits the Holocaust, <sup>343</sup> and comparing Israel to Nazis in various JVP-sponsored rallies<sup>344</sup>. Some of Aloni's most prominent artistic works are the films *Forgiveness*, <sup>345</sup> which tells the psychological story of a Jewish man who must come to terms with his murder of a Palestinian woman, and *Local Angel*, <sup>346</sup> an artistic documentary that combines "interviews with Arafat, [Aloni's] mother and other leading Israeli and Palestinian intellectuals on the subject of the religious and political dimensions of the conflict" with general commentary, <sup>347</sup> and his book What Does a Jew Want: On Binationalism and Other Specters, 348 which is a compilation of pieces exploring the conflict and how it can resolve towards a binational state solution.<sup>349</sup>

Aloni has demonstrated various expressions of antisemitism throughout his works. He denied Jews the right to self-determination in calling for the destruction of "the entire ideological structure of the racist ideology that mobilizes Israel,"350 and believing that "binationalism [i]s the only living alternative" to the current situation in Israel. 351 Aloni offered a description of Jews that is reminiscent of historical antisemitism when he referred to the "the gloating looks on the faces of the Jewish neighbors" at the destruction of Palestinian homes. 352 Aloni compared Jews to Nazis when he wrote that Israel "took [Palestinian's] land and imprisoned them in the ghetto

<sup>340</sup> http://www.thefreedomtheatre.org/what-we-do/theatre/freedom-bus/

<sup>341</sup> http://www.thefreedomtheatre.org/news/a-message-from-zakaria-zubeidi/, http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/palestinian-authority-arrests-former-militant-zakaria-zubeidi-1.428403

<sup>342</sup> http://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/blog/statement-in-response-to-ngo-monitor-report

<sup>343</sup> http://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/content/nakba-and-israels-60th-anniversary

<sup>344</sup> http://blog.adl.org/international/demonstrators-at-anti-israel-rallies-gaza-is-the-real-holocaust-long-live-theintifada, http://notimetocelebrate.wordpress.com/tag/jewish-voice-for-peace/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>345</sup> Forgiveness. Dir. Udi Aloni. By Udi Aloni and Paul Hond. Prod. David Silber, Lemore Syvan, and Udi Aloni. International Film Circuit, 2006.

<sup>346</sup> Local Angel. Dir. Udi Aloni. By Udi Aloni. Prod. Udi Aloni and Shimon Azulai. FP Film Projects and Local Angel LLC, 2002.

http://www.sfjff.org/film/detail?id=2007

<sup>348</sup> Aloni, Udi, Slavoj Žižek, Alain Badjou, and Judith Butler. What Does a Jew Want?: On Binationalism and Other Specters. New York: Columbia UP, 2011.

http://cup.columbia.edu/book/978-0-231-15758-2/what-does-a-jew-want

<sup>350</sup> http://mondoweiss.net/2012/01/support-a-palestinian-family-fighting-to-stay-together-under-israels-citizenshiplaw.html

<sup>351</sup> Aloni, Udi, Slavoj Žižek, Alain Badiou, and Judith Butler. What Does a Jew Want?: On Binationalism and Other Specters. New York: Columbia UP, 2011, p. 14.

<sup>352</sup> mondoweiss.net/2010/12/brooklyn-jenin-why-didn't-the-judges-prevent-the-demolition-in-lod.html

called Gaza,"353 and when he referred to the "Israeli Nuremberg Laws" of a few rabbis and accused Israeli judges of similar "racism." 354 Aloni demonized Israel, by signing a petition accusing Israel of "war crimes," "brutal ongoing repression of the Palestinian population," and "attack[ing]" a flotilla to Gaza bearing "emergency medical supplies," 355 and accusing the IDF of "ethnic cleansing," of "violent, illegal measures ... to crush the popular, non-violent Palestinian struggle, including the use of live ammunition against unarmed civilians and mass detention of Palestinian activists, who are held without trial,"357 and of being a "regime of pillage"358 and a "racist monster."359 Aloni has delegitimized Israel, claiming Israel has an "apartheid policy," 360 and specifically, that there is both "administrative apartheid that's quite distinct from the legal apartheid reserved for Palestinians in the territories."<sup>361</sup> Aloni advocates BDS, speaking<sup>362</sup> and writing<sup>363</sup> about his support for the movement, and signing petitions promoting BDS. 364 Finally, Aloni defends terrorism against Israel, claiming that "violent resistance to the military forces enforcing this oppression is ... always justified in principle,"365 and that "if [the people in] in Palestine choose Hamas, you have to respect their choice" since they "chose to fund and support Hamas." 366

Antisemitic Activity: Historical Antisemitism, Demonization, Comparing Jews to Nazis, Delegitimization, Denying Jews the Right to Self-determination, Condoning Terrorism, Supporting BDS

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<sup>353</sup> http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3653183,00.html

mondoweiss.net/2010/12/brooklyn-jenin-why-didn't-the-judges-prevent-the-demolition-in-lod.html

<sup>355</sup> http://www.pacbi.org/etemplate.php?id=917

<sup>356</sup> Aloni, Udi, Slavoj Žižek, Alain Badiou, and Judith Butler. What Does a Jew Want?: On Binationalism and Other Specters. New York: Columbia UP, 2011,p. <u>163</u>
357 <a href="http://www.counterpunch.org/2010/03/02/what-israel-fears/">http://www.counterpunch.org/2010/03/02/what-israel-fears/</a>

http://mondoweiss.net/2011/02/brookyn-jenin-the-binational-popular-front-for-the-liberation-of-the-middleeast.html

<sup>359</sup> http://mondoweiss.net/2011/11/oh-weakness-or-shylock-with-a-split-s-an-excerpt-from-udi-alonis-what-does-ajew-want.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>360</sup> Aloni, Udi, Slavoj Žižek, Alain Badiou, and Judith Butler. What Does a Jew Want?: On Binationalism and Other Specters. New York: Columbia UP, 2011, p. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>361</sup>http://www.salon.com/2011/11/09/goldstones offensive apartheid apology/singleton

http://electronicintifada.net/content/art-theory-and-action-udi-aloni-interviewed/8834,

http://nycal.mayfirst.org/node/4024, http://shirazsocialist.wordpress.com/2011/06/28/zizek-antisemitism-alive-andkicking-in-europe/

<sup>363</sup> http://www.vnetnews.com/articles/0.7340,L-3829694,00.html, http://mondoweiss.net/2011/11/oh-weakness-orshylock-with-a-split-s-an-excerpt-from-udi-alonis-what-does-a-jew-want.html,

http://www.scribd.com/doc/104075166/A-Conversation-Between-Judith-Butler-and-Udi-Aloni,

http://www.haaretz.com/news/israelis-are-behaving-like-spoiled-rich-brats-1.265118,

http://www.counterpunch.org/2010/03/02/what-israel-fears/

<sup>364</sup> http://www.scribd.com/doc/80311231/PennBDS-Open-Letter,

http://mrzine.monthlyreview.org/2010/left100410.html, http://www.pacbi.org/etemplate.php?id=917.

https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/news/middle-east/4740-52-leading-international-figures-call-for-a-militaryembargo-on-israel

<sup>365</sup> http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340.L-3829694.00.html

<sup>366</sup> Ibid.

#### Maen Rashid Areikat

Maen Rashid Areikat is the Chief Representative of the PLO to the United States, and has been involved in many Israel-Palestinian negotiations. 367 Since 1964, the PLO has acted as the political representative group for the Palestinians and has been involved in both attacks upon Israel<sup>368</sup> and negotiations with Israel<sup>369</sup>. The PLO's charter calls for the destruction of Israel,<sup>370</sup> delegitimizes Israel by considering its "establishment ... entirely illegal" 371 and "illegitimate," 372 denies Jews the right to self-determination, 373 demonizes Israel, 374 and considers Palestinian "armed struggle [a]s the only way to liberate Palestine" and as its goal. <sup>375</sup> The PLO was part of the initial Palestinian boycott of Israel in 2005.<sup>376</sup>

As the PLO's chief representative, Areikat has written in various American publications and spoken at American universities, arguing for the creation of a Palestinian state in the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem<sup>377</sup> that would be devoid of Jews.<sup>378</sup> Areikat refuses to accept Israel as a Jewish state because of the "18 and 20 percent non-Jews who are living in Israel," and because the state does not fulfill its own "claim to represent every Jew in the world." Through such a statement, he demonstrates denial of Jewish self-determination. Areikat demonizes Israel with statements such as: "We know exactly what it means to be under a brutal Israeli military occupation for the last 45 years. We also know what it means to be denied our freedom, human rights and dignity,"<sup>380</sup> and "Israel turned the Gaza Strip into a big jail."<sup>381</sup> Areikat also delegitimizes Israel by considering it an apartheid state, saying, "People don't like the word 'apartheid,' but if you're having Jewish enclaves in the West Bank protected by the Israeli military, different treatment given to settlers and Palestinians discriminated against, what else can you call that?"382

Antisemitic Activity: Denying Jews their Right to Self-determination, Demonization, Delegitimization

<sup>372</sup> Ibid, Article 23

<sup>367</sup> http://www.diplomaticourier.com/news/topics/diplomacy/1356-diplomatic-profiles-a-conversation-with-maenrashid-areikat

<sup>368</sup> http://www.socialistworld.net/eng/2004/11/11arafat.html,

http://www.merip.org/palestine-israel\_primer/plo-un242-pal-isr-primer.html

<sup>370</sup> http://www.iris.org.il/plochart.htm, Article 15

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>371</sup> Ibid, Article 19

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>373</sup> Ibid, Article 20

<sup>374</sup> Ibid, Article 22

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>375</sup> Ibid. Article 9

<sup>376</sup> http://www.bdsmovement.net/call

http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0511/55506.html

http://www.tabletmag.com/jewish-news-and-politics/48834/ga-maen-areikat/

<sup>379</sup> http://www.tabletmag.com/jewish-news-and-politics/48834/qa-maen-areikat

http://plodelegation.us/2012/12/letter-to-congress-on-seeking-punitive-measures/

http://situationroom.blogs.cnn.com/2012/11/16/palestinians-rally-behind-hamas/?hpt=sr\_mid

http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/opinion/forum/2010-10-14-column14\_ST\_N.htm?loc=interstitialskip

#### Asli Bâli

Bâli is an assistant professor of law at the UCLA School of Law. She attended Yale Law School, where she was the coordinator of the Middle East Legal Forum, and she received her Ph.D. from Princeton University's Department of Politics. Her current research focuses on public international law as well as human rights and humanitarian law. She also has a strong interest in the comparative law of the Middle East. Bâli has written a number of articles for the Middle East Research and Information Project, and she also participated in a roundtable discussion for Jadaliyya about the "relevance of occupation law to the Palestine-Israel conflict." about the Palestine-Israel conflict.

Antisemitic Activity: None

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<sup>383</sup> http://www.law.ucla.edu/faculty/faculty-profiles/asli-u-bali/

http://www.merip.org/author/asl%C4%B1-b%C3%A2li

An independent ezine produced by the Arab Studies Institute: <a href="http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/about">http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/about</a>

<sup>386</sup> http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/2700/roundtable-on-occupation-law part-of-the-conflict-

# George Emile Bisharat

Bisharat is a professor at Hastings College of the Law in San Francisco. 387 66 out of the 86 publications on his university website, 388 including his book, *Palestinian Lawyers and Israeli Rule: Law and Disorder in the West Bank*", 389 are directly related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Bisharat currently sits on the editorial board of the *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 390 an "English language journal devoted exclusively to Palestinian affairs and the Arab-Israeli conflict. 391" He also worked with the Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC), the legislative branch of the Palestinian National Authority, to develop and reform its judiciary system. 392

In his publications, talks and endorsements, Bisharat has denied Jews the right to selfdetermination, demonized and delegitimized Israel, condoned terrorism against Jews and supported the BDS movement. Bisharat advocates for a single, secular, Arab-majority, one-state solution<sup>393</sup>, thereby denying Jews the right to self-determination. In a talk he gave in 2008 titled "Ending the Palestinian Nakba," Bisharat stated, "It is obvious that what I'm talking about here is incompatible with the desire of Israeli Jews to maintain Israel as a Jewish majority state. But that desire...is neither morally nor legally justified, nor should it be."394 Bisharat has also called for the Palestinian right of return, and threatened that peace will not come until this is resolved. "No real or lasting peace will be achieved in the area until Israel finally admits the long-denied truth, accepts moral responsibility and apologizes for its forcible exile of Palestinian refugees 55 years ago."<sup>395</sup> He has delegitimized Israel, writing that the idea of a Jewish state is comparable to the "Jim Crow laws and South African apartheid." <sup>396</sup> Bisharat has demonized Israel by accusing it of ethnic cleansing, writing: "Palestinian refugees are the 700,000 to 800,000 people who were essentially ethnically cleansed... I use the word 'ethnic cleansing' very deliberately because these people were forced at actual gun point or they fled in fear as a consequence of the deliberate campaign of terror... because they were Palestinians, Muslims and Christians, and not Jews."<sup>397</sup> In addition, Bisharat has condoned terrorism against Jews by legitimizing Palestinian resistance and comparing it to a woman resisting a rapist: "When a person resists armed robbery and fights back, however feebly, we do not call that a conflict. When a woman resists a rapist and fights back, we do not call that a conflict. And when a people is resisting colonial dispossession against a much more powerful colonial force, that is not a conflict."<sup>398</sup> Finally,

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<sup>387</sup> http://www.uchastings.edu/academics/faculty/facultybios/bisharat/index.php

<sup>388</sup> http://librarysource.uchastings.edu/library/bibliographies/faculty/George-Bisharat/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>389</sup> George Emile Bisharat, *Palestinian lawyers and Israeli rule : law and disorder in the West Bank* (University of Texas Press: 1989).

<sup>390</sup> http://www.palestine-studies.org/journals.aspx?href=committee&jid=1

<sup>391</sup> http://www.palestine-studies.org/journals.aspx?href=about&jid=1

<sup>392</sup> http://imeu.org/article/george-bisharat

http://www.counterpunch.org/2007/11/29/the-one-state-declaration/, http://youtu.be/vchW5oSzU6Y?t=32m46s, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/george-bisharat/israel-palestine-one-state-solution\_b\_1416120.html, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/09/02/AR2010090204665.html

<sup>394</sup> http://youtu.be/vchW5oSzU6Y?t=34m13s

<sup>395</sup> http://electronicintifada.net/content/origins-middle-east-crisis-who-caused-palestinian-diaspora/4898

<sup>396</sup> http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/09/02/AR2010090204665.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>397</sup> Bisharat, George, Boycotting Israeli apartheid: practical and ethical questions, <a href="http://ro.uow.edu.au/unity/vol10/iss1/3">http://ro.uow.edu.au/unity/vol10/iss1/3</a> - Page 26

<sup>398</sup> http://youtu.be/vchW5oSzU6Y?t=7m17s

Bisharat has written in support of <sup>399</sup> and signed at least four petitions endorsing BDS, calling for the academic and economic boycott of Israel, <sup>400</sup> and for canceling study abroad programs on the grounds of "racism." 401

Antisemitic Activity: Demonization, Delegitimization, Denying Jews their Right to Selfdetermination, Condoning Terrorism, Supporting BDS

<sup>399</sup> http://www.sfgate.com/opinion/article/Boycott-movement-targets-Israel-2547492.php

<sup>400</sup> http://www.progressive.org/mag/wx012709.html, http://www.caldivestfromapartheid.com/2010/04/24/statementfrom-california-faculty-members-in-support-of-sb118/ http://www.uruknet.de/?p=m53128

### **Arnon Degani**

Degani is a PhD student of history at UCLA, with research interests in Palestine/Israel from 1917-1967. He is a former IDF soldier who now speaks against the army through his affiliation with the organization *Breaking the Silence*, an organization which claims to expose "the corruption which permeates the [Israeli] military system" and has been active in promoting "war crimes" charges against Israel. He is a former IDF soldier who now speaks against the army through his affiliation with the organization are supposed in the system of the corruption which permeates the [Israeli] military system" and has been active in promoting "war crimes" charges against Israel.

Speaking as a member of Breaking the Silence, Degani has demonized Israel, saying that the intention of Israel's military is "to enforce tyranny on people who you know are regular civilians" and to "make it clear who's in control." <sup>405</sup>

Antisemitic Activity: Demonization

<sup>402</sup> http://www.history.ucla.edu/people/graduate-students/graduate-students?lid=5995

http://www.thenation.com/article/israeli-army-vets-speak-out#

<sup>404</sup> http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/breaking the silence shovirm shtika

http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/may/16/former-israeli-soldiers-break-silence

### Nada Elia

Elia is a professor at Antioch University, Seattle, in the gender and global studies department. She is currently at work on a book focusing on global activism for Palestinian human rights. 406 Elia is a past president of the Association for Middle East Women's Studies, 407 and she served on the Advisory and Working Committees of the Critical Ethnic Studies Association, 408 an academic organization which has facilitated BDS workshops and "is currently considering a resolution endorsing and honoring the call of Palestinian civil society to boycott Israeli academic institutions."409 She is also on the Organizing Committee for the US Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (USCACBI).410

Elia's writing, speaking and activism has included denying Jews the right to self-determination, demonizing and delegitimizing Israel, and supporting and promoting the boycott, divestment and sanctions campaign against Israel. In Elia's own works she denies Jews the right to selfdetermination. In a special publication of the Radical Philosophy Review, which focused on The Second Intifada, Nada Elia wrote, "it is high time the Zionist narrative were also denounced for what it is: a cruel, racist distortion of the reality."411 She later clarified this in her article "Gay Rights With A Side of Apartheid", writing that "the official Zionist narrative negates Israel's identity as a colonial state founded on the ethnic cleansing of the indigenous population."<sup>412</sup> In "The Burden of Representation", 413 she demonized and delegitimized Israel: "Palestinian women are without any doubt more oppressed by Israel and Zionism than they are by their fellow Palestinian men... [Israel denies] her right to sufficient food, clean water, and medical treatment in her own homeland." And, "Zionism, the establishment of a settler-colonialist Jewish state in historic Palestine, achieved through the dispossession and displacement of that land's Indigenous people, is indeed a form of nationalism that cannot be dissociated from racism."414

In 2009, Elia presented on behalf of USACBI at the US Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation national organizers conference to endorse the principle of cultural and academic boycotts. Nada Elia declared that USACBI endorses BDS "in all its forms." 415 She has traveled around the country to promote BDS at university campuses, including at the "Israel Apartheid Week" at University of Texas<sup>416</sup> and University of British Columbia. 417 Elia has signed numerous petitions

<sup>406</sup> http://www.antiochseattle.edu/contacts/nada-elia/

http://amews.org.s186805.gridserver.com/about-amews/

<sup>408</sup> https://criticalethnicstudies.org/content/about

<sup>409</sup> https://criticalethnicstudies.org/content/bds

<sup>410</sup> http://www.usacbi.org/about-us/

<sup>411</sup> http://www.pdcnet.org/radphilrev/content/radphilrev 2001 0003 0002 0109 0117

<sup>412</sup> http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/2201473X.2012.10648841

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>413</sup> Nada Elia, "The Burden of Representation: When Palestinians Speak Out", in Rabab Abdulhadi, Evelyn Alsultany, and Nadine Naber, eds, Arab and Arab-American Feminisms: Gender, Violence, and Belonging (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2011), p. 158.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>414</sup> Ibid, p. 143.

<sup>415 &</sup>quot;USACBI's wheels are in motion and there's no stopping us. We are on board the freedom train and we have endorsed the Palestinian call for BDS in all its forms." -http://electronicintifada.net/content/turning-point-ussolidarity-movement/8449

<sup>416</sup> www.facebook.com/events/381851751911037 https://www.facebook.com/events/352550398100624/

endorsing BDS, <sup>418</sup> which also demonize and delegitimize Israel. Some of these petitions include *An Open Letter to LGBTIQ*, which claims that Israel is trying to "distract attention from the devastating human rights abuses it commits on a daily basis against the Palestinian people." This petition also states that Israel's policies "dehumanize and deny the human rights of Palestinians" <sup>419</sup> She is also signatory to the *Amitav Ghosh*, *Don't Accept Dan David Prize* petition, which accuses Israel of being a state that practices "apartheid, occupation, and colonialism" and holds Israel to a double standard, stating that "Israel has exceptionalized itself"

Antisemitic Activity: Demonization, Delegitimization, Denying Jews their Right to Self-determination, Promoting BDS

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<sup>418</sup> She is signatory to: A Joint Letter to the International Society of Iranian Studies on "Ariel University of Samaria, Israel"-calling to cancel the invitation of a faculty member from Ariel University in support of the academic boycott of Israel - <a href="http://www.counterpunch.org/2010/03/10/a-joint-letter-to-the-international-society-of-iranian-studies-on-ariel-university-of-samaria-israel/">http://www.counterpunch.org/2010/03/10/a-joint-letter-to-the-international-society-of-iranian-studies-on-ariel-university-of-samaria-israel/</a>; An open letter to President-Elect Obama, which among other things, advocatates the elimination of the Jewish state; - <a href="http://www.usacbi.org/2009/01/dear-president-elect-obama/">http://www.usacbi.org/2009/01/dear-president-elect-obama/</a>; Queer Solidarity with Palestine: <a href="http://www.queersolidaritywithpalestine.com/">http://www.queersolidaritywithpalestine.com/</a>; Amitav Ghosh, Don't Accept Dan David Prize: <a href="http://boycottisrael.info/content/groups-amitav-ghosh-dont-accept-dan-david-prize">http://boycottisrael.info/content/groups-amitav-ghosh-dont-accept-dan-david-prize</a>.

<sup>419</sup> http://www.queersolidaritywithpalestine.com/

<sup>420</sup> http://boycottisrael.info/content/groups-amitav-ghosh-dont-accept-dan-david-prize

#### Ilana Feldman

Feldman is an associate professor of anthropology and international affairs at George Washington University. Her areas of expertise include "humanitarianism, citizenship, policing and security, the Middle East, and Palestine," and she has conducted "extensive ethnographic and archival research in Gaza and the West Bank."421 She is the author of Governing Gaza: Bureaucracy, Authority and the Work of Rule (1917-67). 422

Feldman signed a letter to President-elect Obama that denies Jews the right to self determination by advocating for "a single state in Israel/Palestine...irrespective of religion;" demonizes Israel by accusing the state of "the disproportionate and bloody use of force," "an insidious policy of extermination," and "one of the most massive, ethnocidal atrocities of modern times;" delegitimizes Israel by claiming that Israel "maintains an apartheid regime," one that is "no less criminal...than South Africa was in the 1980s and has a "racist civil constitution;" and calls on the United States to divest from Israel, and in so doing to "place a similar pressure on Israel" that was placed on apartheid South Africa. 423

Antisemitic Activity: Demonization, Delegitimization, Denying Jews the Right to Selfdetermination, Supporting BDS

<sup>421</sup> http://elliott.gwu.edu/faculty/feldman.cfm

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>422</sup> Feldman, Ilana. Governing Gaza: Bureaucracy, Authority and the Work of Rule (1917-67). Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008.

<sup>423</sup> http://www.usacbi.org/2009/01/dear-president-elect-obama/

## Gil Zehava Hochberg

Hochberg is a Professor of Comparative Literature at UCLA, 424 as well as a faculty member of UCLA's Center for Near Eastern Studies. 425 Hochberg's work lies in the realm of postmodernist theory, "[focusing] on the intersections among psychoanalysis, postcolonial theory, nationalism, and sexuality," sometimes applying postmodernist theory to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (see, for example, her discussion of "Queer Politics and the Question of Palestine", 426 or "In Spite of Partition: Jews, Arabs, and the Limits of Separatist Imagination."<sup>427</sup>)

In certain cases, Hochberg implies antisemitic notions within the density of her postmodernist writing. For example, when Hochberg establishes a dichotomy between "two competing and negating traumatic memories: the memory of anti-Semitism culminating in the Holocaust and the memory of colonial occupation culminating in the Nakbah," the syntactical parallelism that implies a comparison between "Holocaust" and "Nakba" (an Arabic word denoting the "catastrophe" of the displacement of Arab residents of Israel during the Israeli War of Independence) necessitates another implied comparison between the respective perpetrators: Nazis and (allegedly) Israelis. 428 Similarly, Hochberg does not deny that "apartheid," "occupation" and "colonialism" are appropriate terms for delegitimizing Israel, but only adds that the "checkpoint as metaphor" does so most effectively: while "notions of apartheid, occupation, or colonialism are used to account for the oppressive relationship between the State of Israel and the Palestinians," "it appears that the checkpoint [...as a metaphor...] captures this oppressive reality in a way that makes most concrete the particular power structure [namely, Israeli "occupiers" and Palestinian "occupied"] of the relationship." Interviewing Udi Aloni during a CNES event, Hochberg expressed support for Aloni's conception of the inevitability of Israeli-Palestinian "binationalism" -- a term which, without further qualification, signifies an end to the Jewish State and Jewish self-determination in the Land of Israel-- she herself adding that "binationalism is not just some kind of a utopian resolution that somehow needs to be created out of complete antagonistic forces but rather [...] that repressed specter that is in fact [...] already there but that political forces are trying to repress."430 Hochberg has signed open letters that call for divestment from, and sanctions against, Israel. These letters also demonize and delegitimize Israel by accusing it of "war crimes," "brutal ongoing repression of the Palestinian population," "destructive criminal policy," "insatiable [...] violence," and "brutal occupation." 432

Antisemitic Activity: Demonization, Comparing Israelis to Nazis, Delegitimization, Denying Jews the Right to Self-determination, Supporting BDS

<sup>424</sup> http://www.complit.ucla.edu/faculty/125-people/47-gil-z-hochberg

<sup>425</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/cnes/person/453

<sup>426</sup> http://www.csw.ucla.edu/publications/newsletters/academic-year-2008-09/article-pdfs/Apr09 Shakry.pdf

<sup>427</sup> http://press.princeton.edu/chapters/i8515.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>428</sup> Ibid, pg. 20.

<sup>429</sup>http://muse.jhu.edu/login?auth=0&type=summary&url=/journals/journal of lesbian and gay studies/v016/16.4. hochberg.pdfhttp://muse.jhu.edu/login?auth=0&type=summary&url=/journals/journal of lesbian and gay stud ies/v016/16.4.hochberg.pdf

<sup>430</sup> http://128.97.165.17/cnes/podcasts/article.asp?parentid=122999, 50:20

<sup>431</sup> http://www.usacbi.org/2010/04/statement-from-california-faculty-members-in-support-of-sb118/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>432</sup> http://livefromoccupiedpalestine.blogspot.co.il/2009/01/israeli-citizens-call-for-boycott-of.html, letter entitled "A Call from Within"

## **Nubar Hovsepian**

Hovsepian is an Associate Professor of political science and international relations at Chapman University. He is the editor of a series of articles entitled *The War on Lebanon*, <sup>433</sup> the author of *Palestinian State Formation*, <sup>434</sup> and a contributing author to a volume entitled *The Pen and the Sword: Conversations with Edward Said*. <sup>435</sup>

Hovsepian has repeatedly attempted to delegitimize Israel in his work. In *The War On Lebanon*, he invited authors to espouse the view that Israel struggles with its "openly apartheid model" 436 and that Israelis subject the Palestinians to "apartheid-like conditions." <sup>437</sup> In his book *Palestinian* State Formation, he attempts to delegitimize Israel once more by callings its endeavors "colonialism that breeds resistance." Likewise, at a speaking engagement at UCLA on May 4, 2011, Hovsepian referred to the "apartheid wall." He also demonizes Israel, as in *The War on* Lebanon, in which his contributors repeatedly refer to Israel's "ethnic cleansing" of the Palestinians since its inception. 440 He has further personally demonized Israel at speaking engagements on university campuses, as when, at a conference conducted at UC Irvine on January 31, 2009, 441 he referred to Israel's defense forces as "Israeli terrorist soldiers." 442 Hovsepian has pledged his support for the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel and demanded that an Israeli scholar be ejected from an academic conference, 443 endorsed the US Campaign for the Academic Cultural Boycott of Israel, 444 and signed a petition stating that "all Israeli universities are deeply complicit in the occupation, settler-colonialism, and apartheid," accusing Israel of "illegal confiscation...of Palestinian land" for the construction of the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus, and supporting the boycott of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem's Oral History Conference, to take place in June 2014. 445

Antisemitic Activity: Antisemitic Activity: Demonization, Delegitimization, Supporting BDS

<sup>438</sup> Nubar Hovsepian, *Palestinian State Formation: Education and the Construction of National Identity*, (Cambridge Scholars Publishing: January 5, 2008): p. 99

<sup>433</sup> Nubar Hovsepian, The War On Lebanon: A Reader, (Olive Branch Press: 2007).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>434</sup> Nubar Hovsepian, *Palestinian State Formation: Education and the Construction of National Identity*, (Cambridge Scholars Publishing: January 5, 2008).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>435</sup> David Barsamian et al., *The Pen and the Sword: Conversations with Edward Said*, (Haymarket Books: April 1, 2010).

<sup>436</sup> The War On Lebanon: A Reader, p. 291.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>437</sup> Ibid, p. 299.

<sup>439</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/cnes/podcast/121123, 37:39

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>440</sup> The War On Lebanon, pp. 26, 72, 74, 279, 283.

<sup>441</sup> http://www.levantinecenter.org/arts/authors/whither-levant-crisis-nation-state-lebanon-israel-and-palestine

http://radarsite.blogspot.com/2009/02/my-report-on-israel-bashing-conference.html

http://www.usacbi.org/2010/03/a-joint-letter-to-the-international-society-of-iranian-studies-on-ariel-university-of-samaria-israel/

http://www.usacbi.org/endorsers/

<sup>445</sup> http://www.pacbi.org/etemplate.php?id=2235

### Marcy Jane Knopf-Newman

Knopf-Newman has been an English professor at various universities in America and in Arab countries, as well as taught at the high school level and wrote a book entitled *The Politics of Teaching Palestine to Americans: Addressing Pedagogical Strategies*, <sup>446</sup> which offers pro-Palestinian curricula for the high school classroom. She has been involved with and co-founded "various organizations related to Palestinian refugees, their right of return, and the boycott, divestment, and sanctions movement."

Newman has displayed antisemitism in almost all of its categories: She denies the right to Jewish self-determination, repeatedly calling for the dissolution of the Jewish State of Israel in order that the land be returned to all of the Palestinian refugees and natives. Examples of her statements against the Jewish state include: saying; "It will be a beautiful day when entities like ... the Zionist entity no longer exist;"448 asking the Palestinians to "fight to destroy the so-called Jewish state and make sure the land goes back to its rightful owners so that Palestinian refugees may finally return to their homes;"449 claiming that "unless those you are normalizing with have committed themselves to the destruction of the Jewish state, including relinquishing of land that is stolen (i.e., all of historic Palestine), what is the point;"450 and maintaining that "if one believes that Israel must be a Jewish state, then, yes, I think it must cease to exist."<sup>451</sup> She has also signed a petition which, among other things, denies Jews the right to self determination by advocating for "a single state in Israel/Palestine...irrespective of religion." 452 Newman has delegitimized the Jewish State of Israel, as she believes that the Jews were European colonists who invaded the indigenous Palestinian population and considers Israel an apartheid state. For example, she has written that "just as the British were a settler-colonial state in India and just as South Africa was an apartheid regime, Israel is a combination of these two racist state systems of the past,"453 and claimed that the Israelis are "a foreign people" to the land, 454 who for "over the last sixty-one years" have been "confiscating and taking over homes and buildings to pave the way for the wholesale seizure of Palestinian neighborhoods."455 Newman also has used historic antisemitic accusations, such as referencing "the ideologies of Jewish supremacy and racism," that "is not only directed against the indigenous population, but also towards brown folks who are living in Palestine as refugees from Africa,"<sup>456</sup> and referencing the "seemingly insurmountable Zionist hold on American politics." She compares Jews to the Nazis, claiming that Israel has "called for a holocaust," 458 that denial of the "murder of Mohammad al-Durra and

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>446</sup> Knopf-Newman, Marcy Jane. *The Politics of Teaching Palestine to Americans: Addressing Pedagogical Strategies*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. Print.

<sup>447</sup> http://bodyontheline.wordpress.com/about/

<sup>448</sup> http://bodyontheline.wordpress.com/2009/09/12/on-labeling-food/

http://bodyontheline.wordpress.com/2009/08/20/groundhog-day-in-palestine/

<sup>450</sup> Ibid.

<sup>451</sup> http://bodyontheline.wordpress.com/about/

<sup>452</sup> http://www.usacbi.org/2009/01/dear-president-elect-obama/

<sup>453</sup> http://bodyontheline.wordpress.com/2013/09/09/the-hindu-promotes-tourism-to-apartheid-israel/

<sup>454</sup> http://bodyontheline.wordpress.com/2009/05/30/its-not-just-rhetoric/

<sup>455</sup> http://electronicintifada.net/content/ethnic-cleansing-east-jerusalem/8123

<sup>456</sup> http://bodyontheline.wordpress.com/2009/07/16/the-new-infiltrators-and-the-old-racism-in-the-zionist-entity/

<sup>457</sup> http://bodyontheline.wordpress.com/2012/09/13/los-angeles-city-council-transportation-committee-votes-to-stand-with-veolia-and-israeli-apartheid-bds/

<sup>458</sup> http://bodyontheline.wordpress.com/2012/11/19/sounds-of-deepawali-sounds-of-gaza/

the massacre in Jenin refugee camp... sound exactly like Nazi holocaust denial,"<sup>459</sup> and comparing the "ethnic cleansing of Jews in Europe" to the Deir Yassin "massacre during Israel's ethnic cleansing operations of 1948."<sup>460</sup> Newman demonizes Israel, accusing it of an "ethnic cleansing project"<sup>461</sup> that is "ongoing,"<sup>462</sup> of racist policies such as Eilat's "protest[s against] the inclusion of Sudanese children into their schools,"<sup>463</sup> of "savagery" and "war crimes,"<sup>464</sup> of "lov[ing] to lock people and communities up in prisons,"<sup>465</sup> of "be[ing] on a mission to commit cultural genocide,"<sup>466</sup> and calling Israelis "the Zionist terrorist colonists."<sup>467</sup> Newman condones terror, maintaining that "from South Africa to India, armed resistance is precisely what helped people to liberate their land,"<sup>468</sup> and signing a petition for the release of a Palestinian terrorist from prison. <sup>469</sup> And she has expressed complete support for the BDS movement, believing in "boycott across the board[,] no exceptions,"<sup>470</sup> signing various petitions for BDS, <sup>471</sup> working with the BDS National Movement and even co-founding the "US Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel."<sup>472</sup>

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<sup>459</sup> http://bodvontheline.wordpress.com/2012/09/26/california-travels/

<sup>460</sup> http://bodyontheline.wordpress.com/2013/09/09/the-hindu-promotes-tourism-to-apartheid-israel/

<sup>461</sup> http://bodyontheline.wordpress.com/2009/08/30/when-will-the-right-lessons-be-learned/

<sup>462</sup> http://bodyontheline.wordpress.com/2013/09/09/the-hindu-promotes-tourism-to-apartheid-israel/

<sup>463</sup> http://bodyontheline.wordpress.com/2012/09/26/california-travels/

<sup>464</sup> http://bodyontheline.wordpress.com/2009/09/21/on-the-575-page-report-proving-the-zionist-entitys-war-crimes/

http://bodyontheline.wordpress.com/2009/07/12/prisons-within-prison-within-prison-with-prison-with-prison-with-prison-with-prison-with-prison-with-prison-with-prison-with-

<sup>466</sup> http://bodyontheline.wordpress.com/2013/09/09/the-hindu-promotes-tourism-to-apartheid-israel/

<sup>467</sup> http://bodyontheline.wordpress.com/2009/09/on-orange-other-adventures-in-normalization/

<sup>468</sup> http://bodyontheline.wordpress.com/2009/06/04/the-hypocrisy-of-a-benevolent-empire-on-bushamas-cairo-speech/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>470</sup> http://bodyontheline.wordpress.com/2009/07/12/prisons-within-prisons-within-prisons-within-prisons/

http://www.progressive.org/mag/wx012709.html, http://pulsemedia.org/2010/05/09/boycott-israel-amitav-ghosh-the-dan-david-prize/#more-23076, http://boycottzionism.wordpress.com/2010/03/10/a-joint-letter-to-the-international-society-of-iranian-studies-on-ariel-university-of-samaria-israel/, http://www.usacbi.org/endorsers/472 http://www.usacbi.org/about-us/

#### Mark LeVine

LeVine is a history professor at University of California Irvine, as well as a Visiting Professor at the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Lund University and a rock musician who focuses some of his scholarly work on the relationship between Muslims and rock music. LeVine is also a frequent writer for *Al-Jazeera* and other publications, and has written and co-written various books on the topic of the Israel-Palestinian conflict. 473

LeVine often ventures into antisemitic expression, particularly in the categories of the comparison of the Jews to Nazis, promoting BDS, demonizing Israel, and delegitimizing Israel. Comparing Jews to Nazis, LeVine devotes an article to acknowledging that "there are, indeed, disturbing similarities between the two situations" of the Warsaw Ghetto and Gaza. 474 LeVine demonizes Israel by calling Israeli policies to prevent Israel from losing its Jewish characteristic "unquestionable racism," 475 by condemning Israeli "occupation" as being "among the most repressive and brutal in the contemporary world, and perhaps its most destabilizing," 476 among other examples. Regarding delegitimization, LeVine considers Israel "fasci[st]" since "the beginnings of the Zionist project, which was built on a conquest of land and exclusively Jewish identity," 477 and he considers Israel an "apartheid" state. 478 LeVine also lends his support to the BDS movement, signing various petitions endorsing the economic and academic boycott of Israel. 479

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<sup>473</sup> http://www.humanities.uci.edu/history/faculty profile levine.php

<sup>474</sup> http://www.aljazeera.com/focus/crisisingaza/2009/02/20092191518941246.html

<sup>475</sup> http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2012/01/2012114143038377629.html

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/mark-levine/how-long-will-the-us-and-b827245.html

<sup>477</sup> http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2010/10/20101021112057692436.html

<sup>478</sup> http://www.aliazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2012/01/2012114143038377629.html

http://www.caldivestfromapartheid.com/2010/04/24/statement-from-california-faculty-members-in-support-of-sb118/; http://www.uruknet.de/?p=m53128; http://boycottzionism.wordpress.com/2010/03/10/a-joint-letter-to-the-international-society-of-iranian-studies-on-ariel-university-of-samaria-israel/

### **Antony Loewenstein**

Lowenstein is a freelance journalist and photographer. He has published many articles in dozens of newspapers and on-line publications, including several that are known for publishing articles that are critical of Israel, such as *The National, Al Akhbar English, Ha'aretz*, and *Tikkun*. <sup>480</sup> He has also written, co-edited or contributed to several books that are critical of Israel, such as *My Israel Question*, <sup>481</sup> which poses the question, "How could a democratic state maintain a brutal occupation over another people for nearly 40 years?" <sup>482</sup> and *After Zionism*, <sup>483</sup> a collection of essays that discuss "how the one-state solution can be achieved in the Middle East." <sup>484</sup> Loewenstein identifies himself as "an anti-Zionist Australian Jew," <sup>485</sup> and he is the co-founder of an anti-Israel advocacy group called, "Independent Australia Jewish Voices (IAJV)". <sup>486</sup>

Lowenstein has denied Jews the right to self-determination, delegitimized and demonized Israel, and is an advocate for the BDS campaign. In an article entitled "A one-state solution is the only way forward for Israel and Palestine," Loewenstein argued that "Israel must be de-Zionised" and eliminated as a Jewish state in favor of one state for both Israelis and Palestinians. 487

Loewenstein has also delegitimized Israel with accusations of apartheid, saying "Israel practices apartheid against Palestinians,"488 and he has accused Israel of "continued ethnic cleansing."489

Furthermore, Loewenstein promotes the BDS campaign and has written at least two articles justifying and encouraging the boycott of Israel. The first is entitled, "Supporting BDS and Palestinian rights as a Jew," in which he states that "BDS and readdress for Palestinian refugees are key initiatives that must be supported," and that "BDS is an essential tool to harm Israel's economic and moral fiber."490 The second is entitled "Why boycotting Israel matters,"491 and promotes the academic boycott of Israeli universities. He also signed a petition entitled, "Statement by Jewish Activists and Organizations active in BDS against Israel,"492 in support of the BDS campaign.

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<sup>480</sup> http://antonyloewenstein.com/bio/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>481</sup> Loewenstein, Antony. My Israel Question, Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne UP, 2006.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>482</sup> http://electronicintifada.net/content/australian-journalists-new-book-takes-heat-posing-my-israel-question/6438

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>483</sup> Loewenstein, Antony, and Ahmed Moor. *After Zionism: One State for Israel and Palestine*. London: Al Saqi, 2012

<sup>484</sup> http://antonyloewenstein.com/bio/

<sup>485</sup> http://antonyloewenstein.blogspot.com/2006/01/as-anti-zionist.html

<sup>486</sup> http://iajv99.wordpress.com/about/

<sup>487</sup> http://theconversation.com/a-one-state-solution-is-the-only-way-forward-for-israel-and-palestine-8465

<sup>488</sup> http://www.abc.net.au/unleashed/4433598.html

<sup>489</sup> http://theconversation.com/a-one-state-solution-is-the-only-way-forward-for-israel-and-palestine-8465

<sup>490</sup> http://antonyloewenstein.com/2011/12/13/supporting-bds-and-palestinian-rights-as-a-jew/

<sup>491</sup> http://www.abc.net.au/unleashed/4433598.html

<sup>492</sup> http://www.pacbi.org/etemplate.php?id=1511

### Mac Lojowsky

Lojowsky is a journalist and playwright who worked at the Freedom Theater with Juliano Mer-Khamis, the filmmaker of Arna's Children, in 2006, where he taught classes in journalism and playwriting to children from the Jenin refugee camp. Based in California, much of his activism revolves around leftist and environmental causes. 493

In excerpts from email dispatches that Lojowsky sent out during his time working at the Freedom Theater, which were published in the *Ojai Post* in 2007, <sup>494</sup> Lojowsky demonized Israel, claiming that the Israelis "intentionally provoke the Palestinians in order to engage them in vastly unbalanced warfare (aka; slaughter) which then becomes an excuse to expand settlements, take more Palestinian land and continue to withhold Palestinian tax revenues." Furthermore, Lojowsky repeats the canard of the "Jenin Massacre," falsely claiming that in April 2002 "the Israeli Defense Force (IDF) bombed (from F-16's and Blackhawk helicopters) the camp indiscriminately for two days, then sent ground troops, tanks and bulldozers in, while preventing the citizens to leave or medical services to enter for another five days. The end result was the complete destruction of some 300 homes, the murder of some 400+ people and the arrest of hundreds of others." (By August 2002, a UN investigation had determined that only 52 Palestinians had been killed in the Jenin refugee camp, along with 23 Israeli soldiers). 495 Lojowsky also delegitimized Israel, writing that Israel's security barrier is "straight out of Berlin or Warsaw or South Africa," and that it is an "apartheid" system "propagated by Israel to completely break the Palestinian people." Finally, Lojowsky compared Israelis to Nazis, writing that IDF soldiers at a check point "were general Nazis in every sense of the word."

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<sup>493</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/cnes/event/8872

http://www.ojaipost.com/2007/11/dispatches-from-palestine-an-ojai-rebel-in-the-occupied-territories/comment-

<sup>495</sup> http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/2165272.stm

## Vibeke Løkkeberg

Løkkeberg is a retired actress and a film director, who is most famous for her 2010 film/documentary titled *Tears of Gaza*, which showcases the lives of Gazan civilians during Operation Cast Lead.

Løkkeberg has demonstrated antisemitism through a historical antisemitic slur, insinuating comparison of Israelis to Nazis, demonizing Israel, delegitimizing Israel, and supporting BDS. Regarding historical antisemitism, when a Jewish man questioned her about the context of her film, asking "Do you know what happened 2,000 years ago?" Løkkeberg responded with antisemitic mocking, "That's all that interests him! His Torah, his Bible!" to the laughter of the surrounding crowd. Her film, *Tears of Gaza*, is replete with demonization of Israel, through providing no context for Operation Cast Lead; through presenting Israel's attacks as being impending, random, and targeted; through a focus on the bloodshed of the innocent by Israel, namely that of children and women, or of men who aren't fighters; and through capitalizing on the emotions of bereavement and physical pain to justify incitement against Israel, with the prevalent calls for Israel's destruction. Regarding delegitimization, Løkkeberg signed a statement that includes a claim of Israeli apartheid. Pinally, she has signed a petition calling for a military embargo of Israel consistent with the BDS movement.

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<sup>496</sup> http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vibeke L%C3%B8kkeberg

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>497</sup> Tears of Gaza. Dir. Vibeke Løkkeberg. Prod. Terje Kristiansen. By Vibeke Løkkeberg. Nero AS - Domestic Theatrical Distributor and Tour De Force (TDF) - Foreign Theatrical Distributor, 2010., <a href="http://viooz.co/movies/11585-tears-of-gaza-2010.html">http://viooz.co/movies/11585-tears-of-gaza-2010.html</a>

<sup>498</sup> http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2012/09/25/tears-of-gaza-why-context-matters.html

<sup>499</sup> http://sjpnational.org/2013/08/14/palestine-justice-groups-statement-solidarity-trayvon-martin-victims-racial-violence/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>500</sup> https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/news/middle-east/4740-52-leading-international-figures-call-for-a-military-embargo-on-israel

#### Saree Makdisi

Makdisi is a Professor of English at UCLA, with an emphasis on "the culture of modernity, especially as it was consolidated in Britain during the Romantic period". <sup>501</sup>

Makdisi has demonstrated antisemitism in his lectures, articles for various publications, as well as his book *Palestine Inside Out: An Everyday Occupation*. 502 Makdisi has denied the Jewish right to self-determination, claiming that "Israel is no more Jewish than the U.S. is white or Protestant;"503 writing an article about why it is "nonsensical" to recognize Israel's right to exist; 504 and considering all of Israel that was "creat[ed]" "in 1948" to be "historical Palestine" and advocating for "the Palestinian right of return to homes and land in what is today Israel" and an "end to Israel's ongoing occupation of Palestinian land," by "not limit[ing] the Palestinian people or their rights merely to the territories occupied in 1967" but to all of "what is now Israel."505 Makdisi has compared Jews to Nazis, writing of the "gigantic concentration camp the Israelis have built" in Gaza, 506 and likening the "Israeli "occupation" to the Nazi occupation of France. 507 Makdisi has demonized Israel, writing of "deliberate Israeli attacks on unarmed civilians" in a "culture of impunity" that "encourages (or at least does not discourage) the callous disregard for human life;"508 of "racism" as being "at the heart of what Israel stands for as a state, and what Zionism has always represented as a political movement;"509 and of Israel "slowly, methodically, deliberately ... attempting to grind an entire people into the dust," 510 among other similar statements. He has delegitimized Israel, writing that "the whole system of apartheid that is in force inside Israel itself and that is, and has always been, a necessary component of its self-definition as a Jewish state,"511 and writing an article entitled "On the New Book 'Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid'/ Carter's apartheid charge rings true," supporting Carter's claim of apartheid in Israel. 512 He has promoted BDS against Israel, calling the movement "a source of ... hope,"513 and he has endorsed many calls for the boycott of Israel. 514 Finally, Makdisi has defended terrorism against Jews, excusing those "vent[ing] their rage in those mindless and bankrupt gestures-of which suicide bombing is the ultimate expression" as products of "only the most impossibly desperate circumstances," 515 and terming the "use of a defiant

<sup>501</sup> http://www.english.ucla.edu/all-faculty/231-makdisi-saree

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>502</sup> Makdisi, Saree. Palestine inside Out: An Everyday Occupation. New York: W.W. Norton, 2008.

<sup>503</sup> http://articles.latimes.com/2004/nov/21/opinion/oe-peres21

<sup>504</sup> http://www.latimes.com/la-op-makdisi11mar11,0,5260880.story#ixzz2oRR7J8Cy

http://articles.latimes.com/2011/sep/22/opinion/la-oe-makdisi-palestine-20110922

<sup>506</sup> http://www.scribd.com/doc/20274271/Makdisi-Said-Palestine-And-the-Humanism-of-Liberation, p.457

http://electronicintifada.net/content/time-re-engage-people-power/8473

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>508</sup> Makdisi, Saree. Palestine inside Out: An Everyday Occupation. New York: W.W. Norton, 2008, p.267-268

<sup>509</sup> http://electronicintifada.net/content/israels-fantasy-stands-way-peace/5435

<sup>510</sup> http://www.latimes.com/opinion/commentary/la-oe-makdisi-settlements-israel-palestinians-kerr-20131118,0,1866660.story#ixzz2oRf0ifvU

<sup>511</sup> Makdisi, Saree. Palestine inside Out: An Everyday Occupation. New York: W.W. Norton, 2008, p.309

<sup>512</sup> http://www.sfgate.com/opinion/openforum/article/On-the-New-Book-Palestine-Peace-Not-2465005.php

<sup>513</sup> http://pambazuka.org/en/category/features/62928

http://www.caldivestfromapartheid.com/2010/04/24/statement-from-california-faculty-members-in-support-of-sb118/, http://adalahny.org/press-release/358/tiaa-cref-clients-ask-fund-divest-levievs-africa-israel-due-israeli-settlements-09, http://www.uruknet.de/?p=m53128, http://www.usacbi.org/endorsers/, among others.

<sup>515</sup> http://www.counterpunch.org/2003/02/07/israeli-elections/

language of struggle" in an article written by the commissar of Hamas Khaled Meshaal, as "refreshing" and "appropriate to the[] desperate circumstances." <sup>516</sup>

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<sup>516</sup> http://electronicintifada.net/content/politics-language-and-palestinians/5861

### Hilton Obenzinger

Obenzinger is an American Studies and writing lecturer at Stanford University. <sup>517</sup> Obenzinger has been an activist in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict since 1981, when he visited the PLO in Beirut with an American delegation, and then continued on to demonstrate against the first Lebanon War, to be the co-editor of the *Palestine Focus* magazine, to attend UN meetings in Geneva regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and to write articles and books about the conflict and about Zionism. <sup>518</sup> Among other publications, he has written the books *American Palestine: Melville, Twain, and the Holy Land Mania*, <sup>519</sup> which discusses American, Christian and Jewish colonial perspectives on the land of Israel, and *This Passover Or The Next I Will Never Be In Jerusalem*, <sup>520</sup> which discusses American Jewish identity that spurns Zionism. He is currently writing the book *Melting Pots and Promised Lands: Early Zionism and the Idea of America* on a similar theme.

Obenzinger has demonstrated various expressions of antisemitism throughout his writing, interviews, and lectures. He has denied the Jewish right to self-determination, considering the Israeli Law of Return, which characterizes the State of Israel as Jewish, to be a "highly discriminatory" law and situation, <sup>521</sup> and signing a statement that argues for the Palestinian right of return in order to attain "a democratic state throughout historic Palestine — 'From the River to the Sea," meaning "an end to the 'Jewish state," which the statement claims is justified since the "state['s] very existence depends on structural denial of Palestinian rights." 522 That statement endorsed by Obenzinger also compared the Israelis to Nazis, claiming that Israel's official denial of "the Nakba, [is] the ethical equivalent of Holocaust denial," therefore implying that the Nakba is the equivalent of the Holocaust. Obenzinger has demonized Israel, calling Gaza a "large openair prison,"523 accusing Israel of "massive violations of international law, [and] human rights abuses,"524 and of attempts at "decimating the Palestinians,"525 among other examples. Obenzinger has delegitimized Israel, considering the state a product of "colonial expansion" that "uproot[s] Palestinian communities," 526 and declaring that the public "need[s] to face ... the very hard realities" of Israel being an apartheid state, 527 as well as signing a statement that delegitimizes Israel by claiming that "this state was established through the Nakba: erasure and occupation ... dispossession ... and a terror campaign" targeting the Palestinians."528 He further delegitimizes Israel in his book review of Lenni Brenner's Zionism in the Age of the Dictators. by commending Brenner's "thorough document[ation]" of "collusion between the established

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<sup>517</sup>http://www.obenzinger.com/hilton bio.html

http://www.columbia1968.com/hilton-obenzinger/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>519</sup> Obenzinger, Hilton. *American Palestine: Melville, Twain, and the Holy Land Mania*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1999.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>520</sup> Obenzinger, Hilton. *This Passover or the Next, I Will Never Be in Jerusalem*. San Francisco, CA: Momo's, 1980.

<sup>521</sup> http://www.opednews.com/articles/opedne hilton o 061104 meditations in a tim.htm

<sup>522</sup> http://jfpror.wordpress.com/, http://jfpror.wordpress.com/2013/01/12/january-12-updated-supporters-jews-for-palestinian-right-of-return

http://theragblog.blogspot.com/2013/03/interview-jonah-raskin-american-jewish.html

<sup>524</sup> http://www.opednews.com/articles/Wish-List-for-The-New-Deca-by-Hilton-Obenzinger-091229-339.html

http://www.opednews.com/articles/Happy-New-Year-Gaza-Death-by-Hilton-Obenzinger-090104-415.html

<sup>526</sup> http://theragblog.blogspot.com/2013/03/interview-jonah-raskin-american-jewish.html

<sup>527</sup> http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yLTf55mnDFc&t=23m0s

<sup>528</sup> http://jfpror.wordpress.com/, http://jfpror.wordpress.com/2013/01/12/january-12-updated-supporters-jews-for-palestinian-right-of-return

Zionist organizations and fascists," and of "the Biblical mythologization of a people chosen to colonize."529 Obenzinger has expressed support for BDS through calling for divestment from 530 and signing a petition for sanctions against <sup>531</sup> Israel. Finally, Obenzinger has minimized the horrors of terrorism, presenting Israel's violence as worse than Hezbollah's violence, <sup>532</sup> and writing that since "diplomatic and political methods have only allowed Israel to stall, allowed it to keep on building settlements and enforcing misery," the Palestinians seem to have no choice but to resort to "the absolutist religious violence of Hamas". 533

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https://groups.yahoo.com/neo/groups/wvns/conversations/topics/5769

<sup>529</sup> http://oooabooks.org/2013/09/22/forthcoming-zionism-in-the-age-of-the-dictators-by-lenni-brenner/

http://www.counterpunch.org/2006/06/13/divestment-is-a-stand-for-equality-in-israel/.

<sup>531</sup> http://irishantiwar.org/archives/news/102979.html

<sup>532</sup> http://www.opednews.com/articles/opedne\_hilton\_o\_060816\_meditations\_in\_a\_tim.htm
533 http://www.opednews.com/articles/Happy-New-Year-Gaza-Death-by-Hilton-Obenzinger-090104-415.html

### Ilan Pappé

Pappé is a social activist, a New Historian, <sup>534</sup> and a professor of history at the University of Exeter, where he is director of the European Centre for Palestine Studies. <sup>535</sup> He is the author of *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* <sup>536</sup> and *The Bureaucracy of Evil: The History of the Israeli Occupation*, <sup>537</sup> as well as *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples* <sup>538</sup> and many articles on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Most recently, Pappé is working on a book to be released in Fall 2014 that compares Israel to apartheid South Africa, *Peoples Apart: Israel, South Africa and the Apartheid Question*. <sup>539</sup> He has lectured at universities across the United States, often speaking at Israeli Apartheid Week programs. <sup>540</sup> In addition, Pappé is an advisor to the US Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel, <sup>541</sup> and he is a spokesperson for the movement.

Pappé has publicly denied Jews the right to self-determination, demonized and delegitimized the state of Israel, promoted Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions against Israel, and condoned terrorism against Jews. Denying Jews the right to self-determination, he calls for a bi-national one-state solution <sup>542</sup> which would effectively eliminate Israel as a Jewish state, saying that "the one-state solution [is] the only just and functional settlement for the conflict." He regularly demonizes Israel, claiming that Israel carried out "an ethnic cleansing operation," accusing the state of "genocidal" attacks, referring to the Gaza War of January 2009 as a "massacre" and writing that "the Israeli repertoire of evil has not yet been exhausted." Pappé frequently delegitimizes Israel by referring to it as an "apartheid" state, such as in 2012 when he delivered a talk to an audience in Australia entitled "Israel is an Apartheid State." Expressing his support for terrorism, Pappé said in an interview with the Qatar-based newspaper *The Peninsula* that he is in favor of "Hamas resistance against the Israeli occupation." He argues the case for the academi boycott of Israel in lectures he gives around the world, <sup>549</sup> and he has signed petitions in support of the academic boycott of Israel. <sup>550</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>534</sup> The New Historians are a group of Israeli historians who challenge traditional versions of Israel's history based on Israeli archival material declassified at the beginning of the 1980s.

<sup>535</sup> http://socialsciences.exeter.ac.uk/iais/staff/pappe/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>536</sup> Pappé, Ilan. *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*. Oxford, England: Oneworld Publications, 2006.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>537</sup> Pappé Ilan. *The Bureaucracy of Evil: The History of the Israeli Occupation*. Oxford, England: Oneword Publications, 2008.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>538</sup> Pappé Ilan. A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>539</sup> Pappé Ilan. Peoples Apart: Israel, South Africa and the Apartheid Question. I.B. Tauris, 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>540</sup> For example: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=npsh MPYE10.

<sup>541</sup> http://www.usacbi.org/advisory-board/

http://electronicintifada.net/content/israel-palestine-time-bi-national-state/6821

<sup>543</sup> http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2013/06/201362583915886263.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>544</sup> Preface, Pappé, Ilan. *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*. Oxford, England: Oneworld Publications, 2006

http://electronicintifada.net/content/israels-righteous-fury-and-its-victims-gaza/7912

<sup>546</sup> http://ceasefiremagazine.co.uk/ilan-pappe-boycott-work-israeli-perspective/

<sup>547</sup> http://sabbah.biz/mt/archives/2012/09/28/ilan-pappe-israel-is-an-apartheid-state/

<sup>548</sup> http://www.adl.org/israel-international/anti-israel-activity/c/one-state-conference-at-harvard-kennedy.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>549</sup> See for example: <a href="http://vimeo.com/81379175">http://vimeo.com/81379175</a>.

<sup>550 &</sup>lt;a href="http://www.israel-academia-monitor.com/print.php?advice\_id=123&type=large\_advic&page\_data;">http://www.israel-academia-monitor.com/print.php?advice\_id=123&type=large\_advic&page\_data;</a>; <a href="http://antonyloewenstein.com/2014/02/15/jews-backing-academic-boycott-against-israel/">http://antonyloewenstein.com/2014/02/15/jews-backing-academic-boycott-against-israel/</a>

**Antisemitic Activity:** Demonization, Delegitimization, Denying Jewish the Right to Self-determination, Condoning Terrorism, Promoting BDS

## **Gabriel Piterberg**

Piterberg is a history professor at UCLA,<sup>551</sup> with a concentration on the Ottoman Empire and Zionism, and he is the director of the CNES,<sup>552</sup> where he has organized various events on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. He is also a contributor to the *New Left Review* and *London Review of Books*, in which he focuses on matters of the conflict.<sup>553</sup>

In his speeches and writings, Piterberg has used several kinds of antisemitic rhetoric: He has denied Jews the right to self-determination in advocating for a single bi-national state, for example by signing a 2007 petition calling for one democratic secular state and an elimination of the Jewish state. Fire Piterberg compared Jews to Nazis when he criticized the Israeli action on the Mavi Marmara as being "atrocities ... that have been hidden behind a smokescreen ... [in] a propaganda exercise that Goebbels would have been proud of." He also demonized Israel, accusing it of "ethnic cleansing" in 1948, and of "wanton violence and carnage." Piterberg has delegitimized Israel, considering it an apartheid state, referring to "the tacit axis of apartheid that defines the state of Israel," and leading a lecture on Israeli apartheid at Oxford's Israel Apartheid Week. Piterberg has minimized the horrors of terrorism, considering Hezbollah's rockets into Israel in 2006 as merely a "piece of consciousness raising." Finally, Piterberg has supported BDS, in signing petitions in support of the academic boycott of Israel, and in expressing hope that the BDS movement "will gain more momentum and be more successful."

**Antisemitic Activity**: Demonization, Comparing Jews to Nazis, Delegitimization, Denying Jews the Right to Self-determination, Condoning Terrorism, Supporting BDS

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<sup>551</sup> http://www.history.ucla.edu/people/faculty/faculty-1/faculty-1?lid=996

<sup>552</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/cnes/person/464

<sup>553</sup> http://newleftreview.org/search/hybrid?query=piterberg;

http://www.lrb.co.uk/search?q=piterberg&contributor=Piterberg,+Gabriel

<sup>554</sup> http://electronicintifada.net/content/one-state-declaration/793

<sup>555</sup> http://vomena.org/blog/2010/08/attack-on-free-gaza-flotilla-iranian-american-hiphop/, 7:49

<sup>556</sup> http://newleftreview.org/II/10/gabriel-piterberg-erasing-the-palestinians

<sup>557</sup> http://www.today.ucla.edu/portal/ut/gaza-symposium-78973.aspx

http://newleftreview.org/II/10/gabriel-piterberg-erasing-the-palestinians

<sup>559</sup> http://www.stopthewall.org/2006/02/20/israeli-apartheid-week-held-several-universities-across-uk-and-canada

http://www.lrb.co.uk/v28/n18/gabriel-piterberg/travels-in-israel

http://normanfinkelstein.com/2009/another-important-initiative/, http://www.aurdip.org/Call-to-Boycott-the-Oral-History.html, http://www.counterpunch.org/2010/03/10/a-joint-letter-to-the-international-society-of-iranian-studies-on-ariel-university-of-samaria-israel/, http://www.israel-academia-

monitor.com/index.php?type=large\_advic&advice\_id=388&page\_data, http://dailybruin.com/2002/06/24/165-uc-professors-petition-for/

http://vomena.org/blog/2010/08/attack-on-free-gaza-flotilla-iranian-american-hiphop/, 29:49

# Sasha Polakow-Suransky

Polakow-Suransky is a staff editor for the New York Times, previously a Senior Editor for Foreign Affairs. In May 2010, Polakow-Suransky published The Unspoken Alliance: Israel's Secret Relationship with Apartheid South Africa, which details the military relationship between the two countries in the 1970s and 1980s. 563 In addition, Polakow-Suransky's discussion of Israeli news and related affairs has been featured in various forums, including Foreign Affairs 564 and Huffington Post. 565

Antisemitic Activity: None

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>563</sup> Polakow-Suransky, The Unspoken Alliance: Israel's Secret Relationship with Apartheid South Africa, Pantheon,

<sup>564</sup> http://www.foreignaffairs.com/author/sasha-polakow-suransky http://www.huffingtonpost.com/sasha-polakowsuransky

### Basem Ra'ad

Ra'ad is a Professor of English at Al-Quds University in Jerusalem, a public speaker, the author of the book *Hidden Histories: Palestine and the Eastern Mediterranean*, <sup>566</sup> and a community organizer. <sup>567</sup>

At a lecture in 2011 at CNES, Ra'ad demonized Israel by stating, "You [Jews] think God has chosen you, you're the actual or real Israelites, the chosen people, then you have the right do whatever you like to the people who are inhabiting this ideal land. The ideal land was given to you by God, and that way you can go in and exterminate them [Palestinians/Arabs]." In his book *Hidden Histories: Palestine and the Eastern Mediterranean*, Ra'ad further demonized Israel by claiming that "what Zionism and Israel have done in Palestine and to Palestinians, the appropriative complexes are insidious in their intent and unhealthy in their psychology." Ra'ad delegitimized Israel by arguing that the Western Wall "is actually a recent invention from the 16th century," and that it is being used as "an excuse to take over [Jewish occupancy]." In addition, Ra'ad has signed a petition in support of the academic boycott of Israel.

Antisemitic Activity: Demonization, Delegitimization, Supporting BDS

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>566</sup> Ra'ad, Basem. *Hidden Histories: Palestine And The Eastern Mediterranean*. Pluto Press. 15 August 2010.

http://us.macmillan.com/author/basemlraad

http://us.macmillan.com/author/basemlraad

http://www.international.ucla.edu/media/podcasts/BasemRaad-ep-kv0.mp3, 27:04.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>569</sup> Ra'ad, Basem. *Hidden Histories*, pg. 125.

<sup>570</sup> http://www.international.ucla.edu/media/podcasts/BasemRaad-ep-ky0.mp3, 48:22.

<sup>571</sup> http://israel-academia-

monitor.com/index.php?advice id=123&cookie lang=en&page data[id]=178&type=large advic

## Kal Raustiala

Raustiala is a faculty member of the UCLA Law School and UCLA International Institute, and is director of the UCLA Ronald W. Burke Center for International Relations, and focuses his research on International Law and Intellectual Property.<sup>572</sup>

Antisemitic Activity: None

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<sup>572</sup> http://law.ucla.edu/faculty/all-faculty-profiles/professors/Pages/kal-raustiala.aspx

#### Avi Raz

Avi Raz is an Associate Faculty Member of Oriental Studies at Oxford University, with research interests in the Arab-Israeli conflict, particularly in the aftermath of the June 1967 Middle East War; Israel's foreign policy; and the Palestinian national movement. <sup>573</sup> He was previously a journalist for the Israeli newspaper *Maariv*, and has published the book *The Bride and the Dowry: Israel, Jordan, and the Palestinians in the Aftermath of the June 1967 War, <sup>574</sup>* which argues that Israel prefers land (that it annexed through the 1967 war) over peace and has manipulated politics towards that goal.

Raz has demonized Israel by signing a petition that refers to "Israel's atrocities," Israel's noncompliance with "international humanitarian law," the "brutal ongoing repression of the Palestinian population," and Israel's "war crimes." Additionally, Raz has compared Israel's policies to that of Nazis, stating that some legislation passing through Knesset "are reminiscent of certain Nuremberg laws." Raz has promoted BDS by signing a petition that called for "imposition of sanctions" against Israel and for "immediate restrictive measures and sanctions, as well as cessation of all upgrade dialogue with Israel."

Antisemitic Activity: Demonization, Comparing Israelis to Nazis, Promoting BDS

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<sup>573</sup> http://www.orinst.ox.ac.uk/staff/iw/araz.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>574</sup> Raz, Avi. *The Bride and the Dowry: Israel, Jordan, and the Palestinians in the Aftermath of the June 1967 War.* New Haven: Yale UP, 2012.

<sup>575</sup> http://www.pacbi.org/etemplate.php?id=917

http://newsle.com/article/0/49376532

http://www.pacbi.org/etemplate.php?id=917

### Joseph Rosen

Rosen is a postdoctoral fellow at Concordia University in the Department of History and Center for Ethnographic Research and Exhibition in the Aftermath of Violence. Rosen's research interests revolve around studies of the Holocaust, cultural memory, and identity as it relates to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.<sup>578</sup>

At a CNES-sponsored talk at UCLA, Rosen denied Jews the right of self-determination, claiming that Jewish nationalism is merely a product of unprocessed violent cultural memory that begins with "territorial[ism] and turns expansionist." Rosen is also a signatory of "Jewish Canadians Concerned about Suppression of Criticism of Israel," a petition sponsored by the anti-Zionist organization Independent Jewish Voices Canada, which demonizes Israel by claiming that Israel "causes immeasurable suffering and injustice to the Palestinian people," and that the state had "created a humanitarian catastrophe" in Gaza. Finally, Rosen has condoned terrorism, writing, "Slowly, I went around to 'the other side': I started to see how an oppressed and desperate people might resort to suicide bombing." <sup>581</sup>

Antisemitic Activity: Demonization, Denying Jews the Right to Self-determination, Condoning Terrorism

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<sup>578</sup> http://web.international.ucla.edu/institute/event/8574

http://web.international.ucla.edu/cnes/podcast/119707, 21:48-23:40.

<sup>580</sup> http://ijvcanada.org/2009/jewish-canadians-concerned-about-suppression-of-criticism-of-israel-150-signatories/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>581</sup>From his Presentation: "Please Don't Get Mad at Me". Ethnographic Terminalia. Chicago 2011. http://ethnographicterminalia.org/2011-montreal/cerev/joseph-rosen

#### Randa Siniora

Siniora serves as executive director to the Palestinian Independent Commission for Human Rights, <sup>582</sup> based in the West Bank, and she was previously the general director of the organization Al-Haq, which describes itself as "an independent Palestinian non-governmental human rights organization". <sup>583</sup> Al-Haq is an organization that advocates divestment from Israel, in keeping with the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement against the state. <sup>584</sup>

Siniora has written articles and made statements demonizing Israel, as when she maintained that "Israel continues to practice cruel and illegal forms of collective punishment on the Palestinian civilian population." Siniora has asserted that Israel purposefully targets Palestinian civilians for punishment, and that "anyone within a certain age range is arrested." She has sought to delegitimize Israel, as when she produces images of "the Apartheid Wall" during her lectures and vocally refers to it as such. Siniora has condoned terrorism, stating that even though "the occupation forces call it 'terrorism', international law considers as legitimate "the Palestinian people's resistance and struggle against occupation in order to achieve their right to liberation and independence." At a talk she gave in 2010, Siniora asked her audience to support the BDS (boycott, divest, sanctions) campaign and to support PACBI (Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel).

**Antisemitic Activity**: Demonization, Delegitimization, Condoning Terrorism, Supporting BDS

<sup>582</sup> http://www.ichr.ps/en

<sup>583</sup> http://www.alhaq.org/about-al-haq/about-al-haq

http://www.alhaq.org/advocacy/topics/gaza/194-open-letter-to-the-dutch-diplomatic-representatives-and-heineken-nederlands-to-praise-the-decision-of-barkan-wineries-to-divest-from-illegal-israeli-settlements-in-the-occupied-palestinian-territory

<sup>585</sup> Washington Report on Middle East Affairs. Dec 2005, Vol. 24 Issue 9, p. 62.

<sup>586</sup> http://www.miftah.org/Display.cfm?DocId=8691&CategoryId=30

<sup>587</sup> http://www.international.ucla.edu/media/files/Right to Education.pdf, pg. 9

<sup>588</sup> http://128.97.165.17/cnes/podcasts/article.asp?parentid=118612, 8:06

<sup>589</sup> http://asp.alhaq.org/zalhaq/site/eDocs/txtDocs/Presentations/pres randa 280403.htm

<sup>590</sup> http://muslimmedianetwork.com/mmn/?p=7509

### **Eval Sivan**

Sivan is a Paris-based Israeli filmmaker, <sup>591</sup> who has made eight documentaries, most of which are highly critical of Israel. Sivan is also the founder and artistic director of a film production company called Momento, which has produced films such as *Common State: a potential conversation, Arna's Children, Route 181*, and *Jaffa: The Oranges Clockwork* <sup>592</sup>. Shortly after one of his films, *Route 181*, was released in France in 2004, leading French intellectuals and filmmakers wrote a letter claiming that Sivan's film "presents controversial historical truths and contributes to a poisoning of the political discussion of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict." Subsequently, the French Ministry of Culture cancelled a screening of Route 181 "for security reasons, and out of concern for public order." <sup>593</sup> Currently, Sivan is working on a project, called the Common Archive Project, which focuses on creating an online audio-visual archive of the testimonies from Jewish soldiers serving in the Israeli war of Independence. The intent behind this project is to consolidate commonalities between the stories of both the Israelis and Palestinians and to highlight atrocities as irrefutable proof of the "crimes" that Israel has committed against the Palestinians. <sup>594</sup>

Sivan has denied Jews the right of self determination, as he does, for example in his co-authored book, *Un Etat Commun entre le Jourdain et la mer*, in which he advocates for "a common sharing of the land by all who inhabit it," effectively calling for the elimination of the Jewish state. <sup>595</sup> Additionally, Sivan has demonized Israel, attributing "the Nakba" to "the ethnic cleansing of the Palestinians." <sup>596</sup> In the same interview, Sivan also promoted BDS, claiming to be a "big supporter of the cultural boycott" because "I think that it is a just and an important boycott…" <sup>597</sup> In line with this, Sivan has signed several petitions which advocate BDS, including the 'Boycott of all Israeli Art Institutions' <sup>598</sup>, 'A support letter to British Writers in Support of Palestine', and 'Israeli citizens calling upon international community to stop Israel'. <sup>600</sup>

Antisemitic Activity: Denying Jews the Right to Self-determination, Promoting BDS

<sup>591</sup> http://www.eyalsivan.info/index.php?p=bio#&panel1-1

<sup>592</sup> http://www.momento-films.com/en/catalogue/

<sup>593</sup> http://www.haaretz.com/culture/arts-leisure/the-storm-over-route-181-1.117190

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>594</sup> [Ibid], Route 181, Disk 2 (1:17:58)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>595</sup> Eric Hazan and Eyal Sivan, Un Etat Commun entre le Jourdain et la mer, La Fabrique éditions, 2012

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>596</sup> http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2011/05/201152285514634348.html

<sup>597</sup> http://www.evalsivan.info/index.php?p=elements1&id=6#&panel1-10

<sup>598</sup> http://www.inminds.com/boycott-news-0214.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>599</sup> http://boycottisrael.info/content/support-letter-british-writers-support-of%C2%A0palestine-bwisp

http://mrzine.monthlyreview.org/2009/citizens100109.html

# **Steven Spiegel**

Spiegel is a professor of political science at the University of California, Los Angeles, where he is the director of the Center for Middle East Development. He specializes in American policy in the Middle East and is the author of *The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict* and co-author of *The Peace Puzzle: America's Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace, 1989-2011*, among hundreds of other books and articles. Spiegel was awarded the Karpf Peace Prize in 1995 for his efforts in promoting Middle East regional security and cooperation. He has expressed support for the two-state solution, writing, "Let's work with the Israelis and Palestinians to begin to create a Palestinian state."

**Antisemitic Activity**: None

<sup>601</sup> http://www.polisci.ucla.edu/people/faculty-pages/steven-l.-spiegel

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>602</sup> Spiegel, Steven. The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict: Making America's Middle East Policy from Truman to Reagan. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1985.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>603</sup> Spiegel, Steven. *The Peace Puzzle: America's Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace, 1989-2011.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, 2013.

<sup>604</sup> http://www.huffingtonpost.com/steven-l-spiegel/a-new-approach-to-the-isr b 555664.html

#### Lorenzo Veracini

Veracini is a professor and Queen Elizabeth II Fellow at the Swinburne Institute for Social Research in Australia. <sup>605</sup> He has written *Israel and Settler Society* <sup>606</sup>, as well as *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*. <sup>607</sup>

Veracini delegitimizes Israel in his book, *Israel and Settler Society*, by comparing it to Apartheid South Africa. Indeed, the first section of the second chapter is entitled, "On Israeli Apartheids." Veracini compares Israel to Apartheid South Africa on several occasions in the book, such as when he writes: "...a comparative analysis of the settler imaginations underscoring both the apartheid regime in South Africa and the evolving circumstances of Israel's settler domination of the Palestinians would highlight a shared repertoire of themes, tropes and refrains, as well as shared constructions of 'the natives' as both romantic and especially and gratuitously violent". In addition, in 2012 Varacini expressed his tacit support for BDS when he was the keynote speaker at a reception launching the publication of the book *The Case for Sanctions Against Israel*, which strongly advocates for the boycott of Israel. §10

Antisemitic Activity: Delegitimization, Supporting BDS

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 $<sup>{}^{605}\ \</sup>underline{http://www.swinburne.edu.au/health-arts-design/staff-profiles/view.php?who=lveracini}$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>606</sup> Veracini, Lorenzo. Israel and Settler Society. Pluto Books. 2006.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>607</sup> Veracini, Lorenzo. Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview. Palgrave Macmillan. 2010.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>608</sup>Veracini, Lorenzo. Israel and Settler Society. Pluto Books 2006.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>609</sup> Ibid, p. 19.

<sup>610</sup> http://www.versobooks.com/events/429-the-case-for-sanctions-against-israel-book-launch-with-lorenzo-veracin

# Ghassan Zaqtan

Zaqtan is a Palestinian poet, novelist, and editor and has written many verse collections, including Like a Straw Bird It Follows Me and the play The Narrow Sea, which was honored at the 1994 Cairo Festival. 611 He has edited the Palestine Liberation Organization's literary magazine, Bayader, as well as the poetry journal Al-Soua'ra and the literary page of the Ramallah newspaper Al-Ayyam. Zaqtan is the founding director of the House of Poetry in the city of Ramallah and has served as director general of the Palestine Ministry of Culture's literature and publishing department. 612

Antisemitic Activity: None

 $<sup>\</sup>frac{611}{http://neustadtprize.org/nominees-for-the-2014-neustadt-international-prize-for-literature/}{http://www.poetryfoundation.org/bio/ghassan-zaqtan}$ 

#### **David Zlutnick**

Zlutnick is a filmmaker who founded and is the primary film/media producer of Upheaval Productions, an organization which is "committed to using video as a means to bring about social change through education and mobilization." His main film about Israel is the documentary entitled *Occupation Has No Future: Militarism and Resistance in Israel/Palestine*, <sup>614</sup> which Zlutnick calls "a lens to study Israeli militarism, examine the occupation of the Palestinian West Bank, and explore the work of Israelis and Palestinians organizing against militarism and occupation. <sup>615</sup>

Zlutnick demonized Israel when he wrote that "Israel's all-encompassing system of militarisation" has created an atmosphere of "fear, exclusion, racism, and ultimately aggression." In addition, in a short film entitled *No More Shooting and Crying*, which Zlutnick made from out takes of *Occupation Has No Future*, he documented former Israeli soldiers speaking out against the IDF, including one former soldier who claimed that service in the IDF "throws you out of the family of humans…you are a killer," and that even after serving in the IDF "it takes time being human again, not being a killer."

**Antisemitic Activity**: Demonization

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<sup>613</sup> http://www.upheavalproductions.com/about/

<sup>614</sup> Occupation Has No Future: Militarism and Resistance in Israel/Palestine. Dir. David Zlutnick. Upheaval Productions, 2010, Film.

<sup>615</sup> http://www.counterpunch.org/2011/01/21/occupation-has-no-future/

<sup>616</sup> Ibid.

<sup>617</sup> http://truth-out.org/news/item/2521-shooting-and-crying-israeli-soldiers-after-their-service