

# TEACHING THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT

Revised second edition, November 1993

## PART III, LESSON TWO: JEWS AND ZIONISM

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### Teaching Strategy

The underlying assumption of this lesson is that personal experience (collectively shared) produces common political perspectives and activities. The lesson has two components: shared Jewish experiences and the varieties of Zionism.

- Ask students how they would define "American." What does it mean to be an American? Put these answers on the board, making sure there are a variety of definitions and ideas: shared values, experiences, history, life styles, language, etc. Point out that this word is one we use to express our nationalism, our concept of what we are, and that we do not agree upon it. Point out that political parties and interest groups and religious groups all play a role in explaining our identity but they do not agree among ourselves on all points. Then introduce the word Zionism, which is a term of Jewish Nationalism. If we think "American" is difficult to define, keep that in mind as we examine Zionism.
- The Jewish condition: Three situations are described in the text: the Pale in East Europe, cosmopolitan West Europe (Austria, France, Germany), and the Holocaust. An underlying assumption is that those who share a common experience are impelled towards a common view. Break the class into three "Jewish" groups, one for each experience. Have them discuss that experience, what is important to them from that experience, and how it would cause them to think in terms of what it means to be Jewish. Reassemble the class. Ask groups to outline their points of identity, then try to find out what they share in common. Have questions 1,3,4,8 in mind when you lead the discussion.
- Option: Proceed as in the exercise above, except ask each of the groups which variety of Zionism they prefer and why.
- Option: Give each group butcher paper and paint or a magic marker. Ask them to describe their experience pictorially and link it to a place on the map where it happened. As before, they should explain their experience to the class, with listeners asking questions.
- There is an assumption that if students can humanize history rather than just analyze data they can understand better. There are six family cases in the Student Lesson. Break the class into six groups, one for each of the families. Ask students to discuss the varieties of Zionism and how their family would react. Which Zionism would their family support? (These families are used later. Do this exercise if possible).
- Herzl is a key personality. Have a dialogue between Herzl and representative of the other Zionism groups. What do they agree upon? Where do they disagree?

- Also discuss questions 2, 5, 6, 10 in the Student Lesson section.

Note that among the six families in the exercise in Lesson Two in the Student Edition, none are religious militants. It is also true among the six Palestinian families presented in Lesson Four. There are two reasons for this. First, it is better to focus upon political factors as explanations for how people behave since that is the focus of the unit. Second, students may have strange or even hostile views of religions other than their own, perhaps viewing them as inherently irrational or extremist. Even though there are Jews and Muslims (and American Christians) who are religious extremists, there is no reason to play into potential prejudices.

Zionism has come to be the term for Jewish Nationalism. It means different things to different people. Some of these perspectives are discussed below. You must decide how much of this complex history you want to present to your students. At the minimum they should be aware that there is variety of understanding among Jews. To the extent that there is agreement it is upon three things: there should be a Jewish state, it should be secure, Jews who are threatened should be able to go there to be safe. All other issues--the boundaries of the state, relations with the Palestinians, relations with American Jews, religious law--are in dispute.

Students should come out of the unit understanding the background forces that generated the Zionist movement. Particularly important are the decline of Jewish security in Eastern Europe in the late 19th century and the rise of anti-Jewish political movements in Western Europe at the same time. These dual threats caused millions of Jews to begin thinking of ways of escaping, or of adopting options only marginally considered in the past.

Prior to the 20th century there had been various Jewish colonization or settlement schemes but these were done either for religious reasons (to live in the Holy Land) or were economic ventures, such as those financed by Lord Rothschild. These movements were not "Zionist" in the sense of later efforts. One of the most famous of these is the Lovers of Zion (Hibbat Zion) settlement of 1881.

The key Zionist document is *Der Judenstaat* (The Jewish State) by Theodor Herzl, written in 1896. This should be the focus of your lesson. It is discussed below. (Pronunciation is in the German way: the J is Y as in "youth; the S is SH as in "shine"; the Z is "TS" as in "hits.")

Torah is the Jewish term for the first five books of the Bible (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy). They are also known as the Books of Moses or The Law. To Christians the books are sometimes called the Pentateuch. When the gospels speak of The Law and the Prophets, the first half of the phrase refers to the Torah. The Torah is exceptionally revered in the Jewish faith.

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## THE PRE-ZIONIST JEWISH SITUATION

The Pale of Settlement: In the nineteenth century Russian empire, there were areas where Jews could not live. The Pale was that area in eastern Europe where Jews by law *had* to live. It included parts of Poland, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, and other provinces. According to the 1887 census there were 1.25 million Jews in Russian Poland, 3/4 million each in Lithuania and Byelorussia (White Russia, today called Byelorussia). Half lived in towns and cities, the rest in villages and hamlets, called *shtetls* by Jews. (The movie "Fiddler on the Roof" has one depiction of poor village life). By occupation 40% were in commerce, 30% were artisans, and 30% were in personal service. Jewish small merchants were prominent in grain trading and the related liquor trade, in innkeeping and the sugar industry. Wealthy Jews were involved in railroad construction, contracting, and commerce.

Jewish population under Russian control increased rapidly in the 1800s.

Jewish Population under Russia

1800	1.0 million
1850	3.25 million
1900	5.5 million

Beginning in 1881 in Eastern Europe there were massacres and assaults (pogroms) against Jews. Many of these were secretly instigated by authorities in an effort to drive Jews out. The most infamous massacre occurred in Kishinev, Moldova in 1903, when 45 Jews were killed, 86 wounded, and 1500 stores and homes destroyed.

Russia's famous Hebrew language poet Chaim Bialek (1873-1934) went to Kishinev and wrote the poem "On The Massacre." A copy is included in the student packet. Ask students to read it aloud. The most famous line is "Revenge! Revenge! Cursed be he who cries Revenge! Fit vengeance for the death of a child the devil has not yet conceived."

As Jewish security declined, Jewish emigration out of Eastern Europe soared. This was the first strategy of Jews: escape. Between 1880 and 1920 approximately 2.5 million Jews left Eastern Europe, 2 million of whom came to America. Most American Jews trace their ancestry to those migrants. Below is the rate at which Jews left Eastern Europe, and how it changed.

Year	Number of Jews Leaving E. Europe
1830-70	1,000-----4,000 per year
1871-80	8,000----10,000 per year
1881-90	50,000----60,000 per year
1901-14	150,000---160,000 per year

Other Jews became active in various reform or revolutionary movements, attempting to change their country. When the Russian revolution finally occurred many Jews (and other ethnic minorities) were prominent in various revolutionary parties. (Alexander Kerensky, the socialist leader of the first Russian Revolution, was Jewish. Several top Bolsheviks were also Jewish.) Still others tried to accommodate to reality, making peace with the authorities. Students might discuss why they think different Jews opted for different strategies to deal with social injustice.

Discussion Topic: You might ask if students see any parallels between the Jewish and Black experiences. Under what circumstances would African-Americans come to see themselves as overseas Africans living in a foreign land? Remember that there *are* Black nationalist groups that say exactly that. Marcus Garvey in the 1920s and 1930s made such arguments, as did Elijah Mohammed and Malcolm X in the 1950s and 1960s. Today Louis Farrakhan is the most prominent Black Nationalist.

Keep in mind that both push and pull factors were at work in Jewish migration to Palestine. Among "push" factors were European massacres, poverty, economic vulnerability, and the collapse of the small handicraft industries upon which many Jews were dependent. Among "pull" factors were the desire to live in the Holy Land, and to fulfill the various historic pre-conditions that some believers thought were necessary before the Messiah would come. Americans typically believe that historical outcomes are the result of good arguments--that someone makes a persuasive case and others follow that person. The tendency of students may be to see Jews entirely as a religious group with religious motivations. In fact, nonreligious motivations--the desire to be safe, to have a decent standard of living--were far more prominent in the thinking of most Jews who migrated to Palestine.

This is a good point to ask students for family stories. These were the eras of immigrations from Southern and Eastern Europe. Most students from these areas will trace their migratory ancestors to this period.

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## **JEWISH SITUATION IN WESTERN EUROPE**

In France, the Dreyfus Affair of 1894-95 (and beyond) sent tremors throughout the Jewish community. During a time of tension between France and Germany, French intelligence discovered there was a spy in army headquarters. Military brass decided to blame Captain Alfred Dreyfus, the only Jew in the office. He was framed and in a rigged trial found guilty and given a long sentence on Devil's Island.

The trial produced outrage among civil libertarians, reformers, and socialists who came to be called the pro-Dreyfusards. Among them was writer Emile Zola, who published an open attack on the trial, naming names, and challenging those he accused of perjury and of framing Dreyfus to sue him. The article was entitled "J'Accuse" (I accuse) and consisted of a series of specific indictments: Mr. X perjured himself, Mr. Y falsified evidence, Mr. Z knew of the above and did nothing, etc. Those accused did sue Zola and he was found guilty of libel. In spite of this temporary setback, the pro-Dreyfusards persisted until the injustice was exposed, Dreyfus was released, and the government collapsed. A new reformist coalition governed France for the next two decades. but to many Jews the lesson was not reassuring.

The sight of open anti-Semitism in France, the first country in Europe to eliminate all laws that applied specifically to Jews, sent a chill throughout European Jewry, convincing them that perhaps East Europe was not the only problem area in the world. Theodore Herzl covered the trial as a journalist and reported the anti-Jewish shouts he had heard as Dreyfus was taken away.

In Germany (and elsewhere) there was a new ideological racism that had an anti-Jewish component. This new racism originated among the educated classes and purported to be "scientific." Originating innocently enough in the 19th century effort to classify everything (including languages and peoples), it quickly veered into pseudo-science and racism. The Frenchman Gobineau said that "the history of mankind proves that the destinies of people are governed by racial law." This "law" determined that each national people was distinct, that each had its own strengths and weaknesses, and that mixing (either culturally or physically) was corrupting. By 1879 there was an Anti-Semitic League in Germany. It was only a matter of time until the expulsion of Jews was on the agenda.

A topic of confusion: The word "semitic" was coined in the 1700s to describe a family of languages that includes both Hebrew and Arabic. The word anti-Semitism was used in 1879 to describe a political movement in Europe that was anti-Jewish. The fact that Arabs are Semites raises confusion about when to use the word anti-Semite. A suggestion: Anti-Semitism was a contextual political movement involving anti-Jewish attitudes held by Europeans and Americans. Be cautious in using anti-Semitism to describe anti-Arab attitudes and avoid describing Arab criticisms of Israeli government policy as anti-Semitic. These uses add to confusion, rather than helping to clarify matters. At the same time, there do seem to be a core of hostile images that have been applied to both Jews AND Arabs. Both have been portrayed as conspiratorial, dishonest about their true motives, able to manipulate decisions from behind the scenes, prone to violence, and adherents of a wicked faith. Both have been tagged with caricatures that emphasize offensive physiological traits: long noses, corpulent bodies, leering smiles, lust for blond women, obsession with wealth. If you find some anti-Semitic cartoons (perhaps from the Nazi era) and some anti-Arab cartoons, they make for good classroom discussion. Contemporary comic books often have Arab villains. (See my article, "Ethnic Archetypes and the Arab Image" in McCarus, *The Arab-American Experience*, University of Michigan Press, 1994).

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# THE HOLOCAUST

While the Nazi Era and the Holocaust ("Shoah" in Hebrew) came after the formation of the Zionist movement, they clearly accelerated the drive for a Jewish state. Some observers--among them many Jews--are convinced the state of Israel came about *because* of the Holocaust, that the European nations were so ridden with guilt that they acted to create a state for the refugees. This is a debatable conclusion. Governments seldom act out of emotion.

The number who died in the Holocaust was just under six million. This figure is very firm. There is no doubt about these deaths. There is also no doubt about the 6 million or so non-Jews who died. Gypsies, homosexuals, and communists were among those systematically exterminated. In less than four years, a third of all the Jews in the world were killed, 67% of those in Europe as a whole, and over 85% of those in Poland and other areas directly controlled by the Nazis. This was not the killings of Kishinev--of a raging mob. It was a systematic, cold-blooded effort to exterminate a whole people.

The Holocaust is a major factor in Jewish thinking. A 1984 survey in Israel shows the following attitudes about the Holocaust and its meaning: 87% feel that Jews cannot rely upon non-Jews; 75% feel if they could Arabs would subject Israel to a Holocaust; 61% feel the Holocaust was *the* major factor in establishing the state of Israel.

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# VARIETIES OF ZIONISM

Throughout history Jews have been vulnerable and have often been assaulted or expelled. Many people (including many non-Jews) believe there is something unique about the Jewish historical experience that made them vulnerable to attack. Many persons have made a simple argument: when Jews are attacked, they should have a place to go to be safe. Hence there should be a Jewish state. This is not "Zionist" in an ideological sense. It does not suggest that Jews are a national people, that all Jews should ultimately "return" to Israel, or even that Jerusalem should be the focus of Jewish efforts. It simply addresses a problem. With few exceptions, all Jews and most non-Jews would support this. Even Yasser Arafat has said that if Jews were attacked they would have refuge in a Palestinian state. This idea of "a Jewish homeland somewhere in the world" is probably close to a nearly-forgotten Jewish movement called Territorialism. It simply said there should be a Jewish-controlled place to which Jews could go to be safe. Places mentioned as possible sites were Palestine, Sinai, Iraq, Kenya and Argentina. Herzl was an advocate of this type of Zionism.

## **Religious Zionism:**

Religious Zionism has many permutations. At the simplest level, many Jews have long been inspired by passages in the Bible that speak of longing for Zion or devotion to Jerusalem. Among the most beautiful and haunting is the Song of the Exile, Psalms 137: 5-6, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy." There is also a common prayer from Isaiah 62: 1, "For Zion's sake will I not hold my peace, and for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, until the righteousness thereof go forth as brightness, and the salvation thereof as a lamp that burneth." This spiritual focus upon Jerusalem and Zion generated resonances in even non-political Jews when political Zionists began to speak of return.

At another level, some Jews feel Israel is or should be a recreation of the ancient Hebrew state,

governed according to the Torah, with a powerful rabbinical (or priestly) voice in politics. Some even look to a Torah State--led by a descendent of David--and recapturing the ancient lands promised to Abraham in Genesis 15:19, the "Nile to Euphrates" promise. ("I give this land to you and your descendants, from the wadi of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates." A wadi is a river bed, this one being in the Sinai peninsula near Al Arish). This view is often linked to an anticipated arrival of the Messiah. The Netura Karta are so committed to this that they do not recognize Israel as "the" Jewish state, and consider present-day Israel a "blasphemy" that should not exist until the Messiah comes. The Gush Emunim (a group who settle on the West Bank for ideological reasons) emphasize the right of Jews to settle anywhere in "Eretz Israel." As one Gush Emunim leader said, "We did not come to Israel for peace, we came to fulfill prophecy." Other religious Jews have more modest goals, striving for an Israel that is governed by a secular government that takes into account religious traditions and obligations but in a way that acknowledges the reality of contemporary life. It would be unwise to generalize beyond this point. What we do know is that there are usually two to four religious parties in the Knesset, some run by rabbis, some by secular leaders committed to religious principles. Often these parties are at odds with each other and do not share a consensus.

The National Religious Party is the oldest of these parties. It is the only one not led by rabbis. Agudat Israel and Shas are two others, the first Ashkenazi, the second Sephardi. Every government coalition between 1948-1992 included a religious party.

Of Israeli Jews 5% are Haredim (Ultra Orthodox in American terminology); about 30% are observant in a traditional Orthodox manner and 15% vote for religious parties. Even so their power is exceptionally strong because the electoral law allows parties with only a small percentage of the vote to be represented in the Knesset. This means that any Prime Minister has to put together a coalition of several parties to reach the magical 50% plus 1 of Knesset members that enables a government to take and hold power. The Knesset has 120 members and seldom does the largest party exceed 40 or 45 seats. With 61 seats required for a majority, a prime minister with a majority of 64 seats may be hostage to a party with only 2-4 seats.

In 1988 during negotiations over the creation of a coalition government, Prime Minister Shamir made very controversial commitments to religious parties about economic support, extending of sabbath and other religious laws, and redefining of Israeli immigration law to exclude automatic admission to persons converted to Judaism by Conservative or Reform Rabbis. This last issue--called "Who is a Jew?"--provoked much controversy since it seemed to question the Jewish identity of many American Jews and even the integrity of their rabbis.

### **Ethical Zionism:**

Many Jewish teachings emphasize concepts of justice. Even today when American Jews are asked what they basically mean when they say they are Jewish, they emphasize social justice issues. Among Zionists, this ethical tradition is most associated with a late 19th century writer known as Ahad Ha'am and with 20th century Israelis Martin Buber and Judah Magnes, who founded an Israeli political group called Ihud (it went out of existence in the 1960s). Ahad Ha'am believed Jews should go to Palestine and live in religious ethical communities where they would preserve the values of Judaism and serve as an example to others. He said, "I am more concerned about Judaism than about Jews." The key points of ethical Zionism are the following: a) justice is the key to Judaism. b) If Jews are saved but the principles are lost, then Judaism has been sacrificed. This would be a false victory. c) Because Jews live in a land where there are Palestinians, the destiny of the Jews and Palestinian people are intertwined. Jews will find their true destiny when they resolve this problem: to find justice for themselves and the Palestinians.

In the pre-state period, these Zionists advocated a "bi-national state" with Jewish and Arabic components linked together into one political system. More recently, they have been actively involved in social justice groups, human right monitoring groups, legal advocacy for accused Palestinians. They occupy the leftist position in the Israeli political spectrum.

### **Revisionist Zionism:**

This movement became prominent in Palestine in the 1930s when it openly broke with the mainstream Zionist movement. Its founder was Vladimir Zeev Jabotinsky (a playwright whose play "Samson and Delilah" was made into a bad movie in the 1950s). Today it is found in the Likud and other nationalist parties in Israel. Others associated with the movement are Menachem Begin (who took over as leader after Jabotinsky died in 1940), Yitzhak Shamir, Ariel Sharon, Raphael Eitan, and the late Rabbi Meir Kahane. They place a heavy emphasis on Jewish security, the belief that Jewish and Palestinian interests cannot be accommodated on an equal basis, and the demand that there be a Jewish monopoly on the instruments of power. They tend to favor Greater Israel beyond the 1967 borders, including perhaps Jordan. They are sometimes called "Gun Zionists" by critics because of their association with violence, both during the pre-state period and after. Their party is Likud. In the pre-state period, they were associated with Irgun and the Stern Gang, two violence-prone groups, the first headed by Begin, the second by Shamir.

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## ***HERZL'S DER JUDENSTAAT***

Herzl grew up in a secular environment distant from the Jewish faith. He was driven by a concern for Jewish security rather than any other broader goal. He was sufficiently obsessed with this concern that he often pursued false trails and unrealistic options. At one point he concluded that anti-Semitism was based in religious bigotry and suggested that Jews convert to Christianity to end it. He actually met with the Pope to suggest that he (Herzl) would head a conversion campaign if the Pope would endorse it. (Neither the Pope nor Jewish leaders were impressed.) In another incident Herzl conspired with a Scandinavian to overthrow the Ottoman empire. The Scandinavian had converted to Islam and owned a boat. He told Herzl that they could drive the boat into Istanbul harbor, bombard the Sultan's palace, and since he was a Muslim the Turks would accept him as ruler. Then he would give the Jews a homeland. Herzl actually contributed funds to this bizarre scheme.

### **The Uganda Scheme**

Britain acquired control of East Africa (today's Kenya and Uganda) in the 1890s and early 1900s. They were primarily interested in Uganda because it controlled the headwaters of the Nile. Kenya was merely the access route to the interior. Britain's first plan was to build a railroad from Mombasa to Kampala, an expensive project. To cut their costs, they wanted to put settlers into the Kenya highlands. Before settling in 1906 on English settlers, they considered two options: Indians and Jews. At one point they actually offered the Kenya highlands to the Zionist organization for Jewish settlement (this was called the Uganda Scheme, because the two lands were still governed out of Uganda's capital Kampala). Herzl supported this proposal but other Zionists opposed it and the plan failed. The Zionists affirmed that only Palestine was an acceptable location for the Jewish state. Another group of Jews called Territorialists tried to revive the scheme but it died. Some Zionists felt in retrospect that Britain's willingness to commit itself to a Jewish homeland (even in Africa) made it easier to commit to a homeland in Palestine. A phrase "antechamber to the homeland" captures the argument.

Herzl asked what was the true nature of the "Jewish question" (a 19th century term to describe the fact

that there had been political and physical attacks upon Jews, the debate over why that was happening, and discussions of what the status of Jews should be). He notes that when Jews maintain their culture and stay separate they are disliked; when they assimilate culturally, they are disliked; when they are rich, they are disliked; when they are poor, they are disliked; when they are politically left, they are disliked; when they are politically right, they are disliked. He concludes that none of these apparent factors are truly causal. The simple fact is that the Jewish question is not merely one of religion or ethnicity or culture but of nationality. Jews are a national people living in someone else's country. They cannot be assimilated into other nations. The solution is national: Jews must separate and create a state of their own.

Herzl says his model is not utopian. He was not a dreamer. He had a specific strategy for creating a Jewish state. His model is "dialectical," meaning that forces generate opposite forces. It assumes that anti-Semitism (hostility to Jews) will be a pro-Zionist force. Those who hate Jews will be most in favor of creating a Jewish state. Hence he was willing to meet with viciously anti-Jewish officials in Russia to try to win support for his plan. In this he is similar to the Black nationalist Marcus Garvey. In the 1920s and 1930s, Garvey tried to get Black Americans to return to Africa and saw the Ku Klux Klan as an ally in this endeavor. (Garvey was much criticized for these meetings, as was Herzl.) But Herzl's point is significant: he was not appealing to the sympathy or good will of European powers to support the idea of a Jewish state. He was appealing to their self-interest. To get the Jews out of their countries would end the social tensions surrounding their presence. And what leader would prefer social tension if there were an alternative? Herzl felt that in the end the rulers of Europe would become supporters of Jewish nationalism, regardless of whether or not they liked Jews.

Herzl has been criticized for the virtual non-reference to the Palestinian people and their rights. There are three things we can say about this. First, Herzl was convinced rather naively that the Palestinians would welcome a Jewish state because of the alleged benefits that would flow to them. Second, he felt Jewish settlers would represent the best of European civilization, practicing full inter-ethnic and inter-religious cooperation without any discrimination or oppression whatsoever. Certainly that would have been his own value system, growing up in the liberal, tolerant environment of 19th century Vienna. Third, the common white view of the day was that in Africa and the Middle East there were empty lands and the absence of private property. Indigenous peoples were pictured as wandering from place to place to cultivate crops or to watch their cattle. If in a given year they were shifted from one place to another, it was thought no real harm would be done. Thus the introduction of new populations would not displace any indigenous populations or create any tensions. This was how the British saw Kenya in 1903 when they introduced white settlers into the "empty" highlands, and it is how Jews saw Palestine. Israelis today complain that their actions are not seen in context, and that they are often held to a higher standard than other peoples. Certainly in this case, we can say Jewish nationalists of the day were no better, no worse, than other Europeans in how they viewed non-Europeans.

Herzl created a set of political and economic structures that were to be the organizational base of political Zionism. He created a Zionist bank (Bank Leumi), a land-purchase organization (The Jewish National Fund), and a political organization to link Jews together in the common national cause (The World Zionist Organization, with its branch the Jewish Agency). These organizations all exist today. Note that while Zionist organizations are dominated by Israelis, they are not Israeli organizations but are "Jewish" organizations, being owned and controlled by the Jewish people. This is a key Zionist concept—that there is no Israeli nationality but a Jewish nationality, with Israel being a country made up of part but not all the Jewish nation. Many organizations and structures in Israel are Zionist rather than Israeli.

In discussing Zionism, be alert to anti-Semitic analogies. There were historic conspiracy theories in Europe about secret organizations that manipulated power from behind the scenes. The Masons, the Luminari, the descendants of Jesus, and the Jews were all alleged at different times to be behind such

secret organizations. In the late 19th century, Russian intelligence fabricated a book--*The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*--that purported to be the minutes of meetings of a council of Jews that secretly plotted to control and direct world events. Because the Zionist organizational structure was international, and because many Jews were vigorous supporters of its goals, some people confuse the phony *Protocols* with Herzl's *Der Judenstaat*. In fact, Zionist organizations operate in public, with offices, officers, budgets, and scheduled meetings. While some people may disagree with the goals of Zionism, the Jewish nationalist movement and its organizations are not secret or conspiratorial and are not to be confused with fabricated defamations of the Jewish people.

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