The Parallels of the Jewish and Muslim Story in Europe:

How Anti-Jewish Racism Created the Blueprint for Modern Islamophobia

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Abstract:

Since the late 15th century, with the legalization of the idea of 'limpieza de sangre' (purity of blood) in Spain, Europe has built frameworks for systematic oppression, racialization, and white supremacy. Within Europe, Jewish and Muslim individuals became the envisioned enemy of Christian society and were the primary targets of this developing system, which was then exported around the world through colonization. Anti-Jewish racism culminated in Europe with the rise of the Nazi regime and the events of the Holocaust. Following the end of World War II in Europe, Western countries led the global community to condemn anti-Jewish Racism, the Holocaust, as well as the ideas and processes that led to such a horrific genocide. As a result, Europe, on a political and academic level was forced to face the systemic oppression and racism of their own making. However, in an overzealous attempt to address the problem, the overwhelming response was a denouncing of such an institution, but not the dismantling of it. Thus, as anti-Jewish racism was now an anathema, the culture of white supremacy sought to fill the void left behind—Islamophobia and anti-Muslim racism filling this void. Through a historical analysis, using both critical theory and Foucault's theory of discourse, this paper will demonstrate how Islamophobia is built on the same frameworks as anti-Jewish racism. To engage in this topic, books such as Gil Anidjar's *Semites* and *Blood*, as well as Paul Hedges' *Religious Hatred*, will be used to provide historical context, while Matti Bunzl's anthology, *Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia*, and other 21st century theses will be used to demonstrate the current discourse. As academics and political leaders attempt to grapple with these two parallel bigotries, inherent in each discourse is the continued anti-Judaic sentiment within the Muslim community. The purpose of this paper is to break through this discourse to show how the use of competitive victimhood and identity politics are detrimental to processing systemic oppression. Therefore, by

perpetuating the idea of anti-Jewish racism within the Muslim community, this discourse is aiding the white supremacist cause through the creation of unnecessary divisions.

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Introduction:

On February 24th, 2022, under Vladimir Putin's regime, Russia invaded Ukraine, starting a brutal war that sent shockwaves through the global community.[1] As Ukrainians fled their homes, they sought refuge primarily in other European nations. This tragedy illuminated the dark side of Europe and its other Western counterparts. Ukraine is not alone in experiencing both war and a subsequent refugee crisis, however. Since 1999, Afghanistan has been subject to ongoing civil conflicts.[2] Since 2003, Iraq has been involved in ongoing civil conflicts.[3] Since 2011, a civil war has been waging in Syria.[4] And, since 2014, Libya has experienced enduring violence, from a civil war continuing into constant civil conflicts.[5] In 2021, 50% of first-time asylum applicants were of Middle Eastern and African origin while only 11% were of European origin.[6] Yet, of the residence permits granted, Ukrainian individuals were ranked first out of the top ten nationalities making up nearly 52% of those accepted. On the other hand, those of Middle Eastern and African origin, the top three being Moroccan, Syrian, and Turkish, were only approximately 17% of the individuals receiving residence permits.[7] What is causing this disparity? Why are people from the Middle East and North Africa being denied asylum in Europe? How are Ukrainians different?

Europe has an Islamophobia problem. And nothing better illuminates the problem than the news coverage of the Ukrainian refugee crisis. Here are just a few quotes from news anchors and interviewees. During a report on the war in Ukraine, Charlie D'Agata, a senior foreign correspondent for CBS News stated that Ukraine, "isn't a place, with all due respect, like Iraq or Afghanistan, that has seen conflict raging for decades. This is a relatively civilized, relatively European — I have to choose those words carefully, too — city, one where you wouldn't expect that, or hope that it's going to happen." [8] Similarly, on an ITV broadcast, Lucy Watson reported

that, “now the unthinkable has happened to them. This is not a developing third world nation. This is Europe.” [9] French international correspondent Ulysse Gosset echoed the sentiments of both D’Agata and Watson when he said, “we are in the 21st century, we are in a European city, and we have cruise missile fire as though we were in Iraq or Afghanistan, can you imagine!” [10] Finally, David Sakvarelidze showcased the racism that lies at the core of the issue when he stated in a BBC segment, “I’m sorry, it’s really emotional for me because I see European people with blue eyes and blond hair being killed.” [11] Embedded in these quotes are racist themes and tropes. In each quote there is an assumption, being that white people do not propagate such violence nor should they be subjected to such violence because of their whiteness and the perceptions of superiority that accompany it. However, such violence is expected and assumed in countries like Iraq and Afghanistan. Thoughts like these are an extension of white supremacy, specifically anti-Muslim racism, in which Islam and its followers are assumed to be violent and less capable of peace, a racist trope rooted in their perceived inferiority to whiteness.

It is important to understand that not everyone from the Middle East or North Africa is Muslim, religiously, or culturally. Islamophobia has become a racialized and systemic issue in which both Muslims and non-Muslims of Middle Eastern and North African origin are affected. Europe is the birthplace of the concept of race, it is the originator of the systemic oppression based on a race profile, and the propagator of raced-based -isms and phobias. Due to an increase in publications about Islamophobia starting in the 1990s, Islamophobia appears to be one of the newer ‘children’ of European systemic racism with the term itself was used since at least starting in 1910.[12][13]

The racism that Muslims in Europe face today is not entirely unique. Through the works of Samer Ali, “The Racialized Figure of the Muslim in the Genealogy of Christian and White

Supremacy", Gil Anidjar, *Blood*, and Paul Hedges, *Religious Hatred*, I will show the tandem yet separate racialization of Jews and Muslims. Despite this racialization, terms such as Islamophobia, xenophobia, and orientalism are still used to describe the manifestations of racism that affect Muslims, particularly in Europe. I will again use Ali's work as well as J.L.A. Garcia's, "Racism and the Discourse of Phobias: Negrophobia, Xenophobia and More—Dialogue with Kim and Sundstrom", to demonstrate how these terms are problematic and detract from meaningful discourse on anti-Muslim racism. Once I establish the concept of anti-Muslim racism, I will then move to demonstrate how the post-Holocaust expressions of anti-Muslim racism now in Europe, parallel the expressions of anti-Jewish racism before the Holocaust. To do this, I will again employ Hedges as well as a compilation of various articles and journals. Finally, I will critique Hedges' use of the anti-Jewish Muslim trope and demonstrate the danger of the belief that anti-Zionist critiques are a manifestation of anti-Jewish racism. The anti-Jewish Muslim trope manufactures an innate animosity among Muslims toward Jews, one that perpetuates anti-Jewish racism and supposedly stems from the core of Islam. I will demonstrate how in reality, the trope perpetuates anti-Muslim racism.

I think there is a belief that anti-Muslim racism can be qualified as Islamophobia, the fear of Muslims, xenophobia, orientalism, or bigotry. Additionally, it seems that the perception of anti-Jewish racism has been re-weaponized to protect Zionism and in turn maintaining anti-Muslim racist beliefs. To demonstrate the trope of the anti-Jewish Muslim and how it protects Zionism, I will utilize Foucauldian discourse theory as well as elements from Michael Rothberg's book *Multidirectional Memory*. I will show how there is now a discourse which propagates the notion that anti-Muslim racism is lesser than anti-Jewish racism and pits these two groups against each other. These discourses only further white supremacy by fueling identity

politics and denying racism. Islamophobia replaces anti-Muslim racism in terminology, which removes race and racism from the conversation. It is not granted the same discussion within anti-racism critiques, nor the same protections as anti-Jewish racism that have been created. Anti-Muslim racism is a form of racism and should be recognized as such. Today, in Europe, the Muslim experience parallels that of Jews before the Holocaust, and it is crucial to recognize these similarities and break through discourses that maintain anti-Muslim racist beliefs and structures in the name of Zionism. What we see now is the culmination and combination of several preexisting issues in Europe—chiefly anti-Jewish racism and anti-Muslim racism. Following the Holocaust, legal structures were enacted in Europe to protect Jews from anti-Jewish racism. If Jewish people could no longer be the targets, racism is directed toward a new population targeted for white supremacy to persist. This is where Muslims and individuals of Middle Eastern and North African descent re-enter the discussion of racism in Europe. Without the same legal protections as Jews, Muslims, or those perceived as Muslim, face the full force of institutional racism.

Chapter 1: Co-Racialization of the Jew and the Muslim

Racism as we understand it today, often seems to rely on skin color, especially within the context of the United States, obscuring the racialization and radicalization of religion within white supremacy. However, as Anidjar proposes, "the view that religion and ethnicity, indeed, religion and race, are indifferent [sic] and even opposed to each other has a long history that may go back to the perception that 'early Christians neither defined themselves nor were perceived in terms of race or ethnicity'".[1] This misunderstanding is rooted in how race is perceived. Ali notes that authors such as George Fredrickson "like many others define racism narrowly by color".[2] Because this modern view of race is so prevalent, especially in the United States, it seems people believe this is how race has always been conceptualized. People thus believe "in the claim that 'the foundations, the very definition of earliest forms of Christianness, depend upon the rejection of race or ethnicity'".[3] However, this is not true. The system of racism relies on a framework of supremacy, namely, white supremacy created by Europeans, and exported around the world. White supremacy has not always been known as white supremacy.[4] Racism did not appear overnight, and although we cannot accurately describe all forms of institutionalized discrimination and hate as racism, we can examine the history of white supremacy and expose its lineage. To do this, we must first examine the root issue and cause of racism: white supremacy. The earliest form of white supremacy took the shape of Christian supremacy. As Ali notes, legal systems supporting Christian supremacy only emerged in the fifteenth century developing into white supremacy by the seventeenth century.[5] Therefore in this chapter, I will illustrate how Christian supremacy co-racialized Jews and Muslims and established institutional anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim racism in tandem.

First, to examine the roots of anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim racism, we must define and examine the concepts of race and racism. Via Ali's paper, we can gain a full understanding of race and racism, which he defines as a system of grouping and categorizing people.[6] In order for racism to 'function,' there must be an identifying 'racial' element to it, no matter how illogical it may be. This includes what Ali defines as physiognomy, or more aptly, race profiles which "include voice, hair, mannerism, bodily and facial shape, not just skin color".[7] These elements of the system are crucial to understanding racism no matter the time period it is discussed. However, racism does not follow a logical thought process, and there does not appear to be one succinct definition that can be agreed upon. Part of this is due to the prevalence of 'scientific racism' which relies on biology and supposed 'pure' races to rationalize social superiority. However, as Memmi deconstructs in his book *Racism*, such arguments for superiority have no real basis in science. [8] And furthermore, for this examination of race, it does not include the crucial element of religion. Therefore, I put forth that racism is a social construct created to uphold a manufactured sense of superiority, based on the supposed inherent inferiority of a different population. Race, therefore, is a categorization assigned to groups by people that deem themselves as superior.

The basis of racism is often misconstrued as a disparity in skin color, but as we noted, the race profile is more complex and nuanced. While skin color can be important in discussing racism within the context of the US, it is not the primary nor the solitary basis of racism. Additionally, claiming that racism is confined to skin color and removing religion as a component allows for the subversion and continuation of other forms of racism, chiefly anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim racism. So then, how did these forms of racism develop? The racial identity of, and subsequent racism directed toward, Jewish and Muslim individuals was created

in a religious context of Christian supremacy.[9][10] Therefore, although both groups were racialized separately, the racialization happened in tandem. Thus, it is important to recognize the long-standing and historical racialization of Muslims in addition to Jews.

Although many modern European states pride themselves in their relatively secular ideologies, modern Europe began to take shape under the shared cultural hegemony of Christianity—from which many of its early kingdoms and empires derived power. Within this system, both Muslims and Jews to this point are defined by their religion. There is little deference paid to ethnic identities that we rely on in modern times such as Arab, Turk, Sephardim, or Ashkenazim. To be Muslim or Jewish was enough of a qualifier. This is where we return to Anidjar's proposition that Christians were not defined by race or ethnicity. As various people groups joined the ranks of Christendom, their former identities were forgotten. They were no longer a pagan, but a Christian. They found shelter and security within the Church and the legal systems backed by it, as "a number of early Christian authors [found] it strategically valuable to speak about Christianness as a racial category, although they [formulated] it as an inclusive one (as a race one can join)".[11] As we will discuss, this was not a truly inclusive category for everyone. To create a separate racial category for themselves, there had to be other racialized groups to stand in contrast to their own racial group. This is where we return to Ali's explanation of race and racism, in which it is an effort to group and categorize people. The inclusivity in the Christian system does not exist in who was allowed to be a part of the 'Christian race,' but rather who fell into the groups defined as being in opposition. "Many early Christian texts define their version of Christianity as a race, sometimes in opposition to other rival articulations of Christianness, and sometimes in contrast to non-Christian groups and cultures,"[12] which the Crusades highlighted as the Jews and the Muslims. Not only were Jews

defined in opposition to Christianity, but Muslims were as well. It is within this realm of thinking and defining that the early kingdoms of Spain became an important case study into the specific techniques in which Jews and Muslims were racialized within a cultural and legal context.

The Spanish Inquisition often seems to be regarded as the major turning point for Jews and Muslims in Southern Europe. Yet it was in 1449, in the city of Toledo, that the most damning laws against Jews and Muslims of Spain were created, known as *Los estatutos de limpieza de sangre* (the statutes of the purity of blood).[13] Embedded in this law was a belief that one's blood can be marred by sin, whether personal or generational and for the average Christian, the blood of Jesus had the power to clean and wash away any tainted blood and allow for purity.[14] However, this sense of purity was not available to every Christian— 'new Christians' or those who were Muslim or Jewish were excluded. Those who converted to Christianity could not overcome their otherness. The Spanish even attempted to create a traceable lineage of blood in a near scientific fashion. However, this argument is neither logical nor scientific. Rather, the existence of traceable pure or impure blood was enshrouded in mythical theology.[15] The Spanish courts subscribed to this mysticism and believed exceptional sin in one's lineage could not be cleared. This is the sin of being Jewish or Muslim in a racialized system, the sin only a convert could inhabit. One that was traceable through lineage and most importantly, one that could never be extinguished as long as there was even one drop of Jewish or Muslim blood in them.

Clearly, the individuals persecuted by the *estatutos de limpieza de sangre*, were converts, they were the 'new Christians.' Yet, as defined by the mystical power of blood, being Jewish and Muslim was an immutable quality, a representation of sin. Although Spain had attempted to create an entirely Christian nation through expulsion or forced conversion, the legal system still

refused to recognize converts as true Christians. Through this false sense of Christian supremacy, an unscientific 'biological' difference was created to other and racialize Jewish and Muslim converts. Despite converting, they could never truly be a member of either Christian or Spanish society. By associating this difference with sin and impurity, Spanish law further created categorizations of superiority and inferiority. The legal predecessor to the one-drop rule is found within these statutes.[16] To use modern terminology, Jewishness and Muslimness had been racialized. One's previous or current religious affiliation had been linked to one's existence. It was an intrinsic quality that could not be changed and through legal and social constructs, it guaranteed inferiority in the eyes of both the law and society.

Chapter 2: Diminishing Racism through Misrepresentation

In the first part of my paper, I outlined how both Jews and Muslims were co-racialized under Christian supremacy, using laws like *los estatutos de limpieza de sangre,* using the research by authors like Ali, Anidjar, and Hedges. However, I also noted that there remains a problem in identifying anti-Muslim racism as racism. In addition to the authors whose work helped build the first part of this thesis, there are several authors within academia that utilize 'anti-Muslim racism' to discuss the racism that Muslims face around the world such as, James Carr, Sherene Razack, Nicole Nguyen, Michelle Colpean, Soham Patel, Mohan Ambikaipaker, and more.[1][2][3][4][5][6] Despite a clear genealogy of anti-Muslim racism and the usage of the term within academia, other terms are still used to describe this form of racism. If anti-Muslim racism is not properly identified, it can further a discourse that undermines the very existence of anti-Muslim racism. There are three terms that are often utilized to describe the oppression and discrimination that Muslims face: Islamophobia, xenophobia, and orientalism. Identifying the effects of anti-Muslim racism by these three terms obscures the racialization of Muslims from the discourse and understates the effects of systemic issues. In the following pages, I will demonstrate why each term is problematic because they obscure the racialization of Muslims and in doing so undermine constructive dialogue on anti-Muslim racism.

First, Islamophobia, as a term does incorporate the element of religion into the discourse, it obscures the existence of race and racialization. However, if we were to break down the word, it has two main parts: 'islamo-' and '-phobia'. The first part, 'islamo-' refers directly back to Islam, while 'phobia' has two definitions in the Cambridge Dictionary:

1. a type of anxiety disorder (a mental illness that makes someone very worried and affects their life) that involves an extreme fear of something

2. an extreme fear or dislike of a particular thing or situation, especially one that is not reasonable[7]

In the article "Racism and the Discourse of Phobias" by J.L.A. Garcia, we gain the understanding that the second definition was the initial definition, and later a medical disorder was defined out of it. First, Garcia explains that phobias, due to the terms usage within clinical fields, have an inherent legitimacy. This, however, is juxtaposed by their often-implied irrationality and visceral nature. Secondly, it projects the emotion of fear onto someone, essentially blaming said individual for the feeling of fear and opposition.[8] Rather than recognizing one's own opposition and prejudice, the person who is feared is viewed as the problem. In this case, Garcia is not discussing fears like agoraphobia or arachnophobia, but rather those phobias that have been directed toward people as groups. So, if this was applied to Islamophobia, a Muslim individual or someone assumed to be Muslim, would implicitly and unjustly be blamed for evoking a fearful and visceral reaction from someone. Thirdly, the implied fear and opposition is based solely on religion, yet as discussed, the opposition to Muslims is a systemic and racialized issue within society. It is not merely a fear, and to refer to the societal effects of anti-Muslim racism as Islamophobia ignores the issue entirely—it strips the problem of the clear systemic issues and allows individuals to claim fear rather than acknowledge racism. Thus, if systemic consequences of anti-Muslim racism are discussed within the Islamophobic discourse, it would not lead to fruitful conversation nor any change. This is because this discourse, through the definition of Islamophobia, presupposes religious difference as the source of the issue. Finally, because Islamophobia imagines Muslims as the cause of the issue within a clinical framework, it insinuates a potential 'cure'. This cure would be for those suffering from Islamophobia, the oppressor, rather than promoting systemic change for the

oppressed persons. Because this is not an illness, there is not a true medical cure, however, humans have shown a desire to kill what they fear. To draw a parallel, the Nazi regime feared Jews as part of their anti-Jewish racism and created a plan to massacre all Jews to 'cure' society. With this line of thought, Islamophobia threatens to create a similar situation in which Muslims are killed to cure someone else's fear.

Xenophobia can be viewed through the same lens as Islamophobia or any phobia that projects fear toward an oppressed group of people. As Garcia notes, "the term 'xenophobia' indicates an attitude toward someone or something other than oneself" which, along with racism can be identified with self-love, or as I would define a sense of superiority or supremacy, yet "each of these attitudes itself *consists in* a mental stance toward something other than oneself, not toward oneself".[9] But, this definition needs to be taken further. The 'someone' who is fear is viewed as innately foreign to the xenophobe, and within the modern context, xenophobia is strongly linked to a near jingoistic sense of nationalism. Thus, firstly, like Islamophobia, xenophobia implies a fear of difference and in conversation is used to acknowledge the effects of racism. However, unlike racism it ignores race and racialization. Garcia argues that xenophobia is more universal than racism, and its origins lie beyond Europe. In this line of thought, although xenophobia can perpetuate oppression like that of white supremacy, it misses the core of the white supremacist issue—that people perceived as foreign are thought of as lesser. If we look to anti-Muslim racism, Muslims were racialized and othered alongside Jews due to of their imagined difference. Secondly, if we look at the parallels between the racisms, the racialization of both Jews and Muslims created a perception of foreignness. This element of their racialization creates racist tropes and furthers their systemic oppression. Their perceived foreignness is an element of racism; therefore, xenophobia would not be the main cause even if it was a reliable

term. Instead, xenophobia represents the effects of racism. As a term, it perpetuates the notion of foreignness, furthering the racist tropes of racialized groups. Therefore, if racialization is ignored in this context, it only serves to undermine the discussion of systemic racial oppression. The narrative of oppression is reversed under xenophobia, and if the cause of the issue is mislabeled or misidentified, then a real discussion cannot be held. Thirdly, the perception of foreignness raises a question about European Muslims. Although there has been an increase in immigration from predominantly Muslim countries to Europe, these immigrants do not represent the only Muslims in Europe. Assuming so would ignore three other populations: historically Muslim communities within Europe, generational Muslims within Europe, as well as European converts to Islam. For individuals born within Europe, there is no logical step toward a perception of foreignness but because Muslims are racialized as a group, the fact that they are native does not matter. Because Muslims are racialized and subject to the trope of being perpetually foreign, they are imagined to be in opposition to everything that is European—democracy, secularism, whiteness, and Christianity. Lastly, looking at the oppression that Muslims face due to xenophobia would only encompass a small portion of the issue, while also negating the oppression that other Muslims within the community face. It does not aid the discourse on racism as it fragments the issue, because as Ali notes that the imagined identities peoples subject to racism "were conceived of and treated as a single genus for the purpose of violence".[10] Thus, these discourses maintain the separation caused by manufactured identities and distract from the main issue of white supremacy and racism—which, if we put aside, "we might be begin to see the connections between seemingly disparate events".[11]

Orientalism has become an important element of the study of the Middle East and North Africa, and nothing would demonstrate it better than the debate between Edward Said and

Bernard Lewis alongside their colleagues on November 22, 1986. Yet, works like Said's *Orientalism* can be viewed as expanding upon postcolonial theory rather than white supremacy. Firstly, it is important to note, orientalism refers to how the lands and peoples of North Africa, the Middle East, and Asia are viewed—primarily in a mystical reimagination of reality. Within this imagination, the tropes perpetuated by orientalism can be recognized as stemming from anti-Muslim racism. However, orientalism nor the study of it acknowledges the racialization of Muslims. As Ali notes, "work on orientalism has focused on bias in scholarship grounding it in the matrix of colonialism (Said), capitalism (Abdel-Malek), cultural, nationalist or religious rivalry (Tibawi, Laroui, Hourani), but not white supremacy and its racial categorizations".[12] Postcolonial theory is designed to understand the fantastical tropes created through ideologies like orientalism. Yet, racism is an additional and important element to this discussion, which Ali notes it is absent. Therefore, the first critique of orientalism is this absence of racism, which is precisely why orientalism cannot aid in the discourse on anti-Muslim racism. Muslims were racialized, Muslims suffer from racism, therefore, to have constructive discourse on anti-Muslim racism the theory and scholarship must directly include and acknowledge the racial constructs that Muslims are victim to as well as the racism that they face. It is central to the issue, and this cannot be ignored. Secondly, orientalism can and should be analyzed through the lens of racism because the tropes that exist within orientalism stem from the racialization of the people it views. Additionally, the existence of racism is highly important to decolonial theory, because as Ali outlines, racism expanded and further developed through colonization.[13] Racism is a systemic issue, meaning it affects individuals through various avenues, whether political, social, cultural, or economic. Therefore, since colonial rule impacted each of these elements, it would seem that understanding racism and acknowledging racialization would help deconstruct colonial practices.

So, in discourse, it is a one-way street, anti-Muslim racism can aid in helping understand and further discussions on orientalism, but because racism is missing from the orientalism discourse, it cannot be used to aid the discourse on anti-Muslim racism. Instead, ignoring racism subverts the discourse. By ignoring the racialization of Muslims, these tropes can be analyzed but not deconstructed.

Islamophobia, xenophobia, and orientalism, each, do not acknowledge the issue of racialization nor racism within their definitions nor discourses. Islamophobia and xenophobia, in particular, have received a level of legitimacy through the perceived clinical nature that they have assumed. Yet, as false phobias they distract from the main issue as they are reactionary. Their definitions place blame on the oppressed people for the oppressor's reaction, which does not acknowledge the systemic issues inherent to racism. It is through racialization that individuals who are neither Muslim nor foreign are affected by religious hatred and anti-immigrant sentiment. Their perceived Muslimness links them to tropes of perpetual foreignness—issues that stem from an invisible anti-Muslim racism. The issue is far deeper than fear. Orientalism is precisely not fit for discourse on anti-Muslim racism because it does not acknowledge racialization of Muslims. The inability to acknowledge race or racism is a misrepresentation of the issue. When the issues of racism are subverted white supremacy and the systemic oppression of racism can continue. Only through the direct acknowledgement and representation of race and racism in the discourse can the issues be discussed productively and dealt with.

Chapter 3: Legalized Double Standards

When Hitler and the Nazi Party gained power in Germany in 1933, they did so partially by running on a campaign of anti-Jewish racism. Thus began their reign of terror over Jews and other minorities within Germany and beyond as the Nazi Regime's borders expanded during World War II. In 1942 the Nazi Regime began what it called 'The Final Solution' and what we now remember as the Holocaust or Sho'ah. The regime systematically massacred around 11 million people, roughly 6 million of whom were Jewish and roughly 5 million were from other minority groups such as Roma, LGBTQ+ individuals, Poles, as well other religious and intellectual minorities.[1] When the Nazi Regime was toppled and World War II ended, the leaders of Europe had to contend with the massive loss of life caused by racism and hatred. In 1945, the Nuremberg Trials began. With them, the individuals that participated in the genocide were publicly prosecuted and convicted of crimes against humanity. This was just the beginning of fighting the anti-Jewish racism that existed in Europe. This was the largest legal condemnation of anti-Jewish racism, and it signified the first major shift away from a history of atrocities. Through criminalizing the perpetrators of the Holocaust, the Nuremberg Trials not only demonstrated a legal shift, but also a social and cultural shift. The atrocities of the Holocaust were the culmination of centuries of systemic anti-Jewish racism, so one trial could not fully dismantle every aspect of the system. As Matti Bunzl notes it was not until the 1990s and early 2000s that political and thus cultural tides began to change in some European countries such as Austria, France, and the United Kingdom.[2]

Various countries within Europe as well as major European institutions took additional legal approaches to fight anti-Jewish racism. In Germany, where Nazism originated, anti-Jewish racism is outlawed.[3] Germany was not alone in this effort either, the European Union, which

includes a large majority of European countries within its purview, outlawed anti-Jewish racism, implying a majority of member nations agreed with the effort.[4] However, it is important to note that anti-Jewish racism still very much exists within Europe and around the world, though "Holocaust guilt may have suppressed it somewhat in the past few decades".[5] Yet, a gap was left in the fabric of the white supremacist culture of Europe. If it is illegal for a white supremacist or a fascist to be anti-Jewish, a new victim must be found. As discussed in the previous chapter, anti-Muslim racism is misidentified and mislabeled. Because of this, I believe there is an issue in the perception of the anti-Muslim racism occurring within Europe. In this chapter, I seek to demonstrate the parallels between the manifestations of anti-Jewish racism before the Holocaust and anti-Muslim racism following the Holocaust. Through demonstrating the similarities, I hope to highlight that within Europe there is a systemic issue of anti-Muslim racism that is going unrecognized.

Anti-Muslim racism re-emerge and fill the void left after anti-Jewish racism was outlawed due to colonialism. Here, it is important to again note that anti-Jewish racism and anti-Muslim developed in tandem.[6] In his paper, Ali notes that around the 17-18th centuries, Christian supremacy underwent a dialectal shift. Through the emergence of colonization and secularism, what was good and Christian was now synonymous with whiteness, leading to the new terminology of white supremacy. Christianity is still inherent within white supremacy. Therefore, despite the allusion to color in the term white supremacy, anti-Muslim racism is still a systemic issue stemming from it. Yet with the French and British colonization of North Africa as well the fall of the Ottoman Empire which led to French and British colonization of the Middle East, a direct connection with the Muslim world and Northern Europe had been established. Thus, once the former colonized nations achieved independence, and some like Algeria and

Lebanon experienced civil wars, immigration of individuals from the Middle East and North Africans increased.[7][8] The influx of immigrants from predominantly Muslim nations allowed for the resurgence of long-held racist sentiments in Europe. The combination of historic anti-Muslim racism and the illegality of anti-Jewish racism allowed for the emergence of institutionalized and legalized anti-Muslim racism in Europe. In this thread, European governments repurposed legal systems of racism used to further anti-Jewish racism as well as reimagine anti-Jewish racism in a modern format equipped for anti-Muslim racism. Despite the distinct similarities and near replication, anti-Muslim racism is still largely unrecognized. Following in this section I will highlight four structural manifestations of racism that were used to target Jews before the Holocaust and are currently being used to target Muslims in order to demonstrate the existence of legalized anti-Muslim racism. Here, we will see the parallels that these two racialized groups have been victim to.

Perpetual Other: Following the Roman destruction of Jerusalem, Jews became "outsiders to society…with no home". [9] The Jewish people were dispersed throughout the empire and barred from returning to their homeland. Thus, within the European consciousness, Jews were thought of as a wandering people, perpetually foreign and unable to integrate. This conception of Jewish foreignness was reinforced with the advent of secularism in the Enlightenment. [10] Instead of religion being the guiding principle of human society, the human conception of morals and ethics became the guiding principles. With this movement in the late 17th century, new nation-states were birthed and consequentially, nationalities. Jews, however, due to the establishment of principles like that of the Spanish, were racialized and viewed as both an ethnic group and a religious group. As Hedges noted, for many European nations, "there was a sense that Jews remained 'a nation apart'".[11] In the

European imagination, Jews were a stateless nation—stretched across national borders, linked only by their shared Jewishness. So, the question arose if they could be trusted members of the new nation-states with their apparent dual loyalty. Under the waves of anti-Jewish racism in Europe that spurred movements like that of the Nazis, Jews were branded as a 'globalist' population—implying an insatiable desire for power, mass control, and an innate foreignness and lack of allegiance.

Following the Holocaust and the criminalization of anti-Jewish racism, the propagation of this trope is no longer legal. Additionally, even though Israel is geographically separated from what is considered Europe, it is included in European events such as Eurovision, and the EU maintains a special relationship with the country.[12][13][14] Now, Muslims within Europe are targeted with this manufactured foreignness.[15] Many European nations like France, Germany, and the Netherlands pride themselves in their secular identity, and as a result, just as the Jews were seen as a foreign entity because of their Jewishness, Muslim are perceived as foreign and unable to fit within the mold of Europeanness because of their religiosity.[16] Islam is seen as incompatible with the secular democratic principles of Europe, and thus Muslims, whether citizens by birth or naturalization, cannot ever be fully European.[17]

Blood Libels: When blood libels were imagined in the human psyche they did not begin as inherently anti-Jewish in nature. Instead, blood libels began as a religious majority accusing a religious minority of performing religious rites or sorcery using blood collected from members of the religious majority. Yet, as Christianity became the religion of the majority, and Judaism one of the minorities, it was believed that Jewish people required the blood of

Christians for various religious practices. In return Jewish individuals were killed, with or without a trial—though the trials could hardly be considered valid by modern standards as they were based on superstition and the anti-Jewish racist's imagination. [23] Christians were often given permission to preemptively commit acts of violence against Jews on the assumption of preexisting guilt—whether linked to deicide or other heretical crimes. Due to their perceived inferiority, Jewish people were viewed as an offense to the Christian religion, with murder and violence as the only true means of defense.

Now, after the Holocaust, Muslims are victimized by a modern reimagination of blood libels in which the blood of Europeans spilled during events of terrorism will help a believer achieve martyrdom. As the rate of terrorist attacks by extremists who claim to represent Islam has increased in Europe—although they still are not the leading cause of terrorism—such acts of 'Islamic' extremism taken a special place within the European consciousness.[19] To draw connections to Hedges explanation of blood libels, it seems for Europeans, or at least European governments, that these acts of terror have come to represent the mystical rituals that Jews were accused of doing. Due to a misunderstanding of Islamic martyrdom, the spilling of European blood has been construed as a fundamental step in the process of achieving martyrdom. The supposed mystical ritual does not end there, these acts of terrorism also represent an affront to Europe's religion. Although Christianity is elemental to white supremacy, the rise of secularism in Europe meant power was no longer derived from God, but rather the people bestowed power through democracy. Because of this, democracy appears to be sacred, a near religious element of European society. But there is an anti-Muslim racist trope that promotes the idea that Muslims and Islam are antithetical to democracy. Therefore, as these acts of terrorism spill the blood of Europeans, they are also

committing an affront on the religion of the masses, democracy. Acts of 'Islamic' terrorism are viewed then as acts of mysticism and sacrilege. European nations and citizens defend their new sacred ideals against this supposed new form of blood magic with religious fervor. In Europe, there are increasing levels of anti-Muslim hate crimes as well as counter-terrorism efforts that target Muslim communities with little discretion. [20][21] Rather than recognizing terrorism as a fridge idea, the racialization of Muslims creates the belief that all Muslims are capable of terrorism. Islam is the perceived antithesis to Western ideals, and this thought process has allowed for the manifestation and imagination of Jihad as a shared Islamic principle of the destruction of Europe—that through spilling the blood of Europeans, martyrdom is achieved.[22] Therefore, anyone racialized as Muslim is viewed as a potential threat increasing the likelihood they will be the victim of a violent hate crime or intensified state surveillance.

Demolition of Religion: Just as Islam abrogated Christianity, Christianity abrogated Judaism.[23] Therefore, Judaism would be Christianity's historical and heretical predecessor. Instead of believing in Jesus and the Gospel, Jews maintained their religion. In response to this, religious leaders, like Martin Luther, called for the destruction and near erasure of every aspect of the Jewish religion, from destroying synagogues to burning the sacred texts. [24] Calls to action like that in Luther's work *The Jews and their Lies*, inspired anti-Jewish violence to occur as forms of religious erasure and perhaps inspire elements of Nazi ideology and action, like book burnings.[25]

Two incidents highlight a similar desire to destroy the sanctity of Islam. First, in 2006, the French newspaper, Charlie Hebdo, published cartoons depicting Mohamad with a suicide

bombers vest.[26] Many Muslims world-wide view the depiction of Muhammad as sacrilegious. So not only did the newspaper purposefully antagonize Muslims by depicting the Prophet, but Charlie Hebdo also furthered this affront on Islam by suggesting the Prophet was a suicide bomber or would have supported such actions. Although within many Islamic schools of thought, a depiction of the Prophet would be sacrilegious, the newspaper specifically decided to provoke an oppressed people and make light of a racist trope. Yet, five years later, in 2020, the newspaper stated it would republish the cartoons.[27] The root of this issue is that this type of religious attack, aimed at a racialized minority, to further propagate racist trope and purposefully violate the Muslim community's religious beliefs are protected under French law—with President Macron stating that he would not pass judgement on the situation, but that French law protects freedom of speech.[28] And, while this is partially true, France has passed laws like the Gayssot Act and founded the Interministerial Delegation for the Fight Against Racism, Anti-Semitism, and Anti-LGBT Hate (DILCRAH).[29][30] So, while, anti-Jewish racism is legally recognized and outlawed, anti-Muslim racism is allowed to be propagated. France is not the only nation to witness desecrations of Islam. Both in 2020 and 2023, individuals such as Rasmus Paludan, a member of the far-right political party Stram Kurs, have burned the Qur'an in Sweden. While members of the Swedish government denounce such actions, there is no evidence that arrests were made, nor were any criminal charges pressed. Sweden has two plans each for anti-Jewish racism and anti-Muslim racism, yet it should be noted that a protest planning to burn the Torah was cancelled, highlighting a double standard in which anti-Jewish racism receives more legal protection than anti-Muslim racism.[31][32][33][34]

Regulating the Racialized Body: The Jewish populations of Europe were not only othered socially, culturally, or legally, but physically as well. First, as we noted, anti-Jewish racism as a form of racism emerged from the belief that Jewish converts to Christianity could not be true Christians due to their 'impurity'. However, the Christian race was an 'inclusive' one. So white modern racism relies more upon the physical elements of race physiognomies, historical anti-Jewish racism, could not. Instead, the Pope ordered specific markers on clothing to be created for Jewish individuals so that they could be easily identified. It is important to note, this canon also identified Muslims as needing markers on their clothing.[35] Although this phenomenon started in medieval times, the most notable example comes from the Stars of David that the Nazi regime required Jews to wear. In addition to artificial physical manifestations of Jewishness, Jewish people were physically segregated into separate communities outside cities. In some places these communities were walled in, and as time progressed, the conditions deteriorated.[36] Although this style of segregation was outlawed in Western Europe in the 19th century, it continued in Eastern Europe well beyond the 19th century and was used by the Nazi Regime in various forms and depictions of the Star of David.[37]

Muslims, now, following the end of the Holocaust, and the many previously mentioned protections for Jews within European countries, are subject to laws regarding their clothing. While Muslims are not required to wear identifying markers, the opposite of this law would be to not police a specific population's clothing. Instead of requiring specific markers, numerous countries within Europe, such as Germany, Italy, and Denmark have enacted bans on specific elements of religious garb, expressly targeting Muslim women who desire to veil themselves.[38] Some of these laws specifically prohibit the wearing of the niqab or similar

face garments, while others, like those in France, prohibit any women under the age of 18 from wearing any form of the hijab.[39][[40] Taking this a step further, the Court of Justice of the European Union upheld that companies could prohibit employees from wearing visibly religious items.[41] This ruling stems from a case in which a company in Belgium told a female employee she may not wear her hijab, as it violated their rule against head coverings.[42] While the ruling does provide a caveat that if there is evidence of one religious group being targeted that the companies must review their policies, with the prevalence of anti-Muslim racism, it seems questionable that such actions would be taken.[43]

The policing of clothing is not the sole parallel. Muslims are also victims of segregation similar to that of Jews before the holocaust. Although there are no laws or legal systems that I have found that force this segregation, news articles as well as academic literature make constant references to the separate and segregated neighborhoods, in major cities such as Paris and Brussels, that Muslims live in—especially when talking about the potential for terrorism. However, potentially the most concerning element of the segregated neighborhoods takes place in Copenhagen and many other cities in Denmark. The government of Denmark has created lists of what the government defines as 'ghettos' and subjects the residents to extra education and potentially increased or additional prison sentences.[44][45][46] This Danish legal code is strongly linked to the perceived foreignness and inability of Muslims to integrate into European society. These laws seem to suggest that Muslims must be forced to integrate, and if not, that there should be forms of punishment—punishment for not being 'European' enough. But, qualifying someone's degree of Europeanness is directly connected to the racialization of Muslims, and the perceived perpetual otherness they are subject to. Even if this segregation is not enforced or encoded in

law, even if it may be done to create a sense of community, the use of the term 'ghetto' presents numerous problems because of the connotation the word has taken on. It is a racialized term that implies high rates of both poverty and crime as reflected by the articles that use this term.[47] So merely by living in a specific area, Muslims fall victim to the aforementioned racist tropes, and the anti-Muslim racists perceive higher levels of fuel for their metaphorical fires.

The parallels between the legal and societal efforts to oppress Jews and Muslims on the grounds of anti-Jewish racism and anti-Muslim racism are remarkable. The two communities have faced similar forms of oppression, whether by the policing of their bodies, via claims of blood libels, due to racialized perceptions of foreignness, or the destruction of their religious texts. This is because they have become co-racialized through Christian supremacy. Following the Holocaust, Jews have received some legal protections against anti-Jewish racism. Muslims, however, have become the new victims of legalized white supremacy through the social and governmental weaponization of anti-Muslim racism. In defense of their new sacred religious elements, democracy and secularism, various European nations, as seen in this chapter, target Muslims, as well as those who appear Muslim. But why are Muslims not afforded the same protections as Jews? If these groups were both racialized under Christian supremacy, why was anti-Muslim racism not outlawed in the same way that anti-Jewish racism was?

Chapter 4: Weaponized Racism

Racism is a global issue, and therefore it affects many groups of people. In this thesis, I have discussed two forms of racism: anti-Jewish racism and anti-Muslim racism. Although Christian supremacy racialized both groups of people, and they have therefore suffered parallel forms of legalized oppression, there is an issue within the discourse around these racisms and the interactions between Jews and Muslims. First, it is important to understand how discourse functions. Using Foucault, we can understand discourse as a tool of institutions to police people and their thoughts. However, discourse can be subverted and used to make constructive change within society. To dismantle racism, it is imperative to tackle the main issue of white supremacy. Therefore, it is important to not discount one group's oppression or say another group faced more oppression or fall into the trap of identity politics. Each group of people oppressed by white supremacy has their own collective memory that relates to their past and present oppression. As Michael Rothberg states, it is "the interaction of different collective memories within [this] sphere [that] takes the form of a zero-sum struggle for preeminence".[1]

White supremacy thrives when those it victimizes fight each other. Within the discourse on racism, there are a myriad different sub-discourses, each for a different manifestation of racism. As Ali states, each of "these discourses and practices have important differences, but they have been overemphasized facilitating intellectual fragmentation and political division".[2] White supremacy has thrived upon the separation and segregation of people into various groups. This separation represents the adverse effects of identity politics, which acknowledges a specific individual's identity as it exists within "social structures that generate injustice and the possibility of a shared and more authentic or self-determined alternative".[3] At its core, "identity politics rests on the connection between a certain [experience] and the subject-position to which

it is attributed, and hence on unifying claims about the meaning of politically laden experiences to diverse individuals".[4] White supremacy then utilizes these shared experiences and connection to further ingrain the separation it has created and pit groups against each other, rather than fostering cross-group dialogue. It is precisely through the recognition of shared injustice that groups can form a new identity and thus a new discourse based on this identity. However, for each discourse to remain separate is detrimental to discussions on white supremacy, because many forms of oppression are rooted within white supremacy. If each discourse remains separate, it is easier to enter the 'zero-sum struggle for preeminence' that Rothberg mentioned as each identity struggles for group recognition or exclude some forms of oppression from their discourse because it does not directly apply to their specific identity. But an even darker aspect of this zero-sum struggle occurs when identities and racism are weaponized to subvert another identity and form of racism. If the oppression people face is not viewed within the same discourse, it can be weaponized by white supremacy, and this is why multidirectional thinking is important. Collective memories should be used to foster and add to a discourse, rather than detract through competition. Current competitive discourse supports white supremacy. So, to break through this discourse it is useful to employ Rothberg's concept of multidirectional memory, which he defines "as subject to ongoing negotiation, cross-referencing, and borrowing; as productive and not privative".[5]

Although rooted in the past, the problems of racism still exist today. Therefore, in this section, I want to reposition to focus of Rothberg's idea, so it does not only incorporate memory. We should broaden Rothberg's concept to multidirectional thinking. In doing so we can acknowledge both racism and oppression whether ongoing or historical. This will help break through the current discourse so that we can see both anti-Jewish racism and anti-Muslim

racisms as elements of white supremacy. To recognize that they are not competing but require simultaneous acknowledgement within the discussion so that the overall system can be broken down. Considering the parallels discussed in the previous section, multidirectional thought is important in helping oppressed people see their shared experience and begin a new dialogue just as W.E.B. Du Bois exemplified in his paper, "The Negro in the Warsaw Ghetto".[6] White supremacy has subjected both Jews and Muslims to systemic racism. So, rather than use their experiences to compete—or worse, utilize racism to elevate themselves and oppress the other—these shared parallel experiences should be used to find connections and further the discourse against white supremacy. In this chapter, I will discuss the argument that anti-Zionism is anti-Jewish and the trope of the anti-Jewish Muslim. I will then demonstrate how, together, these two issues distract from and diminish the problem of anti-Muslim racism.

There are two direct threats to the discourse on anti-Muslim racism that continue to subvert the existence or discussion of it. The first threat being how critiques of Zionism, or the State of Israel are viewed as manifestations of anti-Jewish racism. While the second threat is the trope of the anti-Jewish Muslim. While the threats represent two different arguments, they have become entangled, precisely because of who Zionism affects. On either side of the issue are Jews and Muslims. The assumption therefore is Jews support Zionism and Muslims will critique it. Thus, if a Muslim were to critique Zionism or the State of Israel, they would be engaging in anti-Jewish racism, fulfilling the trope of the anti-Jewish Muslim. White supremacy has crafted an animosity between Jews and Muslims. Despite being co-racialized and targeted under Christian and white supremacy, or perhaps because of this, anti-Jewish racism is now a tool of white supremacy to further oppress Muslims. Before beginning the critique of anti-Zionism as anti-

Jewish racism and the anti-Jewish Muslim, it is important to examine the working definition of antisemitism put forward by the International Holocaust Alliance:

> "Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities."[7]

While this is a well-formulated definition, it fails to acknowledge racism directly. The definition somewhat references the racialization of Jews as well as the various ways in which Jewish or Jewish perceived individuals can suffer. The concerning part of the IHRA's definition of antisemitism lies in their examples of antisemitism, specifically:

- Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, e.g., by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavor.
- Applying double standards by requiring of it a behavior not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation.
- Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.
- Holding Jews collectively responsible for actions of the state of Israel.[8]

These examples expeditiously qualify all critique of the State of Israel and therefore, Zionism, as manifestations of anti-Jewish racism. Firstly, within these examples, there is a clear demonstration of the 'zero-sum struggle for pre-eminence' that Rothberg talks about. Through not allowing critiques of the State of Israel, there is an assertion that anti-Jewish racism is somehow greater, more acute, more real, or more important than anti-Muslim racism. Secondly, inherent in these examples is an apparent double-standard, one that the IHRA rejects for the State of Israel. First, the IHRA states that if other nations exhibit racism or human rights violations,

then they should not be able to critique the State of Israel. While it is a valid claim to state that holding Jews, individually or collectively, responsible for the actions of the State of Israel, the IHRA takes it a step further. The organization seems to put forward that if others critique the State of Israel, they themselves should be held responsible for the actions of their nation, invalidating their critique of Israel. Lastly, and potentially the most concerning element of the definition, is the number of countries within Europe that have adopted it; as of 2023, 29 countries within Europe alone have accepted these working definitions, with the European Union encouraging its member states that have not, to accept this definition.[9][10] Although this definition itself is not a legal framework or law, it helps define legal structures, especially within countries that have outlawed antisemitism like Germany and France.

Such definitions are a clear weaponization of anti-Jewish racism against Muslims and reinforces anti-Muslim racism. It disrupts the discourse on anti-Muslim racism by diminishing the importance of the issue and as well as subtly denying its existence. Through disallowing any critique of the State of Israel and its demonstrations of anti-Muslim racism, it obscures the issue and stops any open discussion. Additionally, it excuses the anti-Muslim racism of Israel, in effect denying that it is an issue. However, this denial goes beyond IHRA and the countries that have accepted their definition. Such discourse is also evident within academic texts. Despite providing useful theory and historical evidence of anti-Jewish racism and anti-Muslim racism, Hedges directly engages and promotes the idea that anti-Zionist critiques are forms anti-Jewish racism and builds upon this to perpetuate a trope—the anti-Jewish Muslim.[11] As a prime example of anti-Zionist critiques in action, Hedges makes an example out of the Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) movement, which he characterized as left-wing antisemitism chiefly because "the BDS movement slips into structural antisemitism by effectively targeting one particular

group".[12] Hedges continues the critique of anti-Zionism by diminishing the severity of the actions taken by the State of Israel. He does this by describing the State of Israel's actions, whether he agrees they are accurate descriptions or not, within quotation marks. By doing so, Hedges continuously diminishes the actions. First, Hedges acknowledges some perceive Israel's actions against Palestinians as from apartheid and genocidal policies. Then, Hedges suggests Israel's actions may be apartheid-like, but diminishes the actions further by being akin, rather than equivalent, to oppression and extreme policies. This process of diminishing Israel's conduct finally culminates with Hedges claiming the State of Israel is democratic. And because of the democratic system, there are Israelis who oppose the oppression of Palestinians, making critiques of the state unwarranted. It is precisely because of this line of logic that Hedges claims it is dangerous to perceive Jews "as oppressive, white, colonial settlers". [13] Hedges claims that by acknowledging the racism of the State of Israel, that people are denying anti-Jewish racism. However, ignoring the duality of an oppressed person also being an oppressor allows for the propagation of racism and white supremacy through oppressed people. This exact phenomenon was noted by Frantz Fanon in his book *Wretched of the Earth*. [14]

Hedges seems to engage in numerous logical fallacies. In his criticism of the BDS movement Hedges makes ad hominem attacks on supporters of anti-Zionism by stating that either they demonstrate anti-Jewish racism or that there are members within the same organization that do. Hedges continues with logical fallacies as he attempts to define how anti-Zionism is anti-Jewish. These definitions provide some key examples:

1. One way [antisemitism] particularly manifests is in criticism of Zionism which leads into vilification of Israel and almost inevitably into disparagement of Israelis (meaning Israeli Jews) but slips into attacks on any Jew who is not explicitly anti-Zionist.

2.

    a. Israel is a democracy with groups that actively oppose the extreme policies.
    b. Support for a legitimate homeland for the Jewish people need not be a racist belief, and many Jewish, and non-Jewish, Zionists are very critical of the extreme 'apartheid-like' policies of certain governments in Israel.

3. While founded as a Jewish nation, the state of Israel saw itself as providing a secular equality for all its citizens.[15]

In the first definition, Hedges engages in a slippery slope. He assumes that it is inevitable that individuals who critique Zionism will attack any Jew no matter their beliefs. Just because there is a possibility that it could happen, does not mean that it will. To suspend all critiques out of a possibility promotes the belief that there is no issue and Israel is just in their actions. Next, in the following two definitions, Hedges makes a composition fallacy. He presupposes what a portion of Israel believes applies to the whole of the state, and therefore the government. However, as Hedges and the IHRA noted earlier, there are many nations around the world that commit human rights violations, many of which, like the United States, are democracies. Unfortunately, the way democracies function allows for fringe or extreme ideas. So just because Zionism may be a fringe ideal, does not mean it is above critique, especially since it is embedded within Israeli politics. In his final definition, there is a division fallacy. Hedges assumes what is true for the whole, Israel, must be true for all factions of the government. Yet, as evidenced by Israel's treatment of Palestinians, this is not true. Additionally, Hedges ignores history by making this claim. It is adjacent to claiming that the Founding Fathers of the United States truly believed all men were equal while owning slaves.

In attempting to define anti-Zionism as anti-Jewish, Hedges and the IHRA are unable to make a clear argument. Each one of these definitions engages in a particular element of discourse. Without realizing, those who deny the abuses and racism of Zionism and Israel have internalized the white supremacist and racist discourse. These definitions presuppose that an oppressed individual cannot replicate oppression. Discourses are created by the state to police people, yet the step beyond this is when people internalize the discourse and police themselves or others. A 2022 poll by the Institute for Social Policy and Understanding (ISPU) provides an example of internal policing due to racist discourse. The ISPU found that nearly 1 in 5 American Muslims believed the trope that Muslims are less civilized than other people groups. Muslims represented the highest number of individuals to believe in this trope.[16] The racist discourse has become an internal belief. This internalization can also be propagated outward toward other oppressed groups. One example of this being W.E.B. Du Bois' article in the Chicago Star "The Case for the Jews". Du Bois is an acclaimed postcolonial and anti-racist author, whose works have partially inspired my thesis. Yet in this article, Du Bois reproduces anti-Muslim racist tropes in defense of Israel, by stating things such as, "[Palestinian's] rulership is a family and clan despotism which makes effective use of democratic methods difficult".[17] These are beliefs that stem directly from anti-Muslim discourse that Du Bois internalized and consequently externalized. This is exactly what Hedges and the IHRA are doing while believing it is not possible.

However, it seems that when discussing anti-Jewish racism within the Muslim community, Hedges does not afford the arguments the same caveats as he does for Zionism, applying a double standard. First, it is important to note that Hedges acknowledges that both communities, Jews and Muslims tend to gravitate to pro-Israel and pro-Palestine beliefs

respectively. Second, it is crucial to discuss how Hedges identifies the anti-Jewish racism he believes exists within the Muslim community. In the beginning of his eighth chapter, Hedges outlines why he chose the terminology for how to describe the anti-Jewish racism by Muslims, in which he chose Islamic antisemitism over Islamist antisemitism or Muslim antisemitism. Hedges chose this because, "modern Islamic antisemitism has become, for many Muslims, a mainstream expression of their thought and practice".[18] Third, throughout the chapter, Hedges continually makes grand claims about what Muslims believe and the widespread nature of anti-Jewish racism. However, while he cites the authors of specific anti-Jewish texts, there are no citations for these claims. There are no sources or surveys to support the supposedly widespread existence of anti-Jewish racism within Muslim communities. Lastly, in this chapter, Hedges frames a great deal of his argument around Israel and Palestine. Yet in his discussion on Zionism and the State of Israel, Hedges argued for an understanding that not all those who support Israel are racist and that calling them colonizers is anti-Jewish. But, on the reverse, with only a few mentions that potentially anti-Jewish racism was or may still be a fringe belief within Islam, Hedges claims it is a widespread belief.[19]

With these arguments, it is important to think of them within the context of Europe. Many countries have outlawed anti-Jewish racism, a majority of Europe only recognizes Israel, and the EU has established a special relationship with Israel.[20][21] Then, if we are to believe Hedges assertion that most Muslims are pro-Palestine, what are the effects of categorizing anti-Zionism and critiques of Israel as forms anti-Jewish racism? What are the effects of claiming that most Muslims propagate anti-Jewish racism? These are extremely dangerous claims. To create a trope of an anti-Jewish Muslim plays directly into the white supremacist identity politics that is highly detrimental to discourse on anti-Muslim racism. It allows for the furthering of racist

tropes such as blood libels against Muslims, and excuses anti-Muslim racism in the name of stopping anti-Jewish racism. Such claims pit the two communities against each other—and if the two groups fight each other, it will only be to the benefit of white supremacy. This is why multidirectional thinking, both for past and present oppression, is so important. Recognizing the racism that each community faces is crucial to fighting white supremacy, because as Rothberg notes in his example, supporting efforts against anti-Jewish racism and memorialization of the Holocaust is not inherently anti-Black. [22] The same can be said for anti-Jewish racism and anti-Muslim racism.

Conclusion:

Europe has an anti-Muslim racism problem. It is not merely Islamophobia, nor xenophobia, nor racism. Jews and Muslims were co-racialized during the era of Christian supremacy and throughout European history subjected to various forms of anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim racism. Furthermore, in the period following the Holocaust, Muslims have faced forms of systemic and legalized racism that parallel those Jews were subject to in the period leading up to, and during, the Holocaust. Due to their co-racialization both Jews and Muslims have been subject to a perpetual perception of foreignness and inability to integrate, blood libels that allow for physical violence and hate crimes, desecration of sacred religious texts, segregation, and the policing of their clothing. In the aftermath of the Holocaust, many European countries have now taken legal steps to outlaw anti-Jewish racism, while at the same time they have enshrined anti-Muslim racism into their legal codes. It is important to engage in discourse on anti-Muslim racism, yet it must be done with care. Multidirectional thinking is crucial to understanding and working against white supremacy—it is detrimental to the discourse on racism to allow for white supremacist identity politics to take hold and pit groups against one another. Stating that entire communities or populations of Jews or Muslims hold racist belief of one another only furthers white supremacy and its conceptualizations of race. It is dangerous to enable an anti-Jewish Muslim trope, especially in European countries where anti-Jewish racism is illegal. Another issue within the discourse is the defining of anti-Muslim racism. It should not be misnamed or otherwise defined. The core issue is one of racism. It is not Islamophobia or xenophobia. Nor can it be identified through orientalism. Neither phobia nor orientalism acknowledges the racialization of Muslims. Instead, the phobias blame the oppressed for the actions of the

oppressor. And all three terms perpetuate racist tropes, furthering anti-Muslim racism without conceding racism is the issue.

Given Europe has an anti-Muslim racism problem, what can be done? As the Muslim population of Europe continues to grow, this remains an important question. During Russia's invasion of Ukraine, Europe demonstrated an openness to aid the Ukrainian refugees because of their proximity to whiteness. The blatant racism of this policy was demonstrated in numerous news broadcasts, but as we noted, anti-Muslim racism is legalized. Additionally, several countries within Europe are trending farther right in their elections.[1] And as Bunzl noted, the far-right was historically anti-Jewish and have now become anti-Muslim, so this trend is not likely to change.[2] The simple answer to the problem of anti-Muslim racism would be to afford Muslims the same legal protections and outlaw anti-Muslim racism. However, because of the systemic nature of anti-Muslim racism, legal protections are not enough. As a concept anti-Muslim racism is embedded within European culture. Due to the democratic nature of European governments, policies and politicians merely reflect the opinions of society. For example, the Nazis were democratically elected, just as the new far-right leaders within Europe. Thus, if racism is a cultural problem protected and entrenched by the democratic process, how can it be solved. What is important now, is to change the discourse within academia as well as within day-to-day life. Anti-Muslim racism should no longer be referred to as Islamophobia nor xenophobia, and while orientalism is useful. Because it does not acknowledge the racialization of Muslims, it should not be the main mode of theory for the discourse. Instead of leaning into white supremacist identity politics, anti-Jewish racism and anti-Muslim racism should be discussed together, alongside all forms of racism propagated by white supremacy. In this thesis, I set out to outline the co-racialization, the parallels within the manifestations of anti-Jewish racism and

anti-Muslim racism, and highlight the issues within the discourse on said racisms. My hope is that this opens the door to further research that can affect real change within academia and European law.

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