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Role and Impact of Intellectual Factor in the 18th-20th Centuries' European Conception of 'Jews as Jews': A Revisitation

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Abstract: The paper advances an argument that European intellectual community played a role that influenced attitudes and policies of anti-Semitic conception of Jews as Jews. It goes on to explore various ideas propounded by some famous thinkers and scientists that dominated the 18th-20th centuries Europe: such as classification of races, systematic and mathematical order of things, rights of man, categorization of races, autonomous reason, metaphysics of eating, etc. The paper also argues that European conception of Jews exerted pressure intended to cause assimilation of Jews into host-nations. Consequently, European Jewry conceded to this pressure and was imbibed into European racial fantasies on matters of colour and / or race. Such concession to this pressure led to situations whereby many Jewish benefitted from race categorization as white than non-white races – as a result they were caught up in acts of racism and Semitic anti-Semitism.

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper explores anti-semitism within the broader context of the 18th-20th century period—focusing on some of the intellectual dialogues of the Enlightenment in which scientific racism emerged under Linneaus, Blumenbach, Hegel and many others whom I shall not be able to discuss given the limitations of space. Then there will also be a discussion of the racial place of Jews—not promising to answer the question concerning the colour of Jews. The discussion shall also cover the extent of the impact of European anti-semitism on Jews and Jewish behaviour towards other racial groups in later centuries as Jews devise their own survival kit.

The intention is to revisit these ideas as a way of comparing them with what is referred to now as new anti-semitism, at the back of the mind thinking of the question: Do 18th-20th centuries' anti-semitic ideas transcend their time and influence recurrence of old time European conception of "Jews as Jews"?

Three things are to be pursued in the paper: (1) that European conception of Jews as Jews had an intellectual influence—that

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means any form of its perpetuation then and now is voluntary; (2) the impact of European anti-semitism coupled with race categorization on its victims—European Jews; and (3) that European Jews were imbibed by scientific racism and its subsidiaries—turning them into Semitic anti-semitists.

The paper shall not cover all intellectual influences on European conception of Jews as Jews; rather, there will be a selection of ideas that I consider to have fundamentally played a major role, namely, racial science, rights of man, and German idealism. The essay will be more in the style of conceptual exploration in historical context, than strictly historical-chronological narration.

2. INTELLECTUAL INFLUENCE ON EUROPEAN CONCEPTION OF "JEWS AS JEWS"

The editorial review of the book: Why the Jews? The Reason for Antisemitism, written by Dennis Prager and Joseph Telushkin, poses three questions, the most important one of which is: "Why have Jews been the object of the most enduring and universal hatred in history?"[1] It is both a question of intellectual wonder and of physical interaction with a person who calls him/herself a Jew. When Hume (quoted in Popkin) met Isaac De Pinto, he said he is "a good men tho' a Jew."[2] De Pinto was a Dutch Jew of Portuguese origin.[3] Denis Detroit is known of having written critically about Jews and specifically about De Pinto. When he met him live he had good things to say about him, and of course as a critical writer also had bad things to write.[4]

It is common knowledge that Jews were accused for all sorts of reasons, ranging from being outsiders to engaging in corruption, to others having to do with religion, politics, economics, or social life. In religious circles they were accused of being God-killers, in politics "Fascists accused them of being communists, communists accused them of being capitalists."[5] For those who assimilated into social life among host nations, they were seen as a "filth column."[6] But what was anti-Semitism in Europe and how did it become of its kind?

Tariq Ali describes anti-semitism as "a racist ideology directed against Jews."[7] Hein Fein (quoted in Longchamp, Aebersold, Tschöpe, and Ratelband-Pally), defines anti-Semitism as:

> [A] persisting latent structure of hostile beliefs towards Jews as a collective manifested in individuals as attitudes, and in culture as myth, ideology, folklore and imagery, and in actions—social or legal discrimination, political mobilisation against the Jews, and collective or state violence—which results in and/or is designed to distance, displace or destroy Jews as Jews.[8]

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[1] Amazon.com, "Editorial Reviews" to the book, *Why the Jews? The Reason for Antisemitism*, New York, (Simon & Schuster, 1983) by D. Prager and J. Telushkin, Amazon.Com [Website: http://www.amazon.com/Jews-Reason-Antisemitism-Dennis-Prager/dp/07432_46209] [Date: June 05, 2007].

[2] Popkin, R. H., Review: *Deterot and the Jews, East Brunswick*, by Leoon Schwartz, *Eighteenth-century Studies*, Vol. 18(1), 1984, p. 117.

[3] Sutcliffe, A. Can a Jew be a philosopher? Isaac De Pinto, Voltaire, and Jewish Participation in European Enlightenment, Jewish Social Studies: History, Culture and Society, Vol. 6(3), pp. 34-35 at http://inscribe.iupress.org/doi/abs/10.2979_/JSS.2000.6.3.31 [June 05, 2007].

[4] Popkin, R. H., 1984, p. 117.

[5] Prager, D. and Telushkin, J., *Why the Jews? The Reason for Antisemitism*, New York, Simon & Schuster, 1983, p. 17

[6] Prager, D. and Telushkin, J., 1983, p. 17.

[7] Ali, T., "Notes on Anti-Semitism, Zionism, and Palestine," *Counterpunch*, March 4, 2004 at http://www.counterpunch.org/ali03042004.html [September 18, 2007].

Gans describes anti-semitism as "a container-concept" in which one can dump anything of liking. Then she further defines it as "dislike of and prejudice against Jew as Jews."[9] Furthermore, she characterizes it as follows:

> Anti-Semitism is rooted in traditional anti-Jewish prejudices and stereotypes; these may be restricted to oral and written expressions, but in times of social and political crisis may also result in new laws, physical threats, persecution and murder.[10]

The above show that there is a combination of ideological and voluntary intentions to disregard the affording of tolerance, recognition, and acceptance of the other's existence, even to the point of extermination. The definitions also have a link with problems of race and human rights violations. It is worthwhile to closely look at scientific and philosophical efforts that underpin European urge to prove that Jews were of the other lot.

2.1 Classification of Races: Racial Science—an Intellectual Confirmation of Anti-Semitism?

The 17th century saw the rise and self-definition of natural scientism triggered by the writings of Kepler, Galileo, Copernicus, and their followers. The new scientific endeavour also caused fatal clashes between the Roman Catholic Church and scientists. The traditional Catholic religious doctrine was that "the world contained two fundamental books": firstly the book of Nature, and secondly, the Scripture.[11] According to Crease, the doctrine stated that the former should be read together with the latter—the book of Nature is written in signs.[12] Thus the full and / or "ultimate meaning" of the book of Nature can only be revealed by the scriptures.[13] In defence of natural science and its endeavour, and in defiance of the religious doctrine, Galileo wrote the book The Assayer (1623) which contains the well-known passage (quoted in Joseph):

> Philosophy is written in this vast book, which lies continuously open before our yes (I mean the universe). But it cannot be understood unless you have first learned to understand the language and recognize the characters in which it is written. It is written in the language of mathematics, and the characters are triangles, circles, and other geometrical figures. Without such means, it is impossible for us humans to understand a word of it, and to be without them is to wander around in vain through a dark labyrinth. (Opere 6:232)[14]

The passage is sometimes famously known as a metaphor: "The book of nature is written in the language of mathematics." The metaphor became the motto in many

[8] Longchamp, C., Aebersold, M., Tschöpe, S., and Ratelband-Pally, S., Criticism of Israel not identical with Anti-Semitic Attitudes: A New Definition of the Anti-Semitic Potential in Switzerland, *Berne*, March 28, 2007 at http://www.gfsbern.ch /pub/WIK%20_def_eng-070330.pdf [September 19, 2007].

[9] Gans, E., 2003.

[10] Gans, E., 2003.

[11] Crease, R. P., The book of Nature, *Critical Point*, Dec. 1, 2006 at http://physicsworld.com/cws/article/print/26529 [September 20, 2007].

[12] Crease, R. P., The book of Nature, *Critical Point*, Dec. 1, 2006 at http://physicsworld.com/cws/article/print/26529 [September 20, 2007].

[13] Crease, R. P., The book of Nature, *Critical Point*, Dec. 1, 2006 at http://physicsworld.com/cws/article/print/26529 [September 20, 2007].

[14] Joseph, D. M., Galileo, Hobbes, and the book of Nature, *Perspectives on Science*, Vol. 12(2), 2004, p. 202.

scientific fields such as physics, astronomy, and others. It became radicalized during the Enlightenment period when mathematics took the centre stage in scientific inquiry because of its idea of order. Weinberg (quoted in Scheibe) explains: "Mathematics is a science of order, so perhaps the reason the mathematician discovers kinds of order which are of importance in physics is that there are only so many kinds."[15]

The rise and dominance of the Enlightenment in Europe brought with it the winds of change that saw the replacement and/or radicalization of religious and traditional world-views that were commonly held at that time. But interestingly, the attitudes of racism and anti-semitism were not replaced by the fraternity of intellectuals; rather they redefined the two to be working evils. What was happening in Europe in relation to race relations was in most cases well received in the Americas and also colonial Africa as the right thing to do.

Fredrickson writes that it must also be borne in mind that "the Darwinian emphasis on

> "[T]he struggle for existence" and the concern for "the survival of the fittest" was conducive to the development of a new and more credible scientific racism in an era that increasingly viewed race relations as an arena for conflict rather than the outcome of a stable ranking.[16]

So, racial science emerged in the eighteenth-century with its ambitious program of classifying with the intention of ordering things including humankind. Besides producing a number of negative results it also aided broad racism and anti-semitism in particular. Consequently, classification of races became a lucrative intellectual business in the eighteenth-twentieth century scientific endeavour. Two major icons of scientific racism shall be discussed below, namely Linneaus and Blumenbach. This does not mean that there were not many others who wrote about it, but they took an initiative.

2.1.1 Carolus Linneaus: Systematic and Mathematical Order of Things

According to Lesch, in the eighteenth-century, under the influence of mathematical philosophy that demanded quantification of things, "European thinkers embraced a systematic model of order with an enthusiasm and conviction unprecedented before and unmatched since."[17] They were enthusiastic in the sense that the Enlightenment marked a transition to a new approach to knowledge acquisition through reason. They were also convicted that through mathematics, they were able to order nature and to universalize knowledge. Such attempts were made even in the midst of heavy and elaborate rejection of the mathematical ideal in philosophy such as Kant put up front.[18] Lesch defines "systematics" as:

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[15] Scheibe, E., "The role of mathematics in physical sciences" in J. Echeverria, A. Ibarra, T. Mormann (eds), *The Space of Mathematics: Philosophical, Epistemological, Historical Explorations*, Berlin and New York, Walter de Gruyter, 1992, p. 142.

[16] Fredrickson, G. M. The rise and fall of the laboratory racist, *The Courier*, UNESCO, 2001 [Website: http://www.unesco.org/courier/2001_o9/uk/doss12htm] [Date of Access: May 12, 2007].

[17] Lesch, J. E., "Systematics and the Geometrical Spirit" in T. Frangsmyr, J. L. Heilbron, and R. E. Rider (eds), *The Quantifying Spirit in the Eighteenth Century*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1990, p. 73 [Website: http://ark.cdlib.org/ ark:/13030/ft6d5nb455/] [Date of Access: June 04, 2007].

[18] Frängsmyr, T. "The Mathematical Philosophy" in T. Frängsmyr, J. L. Heilbron, and R. E. Rider (eds), *The Quantifying Spirit in the Eighteenth Century*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1990, p. 44 [Website: http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft6d5nb455/] [Date of Access: June 04, 2007].

> [T]he classification of objects into groups according to degrees of identity and difference, and rationalized description and nomenclature—largely constituted the scientific study of the three kingdoms of nature: animal, vegetable and mineral.[19]

In an attempt to fulfill the prescription of systematics, and under the influence of "geometrical spirit," in 1735 Carolus Linnaeus published Systema Naturae per Regna Tria Naturæ, Secundum Classes, Ordines, Genera, Species, Cum Characteribus, Differentiis, Synonymis, Locis [The System of Nature Through the Three Kingdoms of Nature, According to Classes, Orders, Genera and Species, with Characters, Differences, Synonyms, Locations] (with twelve authorized editions)—commonly referred to as Systema Naturae [The System of Nature]. It opened a flood gate of other publications on nature especially during the European Enlightenment period.[20] At the core of the publication was the order of things based on categorization and characterization of three kingdoms of nature: Lapideum, Vegetabilie and Animale.[21] Humankind falls under (bipedal) Mamalia as Homo sapiens. Linnaeus did not remain in the Galilean slogan: "the book of nature is written in the language of mathematics"; rather, he became ambitious and, in the words of Frängsmyr, "proposed to extend it beyond the book of nature to the books of man—that is, to all exercises of human reason."[22] Some of these exercises were the best producers of world problems such as segregation, discrimination, and many other evils against humanity.

Linnaeus followed the systematic model—which was underpinned by the principle of the hierarchy of categorization. It was in this particular publication that Linnaeus pioneered defining the concept of race in relation to humans by proposing four categories, namely Americanus, Europeanus, Africanus, and Asiaticus.[23] These categories were based on places first, then later on colour. Linnaeus described each race as having "characteristics that were endemic to it":

> [Native] Americanus: reddish, natural, black hair, stubborn, and angered easily. Governed by custom or habit. Europeanus: white, eyes blue; gentle, acute, inventive. Covered with close vestments. Governed by laws. Asiatcus: eyes dark; severe, haughty, covetous. Covered with loose garments. Governed by opinions. Africanus: black, phlegmatic, relaxed. Crafty, indolent, negligent. Anoints himself with grease. Governed by caprice.[24]

The common critique leveled against Linnaus' categorization of races is that they "were clearly skewed in favour of Europeans."[25] With the passage of time, the above

[19] Lesch, J. E., "Systematics and the Geometrical Spirit" in T. Frangsmyr, J. L. Heilbron, and R. E. Rider (eds), *The Quantifying Spirit in the Eighteenth Century*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1990, 73 [Website: http://ark.cdlib.org/ ark:/13030/ft6d5nb455/] [Date of Access: June 04, 2007].

[20] Blunt, W., *The Compleat Naturalist: A Life of Linnaeus.* London, 1971; Frängsmyr, Tore, ed. *Linnaeus: The Man and His Work.* Berkeley, 1983; Koerner, Lisbet. *Linnaeus: Nature and Nation.* Cambridge, Mass., 1999.

[21] Linneaus, C., *Systema Naturae per Regna Tria Naturæ, Secundum Classes, Ordines, Genera, Species, Cum Characteribus, Differentiis, Synonymis, Locis, 1735, p. 18 [Website: http://books.google.com/books?id=Ix0AAAAAQAAJ] [Date of Access: June 04, 2007].*

[22] Frängsmyr, T. "The Mathematical Philosophy" in T. Frängsmyr, J. L. Heilbron, and R. E. Rider (eds), *The Quantifying Spirit in the Eighteenth Century*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1990 [Website: http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft6d5nb455/] [Date of Access: June 04, 2007].

[23] Linneaus, C., *1735, p. 29.*

[24] Linneaus, C., *1735, p. 18.*

categorization led to the creation of a racial hierarchy with Europeans placed on top and their skin colour put across as preferable. Consequently, the classification found favour and usage in many European countries, first as terms for describing the other, and second to endorse their conquering of members of the humankind they perceived as "lower races."[26] Furthermore, the classification scheme aided the invention of the concept of race which was used to enforce the inhumane institution of slavery particularly in the new world European colonies."[27]

2.1.2 Johann Fredrich Blumenbach: Classification is Arbitrary Because Human Variation is Continuous

While Linneaus' concept of differences of humankind was based on cultural and behavioural traits, Blumenbach viewed human varieties on the basis of physical characteristics of people as determined by the interaction between their genetic constitution and environment.

Linneaus's view of human existence was that humankind will always be the same, i.e., geographically fixed, and simply in need of being ordered within compartments of science. In his work of 1775, Blumenbach agreed with Linneaus that there were four varieties of humankind given by the places they live and their cultural traits—hence he enumerated four: (i) Europe, West Asia, and part of North America; (ii) East Asia and Australia; (iii) Africa; and (iv) rest of the New World. Later, in 1781, Blumenbach's concept of race evolved as a result of new reports that were coming in from authors of travelogue such as J. R. Forster who accompanied Captain Cook to "new Southern world."[28] He enumerated to five varieties of humankind: (i) Europe, West Asia, North Africa, Eskimos of the New World; (ii) East Asia; (iii) sub-Saharan Africa; (iv) non-Eskimos of the New World; and (v) Oceania.[29] In 1795, Blumenbach continued to evolve his views of humankind varieties and he enumerated five: "Caucasian, Mongolian, Ethiopian, American, and Malay."[30] He tried to justify why he chose the term "Caucasian":

> I have taken the name from Mount Caucasus because it produces the most beautiful race of men. I have not observed a single ugly face in that country in either sex. Nature has lavished upon the women beauties which are not seen elsewhere. I consider it impossible to look at them without loving them.[31]

Like his predecessor, Blumenbach's concept remained in favour of Europeans (who fall under Caucasian)—characterized by white colour. Rogoff pointed out that in 1775 Blumenbach wrote that "the Jewish type was instantly recognizable, but he did not define the distinguishing Jewish characteristics about Jews."[32] Thus they were

[25] Wikipedia, "Race and genetics" at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Race_and_genetics [June 03, 2007].

[26] Taylor, E. B., The Philosophy of Religion among the Lower Races of mankind, *The Journal of the Ethnological Society of London*, Vol. 2(4), 1870, pp. 369-381; Marshall, H. R., Our relations with the "Lower Races," *International Journal of Ethics*, Vol. 11(4), 1901, pp. 409-422.

[27] Anonymous, Carolus Linneaus, [Website: http://www.answers.com/topic/carolus-linnaeus] Date of Access: June 03, 2007].

[28] Blumenbach, J. F. "On the Natural Variety of Mankind" [Originally published 1865] in R. Bemasconi and T. L. Lott (eds), *The Idea of Race*, Indianapolis, Hackett, 2000, p. 5.

[29] Blumenbach, J. F., 2000, p. 5.

[30] Blumenbach, J. F., 2000, p. 27.

[31] Blumenbach, J. F., "On the Natural Variety of Mankind" [Originally published 1865] in J. F. Blumenbach; J. Hunter, *The Anthropological Treatises of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach: With Memoirs of Him by Marx and Flourens and an Account of his Anthropological Museum by John Hunter, M.D. on the Varieties of Man*, London, Adamant Media Corporation, 2001, p. 269.

seen as people without category.

The nineteenth-century race scientists did not change the usage of the term as synonymous to Europeans. It transcended Blumenbach and affected European conception of other races. For Blumenbach, other races degenerated from the Caucasians, a view that is disproved by the science of human genetics today. Cohen looks at the outcome of racial classification as the source of long-term after-effects on race relations. He writes thus:

> Racial classifications have insidious long-term results: anger and envy flowing from rewards or penalties based on race; solidification of racial barriers and the encouragement of racial separatism; inappropriate entry of race into unrelated intellectual or economic matters; the indirect support of condescension and invidious judgments among ethnic groups-in sum, the promotion of all the conditions that produce racial disharmony and racial disintegration.[33]

These long-term after-effects continued to feature in European and American histories with regards to racism, anti-Semitism, and slavery. Jews and blacks, who were on the receiving end of this racialization of human species experienced it harshly for many years and even today they are relegated to a lower level but in a subtle way. People still use terms such as 'caucasian', and many others as a way of describing their identities—showing the difference from the other.

[32] Rogoff, L., Is the Jew White?: The Racial Place of the Southern Jew, *American Jewish History*, Vol. 85(3), 1997, p. 196.

[33] Cohen, C., Why racial preference is illegal and immoral, *Commentary*, 1979, p. 47 at http://carl-cohen.org/docs/Why%20Racial%20Preference%20is%20Illegal%20and%20I mmoral.pdf [September 7, 2007].

2.2 The "Rights of Man" amid intellectual anti-Semitic dialogues

In European fantasy, 'the Jew' appeared as "an intruder who introduces from outside disorder, decomposition and corruption of the social order."[34] Outwardly, the idea appeared as a positive cause, such that if the 'problem-Jew' were to be eliminated, it would enable Europeans "to restore order, stability and identity."[35] In England King Edward heavily taxed ten thousand Jews and later expelled them out of the country in 1290 CE.[36] One is compelled to think that the expulsion could have been seen as part of solving the 'problem-Jews' because it continued in France, Portugal, and Spain. In Germany it went from bad to worse when the pogrom of 1938 took place.[37] The attitude against Jews remained inescapable and grew from strength to strength.

In 1688, the English Revolution took place and brought about the Declaration of Right.[38] The English Revolution is said to have been influential to other countries such as France. The period 18th-19th centuries was viewed as an era that set the stage for emancipation—where important ideas such as human nature, civil society, state, and human rights were at the centre of daily philosophical dialogues and writings. It also set a perception of things that there will be a worldwide peace as humanity will be coming of age.

[34] iek, S., *The Sublime of Object of Ideology*, London, Verso, 1989, p. 118.

[35] iek, S., 1989, p. 118.

[36] Dimont, M. I., *The Amazing Adventures of the Jewish People*, New York, Behrman House, 1984, pp. 109-110.

[37] Murchin, M. G., *Britain's Jewish Problem*, London, Hurst & Blankett, 1939, p. 47.

[38] Burke, E., "Reflections on the Revolution in France" [Originally published: 1790], in C. W. Eliot (ed), *The Harvard Classics*, Vol. 24 New York, P. F. Collier, & Son Corporation, 1937, p. 156.

2.2.1 The 'Rights of Man' in France

Enlightenment philosophers wrote a lot about radical democracy, peace, human rights, tolerance, and many other doctrines on social and political order. However, the question of how Jews fit into such an order and experienced democratic rights and peace as fellow human existents failed many as philosophers. Writing to De Pinto (in Sutcliffe), Voltaire writes: The French Revolution of 1789 (1787-1799) shook France and the rest of Europe and the world. Its wave ripples touched and influenced many aspects of European life, ranging from politics to religion, warfare, law, world policies on governance and commerce, etc. The causes of the French Revolution, among many, is said to be radicalized political philosophy of the Enlightenment expounded by the philosophes such as Jean-Jacque Rousseau, Montesquieu, Denis Diderot, and others. They used reasoned discourses on pamphlets, especially in conne[39]ction with human liberties—hence the declaration of the "Rights of Man," freedom of conscience, and the secularization of the state. Prior to 1789, Jews in France were treated as outsiders and en[40]joyed few civil rights. Article I (in Lefebvre) of the Dec[41]laration of the Rights of Man and Citizens of 1789 states: "Men are born and remain free and equal in rights." Lefebvre points out: "It was only at the end of the year [1789] and the beginning of 1790 that they advanced a bit further by conferring civil rights upon Protestants and the Jews of the South." Later in 1791, all Jews became activ[42]e citizens in France. Thus the French Revolution set the stage of emancipation for European Jews. Influenced by French Revolution ideas, Shaffer states that at the end of the 18th century "the Dutch passed an Act of Civil Liberty (the Emancipation of the Jews)—declaring Jews as "citizens with rights and obligations equal to those of their non-Jewish compatriots." However this was not the end of anti-Semitism.

> I shall tell you as frankly, that there are many who cannot endure your laws, your books, or your superstitions. They say that your nation has done, in every age much hurt to itself and to the human race.[43]

In the name of reason, Voltaire characterized Judaism as violent and irrational religion—basing his critique on the Old Testament events. Again, Voltaire (in Gould) wrote:

> [Jews] are … the greatest scoundrels who have ever sullied the face of the globe … They are, all of them, born with raging fanaticism in their hearts, just as the Bretons and Germans are born with blond hair. I would not in the least be surprised if these people would not some day become deadly to the human race … You [Jews] have surpassed all nations in impertinent fables, in bad conduct, and in barbarism. You deserve to be punished, for this is your destiny.[44]

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[39] Lefebvre, G., *The coming of the French Revolution* (Translated by R. R. Palmer) (Bicentenial Edition), Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1988.

[40] Lefebvre, G., *The French Revolution: From 1793 1799* (Translated by John Hall Stewart and James Friguglietti), London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964, p. 274-275.

[41] Jones, C., *The Longman Companion to the French Revolution*, London, Longman, pp. 68, 242, 255-6.

[42] Gans, E., The omnipotent Jew. Anti-Semitism today (Transl. from Dutch by Wendie Shaffer, *Vrij Nederland*, 2003 at http://www.niod.nl/nl/documents/Anti-Semitism TodayJan282004 [Date of Access: May 30, 2007].

[43] Sutcliffe, A., Can a Jew be a philosopher? Isaac De Pinto, Voltaire, and Jewish Participation in European Enlightenment, *Jewish Social Studies: History, Culture and Society*, Vol. 6(3), pp. 37 at http://inscribe.iupress.org/doi/abs/10.2979 /JSS.2000.6.3.31 [June 05, 2007].

Voltaire is said to have worked hard against tyranny and bigotry, but the danger was his view about Jews as epitomizers of such. The descriptions above show how much Voltaire held Jews with the greatest contempt ever that would not have failed to incite violence against Jews. Also, Voltaire's conception presents an ambiguous picture of the Enlightenment ideology in that it carried and imprinted in the minds of many a myriad of sophisticated implications to the rights of the Jew to exist as a human being.

2.2.2 Edmund Burke versus the 'Rights of Man' in France

Burke in comparison bragged to the recipient of his letter that through the Revolution, the British people are the only ones in the whole world who are offered an opportunity "for asserting a right of election to crown," "a right to choose our own governors; to cashier them for misconduct and to form a government for ourselves."[45] Although he subscribed to the English Declaration of Right, Burke, in the Reflections on the Revolution in France did not see the French Revolution as something that was worthwhile. Rather he attacked the philosophes and other role players for sacrificing "all ideas of dignity to an ambition without a distinct object and work with low instruments and for low ends, the whole composition becomes low and base."[46] In other words, to Burke, the whole exercise was of low standards and consequently, of no benefit to people of France.

The principle of utility, according to Halévy, "was hostile to revolutionary principles" to such an extent that those who spoke "the language of the 'rights of man' did not seem any longer fully to understand the juridical and spiritualistic meaning of the expression."[47] Halévy criticizes Burke for failing to raise the question of human rights in his parliamentary addresses in 1774: it is because Burke had already "made use of the principle of utility."[48] Halévy also criticized Godwin for taking a similar direction like Burke's of basing "a purely democratic political theory on a rigorous and systematic application of the principle of utility, excluding the principle of equal rights."[49] Both in the Reflections and in his speech to the parliament, Burke spoke against the French Revolution—winning himself an acknowledgment: "philosopher of counter-revolution."[50] Burke contended that "the theory of the Rights of Man was an unreal 'metaphysic'; the work of men of letters and philosophers, who were really responsible for the French Revolution."[51] Hence Halévy's conclusion: "from utilitarian philosophy Burke deduced an anti-democratic political theory."[52]

Technically, by failing to highlight the matter of equal rights and continuing to show a negative attitude against Jews, Burke contributed to European anti-Semitism. As a renowned and honourable member of parliament, his statements were respected and taken seriously. In the Reflections Burke's prejudice against Jews featured mildly but continued to enlist Jews among the people of bad character, thus he wrote:

> The next generation of the nobility will resemble the artificers and clowns, and money-jobbers, users, and Jews, who will be always their fellows sometimes their masters.[53]

[44] Gould, A. E., *What Did They Think of the Jews?* Northvale, Jason Aronson, 1991, p. 91.
[45] Burke, E., 1937, p. 156-184.
[46] Burke, E., 1937, p. 185.
[47] Halévy, E., *The Growth of Philosophic Radicalism* (Translated by M. Morris), London, Faber and Faber, 1972, p. 155.
[48] Halévy, E., 1972, p. 157.
[49] Halévy, E., 1972, p. 155.
[50] Halévy, E., 1972, p. 157.
[51] Halévy, E., 1972, p. 158.
[52] Halévy, E., 1972, p. 157.
[53] Burke, E., 1937, p. 187.

Implicitly denouncing the principle 'the end justifies the means', referring to murders, rapes, disrespects on properties during the years of the French Revolution, Burke did not see the efforts holding to the end. However, the results of the Revolution held beyond what he expected although with much evil accompanying. The worst part Burke did not want to imagine was that Jews were allowed to participate in the public forum as active citizens. Since church land was nationalized by the French government, then Jews were free to purchase some.[54] Burke's prophecy of doom could have been that they were going to own half of the country in no time. It is not impossible to think that such views were shared in Western Europe.

2.2.3 German Idealism: Kant and Hegel

German philosophical tradition contributed to Western scientific and philosophical endeavours. However, in the process, it became a participant root of the invention and implementation of eliminatory anti-Semitic policies on the basis of ethnicity. Jacobson said:

> The feverish and self-consciousness revision of 'the Jewish race' was at the very heart of [mid-twentieth century] scientific project to rethink the "race concept" in general—the racial devastation in Germany, that is, was largely responsible for the mid-century ascendance of "ethnicity."[55]

The revision of Jewish race means that there was still some remnant curiosity regarding what class should Jews be categorized as. This is because there were many perceptions as to what 'the Jew' has become since many of them had assimilated culturally, politically, and physically through intermarriage. So the revision was to reestablish the place of the Jew in race categorization. But there continued to be many impediments to such an endeavour, namely Jewish religion, laws, and way of living. For Mack, German philosophers constructed Jews as a symbol of the "worldliness" that "hindered the development of a body politic and that served as a foil to Kantian autonomy and rationality."[56]

The Enlightenment's two-pronged programme of progress and civilization embraced and radicalized the humanist idea of secularizing religion. In the process, religion was viewed as linked to or part of a body politic. Consequently, in his moral and religious philosophy, Kant discusses Judaism[57], while in anthropology, he discusses Jews as a nation.[58] With regards to Judaism, Kant highlighted one side of Spinoza, and argued that "Judaism is a religion without religion,"[59] whose very essence consists of politics.[60]

Mack states that Kant argued that Judaism's "inability to participate in a bourgeois civil society based on the Mine-and-Yours property and ownership distinction was reducible to the superstition of the Jews."[61] According to Mack, by superstition, Kant meant "reason's subjection to ex-

[54] Burke, E., 1937, pp. 192-193.

[55] Jacobson, M. F., "Looking Jewish, Seeing Jews" in L. Back. and J. Solomos (eds), *Theories of Race and Racism: A Reader*, New York, Routledge, 2000, p. 249.

[56] Mack, M., *German Idealism: The Inner Anti-Semitism Philosophy and German Jewish Responses*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2003, pp. 1-250.

[57] Kant, I., *Religion within the Boundaries of Mere Reason Alone* [Originally published: 1793]; Kant, I., *Metaphysics of Morals* [Originally published: 1797].

[58] Kant, I., *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View* (Translated by M. J. Gregor) [Originally published: 1798], The Hague: Martinus Nijhof, 1974.

[59] Robertson, R., *The 'Jewish Question' in German Literature, 1749-1939: Emancipation and its Discontents*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1999, p. 25.

[60] Mack, M., 2003, p. 23.

[61] Mack, M., 2003, p. 40.

ternal facts, that is to the principle of heteronomy."[62] Furthermore, for Kant,

> Superstition is irrational because it does not restrict the use of reason to reason's (autonomous) self-rule but instead orients rational toward that which it can justify by objective grounds and dogmatic conviction. [B]y calling the Jews superstitious, Kant defined rational autonomy as freedom from both the empirically and religiously given, over and against Judaic, which he characterized as the heteronomous, as the superstitious and irrational. In this way, Kant excluded the Jews from his transcendental scheme.[63]

Mack raises what he thinks is the central question of Kant's metaphysics of eating: Can Jewish way of life transcend empirical conditions?[64] Kant holds that Jewish way of life lacks "autonomous reason" due to its "immutable relationship to Jehovah."[65] In other words, a Jewish person is not autonomous because of his or her dependence on the external world.

Concerning Jews as a nation, Kant shared common bigotry against Jews condemning them of being a "nation of cheaters bound by ancient superstition [who] seek no civil dignity and try to make up for this loss by the advantage of duping the people among whom they find refuge and even one another."[66] Furthermore, as Robertson notes Kant "described Jews as social vampires."[67] Robertson shows that Kant's anti-Semitic prejudices continued to have authoritative impact and they were taken seriously.

[62] Mack, M., 2003, p. 40.
[63] Mack, M., 2003, p. 40.
[64] Mack, M., 2003, pp. 23-25.
[65] Mack, M., 2003, pp. 23-25.
[66] Kant, I., 1974, p. 77.
[67] Robertson, R., 1999, p. 25.

There was a big wave against the emancipation and integration of European Jewry. Confronted by such an upsurge of widespread opinion against Jews, Hegel spoke in favour of Jewish emancipation—arguing that it is a state's rational imperative to do so. In the Philosophy of Right Hegel presented a lengthy explanation of why Jews should be given civil rights:

> [T]echnically it may have been right to refuse a grant of even civil rights to the Jews on the ground that they should be regarded as belonging not merely to a religious sect but to a foreign race. But the fierce outcry raised against the Jews, from that point of view and others, ignores the fact that they are, above all, men. To exclude the Jews from civil rights, on the one hand, would rather be to confirm the isolation with which they have been reproached—a result for which the state refusing them rights would be blamable and reproachable, because by so refusing, it would have misunderstood its own basic principle, its nature as an objective and powerful institution. The exclusion of Jews from civil rights may be supposed to be right of the highest kind and may be demanded on that ground; but experience has shown that so to exclude them is the silliest folly, and the way in which governments now treat them has proved itself to be both prudent and dignified.[68]

One wonders, why Hegel would take such a position when he supported Kant in his attack on Jews and Judaism. Although he took such a stance, Mack points out that

[68] Hegel, G. W. F. *Philosophy of Right* (Translated with Notes by T. M. Knox) [Originally published: 1820], Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1952, p. 169.

recent research on Hegel stumbled into a riddle:

> Why did Hegel write in a prejudicial manner about European Jewry and Judaism in his philosophy of history and nevertheless argued for the political integration of Jews into contemporary German society?[69]

Mack is of the view that it could be that Hegel wanted to strengthen Kant's argument. It could be for this reason that Hegel joined Fichte and Schelling in epitomizing Kant's critical idealism to what Stumpf calls "metaphysical idealism."[70] In the metaphysical idealism, Hegel, Fichte, and Schelling conferred authority upon reason to impose "its categories upon experience and transformed this into the theory that every object and therefore the entire universe is a product of mind."[71] So by sticking to their dietary laws, Jews are making objects absolute instead of transcending beyond to the level of rationality.[72]

Hegel cannot be off the hook as the champion or advocate for civil rights because in the Encyclopedia, under "Anthropology," he benefited from racial science's fantasies. These fantasies did not spare Hegel: he classified varieties of humankind into three: starting with Caucasian, followed by the Ethiopian, and ending with the Mongolian races.[73] Like his predecessors, Hegel does not leave out the idea of skin colour. The race factor continued to feature prominently in his philosophies of history and right.

3. CAUCASIANIZATION: JEWS AND RACIAL CATEGORIZATION

According to Adorno and Horkheimer, "the Fascists do not view the Jews as a minority, but as an opposing race, the embodiment of the negative principle."[74] Gilman defines race as "a constructed category of social organization as much as it is a reflection of some aspects of biological reality."[75] Furthermore, Gilman explains that in the Western world, "racial identity has been a powerful force in shaping how we, at the close of the twentieth century, understand ourselves."[76] However, the idea of race, although dominant since 18th century to present, encountered critical reaction as to its validity since individualism began to take centre stage as a result of the campaign for the idea of human rights.[77]

Although there was such a counter-reaction to the idea of race, the 18th-20th centuries Europe became convinced that its conception of a Jew is simply confined to a white person with certain features acceptable to categorization under Caucasian race.

3.1 The question of Jewish Racial Place in Human Categorization

European intellectual community had an enormous influence on American and

[69] Mack, M. 2003, p. 43.

[70] Stumpf, S. E., Socrates to Sartre: A History of Philosophy, Boston, McGrow Hill, 1999, pp. 296 297.

[71] Stumpf, S. E., 1999, pp. 305.

[72] Hegel, G. W. F., *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History Introduction: Reason in History* (Translated by H. B. Nisbet) [Originally published: Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1980.

[73] Hegel, G. W. F., "Anthropology" [From *The Encyclopedia of Philosophical Sciences*, Originally published 1830] in R. Bemasconi and T. L. Lott (eds), *The Idea of Race*, Indianapolis, Hackett, 2000, p. 40.

[74] Adorno, Th. W. and Horkheimer, M., "Elements of anti-Semitism: The limits of Enlightenment" in L. Back and J. Solomos (eds), *Theories of Race and Racism: A Reader*, New York, Routledge, 2000, p. 206.

[75] Gilman, S. L., "Are Jews White: Or, the history of the nose job" in L. Back and J. Solomos (eds), *Theories of Race and Racism: A Reader*, New York, Routledge, 2000, p. 229.

[76] Gilman, S. L., 2000, p. 229.

[77] Gilman, S. L., 2000, p. 229.

African (especially South African) conception of Jews. The question was: What exactly is the place of 'the Jew' in the racial hierarchy created by racial science? Gilman puts it in another way: "Are Jews white? And what does 'white' mean?"[78] For Rogoff, "Jews were a racial tabula rasa upon which anything could be written" because on several occasions they were either referred to as white, black or mixed colour.[79] According to Rogoff,

> In the American South the problem of the Jew's racial identity was a footnote to the larger debate on white-black relations, a question pushed forward in the racially unsettled period between 1850 to 1915. Jews were accepted as white, but their precise racial place was not fixed. [80]

Immediately when Jews were classified as white, black people considered them as part and parcel of the white racist supremacy. A relevant question is: Did Jews themselves accept this racial placing? There are many ways European and European-turned-American Jews responded to this question in an unfortunate way. In some places they spoke against these racial classifications but did not act because it benefited their survival at that time. James Cowley argued that Jews "were originally and racially not different from Europeans."[81] Jews themselves did not reach any consensus with regards to their identity. Rogoff said that they "pontificated the meaning of "Hebrew" and "Israelite"" and echoed German assimilationists.

Reports came from further a field outside Europe about Jews in China's Kaifeng, Ethiopian Jews, Bnei Israel in India, Jews in Iraqi, the Kashmirian, Pushtuns in Afganstan,[82] the Igbo of Nigeria,[83] and the Lemba Jews in southern Africa.[84] This must have changed Europe's position on race classification.

Jews, like any group of people under duress, could not do anything other than seeking ways of maintaining their existence, hence the concern for survival. Many of them did not see anything wrong in doing just that—so long as they went on living. Rogoff wrote:

> The folkloric biases against Jews found reinforcement in the racial science that emerged from the Enlightenment. Proponents of racial science believed race to be more than a criterion of head size and shape, skin color, or hair texture. They argued that race also implied moral, intellectual, and psychological character, the capability to be assimilated into civil society and granted political rights.[85]

Being assimilated into civil society and afforded political rights was an achievement a person would want to have in order to have a happy life like anybody else. This did not just come without strings attached. For Jews to fit in the civil society and have political rights, they were supposed to belong to a certain class of people. So those who wanted to do so got the label of being white.Garrod wrote that "within a hierarchy of superior and inferior Black was regarded as inferior."[86] The creation of racial hierarchy was a political means to set Euro-

[78] Gilman, S. L., 2000, p. 229.
[79] Rogoff, L., 1997, p. 195.
[80] Rogoff, L., 1997, p. 195.
[81] Rogoff, L., 1997, p. 197.

[82] Avichail, E., *The Tribes of Israel: The Lost and the Dispersed* (Translated by M. Gross), Jerusalem, Amishavi, 5750, pp. 4-176.
[83] Tobin, D., G. A., Tobin, and S. Rubin, *In Every Tongue: The Racial and Ethnic Diversity of the Jewish People*, San Francisco, Institute for Jewish and Community Research, 2005, p. 13.
[84] Parfitt, T. *Journey to the Vanished City: The Search for Lost Tribe of Israel*, New York, Vintage Books, 1999, pp. 1-373.
[85] Rogoff, L., 1997, p. 197.

pean superiority on the basis of colour. Sometimes, silence means confirmation. It is not clear whether European Jewry or Jews of white colour did accept the classification that they were white.

3.2 Imbibitions of Jews into European fantasies

iek describes fantasy as "a screen for the desire of the Other." Fu[87]rthermore, he says that it "provides the coordinates of our desire—which constructs the frame enabling us to desire something." I[88]t is also "an imagined scenario representing the realization of desire [and] in the fantasy-scene the desire is constituted (given its object)." [89]There were many European fantasies ranging from race supremacy to anti-Semitism. European racial fantasy of white supremacy, driven by German idealism, took centre stage and opened a can of a myriad of racial ideas.

Vital holds that "the greatest of all the problems for Jewry lay, therefore, in the fact that as Europe moved into the second half of the ninetieth century the sum of the change was the ideological and moral reduction of the state in favour of the nation—and the consequent merging of the one with the other."[90] The writings of Friedrich Ludwig Jahn are pinpointed as influential in the creation of German fantasies. He is quoted as saying, "the German were excellent people of exceptional qualities."[91] Furthermore, Jahn is known to have advocated for "a full-scale return to … original folkloric virtues and patterns of behaviour of the German people."[92]

Blumenbach (cited in Jacobson) talked about the "fundamental configurations of the face."[93] Blumenbach (in Jacobson) writes:

> The nation of Jews, who, under every climate, remain the same as far as the fundamental configurations of the face goes, remarkable for a racial character almost universal, which can be distinguished at first glance even by those little skilled in physiognomy.[94]

The recognition of Jews as a nation of white people, and in some places naturalized to become a racial group (Oriental, Semitic, and Hebrew), they became Caucasian. According to George Mosse (quoted in Back and Solomos) myths about Jews "helped to construct them as a kind of 'race apart'" and as "the eternal foreigner."[95] Added to these myths were the meanings attached to whiteness by scientists, historians, and other intellectuals in Europe and by extension to America. Jews were constructed as "both white and Other."[96]

Jacobson argues that "when it comes to race-hatred or race-acceptance,"[97] quoting Fanon's contention, "one has only not to be a nigger"[98]—American Jews, influenced by European racial fantasies drifted and "became racial Caucasians."[99] In the process, the victims of anti-Semitism turned into Semitic anti-Semites themselves.

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[86] Garrod, J. Z. A brave old word: An analysis of scientific racism and BiDil®, *McGill Journal of Medicine*, Vol. 9(1), 2006, p. 55.
[87] iek, S., 1989, p. 118.
[88] iek, S., 1989, p. 118.
[89] iek, S., 1989, p. 118.
[90] Vital, D., *A People Apart: A Political History of Jews in Europe, 1789-1939*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 248.
[91] Vital, D., 2001, p. 248.
[92] Vital, D., 2001, p. 248.
[93] Blumenbach, J., *On the Natural Varieties of Mankind*, New York [Originally published 1775, 1795], Bergmann, 1969, p. 234.
[94] Jacobson, M. F., 2000, p. 238.
[95] Back, L. and J. Solomos, *Theories of Race and Racism: A Reader*, New York, Routledge, 2000, p. 283.
[96] Back, L. and J. Solomos, 2000, p. 283.
[97] Jacobson, M. F., 2000, p. 248.
[98] Fanon, F., *Black Skin White Mask*, New York, Grove Press, 1952, p. 115.
[99] Jacobson, M. F., 2000, p. 248.

3.3 Semitic anti-Semitic racism: Jews and the World

The object of European anti-Semitism was Jews as Jews. Now what is the object of global anti-semitism since there are many faces of Jews?

There are many faces and colours of people called Jews today. Two things simultaneously happen in the scenario: Jews who were whitened by intermarriage, and/or 'Caucasianed' by Bills of naturalization, tend to see themselves as white people—hence the fantasy 'Jews are white'. As already stated above, during the 18th-20th centuries European intellectual influence reached many parts of the world, including Africa through colonial connections. During South Africa's apartheid era, "race became the defining category."[100] Fatton rightly points out that race "was the single most important factor in determining a citizen's life chances."[101] The situation was that the white minority, through "total control of state power, institutionalized racism and monopolized wealth, status, and privilege."[102] Many European Jews that came to southern Africa, particularly in South Africa, benefited from race categorization in that they were classified as white people. Thus they were afforded "full rights for Jews as White citizens of South Africa and unhindered free existence of a Jewish communal life in which Zionism occupied a place of centrality."[103] Many of them acted as befitting their place in human categorization as white people. That is to say, they were no different from the Afrikaaner, the English, German racists and anti-semitists.

Research has revealed that the late Chief Rabbi of South Africa expressed that it would be "irresponsible on social grounds" to bring a person of African (black) Jewish descent to a Jewish synagogue.[104] His reason was that one would "look odd" among white Jews because of not having "a Jewish (European) look."[105] Out of the same research, it was revealed that there were also rabbis who were right-wing and racist.[106] This is not a dis[107]-missal of some of the South African Jews of European origin who were good and who openly took the left side of the political divide. They opposed the apartheid government and were "accused of seeking to overthrow White supremacy.[108]" They are on record for having joined African political groupings to fight against the Afrikaaner government's apartheid polic[109]y. As 'caucasianed' some Jews got caught up within their whiteness and prejudicing other people of colour, in the process they also discriminated their darkened fellow Jews. In that way Semitic anti-Semitism and/or racism emerged. Mathivha (in Parfitt and Egorova) indicates that the Lemba "like many other non-European Jewish communities are simply the victims of racism at the hands of the European Jewish establishment worldwide."

For Gans, the object of anti-Semitism is for a "Jew as Jew" not a "Jew as white" or "Jew as black." That also demands a proper connection between a "Jew" and a "Zionist." New anti-Semitism seems to concentrate on a "Jew as Zionist" or as an Israeli. This leaves one with a very difficult situation to handle. There are so many questions that can be hooked to this kind of view.

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[100] Fatton, R., Book Review: Lessons of Struggle: South African Internal Opposition, 1960-1990 by Anthony W. Marx, The American Political Science Review, Vol. 88(3), 1994, p. 785.

[101] Fatton, R., 1994, p. 785.

[102] Fatton, R., 1994, p. 785.

[103] Shimoni, G., *Jews and Zionism: The South African Experience 1910-1967*, Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1980, p. 276.

[104] Parfitt, T. and Egorova, Y., 2006, p. 80.

[105] Parfitt, T. and Egorova, 2006, p. 80.

[106] Parfitt, T. and Egorova, 2006, p. 84.

[107] Parfitt, T., and Egorova, Y., *Genetics, Mass Media and Identity: A case study of the genetic research on the Lemba and Bene Israel*, London, Routledge, 2006, p. 80.

[108] Shimoni, G., 1980, pp. 228-234,

[109] Shimoni, G., 1980, pp. 228-229,

Jews have many faces as already been said. Not all Jews live in Israel. Not all Jews are white. The one that comes immediately is: Can Anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism amount to the same thing? The two cannot be the same—although their common denominator is deep, permanent and eliminatory hatred.

Jews are part of the human race that has the right to exist and enjoy all the rights like other people. But there are serious questions that should be looked at in the future with much caution: Does the whole world hate Jews? Who are the Jews? I am not going to answer the second question? I want to think that anti-semitism in its various forms was globalized as European concepts were spread all over the world through dispersion of Jews to many parts of the world, colonialism, and imperialism.

It will be safe to think that there is nothing new about the hatred of Jews, rather it is the same hatred using different tools. Previously it was about colour and physical features, now it is about politics and Israel's relations with the Arab neighbours. The problem of colour is that there are millions of Jews who are of non-white colour. They feel they are also segregated in the same spirit as it happened in Europe. If Jews here means those in Israel, then it remains difficult to deal with the Jewish Problem.

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The origin of racial categorization should not be excused as involuntary for the mere reason that it is immoral. The institutionalization of policies that nurtured anti-Semitism to such levels of extermination should also be seen as products of irresponsible intellectual endeavour in Europe. It is the duty of 'the Jews as white' to re-engage the voice of reason (not within the confinements of German idealism) in order to consciously reconnect to the spirit of 'the Jew as Jew."

The re-emergence and returning of the so-called "Jews of colour" makes it difficult to talk of new anti-semitism at global level. If the new global anti-semitism refers to only those in Israel, then it's a political problem that Israel has to deal with within their means.

It is my opinion that 18th-20th centuries' European intellectual community largely contributed to the voluntary origination of all forms anti-Semitism. Intellectual endeavour can also play a major role in eliminating Semitic anti-Semitism and racism that have perverted the behaviour of 'Jews as white.'