

Muslim immigrants into Western Europe has raised the scale of anti-Jewish agitation and violence there. According to Taguieff, the number of attacks on Jewish people or institutions in France leaped from nine in 1999 to 200 in the 12-month period starting in October 2000. These incidents, he persuasively maintains, were enabled by the French elites with their tut-tutting.

“Here were ‘young people’ living in France who said they were at war with the Jews, who said they hated the Jews and—to all appearances—really did hate them,” Taguieff writes. “What do the new *bien-pensants* think about this? They say it is not their fault if ‘young people’ behave that way: Such attitudes or actions are, of course, regrettable, but they are also understandable if we remember that those involved are victims of ‘exclusion’ and ‘discrimination.’ To listen to their lawyers, and sometimes members of their family, these ‘young people’ spontaneously identify with Palestinians suffering from the arrogance and cruelty of a ‘racist,’ ‘colonialist,’ or ‘fascist’ Israel. It is necessary to understand them, to enter into dialogue with them, and above all not to humiliate them—to avoid at all costs provoking their just ‘anger.’” A paragraph later, Taguieff goes on to conclude, “Indulgence therefore becomes the most widespread virtue, and it tends to lapse into a kind of hazy condonation.”

Schoenfeld covers similar ground, and tries to extend the argument to the United States. He wisely avoids sounding the second-Holocaust alarm, even as he correctly points to the latitude given anti-Semitic activity on American campuses, from physical intimidation of Jewish students at San Francisco State University to the coddling of bigoted poet Tom Paulin at Columbia University. Like Taguieff, Schoenfeld shows how anti-Semites have taken on the slogan of “anti-Zionism” as a sort of protective coloration.

Still, Schoenfeld rounds up so many enemies that he weakens his argument. One can agree with him that Michael Lerner of *Tikkun* magazine made a noxious allusion to the Nazis when he dispar-

aged Israeli soldiers in the occupied territories for just “following orders.” Still, when one looks at the body of Lerner’s life and work, including his son’s service in the Israeli Defense Forces, does it really meet the litmus test of anti-Semitism or even Jewish self-hate? A more preposterous target is *The New Republic’s* Leon Wieseltier, whom Schoenfeld accuses of “dismiss[ing] fears of a new wave of anti-Semitism as nothing more than ‘ethnic panic.’” Schoenfeld misrepresents an essay Wieseltier wrote—not swatting away all concerns about renewed anti-Semitism but, rather, taking issue with writers such as Rosenbaum and Hentoff who deem America capable of a Nazi-like assault on Jews. One cannot help but think that in targeting Wieseltier and Lerner, Schoenfeld seeks to identify not unpatriotic Jews but Jews who publicly supported the Oslo peace process and a negotiated two-state solution.

In a broader way, Schoenfeld does not grapple with the statistical evidence that incidents of anti-Semitism have increased markedly since late September 2000, when the Al-Aksa intifada began. Those facts are inconvenient, and so he ignores them. One need not blame the upsurge in anti-Semitism on Israeli policy to acknowledge that the anti-Semitism is deeply entwined with the internationalization of the intifada.

Schoenfeld is quite right that classic forms of Jew hatred took root in the Muslim world well before Yasir Arafat spurned peace at Camp David and Ariel Sharon paid his ill-considered visit to the Temple Mount. But that preexisting hatred was like a water table that would rise and fall depending on the climate. The public acceptability of Israel bashing in polite society, an acceptability that plainly has increased in the past four years, has allowed the latent Muslim anti-Semitism to emerge into public view and public violence. To say this is not to blame the victim but to comprehend the villain.

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