

How Shall I Teach the Holocaust This Time?

An American Christian philosopher, I have studied, written, and taught about the Holocaust—Nazi Germany’s genocide against the European Jews—for more than half a century, most of that time here at Claremont McKenna College. One day in 1989, the phone rang in my second-floor Athenaeum office. A remarkable Holocaust survivor named Zev Weiss was on the line. A stranger to me then, but not for long, we became fast friends.

Migrating to Canada and then to the United States after surviving Auschwitz, Weiss became a leading educator. In 1976, he and his wife Alice founded the Holocaust Educational Foundation. Part of Northwestern University since 2013, the Foundation advances Holocaust research and education, especially through its Lessons and Legacies conferences, by supporting teacher-scholars to develop Holocaust courses at universities and colleges around the world.

Twenty-four hours from now, hundreds of teacher-scholars in Holocaust studies will be at CMC for the 2024 version of Lessons and Legacies, a conference series established in 1989 and hosted twice before, in 2006 and 2016, by CMC and the Mgrublian Center for Human Rights. Every Lessons and Legacies conference has a theme. This year it is “Languages of the Holocaust.” If we expand the concept of Holocaust-related languages beyond the confines of specific languages such as German, Yiddish, Russian, and English, many ways of thinking, speaking, and writing are linked with that catastrophe.

My summer months at CMC included preparation for two courses I regularly taught in the autumn semester. One focused on the American Dream, the other on the Holocaust. I would ask myself: How shall I teach these courses *this* time? What topics should I explore? What questions should I ask? How can I prepare to listen and respond well to my students’ perspectives and concerns? Those questions reminded me that sound teaching requires not only

keeping up with the latest scholarship but also being aware that education happens in particular times and places, and with students who want, need, and sometimes question it. Responsible teaching takes such factors into account. Doing so often produces disputes, including contemporary controversies in Holocaust language.

November 5, 2024

With two-thirds of its people feeling that the United States is headed in the wrong direction, Americans—motivated by anger, fear, grievance, and insistence on lower prices no matter the cost—went to the polls a few days ago. They decisively elected the authoritarian, Supreme Court-immunized Donald Trump—twice-impeached, liable for sexual abuse, convicted of multiple felonies, and indicted for more—whose aging, misogynistic, criminal face is reflected when the American people look in the mirror. Too many Americans are not better than that.

Trump's election questions whether we have a government of laws, not men. It shows "we, the people" to be far less exceptional than American mythology presumes. The country's election of Donald Trump drubs the American Dream of a more perfect union, one grounded in the rule of law, inclusively pluralistic, and expansively democratic. Assessing the outcome, two people told me that "my faith in our fellow Americans is now at an all-time low," and "as a woman, right now it feels like I don't have a whole lot of power or influence." A contemporary course on the American Dream would have to deal with all of that. At least for me, the same would be true for a contemporary course about the Holocaust.

Adolf Hitler came to power when he was appointed chancellor of Germany on January 30, 1933. About five years later, on April 10, 1938, Germans—including citizens in recently seized Austria—went to the polls. Scarcely fair and free, that election for members of the Reichstag, the German parliament, was the last during Nazi rule. The ballot contained one issue:

Did voters approve a list of Nazi candidates for the Reichstag as well as the annexation of Austria—Yes or No? Nazi officials determined that the voter turnout was 99.6 percent of those eligible to vote, with 99.1 percent of them voting Yes.

Adolf Hitler despised democracy, taking it to be a deceitful, subversive outlook spread by Jews. Five years earlier, on July 14, 1933, he celebrated the Law against the Founding of New Parties, which established the Nazi Party as the only political party in Germany. By then, the civil liberties of German Jews, including the right to vote, were on their way to extinction, destroyed by the Nazis' racial antisemitism. When democracy dies, the costs are too much to bear.

November 5, 2024, is the most important Election Day in my 84-year lifetime. Its results remind me to take nothing good for granted. Teaching and learning about the Holocaust are crucial, especially after November 5, 2024, because democracy remains under threat. Too many ambitious and determined people, backed by compliant followers, are prepared to abandon if not destroy it. Today Holocaust education must sound the alarm—clearly, insistently, repeatedly: *The Holocaust is a warning*. That has been said before, but now the Holocaust's warning resounds with greater urgency. It does so because that catastrophe did not erupt out of the blue, nor was it fated to happen. Human decisions and policies in the 1930s led to disaster. Destructive versions of them are widespread in the mid-2020s.

I am drawing uncomfortable comparisons between Hitler's Germany in the 1930s and my United States in the 2020s. That is wrongly crossing a line, critics may complain. Americans are better, far more exceptional than that. Such comparisons are unwarranted.

I reject that taboo, agreeing instead with the historian Timothy Snyder's insight that "the reason why we keep alive the memory of Nazi crimes is not because it could never happen here,

but because something similar can always happen anywhere.”¹

A related resistance to comparison has existed in Holocaust studies. For years, it was argued that the Holocaust was unique, unprecedented, and those claims buttressed privileging the Holocaust in the history of genocide and in commemorations of mass atrocities. Nothing was quite comparable to the Holocaust, including its perpetrators. So, for example, the suggestion that any American leader could be Hitlerian was wrong on two counts. Not only would it be unseemly to think any American could be like that but also the comparison would diminish the evil of Hitler and the genocide he unleashed. But time’s passage, including endangered democracy in the 2020s is leading Holocaust scholars to see that where comparisons are apt, they must be made.

Hitler’s rise to power in 1933 doomed the fragile post-World War I parliamentary democracy of Germany’s Weimar Republic. The Holocaust historian Christopher Browning thinks that “Weimar’s fate provides us with some instructive parallels and important warning signals.”² Let us hope that Browning is right when he adds that “Trump is not Hitler, Republicans are not Nazis.” Let us determine, too, that November 5, 2024, in the United States must never be akin to January 30, 1933, in Germany. That means it bears remembering that retired general Mark A. Milley, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, found Trump “fascist to the core” and “the most dangerous person to this country.”³

The warning signals that Christopher Browning discerns in the Weimar Republic’s fate are Holocaust-related. Hitler’s rise to power, the Nazis’ devastation of democracy, culminated in the destruction of the European Jews and Germany too. The Holocaust warns against autocracy and obedience to it. It cries out: Beware of big, repeated lies, conspiracy theories, disrespect for evidence and truth, disdain for democracy, and disregard for language—antisemitic and racist—

that defames and thus inflames division and violence. If such alarms are ignored, the world is worse for it.

Absent lies and liars, especially big lies and liars with autocratic power, the Holocaust would not have happened. Nor could autocratic Nazi power, which undermined and destroyed German democracy in the 1930s, advance without the compliance and complicity it needed and received from enabling leaders in every sector of German life—education, the media, law, politics, science, medicine, business, sports, the arts, religion. The Nazis’ lethally racist antisemitism rested on falsehoods. Nazi power arose because Hitler and his followers bogusly and repeatedly insisted that Germany’s defeat in World War I resulted from a “stab in the back” conspiracy that never happened. Nazi propaganda overrode contrary evidence, and Hitler’s vows to destroy the Jews, who were slandered as a disease-spreading, blood-poisoning, toxic pestilence in the body politic, show how malignant language becomes deadly. The key point for us Americans is not that failure to heed the Holocaust’s warnings destines a version of that genocidal history to be ours but that failure to heed them endangers everything that we hold dear when we are at our best.

The Holocaust warns us that democracy, indeed human civilization itself, depends on seeking and respecting truth. Failure to pursue and honor truth undercuts and betrays what is good and right. How different the United States would be if every American citizen respected truth and followed where tested evidence leads. The nation not only would have been spared the Big Lie that the 2020 election was stolen by voter fraud—it was not—but also Trump and his acolytes and successors would never have gained the power that insidiously degrades American democracy. Tyranny, authoritarianism, hate-steeped divisiveness, hostility to democracy, from Hitler to Putin and Trump—with a long, tortured history preceding them—all depend on lying,

on disrespecting truth, on willful failure to seek and respect it. If we Americans want to do good for our democracy, nothing is more important than seeking, respecting, speaking, and defending truth. Failing to do so produces the darkness in which democracy dies.

Commitment to seek, respect, speak, and defend truth requires believing in truth, affirming it exists. And that work requires taking facts seriously. Doing so may be hard and contrary to our wishes and emotions, but we do it all the time. Unless we are blind and stupid, we have no other choice because facts are stubborn. They can be suppressed, ignored, and denied, but they do not go away, and democracy's survival depends on fidelity to them. If we Americans care about our democracy, we cannot accept the rank ignorance, astonishing stupidity, and relentless lying that will plunge the United States into a post-truth culture where power and self-interest matter most, might makes right, and anything goes.

In the 1930s, Germans were easy prey for Nazism because they felt displaced, downtrodden, and disrespected, wronged, left out, and ill-treated in a rapidly changing world. The lie that Jews caused the misery, that removing them from the German body politic would set things right, was an easy sell. In the United States in the mid-2020s, many Americans—white men prominent among them—also feel left out and disrespected, wronged and ill-treated in a rapidly changing world. Yes, eggs and gas cost too much; inflation is corrosive. It is doubtful that Trump and his allies have truthful answers to those problems. Meanwhile, Trump's relentless grievance politics has played on fear and deepened division, insisting that “we got a lot of bad genes in our country right now” and that mass deportations of undocumented immigrants will go far toward setting things right in 2025 and beyond.⁴

Nazism's “truths” denied basic human equality and human rights. Nazi antisemitism and racism identified “life unworthy of life” and then targeted it for annihilation. Those policies were

the antithesis of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Education did not stop Nazism and its “Final Solution.” Education will not be sufficient to save American democracy either. But absent the questioning, inquiring, and learning, the encouragement and resistance that only education can provide, major threats to democracy—ignorance, overconfidence, arrogance, tribalism, and stupidity among them—will not be curbed until it is too late.

So, how shall I teach the Holocaust after November 5, 2024? I shall teach it as a warning in defense of democracy and as an act of resistance against authoritarianism and the lying that undergirds tyranny. If that is my mandate in the mid-2020s, however, I must consider additional times and places that form the context for that work. I call one of them 10/7.

October 7, 2023

Before day’s end on October 7, 2023, Hamas’s horrific attack on Israel evoked Holocaust language that complicates the current Hamas-Israel war and its not-yet-envisioned resolution. Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu was scarcely alone when he called the Hamas attack “the worst act of antisemitic violence since the Holocaust.”⁵ Soon after, debates began about how Holocaust language should or should not be used in response to the slaughter and the ongoing and expanding war it started.

Did the October 7 attack reenact actions like those in the “Holocaust by bullets”? Were the Hamas perpetrators latter-day Nazis? And then, when Israel’s right to defend itself unleashed a “never again is now” siege and bombardment of Gaza to destroy Hamas, the immense humanitarian crisis engulfing Palestinians expanded Holocaust language in the Hamas-Israel war to include issues about war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide.⁶ Meanwhile, antisemitism escalated. Islamophobia intensified.

Holocaust language describing the Hamas-Israel war produces more heat than light. Just for that reason, such language is unlikely to go away and debates about it will continue. At least in part, that is true because the Holocaust continues to haunt Israel's existence, its relations with Palestinians, and the prospects—as dim as they are recently resurrected—for a two-state solution to the long-standing Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Stocktaking is needed.

Before October 7, 2023, most Americans knew little and cared less about the Gaza Strip, a 140-square mile territory on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea, bordered by Egypt to the south and the State of Israel to the north and east. The ignorance and indifference changed early that 10/7 morning when Hamas launched a gruesome surprise attack against Israel—provoked by Israel's long-standing siege of Gaza, the expansion of Jewish settlements in the West Bank, and memory of the Nakba, the mass displacement and dispossession of Palestinians during the 1948 Arab-Israeli war.⁷

Early and often, accounts of 10/7, among the saddest days in Israeli history, underscored that Hamas killed more than 1,200 Israelis and foreign nationals, including at least 35 American citizens living in Israel and took more than 250 hostages—children, women, and elderly people among them. Repeatedly, moreover, accounts about the attack continue to add that it was the deadliest single-day assault on Jews since the Holocaust. In the mid-2020s and beyond it will be difficult, if not impossible, to teach about the Holocaust or the widening Israel-Hamas war without exploring links between those events and the controversies embedded in them.

In Tel Aviv, on May 14, 1948, David Ben-Gurion publicly read the Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel. Would the State of Israel have existed if the Holocaust never happened? Some arguments hold that a Jewish homeland might have existed even sooner if

World War II and the Holocaust had not intervened.⁸ But that hypothetical gives way to the realization that the State of Israel is bound up inextricably with Holocaust history. Moving evidence of that is found in the nation's annual commemoration when the cry of sirens brings the State of Israel to a two-minute silent standstill in memory of the Holocaust. That genocide was an existential threat to the Jewish people. Holocaust reverberations intensified Jewish sensibilities within Israel and abroad that the Iran-backed assault by Hamas also has existential implications.

The sources of Hamas terror and Israeli trauma are often burrowed deep and emerge from underground. After Hamas gained control of Gaza in 2007, it vastly expanded a network of militarized tunnels, estimated to be between 350 and 450 miles long.⁹ The Israel army has called it the "Gaza metro."

The Hamas tunnel network snaked under schools and hospitals, mosques and community centers, as well as under homes and apartment complexes in Gaza, making it difficult for the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) to neutralize if not defeat Hamas without destroying the tunnel system and the structures above it, often populated by civilians. As conducted by the Israeli military, that strategy—including massive tunnel-busting bombardments supported by US arms—has displaced millions of defenseless, non-Hamas Palestinians and killed thousands more, Israeli warnings about the need to evacuate making too little difference. With cynical calculation, Hamas understood that its tunnel-facilitated violence put Gaza's Palestinian population at risk. The decimation of Palestinian civilians has produced international sympathy for them, considerable hostility toward the State of Israel, and a resurgence of antisemitism.

With Hamas and its lethal tunnel system bearing significant responsibility for the carnage in a hideous war, Israel's counteroffensive after 10/7 has made Gaza uninhabitable. Facing

constant exhaustion, hunger, and fear, more than two million defenseless Palestinians have become refugees with nowhere safe to go in a homeland that has been called “the world’s biggest open-air prison.”¹⁰ Aryeh Neier, a Holocaust survivor and the co-founder of Human Rights Watch, has been so concerned about what he calls Israel’s “sustained policy of obstructing the movement of humanitarian assistance into the territory” that he claimed “Israel is engaged in genocide against Palestinians in Gaza.”¹¹ No issue about the Israel-Hamas war has been more hotly and divisively debated than that one.¹²

How can Holocaust education best respond to these fraught circumstances? How shall I teach the Holocaust this time? Early on, Holocaust educators and scholars expressed views on such questions. Amid the Israel-Hamas war, criticism of Holocaust education has been widespread. Critics argued that Holocaust education has not dealt sufficiently with Jewish particularity, and it has failed in combatting antisemitism. Here are four examples:

1. Writing on May 6, 2024, Holocaust Remembrance Day, Jonathan Tobin, editor-in-chief of the Jewish News Syndicate contended: “We must start by no longer trying to isolate the Holocaust from the rest of Jewish history or contemporary struggles. The Shoah was a unique historical event that should not be treated—as it is by many Americans as simply a metaphor for something very bad—as merely just a particularly egregious example of man’s inhumanity to man. . . . The war on the Jews didn’t end with the defeat of the Nazis.”¹³
2. Award-winning filmmaker and director of the Holocaust, Genocide, and Human Rights Education Initiative at Penn State University, Boas Dvir underscored that “Holocaust education has failed to uproot hate and ignorance . . . Holocaust education has fallen far short even of its fundamental goal to raise awareness. . . . Traditional Holocaust

education's emphasis on disseminating historical facts has generated disappointing results."¹⁴

3. Well-known for her award-winning 2021 book *People Love Dead Jews*, Dara Horn argued: "The Holocaust is mainly of interest when it's extracted from Jewish history, used to teach a lesson about the humanity we all share. . . . American Holocaust educators often ask me what they should be teaching as the 'lessons of the Holocaust.' The question itself is absurd. . . . But there is indeed something we can learn from the long history of anti-Semitism and the societies it has destroyed: We've fallen for this before. After this terrifying year, I hope we can find the courage to say, *Never again*."¹⁵
4. Writing on "Rethinking Holocaust Memory after October 7," Marianne Hirsch wondered: "Why continue to teach the Holocaust? Why continue to build and visit Holocaust memorials and museums? What lessons do they offer our present and future—now, after the attacks of October 7 and in the midst of the genocidal devastation in Gaza? . . . At this moment, I cannot imagine a course on the Holocaust that would not include reflections on a Palestinian narrative following from the Nakba and acknowledging its continuity."¹⁶

Such criticisms have their counterpoints. They do not dispute that Holocaust education has failed in the sense that more weight has been put on such education than it can bear. Instead, they underscore that Holocaust-related language must be carefully watched. The Holocaust mantra "Never again" has become "Never again is now." Ever since, some critics suggest, the Holocaust has been used as cover to problematically justify the military action that the Israeli Defense Forces have conducted in Gaza and Lebanon. Here are four examples about warnings of that kind.

1. Jonathan Dekel-Chen is not only a history professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem but also the son of Holocaust survivors and the father of a son taken hostage by Hamas. He may or may not still be alive. In a *New York Times* essay, Dekel-Chen said: “There is one truth to our leaders invoking of the Holocaust: Oct. 7 was indeed the deadliest single day for world Jewry since the Holocaust. The comparison ends there.” He adds: “the large-scale civilian casualties in Gaza . . . have sapped our government’s ability to maintain any high moral ground in this conflict.”¹⁷
2. In the *New Yorker* on December 9, 2023, the journalist Masha Gessen wrote: “Netanyahu has compared the Hamas murders at the music festival to the Holocaust by bullets. This comparison, picked up and recirculated by world leaders, including President Biden, serves to bolster Israel’s case for inflicting collective punishment on the residents of Gaza.”¹⁸
3. Prior to the comments by Dekel-Chen and Gessen, Holocaust scholars Omer Bartov, Christopher Browning, Debórah Dwork, and others engaged colleagues in a debate about the use of Holocaust memory in the Israel-Hamas war. They wrote in response to their critics: “We share our critics’ shock and revulsion at Hamas’s heinous and criminal attack on October 7, yet their response to our letter fails to engage with our main point: namely, that political leaders and figures in the media should avoid referring to those attacks as a Holocaust and to Hamas as Nazis. The effect of such statements is to radicalize political discourse, dehumanize Palestinians, decontextualize the historical situation, and relativize Nazi crimes. In the current asymmetric conflict in Gaza, these statements serve to rationalize the commission of

war crimes: if the current war is conceived of as a battle between ‘the children of light and the children of darkness,’ between the civilized and the barbarians, between the Jews and the Nazis, then every act of violence is a priori justified as preventing a second Holocaust.”¹⁹

4. On March 21, 2024, the Indian essayist Pankaj Mishra published a widely read article called “The Shoah After Gaza.” He wrote: “I am struck by how often I have cited the Jewish experience of prejudice to warn against the barbarism that becomes possible when certain taboos are broken. All these universalist reference points—the Shoah as the measure of all crimes, antisemitism as the most lethal form of bigotry—are in danger of disappearing as the Israeli military massacres and starves Palestinians, razes their homes, schools, hospitals, mosques, churches, bombs them into smaller and smaller encampments, while denouncing as antisemitic or champions of Hamas all those who plead with it to desist, from the United Nations, Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch to the Spanish, Irish, Brazilian and South African governments and the Vatican.”²⁰

Far from fitting together easily, the statements I have cited collide and jar each other. They make it harder, not easier, to answer the question: How shall I teach the Holocaust this time? This much, however, is clear, at least to me. First, no responsible teaching about the Holocaust in the mid-2020s and beyond can avoid engaging the Israel-Hamas war. Second, I shall teach the Holocaust from the perspective of the identity I choose and own at this time, namely, that of a pro-Palestinian Zionist. That stance entails three affirmations: (1) Israel has the right to exist and defend itself as a Jewish democratic state; (2) the Israeli carnage against Palestinians in Gaza must stop, and that region must be rebuilt; (3) a just two-state solution to the

Israeli-Palestinian conflict is as paramount as it is endangered, and the United States has important responsibilities to help achieve that goal.

I take Zionism to mean self-determination and statehood for the Jewish people in Israel, their ancestral homeland.²¹ Especially in the context of the Israel-Hamas war, my pro-Palestinian Zionism raises persistent questions, including: How can American resources and power best be used to advance peace, security, and justice for Israelis and Palestinians? As I wrestle with such questions, I keep in mind that my friend Debórah Dwork, a superb Holocaust historian, calls the Holocaust her compass. It works that way for me as well, orienting my attention, guiding my priorities, directing my discernment about what is right and wrong. As a moral compass, the Holocaust points me in directions that orient how I shall teach the Holocaust this time. Here are six clusters of them.

1. The Holocaust demands attention because what happened at Auschwitz and Treblinka was immensely wrong, unjust, and evil—period, full stop. So, what should we want instead? How do we get there? What must be changed to strengthen good things like justice and peace in the Middle East, stronger democracy in the United States, and the truth-seeking that supports both of those causes? We study the Holocaust because it happened, but ethical reasons and moral questions govern that work. If they do not, what's the point? As teachers about the Holocaust, are we doing the best we can?
2. The Holocaust targeted a particular people, the Jews, for utter destruction. Reliable insight can emerge from that catastrophe only by carefully studying how and why it happened. Much remains unknown and unknowable about the Holocaust, its vastness and reverberations. Therefore, inquire and teach diligently, persistently, and with the respectful modesty that the task requires. Do not assume that teaching about the

Holocaust can be a decisive antidote for antisemitism, but be sure to underscore that the Holocaust shows antisemitism to be destructive not only for Jews but also for societies that harbor and enact anti-Jewish outlooks.

3. Be diligent to avoid instrumentalizing the Holocaust to legitimate unjust war that destroys defenseless people, as is taking place in the Israel-Hamas war. Be mindful that if Holocaust education does not stir concern for defenseless people under siege, it fails.
4. Realize that in the United States, in the mid-2020s and beyond, good teaching about the Holocaust will be a protest against power that undermines democracy and an opposition to authority that undercuts liberty and justice for all. Do not be deceived. In our times and places, teaching well about the Holocaust will be fraught and even dangerous. It could lead Donald Trump to call me or you an “enemy from within.” Those are important, dissenting reasons to persist in advancing Holocaust studies.
5. The Holocaust did not have to happen. Neither did the Hamas attack on 10/7 and the war that followed, nor the recent empowerment of Donald Trump and his authoritarianism. Therefore, defy the forces and correct the conditions that made those things happen. No one alone can turn the tide, but everyone can do something, and by working together, much good can be restored. I must put my leverage to its best use.
6. Always remember and act on a key Holocaust-related insight, the most important of all: Take nothing good for granted.

The older I become, the more that last imperative grips me. As I think about November 5, 2024, October 7, 2023, my ongoing Holocaust education, and Thanksgiving Day, I need to remember, more and more, to take nothing good for granted and to teach and act accordingly.

John K. Roth

November 13, 2024

Notes

1. Timothy Snyder, “Trump’s Hitlerian Month: A September to Remember,” September 29, 2024, <https://snyder.substack.com/p/trumps-hitlerian-month>.
2. Christopher R. Browning, “How Hitler’s Enablers Undid Democracy in Germany,” *Atlantic*, October 8, 2022, [How Hitler’s Enablers Undid Democracy in Germany - The Atlantic](#). See also Benjamin Carter Hett, *The Death of Democracy: Hitler’s Rise to Power and the Downfall of the Weimar Republic* (New York: Henry Holt, 2018), and Christopher R. Browning, “Hitler’s Enablers,” *New York Review*, November 7, 2024, <https://www.nybooks.com/articles/2024/11/07/hitlers-enablers-the-death-of-democracy-benjamin-carter-hett/#:~:text=The%20complicity%20of%20conservative%20nationalists,the%20current%20American%20political%20situation.&text=A%20campaign%20poster%20for%20German,running%20for%20reelection%20in>. Browning’s article helpfully discusses Hett’s book.
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4. See Patrick Svitek, “Trump Suggests ‘Bad Genes’ to Blame for Undocumented Immigrants Who Commit Murders,” *Washington Post*, October 7, 2024, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2024/10/07/trump-undocumented-immigrants-bad-genes/>.

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5. See, for example, “PM Netanyahu Meets with French President Emmanuel Macron,” Israeli Prime Minister’s Office, October 24, 2023, <https://www.gov.il/en/pages/event-joint-statements241023>
 6. On these points, see the December 9, 2023, “Statement of Scholars in Holocaust and Genocide Studies on Mass Violence in Israel and Palestine since 7 October,” published by Contending Modernities, University of Notre Dame, <https://contendingmodernities.nd.edu/global-currents/statement-of-scholars-7-october/>.
 7. For a reliable snapshot of Hamas, see Kali Robinson, “What Is Hamas?” Council on Foreign Relations, April 18, 2024, <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/what-hamas>.
 8. See, for example, Evyatar Friesel, “The Holocaust: Factor in the Birth of Israel?” Yad Vashem, <https://www.yadvashem.org/articles/academic/holocaust-factor-birth.html>. This article is excerpted from Israel Gutman, ed., *Major Changes Within the Jewish People in the Wake of the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), 519–44.
 9. For further graphic information about the Hamas tunnel network, see Adolfo Arranz et al., “Inside the Tunnels of Gaza: The Scale, and the Sophistication, of Hamas’s Tunnel Network,” Reuters, December 31, 2023, <https://www.reuters.com/graphics/ISRAEL-PALESTINIANS/GAZA-TUNNELS/gkvldmzorvb/>. See also Joby Warrick and Loveday Morris, “Hamas Built an Underground War Machine to Ensure Its Own Survival,” *Washington Post*, October 5, 2024, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2024/10/05/hamas-tunnels-weapons-gaza-war-october-7-attacks/>.
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13. Jonathan S. Tobin, “Yom Hashoah After Oct. 7: How Holocaust Education Failed,” Jewish News Syndicate (JNS), May 6, 2024, [https://www.jns.org/yom-hashoah-after-oct-7-how-](https://www.jns.org/yom-hashoah-after-oct-7-how-holocaust-education-failed/)

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