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On the meaning of NS comparisons in Israel-critical discourse

Kurzfassung: Abgesehen von der Leugnung des Holocaust kann Israelis und Juden auf der ganzen Welt wohl kaum etwas mehr empören als Vergleiche der israelischen Palästinapolitik mit der Judenpolitik des Nationalsozialismus. Namentlich, wenn sie von Deutschen geäußert werden, liegt der Verdacht nahe, dass sie eine Ausdrucksform von sekundärem Antisemitismus sind. Andererseits gehört es in westlichen Demokratien aber schon fast zur politischen Kultur, immer dann, wenn man prekäre Menschenrechtslagen dramatisieren und einen Handlungsbedarf zu ihrer Veränderung begründen will, auf NS-Vergleiche zurückzugreifen.

Gestützt auf neue Analysen der in Kempf (2015a,b) veröffentlichten Umfragedaten wird gezeigt, dass NS-Vergleiche sowohl eine antisemitische Dämonisierung der Juden als auch eine antizionistische Dramatisierung der Menschenrechtslage der Palästinenser bedeuten können, während Leute, die sich konsequent und vorbehaltlos für die Menschenrechte engagieren, zwar einen starken Handlungsbedarf zur Änderung der israelischen Politik sehen, ihre Gleichsetzung mit der NS-Politik jedoch strikt zurückweisen.

Abstract: Apart from Holocaust denial, probably nothing outrages Israelis and Jews around the world more than comparisons of Israeli Palestinian policy with National Socialist Jewish policy. Particularly, if Germans make such comparisons, the obvious suspicion is that they are an expression of secondary anti-Semitism. On the other hand, in Western democracies it is virtually part of political culture to fall back on NS comparisons whenever one wants to dramatize precarious human rights situations and justify the need for action to change them.

Based on new analyses of survey data published in Kempf (2015a,b), this study shows that NS comparisons can constitute not only anti-Semitic demonization of Jews but also anti-Zionist dramatization of the Palestinian human rights situation. People who work consequently and without reservation for human rights, however, indeed see a strong need for action to change Israeli policy, but strictly refuse to equate it with NS policy.

1. Introduction

Among supporters of Israeli policy it is an almost immovable dogma that comparisons of Israeli Palestinian policy with National Socialist Jewish policy represent anti-Semitic resentment. In fact – despite all criticism of Israeli policy – there is scarcely anything more absurd than to compare it with the destruction of European Jewry – and this is what many people commonly link with NS Jewish policy.¹ Making this association suggests all possible anti-Semitic motives. Nevertheless, the anti-Semitic content of NS comparisons is not immediately clear.

Anti-Semitism is hostility toward Jews as Jews. This means the decisive grounds for rejecting a person or a group that is an object of hostility is their actual or presumed Jewish origin (Demirel et al. 2011). Whether this is the case with NS comparisons can, initially, only be *conjectured*.

On the other hand, there is empirical evidence that the demand to close the books on memory of the Holocaust is a (secondary) anti-Semitic argumentation pattern. The more strongly someone favors closing the books on the past, the more he will also believe in a Jewish world conspiracy, the more strongly he will be inclined to perpetrator-victim reversal, which makes the Jews themselves responsible for their persecution; the more strongly he will tend to latent anti-Semitic avoidance of the topic of anti-Semitism and the Jews and to exclusion of Jews from societal and political life, and the more strongly he will see aversion to Jews as justified (Kempf 2015a: 35ff., 151ff.; 1015b: 7ff).

No matter which of these prejudices one looks at, they are all expressions of anti-Semitism, and in particular, the demand to close the books on the past could be a reason why someone equates Israeli policy with National Socialist policy, following the motto, "The Jews are no better than the Nazis." The suspicion is thus entirely plausible that anti-Semitism motivates those who make NS comparisons.

Nevertheless, this does *not* mean that in every case the motive *must* be anti-Semitism. The underlying motivation could also be anti-Zionist in nature and directed not against "the Jews" but rather against "Zionism," which the speaker delegitimizes as a racist and/or imperialist movement.

¹ In her book *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, Hannah Arendt (1964) distinguishes between three phases of NS persecution of Jews: expulsion (until 1938), ghettoization (until 1941) and destruction (after 1941). In the phase of expulsion, no one could foresee where this policy would end.

Since for most Jews Zionism is an important value (Boehm 2015), this certainly makes no great difference to them, but for the sake of methodological accuracy, there is no getting around the fact that already *by definition* anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism are not the same (Benz 2015: 14f.). While to be sure *empirically* they often go hand in hand, there is also a large group of people who share strong anti-Zionist prejudices but reject every type of anti-Semitic resentment (Kempf 2015a: 36ff., 151ff.; 2015b: 7ff). Even if many Jews identify with Zionism, it still makes a difference for them whether others reject Zionism or whether they have something against them just because they are Jews.

Furthermore, Israel is not the only country whose policies people do or have associated with National Socialism. The dramatization and scandalization of precarious human rights situations through NS comparisons is a pattern of argument that can look back on a long tradition, (at the latest) since the end of the Second World War. In post-war Germany it virtually belongs to political culture, and not only in leftist protest movements, but rather – particularly since the German reunion – people resort to it as well within mainstream society: from stylizing Saddam Hussein as a reincarnation of Hitler to equating the former GDR with the NS regime.

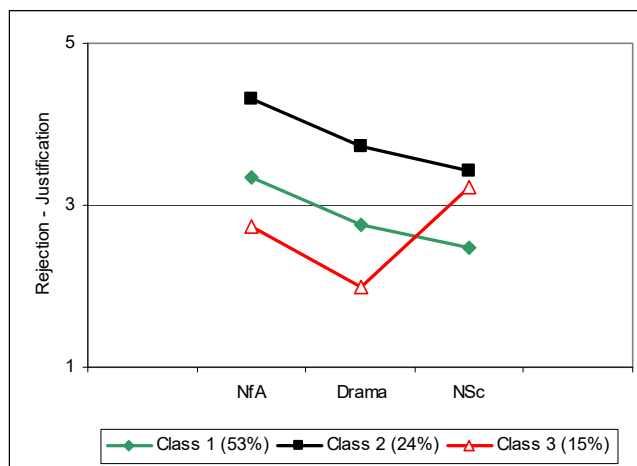
At least theoretically, NS comparisons could also represent a pattern of argument that dramatizes Israeli Occupartheid² (Bar-Tal 2015: 2) in order to justify a need for action to change Israeli Palestinian policy.

Even if some react to this with indignation,³ it is, therefore, quite legitimate to ask whether besides anti-Semitism something else could also be involved in comparisons of Israel with the NS regime, and Wolfgang Frindte (2015), e.g., honors this question as an effort “not to make any blanket and overly hasty judgments.”

Although findings of the “Anti-Semitism and Criticism of Israel (ASCI) Survey” (Kempf 2015a) give empirical evidence for the twofold character of NS comparisons as anti-Semitism *and* dramatization, Frindte does not refrain from emphasizing his own conviction, however, that, “for example, behind a statement like ‘*What the Israelis do to the Palestinians resembles what the Nazis did to the Jews*’ ... there are anti-Semitic prejudices.” The findings reported in Kempf (2015a: 162ff.) were thus obviously not persuasive and – above all – not sufficiently differentiated.

2. Previous Findings

The empirical basis for asserting the twofold character of NS comparisons was a Latent Class Analysis (LCA) of three statements that participants were asked to evaluate on a five-step scale in terms of whether they represent groundless prejudice or justifiable opinion:⁴



Class 1: Rejection of NS comparison despite perception of need for action
Class 2: Justification of NS comparison in connection with perception of strong need for action
Class 3: Justification of NS comparison despite rejection of need for action

Figure 1: Characteristic answer pattern of the classes (following Kempf 2015a: 163). NfA = Need for action; Drama = Simple dramatization; NSc = NS comparison

² Defined as discrimination between populations on the basis of ethnic origin as a result of a lasting occupation that denies political and economic rights from the occupied population.

³ Cf. www.barbarafritz.net/text_kempf.pdf; (downloaded 17.10.2015) as well as the Documentation “Diskreditierung und Denunziation?” (Discreditation and Denunciation) in *conflict & communication online*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (2015).

⁴ The middle answer category was marked partly-partly. If participants chose this category, it meant that the respective statement was, to be sure, partly held to be a prejudice, but partly was also considered a justified opinion. For these reasons, in the following, only values ≤ 2.90 are interpreted as rejection, and values in the interval $2.90 < x < 3.10$ as partial agreement.

1. The German government should put pressure on Israel to change its Palestinian policy (need for action).
2. The Israelis are [not] interested in a peaceful resolution of the Middle East conflict (simple dramatization).
3. What the Israelis do to the Palestinians resembles what the Nazis did to the Jews (NS comparison).

The LCA identified (besides ca. 8% who declined to answer⁵) three classes of participants for whom certain answer patterns are characteristic. The first class is inconspicuous and rejects NS comparisons, although it quite definitely sees a need for action to change Israeli Palestinian policy (Class 1, 53% of the analysis sample). The other two classes treat the NS comparison as a justifiable opinion and link it, on one side, with rejection of a need for action (Class 3, 15%), so that the anti-Semitic character of the NS comparison becomes obvious, and, on another, with a perception of a strong need for action (Class 2, 24%), so that here the dramatization function of NS comparisons appears to stand in the foreground (cf. Fig. 1).

3. Data analysis

3.1 Average expression of anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism

That the dramatization function *stands in the foreground* with the last-named answer pattern is, however, a rather vague formulation that says nothing about how strongly it stands out and/or how much dramatization, for its part, is motivated by anti-Semitism or anti-Zionism. Whether NS comparisons are actually directed at "the Jews" or (only) against "Zionism" can in the end only be judged from the *patterns* that link them with other anti-Semitic and/or anti-Zionist topoi (Kracauer 1952; Bergmann 2002: 138; Zimmermann 2002; Kempf 2015a: 42).

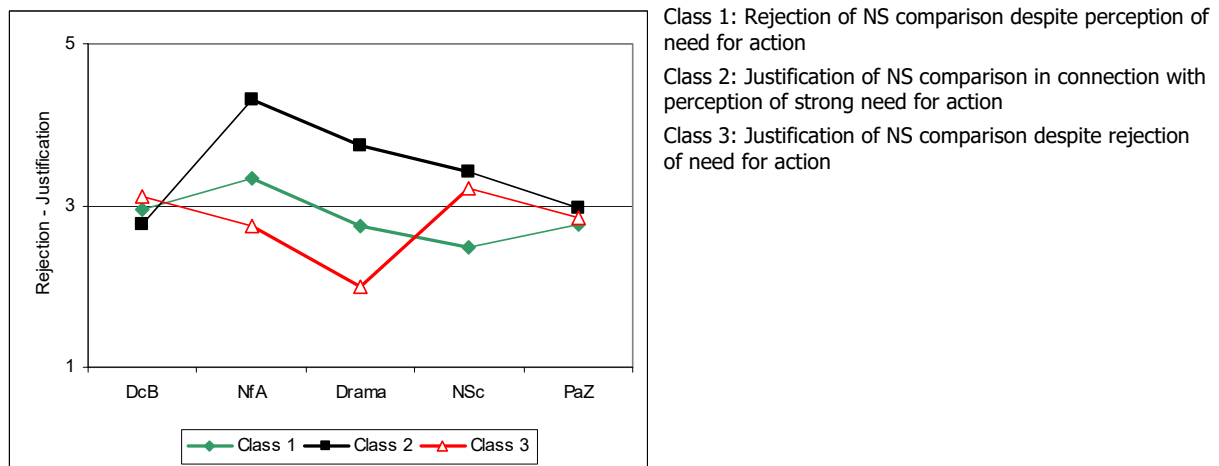


Figure 2: Mean expression of anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist attitudes within classes DcB = Demand to close the books on the past; NfA = Need for action; Drama = Simple dramatization; NSc = NS comparison; PaZ = Political anti-Zionism

In order to answer this question, we therefore made a secondary analysis of the ASCI data set⁶ and first examined the average expression of anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist attitudes within the classes. Used as an indicator of anti-Semitism was a latent classification of participants by means of a scale measuring demand to close the books on the past (Kempf 2015a: 129ff.; 2015b: 8) with the items:

1. Decades after the end of the war, we shouldn't talk so much about the persecution of Jews anymore, but rather finally close the books on the past.
2. We should ultimately put an end to all the talk about our guilt vis-à-vis the Jews.
3. The German people [do not] have a particular responsibility vis-à-vis the Jews.

Used as an indicator of anti-Zionism was the latent classification of the participants using a scale that measures political anti-Zionism (Kempf 2015: 140ff.; 2015b: 8) with responses to the items:

1. Zionism has made the victims of yesterday into the perpetrators of today.

⁵ We also find persons who decline to answer with unchanged class size in the second-order LCAs presented in Section 3.2. Thus, each time the content-related classes add up to 92%.

⁶ The sample included a quota sample representative of the German population in age, gender and education of n = 998 study participants from the old and new states (Bundesländer) of Germany, n = 240 participants, which exceeded the set quotas, as well as participants of an online-survey of n = 464 more or less active critics of Israel. These participants were recruited using the snowball principle from various organizations devoted to peace in the Near East.

2. The goal of Zionism has always been to expel the Palestinians and take over their land.
3. Zionism is essentially a variety of racism.

In principle, we could also have used any of our other anti-Semitism or respectively anti-Zionism scales. However, these two resentments – the call for closing the books on the past and political anti-Zionism – may in terms of content have a justifying relationship to NS comparisons. Furthermore, the demand to close the books on the past is the facet of anti-Semitism that is most widespread and, at the same time, best differentiates among those who reject anti-Semitic resentment as prejudice and those who regard it as a justifiable opinion (Kempf 2015a: 119ff.; 2015b: 8).

The results of these analyses show that the distribution of not only political anti-Zionism ($\chi^2 = 93.83$; $df = 12$; $p < 0.001$), but also of the demand to close the books on the past ($\chi^2 = 115.00$; $df = 18$; $p < 0.001$) is significantly different in the identified classes. Thereby the average expression of political anti-Zionism is *proportional* to agreement with NS comparisons, and that of the demand to close the books on the past is *inversely proportional* to perceived need for action (cf. Fig. 2).

Although these average value differences are only slight, they still seem to indicate that NS comparisons represent not an anti-Semitic but rather an anti-Zionist pattern of argumentation: The *more strongly* someone supports NS comparisons, the *more* he tends to support political anti-Zionism.

The other result is at first glance surprising: The *more strongly* someone supports a need for action to change Israeli policy, the *less* he tends to demand closing the books on the German-Jewish past.

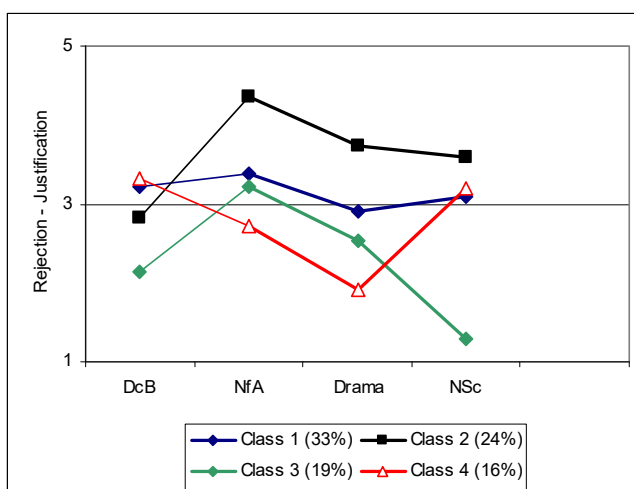
If we consider besides anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism as well the human rights orientation of participants as a possible basis for explanation, the surprise disappears. As results of the ASCI Survey show, persons with consistent human rights engagement reject (not only) anti-Semitic (but every type of racist) prejudice, while being simultaneously motivated to commit themselves for the rights of Palestinians (Kempf 2015a: 76, 237ff.; 2015b: 13ff).

3.2 Second-order Latent-Class-Analyses

That the distributions differ significantly, but their average differences are only slight, suggests that the classes are not inherently homogeneous and will split into sub-classes if we include in the LCA the demand to close the books on the past, political anti-Zionism and/or human rights orientation.

3.2.1 Demand to Close the Books on the Past

If we include in the analysis the demand to close the books on the past (cf. Fig. 3),⁷ the twofold character of NS comparisons as anti-Semitism and dramatization is confirmed. The evaluation of Class 1 as “inconspicuous” was, however, too optimistic.



Class 1: Need for action with support of demand to close the books on the past and (weak) justification of NS comparison

Class 2: Justification of NS comparison combined with perceived strong need for action but rejection of demand to close the books on the past

Class 3: Need for action with rejection of demand to close the books on the past and strict rejection of NS comparison

Class 4: Justification of NS comparison with rejection of need for action and support for demand to close the books on the past

Figure 3: Including the demand to close the books on the past: Characteristic answer patterns. DcB = Demand to close the books on the past; NfA = Need for action; Drama = Simple dramatization; NSc = NS comparison

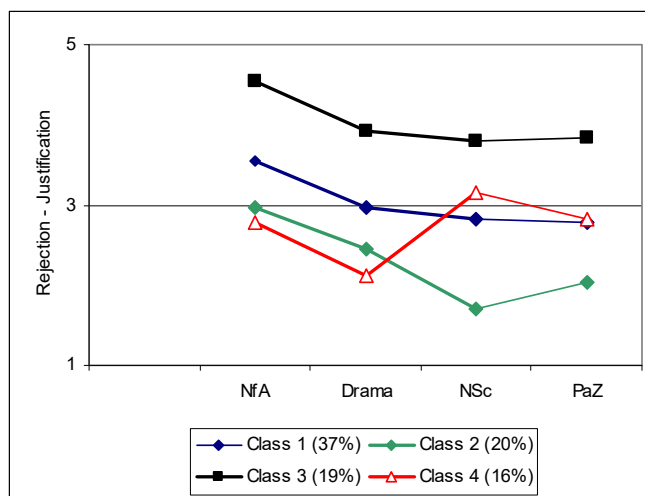
⁷ On LCA goodness-of-fit statistics, see Table 1.1 in the appendix.

- The former Class 1 (53%) splits into two classes, of which only one rejects the NS comparison, although it sees a need for action (Class 3, 19%). This class rejects the demand to close the books on the past and thereby appears critical of Israel but not anti-Semitic. The other class considers the NS comparison a partially justifiable opinion, but sees a weaker need for action and supports the demand to close the books on the past (Class 1, 33%), so that here dramatization and anti-Semitism seem to go hand in hand.
- Class 2 (24%) (original Class 2, 24%), which combines strong need for action with NS comparisons, rejects the demand to close the books on the past, and this speaks for a dramatizing but not anti-Semitic NS comparison.
- Class 4 (16%) (original Class 3, 15%), which justifies NS comparisons, although it rejects need for action, supports the demand to close the books on the past, so that the anti-Semitic connotation of the NS comparison is confirmed.

3.2.2 Political Anti-Zionism

If we instead include political anti-Zionism in the analysis (cf. Fig. 4),⁸ dramatization appears to be an anti-Zionist pattern of argumentation.

- Anti-Semitic NS comparisons in the original Class 3 (15%) (now Class 4, 16%) not only go together with rejection of need for action, but also with rejection of political anti-Zionism.
- With dramatizing NS comparisons in the original Class 2 (24%) (now Class 3, 19%), perception of need for action is combined with political anti-Zionism.
- The original Class 1 (53%) splits into two classes. One (as formerly) proves to be critical of Israel, but at the same time rejects not only NS comparisons, but also political anti-Zionism (Class 1, 37%). The other class sees hardly any need for action (Class 2, 20%), and very clearly rejects not only NS comparisons but also political anti-Semitism, which indicates that defense of Zionism not only rules out NS comparisons, but also stands in the way of perceiving a need for action to change Israeli Palestinian policy.



Class 1: Perception of need for action but rejection of NS comparisons and political anti-Zionism

Class 2: Almost no perception of need for action, with clear rejection of NS comparisons and political anti-Zionism

Class 3: Justification of NS comparisons with perception of strong need for action and marked anti-Zionism

Class 4: Justification of NS comparisons despite rejection of need for action and rejection of political anti-Zionism

Figure 4: Including political anti-Zionism: Characteristic answer patterns. NfA = Need for action; Drama = Simple dramatization; NSc = NS comparison; PaZ = Political anti-Zionism

3.2.3 Human Rights Orientation

To capture participants' human rights orientation we used a scale of eight items that thematize four human rights principles of particular relevance for both sides of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: (1) right to life and physical integrity, (2) inviolability of human dignity, (3) right to self-determination of peoples and (4) protection of minorities (cf. Kempf 2014; 2015a: 224f.). For each of these principles this scale includes one item that asks about the justifiability of their limitation in cases of crises and/or for purposes of (national) self-defense (sub-scale HRO-J) and one item to ascertain whether participants stand up for victims or respectively appear indignant if these rights are violated (sub-scale HRO-I) (cf. Table 1).

⁸ On LCA goodness-of-fit statistics, see Table 1.2 in the appendix.

	HRO-J: Justification of restricting human rights during crises and/or for purposes of (national) self-defense	HRO-I: Concern for victims of human rights violations and/or indignation over human rights violations
Right to life and physical integrity	1j: Killing and torture can sometimes be necessary to prevent greater harm.	1i: I find it intolerable that Europe sometimes accepts death of refugees in order to protect itself from illegal immigrants
Right to inviolability of human dignity	2j: Some crimes are so inhumane that the perpetrator thereby forfeits his right to dignified treatment.	2i: I do not want to have to take it lying down when the state violates human dignity.
Right of self-determination of peoples	3j: If a people lacks democratic maturity, it cannot be allowed to take its destiny into its own hands.	3i: It depresses me that even today some peoples are denied their right to self-determination
Protection of minorities	4j: If general welfare is in danger, it can be necessary to restrict minority rights.	4i: It makes me angry when I see how minorities are put at a disadvantage

Table 1: Construction principle and items of the human rights orientation scale

Participants were classified on the basis of an LCA (cf. Kempf 2014; 2015a: 226f.) that (apart from a class that declines to answer) identified three consistently ordered classes and two further classes whose order is inconsistent. The consistently ordered classes represent various degrees of human rights engagement ranging from absence, to relatively strong, to strong engagement: The more the members of these classes display indignation over human rights violations, the more they reject their restriction. This is not the case with inconsistently ordered classes. The more indignant they are over human rights violations, the more they agree to their restriction.

If we include this classification of participants in the analysis (cf. Fig. 5),⁹ only the original Class 3 (15%), characterized by anti-Semitic NS comparisons, remains unchanged and now as Class 4 (15%) goes together with a not very consistent human rights orientation.¹⁰

The original Classes 1 and 2, in contrast, are clearly smaller through the splitting-off of a new Class 3:

- Instead of 53%, Class 1 now contains only 44% of the study participants, for whom strong and consequent human rights engagement goes together with perception of need for action and simultaneous rejection of NS comparisons.¹¹
- Class 2 decreases from originally 24% to 17% of participants, whose human rights engagement literally overflows and who consequently not only see extremely great need for action, but also do not shy away from NS comparisons.¹²

Class 3 (16%), split off from the original Classes 1 and 2, shows in contrast inconsistent human rights orientation, sees only low need for action and tends to consider NS comparisons justifiable.¹³

There is thereby no linear relationship between human rights orientation and justification of NS comparisons:

- To be sure, rejection of NS comparison (Class 1) goes together with equally strong and consistent human rights engagement,
- but overweening human rights engagement (Class 2) seduces to dramatizing justification of NS comparison,
- while a not very consistent human rights orientation (Class 4) is connected with anti-Semitic NS comparisons,

⁹ On LCA goodness-of-fit statistics, see Table 1.3 in appendix.

¹⁰ Class 4: Justification of NS comparison despite rejection of need for action with indignation over human rights violation and rejection of restricting human rights in the case of crises, but only slightly consistent human rights orientation.

¹¹ Class 1: Rejection of NS comparison despite perceived need for action in combination with highly consequent human rights orientation, indignation over human rights violations and rejection of restricting human rights in the case of crises.

¹² Class 2: Justification of NS comparison with extremely strong perception of need for action, extremely consistent human rights orientation, extremely strong indignation over human rights violations and extremely strong rejection of restricting human rights in the case of crises.

¹³ Class 3: (Relatively weak) justification of NS comparison with (relatively low) need for action in connection with indignation over human rights violations and rejection of restricting human rights in the case of crises, but highly inconsistent human rights orientation.

- and inconsistent human rights orientation (Class 3) leads to partial justification of NS comparisons that seems at the same time anti-Semitic and dramatizing.

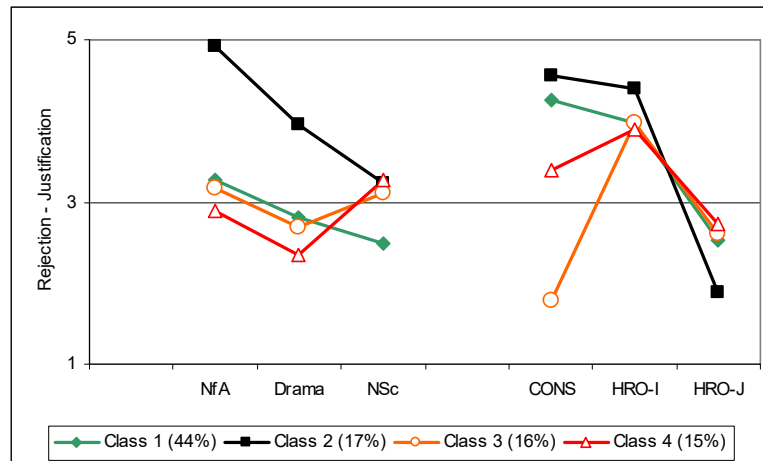


Figure 5: Including human rights orientation: Characteristic answer pattern NfA = Need for action; Drama = Simple dramatization; NSc = NS comparison; CONS = Consistency of human rights orientation; HRO-I = Indignation over human rights violations; HRO-J: Justification of restricting human rights

3.2.4 Interaction of Human Rights Orientation, Anti-Semitism and Anti-Zionism

We ultimately obtain more precise information on how human rights orientation, anti-Semitism and political anti-Zionism interact in the justification or rejection of NS comparisons if we simultaneously include all three scales in the LCA.

In this case, not four (besides declining to answer) but rather five classes result that clearly differ from each other in the consistency of their human rights orientation (cf. Fig. 6)¹⁴:

- Class 5 shows overweening human rights engagement,
- Class 2 strong human rights engagement,
- Class 1 and Class 3 show less consistent human rights orientation, whereby indignation over human rights violations is clearly stronger than rejection of restricting human rights, and
- Class 4 is blatantly deficient in its human rights orientation, which furthermore is also highly inconsistent.

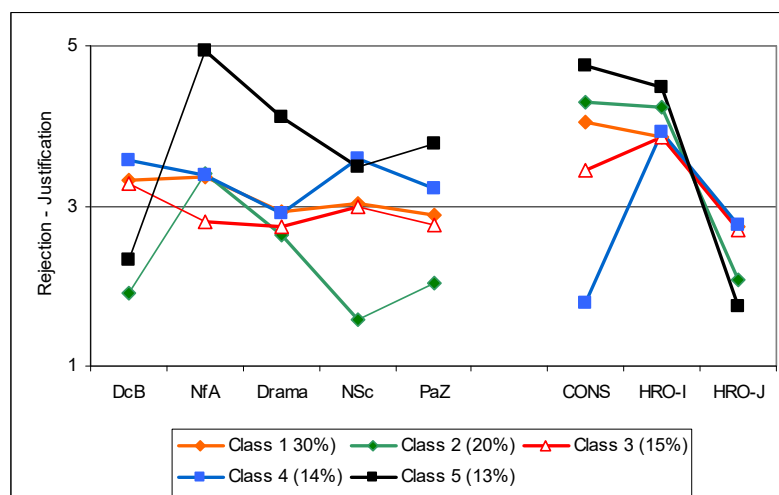


Figure 6: Simultaneous inclusion of human rights orientation, demand to close the books on the past and political anti-Zionism: Characteristic answer patterns. DcB = Demand to close the books on the past; NfA = Need for action; Drama = Simple dramatization; NSc = NS comparison; PaZ = Political anti-Zionism; CONS = Consistency of human rights orientation; HRO-I = Indignation over human rights violations; HRO-J = Justification of restricting human rights.

¹⁴ For LCA goodness-of-fit statistics, see Table 1.4 in the appendix.

The original Class 1 (53%) splits into two classes. One displays strong human rights engagement and is, to be sure, critical of Israel, but has neither anti-Semitic nor anti-Zionist attitudes (Class 2, 20%).¹⁵ The other class shows a not very consistent human rights orientation and tends to dramatizing NS comparisons motivated by anti-Semitism, but not anti-Zionism (Class 1, 30%).¹⁶

The original Class 2 (24%) likewise splits into two classes. One stands out for overweening human rights engagement and makes dramatizing and anti-Zionist NS comparisons not motivated by anti-Semitism (Class 5, 13%).¹⁷ The other class displays deficient human rights orientation and makes dramatizing NS comparisons motivated by both anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism (Class 4, 14%).¹⁸

The original Class 3 (15%) remains and goes together with a not very consistent human rights orientation (Class 3, 15%)¹⁹: However, it gives only partial justification to NS comparisons, which in this case displays no dramatizing function, proves to be purely anti-Semitic and rejects political anti-Zionism as prejudice.

3.2.5. Comparative Discussion of Analysis Results²⁰

The twofold character of NS comparisons established by Kempf (2015a: 162ff.) was supported and made more precise by secondary data analysis as follows:

- The (original) Class 3 (15%), which supports NS comparisons, although Israeli policy plays only a subordinate role for it, was reproduced in all four analyses. Merely in Section 3.2.1 (inclusion of the demand to close the books on the past) as well as Section 3.2.2 (inclusion of political anti-Zionism) did it appear to be slightly larger at 16% than in the other analyses.

The dominance of the anti-Semitic connotation of this attitude pattern is confirmed not only in Sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.4 through support of the demand to close the books on the past, but also in Section 3.2.2 through rejection of political anti-Zionism. Thus, here we can speak of *purely anti-Semitic NS comparisons* that go together with a not very consistent human rights orientation (cf. Section 3.2.3 and Section 3.2.4).

- The assessment of the (original) Class 1 (53%) as “unproblematic” proved, however, overly optimistic. To be sure in all four analyses a class could once again be identified that rejects NS comparisons, although it sees a need for action, but this attitude pattern was always less frequent (44%), or even very definitely less frequent (19% to 20%) than in the original analysis.

That such an attitude pattern is, to be sure, *critical of Israel but not anti-Semitic* could, however, be made more specific to the extent that it goes together with consequent human rights engagement (cf. Sections 3.2.3 and 3.2.4) and is characterized not only by rejection of the demand to close the books on the past (cf. Sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.4), but also by rejection of political anti-Zionism (cf. Sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.4).

- The (original) Class 2 (24%), in which NS comparisons are combined with perception of strong need for action, could only be reproduced with unchanged class size by including the demand to close the books on the past (cf. Section 3.2.1). In the other analyses, it is clearly smaller at 13% to 19%. Agreement with political anti-Zionism (cf. Sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.4) with simultaneous rejection of the demand to close the books on the past (cf. Sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.4) confirms, for one thing, that with this attitude

¹⁵ Class 2: Strong rejection of NS comparison despite perceived need for action with strong rejection of the demand to close the books on the past and of political anti-Zionism, highly consistent human rights orientation, strong indignation over human rights violations and strong rejection of restricting human rights in the case of crises.

¹⁶ Class 1: Partial justification of NS comparison, recognition of need for action and justification of the demand to close the books on the past, but rejection of political anti-Zionism in connection with a not very consistent human rights orientation, low indignation over human rights violations and relatively weak rejection of restricting human rights in the case of crises.

¹⁷ Class 5: Justification of NS comparison despite rejection of the demand to close the books on the past, but extremely strong perception of need for action and marked anti-Zionism with extremely consistent human rights orientation, extremely strong indignation over human rights violations and extremely strong rejection of restricting human rights in the case of crises.

¹⁸ Class 4: Justification of NS comparison with perception of need for action, demand to close the books on the past and political anti-Zionism in connection with extremely inconsistent human rights orientation, low indignation over human rights violations and relatively weak rejection of restricting human rights in the case of crises.

¹⁹ Class 3: Partial justification of NS comparison despite rejection of need for action and rejection of political anti-Zionism with support for demand to close the books on the past, low consistency of human rights orientation, low indignation over human rights violations and only weak rejection of restricting human rights in the case of crises.

²⁰ To better conceptualize this, see also comparison tables in Appendix 2.

pattern the dramatization function of NS comparisons does indeed stand in the foreground, and for another, that dramatization through NS comparisons is an anti-Zionist pattern of argument.

With the inclusion of human rights orientation (cf. Section 3.2.3) and/or the simultaneous inclusion of all three attitude dimensions (cf. Section 3.2.4), it was also found that such a purely *anti-Zionist dramatization* by means of NS comparisons results from an overweening human rights engagement, whose black-and-white portrayal makes an antiseptic and differentiated perception of Israeli Palestinian policy impossible for this class.

At the same time, the two last-named analyses confirm Kempf's (2015a: 164) interpretation, according to which with the (original) Class 2 "the dramatizing function of NS comparisons" merely "stands in the foreground."

- If we include human rights orientation in the analysis, a new class splits off (Fig. 5, Class 3: 16%) which is characterized by inconsistent human rights orientation, sees a certain need for action to change Israeli Palestinian policy, and considers NS comparison a not unjustified opinion.
- This splitting off (Fig. 6, Class 4: 14%) is also found if one includes all three attitude dimensions, whereby not only perception of need for action, but also support for NS comparisons appear more clearly here and are combined with not just the demand to close the books on the past, but also with political anti-Zionism.

That anti-Semitic NS comparisons result from a human rights orientation with low consistency is also shown in this analysis by splitting off (Fig. 6, Class 1: 30%) from the (original) Class 1, which it resembles insofar as, despite (to be sure weaker) rejection of political anti-Zionism, it sees a comparably strong need for action. In contrast to this – and in this respect it resembles the (original) Class 3 – it does, however, show a not very consistent human rights orientation, demands closing the books on the past and considers the NS comparison (strictly rejected by the original Class 1) a partly justifiable opinion.

Without including human rights orientation, anti-Semitism and political anti-Zionism, this attitude pattern could not be identified, whereby the share of study participants who reject NS comparisons was crudely over-estimated in the original analysis.

4. Conclusions

If we differentiate between anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism and take into account the possible significance of participants' human rights orientation, we thereby get the picture shown in Fig. 7. The classes presented there are described below from right to left. (This arrangement is not intended in a political sense; it simply resulted from graphic necessities).

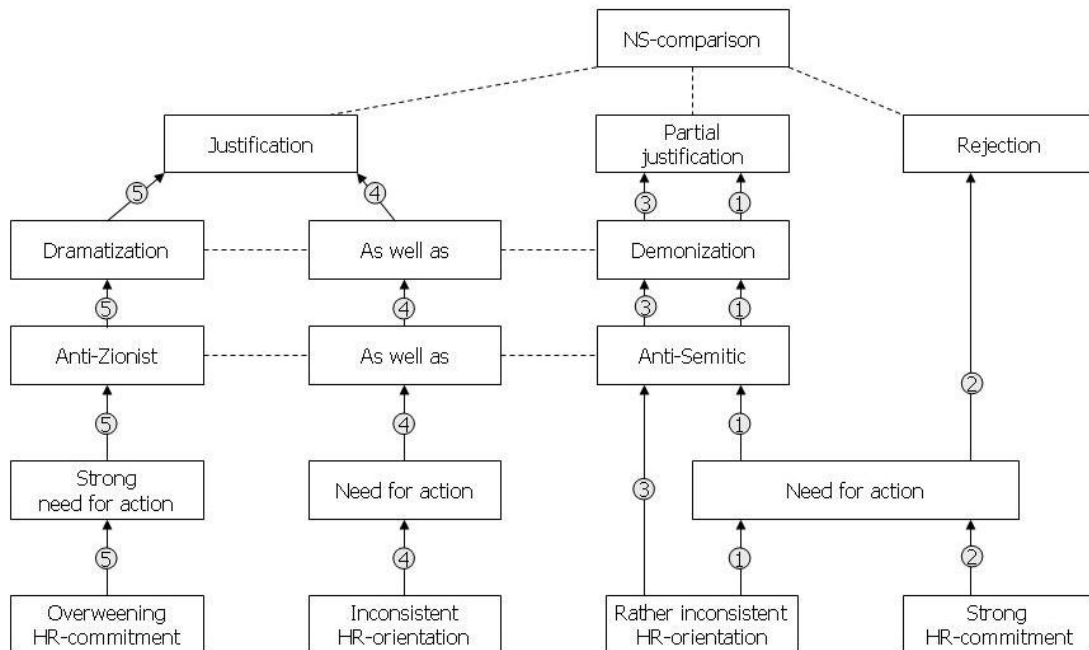


Figure 7: NS comparisons, human rights orientation, dramatization and demonization

The class on the far right in the illustration shows that a consequent human rights engagement rejects not only anti-Semitism but also anti-Zionism and NS comparisons, but simultaneously is bound to opposing the injustice of Occupartheid and endorsing a change in Israeli policy (Class 2, characteristic of 20% of the analysis sample or respectively 17% of the German population²¹).

Where there is a less consistent human rights orientation, to the contrary, NS comparisons find some support and are, depending on whether or not a need for action is seen, simultaneously dramatizing and motivated by anti-Semitism (Class 1, 30% resp. 40%), or they represent a purely anti-Semitic pattern of argument (Class 3, 15% resp. 19%).

NS comparisons find the strongest support on the two poles of human rights orientation: on the one pole, where human rights engagement is overweening and leads to NS comparisons that support a dramatization motivated by anti-Zionism (with simultaneous rejection of anti-Semitic resentment) (Class 5, 13% resp. 3%), and on the opposite pole (deficient human rights orientation), where inconsistency of human rights orientation opens the door not only to anti-Semitism, but also to political anti-Zionism, and limitless indignation over human rights violations helps give credibility to dramatization by means of NS comparisons (Class 4, 14% resp. 18%).

In all, it is thereby confirmed that equating Israeli Palestinian policy with National Socialist Jewish policy can mean not only *anti-Semitic demonization* of Jews, but also *anti-Zionist dramatization* of the Palestinians' precarious human rights situation. Participants who work consequently and without reservation for human rights do to be sure see a strong need for action to change Israeli policy, but strictly reject equating Israeli policy with NS policy.

NS comparisons find undivided support when anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism go hand in hand, as well as with a small group of people whose human rights engagement does to be sure protect them from an anti-Semitic attitude, but whose marked anti-Zionism in combination with a fateful black-and-white picture leaves no room for the insight that no crime in human history comes in any way close to equaling the literally industrial destruction of European Jews by National Socialism.

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²¹ Stated more precisely, for members of the representative quota sample.

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Appendix 1: Goodness-of-Fit statistics of the second-order LCAs

Model	ln(L)	n(P)	df	L-Ratio	BIC
LC1	-12574,34	23	2034	4852,68	25319,79
LC2	-11653,32	47	2010	3010,64	23656,30
LC3	-11211,57	71	1986	2127,14	22951,35
LC4	-11029,52	95	1962	1763,04	22765,80
LC5	-10912,87	119	1938	1529,74	22711,05
LC6	-10827,51	143	1914	1359,02	22718,88
LC7	-10795,13	167	1890	1294,26	22832,67
Sat.	-10148,00	2057	-	-	35599,17

LCx = x-class solution of the LCA
Sat. = Saturated Modell
ln(L) = Log. Likelihood

n(P) = Number of independent parameters
L-Ratio = Likelihood-Ratio Test
BIC = Bayesian Information Criterion

Table 1.1: Inclusion of the demand to close the books on the past

Model	ln(L)	n(P)	df	L-Ratio	BIC
LC1	-11678,47	21	1350	4601,56	23513,17
LC2	-10768,92	43	1328	2782,46	21857,74
LC3	-10379,62	65	1306	2003,86	21242,81
LC4	-10032,17	87	1284	1308,96	20711,58
LC5	-9910,48	109	1262	1065,58	20631,87
LC6	-9862,59	131	1240	969,80	20699,76
LC7	-9835,14	153	1218	914,90	20808,53
Sat.	-9377,69	1371	-	-	28955,02

Table 1.2: Inclusion of political anti-Zionism

Model	ln(L)	n(P)	df	L-Ratio	BIC
LC1	-12416,93	23	2034	4657,06	25004,97
LC2	-11613,37	47	2010	3049,94	23576,40
LC3	-11188,50	71	1986	2200,20	22905,21
LC4	-10942,51	95	1962	1708,22	22591,78
LC5	-10826,70	119	1938	1476,60	22538,71
LC6	-10763,75	143	1914	1350,70	22591,36
LC7	-10727,91	167	1890	1279,02	22698,23
Sat.	-10088,40	2057	-	-	35479,97

Table 1.3: Inclusion of participants' human rights orientation

Model	ln(L)	n(P)	df	L-Ratio	BIC
LC1	-17514,32	31	49360	11692,65	35259,27
LC2	-16185,66	63	49328	9035,33	32840,01
LC3	-15583,40	95	49296	7830,81	31873,56
LC4	-15236,55	127	49264	7137,11	31417,92
LC5	-14955,42	159	49232	6574,85	31093,73
LC6	-14777,16	191	49200	6218,33	30975,28
LC7	-14700,95	223	49168	6065,91	31060,92
LC8	-14655,12	255	49136	5974,25	31207,33
Sat.	-11668,00	49391	-	-	390783,27

Table 1.4: Simultaneous inclusion of human rights orientation, demand to close the books on the past and political anti-Zionism

Appendix 2: Comparison of the results in table form

	Original analysis	Inclusion of the demand to close the books on the past	Inclusion of political anti-Zionism	Inclusion of participants' human rights orientation	Inclusion of all three dimensions
Class / Frequency	Class 1 / 53%	Class 3 / 19%	Class 1 / 37%	Class 1 / 44%	Class 2 / 20%
Closing the books		2.13 Rejection			1.91 Strong rej.
Need for action	3.34 Agreement	3.22 Agreement	3.55 Agreement	3.27 Agreement	3.41 Agreement
NS-comparison	2.48 Rejection	1.28 Strict rej.	2.82 Rejection	2.48 Rejection	1.57 Strong rej..
Anti-Zionism			2.78 Rejection		2.03 Strong rej.
Human rights orient.				4.25 Consequent	4.29 Consequent

Table 2.1: Reproduction of the original Class 1 in the second-order LCAs

	Abspaltung von Klasse 1	Inclusion of the demand to close the books on the past	Inclusion of political anti-Zionism	Inclusion of participants' human rights orientation	Inclusion of all three dimensions
Class / Frequency	Class 1 / 53%	Class 1 / 33%	Class 2 / 20%	Class 3 / 16%	Class 1 / 30%
Closing the books		3.21 Agreement			3.32 Agreement
Need for action	3.34 Agreement	3.37 Agreement	2.97 Partial agr.	3.17 (weak) agr.	3.36 Agreement
NS-comparison	2.48 Rejection	3.10 (weak) agr.	1.70 (strong) rej.	3.12 (weak) agr.	3.02 Partial agr..
Anti-Zionism			2.05 (strong) rej.		2.90 Rejection
Human rights orient.				1.79 Inconsistent	4.05 Little cons.

Table 2.2: Split-offs from the original Class 1 in the second-order LCAs

	Original analysis	Inclusion of the demand to close the books on the past	Inclusion of political anti-Zionism	Inclusion of participants' human rights orientation	Inclusion of all three dimensions
Class / Frequency	Class 2 / 24%	Class 2 / 24%	Class 3 / 19%	Class 2 / 17%	Class 5 / 13%
Closing the books		2.83 Rejection			2.33 Rejection
Need for action	4.30 Strong agr.	4.36 Strong agr.	4.55 Strong agr.	4.92 Extreme agr.	4.94 Extreme agr.
NS-comparison	3.42 Agreement	3.58 Agreement	3.80 Agreement	3.23 Agreement	3.48 Agreement
Anti-Zionism			3.83 Agreement		3.78 Agreement
Human rights orient.				4.56 Excessive	4.75 Excessive

Table 2.3: Reproduction of the original Class 2 in the second-order LCAs

	Abspaltung von Klasse 2	Inclusion of the demand to close the books on the past	Inclusion of political anti-Zionism	Inclusion of participants' human rights orientation	Inclusion of all three dimensions
Class / Frequency	Class 2 / 24%			Class 3 / 16%	Class 4 / 14%
Closing the books					3.57 Agreement
Need for action	4.30 Strong agr.			3.17 (weak) agr.	3.39 Agreement
NS-comparison	3.42 Agreement			3.12 (weak) agr..	3.60 Agreement
Anti-Zionism					3.22 Agreement
Human rights orient.				1.79 Inconsistent	1.80 In deficit

Table 2.4: Split-offs from the original Class 2 in the second-order LCAs

	Original analysis	Inclusion of the demand to close the books on the past	Inclusion of political anti-Zionism	Inclusion of the human rights orientation	Inclusion of all three dimensions
Class / Frequency	Class 3 / 15%	Class 4 / 15%	Class 4 / 16%	Class 4 / 15%	Class 3 / 15%
Closing the books		3.32 Agreement			3.27 Agreement
Need for action	2.74 Rejection	2.73 Rejection	2.79 Rejection	2.88 Rejection	2.81 Rejection
NS-comparison	3.22 Agreement	3.20 Agreement	3.16 Agreement	3.27 Agreement	3.00 Partial agr.
Anti-Zionism			2.83 Rejection		2.77 Rejection
Human rights orient.				3.40 Little cons.	3.44 Little cons.

Table 2.5: Reproduction of the original Class 3 in the second-order LCAs