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Abstract

The category of “Indigenous” has come to justify any measure of violence wrought by the Israeli state. Why has this identity been evoked as a central defense, particularly in North America, of Israel’s response to the Hamas attacks of October 7, 2023? Intrinsic to this discourse is the denial of Palestinian indigeneity. If there is no Palestinian nation, there can be no occupation, dispossession, or colonization. In this light, Zionism is shaping the discourse of Indigenous politics through its claims to Jewish indigeneity, as it cosplays colonialism as Land Back. The task is to disentangle the meaning of roots and the traffic of identity as they pertain to nations—in dismantling the apparatus of settler states.

IN THE 2024 OPEN LETTER¹ penned by Jewish Hollywood professionals denouncing Jewish filmmaker Jonathan Glazer, one word carried much of the weight of condemnation: “The use of words like ‘occupation’ to describe an *indigenous* Jewish people defending a homeland that dates back thousands of years . . . distorts history.”

The letter was a reaction to Glazer’s acceptance speech² at the Oscars in February 2024, when he refuted the “hijacking” of Jewishness and the Holocaust “by an occupation which has led to conflict for so many innocent people.” His winning film, *Zone of Interest*, tells the story of a Nazi military family who share a garden wall with the Auschwitz concentration camp. It is a film about the banal self-interest of those who benefit from the dehumanization of others. Due to its timing, the film shined an intense light on social complacency³ with the horrors of Gaza. In his acceptance speech, Glazer said of the film: “All our choices were made to reflect and confront us in the present, not to say *look what they did then*, but rather, ‘look what we do now.’” Glazer was widely condemned by the legacy Jewish Zionist organizations for his statement. But even his Jewish defenders⁴ neglected to address the particular nature of the attack.

Increasingly, the Israeli atrocities committed in Gaza have been excused through the friction of rubbing two words together: Jewish + Indigenous. Why has this identity been evoked as a central defense of Israel's response to the Hamas attacks of October 7, 2023? It is colonization cosplaying *land back* and its associated goal of self-determination. "Land back" in this context has become a blank check for wanton extermination, as supporters of Israeli colonization and military occupation seek to identify themselves as victims of stolen land rather than as perpetrators and beneficiaries of the lawfare of *terra nullius*.⁵

Intrinsic to this discourse is the denial of Palestinian indigeneity. If there is no Palestinian nation, there can be no occupation, dispossession, or colonization. In this light, Zionism is shaping the discourse of Indigenous politics through its claims to Jewish indigeneity. It points to the task of disentangling the meaning of roots and the traffic of identity as they pertain to nations in dismantling the apparatus of settler states.

What Does the Word Earn

It bears saying from the outset that the framing of Jews as Indigenous in the current moment is often less about conceptions of Jewish history, theology, or continuous presence in the region than it is about brandishing the politics of this identity to ward off criticism of Israel. Therefore, this idea has become a key battleground in the war of ideas and what is "sayable" about the war on Gaza in civil discourse, and Indigenous Peoples have been particularly disciplined. Take for example, an incident that brewed early in the genocide and is an iteration of a much longer discursive war against Palestinians. In November 2023, a letter leaked alleging that Wanda Nanibush, an Anishinaabe curator of Indigenous art for Canada's Art Gallery of Ontario (AGO), "perpetually denies that Jews are indigenous to Israel."

The authors of the letter run an organization that raises funds for museum programming in Jerusalem. Addressed to the chief executive of the AGO, they denounced Nanibush's "hateful opinions," expressed in "her dedication to repeating that Israel is involved with genocide and colonialism." The letter refutes Nanibush's claims by presenting archaeological evidence of Jewish presence in the region dating back a thousand years. It states that Israel cannot be a settler colony because it is a refugee state. Unlike other colonizers, they write, "Jews did not arrive in an armada with missionaries." Nanibush soon after left the AGO under confidential terms of "mutual" agreement, but insiders allege she was pushed out.⁶

Arguments in this vein of Jewish indigeneity are often linked to an explicit rejection of Palestinians as Indigenous Peoples. Jessica Seinfeld, wife of

comedian Jerry Seinfeld, runs an organization dedicated to “the advancement of Indigenous communities globally.” After October 7, she put out a statement on behalf of the organization that sought to clarify “false claims Arabs are Indigenous to the Palestinian territories, and Jews are European colonists.” Unlike the letter to the AGO, Seinfeld does not marshal archeological evidence to support her claim. Instead, she argues that Arabs are colonizers because they are Indigenous to the Arabian Peninsula, not to Palestine. Seinfeld incorrectly confuses total population replacement with migration, which is a component of the cacophony of identity under empire.⁷ Nonetheless, any opinions that deny Jewish indigeneity to Israel she brands as propaganda or hate speech—the likes of which, she asserts, caused both the Holocaust and “the ethnic cleansing of Native Americans.”⁸

The Holocaust was not about denying Jewish indigeneity, though. It was about the Nazi creation of a Jewish *race*,⁹ which they then sought to destroy, along with other social vectors of racial impurity, like the disabled, homosexual, and Roma. What was actually deadly for Jews was denial of our *plurality*: the multiple forms of belonging we established in exile, like the capaciousness of our diasporic identity to be Jewish *and* German, Jewish *and* Polish, Jewish *and* French. Zionism in many ways recapitulates this race-based identity today rather than troubles it, by insisting on indigeneity to frame Jewish nationhood.

Comparisons with Native Americans also fall short another way. The “ethnic cleansing of Native Americans” was not carried out “because too many people were either swayed by propaganda and hate speech or were too afraid to stand up to what is right and just.” The American genocide was a naked intra-national war for land. There was no denial of indigeneity at fault. There has never been any doubt whose national lands Canada or the United States of America were built on—entire legal apparatuses have been devised across Turtle Island to manage this fact—and therein lies the threat.

But Indigenous allyship with Zionism is a critical win for those who seek to align its goals with Indigenous self-determination movements. Therefore, a split strategy is being taken towards Indigenous peoples by Zionist defenders of Israel. On the one hand, Indigenous peoples’ anti-colonial condemnations of Israel and expressions of Indigenous solidarity with Palestinians must be silenced. So, they are taken as evidence of a denial of Jewish indigeneity to Israel, which is then labeled anti-Semitic. These attacks are often accompanied by hateful invectives about Indigenous peoples’ own assertions of nationhood and sovereignty to these lands, to create distance from Palestinian liberation movements.¹⁰

On the other hand, Zionists aim to make friends with Indigenous people as a common front against Palestinians. For example, Jewish-First Nation

shared grounds were emphasized in the wake of remarks made by former National Chief David Ahenakew in 2002 calling Jews a “disease,”¹¹ when a rapprochement between communities was forged through trips to Israel. Several years later, Member of Parliament Irwin Cotler described the relationship, stating that Jews were “prototypical First Nations or aboriginal people” just like Indigenous Peoples of Canada. “Israel,” he pronounced, choosing his words carefully, “is the aboriginal homeland of the Jewish people across space and time.”¹²

What Makes a Nation?

What Jewish people *do* have in common with Indigenous nations is that we survived genocide and ethnic cleansing, modernized an ancient language, and fiercely protected our culture—and enriched it—over many hundreds of years of threatened extermination. But what Jewish people do not share with Indigenous Peoples, unlike the Palestinians, is a contemporary history of being colonized.¹³ This is what the Zionist use of Jewish indigeneity is meant to deflect.

That does not mean that Jewish people have no ties to Palestine or are not a people. As Rashid Khalidi stated in a recent interview, “There are a lot of Palestinians who don’t believe that there’s such a thing as Israeli peoplehood, which there manifestly, obviously is. Israelis are a people. A lot of Palestinians don’t realize that many settler colonial projects have created peoples.”¹⁴ He cites the United States as an example. But the identity of these “settlers” presents another layer to the claim of Jewish indigeneity. Some Israelis do have historic roots in Palestine, and a diverse community of Jews have had a continuous presence in the region for centuries.

The Jews were formed as a people in the ancient land of Cana’an before the great expulsion by Romans in the first century of the common era. Many Jewish people stayed in the Levant—in Arabic, *Bilad Ash-Shaam*—or more broadly known, the “Middle East.” In the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, they would be lumped together and dubbed pejoratively by Israel as *Mizrahis*, “people of the East.” But cultural anthropologies and histories of the region document unique, rich cultures of Jews who lived for centuries in Iraq, Syria, Persia, Egypt, Yemen, and Palestine until the state of Israel was created.¹⁵ Though whether these roots configured the modern nation, or whether settler colonialism forged it, are conveniently sidestepped in Zionist rhetoric.

The presence and migration of Jews to Palestine was never a matter of contestation since Palestine was a pluralist society. Palestinians saw Jewish residents of the territory as Palestinians. The Arab Executive Committee

addressed Palestinian Jews as part of the Palestinian nation in 1922, “You and we are *the sons of the same homeland*, whether Zionists like it or not.”¹⁶ Jewish migration triggered Palestinian resistance when Zionist intentions became clear: to create an ethnonationalist state designed to violently shoulder aside its multifaith and multiracial population. Against this vision, a small number of so-called Mizrahi or Arab Jews formed solidarity with Palestinians,¹⁷ including local Palestinian Jews,¹⁸ though conscription into the Israeli state project was swift and somewhat final.

The architects of Zionism felt contempt for and superior to Palestinians but were also embarrassed by these Jews of the “Orient.” Forced to recruit from their populations to swell the demographics of Israel, loathsome Zionist Za’ev Jabotinsky described their odious goals of whitewashing. He vowed to “sweep out thoroughly all traces of the Oriental soul.”¹⁹ These “Arab Jews” would nonetheless come to serve a useful purpose later to the Ashkenazi Jews for laying claims to regional Indigenous culture through their clothing, food, and folkloric dances.²⁰

The Gift of Palestine

The language of “settler” does not hold much nuance for these complexities, and since the founders of Zionism were European—and now tend to be at the forefront of the “Jews as Indigenous” defense of Israeli policy²¹—there has been some confusion about Jewish origins in the Middle East. If Jews are indigenous to the region, for example, where did all the white people come from? The short answer is that Judaism is not a genetic or racial category.²² As Daniel Boyarin writes, it is perhaps best considered a diaspora nation.²³ While Jews as a people have religious, or national, origins in the Middle East, we have also lived in a constitutive state of exile, including the Ashkenazi Jews, who lived throughout Western and Eastern Europe, as far east as Russia, and developed the lingua franca of Yiddish.²⁴

These Ashkenazi Jews were ideologically nurtured in the soil where Zionism grew, a dirt rich with European racial ideologies and state aspirations. In the words of Elia Zreik, Zionists like modern founder Theodore Herzl propagated “a profane, political formulation of a religious vision of return.”²⁵ This “return” was settler colonialism, a clear and intentional program of colonization, devised and revised over time to clear Palestinians from their land and replace them with Jews. As Faye Sayegh wrote in 1965 in his seminal work on Israel and settler colonialism, the First Zionist Congress laid out a detailed program of colonization that included numerous institutions, such as the Jewish Colonial Trust (1898) and the Colonization Commission (1898), coupled with diplomatic efforts and international federations.²⁶ Centering

Indigenous resistance, Sayegh lays out the broader imperial designs on the region that fueled the Zionist vision of return laden with Western racism against the Arab world.

In the months following October 7, the term *settler colonialism* has become a slur to Zionists, despite its factual truth. Perhaps the description is hitting, literally, too close to home. In an *Atlantic* piece, “The Curious Rise of Settler Colonialism and Turtle Island,”²⁷ staff writer Michael Powell argues that expressions of solidarity between Native Americans and Palestinians are based on a “morality tale,” rather than *politics*. He writes that it was the rise of fascism that led to Jewish settlement in Israel, nothing like the “bloody conquest” of Indigenous Peoples by Europeans in North America. While true that there are different contexts for colonialism, and that the killing of six million Jews in Europe drove Jewish settlement in Palestine, Powell seems most anxious to avoid the conclusion that states of *all kinds* should be subject to serious structural change to address colonial foundations. He writes, sarcastically, “Settlers can be uprooted, sojourns violently terminated. What matters is that Indigenous people reclaim their rightful inheritance.”

This framing of decolonization matters to the discourse of Indigenous politics because it represents a critical pivot: the violence of settlement is now outside the frame of critique, while settlers are positioned as the central victims, as recipients of its revenge. Powell uses the atrocities committed by Hamas on October 7 to deny the validity of Indigenous struggles for self-determination *writ large*, as if Hamas introduced the possibility of reprisal against settlers for the first time. Implicit in his rhetoric is the question: What if it happened *here*? But it *did* happen here. Armed resistance has been a feature of Indigenous resistance since contact on these lands, as reprisal for the violent taking of Indigenous land.²⁸ It’s the boomerang of violence, perhaps, that he fears: the greater the force, the more severe the return. Breaking this cycle of violence, however, means addressing the ongoing harms to Indigenous Peoples, not simply the cost to settlers.

Meanwhile, the influence of Indigenous land back movements has shifted some Zionist discourses of entitlement from theology to political expressions of indigeneity. Scripture has been traditionally used as evidence of an ancestral claim to Israel as the Jewish homeland (*Eretz Yisrael*) and as a binding obligation of settlement. In 2017, the case for Jewish indigeneity was forcefully made in the Jewish newspaper *The Forward*, as the authors wrote: “Every chance we get, we need to remind people that Zionism is the first successful indigenous movement of a dispossessed and colonized people regaining sovereignty in their indigenous homeland.”²⁹ Utterly false on multiple counts, the *firsting* of Jewish indigeneity covers up the colonial nature of its desired *lasting* of Palestinian nationhood and liberation.³⁰

This trend of “red-washing” was coined and theorized in 2013 by Hawaiian scholar J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, as an analytic and accusation, for a conference panel she convened in Lebanon at the American University Beirut Center for American Studies and Research. In 2014, she convened another panel on the topic at the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association meeting in Austin, Texas.³¹ Choctaw scholar Jodi Byrd dubs this kind of mythologizing “the transit of the Indian”—a discursive path of indigeneity that is cleared to invade other territories for empire.

Homeland and Here-Ness

Mahmood Mamdani wrote in *Neither Native nor Settler*: “From the standpoint of an immigrant—and indeed, a native—Palestine could have been a refuge for Holocaust survivors in the absence of Zionism; there could have been a Jewish society, a Jewish population, there, without a Jewish state.”³² Instead, the map of Ancient Israel—and Jewish indigeneity—was redrawn, without the presence of Palestinians. Reformist Zionists like Hannah Arendt urged the necessity of thinking about Jews as migrants, rather than acting as settlers, predicting with terrible acuity the perils of reproducing an ethnonationalist entity. She rejected the *terra nullius* playbook of European colonialism, writing of Palestine: “in this whole land, it is hard to find an unsown field.”³³

The Zionists saw everyone as potentially Zionist. Therefore, the Holocaust presented to them an opportunity, in which, rather than simply support Jewish resettlement in Palestine as a refuge from the anti-Semitism and horrors of postwar Europe, they insisted on a Jewish state and thwarted Jewish migration elsewhere. As Enzo Traverso writes in *The End of Jewish Modernity*, a “triple negation” came into play: the negation of Jewish diaspora in Europe, the negation of Arab Palestine, and the negation of Jewish life in the Arab world. Racist immigration policies in Canada, the United States, and Britain closed opportunities for Jewish migration elsewhere. Out of the stateless peoples’ camps arose or affirmed the desire for a state.

It was in many ways a refugee state, but it was always a colonial state, too. Palestinian and broader intellectual analysis gradually shifted from a colonial framework in response to international advocacy in the 1980s toward a description of the conflict as a dueling national struggle. But as Rashid Khalidi notes in the introduction to his *The Hundred Years’ War on Palestine*, Palestinian liberation has always been both an anticolonial struggle and a national struggle.³⁴ Likewise, the Zionist project for a Jewish state in Palestine was a struggle constituted by both Palestinian colonization and the co-formation of Jewish nationhood.

It also represented a struggle *within* the Jewish community to define our nationhood. Jews, as a plural society, also forged a critical resistance to Zionism parallel to Palestinian objections to the imperial designs on their nation. Intra-national political organizations like the Jewish Labour Bund promoted *doikayt*, the principle of “hereness”—in contrast to Zionist colonization—through support for socialism where they lived.³⁵ The state-based socialism of the Bund failed to protect the Jews from the Nazi genocide. But even after World War II, the options mostly split between the American dream (a settler colony) and Israel (a settler colony). Like many refugees that came before them, Jewish people were displaced, in exile, fleeing genocide, and forced into new territories. Then, and always, the question in these rescuing territories must be: What is it to live in respectful relation to Indigenous people, in noncolonial arrangements, without reproducing the violence of the state? And, when landing in a colonial context, how can settlers participate in the dismantling of their new society?

Digging New Roots

There is always a joint moral imperative of decolonization. The identity of the colonizer or settler must be undone—with its assumed destiny to the land of others fully renounced and reparations undertaken—in relation to the restoration of justice for the colonized. This has been considered by many critical thinkers on Israel-Palestine: Edward Said, Judith Butler, and Sherene Seikaly, to name a few.³⁶ But the modes of decolonization that can make space for settlers and natives within settler colonial states are not self-evident nor uncontested. As Robin D. G. Kelley writes in *“The Rest of Us: Rethinking Settler and Native:”* “In Algeria, Kenya, Mozambique, decolonization involved the withdrawal of settlers who had never intended to leave, whereas in Zimbabwe and South Africa the white settler population continues to exist but no longer rules. Whether the structure of settler colonialism persists or can ever be fully dismantled is a critical source of debate in the historiography.”³⁷ So the struggle is to put one foot in front of the other.

Ilan Pappé, Israeli scholar and author of *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*, agrees with Kelley. He states that we are witnessing the end of the Zionist project. In its last grip, an incandescent violence is being waged.³⁸ All victims now face a terrible danger, including Jewish victims of Zionism—upon whom this ideology has imposed a violent culture—and no one knows for certain where the cards will fall and what the transition to something else will ultimately look like. The balance of power, he reminds us, is not only local but also regional and international. The Anglo-Israeli alliance will shift, too, he warns.



FIGURE 1. T-shirt at a shop on Jerusalem's Ben Yehuda Street. Photograph by author.

State-based thinking is at the core of this disintegration, yet it always seems to reappear as the solution. What if instead, for settlers at least, Jewish rootlessness and diasporic exile is a resource for thinking through a common predicament of the modern nation-state system and ideals. As Boyarin and Boyarin suggest, diasporic thinking might discourage the settler from becoming a colonist, in terms of our relationship with Indigenous Peoples. They write that perhaps there are even shared principles within these groups of indigenists and diasporists: “Diasporas-within-states might . . . afford a modestly coherent logic of identification between indigenist and diasporist alternatives, challenges, or subversions of the nation-state.”³⁹ Likewise, there are strains of Palestinian liberation that reject the nation-state as the vehicle for self-determination. In an article canvassing models of Palestinian decolonization, Leila Farsakh writes that beyond the daily resistant acts of *sumud*, liberation for Palestinians could reject the “delimited nation state” to challenge its central colonial logics.⁴⁰

The transformation of the state into something other than a vehicle for cycles of violence requires more than the framework of settler colonialism—it demands we reckon with Palestinian articulations of justice to find that bridge to peace. Jewish people must reject the crutch of innocence that indigeneity is providing to Zionist colonization and stand together in the shared anticolonial struggle for Palestinian freedom.

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1. Tatiana Siegel, "Over 1,000 Jewish Creatives and Professionals Have Now Denounced Jonathan Glazer's 'Zone of Interest' Oscars Speech in Open Letter," *Variety*, March 18, 2024, <https://variety.com/2024/film/news/jonathan-glazer-oscar-speech-zone-of-interest-open-letter-1235944880/>.
2. Zoe Guy, "Joaquin Phoenix, Chloe Fineman, and More Support Jonathan Glazer's Oscars Speech in Open Letter," *Vulture*, April 5, 2024, <https://variety.com/2024/film/global/jonathan-glazer-oscars-speech-support-jewish-creatives-open-letter-1235960158/>.
3. Naomi Klein, "The Zone of Interest Is about the Danger of Ignoring Atrocities—including in Gaza," *The Guardian*, March 14, 2024, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2024/mar/14/the-zone-of-interest-auschwitz-gaza-genocide>.
4. Dani Anguiano, "'Honest and Brave': Progressive Jewish Figures Defend Jonathan Glazer Speech," *The Guardian*, March 20, 2024, <https://www.theguardian.com/film/2024/mar/20/jonathan-glazer-speech-jewish-groups-defense>.

5. Though I do not have space to address this here, this discourse also circulates through a subcommunity of Native American Jews, self-described “Jew-dians,” who use Land Back to refer to Zionist ideology, as well.

6. Jason McBride, “Why Did Canada’s Top Art Gallery Push Out a Visionary Curator?” *The Walrus*, August 28, 2024.

7. Jodi Byrd, *Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).

8. A video on her organization’s website, *Indigenous Bridges*, seeks to amplify this shared history between Jews and Native Americans. Alongside Indigenous Peoples of the Americas, Israelis read statements, like: “We are survivors. We are indigenous. We are peoples born of our land.” Palestinians, obviously, do not make an appearance in the video.

9. For an excellent discussion of this construction, see chapter 3, “Not About the Jews: Antisemitism in Central Europe,” in Patrick Wolfe, *Traces of History* (London: Verso, 2016).

10. See for example HRC’s attack on Dene-Cree DJ Jarrett Martineau, which began as an attack on his introduction of a song called “River2Sea” with expressions of “sonic solidarity” with Palestinian people and ended with casting aspersions on his criticisms of Canada as a settler colonial state.

11. CBC News, “Jewish, First Nations Groups Try to Mend Fences after Ahenakew,” April 30, 2008.

12. Irwin Cotler, “Statement by Irwin Cotler on the Issue of Yom Ha’Aztma’ut—Israel’s Independence Day,” *Jerusalem Post*, May 14, 2008.

13. The modern, political definition of “Indigenous” was forged in response to a common experience of European colonialism. At a preparatory meeting for the first international alliance of Indigenous Peoples organized by Secwepemc leader George Manuel, delegates *determined* that “Indigenous peoples” would be defined as those “living in countries which have a population composed of differing ethnic or racial groups who are descendants of the earliest populations living in the area and *who do not as a group control the national government of the countries within which they live.*” Being Indigenous was not just about having roots in a place, which may qualify Jewish people, but about the *condition of being colonized*.

14. “‘A Desperate Situation Getting More Desperate’: An Interview with Rashid Khalidi,” *The Drift* 11, October 24, 2023.

15. Moshe Behar, “Were There—and Can There Be—Arab Jews? (With Afterthoughts on the IHRA Definition of Antisemitism and Palestinian Jews).” “The Arab and Jewish Question,” *Contending Modernities* (blog) September 8, 2021. Some *Sephardic* Jews ended up in the Levant after the Inquisition, as well, but also in Greece, Turkey, and the Balkans. Other diasporic communities were formed in Italy and Ethiopia, Central Asia and North Africa, the latter dubbed the *Maghreb* (Western) Jews, from Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, and Algeria.

16. Abigail Jacobson and Moshe Naor, *Oriental Neighbors* (Boston: Brandeis University Press, 286). Cited in Yuval Evri and Hagar Kotef, “When does a native

become a settler? (With apologies to Zreik and Mamdani). *Constellations*, 29, no. 1 (2022): 7.

17. Sigal Samuel, "The Untold Story of Arab Jews—and Their Solidarity with Palestinians," *Vox*, April 11, 2024, <https://www.vox.com/world-politics/24122304/israel-hamas-war-gaza-palestine-arab-jews-mizrahi-solidarity>.

18. See a more current statement of solidarity from February 2023: A Democratic Mizrahi Vision: <https://mizrahinationlaw.com/a-democratic-mizrahi-vision/>.

19. Cited in Susan Abulhawa, "Invention of the Mizrahi," *Al Jazeera*, September 20, 2017, <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2017/9/20/invention-of-the-mizrahi>.

20. Susan Abulhawa, "Invention of the Mizrahi," *Al Jazeera*, September 20, 2017.

21. With some notable exceptions. See, for example, and especially, "Jews Indigenous to the Middle East and North Africa"—<https://www.jimena.org/>.

22. There is also significant dispute over the origins of the Ashkenazi Jews who came to inhabit cities in Rhineland by the 1800s, after crossing the Alps from Italy in the first millennia of the common era. They were expelled from Western Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and granted charters to settle in eastern countries over the next five centuries. One set of accounts considers these Jews to be primarily a product of intermarriage and conversion (see Shlomo Sand, *The Invention of the Jewish People* (London: Verso Books, 2020); and Nadia Abu El-Haj, *The Genealogical Science* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012); while geneticists like Harry Ostrer has found significant genetic commonality between Sephardic, North African, and Middle Eastern Jewish populations, especially with Palestinian, Syrian, and Cypriot populations, though with particular admixtures of European and Slavic genetics for Ashkenazi Jews (see: Harry Ostrer, "A Genetic Profile of Contemporary Jewish Populations," *Nature Review*, 2 (2001): 891-898; and, Harry Ostrer and Karl Skorecki, "The Population Genetics of the Jewish People," *Hum. Genet.*, 132, 2 (2013): 119-127).

23. Daniel Boyarin, *The No-State Solution: A Jewish Manifesto* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2023), xii.

24. Shaul Magid, *The Necessity of Exile* (Ayin Press, 2023).

25. Raef Zreik, "Zionism and Political Theology," *Political Theology*, 24, no. 7 (2023): 697.

26. Fayeze Sayegh, *Zionist Colonialism in Palestine*, Research Centre, Palestine Liberation Organization (Beirut, Lebanon, 1965).

27. Michael Powell, "The Curious Rise of Settler Colonialism and Turtle Island," *The Atlantic*, January 5, 2024.

28. Joanne Barker, *Red Scare* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2021).

29. Micha Danzig and Yirmiyahu Danzig, "The Tribal Case for Israel," *The Forward*, April 6, 2017, <https://forward.com/community/368369/the-tribal-case-for-israel/>.

30. Jean M. O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).

31. For more on Kauanui's original theorization of this concept, see: <https://ictnews.org/archive/redwashing-panel-follows-academic-associations-boycott-of-israel>. This language has subsequently been used, for example, by the NDN Collective and the Red Nation. See: Nick Estes, "The Liberation of Palestine Represents an Alternative Path for Native Nations," *The Red Nation*, Sept. 6, 2019, <https://www.therednation.org/the-liberation-of-palestine-represents-an-alternative-path-for-native-nations-2/>; NDN Collective, *The Right of Return is Land Back*, NDN Collective, 2023, <https://ndncollective.org/right-of-return-is-landback/>. My analysis comparing *The Forward* piece and the NDN Collective's response to Jewish indigeneity was framed first in the Jewish Currents piece noted below.

32. Mahmood Mamdani, *Neither Native nor Settler* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020), 265.

33. Pierre Birnbaum, *Un mythe politique: La 'République juive' de Léon Blum à Pierre Mendès France* (France, Paris: Fayard, 1988): 194–5. Cited in Enzo Traverso, *The End of Jewish Modernity* (London: Pluto Press, 2013), 101.

34. Rashid Khalidi, *The Hundred Years' War on Palestine* (New York: Macmillan, 2020).

35. Böhlau Verlag, *Yiddish Revolutionaries in Migration, 1897–1947* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2021).

36. Judith Butler, "Critique, Coercion, and Sacred Life in Benjamin's 'Critique of Violence,'" In *Political Theologies: Public Religions in a Post-Secular World*, ed. H. De Vries and L. Sullivan (New York: Fordham Press, 2006), 201–19; Peter Beinart, "I No Longer Believe in a Jewish State," *New York Times*, July 8, 2020; Edward Said, "The One State Solution," *New York Times*, January 10, 1999; and more broadly, see Alberto Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (New York: Penguin, 1965).

37. Robin D.G. Kelley, "The Rest of Us: Rethinking Settler and Native." *American Quarterly* 69, no. 2 (2017): 271.

38. Ilan Pappé, "It is dark before the dawn, but Israeli settler colonialism is at an end," *The Long View* 6, no.1 (2024): <https://www.ihrc.org.uk/it-is-dark-before-the-dawn-but-israeli-settler-colonialism-is-at-an-end/>.

39. Jonathan Boyarin and Daniel Boyarin, *Powers of Diaspora: Two Essays on the Relevance of Jewish Culture*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2020), 23.

40. Leila Farsakh, "The Question of Palestinian Statehood and the Future of Decolonization," *Middle East Research and Information Project* 302 (Spring 2022).