

Endnotes

- 1 “EU–Israel Association Agreement,” European Commission, n.d., <https://trade.ec.europa.eu/access-to-markets/en/content/eu-israel-association-agreement>.
- 2 “Israel: EU Trade Relations with Israel. Facts, Figures and Latest Developments,” European Commission, https://policy.trade.ec.europa.eu/eu-trade-relationships-country-and-region/countries-and-regions/israel_en.
- 3 Tamar Hermann et al., “July 2025 Survey: The Rise in Antisemitism and Harassment of Israelis Abroad Leads More than Half the Public to Cancel Trips or Change Destinations,” *The Israeli Voice Index*, Israel Democracy Institute, 5 August 2025, <https://www.idi.org.il/articles/60328>.
- 4 Of the ten most popular international flight destinations for Israelis, seven were in Europe: Greece, Cyprus, Italy, France, Germany, Hungary, and Spain. See Sharon Pardo, “Israelis’ Flight Destinations Are a Mirror: Antisemitism Dictates the Destinations,” *Makor Rishon*, 30 November 2025, <https://www.makorrishon.co.il/opinions/article/217902>.
- 5 Sharon Pardo and Joel Peters, *Uneasy Neighbors: Israel and the European Union* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009); Sharon Pardo and Joel Peters, *Uneasy Neighbors: Israel and the European Union*, 2nd ed. (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2027), forthcoming.
- 6 Dani Filc and Sharon Pardo, “Israel’s Right-wing Populists: The European Connection,” *Survival* 63, no. 3 (2021): 99–122, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00396338.2021.1930409>; Dov Maimon, “In Embracing Europe’s Far Right, Israel Is Playing with Fire,” JPPI, 19 March 2025, <https://jppi.org.il/en/in-embracing-europes-far-right-israel-is-playing-with-fire/>; Giovanni Legorano, “Israel Is Ready to Embrace Europe’s Far Right,” *Foreign Policy*, 9 May 2025, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2025/05/09/israel-is-ready-to-embrace-europes-far-right/>; Lazar Berman and Nava Freiberg, “Israel Decides to Establish Formal Ties with Trio of European Far-right Parties,” *The Times of Israel*, 28 February 2025, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/saar-officially-opens-dialogue-with-european-far-right-parties/>; Lazar Berman, “Romania ‘Shocked’ by Israeli Minister’s Call with Candidate Who Praised WWII Antisemites,” *The Times of Israel*, 2 December 2024, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/romania-shocked-by-israeli-ministers-call-with-candidate-who-praised-wwii-antisemites/>; Joseph Ataman and Mick Krever, “Israel Embraces France’s Far Right, Turning a Blind Eye to Its Nazi Past,” CNN, 26 March 2025, <https://edition.cnn.com/2025/03/26/europe/israel-embraces-france-far-right-intl>. For the ties cultivated by Diaspora Affairs Minister Amichai Chikli with far-right leaders in Europe, see, for example, <https://x.com/AmichaiChikli/status/1893984976938389708> and <https://x.com/AmichaiChikli/status/1732055937907650568>.
- 7 See https://commission.europa.eu/about/departments-and-executive-agencies/middle-east-north-africa-and-gulf_en.
- 8 “The Pact for the Mediterranean,” Middle East, North Africa and the Gulf, European Commission, n.d., https://north-africa-middle-east-gulf.ec.europa.eu/what-we-do/pact-mediterranean_en#_ftn1.
- 9 Sharon Pardo, “Europe’s Obsession with Israel,” *Euractiv*, 14 June 2026, <https://www.euractiv.com/opinion/europes-obsession-with-israel/>.
- 10 See Chapter 13 by Shlomi Berezniak and Eli Kannai. The chapter is based on the Institute’s research, which examined tens of thousands of press releases and official statements by EU institutions over almost a decade and found that the share of negative statements concerning Israel had increased by almost 60% since the terrorist attack of October 7.
- 11 Ministry for Diaspora Affairs and Combating Antisemitism, *Annual Report – Executive Brief: Global Overview of Antisemitism in 2025* (Jerusalem: Ministry for Diaspora Affairs and Combating Antisemitism, 2025), https://www.gov.il/he/pages/antisemitism_report_2025; The Center for the Study of Contemporary European Jewry, *Antisemitism Worldwide Report for 2025* (Tel Aviv: The Center for the Study of Contemporary European Jewry, 2025), <https://cst.tau.ac.il/antisemitism-worldwide-report-for-2025/>.
- 12 See, for example, the tweet by Foreign Minister Gideon Sa’ar on 17 September 2025: “The recommendations of the college of Commissioners led by President von der Leyen are morally and politically distorted, and it is to be hoped that they will not be adopted as has been the case so far. Moves against Israel will harm Europe’s own interests. [...] Steps against Israel will be answered accordingly, and we hope we will not be required to take them.” <https://x.com/gidonsaar/status/1968301314447651027>.