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# AN END TO ANTISEMITISM!

A CATALOGUE OF POLICIES TO COMBAT ANTISEMITISM

Based on the contributions of participants to the international conference “An End to Antisemitism!”, Vienna, February 2018, organized by the European Jewish Congress, New York University, Tel Aviv University and the University of Vienna.





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Dr. Moshe Kantor,  
President of the European Jewish Congress

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## PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Eighty years after the 1938 pogroms and more than seventy years after the liberation of the Nazi concentration and death camps, attacking and killing Jews, regularly slandering and denigrating them have become again a sad reality in Europe and in other parts of the world. This, together with calls to boycott the Jewish state and denying its right even to exist, can have grave implications for both Jews and society in general.

The situation is not new. World history does not lack examples of Jew-hatred and persecution either. Consider Cicero, Tacitus, Tertullian, John Chrysostom, Augustine, Justinian, the expulsion of the Jews from Medina, the Crusades, the Granada massacre, Martin Luther, the expulsion of the Jews from the Iberian Peninsula and the Spanish Inquisition, the pogroms, Paul de Lagarde, Wilhelm Marr, Adolf Stöcker, Henry Ford, the Ku Klux Klan, Haj Amin al-Husseini, the Farhud in Baghdad, Adolf Hitler and the Shoah. These are just a few names and events from only a few parts of the world.

Today, Jew-hatred is no longer restricted to the extreme right and radical Islam, but has spread across parts of the left and center of the political spectrum, as well as mainstream Christian and Muslim groups. Given this unacceptable reality, from February 18<sup>th</sup> through 22<sup>nd</sup> of 2018, about 1000 scholars, activists, decision makers and influencers met in Vienna at the conference “An End to Antisemitism!” The conference was jointly organized by the European Jewish Congress, New York University, Tel Aviv University, and the University of Vienna to study antisemitism with an unprecedented interdisciplinary breadth but also with historical depth. Over 150 presentations from all over the world engaged with all forms of antisemitism from antiquity until today from the perspective of numerous fields:

- » Ancient History
- » Medieval History
- » Modern History
- » Contemporary History
- » Bible and Christianity
- » Islam
- » Judaism and Jewish Studies
- » Israel Studies
- » Philosophy and Ethics
- » Sociology and Social Sciences
- » Psychology
- » Pedagogy
- » Media Studies, Journalism and Visual Cultures
- » Expressions on Internet
- » Jurisprudence
- » Political Studies

Beyond the study of antisemitism, each speaker was asked to contribute policy recommendations on how to fight antisemitism. These recommendations form the basis for the policies outlined in this catalogue. While some of these

policies are almost direct quotes of conference-participants, others represent conclusions based on the combined research of the conference. Together, the policy recommendations of this catalogue are an original effort to take the fruits of scholarly research and turn them into a document of practical impact. Those who are interested can find the detailed scholarly arguments underlying this catalogue in the proceedings of the conference “An End to Antisemitism!” We hope that the recommendations of the present catalogue can be applied to help eradicate and suppress antisemitism in all its forms globally.

It is in the nature of research to gain new insights by constructive disagreement. Therefore, the policy recommendations this catalogue makes will contradict the views of some presenters of the conference “An End to Antisemitism!” and will find the support of others. We would like to thank all the participants for their work and their suggestions (for a list of all presenters, see pages 145–48). Even those with whom we disagree were of great help for our work.

Antisemitism has a history of more than 2000 years. Combating antisemitism is complicated and there are no easy solutions to it. The complexity of antisemitism requires complex answers to combat it successfully. Both the sixteen panels of the conference “An End to Antisemitism!” and the present catalogue reflect this complexity and do not attempt to give easy answers. Only a combined approach with policy recommendations in the fields of religion, culture, Internet, academia, education, business, and the various branches of government (including political parties) holds promise of successfully combating this age-old hatred.

Such a combined and complex approach makes for difficult reading. We can only ask that all decision and opinion makers to whom this catalogue is addressed take the time to study it carefully. To help readers to digest our complicated reading matter, each chapter of this catalogue is addressed to a specific set of decision makers and influencers so that, e.g., a religious or political decision maker would only have to read the first introductory chapter of this catalogue and the chapter addressed to religious or political decision makers respectively. An executive summary will hopefully help to guide the reader’s attention to some central points.

This catalogue of measures to combat antisemitism aims at reaching the attention of decision and opinion makers in many fields, worldwide. While its policy recommendations concern only antisemitism, the authors of this catalogue are fully aware that antisemitism as a unique cultural and religious category exists alongside a host of other hatreds and phobias, directed against a long list of minorities and victimized groups. We are well aware

that Jews are not the only target of hatred, but that they are the tip of the iceberg. Therefore, we hope that beyond the fight against antisemitism, this catalogue might serve as a model of how to combat these other forms of hatred or even be a starting point from which the work to eradicate other wrongs will continue.

It is a pleasant obligation for us to express our gratitude to the main sponsor of the conference “An End to Antisemitism!”: Dr. Moshe Kantor, President of the European Jewish Congress, as well as to all other sponsors as listed on page 143–144. Further words of thanks are due for the wonderful support of our staff, Kerstin Mayerhofer, Yael Müller, Maria Hartmann, Marie Pauline Wiebe and of the many people at the European Jewish Congress, New York University, Tel Aviv University, the University of Vienna, and at many other institutions who aided us in our work.

Our work on the present catalogue of policies combating antisemitism was guided by the support and advice of many colleagues and activists to whom we are indebted. For financial support of the conference and of the publication of this catalogue, we are deeply indebted to the European Jewish Congress and its president, Dr. Moshe Kantor, the Federal Chancellery of the Republic of Austria, and the University of Vienna. We would like to express our gratitude to those who facilitated the catalogue, Mehnaz Afridi, Raya Kalenova, Sara Rembiszewski, Johanan Seynave, Marlene Schiffman, Wolfgang Wieshaider, Ariella Woitchik and especially, Kerstin Mayerhofer. We want to mention in particular the good advice and support of Ariel Muzicant, as well as the enormous inspiring work carried out by Armin Lange. Finally, the authors of this catalogue wish to thank each other for the cordial cooperation in its preparation.

New York, Tel Aviv, and Vienna, September 16<sup>th</sup> 2018

Armin Lange  
Ariel Muzicant  
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# GREETINGS

## His Holiness, Pope Francis

Dear friends,

I offer you a warm welcome and thank you for your presence here. I am grateful for the noble aim that brings you here: to reflect together, from varying points of view, on the responsibility of States, institutions and individuals in the struggle against antisemitism and crimes associated with antisemitic hatred. I would like to emphasize one word: responsibility. We are responsible when we are able to respond. It is not merely a question of analyzing the causes of violence and refuting their perverse reasoning, but of being actively prepared to respond to them. Thus, the enemy against which we fight is not only hatred in all of its forms, but even more fundamentally, indifference; for it is indifference that paralyzes and impedes us from doing what is right even when we know that it is right.



© Wikimedia Commons.

I do not grow tired of repeating that indifference is a virus that is dangerously contagious in our time, a time when we are ever more connected with others, but are increasingly less attentive to others. And yet the global context should help us understand that none of us is an island and none will have a future of peace without one that is worthy for all. The Book of Genesis helps us to understand that indifference is an insidious evil crouching at man's door (cf. *Gen* 4:7). It is the subject of debate between the creature and his Creator at the beginning of history, as soon as the Creator asks Cain: "Where is your brother?" But Cain, who has just killed his brother, does not reply to the question, does not explain "where". On the contrary, he protests that he is autonomous: "Am I my brother's keeper?" (*Gen* 4:9). His brother does not interest him: here is the root of perversity, the root of death that produces desperation and silence. I recall the roar of the deafening silence I sensed two years ago in Auschwitz-Birkenau: a disturbing silence that leaves space only for tears, for prayer and for the begging of forgiveness.

Faced with the virus of indifference, the root of hatred, what vaccine can we administer? The Book of Deuteronomy comes to our aid. After a long journey through the desert, Moses addressed a basic counsel to the Chosen People: "Remember your whole journey" (*Deut* 8:2). To the people longing for the promised future, wisdom was suggesting one look back, turning one's glance to the steps already completed. And Moses did not simply say, "think of the journey", but *remember*, or *bring alive*; do not let the past die. *Remember*,

that is, “return with your heart”: do not only form the memory in your mind, but in the depths of your soul, with your whole being. And do not form a memory only of what you like, but of “your whole journey”. We have just celebrated International Holocaust Remembrance Day. In order to recover our humanity, to recover our human understanding of reality and to overcome so many deplorable forms of apathy towards our neighbor, we need this memory, this capacity to *involve ourselves together in remembering*. Memory is the key to accessing the future, and it is our responsibility to hand it on in a dignified way to young generations.

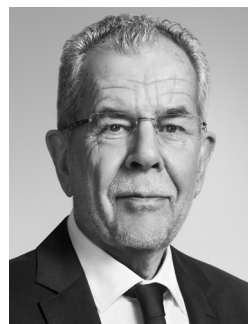
In this regard, I would like to mention a document of the Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews, whose twentieth anniversary of publication we celebrate this year. The title is eloquent: *We Remember: a Reflection on the Shoah* (16 March 1998). It was Saint John Paul II’s fervent hope that it “would enable memory to play its necessary part in the process of shaping a future in which the unspeakable iniquity of the Shoah will never again be possible.” The text speaks of this memory, which we Christians are called to safeguard, together with our elder Jewish brothers: “However, it is not only a question of recalling the past. The common future of Jews and Christians demands that we remember, for ‘there is no future without memory’. History itself is *memoria futuri*.”

To build our history, which will either be together or will not be at all, we need a common memory, living and faithful, that should not remain imprisoned in resentment but, though riven by the night of pain, should open up to the hope of a new dawn. The Church desires to extend her hand. She wishes to remember and to walk together with our Jewish brothers and sisters. On this journey, “the Church, mindful of the patrimony she shares with the Jews and moved not by political reasons but by the Gospel’s spiritual love, decries hatred, persecutions, displays of anti-Semitism, directed against Jews at any time and by anyone.”

Dear friends, may we help one another in turn to grow a culture of responsibility, of memory and of closeness, and to establish an alliance against indifference, against every form of indifference. The potentialities of *information* will certainly be of assistance; even more important will be those of *formation*. We need urgently to educate young generations to become actively involved in the struggle against hatred and discrimination, but also in the overcoming of conflicting positions in the past, and never to grow tired of seeking the other. Indeed, to prepare a truly human future, rejecting evil is not enough; we need to build the common good together. I thank you for your commitment in all of these matters. May the Lord of peace accompany you and bless every one of your good intentions. Thank you.

**Alexander van der Bellen**  
**Federal President of the Republic of Austria**

It has been a pleasure for me to attend the opening of the international conference “An End to Antisemitism!” in February 2018. The theme of the conference has been timely: Although the horrors of the “industrialised” mass murder of the National Socialist Holocaust took place almost a lifetime ago, antisemitism continues to be an issue today. Hostility towards minorities is not a thing of the past but still a frightening part of the present, likely to challenge us also in the future. We are all painfully aware of the devastating consequences of racial fanaticism in the 20th century. We all know that millions of Jews and members of other minorities were forcefully displaced and murdered in its name.



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Today, we are also aware of the extent of damage that the persecution of religious and ethnic minorities inflicted on society itself. This damage on our society—a society, which had considered itself enlightened, modern and humanistic at the dawn of the last century—was enormous. When people are driven out from our midst and murdered, it changes the consciousness of an entire generation, and that of those who follow.

After the end of the National Socialist reign of terror, perpetrators, but also those who had remained silent and inactive, who had not opposed this insanity—neither of them were the same as before 1938. Those tenthousands of people who were displaced and murdered—artists, intellectuals, writers and scientists, and all other parts of the Austrian Jewish society—left an enormous void. Our country has lost a wealth of creativity and knowledge, of spirit and culture, of diversity and togetherness.

For centuries prior to the holocaust, antisemitism had led to pillaging, persecution and forced displacement in Austria and Europe. But it was only in the 20th century, that the National Socialists perfected their perverse regime of injustice, organised persecution, and murder On an unprecedented scale. The National Socialists exploited the antisemitism present in wide circles of society for their political goals.

A great European, the Hungarian novelist and winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature, Imre Kertesz, said: “Remembering the Holocaust is necessary.

In order to prevent it from happening again. But since Auschwitz, nothing happened which would make another Auschwitz impossible [...] Before Auschwitz, it was unimaginable. Now it is not anymore.”<sup>1</sup>

Nowadays, new forms of antisemitism are emerging. Criticism of Israel does not equate to antisemitism. But often, that criticism provides a platform for antisemitic ideas or clichés. This new antisemitism is a phenomenon which is cropping up and slowly taking effect in our country. Our joint responsibility is to remain vigilant. The lesson to be drawn from the pogroms and the Holocaust is the unconditional recognition of human rights and human dignity.

However, the great challenge ahead of us is: How do we convey these principles? How do we reach young people on these issues? Can schools fulfil this task? Or visits to memorial sites? What responsibility can be assumed by the media? What role does political discourse play? We need to confront not only antisemitism but all forms of racism and hostility towards minorities in an open and critical manner. Our society needs to be sensitised to any kind of hostility towards minorities and any form of racism. Human dignity and human rights must serve as the foundations of our actions and our society. They need to become anchored in the mindset of all people living here.

It is in this spirit that I would like to thank the organizers of this conference and the authors of this present catalogue which is an essential outcome of the conference and all its thought-provoking discussions and a stimulating exchange of thoughts. And to all of us, I hope for great momentum in order to come closer to our shared goal of a world free of racism, free of antisemitism, free of hostility directed at minorities. A world where the understanding that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights is truly being upheld.

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<sup>1</sup> I. Kertész, “Panne: Der Holocaust als Kultur,” in *Jean Améry (Hans Maier): mit einem biographischen Bildessay und einer Bibliographie*, ed. S. Steiner (Basel: Stroemfeld, 1996), 16–17.



**Moshe Kantor**  
**President of the European Jewish Congress**

Dear readers of this catalogue,

A little more than a century ago, a man was elected mayor of Vienna. His name was Karl Lueger. Even though the emperor refused to confirm him due to his aggressive antisemitism, he came to power by using prejudice. He spread false claims against the Jews and made antisemitism politically acceptable.



© European Jewish Congress.

Let us also recall the famous town of Linz. Forever we shall remember a modest artist whose ‘art’ brought sixty million casualties to the world, and who rose to power less than a century ago through ideological antisemitism.

Today, we see a different path. Only in 2017, at the Vienna City Hall, a cross-party monitoring committee against antisemitism was introduced by the Mayor of Vienna. With the international conference “An End to Antisemitism!” which took place in February 2018, we have taken on a very ambitious objective—to plant the seeds that will end antisemitism. We, Jews, say the seeds of salvation should be planted in the soil only by ourselves. I invite all Europeans to join this process.

Talking about antisemitism is not enough. We must be determined to find pragmatic solutions to this problem. We need first of all to recognize the full extent of the issue today. Radical forces, both on the right and on the left, are gaining strength. In some countries, nationalists are already in power. A far-right party now sits in the German parliament. In Hungary, Jobbik currently commands the highest number of seats among all opposition parties in Hungary’s National Assembly. In Austria, the FPÖ recently joined the government coalition. The European Jewish Congress and its Austrian affiliate, the IKG, have been publicly voicing their opposition to this political situation in Austria.

We are still sceptical about the motives of the FPÖ and concerned about its links to Nazi ideology and antisemitism. We welcome the recent decision by the FPÖ to create a commission of historians to investigate its history, in an attempt to distance itself from antisemitism and racism. We hope that this commission will remain independent and that results will be made fully public.

We have an obligation not to give antisemitism any space in the public sphere. All around Europe the demons of xenophobia and antisemitism are on the rise.

In 2017, the number of antisemitic incidents escalated in the UK, France, Germany and Sweden. In April 2017, in Paris, a 66 year-old Jewish woman, Sarah Halimi, was thrown to her death from her own balcony because she was Jewish. Nevertheless, a French court for a long time refused to recognize an antisemitic motive in this case. This is wilful blindness.

In December 2017, synagogues in Malmö and Gothenburg were firebombed because of the absurd belief that European Jews are to be blamed for a diplomatic statement from a non-Jew thousands of miles away telling the self-evident truth that Jerusalem is the capital of Israel. These attacks do not take place in a political vacuum. People marching in the streets of European capitals shouting “Death to Jews!” has led to the death of Jews, and it will do so in the future again if Europe does not react.

Because of the constant threat, synagogues and Jewish community centres in many European countries are under 24-hour police and military protection. The truth is that we have moved on to rely more and more on hard power. This is of course a necessary, but shameful fact!

The rise of antisemitism is one of the main security challenges of our time. Yet it is an attack on the most reliable and law abiding, active element of society. The fight against antisemitism is an indicator of the ability of democratic states to protect their citizens against the main security challenges of our time.

Jews constitute less than 1% of the European population. We have been, and still are, an integral part of Europe’s societies. However, we should never have to justify the right of Jews to be part of Europe. Jewish life in Europe cannot be poisoned by the pessimistic dilemma to stay and live with the challenges of antisemitism or find a safer place elsewhere.

The only way to oppose hostile ideologies of Islamism, the far right and far left, and all other forms of extremism is to develop a new ideology, which we call the secure tolerance concept. We must move towards an understanding of tolerance, conscious of the new challenges that society faces.

We need to find ways of making tolerance more sustainable in the face of Islamism, the rise of political extremism, the increasing pressure of immigration, and persistent social, cultural and economic inequalities.

In the German-speaking countries, the concept of “defensive/fortified democracy” is well known. But every powerful fort in the world is destined to be destroyed. It is only a matter of time. Strategies to survive and win should be an organic part of an active frontline! This is a vision of democracy that is able to defend itself, through strong institutions that demand respect for fundamental rights. Secure tolerance is a paradigm and ideology of the 21st century. It is about limits, dimensions and parameters of relations inside European society. You, politicians and academics, are obliged to make a huge contribution to its development for the benefit of future generations of all Europeans, and not only Jews.

Hard power alone cannot deliver long-term security. It is only in combination with soft power that society will be able to trigger an irrevocable legal framework that will guarantee security, not only for Jews, but also for society as a whole. We cannot wait for conflict to become so bloody, that the price of civil peace becomes unmanageable. We have to move fast and not wait for a new catastrophe, which unfortunately is a fine teacher of history.

The academic conference “An End to Antisemitism!” has been an extremely valuable opportunity. Through numerous studies and reports, we have gradually come closer to understanding the dynamics of antisemitism. Until now however, there has been much less effort in elaborating practical solutions to fight this evil effectively on the ground. Therefore, academic analysis must be followed by a vital synthesis that is so essential! We hope to have set the first step in this new and highly important direction with the present catalogue.

Finally, I would like to end with the words of Shimon Peres: “For me, dreaming is simply being pragmatic.”

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## INTRODUCTION

### “AN END TO ANTISEMITISM!”

“No one is born hating another person because of the color of his skin or his background or his religion. People must learn to hate, and if they can learn to hate, they can be taught to love. For love comes more naturally to the human heart than its opposite.”<sup>1</sup>

#### Ending antisemitism?

Antisemitism continues to be a persistent and pernicious danger to Jews. It has recently progressed to the point of calling into question the very continuation of Jewish life in Europe. As Frans Timmermans, the First Vice-President of the European Commission stated in 2015, “In some (EU) states the majority of the Jewish community is not sure they have a future in Europe.”<sup>2</sup> The threat posed to Europe’s Jews may be the most visible, but it is not the only place where Jewish life is now confronted with issues of antisemitism in ways that were perhaps unthinkable a few years ago. Whether it is demonstrators chanting Nazi slogans in the US, politicians in the United Kingdom repeating antisemitic slurs, violence and murder of Jews in France and other European countries, rewriting and whitewashing the history of the local collaboration in the Holocaust in Poland and Hungary, memes and conspiracy theories spread on the Internet, or stereotypes and accusations used by radical groups, some of which are state sponsored—antisemitism poses a strong threat to the stability and wellbeing of our world. Antisemitism does not even require a strong Jewish presence; it can appear in societies where there is very little visible Jewish life, or even none.

The very existence of the State of Israel has proven to be a catalyst for antisemitism. The refusal to accept the right of the Jewish people to have a state and to accord them the same right of self-determination accorded to other peoples has sparked and inflamed antisemitism throughout the world. Too often antisemitism today is framed in terms of opposition to Israel that is supposed to provide justification and protective cover for both sophisticated and crude versions of antisemitism, a spurious legitimization that can be used by both left and right, Christian and Muslim.

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1 N. Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela* (Boston et al.: Little, Brown and Company, 1994), 542.

2 “Paris Attacks: Timmermans Warns of Jewish Exodus,” BBC News, January 21, 2015, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-30924276>.

The first person known to argue against Jew-hatred was the Jewish historian Josephus Flavius. In the late first century C.E., Josephus wrote a defense of Judaism against the notorious Jew-hater Apion entitled *Against Apion*. Since then, attempts to fight antisemitism with rational arguments have proven futile. Generations of anti-Jewish thought and action culminated in the Holocaust, the genocide of Europe's Jewish population, the paradigmatic and ultimate manifestation of antisemitism. After World War II, the world created a network of structures, such as the United Nations and the European Union that were designed to safeguard the rights and lives of Jews and other minorities. Concepts such as human rights, war crimes tribunals, and prosecution of crimes against humanity became institutionalized as responses to atrocities and as preventative measures but had a limited impact on combating antisemitism.

In light of the age-old persistence of antisemitism, many are skeptical if antisemitism indeed can be overcome and are convinced that the endeavor of eradicating antisemitism will continue to fail. Antisemitism is, therefore, often viewed as an ultimate evil that can at best be restrained—as a human condition that cannot be stopped and with which the world must live.

It is important to understand that there is nothing divine about antisemitism. Everything that has a beginning will also have an end—and so will antisemitism! History shows that other forms of hatred have abated. Hatred, and especially specific forms of hatred, are learned attitudes and thus can be unlearned.



We argue that antisemitism can be stopped over several generations. This long-term perspective is important and should be kept in mind. The question should not be if antisemitism will end, but when it will end, and how it can be ended. The need to fight antisemitism creates a categorical imperative that everyone must do everything humanly possible to end antisemitism!

## The nature of antisemitism

Antisemitism can only be fought successfully in all its forms and appearances when its nature is understood properly. A major problem in the confrontation with antisemitism is that different people define in various ways what antisemitism is and who are its main carriers. The terminology is frequently confusing (e.g., the misleading term “secondary antisemitism,” meaning post-Holocaust antisemitism).

- » Antisemitism is *not*, primarily, a social prejudice system like xenophobia, homophobia or Islamophobia. It is *not* necessarily connected to racism, since antisemites from the left or the educated middle of society fight racist actions and ideologies, but at the same time reveal a deeply embedded Judeophobia. Antisemitism is *not* necessarily connected with anti-modernism and national thinking, since many people who are open and tolerant towards social changes of all kinds adhere to antisemitic thinking.
- » The Middle East conflict is *not* the cause of the new uprising of antisemitism, although it is too easily related. Antisemitism has adapted to present-day conditions, in the form of anti-Israelism. As the Jewish state, Israel is the most visible expression of contemporary Jewish life and, hence, the "natural" magnet of present-day antisemitism.
- » It is *not* difficult to distinguish between critique of Israel and antisemitism. Israel's policies can (and are) criticized, like the policies of any other country, even in Israel itself. However, using classic antisemitic stereotypes and projecting them onto the Jewish state is verbal antisemitism.
- » Antisemitism is *not* restricted to the radical right of western societies but has a broad basis in the political center as well as in the radical left. It is at home with Islamic fundamentalists as much as with radical Christian groups.

Antisemitism is a heterogeneous phenomenon that expresses itself in a wide variety of different forms. While it is a phenomenon of modern times, it also reaches back into antiquity. Both Christianity and Islam incorporated antisemitic prejudice into their respective cultural and religious memories and were thus key elements in the dispersion of antisemitism throughout the world. In modern times, Christian antisemitism has influenced, and continues to influence, both secular and religious parts of Western societies. In the Muslim world, the Quran, as well as Hadith and Sira, furthered antisemitic prejudice, and, under the influence of modern Islamic hate preachers, the antisemitism of Muslim cultural and religious heritage has been allowed to thrive.

It is precisely because of the huge impact that antisemitism had, and still has, on the cultural and religious heritage of the Western and Muslim worlds that Jew-hatred seems to be unstoppable and occurs in so many different forms and in so many different places around the world. The antisemitic parts of the Western and Muslim cultural memories provided, and persist in providing, interpretative grids that allow for identifying the collective Jew as the source of every evil. Mechanisms of blaming the Jews collectively for any mishap in the world have occurred throughout history and are still prominent today. Antisemitism is prevalent not just in the attitude of many groups and parties

towards the State of Israel but in the attitudes of many parts of Western and Muslim societies towards all Jews.



Antisemitic prejudices communicated by the cultural and religious memories of the Western and Muslim worlds guided, and continue to guide, antisemites not only in how they perceive Jews and Judaism but also in their treatment of Jews. This perception of Jews causes slander, discrimination, persecution, murder, pogroms, and genocide, the most horrendous expression of which was the Shoah. This catalogue, therefore, recommends policies aimed at the forgetting and replacing of antisemitic memory spaces in the world's cultural and religious memories.

Antisemitism can be looked at as the discrepancy between real Jews and the antisemitic imagination of them, that attributes to them imaginary characteristics and objectives. Once this is understood, decision makers and influencers at large may serve as a positive and useful channel to enhance the well-being of Jewish citizens, thus securing social order and stability, and righting a wrong.

An important characteristic of antisemitism is its irrationality: *Antisemitism has a very strong emotional and irrational dimension at its core. Therefore, a rational approach will not be enough to combat it.* In blaming “the Jews,” antisemites do not only construct Judaism as a negative concept but create a positive group identity for themselves as *not* being Jewish. Professing antisemitism becomes a sign of a cultural/religious identity, of one's belonging to a specific cultural or religious camp. In the process of antisemitic identity building, the individual antisemitic stereotypes and canards become *transnational, transcultural, and transreligious*. Associating Jews with the Devil, while common in Christianity since antiquity, is widespread in contemporary Islamic polemics against Jews although it was rare in early Islam.

Antisemites understand themselves as innocent victims engaged in a heroic fight with the ultimate Jewish evil. In an antisemitic world view, both Judaism and the various alternate antisemitic identities are always religiously determined regardless of whether antisemites understand themselves as religious or not. *Antisemitism is thus dualistic in nature and the hatred it churns out is religiously motivated.* Even in its racist expressions, antisemitism comprises a dualistic religion. Antisemites *believe*, for example, in the purity of an Aryan race despite the fact that biological studies demonstrate that no racial differences exist among the people called *homo sapiens*.





Antisemitism is thus both a unique cultural and a unique religious category. It is deeply rooted in the Western and Muslim worlds. In its beginnings it goes back to early Islam, early Christianity and even beyond. Like a chameleon, it has changed and changes colors and expressions over the ages, while remaining essentially the same. It is stored in the cultural and religious memories of the world and has remained a central part of collective consciousness in spite of the trauma of the Holocaust.

The present catalogue emphasizes, therefore, in its recommendations the phenomena of culture and religion and regards them as the key to fighting antisemitism successfully. Exclusively educational, and thus rational, approaches to combat antisemitism such as Holocaust education have been only partially successful largely due to the quasi-religious nature of antisemitism. They need to be accompanied by emotional and religious approaches as detailed in the recommendations to cultural and religious decision makers and influencers.

## A long term project that requires strategies extending over generations

Legal persecution of antisemitism and protection of Jews and Jewish institutions can help to restrain Jew-hatred and improve the life of Jews. Both are central to the fight against antisemitism but will do little to eradicate Jew-hatred. As a unique cultural and religious code that is engraved into Western and Muslim societies, antisemitism cannot be overcome in a timespan of mere decades. To change the quasi-religious convictions of antisemites in such a relatively short time is as impossible as changing the cultural and religious memories of the world on short notice. To achieve this ultimate goal is a long-term process that requires long-term strategies effective over generations and that focuses on the cultural and religious nature of antisemitism. Without such a long-term strategy, legal prosecution of antisemitic acts and protective measures for Jews will remain provisional: Jews and Judaism will continue to lead a life under threat.

Given its pluralistic character and its fixed place in the cultural and religious memories of the world, combating antisemitism has to have as many aspects as antisemitism has expressions and has to follow as many policies as there are causes of antisemitism. Thus, any approach to combat antisemitism must be holistic. The present catalogue of policies advocates a *holistic and multidisciplinary* approach. In addition to the general recommendations of the executive summary below, it provides specific recommendations to reli-

gious, cultural, educational, business, judiciary, and governmental decision makers. It does not attempt to replace earlier catalogues such as the OSCE’s “Understanding Anti-Semitic Hate Crimes and Addressing the Security Needs of Jewish Communities: A Practical Guide”<sup>3</sup> or UNESCO’s “Addressing Anti-Semitism through Education: Guidelines for Policy Makers.”<sup>4</sup> Instead, the present catalogue focuses on which long-term strategies might help to eradicate antisemitism in a time span of several generations without neglecting the present needs of persecuting antisemitic violence and protecting Jews and Jewish institutions.



Antisemitic contents of the world’s cultural and religious memories have to be replaced by positive contents about Judaism and an accurate depiction the history of antisemitism. In addition, the voices of all victims of antisemitism have to become part of the cultural and religious memories of the world.

The long-term eradication of antisemitism will take generations and will only be possible through concerted efforts of cultural and religious institutions worldwide. The short-term combating and restraining of antisemitism is possible in this generation. To achieve both key aims of the fight against antisemitism, we recommend a five-step process that combines both short-term and long-term strategies.

1. *Assessment*: Independent institutions need to assess the level of antisemitism in each country and worldwide at regular intervals. These assessments should include both surveys assessing how many people hold antisemitic prejudices in a given country or society as well as the monitoring of antisemitic hate crimes. Only such regular assessments will allow for qualified conclusions about how widespread antisemitism is and how successful the fight against it has been.
2. *Comprehending the problem*: While general conclusions about the nature of antisemitism are possible and necessary, the antisemitisms of each country have local characteristics that need to be taken into consideration. Analysis of what creates Jew-hatred in each country, each society, each culture and each religion is therefore required.
3. *Awareness-raising*: All members of a country, society, culture, or religion need to be alerted to the antisemitism in their country, society, culture, or religion.

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3 Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, *Understanding Anti-Semitic Hate Crimes and Addressing the Security Needs of Jewish Communities: A Practical Guide*, May 15, 2017, <https://www.osce.org/odihr/317191?download=true>.

4 Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, *Addressing Anti-Semitism through Education: Guidelines for Policy Makers*, May 31, 2018, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0026/002637/263702e.pdf>.

4. *Application of policies for combating antisemitism:* Concrete short-term and long-term strategies to combat and eradicate antisemitism need to be applied.
5. *Adjusting the general policies to combat antisemitism:* The general policies suggested in this catalogue need to be adjusted to the specific needs of each country, society, culture, and religion. Regardless of legal and constitutional restraints that differ from country to country, the recommendations of this catalogue represent what might be the best way to fight antisemitism. The policies suggested here need always to be adapted to what is possible under the legal and constitutional framework of each country. Furthermore, each decision maker is requested to adjust the general policies recommended in this catalogue to the needs of her/his society, organization, or institution.

## The Working Definition of Antisemitism

In order to fight antisemitism, one has to first admit that the problem of antisemitism exists and one has to be able to identify an act, insult or comment as antisemitic. To achieve both, a consensus is needed on how to define antisemitism. The non-binding Working Definition of Antisemitism (WDA) of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) represents both a guideline for understanding antisemitism and a practical guide to identify incidents, collect data, and support implementation of the legislation dealing with antisemitism. The recommendations of this catalogue are therefore based on the IHRA's Working Definition of Antisemitism that was officially adopted by the 31 member nations of IHRA under the Romanian Chairmanship at the Bucharest Plenary of May 2016 and is accepted now by many governments and parliaments around the world.<sup>5</sup> The full text of the definition can be found in Appendix 1 to the present catalogue. Its central statement is as follows:

“Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities.”

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<sup>5</sup> Until July 2018, the Working Definition of Antisemitism has been adopted and endorsed by the United Kingdom (December 12, 2016), Israel (January 22, 2017), City of London (February 8, 2017), Austria (April 25, 2017), Scotland (April 27, 2017), Romania (May 25, 2017), Germany (September 20, 2017), Bulgaria (October 18, 2017), Lithuania (January 24, 2017), and Republic of Macedonia (March 6, 2018). Cf. “Working Definition of Antisemitism,” International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, July 19, 2018, <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/news-archive/working-definition-antisemitism>.

## Antisemitism and other forms of hatred

Although a unique cultural and religious category, antisemitism often pairs with other forms of hatred. The intolerance, oppression, and violence never stop with the persecution of Jews. As Martin Niemöller puts it in his famous quote:

“First they came for the socialists, and I did not speak out—because I was not a socialist.

Then they came for the trade unionists, and I did not speak out—because I was not a trade unionist.

Then they came for the Jews, and I did not speak out—because I was not a Jew.

Then they came for me—and there was no one left to speak for me.”<sup>6</sup>

The policies developed in this catalogue are restricted to the fight against antisemitism. Nevertheless, potentially, they can be of great importance in the fight against all other forms of hatred as well. We can only hope that our work might be of help in the fight against intolerance, hatred, and persecution beyond antisemitism.

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6 W. Gerlach, *And the Witnesses Were Silent: The Confessing Church and the Persecution of the Jews* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 47.

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The recommendations in this catalogue represent what we regard as the best ways to fight antisemitism. The policies recommended here need to be placed in the context of the legal and constitutional frameworks of each country. However, the fight against antisemitism should follow a five-step process in each country, society, religious, cultural, internet-related, academic, educational, business, political or governmental group, organization, or institution.

1. The level of antisemitism in these entities needs to be assessed.
2. The causes of antisemitism in these entities need to be understood.
3. Among the members of these entities, awareness of antisemitism needs to be raised.
4. Strategies to fight antisemitism need to be applied.
5. General strategies to fight antisemitism need to be adjusted to the specific needs of each entity.

Fighting antisemitism cannot be restricted to declarations of good will only and cannot depend on efforts of volunteers or professionals in other occupations. Governments, as well as decision makers and influencers of the religious, cultural, academic, educational, media, entertainment, and business worlds need to engage in this fight as well. Aside from increasing efforts to investigate and prosecute violent cases of antisemitism more efficiently, more far-reaching policies are needed. From a short-term perspective, increasing the security of Jewish communities and individuals is the first priority. From a long-term perspective, i.e., in a time-span of several generations, antisemitism needs to be eradicated. Especially with regard to this long-term eradication, it is crucial to consider the singular nature of antisemitism as a unique cultural and religious phenomenon.

Beyond such considerations, it needs to be understood

- » that most manifestations of antisemitism constitute a violation of human rights.
- » that while antisemites target Jews first, their hatred and intolerance is never restricted to Jews and people perceived as being Jewish, but extends to all other democratic groups and minorities within a society as well.

For both the short-term suppression and the long-term eradication of antisemitism, the most important strategies and recommendations of the present catalogue concern the role of governmental entities, the role of the religious and cultural heritage of our world, the work of educational institutions, and the need for exposure to living Judaism.

## The fight against antisemitism by governmental and non-governmental entities

- » All countries, societies, religious, cultural, internet-related, academic, educational, media and entertainment, business, political or governmental groups, organizations, and institutions should endorse and apply the Working Definition of Antisemitism (WDA) of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA).
- » The fight against antisemitism should be embodied in the legislation of each country in an irrevocable way, ideally in the framework of its constitution.
- » Legislatures need to create a legal framework to combat antisemitism effectively. For this purpose, existing laws need to be strengthened and, if necessary, new laws need to be created that further the fight against antisemitism.
- » Given the internationalization of on- and offline media, the fight against antisemitism can only be successful when it becomes a focus of foreign policy and international and transnational political entities such as the European Union and the United Nations.
- » Governments and intergovernmental organizations should condemn the blatant state-sanctioned antisemitism that exists in a number of countries, such as Iran.
- » All countries and international organizations should appoint an envoy for combating antisemitism.
- » Depending on its size, each country needs at least one, if not more, independent institutes for antisemitism studies.
- » Each country should fund the fight against antisemitism with 0.02% of its Gross Domestic Product annually.
- » Each group, organization, and institution should spend 1% of its budget to fight antisemitism inside its own context annually.
- » People who express or hold antisemitic views should not be allowed to occupy positions of power or to become cultural, religious, academic, or educational influencers and multipliers.
- » Elites, decision makers, and influencers need to provide positive role models in the fight against antisemitism.
  - › They should speak out against all manifestations of antisemitism in the most audible and visible way.
  - › They should act immediately against all manifestations of antisemitism.
- » Companies should be advised not to do business with countries or organizations that support antisemitism in any way.
- » Companies should reject selling or marketing antisemitic contents both off- and online.

## The fight against antisemitism and the religious and cultural heritage of our world

- » Existing antisemitic stereotypes and symbols need to be eradicated from the cultural and religious memories of the world. They should be identified as antisemitic and not be allowed to generate new antisemitic contents. For this purpose, whenever possible,
  - › antisemitic contents should be taken out of circulation both off- and online.
  - › antisemitic contents in social and other media should be suppressed and/or removed.
  - › antisemitic contents that cannot be removed from the cultural or religious memories of the world should be accompanied by glosses and commentaries warning about their antisemitic nature.
- » Positive contents about Judaism in the cultural and religious memories of the world should be emphasized and/or added both off- and online. For this purpose,
  - › Jewish achievements for a given society or country should be highlighted by memorials celebrating Jewish contributions to the world's heritage.
  - › Existing and new books and documentaries of high quality about Judaism should be translated in as many languages as possible and distributed in an affordable way or free of charge both off- and online.
- » The history of antisemitism should be depicted accurately in the cultural and religious memories of the world, and inaccurate depictions should be corrected whenever possible.
  - › Existing and new books and documentaries of high quality about the history of antisemitism from its ancient beginnings until today should be translated into as many languages as possible and distributed in an affordable way or free of charge both off- and online.
  - › The voices of all victims of antisemitism from antiquity until today need to be heard and made visible both off- and online. To this end, online databases should be created.
  - › In addition to Holocaust memorial days, the victims of antisemitic persecutions should be recognized by special commemorations in the countries where these persecutions took place.
  - › Museums, documentaries, etc. should focus not only on the Shoah but should address other instances of antisemitic violence as well.

## The fight against antisemitism in education and the exposure to living Judaism

- » Holocaust education needs to be accompanied by other educational strategies that communicate a wider historical sense of the horrors of antisemitism as well as an understanding of the contribution of the Jewish people to many areas of modern culture and civilization.
  - › Schools need to teach the history, culture, and religion of Judaism on all levels from pre-school to universities and continuing education.
  - › Schools need to teach the history of antisemitism from its ancient beginnings until today from the earliest educational level advisable up to universities and continuing education.
- » In the context of education and elsewhere, the irrational, religious nature of antisemitic hatred makes it impossible to fight antisemitism with rational arguments alone. They need to be accompanied by emotional experiences that can be both religious and secular. Education on all levels should thus include emotional experiences with Judaism and practical encounters with Jewish people.
- » Exposure to living Judaism is crucial beyond education. Especially decision makers and influencers should be exposed to Jewish culture and religion as well as to practical experiences with Judaism both in Israel and abroad. For that purpose, it is recommended that
  - › Religious groups and organizations should participate in interfaith activities ranging from discussion groups and committees to interfaith prayers.
  - › Cooperation with Israeli and other Jewish religious, cultural, academic, educational, business, and political organizations, groups, institutions, and companies should be encouraged.



# CHAPTER 1

## RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING RELIGIOUS GROUPS AND INSTITUTIONS

Even more so than in other areas, in the world of religion, policies combating antisemitism should aim for a timeframe of several generations. It is near to impossible to erase the deeply rooted antisemitic stereotypes in Christian and Muslim traditions from the religious memories of these two religions. While a total absence of antisemitism in these two religious traditions might remain a utopian goal, it is nevertheless important to aspire to it as the most desirable condition toward which all policies combating antisemitism should aim. It is hoped that this goal might actually be achieved in a timespan of several generations.

The level of antisemitism is different in each religious group and/or institution. Radical Islamist terrorist organizations such as ISIS or Al Qaida as well as Christian white supremacist groups such as the KKK with its American and European chapters or the Aryan Nations/Church of Jesus Christ-Christians and other parts of the Christian Identity Movement are examples of the most extreme antisemitic religious groups and organizations.

In other religious groups or organizations, a significant part of their clergy and their members are actively philosemitic, while others still adhere to Jew-hatred. An example would be the Catholic Church: Pope Francis and many members of the Catholic clergy are friends of Judaism while the Polish Catholic radio station Radio Maryja is described by the US State Department's Global Anti-Semitism Report of 2008 as "one of Europe's most blatantly anti-Semitic media venues."<sup>1</sup> Between radical antisemitic religious groups and philosemitic religious groups, a large grey zone of different levels of antisemitism inside religious groups and organizations exists.

The combating of antisemitism in religious groups or organizations has to follow different strategies depending on the level of antisemitism in them. In the case of radically antisemitic religious groups, strategies to combat their antisemitism can only be applied from the outside. In the case of those religious groups in which the level of antisemitism is not too high, strategies for combating antisemitism can be developed and applied from the inside.

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1 United States Department of State, *Contemporary Global Anti-Semitism: A Report Provided to the United States Congress* (released March 2008), 5, <https://2009-2017.state.gov/documents/organization/102301.pdf>.

Policies for combating antisemitism in religious groups need to address different elements:

- » A commitment to eradicating antisemitic opinions within the clergy of religious groups or organizations.
- » Fighting and removing antisemitic stereotypes and canards from the religious memory of a religious group or institution.
- » Emphasizing the positive aspects of Judaism in a religious memory and adding new positive contents about Judaism to a religious memory.
- » Removing the authority of antisemitic role models such as saints or highly respected authorities that provide guidance to the members of a religious group or institutions Examples include John Chrysostom, Martin Luther and others.
- » Removing antisemitism from the religious laws and doctrines of a religious group or organization.
- » Removing antisemitism from the private beliefs of the members of a religious group or organization.

Many of the measures that need to be taken to eradicate the antisemitism of religious groups and organizations will only be effective on a long-term basis as they require changes in their religious memory. While on a mid-term and short-term basis, changes in the institutional framework and the religious law of religious groups and organizations might be achieved, the key to the eradication of antisemitism in a religious group or organization is to change both the minds of its members as well as its cultural and religious heritage. The latter two require a continuous effort over generations.

To achieve these aims, as outlined in the introduction, we advise five additional steps.

1. *Assessment*: Assessing where a religious institution or a religious group stands regarding its level of antisemitism.
2. *Comprehending the problem*: Analyzing which religious traditions create Jew-hatred inside a religion, a religious group, or a religious institution
3. *Awareness-raising*: Clergy and lay people need to be alerted to the antisemitism inherent in their religion.
4. *Application of policies for combating antisemitism*.
5. *Adjusting the general policies to combat antisemitism*: The general policies suggested below for Christian, Muslim, and Jewish groups and organizations need to be adjusted to the specific needs of each religious institution, religious group, and religious organization.

## 1.1 Religious groups or institutions and combating antisemitism

Religious groups and institutions have a special capability in combating antisemitism given the religious character of the antisemitic ideology of most, if not all, antisemitic groups. As argued in the introduction to this catalogue, the very irrationality of antisemitism identifies it as a religious phenomenon, that is, as a belief system (see p. 20–23). In addition to fighting antisemitism inside their own organizational framework, religious groups and institutions thus have a responsibility to address antisemitism outside their own religious group or organization. This is all the more the case as the Christian and Muslim heritage is responsible for much of today’s antisemitism. Those religious groups and organizations whose level of antisemitism is low should therefore be actively involved in encouraging antisemites to change their religious orientation from a religion of hate to a religion of love and mutual respect that includes the love of and respect for Judaism.

Religious denominations that practice acts of terror and hate crimes, such as the churches and organizations of the Christian identity movement of ISIA or ISIS, need to be prosecuted by legal and law enforcement institutions. Their leaders and those members that committed crimes are subject to the judiciary, the executive, and law enforcement agencies. Members of such religious terrorist groups that have not engaged in criminal behavior should be religiously educated and influenced by denominations of their religion whose level of antisemitism is low. The reader is referred for the combating of religious terrorist groups to the recommendations of the OSCE’s “Understanding Anti-Semitic Hate Crimes and Addressing the Security Needs of Jewish Communities: A Practical Guide.”<sup>2</sup>

Below we will first outline policy recommendations that apply to all religious groups, organizations and institutions. In a second step we will then make some recommendations specific to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

### 1.1.1 Assessing the level of antisemitism

In cooperation with Jewish organizations, institutions need to be created that are able to assess the level of antisemitism inside each religious group, organization or institution by way of regular surveys. Ideally, such assessment institutions should be independent scholarly/scientific organizations (see p. 73) whose independence vouches for an uncompromised assessment and whose

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<sup>2</sup> Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, *Understanding Anti-Semitic Hate Crimes and Addressing the Security Needs of Jewish Communities: A Practical Guide*, May 15, 2017, <https://www.osce.org/odihr/317191?download=true>.

expertise guarantees the highest quality of antisemitism assessment. Assessments of the level of antisemitism inside a religious group, organization, or institution should be repeated on a regular basis to allow for an appreciation of how effective efforts at the combating of antisemitism were.

### 1.1.2 Comprehending the problem

Holy Writ such as the New Testament or the Qur'an, as well as the writings of authoritative religious authors, doctrinal texts and religious laws need to be scrutinized for antisemitic contents. In Christianity, such texts would include the writings of saints like Ambrose of Milan or reformers like Martin Luther, the dogmatic tradition, church law and teaching. In Islam, such texts would include different parts of Hadith and Sira. Only when the antisemitic contents in the religious memories of Christianity and Islam are properly identified, will it be possible to combat antisemitism inside the various denominations, groups, and organizations of these two religions.

Particularly problematic communicators of antisemitism in religious memories are school- and textbooks as well as liturgies. Schoolbooks, textbooks and liturgical texts should, therefore, be scrutinized regularly for antisemitic contents (see chapter 5 on education). It needs to be emphasized that these regular surveys need to pertain not only to stereotypes and canards that are openly antisemitic but also to tropes of religious thought such as Christian replacement theology (see p. 41).

These surveys for antisemitic content in the religious memory of Christian churches, groups and institutions should be undertaken regularly by neutral scholarly institutions in cooperation with Jewish scholars and organizations. The results of these surveys should be published in a form that is easily accessible for lay people and clergy alike.

### 1.1.3 Awareness-raising

In Holy Scriptures, divine messages are always communicated through human beings. God's revelation is thus marred by human fallibility. Beginning with the New Testament, divine revelation expresses itself in Christian holy texts that also express a form of hatred. The manifestations of this hatred resulted in a tradition of antisemitism that gave moral legitimacy to crimes against the Jewish people, the epitome of which is the Shoah. Once the antisemitic contents of a religious memory are identified, not only the decision makers, clergy, and other elites of religious groups, organizations, or institutions need

to be alerted to them but also all of their members. Only if all members of a religious group, organization or institution develop an awareness of the anti-semitic content of their traditions, are changes possible.

To raise the awareness of Christians and Muslims towards the antisemitic contents of their religious memories is not a one-time effort but an ongoing process. Awareness of antisemitic contents in religious memories needs to be achieved for each generation anew to immunize it against Jew-hatred.

Examples how such a continuous awareness raising can be achieved are the following:

- » Translations of the New Testament, the Qur'an and other Christian or Muslim literatures need marginal glosses, and introductions that emphasize continuity with Jewish heritage of both Christianity and Islam and warn readers about antisemitic passages in them. While some efforts have been made in this direction in the case of Christianity, these efforts need to be extended and made consistent in both religions.
- » Canonical or quasi-canonical writings of religious antisemites (such as Luther's *On the Jews and their Lies* or Sayyid Qutb's *Our Struggle against the Jews*, the latter being a seminal work of modern Islamic fundamentalism) need to be publicly denounced as unholy writ by mainstream religious leaders and thinkers.
- » All antisemitic texts and passages in the heritage of Christianity and Islam need to be identified and rejected. The identification should best be achieved by the institutes for antisemitism studies recommended in chapter 4 on academic organizations and institutions. They should serve to alert authorities and the general public to antisemitic contents in the religious memories of Christianity and Islam.
- » Christian and Muslim academics, teachers of religion, and clergy need to be educated about the antisemitic elements in their heritage. The institutes for antisemitism studies recommended in chapter 4 on academic organizations and institutions could help with this educational effort.
- » Christian and Muslim clergy and teachers of religion need to teach what they have learned about antisemitism in their parishes and school classes.
- » Each religious group, organization, and institution should have a commission for relations with the Jews that meets regularly with a comparable Jewish institution.

### 1.1.4 Application of the policies for combating antisemitism

As detailed in the introduction to this catalogue, religious decision makers should combat antisemitism with both a short-term and long-term perspective. Policies that aim at restraining antisemitism in a religious, group, organization, or institution can be effective in a relatively short time span. Policies which aim at the eradication of antisemitism in the religious memories of a religious group, organization, or institution will facilitate the eradication of antisemitism but can reach this (utopian) goal only in a time span of several generations of continuous work. Policies that will help to achieve both goals will be listed below only once.

Policies that aim at the short term restraining of antisemitism in religious groups, organizations, or institutions include budgetary, disciplinary, organizational, and educational recommendations as well as those concerning inter-faith understanding.

- » Each Christian church and Muslim denomination should include a statement in their constitutions that antisemitism is incompatible with Christianity and Islam.
  - › A positive example of such a statement is the fourth paragraph of the declaration *Nostra Aetate* of the Second Vatican Council.
  - › If such declarations do not exist already, church councils or councils of imams should be convened to create them.
- » Each religious group, organization, or institution should endorse and apply the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism (see p. 137–38).
- » As much as possible, Christians and Muslims should experience living Judaism and thus learn by way of experience to regard Jews as fellow human beings who are members of a different but equally valid and legitimate religious community.
- » Theological studies of Christian and Muslim clergy and teachers should include mandatory classes in Jewish studies.
- » Each religious group, organization or institution needs to spend at least 1% of its budget to restrain and eradicate antisemitism among its members and in its religious traditions.
- » Antisemitic organizations and institutions inside a Christian or Muslim denomination, such as the Polish Radio Maryja mentioned above, need to be dissolved.
- » Clerics and employees of religious groups, organizations, and institutions identified as antisemites need to be defrocked, suspended from duty, and/or excommunicated. This is especially true for teachers of religion, clerics, and professors.

- » When antisemitic rumors arise, religious leaders must stand up immediately and denounce them.
- » Depending on their size, each religious group, organization, or institution needs to have an envoy for combating antisemitism whose work should be supported by a Jewish-Christian or a Jewish-Muslim committee, respectively.
- » A phone hotline and a webpage should be created via which the office of the envoy for combating antisemitism that we recommend (see above and p. 122) can be alerted to antisemitic agitation in sermons and other religious communications. Reports about such religious antisemitic agitation should always be investigated and, if necessary, public or religious authorities should act appropriately.
- » No religious group, organization, or institution should participate in the BDS movement or in any other anti-Zionist activity that rejects the self-determination of the Jewish people. Legitimate criticism of Israel should, of course, not be affected by this recommendation. For more detail, see chapter 7.6.
- » Religious groups, organizations, and institutions should condemn such anti-Zionist activities as antisemitism.

Policies that aim at the long-term eradication of antisemitism focus on the religious memories of religious groups and organizations. Many of these recommendations are specific policies geared towards either Christianity, Islam or Judaism.

- » The study of Hebrew Bible and Rabbinic literature should become mandatory in the religious education of Christian and Muslim clerics and teachers of religion.
- » Christians and Muslims should acknowledge that the Hebrew Bible lies at the heart of their own religious traditions and should recognize the ongoing validity of the Jewish approach to Judaism's holy writ.
- » Liturgical, educational, and doctrinal texts need to be assessed for antisemitic elements, including inappropriate language. Such antisemitic contents should be replaced by employing positive traditions about Jews and Judaism in Christianity and Islam.
- » Instead of antisemitic canards, stereotypes and topics, liturgical, educational, and doctrinal texts should emphasize those episodes in the history of Christianity and Islam that include positive attitudes towards, and experiences with, Judaism.

Another important factor is that Christianity and Islam should acknowledge Judaism as a living religion whose heritage has grown and developed on its own since the parting of the ways of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The

Judaism of today is not the Judaism of antiquity or the early Middle Ages. It is thus not enough to educate Christians and Muslims about how Christianity and Islam are rooted in Judaism. In order to eradicate Christian and Muslim Jew-hatred, Christians and Muslims also need to learn to accept living Judaism as a separate but equally valid sibling religion that advances its own way to salvation. The more Christians and Muslims encounter Jews, Jewish practices, and Jewish struggles and dilemmas, the more accepting and approving they will become of living Judaism.



Especially important in this context are interfaith prayer events between Jews, Christians, and Muslims. Their shared emotional experiences are best suited to overcome religious hatred or immunize against it. A good practical example is the Kehilat Tzion congregation of Rabbi Tamar Elad-Appelbaum who regularly prays together with Christian and Muslim congregations in Jerusalem, thus creating mutual religious respect and acceptance among the Jewish, Christian, and Muslim members of these congregations.<sup>3</sup> As far as their religious convictions allow for this, Jewish communities should participate in interfaith prayers.

Respect for other people's faiths, and learning from each other's wisdom and experiences is a preventative tool and remedy to prejudices, suspicions, and hostilities. Meetings, dialogues, and sharing knowledge can assist in healing tensions and installing trust. It is often the first stage on the road to mutual respect and peaceful coexistence. The best preventative measure to combat antisemitism is by acquainting people with the people they are prone to hate, and to do so in an agreeable, non-offensive manner. Ignorance and unfamiliarity are essential to the rise of prejudices and hatred.

- » All Christians and Muslims, but especially those Christians and Muslims that are educators, clerics, or religious decision makers, should gather practical experiences with living Judaism by visiting synagogues, cooperating with Jews on joint projects, visiting Israel, and participating in associations for interreligious dialogue.
- » Christian and Muslim religious education should include classes on Judaism taught by Jewish studies experts or especially trained experts at all levels of education. Curricula for these classes need to be developed.

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<sup>3</sup> The Kehilat Zion congregation regularly organizes interfaith prayers, concerts and other religious events. Recently, Rabbi Tamar Elad-Appelbaum also started Israel's first interfaith charitable cooperative. Cf. B. Kissileff, "Re-dreaming Jerusalem: The Unorthodox Vision of Rabbi Tamar Elad Appelbaum," *Voices of Conservative/Masorti Judaism*, <http://www.ejvoices.org/article/re-dreaming-jerusalem/>.



- » Christian and Muslim religious education should include classes on the history of Christian and Muslim antisemitism at all levels of Christian and Muslim education. Curricula for these classes need to be developed.
- » Christian and Muslim schoolteachers and textbook authors, as well as clerics, should participate in workshops about the history, culture, and religion of Judaism taught by Jewish scholars and/or experts in Jewish studies. These workshops should be mandatory.
- » Christian and Muslim schoolteachers and textbook authors, as well as clerics, should participate in workshops about the history of antisemitism. These workshops should be mandatory.
- » Children's books, textbooks, study books, and popular books educating Christians and Muslims about Judaism and the history of antisemitism are needed.
- » Christians and Muslims, as well as Christian and Muslim institutions, should participate in family and cultural exchange programs.
- » Programs that allow young Christian and Muslim leaders as well as future Christian and Muslim decision makers to study in Israel at Israeli educational institutions should be supported and/or created.
- » A scholarly seminar or seminar series should be created where Jewish, Christian, and Muslim scholars together wrestle with difficult texts, perhaps resulting in a university textbook that works with the text and presents different perspectives.
- » Interfaith meetings, workshops and discussions are recommended as tools to develop mutual respect and understanding.

The irrational fervor of antisemitism demonstrates that antisemitism is more than anything else a belief system (see p. 20–23). Antisemitic thought is a system of religious symbols that developed in antiquity and continues to evolve today. Christianity, and later on Islam, dispersed this antisemitic system of religious symbols throughout the world. In modern times, antisemitism also began to occur connected to neither Christianity nor Islam, but maintaining its religious character. Therefore, Christianity and Islam have a particular responsibility to participate in the fight against antisemitism beyond the limits of their denominations. Experience demonstrates that antisemites are deaf to rational arguments against Jew-hatred. The religious character of antisemitism and its irrational fervor immunize those who hate Jews against rational education. Beyond the removal and/or neutralization of antisemitic stereotypes and canards in the Christian and Muslim religious memories, Christian and Muslim religious groups which are only sparsely affected by antisemitism, or free of it, should therefore fight against Christian and Muslim antisemitism, respectively.

Christian churches, groups, organizations, and institutions have an important tool at their disposal to fight antisemitism on a religious level, disconnected from rational arguments. Those Christian churches, groups, organizations, and institutions who liberated themselves from the antisemitic heritage of Christianity, or are well on their way towards that goal, have a particular responsibility. They should use their experience to encourage antisemites to change their religious orientation from a religion of hate to a religion of love and mutual respect that includes the love of and respect for Judaism. They must guide the Christian antisemitic believer to the sources of Christian love and respect for the Jewish other.

Those Muslim groups and organizations that have only a low level of antisemitism or no antisemitism are as essential for successfully combating antisemitism. Like Christianity, Islam also understands itself as a religion of love, and in Muslim tradition this led to a positive attitude towards Judaism (see 1.2.2). Those Muslims belonging to more moderate and tolerant forms of Islam should draw on this idea to transform the attitude of their antisemitic brethren from Islamist hate to the mindset of Islam as a religion of love. A good practice example is the work of Imam Hassen Chalghoumi, the president of the *Conférence des Imams de France*.

## 1.2 Adjusting the above policy recommendations to Judaism, Christianity and Islam

### 1.2.1 Christianity

To combat antisemitism in Christianity successfully, it is important to understand that Christianity is very heterogeneous. It consists of 45,000 Christian denominations<sup>4</sup> and a multitude of Christian groups, organizations and institutions each of which distinguishes itself from the other Christian denominations, groups, organizations and institutions. While most of the Christian churches are rather small, several belong to the largest religious groups worldwide and have tremendous influence. It always has to be kept in mind, that what applies to one Christian church might be radically different in many other Christian groups. The deliberations below strive to describe a paradigmatic process that needs to be adapted to each Christian denomination, church, group, organization, and institution.

In the beginning of Christianity, Christian identity was defined in contradistinction to Judaism. Christianity understood itself as the inheritor of God's promises of salvation to Judaism and thus the true Israel. Christians under-

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<sup>4</sup> For the number of Christian denominations in 2014, see <http://www.gordonconwell.edu/resources/documents/StatusOfGlobalMission.pdf>

stood Judaism’s rejection of the Messianic character of Jesus of Nazareth and of the Christian idea of salvation through Jesus’s sacrifice on the cross as a rejection of God’s covenant with Israel that found its ultimate expression in the deicide libel, claiming that the Jews collectively had crucified Jesus. Judaism was construed as part of a demonic counterworld. Christian religious group identity was thus built not only on rejection of Judaism but by way of the demonization of the Jews. Various antisemitic stereotypes such as the blood libel grew out of Christian replacement ideology or supersessionism. Christian replacement theology became part of the religious memories of the various Christian denominations and churches and thrives even today.

Christian claims that the salvation prophecies of the Old Testament regarding Jesus of Nazareth represent an important part of Christian replacement theology. For the eradication of antisemitism from Christian thought, it is important to recognize that the Hebrew Bible is not the Christian Old Testament but the Jewish Scriptures. In Christian thought, salvation came to the world through Jesus of Nazareth. Yet Christian thought cannot negate, even by means of the New Testament, the promises of salvation to Israel made in the Jewish Scriptures.

To fight Christian antisemitism successfully, an alternative approach to Christian identity building is needed that does not make Christian religious identity dependent on its contradistinction from Judaism. *To build a Christian identity disconnected from antisemitic replacement theology* is therefore a key factor for the eradication of antisemitism in the Christian religious memory. To achieve this goal, negative memory spaces about Judaism need to be removed from the Christian religious memory and replaced by positive ones. In other words, antisemitic stereotypes and patterns of thought need to be removed from the Christian religious memory, or, if this is not possible, neutralized. Those religious traditions that foster a positive appreciation of Judaism need to be strengthened. Persons and events in the history of Christianity that appreciate Judaism and/or fight antisemitism need to be highlighted in Christian religious memories. An example of such a person would be Sister Rose Thering.<sup>5</sup> Counter-narratives, counter-myths, and counter-dogmata to antisemitic stereotypes need to be embedded into the religious

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<sup>5</sup> Sister Rose Thering (1920–2006) was a nun of the Dominican Order and Professor at Seton Hall University, New Jersey. Within her church, she actively battled antisemitism and her doctoral research contributed to the Vatican’s declaration *Nostra Aetate* in 1965. She continued her interfaith work until high age and was the first woman ever to receive the Anti-Defamation League’s Cardinal Bea Interfaith Award in 2004. Cf. “About Sister Rose,” Seton Hall University, Sister Rose Thering Fund for Education in Jewish-Christian Studies, <https://www.shu.edu/sister-rose/about-sister-rose.cfm> (accessed October 2, 2018); R. D. McFadden, “Sister Rose Thering, Nun Dedicated to Bridging Gap With Judaism, Dies at 85,” *The New York Times*, May 8, 2006, [https://www.nytimes.com/2006/05/08/nyregion/08thering.html?\\_r=2&scp=1&sq=sister%20rose%20thering&st=cse&](https://www.nytimes.com/2006/05/08/nyregion/08thering.html?_r=2&scp=1&sq=sister%20rose%20thering&st=cse&).

memories of the Christian churches, groups, organizations, and institutions through education and a conscious effort to develop positive views on Judaism in Christian thought based on the Jewish origins of Christianity. This process involves not only changing official church documents and dogmatic decisions but, more importantly, changing the beliefs and belief-systems of the members of the various Christian churches. This goal can only be achieved in a long-term process in which doctrinal decisions of the churches can be communicated to the masses of Christian believers. A key factor in achieving these changes in the beliefs and convictions of Christian believers is religious education on all levels.

Religious topics that are already part of the Christian religious memory but assure a positive perception of Judaism should be highlighted and emphasized. These topics include the Jewish background and origins of Christianity: Jesus of Nazareth was a Jew. Although Paul distanced himself from Judaism, his roots are Jewish and his thought is thoroughly grounded in Judaism. As with the writings of Paul, the New Testament as a whole is indebted to Jewish thought. It is of key importance to emphasize on all levels of Christian thought how Christian theology is thoroughly grounded in its Jewish heritage. Tools to help achieve this goal could be study editions of the New Testament and other early Christian literature explaining this Jewish heritage inside Christianity by way of annotation. A good practice model is the *Jewish Annotated New Testament*.<sup>6</sup> In this way, Christianity needs to acknowledge that Judaism is Christianity's mother religion.

In addition to the general policies outlined above for all religious groups, the following strategies to combat antisemitism are recommended to Christian religious decision makers and influencers.

- » Literal (and historical-critical) instead of allegorical readings of the Jewish scriptures will help to emphasize their Jewishness and will help Christians to recognize the validity of Jewish interpretations of the Bible and, hence, the validity of Jewish claims to salvation. In this way, Christians will learn to understand the Jewish scriptures as the Hebrew Bible and not as the Old Testament. A literal historical-critical approach to the Bible has the potential to qualify Judaism to its Christian readers as an earlier and equally valid religion by anchoring a Jewish understanding of the Jewish Scriptures in the Christian religious memory.
- » A proper understanding of the Jewish Scriptures and their reception in the New Testament has the potential to help Christians understand

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<sup>6</sup> A. J. Levine and M. Z. Brettler, eds., *The Jewish annotated New Testament: New Revised Standard Version Bible Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

that the Jews are equally God's chosen people. Christians need to recognize that God's promises of salvation to Israel were, even according to their own tradition, never withdrawn from the Jewish people but are still valid as already attested in Jesus' preaching.

- » Much of New Testament thought is grounded in the religious thought of ancient Judaism expressed in non-biblical texts. The promotion of the study of non-biblical ancient Jewish literature could thus educate Christians as to how much their religious understanding and their hopes for salvation grew out of Judaism, i.e., to understand that Christianity did not replace Judaism but was delivered to the world by it.
- » Texts like *Nostra Aetate* need to be highlighted as parts of the Christian cultural memory that express respect and appreciation of Judaism.
- » Christian personalities who engaged in a positive relationship with Jews and Judaism need to be highlighted in Christian religious memories, if possible they should even be beatified or sainted. An example for such outstanding personalities is Sister Rose Thering.
- » Future explicit and official ecclesiastical statements need to take into account the historical relationships of Judaism and Christianity and to reject Christian supersessionism and any antisemitic stereotypes in the Christian religious memories.
- » It is of key importance that any new liturgical and/or doctrinal documents are communicated to the membership of Christian churches. While some Churches have formulated important doctrinal documents rejecting antisemitism and have even begun to reformulate their liturgical texts, budgetary concerns and restraints keep them from communicating these measures to their members.

## 1.2.2 Islam

Although less diverse than Christianity, Islam is not a monolithic religion either but has several denominations, to which should be added various Islamic movements. Islam has changed over the long period of its existence. In addition to such historical developments, significant regional differences exist. So, for example, separate approaches are necessary for the fight against antisemitism by Muslims in the Western world, on the one hand, and by Arab and Muslim states, on the other hand. Much of the general policies recommended to religious decision makers in chapter 1.1 of this catalogue will necessarily apply more to Muslim communities in the Western world than to Arab and Muslim states. However, the changes in Islamic discourses on antisemitism and Holocaust denial and the changing strategic circumstances in the Middle East could point to an openness to our suggestions beyond the Muslim diaspora in the Western world.

Some general remarks are possible nevertheless: The Quran itself is not free of antisemitism, and early and medieval Islam are also no strangers to Jew-hatred. Examples include the 1033 Fez massacre and 1066 pogrom of Granada. Despite their second class status in Islamic societies, many Sephardic Jews fled in 1492 from the Spanish Inquisition to the Ottoman Empire. Although antisemitism existed in early and medieval Islam, substantial elements of contemporary Islamic antisemitism agree neither with Islam's foundational period nor with the Muslim Holy Scriptures. Many aspects of modern Islamic antisemitism were imported from Christianity and the Western world. The impact of Christian antisemitism on the Muslim world began in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and accelerated during and after the Nazi period. While it is a common feature of contemporary Muslim antisemitic agitation to accuse Jews of drinking blood, the earliest occasion of a blood libel in the Muslim world is the so-called Damascus Affair of 1840 in which French-Christian diplomats introduced this slander to Islam.

Common antisemitic notions, features, and symbols are thus often alien to Islamic culture and heritage, and they are nothing more than the importation of concepts that were invented and prevailed in the medieval and modern Christian world. Muslims are generally skeptical about the religious validity of Christian thought but hold Quran, Hadith, and Sira supreme. To show that much of the ideology of current Muslim antisemitism goes back to Christian antisemitic thought might, therefore, help to overcome Muslim Jew-hatred.

Muslim thinkers often describe the essence of Islam as rooted in love, and Islam shares this opinion with other religions. The medieval Persian poet Shams al-Din Muhammad who is known by his pen name "Hafiz" is an example:

"Drunk or sober, we're all seekers of the beloved:  
Mosque or Synagogue—everywhere is the house of love."<sup>7</sup>

Imam Chalghoumi often emphasized during our conference that Jew-hatred is irreconcilable with Islam as a religion of love. To those Muslim decision makers and influencers who do not share in antisemitic prejudices, we therefore recommend the following policies.

- » Emphasize positive depictions of Jews and Judaism in Quran, Hadith, and Sira against antisemitic agitation.
- » When Quran, Hadith, or Sira polemicize against Jews or Judaism, cross-references should be added to those parts of these scriptures that describe Jews positively to counterbalance the antisemitism in Muslim scriptures.

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<sup>7</sup> Hāfiz, *The Poems of Hafez*, transl. R. Ordoubadian (Bethesda: Ibex Publishers, 2006), 98.

- » Emphasize those parts of Quran, Hadith, and Sira which advocate peaceful coexistence of Muslims, Jews, and Christians such as the Constitution of Medina (622 C.E.).
- » Highlight the positive and tolerant verses in the Quran toward the Jews beside the negative ones. Religious scriptures cannot be changed, but their interpretation is crucial and can be adapted to goals of coexistence.
- » To translations and editions of the Quran, Hadith, and Sira, notes should be added to the effect that some of the seemingly antisemitic passages are ambiguous, and their meaning is greatly dependent on their interpretation.
- » Emphasize that the purported breach of the Constitution of Medina concerned—if at all—some Jewish tribes of the Arab diaspora but not all of Judaism.
- » Emphasize that Jew-hatred violates the basic principles of Islam and disagrees with much of the Islam’s religious memory.

Along with the above recommendations concerning the depiction of Jews and Judaism in the religious memory of Islam, much can be done to further a peaceful co-existence between Muslim and Jewish communities both in the Western and Muslim worlds. To facilitate that goal, we recommend Muslim religious decision makers and influencers begin:

- » To educate Muslims about the history of Muslim antisemitism calling attention to those elements of Christian and Western origin in that history.
- » To educate the broader Muslim public accurately about the history of Jews in the Muslim world as well as about the history of Jewish-Muslim relations.
- » To educate Muslims about the commonalities of Islam and Judaism.
- » To accurately inform a broader Muslim public about the history of the State of Israel.
- » To accurately inform a broader Muslim public about the life of Israel’s Muslim citizens:
  - › Israeli Muslims enjoy more civil rights, a better education, and a better standard of life than Muslims do in almost all other parts of the Arab world.
- » To provide an accurate depiction of the Jew’s Dhimmi status in Islam as a disadvantaged minority.
- » To form an alliance that brings together those Muslims, and non-Muslims who want to fight Islamic antisemitism and Islamism.

Many antisemitic ideas are employed today to advance an anti-Zionist agenda against the State of Israel by Muslim individuals and states. This anti-Zionist agitation goes beyond the legitimate criticism exercised against any state. This catalogue is not the place to address the problems of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. From a perspective of Islam, it should be emphasized by Muslim religious decision makers that the *Quran grants the land of Israel to the Jews*. References used by Muslim supporters of Israel in this context are Suras 5:21; 17:104 and 26:59. Good practice examples are Sheikh Prof. Abdul Hadi Palazzi, Director of the Cultural Institute of the Italian Islamic Community<sup>8</sup> and the Jordanian Quranic scholar Sheikh Ahmad al-Adwan.<sup>9</sup>

### *Recommendations for Arab and Muslim states*

Many of the policy recommendations on how to fight the antisemitism of and in Arab and Muslim states concern political decision makers and not religious ones. We therefore direct the reader also to the chapter 7 regarding governments, political organizations, and institutions.

- » Encourage education on the history of Jewish communities in Arab and Muslim lands and past Muslim-Jewish relations with both their negative and positive aspects.
- » Encourage interfaith dialogue as well as Jewish-Arab-Muslim meetings for the discussion of issues of mutual interest, such as the meeting of Iraqi poets and writers with former Iraqi Jews in October 2017 in Berlin. The attendees discussed the Jewish cultural contribution in Iraq and the reasons for the demise of the community.

### *Recommendations for Muslims in the Western world*

Many of the recommendations below concern but are not limited to Muslim religious decision makers and influencers in the Muslim world. We list them here, nevertheless, as they can and should be applied by Muslim communities in the Western world. Furthermore, much of Muslim antisemitism and especially Muslim anti-Zionism, is inspired by propaganda, and agitation from Muslim states such as Hamas-run Gaza, Iran, and Turkey. The fight against Islamic antisemitism in the Muslim communities of the Western world

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8 Cf. S. Behrisch, “The Zionist Imam,” *The Jerusalem Post*, July 19, 2010, <https://www.jpost.com/Christian-In-Israel/Blogs/The-Zionist-Imam>; M. Radler, “A different kind of Muslim,” *The Jerusalem Post*, April 18, 2004, <http://www.jewishtruths.com/files/NewsMaker.pdf>.

9 Cf. A. Yashar, “‘Allah Gave Israel to The Jews, There’s No Palestine’,” *Arutz Sheva*, June 2, 2014, <http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/177182>; J. Levitt, “Jordan’s ‘Zionist Sheikh’ Cites Quranic Sources for Islam-Jewish Relations,” *The Algemeiner*, March 7, 2014, <https://www.algemeiner.com/2014/03/07/jordans-zionist-sheikh-cites-quranic-sources-for-islam-jewish-relations/>.



will, hence, remain ineffective as long as Jew-hatred incessantly manipulates Muslims in Europe via social networks or state media in Turkish, Arabic or the Farsi languages. Only governments can stop this flow of hate messages. We direct the attention of the reader also towards our recommendations to political decision makers in chapter 7.4.3.

- » Cooperate closely in the fight against antisemitism with local public authorities.
- » Enhance interfaith dialogue.
- » Encourage Muslim-Jewish cooperation in fighting against issues of mutual concern, such as challenges to religious rights including bans of kosher or halal slaughter and circumcision.
- » Identify and legally fight Muslim organizations that engage in incitement and antisemitic activities.

### 1.2.3 Judaism

As with Christianity and Islam, Judaism is not monolithic but a diverse religion. When we speak here of Judaism in general, we do so because we hope that our recommendations will be considered by religious leaders of all groups of Judaism. This chapter is addressed in particular to religious decision makers, and we restrict the policy recommendations below, therefore, to the contributions religious Jewish communities could make in the fight against antisemitism, being well aware that there are Jews whom they do not represent.

Since Jews were and are for the most part victims of antisemitism, the elimination of antisemitism can only happen as a result of a major change in the attitudes of others. However, the extensive efforts of the Jewish community in combating antisemitism have accomplished much, and we expect that they can continue to contribute greatly. It goes without saying that these activities should continue and be expanded. Nevertheless, the responsibility for the elimination of this evil lies outside the Jewish community.

Jewish tradition thinks highly of interfaith encounters. An example for this appreciation are two passages from the Torah and the Talmud. They rule that Jews should accept others without prejudice or bias.

“You shall not hate your kinsfolk in your heart. Reprove your kinsman, but incur no guilt because of him. You shall not take vengeance or bear a grudge against your countrymen. Love your fellow as yourself: I am the Lord.” (Lev 19:17–18).

“We support the poor of the non-Jew along with the poor of Israel, and visit the sick of the non-Jew along with the sick of Israel, and bury the dead of the non-Jew along with the dead of Israel, for the sake of peace.”

(b. Git. 61a)

“In a city where there are both Jews and Gentiles, the collectors of alms collect from both Jews and Gentiles; they feed the poor of both, visit the sick of both; bury both and restore the lost goods of both, for the sake of peace.” (y. Demai 4:6).

Though this chapter deals with religious leaders, we cannot ignore the fact that other parts of the Jewish people contribute to the commandment to accept the other, each in his/her way. Secular Jews, whether in Israel or abroad, and Jewish groups of a universalist worldview are all capable of working with non-Jewish groups and individuals, to counter antisemitism in a variety of ways.

This Jewish openness to non-Jews allows for interfaith encounters that can play a key role the fight against antisemitism. They are important on various levels. We therefore recommend the following policies to Jewish religious decision makers and communities.

- » Continue to expand ongoing relations of Jewish religious decision makers and influencers with the leadership of Christian and moderate Muslim groups to help to facilitate doctrinal changes away from Christian or Muslim antisemitism. A well-known example is the role the American Jewish Committee played in the writing of *Nostra Aetate*.
- » Jewish communities and religious decision makers should support and enlarge existing exchange programs and cooperative initiatives and create new ones whenever appropriate.
- » Jewish religious decision makers and/or organizations should participate in the development of curricula and textbooks to educate Christians and Muslims about Judaism.
- » Jewish religious decision makers should participate in interfaith dialogue with Christian and Muslim theologians to educate them about Jewish thought and religion.
- » Jewish religious decision makers should extend every effort to educate non-Jews about Judaism. Good practice examples include the new Muslim Jewish Interfaith Coalition (<https://www.themjic.org>) and the Jewish Christian Muslim Association of Australia (<http://jcma.org.au>). Similarly, the European Jewish Congress organizes an annual seminar in cooperation with the Holy See’s Commission for Religious Relations

with the Jews, bringing together young European community and inter-faith activists.

- » All Jewish denominations should participate in outreach programs that will provide Muslim and Christian religious decision makers with first hand positive experiences about Judaism. Jewish communities should invite Christian and Muslim decision makers and influencers, as well as Christian and Muslim school classes, to the synagogue or to celebrate together Jewish holidays like Shabbat, Hanukah, or Purim. The participation in synagogue services, Jewish celebrations of holidays, or Bar Mitzvah and Bat Mitzvah celebrations would allow non-Jews to see Judaism and Jews in a more human and friendly manner.
- » To immunize against antisemitism, and to change antisemitic minds one at a time, emotional experiences are a necessary key because they are best suited to create positive emotional experiences with the Jewish religion among non-Jews. We therefore recommend that as far as their religious convictions allow for it, Jewish communities should participate in interfaith prayers. The good practice example of the work of Tamar Elad-Appelbaum was already mentioned above (see p. 36).
- » Combat xenophobic attitudes of Jews and Israelis toward Arabs and Muslims. Israel can serve as a positive model for inter-confessional relations.

### To summarize

Both Christianity and Islam contributed much to the transmission of antisemitism over millennia. Antisemitic thought is deeply engraved into the religious memories of both Christianity and Islam. The fight against antisemitism is therefore a special responsibility of both religions. It is of key importance to remove antisemitic stereotypes and canards from the religious memory of a religious group or institution. Instead, the positive memories about Judaism in a religious memory should be emphasized and new positive contents about Judaism should be added to religious memories. The authorization of antisemitic role models such as saints or highly respected authorities that provide guidance to the members of a religious group or institutions should be removed. Antisemitic clergy and antisemitic teachers of religion should be dismissed. All Christians and Muslims, but especially those Christians and Muslims that are educators, clerics, or religious decision makers, should garner practical experiences with living Judaism by visiting synagogues, cooperating with Jews on joint projects, visiting Israel, and participating in associations for Jewish-Christian dialogue. Interfaith events between Jews, Christians and Muslims are particularly important opportunities to overcome the Jew-hatred of Christian and Muslim antisemitism.

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## CHAPTER 2

# RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS

This catalogue is indebted in its understanding of culture to the definition of Clifford Geertz: “man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs.”<sup>1</sup> *Culture is thus not restricted to the arts but regards any collection of symbols*—be they written, oral, visual or otherwise—that construct meaning. Cultural organizations and institutions are not only museums, exhibition halls, theaters, and operas but all other organizations and institutions that participate in the process of constructing cultural meaning, ranging from political institutions like the UNESCO to universities, publishing houses, newspapers, radio or TV stations. Much of this process now happens online in social media, chat rooms, blogs, and other forms of Internet communication such as Wikipedia. Furthermore, with regard to the humanities, but to a lesser degree also with regard to the social sciences and even the sciences, academic research also contributes to the making of cultural meaning. Education is obviously another important part of the cultural process. Given the special importance of the Internet, academic research, and education for combating antisemitism, we will dedicate special chapters to recommendations for academic, educational, and Internet decision makers.

It has to be emphasized that the policy recommendations addressed to cultural decision makers and influencers are based on a field of research that is in its infancy. This is all the more regrettable as *the embodiment of anti-semitic stereotypes in the cultural and religious memories of the world has a key function in perpetuating negative perceptions of Jews*. Since antiquity, antisemites have made every effort to manipulate the cultural memories of the world and continue to do so today. Their goal was and is to embody negative perceptions of Jews and Judaism in the world’s cultural memories and to make antisemitism thus a part of the world’s heritage. In this way, *antisemitism became and remains a part of the cultural and national identity of many cultures, societies, and groups*.

Further research on the antisemitic manipulations of the world’s cultural memories and on how to counter them is urgently needed (see chapter 4 on academic institutions). Currently not one research institution exists that dedicates its work to this topic! Long-term strategies for the fight against antisemitism that last for generations do not exist. To change cultural memo-

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1 C. Geertz, “Thick Descriptions: Toward an Interpretative Theory of Culture,” in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, ed. C. Geertz (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 3–30; 5.

ries, such long-term perspectives are indispensable. The recommendations below are a first step in what the authors of this catalogue regard as a much needed long-term perspective in the fight against antisemitism.

In their fight against antisemitism, cultural decision makers should aim for five goals in particular:

1. Eradicating antisemitism among cultural decision makers and those who participate in the forming and expressing cultural memories.
2. End false reporting about Jews, Judaism and Israel in the media (see also chapter 6 on business).
3. Fighting and removing antisemitic content in the world's cultural memories.
4. Creating positive memory spaces about Jews and Judaism in the world's cultural memories and/or emphasizing those positive memory spaces about Jews and Judaism that already exist.
5. Embodying a correct depiction of the history of antisemitism in the cultural memories of the world and making all voices of the victims of antisemitism heard.

To achieve these aims, as with our recommendations to all other decision makers, we advise a five step process.

1. *Assessment*: Assessing the level of antisemitism in a culture or society, as well as inside cultural and academic institutions or organizations, or inside a profession.
2. *Comprehending the problem*: Analyzing which parts of a cultural memory create Jew-hatred inside a society and/or culture and how cultural memories have been and are manipulated to incite Jew-hatred, i.e., analyzing what motivates antisemitism in the cultural process as well as the antisemitic attitudes of those who participate in it.
3. *Awareness-raising*: All members of a society and/or culture, cultural institutions, organizations, etc. need to be alerted to the antisemitism in their culture and/or society.
4. *Application of policies for combating antisemitism*.
5. *Adjusting the general policies to combat antisemitism*: The general policies suggested below need to be adjusted to the specific needs of each culture, society, cultural institution, and organization.

## 2.1 Assessment

In the area of culture, the assessment of antisemitism is a dual process that should be guided by the IHRA's Working Definition of Antisemitism (see p. 137–38).

1) The level of antisemitism needs to be assessed for a whole culture and/or society. This assessment can be the same as the assessment of the level of antisemitism in a country or a transnational bloc (see chapter 7 on political decision makers, p. 107–09). 2) The level of antisemitism in each cultural organization and institution needs to be assessed as well.

For the assessment of the level of antisemitism, *independent scholarly/scientific institutions need to be created* in cooperation with Jewish organizations (see chapter 4 on academic institutions). Their independence will vouch for an uncompromised assessment and their expertise will insure the highest quality of research. Assessments of the level of antisemitism in a culture or a society as well as inside each cultural institution, organization, or profession should be repeated on a *regular basis* to allow for an appreciation of how effective the combating of antisemitism was inside a cultural institution, organization, or profession. The monitoring of antisemitism has to be *public* and should always lead to interventions.

## 2.2 Comprehending the problem

It is not enough to assess the level of antisemitism in a given society or culture by surveys and other means. To identify the causes for such antisemitism requires analyzing which parts of a cultural memory create Jew-hatred inside a society and/or culture and how cultural memories have been and are manipulated to incite Jew-hatred. This analysis is all the more urgent because the cultural study of antisemitism is a field of academic research that is in its infancy. While the history of antisemitism was studied extensively in some areas and less thoroughly in other areas, and while research exists for the antisemitic traditions of some Christian churches, antisemitism in the Islamic world remains under-researched (see chapter 1 on religious institutions). Left-wing antisemitism and anti-Zionism remain under-researched as well. An analysis as to how contemporary antisemitism draws on the sources of ancient, medieval, early modern, and modern antisemitism is as much needed as an assessment of how the different forms of antisemitism connect and influence each other on a trans-religious and trans-cultural level. Therefore, *research institutions should be created and research should be encouraged* to identify antisemitic stereotypes and antisemitic traditions in the cultural memories and cultural heritages of the world and to study the mechanisms of Jew-hatred in the cultural process (see chapter 4 on academic institutions).

## 2.3 Awareness-raising

It is necessary to raise awareness about the indebtedness of many cultures and their cultural memories to antisemitic ideologies. At the same, it is necessary to raise awareness about antisemitism inside cultural organizations and institutions. Accordingly, this awareness-raising must be a two-step process with two different sets of addressees. In practice, both steps will often be intertwined.

1. Raise awareness among cultural decision makers, influencers, and members of cultural organizations and institutions.
2. Raise awareness among all members of a given culture and/or society.

To raise the awareness of antisemitism with cultural decision makers and influencers as well as with the members of a cultural institution or organization, we recommend that they participate in *special training courses and seminars about both the history and culture of antisemitism as well as about the history, culture, and religion of Judaism*. In addition, they should be exposed as much as possible to *living Judaism*, both in their home countries and in Israel. Positive practical experiences with Jewish culture and religion are of key importance to sensitize anyone to Jew-hatred. *Public pressure* can also help to raise awareness regarding possible cases of antisemitism inside a given cultural organization and institution.

Cultural decision makers and influencers can help to *educate the general public* about the level of antisemitism in its culture. Many of the policies recommended in part 2.4 of this chapter will help to achieve that goal. Awareness-raising of antisemitic contents in the cultural memories of our world needs to be achieved *for each generation anew* to immunize it against Jew-hatred. The policies recommended in this chapter are therefore not a one-time endeavor but will have to be *repeated for each generation*.

## 2.4 Application of policies for combating antisemitism

For all policies recommended below to cultural decision makers, funding is essential and should not be left to the financial support of NGOs and cultural institutions alone. Each cultural institution should spend 1% of its budget to fight antisemitism, and, in addition, a significant part of the overall public budget that is recommended above (see Executive Summary) and below (see p. 118) should be reserved for the fight against antisemitism in cultural institutions and dispensed to their decisions makers.



Cultural decision makers and influencers should combat antisemitism with both a short-term and long-term perspective. Policies that aim at restraining antisemitism in a cultural institution or organization can be effective in a relatively short time span and should aim at restraining the further spread of antisemitism by cultural decision makers and influencers. Policies which aim at the eradication of antisemitism in the cultural memories of the world can only be effective over the *time span of generations* and require *continued work* during that time period. Given the special importance of cultural decision makers and influencers as cultural multipliers and the key function of cultural memories in the spread and perseverance of antisemitism, both sets of policies are at the heart of this catalogue of policies to combat antisemitism.

Only a *combination of five approaches* will successfully fight Jew-hatred on a long term-basis:

1. Restrain antisemitism.
2. Disprove the false claims of antisemitic agitation to discredit all past and present written, oral, and visual antisemitic propaganda, and remove antisemitic contents from the world's cultural and religious memories.
3. Replace the antisemitic contents of the world's cultural and religious memories with positive memory spaces about Jews and Judaism to achieve a cultural forgetting of Jew-hatred.
4. Assure an accurate depiction of the history of antisemitism and the voice of its victims in the cultural and religious memories of the world.
5. Engage with antisemites on a religious level (see chapter 1 on religious groups and institutions).

The following policies are therefore recommended.

#### 2.4.1 Policies aiming at the short-term restraining of antisemitism

Policies that aim at the short-term restraining of antisemitism in cultural organizations and institutions include content related, budgetary, disciplinary, organizational, and educational aspects. The following policies are recommended for cultural institutions and organizations.

- » Each cultural organization or institution should accept the IHRA's Working Definition of Antisemitism (see p. 141).
- » Each cultural organization or institution needs to allocate at least 1% of its budget to restrain and eradicate antisemitism among its members and in the cultural memories of the world (see below for more details on the latter).

- » Depending on the nature and size of a cultural organization or institution, the position of an envoy for combating antisemitism should be created whose work should be supported by a committee in which Jewish organizations should be represented. An example for an organization which should have such an envoy is UNESCO.
- » An early warning system needs to be established that is based on the IHRA's Working Definition of Antisemitism. Incidents of antisemitism need to be publicly denounced by the media, cultural decision makers, and influencers to create by way of naming and shaming an awareness of all forms of contemporary antisemitism.
- » Antisemitic cultural organizations and institutions need to be dissolved and/or blacklisted.
- » Antisemitic cultural decision makers or influencers as well as antisemitic employees or antisemitic members of cultural organizations and institutions need to be dismissed, suspended from duty, or expelled. This includes the membership in scholarly and scientific organizations but also such positions as university professors, museum directors, or the editor-in-chief of a newspaper or news channel. In case of elected offices, antisemitism should be treated as an attitude that forces a cultural decision maker to resign.
- » No funding should be allocated to those cultural institutions that are antisemitic. Privately owned antisemitic institutions should not be allowed to apply for public funds or enjoy tax benefits.
- » Any cultural organization, institution or cultural decision maker and influencer who propagates antisemitism should be exposed to legal punishments ranging from fines to prison sentences, depending on the severity of the case.
- » When antisemitic rumors arise, cultural decision makers and influencers must stand up immediately and denounce them.
- » No cultural organization or institution should participate in antisemitic BDS activities or in any other anti-Zionist activity that rejects the self-determination of the Jewish people.
- » Cultural organizations and institutions should condemn such anti-Zionist activities as antisemitism.
- » The continuing education of cultural decision makers and influencers should include the history, culture, and religion of Judaism as well as the history of antisemitism.
- » For new employees of a cultural organization or institution, it should be a mandatory requirement for their appointment to have taken classes in the history, culture, and religion of Judaism as well as in the history of antisemitism.

## 2.4.2 Cultural forgetting of antisemitic memory spaces

As explained above (p. 51) and in the introduction to this catalogue (see p. 20–23), the embodiment of antisemitic stereotypes in the world’s cultural memories is mainly responsible for the perseverance of antisemitism over millennia. Furthermore, new antisemitisms developed and still develop by adapting antisemitic stereotypes and canards from those cultural memories to the changed circumstances of modern societies. How much medieval agitation against Jews proves to be effective today was demonstrated when on June 23, 2016 Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas charged Israeli rabbis with having called on their government to poison Palestinian water. Abbas’ false accusation was clearly inspired by the medieval antisemitic slander of well-poisoning. He was later forced to withdraw the allegation under international pressure.

There are two reasons for the antisemitic immunity towards logical arguments exemplified by Mahmoud Abbas. 1) To disprove all false facts in antisemitic agitation requires detailed arguments. The sheer amount of the lies employed in antisemitic agitation makes it impossible to study and disprove them all. 2) The irrational fervor of antisemites identifies antisemitism as a (*quasi*)-*religious ideology* that immunizes antisemites to rational arguments.

To end the reapplication of earlier antisemitic stereotypes to contemporary Judaism and the development of new forms of antisemitism, a *cultural forgetting* of the antisemitic memory spaces of the world’s cultural memories needs to be achieved. The policies below all aim at the cultural forgetting of antisemitism.

- » At regular intervals, media outlets and other cultural organizations and institutions should publish and broadcast documentaries educating the general public about the false claims of antisemitic propaganda and slander. Museums and exhibition halls should do the same with exhibitions.
- » Pupils and students need to be taught on both the lower and higher levels of education about the false nature of antisemitic agitation (see chapter 5 on education).
- » Special webpages should be created and made easily accessible to help prove false the claims of antisemitic agitation.
- » Journalists and other cultural influencers need to be supported in their exposure of antisemitic lies quickly in order to stem the dissemination of antisemitic agitation.
- » All media outlets that propagate antisemitic stereotypes or antisemitism should be the object of public criticism and boycott. An example

of such dissemination is the marketing of antisemitic books authored by Joseph Goebbels on Amazon (see p. 66 and 99). The same books can be downloaded worldwide free of charge from platforms like archive.org.

- » All existing legal means need to be used to respond to antisemitic agitation in the media. If no such legal means exist, the necessary legislation needs to be created.
- » Isolated cases of the propagation of antisemitic stereotypes in media outlets should result in a fine.
- » Media outlets that propagate antisemitic stereotypes or antisemitism regularly should be closed and prohibited.
- » Media outlets that in any way participate in false or biased reporting about Israel should be the object of public criticism.
- » Neither virtual nor real libraries should provide anyone with antisemitic literature, films, music, etc. Only scholarly and national libraries should hold antisemitic items. Access to these antisemitic items should be restricted to researchers (including advanced students) who need them for their work in studying and combating antisemitism, and those civil servants, politicians, and journalists who need them for their work.
- » Publications of central written, oral, and visual parts of a cultural memory should include *introductions, marginal notes, subtitles or captions* that warn about antisemitic passages and depictions in them (examples include the antisemitic stereotypes in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*).
- » All antisemitic texts, films, music, blogs, and webpages, and other contents need to be publicly denounced and blacklisted. This includes not only books like Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, and Henry Ford's *The International Jew* but also texts like John Chrysostom's "Sermons Against the Jews," Chaucer's *The Prioress's Tale*, Luther's tractate about "The Jews and Their Lies," Sayyid Qutb's essay *Our Struggle Against the Jews*, and the Syrian TV series *Ash Shatat* which claims that Jews practice ritual slaughter of Christians today. Publishing houses, music labels, Internet platforms, etc. should not publish such contents, bookdealers should not sell them, and online repositories should not provide them.
- » Antisemitic contents of the cultural memories should only be available in commented editions that identify their lies and explain their dangerous agitation: Such editions are needed by scholars studying antisemitism and by various legal and other institutions that are involved in combating antisemitism. Commercials and advertisements for such editions should only address librarians, experts of antisemitism studies, and institutions that are involved in the fight against antisemitism.

The commented edition of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*<sup>2</sup> is a step in the right direction. That it was and is marketed extensively gives reason to worry though.

- » Isolated antisemitic passages in the literature, music, and art of the world's cultures should be accompanied with warning annotations and glosses identifying the agitation.
- » In any official or unofficial communication, antisemitic vocabulary has to be avoided.
- » Buildings, streets, ships, army barracks, universities, etc. should not be named after antisemites. Designations of existing houses, streets, ships, etc. that are named after antisemites need to be changed. An example is the Lagarde-House in Göttingen which still carries the name of this vicious antisemite from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. A good practice example is the former Paul-Lagarde-Straße in Munich which since 2016 is called Ilse-Weber-Straße.
- » No new memorials should be erected for any antisemites. Existing memorials, such as the one to Karl Lueger in Vienna, need to be demolished.
- » Antisemitic artwork at churches and other places needs to be removed, such as the so-called "Jew-sow" ("Judensau") at the Church of Wittemberg.
- » Antisemitic artwork should not be displayed in museums and exhibitions. Antisemitic music and plays should not be performed in opera houses or theaters.
- » The measures regarding antisemitic naming practices, antisemitic artwork, memorials to antisemites, etc. cannot be restricted to modern times but need to include antisemites and antisemitic art from all periods.
- » Plaques should explain changed names, removed memorials, and removed art.
- » In the case of state incitement to antisemitic hatred, such as in the case of Iran, governments should endeavor to stop the dissemination of these messages through internet, satellite TV, and other channels.
- » State or non-state actors that allow antisemitism to spread in textbooks, churches, mosques, and media need to be denounced and punished.

### 2.4.3 Replacing antisemitic memory spaces

Cultural forgetting of antisemitism alone is not sufficient to restrain and in the long-run end it. To eradicate antisemitic contents from the cultural memo-

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2 A. Hitler, *Mein Kampf: Eine kritische Edition*, edited by C. Hartmann et al., 2 vols., Munich – Berlin: Institut für Zeitgeschichte, 2013–2016.

ries of the world completely will most likely remain a utopian goal that can only be reached by approximation as antisemitic canards and stereotypes are even part of the Christian and Muslim Holy Scriptures. Antisemitic agitation aims at the destruction of Judaism both by depicting it in the most negative way possible in the cultural memories of the world and by way of its physical destruction; the former often leads to attempting the latter. The recent ADL report on global antisemitism<sup>3</sup> leaves little doubt that antisemitic agitation has been successful in many parts of the world and with large percentages of the world's population, at least with regard to the destruction of a positive cultural image of Judaism.



The cultural forgetting of Jew-hatred needs to be complemented with the embedding or reinforcing of positive images of Judaism in the cultural and religious memories of the world. All cultural organizations and institutions should work to expose humanity to the rich and fascinating universe of Jewish culture in general, and Israeli culture in particular, as hatred cannot be sustained for that which is appreciated.

To achieve this goal, the following policies are recommended:

- » Highlighting positive memory spaces about Jews and Judaism by
  - › Featuring exhibitions about Jewish art (such as the paintings of Marc Chagall).
  - › Performing Jewish music in opera houses and other venues.
  - › Performing Jewish plays or positive plays about Judaism in theaters.
  - › Writing and publishing textbooks and popular books about Jewish history, culture and religion.
    - These textbooks and popular books should also explain the significance of Jewish rites (such as circumcision and ritual slaughter) and holy days.
  - › Producing documentaries for TV channels and radio stations about the same topics.
  - › Writing in daily and weekly journals about these topics.
  - › Making movies about Judaism and the Jewish experience.
  - › Organizing exhibitions about Jewish subject matter as part of the program of every museum. Judaism should not be a topic for Jewish museums only.
  - › Emphasizing positive portrayals of Israel. Given that anti-Zionism is one of the most predominant forms of contemporary antisemitism, books, documentaries, and movies about the State of Israel are parti-

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<sup>3</sup> Anti-Defamation League, "ADL Global 100: An Index of Anti-Semitism," <http://global100.adl.org/>.

cularly important in the fight against the Israelization of antisemitism and against anti-Israel political and cultural narratives.

- Israel should be praised as the only country that achieved a working multi-cultural society in the Near East.
  - Even during wartime, Israel did not suspend its democratic laws.
  - Arab Israeli citizens play a prominent role in the country's institutions, including lawmakers, Supreme Court judges, high-ranking officers in the army, players on the national football team, etc.
  - In spite of existential threats to Israel, democratic values stand firm in Israel.
- › Making available all the above information not only in English, French, and German but also in as many languages as possible (including Arabic, Farsi, Spanish, and Russian) both in print and online (open access). It is often very easy to find antisemitic agitation on the Internet but much more difficult to find accurate information about Judaism, the Jewish experience, and the State of Israel (see chapter 3 on the Internet).
  - » Organizing cultural exchanges and partner programs as well as joint cultural programs with Jewish communities and Israeli cultural organizations and institutions.
  - » Establishing programs for multi-cultural dialogue between Jewish and non-Jewish groups in the framework of cultural organizations and institutions.
  - » Creating formal partnerships between cultural organizations and institutions and Israeli and other Jewish organizations and institutions. An English, French, or German TV channel could, for example, cooperate with an Israeli one by broadcasting an Israeli TV program.
  - » Offering tours to Israel on the broadest possible scale, especially to youth groups but also as part of senior education programs (see chapter 5 on education).
  - » Translating and publishing Jewish literature and all other forms of Jewish and Israeli cultural expression. The German translations of the crime novels by Batya Gur, e.g., did much to communicate an accurate image of the State of Israel to the German cultural memory.
  - » Highlighting Jewish achievements for a given society or country. For this purpose,
    - › Memorials should be created to celebrate Jewish contributions to the world's heritage.
    - › Streets, places, parks, houses, universities, schools, etc. should be named after Jewish persons of achievement.
    - › Memorials should be erected for Jewish persons of achievement.
  - » Highlighting times of peaceful coexistence between Jews and non-Jews in the cultural memories of the world. Examples include the Constitu-

tion of Medina in the Quran, the Golden Age of Jews in Spain during the early period of Muslim rule, or the Golden Age of Jews in the Carolingian Empire.

- » Creating new cultural organizations and institutions out of the public budget (recommended in this catalogue, see p. 119–20), dedicated to the education and enlightenment of the general public about Judaism and the fight against antisemitism.

#### 2.4.4 The history of antisemitism in cultural memories

Positive cultural images of Judaism need to be accompanied in the world's cultural memories by the memory of the horrible consequences of antisemitic agitation and an appropriate depiction of antisemitism as well. The history of antisemitism and of antisemitic persecution cannot be restricted to the Nazis and the Shoah. *Antisemitism neither began with the Nazis nor ended with them.* While being the greatest catastrophe in human history, the Shoah marks only the peak of a long history of antisemitic persecution that has not come to its end even today. All victims of antisemitism need to be remembered, and a critical memory of all forms of antisemitism needs to be incorporated into the world's cultural memories. *If the memory of antisemitic persecution is restricted to the Shoah, all other forms of antisemitism can be ignored more easily and Jew-hatred becomes more acceptable.* The problem is illustrated by the verdict of the lawsuit against Jutta Ditfurth. On April 16<sup>th</sup> 2014, Ditfurth called the journalist Jürgen Elsässer a “glowing antisemite.”<sup>4</sup> In a lawsuit at the Munich law court, Ditfurth was forbidden by judge Petra Grönke-Müller to use this description. While the court was in session, Grönke-Müller argued for her decision by claiming that in Germany antisemitism is an ideology that cannot be disconnected from the Nazi period.<sup>5</sup>

To achieve a proper depiction of antisemitism in the world's cultural memories, the following policies are recommended.

- » Textbooks, popular books, documentaries, and exhibitions should cover the whole history of antisemitism. A positive example is the BBC

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4 E. Wittich, “Manischer Montag: Mahnwachen ziehen Antisemiten an,” *Jüdische Allgemeine*, June 26, 2014, 3. The German original of the quote is “glühender Antisemit.”

5 “Ein glühender Antisemit in Deutschland ist jemand, der mit Überzeugung sich antisemitisch äußert, mit einer Überzeugung, die das III. Reich nicht verurteilt, und ist nicht losgelöst von 1933–45 zu betrachten vor dem Hintergrund der Geschichte.” Cf. “Elsässer gegen Ditfurth,” *haGalil.com*, October 10, 2014, <http://www.hagalil.com/2014/10/ditfurth-3/>. [“In Germany, a glowing antisemite is someone who confidently makes antisemitic statements, statements that do not condemn the IIIrd Reich and who can thus not be regarded without the historical background of 1933–45.”]



documentary “The Longest Hatred” and the book of the same title by Robert Wistrich.<sup>6</sup> They should be available not only in English, French, and German but also should be translated into as many languages as possible (including Arabic, Farsi, Spanish, and Russian) and be easily available in all these languages both in print and online (open access).

- » A special topic of such books and documentaries should be the Israeliization of the antisemitic heritage, i.e., to raise awareness that classical antisemitic stereotypes are now applied to the State of Israel and its citizens.
- » Holocaust museums are important but they need to be complemented by museums that inform and educate about the whole history of anti-semitism and antisemitic persecution.
- » Other museums and exhibition halls should dedicate exhibitions to the history of antisemitism and antisemitic persecution as well.
- » Museums, exhibitions, documentaries, etc. dedicated to the history of antisemitism and antisemitic persecution should aim to reach people through emotional experiences that might help to counter the irrationality of Jew-hatred. Whoever is touched by the suffering of a fellow human being will have great difficulty hating him or her.
- » Memorials and museums should proactively try to reach younger people to engage them in dialogues and discussions in order to change their perspective on antisemitism.
- » Besides the Shoah, all other pogroms and persecutions as well as their victims need to be commemorated in their own right. In addition to Shoah memorials, memorials and plaques should be installed for pre- and post-Shoah antisemitic persecutions, such as the pogrom of Granada in 1066, the Farhud in Baghdad (1941), the pogrom of Kielce in 1946, and the attack on the Hypercacher supermarket in Paris on January 9<sup>th</sup> 2015.
- » The suffering of the victims of all antisemitic persecutions should be documented and easily accessible online in all relevant languages. Earlier persecutions, such as the Spanish Inquisition, should not be neglected, but present-day victims of terrorist attacks in Israel, victims of Islamic and Christian antisemitism as well as victims of right-wing and left-wing antisemitism, including the BDS movement, are crucial as well. To achieve this goal, the reports of and about such victims should be made available as much as possible online in an open access approach, i.e., free of charge. In addition to their open access availability online, these testimonies should be sold in affordable paperback editions. Print and visual media should provide documentaries, movies and articles about them. A good practice example is the work of the USC Shoah Foundation Institute for Visual History and Education.

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6 R. Wistrich, *Antisemitism: The Longest Hatred*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1991.

## 2.5 Adjusting the general policies to combat antisemitism

We recommend for each cultural decision maker or influencer to adjust these general policies to the needs of her/his organization or institution.

### To summarize

Cultural and religious memories play a key role in creating and encouraging antisemitism, the “longest hatred.” Only the eradication of antisemitic stereotypes from the cultural memories of the world and their neutralization will allow antisemitism to end as a result of a concerted effort over several generations. A combination of five approaches provides a long-term strategy to facilitate this goal: 1) Restraining antisemitism, 2) disproving the false claims of antisemitic agitation to discredit all past and present written, oral, and visual antisemitic propaganda, and removing antisemitic contents from the world’s cultural and religious memories, 3) replacing the antisemitic contents of the world’s cultural and religious memories with positive memory-spaces about Jews and Judaism to achieve a cultural forgetting of Jew-hatred, 4) assuring an accurate depiction of the history of antisemitism and the voice of its victims in the cultural and religious memories of the world, 5) engaging with antisemites on a religious level as detailed in chapter 1.

## CHAPTER 3

# RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING THE INTERNET, ITS INFLUENCERS AND ITS USERS

Much of what has been said about cultural decision makers and influencers (see chapter 2) applies to the decision makers and influencers of the online world as well. In fact, online communication is part of the process of the construction of meaning that we have described above as culture. We address the Internet here separately and not among the recommendations to cultural decision makers and influencers in general because to a large extent the Internet is responsible for the explosion of Jew-hatred in the last decades.

The Internet provides antisemites of all kinds with a means to spread their agitation unhindered, both in the form of explicit hate speech and in implicit manifestations coded in indirect speech acts. A recent long-term study by Monika Schwarz-Friesel exposes the Internet as “the primary multiplier and locus for the transmission of manifestations of antisemitism” and points to a more than alarming development: “Expressions of anti-Semitic sentiment have increased significantly in the digital age.”<sup>1</sup> The main results of the long-term study are:

- » This increase is accompanied by a qualitative radicalization and intensification of expressions of antisemitism.
- » Consequently, antisemitism’s scope for expression as well as the visibility of antisemitic sentiments have grown enormously online.
- » The epoch-spanning reiteration of Judeophobic stereotypes and conspiracy phantasies is revealed in thousands of texts every day on the Internet.
- » Classical hostility towards Jews remains the primary conceptual basis for present-day hatred of Jews; 54.02 % (mean value) of all expressions of antisemitism display classical stereotypes.
- » Muslim antisemitism is also marked by classical stereotypes of hostility towards Jews.
- » With a mean value of 33.35%, Israel-centered antisemitism is a prevalent manifestation of hatred towards Jews, which is, however, conceptually and affectively determined by classical hatred of Jews.

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<sup>1</sup> M. Schwarz-Friesel, *Antisemitism 2.0 and the Cyberculture of Hate: Hostility towards Jews as a Cultural Constant and Collective Emotional Value in the Digital Age* (short version), published online in 2018 ([https://www.linguistik.tu-berlin.de/fileadmin/fg72/Antisemitismus\\_2.0\\_short\\_version\\_final2.pdf](https://www.linguistik.tu-berlin.de/fileadmin/fg72/Antisemitismus_2.0_short_version_final2.pdf)), 3. A more detailed German version of the results of the DLG-funded long term study “Antisemitismus im www” [“Antisemitism in the World Wide Web”] can be found on the website of the Technische Universität Berlin ([https://www.linguistik.tu-berlin.de/fileadmin/fg72/Antisemitismus\\_2-0\\_Lang.pdf](https://www.linguistik.tu-berlin.de/fileadmin/fg72/Antisemitismus_2-0_Lang.pdf)).

- » The “Israelization of antisemitic semantics” also manifests itself in issues entirely unrelated to the Middle East conflict.
- » Hatred of Jews projected on to Israel by means of classical stereotypes perpetuates the tradition of radical and eliminatory hostility towards Jews, thus increasingly legitimizing antisemitism in civil society in the absence of counter-measures in the judiciary or government agencies.
- » Despite differing political and ideological beliefs, expressions of antisemitism, regardless of where they originate, display a pronounced uniformity and homogeneity in their encoding of stereotypes and in their argumentation.
- » The quotidian communication processes of non-extremist everyday users of social media are responsible for the dissemination and normalization [...] of antisemitic attitudes; hatred of Jews is revealed as a phenomenon manifest in society as a whole and as an omnipresent aspect of cyber-culture.
- » At the same time, intensive defensive and relativization strategies are an integral element of antisemitic discourse.
- » A very pronounced emotional dimension can be observed: Antisemitic pseudo-argumentation displays its own affect logic.
- » Hatred of Jews reveals itself in the multimodal encoding on the web as a constant and collective emotional value of cultural memory.

In addition to the communication of antisemitism online, the Internet represents a tool for the marketing of antisemitic contents in printed (e.g., books), visual (e.g., DVDs) and oral forms (e.g., music-CDs). The latter problem is not restricted to radical right-wing book dealers and music labels. Amazon is the largest Internet retailer. It markets both explicit and implicit manifestations of antisemitism. Examples include the promotion of a book by Joseph Goebbels and the Nazi cartoonist Mjölfnir entitled *Isidor* that is a collection of typical Nazi antisemitic propaganda. In response to a letter of protest, Amazon.de answered that the company markets products with whose ideas it might disagree but whose contents would be regarded as “worthy of discussion.”<sup>2</sup>

When the World Wide Web was created, it was intended to be a platform for the free and uncensored exchange of ideas in order to make the world a better and more democratic place. It was and is abused, however, to spread hate and to incite persecution. While the example of child pornography shows that certain contents can be successfully suppressed and marginalized online, it also shows that beyond restricting contents to darknets, no form of hate speech or crime can be removed totally from the Internet. Furthermore, implicit manifestations of antisemitism online would remain mostly untou-

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<sup>2</sup> Email correspondence from Amazon representative, sent April 26<sup>th</sup>, 2018.

ched even if a prohibitive approach were enacted, despite the fact that due to their subtlety they are much more poisonous to the mind than the vulgar texts of extremists.

Everyday antisemitism is much more dangerous than Jew-hatred stemming from extremists since the multipliers and promoters on the mainstream levels of the Web enhance the normalization and social acceptability of antisemitism. Merely deleting antisemitic posts and prohibiting certain pages will, therefore, not solve the problem of Web-based Jew-hatred. The most implicit manifestations encoded in indirect speech acts would remain although they contain the most dangerous antisemitic content. The suppression of antisemitic content online can, therefore, only be a first step and has to be accompanied by the same positive counter-narratives that were recommended in chapter 2 for cultural decision makers and influencers, as well as by accurate and easily accessible information about the history of antisemitism and Jewish persecution, mentioned in the same chapter.

In line with our recommendations for cultural decision makers and influencers, a *multifaceted approach* is therefore recommended here that is characterized by repression and erasure of antisemitic content, on the one hand, and by their replacement with positive representations of Judaism as well as an accurate depiction of the history of antisemitism, on the other hand. Especially online, *not the voice of the victimizers but the voice of the victims needs to be heard*.

A special problem of combating antisemitism online is the limited role public institutions have played so far in this fight. NGOs were more active in monitoring and denouncing antisemitism online and in bringing this phenomenon to the attention of lawmakers and the general public. NGOs have also been more active than governments in pointing out antisemitic content to social media and Internet providers and in helping other users to do so. These contents usually violate the terms of service, regardless of whether they are illegal in some countries. However, NGOs do not have the resources to monitor and flag antisemitic messages comprehensively. This is particularly true for less prominent languages. To change this situation, governments should become more active in monitoring online antisemitism, and Internet providers should offer user-friendly mechanisms and procedures for reporting hateful content while also enforcing their terms of service regarding the dissemination of hate speech.

A good example of how governments can support the fight against antisemitism online is the agreement on a “Community Code of Conduct” that European Commissioner Vera Jourova and Katharina von Schnurbein, the European

Commission Coordinator on Combating Antisemitism, reached with the main Internet companies to identify antisemitic expressions and swiftly remove them. The implementation of this agreement is still far from complete and should be accelerated. Such cooperation between the Internet industry and governmental agencies might be the best way to further the fight against antisemitism online.

Because the Internet as a whole is part of the process of constructing cultural meaning, and because it is the latest repository of cultural and religious memories, many policies recommended in chapter 2 to cultural decision makers and influencers apply to Internet decision makers and influencers as well. Given that the Internet provides antisemites with new, unparalleled technology to spread Jew-hatred and to poison minds, the following specialized recommendations are suggested that aim both at the short-term suppression and at the long term eradication of antisemitism. Next to monitoring antisemitism online, they focus on its suppression and replacement by positive content about Judaism.

### 3.1 Monitoring antisemitism online

- » On the Internet, strategies to combat antisemitism have to focus on “everyday” users, not only on the web pages of right-wing extremists, because these “everyday” promoters on the mainstream levels of the Web enhance the normalization and social acceptability of antisemitism. Monitoring of antisemitism online should thus not focus on right-wing extremists users only but also should address all forms of antisemitism, including religious and left-wing Jew-hatred.
- » The monitoring of antisemitism online is the responsibility of governments and should not be left to the activities of NGOs. Governments and international bodies should finance and encourage the finding of a solution to the monitoring of antisemitism on the Web. A good practice example is the *Anti-Semitism Cyber Monitoring System* of the Israeli Diaspora Ministry. Each country should have a similar system to monitor antisemitism online.
- » In addition to government monitoring, social media and Internet providers need to take active monitoring measures. They also need to improve the support structure for flagging such content, take swift action when antisemitic messages are pointed out to them, and provide more transparency for their efforts to combat cyberhate on their platforms.
- » Online platforms should train their employees to recognize and eradicate all forms of antisemitism as well as antisemitic code words.

- » Important approaches to monitor antisemitism on the Web include expert solicitation, automation through artificial intelligence, and crowd sourcing.
- » A further key to successfully monitor and flag antisemitism online is intensified international cooperation between different public institutions, NGOs, lawmakers, and IT providers.
- » All monitoring of antisemitism online has to be public and thus publicly accountable.
- » The results of all monitoring of antisemitism online should be provided to state and federal agencies for criminal investigation, if appropriate. Otherwise, they should be communicated to the Internet industry for the removal of antisemitic content from their platforms.

### 3.2 Suppressing antisemitism online

- » Those who post antisemitic contents online always need to be held accountable. History proves that antisemitic agitation leads to the most violent crimes. Anyone who is involved in antisemitic agitation online should thus be prosecuted by the legal agencies.
- » Once identified, all antisemitic webpages, blogs, wikis, platforms, etc. need to be removed.
- » Social bots, fake accounts, etc. through which antisemitic hate speech is spread should be deleted.
- » Internet search engines can help to suppress antisemitism by excluding all antisemitic contents from their search capabilities.
- » Left-wing platforms frequently include pro forma denunciations of racism, hate speech, and antisemitism but nonetheless engage in anti-Zionist propaganda, often with antisemitic connotations. As a consequence, extremist political anti-Israel discourse goes unchallenged as hate speech. This discourse should also be banned online.
- » Many influential social media personalities disseminate antisemitic posts regularly, often using the exact same messages, with broad reach that garners attention via likes, comments and reposts. On the other hand, large numbers of antisemitic posts (shared by the general public) garner low interest and a low level of virality online. Closing influential antisemitic accounts and/or taking such posts and all correlating reposts offline can significantly reduce the volume of online antisemitic content.
- » Intensified international cooperation between different public institutions, NGOs, lawmakers, and IT providers can help to take antisemitic content offline, prevent its republishing under different names, and so prevent the migration of hateful content to unregulated platforms.

Expressions of antisemitism that are identified on the Internet at local levels must be confronted globally in order to prevent their reappearance on servers in other countries.

- » All online platforms should be made liable for any kind of hate speech that is expressed on them. In their function in the virtual world, they are equivalent to a publishing house, journal, or TV channel. Hence, they are responsible for the hate that is spread through them.
- » Until removed, antisemitic content on the Internet needs to be accompanied by counter-narratives that identify them as antisemitic and emphasize the viewpoint of the victims.
- » Governments, NGOs, and the general public at large should increase pressure on platform operators to combat antisemitism online.
- » Each country should develop special legislation against cyber-antisemitism and antisemitic contents on the Internet, if it has not done so already (see chapter 7.2 on legislatures).
- » The Internet platforms of countries that are predominantly antisemitic need to be monitored by the international community. Their antisemitic agitation should be blocked from the Internet of all democratic countries.

### **3.3 Replacing antisemitism online by positive depictions of Judaism and accurate depictions of the history of antisemitism**

- » Positive content about Jewish history, culture and religion as well as modern Israel should be uploaded to the Web in high quality (see the recommendations to cultural decision makers in chapter 2). Existing content of this nature should be highlighted.
- » Accurate, high quality depictions of the history of antisemitism should be uploaded to the Web (see the recommendations to cultural decision makers in chapter 2). Existing content of this nature should be highlighted.
- » Both positive depictions of Judaism and high quality descriptions of the history of antisemitism need to be easily accessible and translated into all languages represented on the Web (see the recommendations to cultural decision makers in chapter 2).
- » Internet search engines should privilege positive depictions of Judaism and accurate descriptions of the history of antisemitism. Advice on which content to prefer should be provided by the institutes for the critical study of antisemitism which we recommend be founded in each country (see p. 73).
- » Internet search engines and other online devices should highlight the voice of all victims of antisemitism (see below and chapter 2 on cultural decision makers).



- » The voices of all victims of antisemitism from antiquity until today need be heard online in easily accessible online platforms translated into all languages present on the Web (a good practice example is the USC Shoah Foundation Institute for Visual History and Education [<http://sfi.usc.edu/>]).
- » Wikis specializing in Jewish history, culture and religion should be created in all languages present on the Web. Existing wikis in English and Hebrew should be translated into all languages on the Web.
- » A wiki dedicated to the modern State of Israel should be created in all languages present on the Web.
- » A wiki specializing in a high quality depiction of the history of antisemitism should be created in all languages present on the Web.
- » Free of charge online video games that familiarize the users with Judaism and provide positive emotional experiences with Judaism, its history, culture, and religion should be created.
- » Internet memes about Judaism could be an important tool for communicating positive contents about Judaism online to counter antisemitic agitation.
- » Public influencers and celebrities should help to counter hate speech on the Internet.

### 3.4 Further Research

Further research about antisemitism in the virtual world is needed and should be actively solicited by public institutions. Examples for topics of such research include:

- » Automated artificial intelligence tools to monitor and erase antisemitic contents.
- » How to create an early warning system online.
- » How to develop effective counter-speech that responds to—and opposes—antisemitic defamation. Current strategies of counter-narratives are too labor-intensive to be implemented on a larger scale. Semi-automated messages that are tailored for certain profiles or messages might help to improve reach and effectiveness.
- » Combating antisemitic memes.
- » The spread of antisemitism in on- and offline videogames.

### To summarize

As the main transmitter of Jew-hatred, the Internet is responsible for the explosion of antisemitism in the last decades. A *multifaceted approach* is therefore recommended here that is characterized by repressing antisemitism and erasure of antisemitic content, on the one hand, and by its replacement with positive representations of Judaism as well an accurate depiction of the history of antisemitism, on the other hand. Especially online, the voice of the victims needs to be heard, rather than the voice of the victimizers.

## CHAPTER 4

# RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING RESEARCH ORGANIZATIONS AND ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS

Much of what has been said about cultural decision makers and influencers applies to the decision makers and influencers of the world of academic research and education, too, as emphasized in chapter 2. This chapter of the catalogue is thus aimed at the attention of academic decision makers and influencers. Since research on the antisemitic manipulations of the world's cultural memories and on how to counter them is urgently needed (see chapter 2 on cultural institutions), we address academic research institutions here separately, while academic education will be discussed as part of chapter 5 on educational institutions. The five steps of 1) assessment, 2) comprehending the problem, 3) awareness raising, 4) applying policies for combating antisemitism, and 5) adjusting these policies to particular institutions of academic research, are valid for the world of academia as well, as outlined in the introduction and in chapter 2.

Currently not one research institution exists that dedicates its work to the study of antisemitism from the perspective of cultural history! This field of study is a necessary key not only to properly understand antisemitism but also for the development of successful strategies to change cultural memories and, thus, in the long run, to eradicate antisemitism.



Research institutions are requested to identify antisemitic stereotypes and antisemitic traditions in the world's cultural memories and cultural heritages and to study the mechanisms of Jew-hatred in the cultural process. It is therefore recommended that, depending on the size of its population, each country should have one or more well-funded research institutes for antisemitism studies. These institutes should be committed to a holistic approach, researching antisemitism with the necessary historical depth and interdisciplinary breadth, and developing *strategies to combat* it effectively. While publicly funded, the work of these research institutes needs to remain independent from political and administrative decision makers. Such institutes should, therefore, be supervised by *independent boards* in which appropriate *Jewish organizations* need to have significant representation and influence.

## 4.1 Comprehending the problem, awareness raising, and combating antisemitism in academia

The antisemitic heritage of academic institutions in some European contexts is a special problem. After the Nazi period, many academic teachers, although infected by Nazi and antisemitic ideology, did not lose their positions. They passed this heritage on to their students, some of whom taught it in turn to their own students. Antisemitic attitudes were thus transmitted from teacher to student over generations—often without awareness of the antisemitic nature of these academic traditions. As a result, *accidental*, i.e., unintentional, antisemitism is still present in some academic fields and influences the general attitude of students and faculty alike. An example of the continued use of works that were created in Nazi Germany is the standard reference, *Theological Dictionary to the New Testament (TDNT)*, the first four volumes of which were edited by the notorious antisemite Gerhard Kittel.<sup>1</sup> The *TDNT* was translated from German into English and is still used today in both languages as a reference work in all institutions of biblical studies worldwide, although by now the antisemitism of its editor is well known. Other fields of study have resisted the heritage of antisemitism by researching their traditions more thoroughly and making an effort to expunge such remnants.

In addition, open agitation against Jews has increased in academic institutions worldwide because of this antisemitic heritage and because of the growing influence of anti-Zionist agitation from the BDS movement. Examples include a posting on Facebook by former Oberlin College assistant professor Joy Karega accusing the Jewish banker Jacob Rothschild of fiscal world conspiracy,<sup>2</sup> and an association of law students at the University of Vienna whose members described photos of three piles of ashes as “leaked Anne Frank nudes.”<sup>3</sup> This situation of both *open* as well as *accidental* and *structural antisemitism in academic institutions* is particularly dangerous. Like institutions of higher learning, academics are not only multipliers of ideas but teach those who will become multipliers. To cope with the growing antisemitism on campuses, in addition to the policies outlined in chapters 2 and 5, we recommend the following measures.

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1 Cf. M. Casey, “Some Anti-Semitic Assumptions in the »Theological Dictionary of the New Testament«,” *Novum Testamentum* 41 (1999): 280–91; W. A. Meeks, “A Nazi New Testament Professor Reads His Bible: The Strange Case of Gerhard Kittel,” in *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation: Essays in the Honor of James L. Kugel*, ed. H. Najman and J. H. Newman (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 513–44.

2 Cf. D. Gerstman, “Oberlin Professor Claims Israel Was Behind 9/11, ISIS, Charlie Hebdo Attack,” *The Tower Magazine*, February 25, 2016, <http://www.thetower.org/3012-oberlin-professor-claims-israel-was-behind-911-isis-charlie-hebdo-attack/>.

3 Cf. N. Horaczek, “‘Das ist ein Super-Gau’,” *Falter* 19/17, May 9, 2017, <https://www.falter.at/archiv/wp/das-ist-ein-super-gau>.

- » Dismiss faculty who propagate any form of antisemitism regardless of tenure. Decisions about such dismissals should be made by committees that would have to investigate each case and a significant part of whose members should consist of outside expertise.
- » Require students who propagate antisemitism either to take special classes on the history of antisemitism and Jewish history, culture and religion or expel them from all institutions of higher learning (see the chapter 5 on educational institutions), depending on the severity of their individual cases.
- » Scholarly and scientific organizations should expel all members who propagate any form of antisemitism.
- » In appropriate fields, for new employees of academic institutions, it should be a mandatory requirement for their appointment to have taken classes in the history and culture of Judaism as well as in the history of antisemitism.
- » Academic institutions should include their opposition to antisemitism in faculty manuals and other such documents. Orientation for new faculty should include both the University's opposition to antisemitism as well as some elementary information about Jews and Judaism. In addition, more extensive training should be encouraged by offering more extensive courses about the history and culture of Judaism as well as in the history of antisemitism as well.
- » Identify and research traditions of open, accidental, and structural antisemitism in all fields of study and alert all researchers to them.
- » Encourage and sponsor co-operation with Israeli and other Jewish research institutions.
- » Create special exchange programs with Israeli academic institutions for faculty and other researchers.
- » Participate in special summer schools about the history of antisemitism as part of the continuing education of academics. Such summer schools should be offered by a highly respected academic institution in the State of Israel (see chapter 7.7).
- » Oppose discriminatory calls to boycott Israeli academics and academic institutions.

The contribution of Jewish scholarship to the elimination of antisemitism and other prejudices has to be one of its explicit purposes. Antisemitism may still hide among the building blocks of contemporary scholarship, let alone be present in modern publications; this problem needs to be faced and discussed.

Furthermore, there must be an investigation of the extent to which the influence of generous donations from donors of anti-Zionist or antisemitic

background have influenced and still influence the growing hostility towards Judaism and Jewish institutions in academic institutions of higher learning.

## 4.2 Critical antisemitism research and research on how to combat antisemitism

Especially important, as mentioned above, is research identifying *the anti-semitic stereotypes and antisemitic traditions in the world's cultural and religious memories and heritages, and studying the cultural and religious mechanisms of Jew-hatred*. How pressing the need for more research about antisemitism is, becomes evident when it is seen that even the assessment of the level of antisemitism in the world's societies was and is, as of today, the work of NGOs. The following policies are therefore recommended:

- » The research institutes suggested above (see p. 73) would be ideally suited to make the regular antisemitism assessments recommended in the chapters of this catalogue, if they are properly staffed and funded.
- » Such research institutions could also compile blacklists of antisemitic texts that are recommended in chapters 1, 2, 3, 6, and 7 of this catalogue. These publications should not be sold by (online) bookdealers or uploaded to online book repositories.
- » In addition to institutes for critical antisemitism studies, each cultural institution and/or organization needs to perform its own research on the antisemitic heritage in its own subject matter.
- » Special public funding should be available for research projects studying antisemitism and how to fight it. Academics should be able to apply for these funds in a double-blind peer review system.<sup>4</sup>
- » In addition to specialized institutes and the academic community of scholarly and scientific researchers at large, public intellectuals are asked to engage in the study of antisemitism and how to fight it as well.
- » Special foci of future antisemitism research should include, but are not limited to,
  - › Antisemitism and religion
  - › Antisemitism and cultural memory
  - › Antisemitism and politics
  - › Antisemitism and communication
  - › Assessment and measuring of antisemitism and its methodology
  - › Documentation and monitoring of antisemitism
  - › Prevention of and combating antisemitism
  - › As outlined in chapter 3 on the Internet, further research about anti-

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<sup>4</sup> A double-blind peer review requires that the evaluator of an application does not know the name of the applicant, and the applicant does not know the name of the evaluator.

- semitism in the virtual world of the Internet is needed and should be actively solicited by public institutions.
- » More specialized research needs to include, but should not be limited to,
    - › Studying fields of research, whose own history with antisemitism remains under-researched.
    - › Quantitative and qualitative research on antisemitism among Muslims in Europe.
    - › Comparative studies about the antisemitism of different minority groups are needed (e.g., ethnic Bosnians and Turks in Austria, or Poles, Hungarians, and *Russlanddeutsche* in Germany).
    - › Studies on the dissemination and formation of antisemitism on the communal level in the Protestant and Catholic churches as well as independent churches.
  - » The attendees of the conference “An End to Antisemitism!” founded the International Organization for Antisemitism Research (IOAR). As a trans- and interdisciplinary scholarly and scientific association, it will facilitate the communication between centers of antisemitism studies and individual specialists in this field as well as counsel decision makers in the fight against antisemitism. Public support of the IOAR would help it to fulfill its mission.

### To summarize

In the world of academic research, antisemitic traditions in academic fields need to be identified. Critical research on antisemitism and how to combat it needs to be encouraged. Particularly important is antisemitism research from the perspectives of cultural and religious studies. Special research institutes for antisemitism research need to be created in each country, and special support programs should be available to fund research projects on antisemitism in other fields of study.

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## CHAPTER 5

# RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS

Next to the Internet (see chapter 3) and academic research (see chapter 4), education is another centrally important expression of the process of constructing meaning in culture.

The recommendations that follow this section will deal with a variety of levels and kinds of education. Specifically, this set of recommendations will discuss aspects of elementary/primary education, high school, universities, religious education in various denominations, and the training of scholars, clergy, and religious professionals. There will be substantial overlap between what is applicable to one level and to another. Nevertheless, these proposals should not be applied mechanically. The basic suggestions made here are predicated on the assumption that formal education is a major part of the formation of the attitudes and character of modern-day citizens. This process goes on from earliest daycare or nursery school through the highest degrees attained. Further, the issues raised here will apply in the education of students, more interested and less interested, whether they are affiliated with a religious tradition or not.

While education is a key place for efforts to eradicate antisemitism, and while education is positive and should be encouraged, it cannot be regarded as a panacea. For this reason, it is hoped that the spirit as well as the letter of these suggestions can be employed by those who shape the nature of the educational experiences of all of us. Holocaust education was once seen as a perfect solution to fight antisemitism, but it has proven to be only a partial remedy. While such education makes clear the horrible persecution and murder that the Jewish people suffered in Europe, it often fails to link these horrific events to the kinds of antisemitic prejudices, religious, economic, etc., that continue to plague many societies today. The continuing rise of antisemitism in so many places and segments of society indicates that Shoah education, while very important and worthy of strong support, is insufficient. In order to counter antisemitism effectively, teachers at all levels must engage in the challenge of explaining what it is, how to detect it, and what are the negative consequences of its going unchecked. “As with all forms of discrimination and intolerance, anti-Semitism must be countered through education, within the framework of human rights and global citizenship. This is both an immediate security imperative and a long-term educational obligation.”<sup>1</sup>

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1 Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe and United Nations Educational, Scien-

In addition, antisemitism must be a concern of governments, for “the impact of contemporary anti-Semitism is not limited to Jewish people, individually or collectively. By cultivating ideologies anchored in hate and prejudice, anti-Semitism threatens the realization of all people’s human rights and the overall security of states where it occurs.”<sup>2</sup>

Teacher training is a starting point for inculcating students with the sensitivity to human rights, inclusiveness, and shunning of stereotypes. In-service training opportunities, the provision of resources, and ongoing support for educators must be priorities.

## 5.1 General procedures

We recommend the application of a five-step process of evaluation, planning and action for all educational institutions and at all age levels. Leadership for such efforts may be undertaken by individual school administrations, larger school districts or institutions of higher education, or by entire national bodies. We would recommend that the program be attacked simultaneously from these various points of view.

1. *Assessment*: Assessing the level of antisemitism in a school, in a school system, in an institution of higher learning or in an entire nation’s educational system. It is only after careful evaluation of the extent to which antisemitism, whether purposeful or simply as a result of historical, cultural, or religious inertia, is present that educational institutions can formulate plans and proposals to deal with this scourge.
2. *Comprehending the problem*: Analyzing what creates Jew-hatred inside an educational institution or a group of such institutions. This is a very difficult step, since it will involve careful analysis of the nature of school administrators, curricula, textbooks, holiday observance, and numerous other factors in order to uncover what aspects of the program are, in fact, encouraging antisemitism. These first two steps should be undertaken by groups from both within and outside of the educational institutions, often with the help of organizations designed to fight antisemitic prejudice. These first two steps should result in a report outlining the extent of antisemitism in the institutions and identifying its causes and possible solutions.
3. *Awareness-raising*: Alert everybody concerned to the antisemitism that is present in the specific institutions or groups of institutions. The

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tific and Cultural Organization, *Addressing Anti-Semitism through Education: Guidelines for Policy Makers*, May 31, 2018, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0026/002637/263702e.pdf>, 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

purpose here is to gain buy-in from those who work in the particular institutions as well as from those who study there. The feeling that the elimination of antisemitism, or even of its accidental remnants, is an important collective step must be cultivated throughout so that the feeling of pride in working towards this goal will be widely accepted.

4. *Application of policies for combating antisemitism:* The educational institutions, after completing the first three steps, should now set into motion a process to produce a written document outlining policies they plan to institute to combat antisemitism. Such policies in an educational context cannot be simply a set of rules and regulations—do’s and don’ts. What is required is the development of a comprehensive program that uses educational processes to explain the moral imperative of fighting antisemitism and other prejudices and of creating an institutional culture that is open to diversity. In religious educational settings, religious arguments against antisemitism and prejudice should be part of this program.
5. *Adjusting the general policies to combat antisemitism to the needs of specific entities:* Specifically, school systems or groups of affiliated seminaries or universities cannot use a one-size-fits-all program for all their institutions. The planning described in the previous paragraphs must be tailored to each institution, taking into account its culture and the specific nature of the antisemitic prejudices that the assessment has revealed. Oversimplifying the problem, by believing that one solution will be able to extirpate antisemitism, will lead to failure. For example, in a university different techniques may be appropriate for combating antisemitism in a religious studies classroom from what would be appropriate in the athletics program. For this reason, the documents referred to in this section need to take into consideration the variegated nature of how ideas are absorbed and transmitted in different parts of the institution.

The following sections discuss the application of this problem in a variety of levels and kinds of schools. We would advocate use of this five-part approach in all these kinds of educational settings.

## 5.2 Preschool

Teaching tolerance in preschool recognizes the values of racial and religious diversity. Children listen to stories about others’ customs, holidays, etc. and learn to respect differences. Members of the class should develop a sense of fairness and inclusion, learning to take turns, share the toys, and get equal attention from the teacher.

### 5.3 Elementary/primary education and pedagogy

Antisemitism stands out as a special type of discrimination. Nevertheless, education about antisemitism in relation to other -isms has the potential to increase students' sensitivity for human rights issues in general. It is also important to teach students to be willing to talk with people whose views they do not share or with whom they radically disagree. Pupils must be encouraged to apply critical, independent thinking to what they hear about Jews, Judaism and Israel.

Information per se has a limited value. Teaching against antisemitism is more powerful using affective pedagogy and focusing on emotional aspects, participatory learning, and interactive pedagogy. Standard education still operates through a traditional teacher-lecturing method rather than through interactive or experiential methods that are more often applied in informal educational approaches. There is a need to connect formal and informal education so as to enhance the effectiveness of both.

One way of sensitizing students to antisemitism would be to emphasize the *local* history of antisemitic campaigns. This perspective makes the point that it can happen anywhere, even *here*, and that everyone must be vigilant to combat slurs and prejudices early on.

An overall goal in the curriculum could be that teachers of different subjects cooperate in teaching about antisemitism in an interdisciplinary way, thus synchronizing the cross-subjects within the curriculum. UNESCO also recommends a whole-school approach that involves the curriculum, the environment and behaviors in the school, and projects that extend beyond the school.<sup>3</sup>

### 5.4 High school (secondary education)

High school students are at an age at which they are passionate about justice and fairness. They often stake a claim on the issues about which they feel most passionate. They are also ready to step out into the world for themselves and assert their independence. Nevertheless, they are still impressionable and can be brought to understand the consequences of prejudice and discrimination. Educators can instill an approach to human rights that includes efforts to protect the dignity of all people, genders, and religions.

Curricula that are aimed at high school students may involve teaching the history of antisemitism incorporated into general history courses or a

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. OSCE and UNESCO, *Addressing Anti-Semitism through Education*, 51–53.

course specifically on antisemitism through the ages. Care must be taken to avoid subsuming antisemitism under the rubric of racism. Often there is a mandatory Holocaust curriculum. Specific knowledge of historical facts can inoculate students against distortion or denial of the Shoah and views that accuse the Jews of exaggerating or creating the Shoah for political or financial gain, as if the Shoah itself were a Jewish conspiracy.

Along with theoretical study, high school students can also undertake hands-on research projects such as interviews of victims of antisemitism and visits to a Jewish museum or a synagogue. Community projects might include aiding elderly Jewish people, helping to preserve historic synagogues or cemeteries, or undertaking interactive cooperative projects with Jewish institutions. Touring the Jewish sites of a city, especially in a place from which the Jewish presence was eradicated, can attune students to the loss of a once-vital part of the culture and economy of a place. Some governments have also supported Jewish cultural festivals, coinciding with appropriate occasions such as the European Day of Jewish Culture.

Self-reflection is a pedagogical tool that encourages students to build self-portraits that expose any hidden biases or stereotyped thinking that they may have. Journal writing encourages the development of critical thinking skills. Sharing these thoughts enables the students to contemplate what they have learned about themselves and their peers. They learn the extent of the diversity of the class and the members' unique attributes.

Projects may also be aimed at demonstrating the interconnectivity and interdependency of different countries and different populations. They may be constructed to emphasize the values of a common humanity and responsibility "at the local, national and global levels for a more peaceful and sustainable world."<sup>4</sup>

Since high school students are present and active on social media, the usefulness of online learning resources for both teachers and students cannot be ignored. A project for students might be to monitor some sites to identify antisemitic comments and rhetoric. It would sensitize them to what constitutes antisemitism and how prevalent it is in the social media. Biased behaviors and hate speech would be exposed, and students would learn how these ideas are propagated and publicized.

The treatment of current events in the Middle East must be balanced. It must be pointed out that the media are not always free of bias in their reporting. Students should learn how to discern the inherent biases in specific newspa-

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4 OSCE and UNESCO, *Addressing Anti-Semitism through Education*, 36.

pers, television reports, and social media sites. Teachers and librarians are positioned to help students to “develop media and information literacy skills” so as to become resilient to “manipulation, prejudice, stereotypes, conspiracy theories and other negative harmful information in both online and conventional media.”<sup>5</sup> Classroom discussions should include such topics as: why the Jews returned to Israel, Zionism as a nationalistic movement, the history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the complexity of military issues, and the dangers Israel faces.

## 5.5 University level studies

Undergraduates may be offered courses on antisemitism and the Holocaust in history departments. Psychology courses may deal with power dynamics, stereotypes, and how propaganda works. Political Science departments must strive to present the Middle East conflict with fairness and refuse to identify an underdog or attribute a monopoly on suffering and injustice to either side. Rather, the underlying causes and dynamics of the conflict must be stressed. In writing, painting, and poetry, students can be asked to create self-portraits, thus highlighting the diversity in their class. Many colleges can boast of a visible presence of different races, languages, nationalities, ethnic groups, religions, sexual orientations, and interests that abound on the modern campus. The classroom climate must remain conducive to respectful dialogue and open discussion as a prerequisite for academic discourse.

The UNESCO-OSCE report also promotes guest lectures on antisemitism in “key areas of study, such as law, political science, history, philosophy, sociology, public administration, social work, medicine or physical education.” These should be “supplemented with international conferences, professorial chairs, faculty lines, endowed lectures, postgraduate fellowships, visiting professorships, publication series and undergraduate awards. Some universities encourage their students to write theses on anti-Semitism and human rights by offering research grants or prizes.”<sup>6</sup>

Antisemitism is often found at colleges and universities not only in the context of attacks on Zionism, Judaism, and Israel but also in anti-Israel activities such as the BDS movement. Administrators must be made aware of intolerant campus climates and the solution must be targeted not only towards students but also towards professors, trustees, administrators, donors, and alumni. Students must not be intimidated, but rather encouraged to report

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5 OSCE and UNESCO, *Addressing Anti-Semitism through Education*, 4.

6 *Ibid.*, 60.

antisemitic incidents as well as professors who use the university to further their ideological agendas.

## 5.6 Continuing education

Education of adults must likewise be free of antisemitism. Human rights must be cultivated in people of all ages. Adult-centered learning in professional contexts promotes toleration and respect for Jews and Judaism. Job-specific training for government employees and outreach by museums, memorials, and national human rights institutions constitute methods of reaching this audience. In discussing current affairs, there must be, as in other contexts, a balanced treatment of the Middle East.

## 5.7 General recommendations

In addition to the above specifics, some general considerations and policy recommendations apply to all levels of education. They are key to the fight against antisemitism and are particularly commended to all educational decision makers and influencers. They regard, on the one hand, how to deal with antisemitic discrimination against students and faculty in educational systems and, on the other hand, general considerations about teaching against antisemitism.

### 5.7.1 Antisemitic discrimination in educational systems

Educators and educational administrators must be able to identify antisemitic incidents and deal effectively with them when they come up. They should take victims' reporting seriously and gather witnesses' testimonies. At the same time, they should address the issue in order to prevent its recurrence. To ban antisemitic discrimination from all educational systems we recommend the following policies:

- » National hotlines for students should be created to complain about expressions and acts of antisemitism at their schools, universities, etc.
- » Administrators and faculty should be held responsible for the safety of their students and for their protection from discrimination and intimidation.
- » All schools and all institutions of higher learning and continuing education should have policies and mechanisms to prevent antisemitism and

to report incidents. If such policies and mechanisms do not exist, they need to be created.

- » All reported incidents need to lead to appropriate responses. If administrations fail to do so, they should be held responsible.
- » Faculty and teachers should be strictly prohibited from using their academic positions to indoctrinate students into anti-Israel or antisemitic views.
- » Faculty and teachers that propagate any form of antisemitism or discriminate against Jewish students, regardless of tenure, need to be dismissed. Decisions about such dismissals should be made by committees that investigate each case individually, and a significant proportion of their members should consist of outside expertise.
- » Organizations that engage in antisemitic agitation should be prohibited in schools and on campuses.

## 5.7.2 General considerations about teaching against antisemitism

Particularly problematic communicators of antisemitism in religious memories are school- and textbooks. Schoolbooks and textbooks should therefore be scrutinized regularly for antisemitic content. It needs to be emphasized that these regular surveys need to pertain not only to stereotypes and canards that are openly antisemitic but also to tropes of religious thought such as Christian replacement theology.

- » Formal and non-formal education should be connected because standard education still operates through traditional teacher-lecturing method (rather than through interactive or experiential methods, that are more often applied in non-formal educational approaches).
- » On the one hand, education against antisemitism should not be confused with other issues of discrimination. On the other hand, it has the potential to educate about other –isms and so can increase students' sensitivity for human rights issues in general.
- » Information per se has a limited value. Teaching against antisemitism is more powerful using affective pedagogy and focusing on emotional aspects as well as using participatory learning and interactive pedagogy.
- » Teaching against antisemitism needs to use new means and forms in education that take into account the characteristics of the new generation, e.g., digital learning and projects like IWitness (<http://iwitness.usc.edu>). The use of testimonies and video interviews strengthens the emotional involvement of students.



- » Teaching against antisemitism should emphasize the *local* history of antisemitism.
- » There is a need to synchronize related subjects within the curriculum regarding antisemitism. Furthermore, an overall goal in the curriculum could be that teachers of different subjects cooperate in teaching about antisemitism in an interdisciplinary way.
- » Tours to Israel should be offered to students at all levels of education on the broadest possible scale, especially to youth groups, but also as part of senior education programs.
- » The American Jewish Committee initiated a program to send Jewish teachers to Catholic schools and Catholic teachers to Jewish schools. This successful practice should inspire similar programs for all Christian and Muslim schools.

Textbooks must aim to present the Jewish people as diverse and complex with various beliefs, and belonging to different geographical and political areas. To represent Jews fairly is also to recognize the integration of ordinary Jews into the fabric of their societies and not to focus only on extraordinary, famous Jews whose contributions are well known, such as Nobel Prize winners. It is therefore especially important to review textbooks and teaching aids, both in hard copy and online, for any forms of discrimination and agitation. With regard to the teaching against antisemitism, we therefore recommend:

- » To regularly scrutinize all textbooks and teaching aids for explicit and implicit antisemitic content. In case such antisemitic content is found, the textbooks or teaching aids need to be revised or replaced.
- » To regularly scrutinize all textbooks and teaching aids to determine whether they cover the Jewish people, Judaism, antisemitism, and the Holocaust appropriately or whether these topics are underrepresented. In case of the latter, they need to be revised or replaced.
- » To have textbook authors take special training seminars that sensitize them to issues of antisemitism.
- » Before curricula and schoolbooks are published, they should be read and critiqued by scholars who are familiar with the problem of antisemitism.

### 5.7.3 Guidelines for instructors and teachers on all levels of education

- » Do not portray antisemitism as an ultimately incomprehensible phenomenon totally alien to Western or Muslim values.

- » Never ever concede that a “Jewish Question” or a “Jewish Problem” exists.
- » Never engage in apologetics.
- » Never ever resort to or legitimize the kernel-of-truth approach to anti-semitism.
- » Do not make excuses for the antisemitic utterances and activities of Jews.
- » Do not be unduly squeamish about the role of repression in the struggle against antisemitism.
- » Never succumb to or tolerate the assumption that Jews/Israelis should be better people because of the experience of the concentration camps.
- » Do not allow the specificity of antisemitism to be concealed by subsuming it under the category of racism.
- » Do support pro-Israel organizations in schools and on campus.

## 5.8 Special topics

This catalogue emphasizes that the religious aspects of antisemitism are much more important than was previously thought. Chapter 1 introduced the aspects of antisemitism that are part of the religious memory of Christians and Muslims. Nevertheless, specific remarks about religious education and antisemitism are needed here as well as remarks about education regarding the history of antisemitism in Christianity and Islam, and about the history, religious forms, and culture of Judaism.

### 5.8.1 The New Testament and Christianity

Production of curricula and textbooks on Christianity ought to critically involve experts on Judaism in order to detect and weed out statements/discourse that may feed into antisemitism. Before curricula and schoolbooks on Christianity are published, they should be read and critiqued by scholars who are familiar with the problem of antisemitism. Curricula and textbooks for Christian religious education dealing with Judaism should take the following into account:

- » They should not insinuate antagonism between Jesus, Christianity, and “the Jews.”
- » Acknowledge that Jesus was a Jew, especially when treating Jesus’ teaching about the Sabbath and his care of sinners.

- » Polemics aimed at the Pharisees from the New Testament should be discussed only with older students. It must be stressed that the strife that existed in the time of Jesus does not reflect the relationship we seek today.
- » In primary education, this topic should therefore be treated in the following way:
  - › The Pharisees and Jesus often disagreed, yet they were basically on good terms.
  - › The Pharisees and Jesus were in agreement in two of the most crucial elements of the Jewish faith: The moral teachings of the Torah and the hope of resurrection.
- » In order to avoid insinuating a causal connection, do not relate the conflicts and Jesus' crucifixion in sequence. Instead Pontius Pilate should be portrayed as being responsible for Jesus' crucifixion.
- » Positive teachings about the common origins of Judaism and Christianity should lead to mutual understanding.

### 5.8.2 Islam

As we argued for Christianity, the production of curricula and textbooks on Islam ought to critically involve experts on Judaism in order to detect and weed out statements/discourse that may feed into antisemitism. Before curricula and schoolbooks on Islam are published, they should be read and critiqued by scholars who are familiar with the problem of antisemitism. Curricula and textbooks of Muslim religious education dealing with Judaism should take the following into account:

- » Point to positive depictions of Jews and Judaism in the Quran, Hadith, and Sira and emphasize those parts of the Quran, Hadith, and Sira that advocate peaceful coexistence of Muslims, Jews, and Christians, such as the constitution of Medina.
- » Emphasize that the purported breach of the constitution of Medina concerned—if at all—some Jewish tribes of the Arab diaspora but not all of Judaism.
- » Emphasize that Jew-hatred violates the basic principles of Islam and disagrees with much of Islam's religious memory.
- » Provide an accurate depiction of the Jew's Dhimmi status in Islam as a disadvantaged minority.
- » Positive teachings about the importance of Judaism and Christianity for the development of Islam should lead to mutual understanding.

### 5.8.3 History of antisemitism and Holocaust education

Holocaust education and education against antisemitism most often depend on individual teachers' acts (of courage) in teaching these topics. Holocaust remembrance is not identical with the fight against antisemitism, nor has it been proven that Holocaust education is a sufficient defense against antisemitism: sometimes the teaching of the Holocaust raises difficult questions regarding the Jewish people with which teachers cannot cope. On the other hand, it can be a starting point, a motivation, to deal with racism, xenophobia, the violation of human rights in general, and the mechanism of group-focused enmity. Nevertheless, the uniqueness of the Holocaust must be emphasized.

Instead of focusing all educational resources in the fight against antisemitism on the Shoah, we recommend a holistic approach that embeds Holocaust education into education regarding the overall history of antisemitism and that teaches the history of antisemitism as a complement to the teaching of Jewish history, culture, and religion. Further, the student's knowledge about Judaism should not be reduced to a history of Jewish suffering.

In a holistic approach, the history of antisemitism needs to be taught from its beginnings in antiquity until today. It has to emphasize the uniqueness of Jew-hatred. Teaching the history of antisemitism should be used to increase students' sensitivity for human right issues in general.

Teaching the history of antisemitism should not be reduced to a mere iteration of the facts. It is important to give the victims a voice. It is important to address the motivations of what caused and causes antisemitic prejudice and denigration, on the one hand, and antisemitic persecutions, on the other.

It is our hope that the policies recommended below will contribute significantly to achieve these goals.

- » Create textbooks, teaching aids, and online resources about the history of antisemitism in the languages of all cultures that are prone to antisemitism and use existing resources. The MOOC ("Massive Open Online Course") on antisemitism by Yad Vashem is a good practice example that provides a great starting point, source, and supplement for teachers. Empirical studies in Germany and Norway show the need for additional resources.
- » Create curricula for teaching the history of antisemitism for all educational levels.

- » Holocaust education, as well as education against antisemitism, is an interdisciplinary project that has connections to different school subjects and should be coordinated by teachers in every school.
- » The history of antisemitism should be taught in an interactive way, so that students are “co-constructors” of the learning process.
- » When teachers teach the history of antisemitism, they should address the different (suffering) experiences of the pupils.

#### 5.8.4 Jewish history, culture, and religion

To point the attention of students to the history of antisemitism and Jewish suffering alone will not be sufficient to overcome antisemitic prejudices and immunize students against them. The insight into Jewish suffering needs to be complemented by familiarizing students with Jewish history, culture, and the religious practices of Judaism from its beginnings in the Bronze Age until today. An important aspect should be the history and culture of the State of Israel. For more details, see chapter 2.4.3 of this catalogue. Students should learn about the Jewish contributions to world history as much as about everyday Jewish life. As explained above, this learning process should be both a rational and emotional one.

For this purpose, curricula, textbooks, teaching aids and online teaching materials should be developed in the languages of all cultures that are prone to antisemitism. Like the history of antisemitism, Jewish history, religion, and culture should be taught as interactively as possible. Wherever possible, education about Jewish history, culture, and religion should include practical experiences with living Judaism.

#### 5.9 Combating Islamic antisemitism in education

In both the Muslim and the Western worlds, Islamic antisemitism is one of the greatest threats to Jewish life. Muslim schools and mosques must, therefore, be enlisted to eradicate antisemitism, especially since many Muslims attend religious schools from kindergarten through high school. The history of the Holocaust, as well as of antisemitism and racism, are most important in school curricula. Not only Muslims, but also non-Muslim students and teachers, have only a vague knowledge about the history of antisemitism and the Shoah, and many use traditional antisemitic themes, such as the blood libel, without understanding their origins or even recognizing their antisemitic nature. Anti-radicalization programs should include in their curricula Judaism, antisemitism, and the Shoah to combat antisemitism, Holocaust revisionism, and denial.

Since comparisons between Israel and the Nazis are widespread among Muslims and non-Muslims as well, it is important to teach the history of Palestine/Israel and the Middle East conflict in those programs. It might be pointed out that Nazi racial ideology is an import into the Middle East (see 1.2.2): Since the present-day Middle East conflict is very emotional and connected to a newly-developed Muslim identity, designing a successful curriculum on this subject presents a difficult challenge but would be well worth undertaking.

## 5.10 Educational research needs

Despite all of the above, more research is needed to find out which measures in class are the most fruitful and effective in combating antisemitism. Questions that should be asked include:

- » What classroom activities and community involvements make the most impression on young minds to increase tolerance and decrease antisemitism?
- » What effect are the textbooks in use having on this issue?
- » Have textbook writers collaborated with educators and policymakers to fairly represent Judaism and Jewish personalities?

### To summarize

The goal of education against antisemitism should be to overcome existing antisemitic prejudices with students at all levels of education and to immunize them against antisemitic agitation. To thus immunize students, Jewish history, culture, and religion should be included as extensively as the history of antisemitism. However, the history of antisemitism should not be reduced to Holocaust education. Instead, the Shoah should be taught in the context of the whole history of antisemitism. The voice of all victims of all forms of antisemitism needs to be heard in class. All textbooks need to be screened for antisemitic content. Textbooks with such content need to be revised or banned. Good textbooks, teaching aids, and curricula need to be created on Jewish history, culture, and religion as well as on the history of antisemitism in all languages, both online and offline. An encounter with living Judaism and other emotional experiences with Judaism are important to immunize students against antisemitism. Antisemites cannot be allowed to hold positions as multipliers in any educational system. All teachers and professors need to be trained in special seminars about Jewish history, culture, and religion as well as about the history of antisemitism.

## CHAPTER 6

# RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING ORGANIZATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS OF THE BUSINESS WORLD

Many companies engage in businesses that have nothing to do with antisemitism and antisemitic agitation, while others either accidentally or intentionally get involved with antisemitism. Examples of the latter include music labels, publishing houses, online bookdealers, online book repositories, social media platforms, etc. All companies and businesses, though, are bound to avoid any form of discrimination against their workforce or in their business dealings. The recommendations of this chapter thus concern mainly antisemitic discrimination and business practices that support antisemitism. The question of anti-Zionist boycotts of the State of Israel will be dealt with in detail in chapter 7.6 because, for the most part, the antisemitism inside the BDS movement can best be addressed by political and not by economic decision makers.

There are various levels of decision makers and influencers in the business world and many of them could potentially have a significant impact on the fight against antisemitism. The recommendations of this catalogue, therefore, are addressed not only to top level managers and business owners but to all levels of management. Some recommendations regard not only businesses in the narrower sense but also decision makers responsible for the workforce of other institutions.

Some principal reflections about antisemitism and the business world are appropriate before making concrete recommendations on how decision makers and influencers of the business world could help to combat antisemitism. The subject of antisemitism and its relation to business has a very long history. In the Middle Ages, in both Christianity and Islam, numerous restrictions were placed on Jews in terms of their business activity, forcing them increasingly, especially in the Christian world, into the position of moneylenders and financiers. In the Muslim world, Jews found it easier to enter into a wider variety of occupations in pre-modern times, but nonetheless still found themselves at an economic disadvantage and unable to enter many professions. With the Enlightenment and the Emancipation, Jews entered into what they thought would be a free world in terms of occupations and professions. Unfortunately, they soon found themselves restricted by a variety of quotas that affected entry into universities, professional training programs, and the securing of employment.

In the last century, despite antisemitic restrictions in virtually all their places of settlement, Jews distinguished themselves in medicine, law and business and, as higher education became de rigueur, they constituted virtually everywhere a larger percentage of the student body than their numbers would have indicated. At the same time, the number of Jews denied entry to professions, not hired because they were Jewish, not allowed into professional clubs and organizations, and otherwise hindered in what we would regard today as normal human rights, was very large. Not so long ago, such second-class status was regularly visited on Jewish students and professionals in the Soviet Union and in East European countries in general. More importantly, such behavior still continues in the business world, and concrete steps must be taken to eliminate this form of antisemitic behavior whenever it is encountered.

We should also note the unwillingness of some Arab countries to do business with Jewish owned and/or Jewish identified companies and, more importantly, even to allow those who admit to being Jewish to enter their countries. This clearly affects opportunities of employment and business for individual Jews and Jewish companies. This attitude stems both from the classic second-class status of Jews in the Islamic world, based on the teachings of Islam, and at the same time from the modern political situation in terms of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

An important area of antisemitism as it relates to business is that the prominent role of Jews in the professions and in international business has contributed to the creation of a conspiratorial mythology that has a long history as well. Today, people often hear comments that allege that Jews have too much influence, do not like physical work, keep others out of business, or use shady business practices. Society must vigorously combat statements of mendacious, dehumanizing, demonizing, or stereotypical allegations about Jews, and reject portrayal of the power of Jews as a collective, such as—especially but not exclusively—the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government, or other societal institutions. Such a depiction is simply an antisemitic canard and propaganda ploy, often graphically portrayed.

These principal reflections show that, beyond a general participation in the fight against antisemitism, decision makers in the business world can contribute in several respects to combating antisemitism:

- » Reversing discrimination in the workforce.
- » Reversing discrimination against Jewish and/or Israeli companies and, rather, seeking business with Israel.



- » Ending the marketing of antisemitic content.
- » Condemning antisemitism and arguing against conspiracy theories.

To fight antisemitism successfully in these areas, we advise the same five-step process that we recommended to all other decision makers:

1. *Assessment*: Assessing the level of antisemitism in a business, a company, a business-related organization, or a profession.
2. *Comprehending the problem*: Analyzing what motivates antisemitism and/or antisemitic discrimination in a business, a company, a business-related organization, or a profession.
3. *Awareness-raising*: All members of a business, a company, a business-related organization, or a profession need to be sensitized towards the antisemitism in their organization.
4. *Application of policies for combating antisemitism*: Putting into effect a plan based on the earlier steps.
5. *Adjusting the general policies to combat antisemitism*: The general policies suggested below need to be adjusted to the specific needs of each business, company, business-related organization, or profession.

## 6.1 Assessment

Decision makers in the business world have to realize that they have an obligation to assess the manifestations of antisemitism in their enterprises, guided by the IHRA's Working Definition of Antisemitism. Assessment of the level of antisemitism should be undertaken in cooperation with Jewish organizations and by independent scholarly/scientific institutions.

Antisemitism may be present in hiring practices, promotions, assignments, and other job-related tasks. It may also be present in a general culture of toleration for antisemitic remarks or jokes, and in business practices that do not allow Jewish employees to fully practice Jewish observances. If a business leader determines that in his/her enterprise antisemitism is at a level that can be dealt with by reform according to the recommendations made below, he/she is strongly advised to institute reforms that will eliminate it. After such a program, the level of antisemitism should be assessed again to see how effective the measures were.

## 6.2 Comprehending the problem

In each business, company, business-related organization, or profession, antisemitic discrimination and antisemitic acts and convictions can have different

causes. Therefore, for each of these entities, it needs to be asked individually what motivates antisemitism and what encourages the antisemitic attitudes of those who participate in it. Is the antisemitism accidental or intentional? Is it influenced by Christian, Muslim, Anti-Zionist or other antisemitic prejudices? Is it economically driven or not? How does it express itself?

### 6.3 Awareness-raising

To raise the awareness of antisemitism with decision makers and influencers in a business, a company, a business-related organization, or a profession, we recommend that they participate in *special training courses and seminars about both the history and culture of antisemitism as well as about the history, culture, and religious customs of Judaism*. These training courses should enable decision makers and influencers to recognize all forms of antisemitism, including accidental and structural antisemitism, but also to develop more appreciation for the cultural and religious needs of their Jewish employees and business partners. A further topic of such training courses and seminars should be all forms of discrimination in the workplace and how discrimination can be fought effectively.

### 6.4 Application of policies for combating antisemitism

The two main areas to which the following policy recommendations apply are antisemitic discrimination and the marketing of antisemitic content. Nevertheless, due to their influence, decision makers and influencers in the business world can make a difference in the fight against antisemitism in many other areas as well. One of the most important general recommendations that applies to all interactions with antisemitism in the business world is



to adopt the Working Definition of Antisemitism in the workplace and business dealings, i.e., to hold people accountable for their policies or comments that are intended to harm Jews as a group or target one person.

#### 6.4.1 Reversing discrimination in workspaces and against Jewish and Israeli businesses

In the business world, antisemitic discrimination includes discrimination against Jewish employees in workplaces and economic discrimination against Jewish companies and the State of Israel by boycotting them.

With regard to antisemitic discrimination in workplaces, it needs to be remembered that United Nations human rights expert and Special Rapporteur to the UN General Assembly on freedom of religion or belief, Heiner Bielefeldt, stated in his 2014 report<sup>1</sup> that freedom to manifest one's religion or belief without discrimination should also be protected in the area of employment. He urged all governments to take every appropriate measure to prevent and eliminate all forms of intolerance and discrimination based on religion or belief. Focusing on eliminating religious intolerance and discrimination in the workplace, Bielefeldt specifically addressed issues affecting religious Jews, such as religious garb, dietary restrictions, and working on Shabbat and holidays. Likewise, failure of employers to respect Jewish traditions and practices at work creates an unwelcoming environment. Jews who choose to express their identity might have to forgo professional opportunities. Some employers prevent or restrict the open display of religious identities at work. In other situations, only the followers of mainstream religions or beliefs are granted an opportunity to manifest their convictions openly at the workplace, while individuals belonging to minority communities, sceptics, atheists or dissenters are forced to conceal their positions in order to avoid harassment by colleagues, customers or employers. The Special Rapporteur reported about incidents of pressure exercised by colleagues or employers on members of religious minorities to remove their religious garments, to consume religiously prohibited food, or to eat during religious fasting periods. Moreover, women may suffer from multiple and/or intersectional forms of discrimination or related abuses in the workplace, often originating from both their gender and their religious background or beliefs.

Bielefeldt recommends encouraging employers to use reasonable accommodation as a managerial tool outside the realm of law. In the long run, measures of accommodation can even have positive economic effects by enhancing the reputation of an institution or company, by reinforcing a sense of loyalty and identification within the staff, and by facilitating a creative atmosphere in which diversity is appreciated as a positive asset.

Many governments have laws rejecting discrimination for race, religion, nationality, sexual orientation, gender, age, etc. in hiring and promotion. These laws apply to Jews as much as to any other group in the corporate world.

Based on Bielefeldt, the following policies to fight antisemitic discrimination in the workforce are therefore recommended:

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<sup>1</sup> United Nations. General Assembly, *Interim Report of the Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief*, August 5, 2014, <https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Religion/A.69.261.pdf>

- » Reject discrimination against Jews or Israelis in the corporate world.
- » Employers, trade unions, and consumer organizations have a responsibility to combat all forms of intolerance and discrimination in the workplace, including antisemitism.
- » In larger companies, an antidiscrimination officer who controls how people are hired should be installed.
- » Antisemitic managers or employees should be informed that their actions are not in consonance with company policy and, if antisemitic actions continue, such managers and employees should not be retained.
- » Maintain a culture of open and trustful communication between employers, managers and staff, always including religious or belief minorities, who should feel encouraged to voice their specific concerns and needs.
- » Governments must set positive examples of respect for religious diversity in their own employment policies within state institutions.
- » Businesses should establish an appropriate infrastructure of training and advisory services based on human rights with the aid of national human rights institutions.
- » Continuing education for employees should include the history and culture of Judaism and Jews as well as the history of antisemitism.
- » Afford equal opportunity for all employees in hiring and promotions.
- » Support the creation of a hotline with the office of an envoy for combating antisemitism to report antisemitic incidents and to seek help against antisemitic discrimination. Inform all members of the workforce and staff about its existence once it is created (see p. 122).

#### 6.4.2 Reversing economic discrimination against Jews and the State of Israel, including BDS

Economic discrimination against Jews has a long history, as detailed at the beginning of this chapter.



Decision makers and influencers in the business world should do their utmost to reject and actively oppose economic discrimination perpetrated against any Jewish entity.

A more complicated form of economic discrimination in the world of business today is connected with what began as the Arab boycott and what is now known as BDS, Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions. We will engage with this topic in more detail in chapter 7.6. Here it suffices to say that making the boycott even more insidious, companies seeking to do business in the Arab world were sworn away from doing business with Jewish-identified companies,

especially those with Israeli contacts. This tertiary boycott affected businesses owned by Jews throughout the world, but also suffered setbacks when legally confronted.

To fight all economic discrimination against Jewish entities we recommend the following policies to decision makers in the business world:

- » Promote the initiative to make BDS and other such boycotts illegal.
- » Publically challenge organizations that refuse to do business with Israel or that will not deal with companies that trade with or have offices in Israel.
- » Do not subscribe to boycotting Israeli imports. Do not refuse to buy products that are sold in Israel.
- » Do not allow companies to remove their investments in the Israeli economy.
- » Do not subscribe to sanctions against Israel.
- » Encourage Muslim-Jewish business enterprises as a way to break down stereotypes and antagonisms.
- » Make sure to treat Jewish companies worldwide and Israeli companies in particular the same as any other company in your business dealings.
- » Make use of Israeli inventions and invest in Israeli companies where applicable.

### 6.4.3 Ending the marketing of antisemitism

Companies have a responsibility for what they market. Antisemitic agitation led to the most horrendous crimes in history. Whoever markets antisemitic agitation contributes to its success and is thus responsible for the crimes it wants to provoke. As the largest Internet retailer, Amazon is an example of this problem, as detailed in chapter 2 (see p. 66). For instance, a book by Joseph Goebbels and the Nazi cartoonist Mjölfnir entitled *Isidor* that is a collection of typical Nazi antisemitic agitation<sup>2</sup> is available at Amazon. Companies have a responsibility to refrain from marketing any antisemitic agitation. This particularly applies to content that is known to have incited genocide in the past.

We would like to guide business decision makers for this purpose with the following policy recommendations:

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. <https://www.amazon.de/Goebbels-Mjoelnir-Isidor-Zeitbild-Hardcover> (accessed October 4, 2018).

- » Do not market or sell any content that is included in the recommended blacklists. We specify how those blacklists should be compiled in chapters 1, 2, and 4.
- » Do not market any goods and services that are antisemitic or that may indirectly encourage antisemitism.
- » Advocate legislation that makes it illegal for companies to market antisemitic memorabilia and content.
- » Create and/or market positive contents about Jews and accurate descriptions of the history of antisemitism to counter the effects of antisemitic agitation. (For more details, see the recommendations addressed to religious, cultural, and Internet decision makers.)
- » Encourage your business partners to follow the same policies.

#### 6.4.4 Condemning antisemitism and arguing against conspiracy theories

Businesses have a unique ability to condemn discrimination and hate and should use that ability to condemn antisemitism publicly. For this purpose we recommend the policies below:

- » Refrain from giving legitimacy to antisemites by refusing to participate in or speak at their events. Deny them any platform related to your company.
- » Support the sanction of Iran and countries that incite to antisemitism. The Iranian regime remains a central and belligerent player in promoting support for global terrorism, antisemitism and Holocaust denial.
- » Refuse to cooperate with other antisemitic entities, whether regimes or business enterprises.
- » Ally with law enforcement to identify and prosecute bias crimes.
- » Decry disinformation, hate speech, antisemitic rumors, and antisemitic propaganda such as the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.
- » Argue forcefully and publicly against economic and fiscal antisemitic world conspiracy theories, including statements such as “Jews have too much power in the business world or in international financial markets.”<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Anti-Defamation League, “ADL Global 100: An Index of Anti-Semitism: 2015 Update in 19 Countries,” <https://global100.adl.org/public/ADL-Global-100-Executive-Summary2015.pdf>, 6.

### To summarize

Decision makers and influencers in the business world should do everything they can to avoid and/or reverse antisemitic discrimination in the workplace and economic discrimination against Jewish entities. They should avoid the marketing of antisemitic contents and memorabilia because such contents provoke hate crimes. It is well known that in the past, such provocations ultimately contributed to genocide. Business decision makers should use their authority to argue publicly against antisemitic slanders regarding Jewish fiscal and other world conspiracies. Rather than acquiesce in boycotts and sanctions, they should use their influence to further the fight against antisemitism in the business and political worlds.

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## CHAPTER 7

# RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING GOVERNMENTS, POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS, AND INSTITUTIONS

The Shoah was the most horrendous expression of Jew-hatred and shattered the illusions of Western culture. Nevertheless, eighty years after the November 1938 pogroms known as “Kristallnacht,” antisemitism is reviving to a shocking extent, and most measures undertaken by governments to fight antisemitism seem to have had only a limited effect.

The year 2018 marks not only the eightieth anniversary of Kristallnacht but also the seventieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The anniversaries of 2018 thus give us both reason to mourn and to celebrate.

Fighting antisemitism should be in the self-interest of all because *the violence and hatred of antisemitism often targets Jews first but never stops at victimizing Jews only*. History teaches us that the intolerance and violence of antisemites can often be a precursor to the targeting of other minorities as well.

 While antisemitism appears on its surface to be a phenomenon uniquely directed against Jews, it has broader significance. The nature of antisemitic groups and their ideologies is such that ultimately antisemitism leads to hatred directed against those parts of society that reject it. It therefore constitutes a major danger not only to Jews but to society at large. Thus, all governments and governmental agencies of all states have a special responsibility to do their utmost to repress and eradicate antisemitism.

To confront antisemitism and to render it impotent, antisemitism must be actively challenged by political decision makers who have the power to affect and impact our world. While civil society has an important role to play, the fight against antisemitism cannot be left only in its hands. The task of eradicating antisemitism, as well as other forms of bigotry and hatred, must be a partnership of civil society and government. History shows that whenever governments supported and protected their Jewish citizens, Jewish minorities thrived and proved beneficial for the societies in which they lived. Whenever governments did not accept the responsibility to protect their Jewish citizens, persecution and murder ensued, and state economies and cultures suffered from the loss of some of their most important contributors.

The following is an attempt to assess the problems facing contemporary governments and their agencies as well as intergovernmental agencies regarding the recent manifestations of antisemitism, and to suggest a line of recommendations for possible action to combat them. Three introductory remarks are in order.

1. Although to some extent we address government here as a whole, i.e., as the institution whose responsibility it is to protect all citizens, we are aware that separation of powers is one of the most important characteristics of democratic governments. Several policy recommendations concern all three branches of government, legislative, judiciary, and executive, for example, whether antisemites should be employed by any branch of government. We are also aware that not all democratic systems practice the *trias politicas*, i.e., the separation of powers into three branches, but have chosen other forms of the separation of powers.
2. When taking a look at the contemporary political arena, it becomes quite clear that recommendations may mainly be offered to democratic countries: their public life includes debates, venues for a variety of opinions, and above all, responsibility of the state towards all its citizens—majority and minorities alike. On the other hand, it is precisely this democratic variety of opinions that opens the door for all hues of political ideologies to be heard, liberal ones alongside xenophobic and segregating ones. The UK Labour party under Jeremy Corbyn’s leadership is a striking example of fierce debates and of antisemitic statements and connotations expressed in the public sphere. Governments and regimes in non-democratic or anti-liberal countries exploit antisemitism and other prejudices for their political goals, both domestic and external. An example is the use of antisemitic attacks against the Jewish-Hungarian businessman George Soros in Hungary and elsewhere.
3. As a result of the recent waves of immigration of refugees and seekers of better economic conditions, the political map in Europe as well as in the U.S. has changed drastically in the last decade. The discourse about this issue has resulted in heated debates and a polarization of the political field. A debate on absorbing minorities almost always has an impact on the local Jewish communities who are still considered a minority. This is especially true when most of the newcomers are Muslims coming from countries where antisemitism is state policy and where Israel is viewed as an illegitimate state.

Consequently, governments and intergovernmental agencies, no matter of what political inclination, face a deepening conflict that has been commonly described as a “crisis of democracy” and that has changed the responses of

governments to specific issues, antisemitism included. Governments are facing a new reality in which terrorism is a serious threat. They are therefore constantly confronted with the possible connection between antisemitism and terrorism and the deployment of police, army, and intelligence to protect the public, Jewish communities included. France is a case in point. In France, Jews and non-Jews have been killed together in terrorist attacks. Despite large budgets for education and security, the number of violent antisemitic incidents in France increased in 2017.<sup>1</sup>

Despite this complicated political picture, to which more difficulties arise daily, governmental and intergovernmental agencies have enhanced their activities against antisemitism and have taken better steps for the protection of Jewish communities over the last 15 years. According to Mike Whine, a senior representative of the UK in pan-European bodies for many years, “it is no exaggeration that there has never been so much analysis of antisemitism and activity to combat it as there is today. States now recognize that antisemitic hate crime constitutes an abuse of basic freedoms and human rights, and that they are obliged to prosecute perpetrators.”<sup>2</sup>

*How is it possible that despite these governmental efforts antisemitism is on the rise?* The reports of the Kantor Center at Tel Aviv University on “Antisemitism Worldwide”<sup>3</sup> show that in recent years, governmental efforts have indeed brought down the number of violent antisemitic incidents in some countries, yet other manifestations of antisemitism stayed on a high level and even increased, especially in those countries where major Jewish communities reside.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, verbal and visual manifestations of antisemitism, such as threats, harassments, insults, and other hateful expressions have all been severely on the rise in recent years. In addition, surveys show that large parts of the world’s populations harbor antisemitic prejudices.<sup>5</sup> Such attitudes have

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1 Cf. Kantor Center for the Study of Contemporary European Jewry at Tel Aviv University, “Antisemitism Worldwide 2017 Report,” April 11, 2018, <https://eurojewcong.wpengine.com/resources/antisemitism-worldwide-2017-report/>, 54–55.

2 M. Whine, “Can the European Agencies Combat Antisemitism Effectively?” *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs* 11, no. 3 (2017): 371.

3 General analyses of antisemitism worldwide have been conducted and documented by the Kantor Center for the Study of Contemporary European Jewry at Tel Aviv University since 2009. The *Annual Kantor Center Worldwide Reports on Antisemitism* can be downloaded online via <http://kantorcenter.tau.ac.il/general-analyses-antisemitism-worldwide> (accessed October 8, 2018).

4 Kantor Center for the Study of Contemporary European Jewry and the Moshe Kantor Database for the Study of Antisemitism and Racism, *General Analysis of Antisemitism Worldwide* 2017, 5–17, [http://kantorcenter.tau.ac.il/sites/default/files/Doch\\_full\\_2018\\_220418.pdf](http://kantorcenter.tau.ac.il/sites/default/files/Doch_full_2018_220418.pdf). Violent cases, which numbered worldwide 600–700 cases per year from 2007 to 2014, number since then 350–450.

5 Due to differences in methodology, the results of the individual surveys differ from each other, but all point to a significant rise of antisemitic prejudice in the world’s population.

resulted in deep anxiety on the part of Jews who are alarmed by the hostile environment that surrounds them.

*The discrepancy, between the governmental and intergovernmental efforts and the reality on the ground, is the reason that makes us dare suggest here a number of recommendations, that we hope will help to rectify the situation.*

## 7.1 Recommendations for decision makers and influencers in all three branches of government

The recommendations below concern decision makers and influencers in all branches of government, at the national, regional, and local levels. As outlined in the executive summary (see p. 27), we would like to recommend policies that concern, on the one hand, the short-term restraining of antisemitism and, on the other hand, its long-term eradication in a time span of several generations. Policies that concern the *short-term suppression* of antisemitism will lead to nothing if they are not accompanied by measures that are concerned with the *long-term eradication* of antisemitic contents from the world's *religious and cultural memories*. These must be replaced by positive contents about Judaism as well as by accurate depictions of the history of antisemitism from the perspective of the victims. All branches of government should do their outmost to achieve both aims.

One crucial recommendation is that all bodies and branches of government in all countries endorse and apply the Working Definition of Antisemitism (WDA) of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA; see introduction, p. 25), that was officially adopted by the 31 member nations of IHRA and is accepted now by many governments and parliaments around the world.<sup>6</sup> The full text of the definition can be found in Appendix 1 to the present catalogue. Its central statement is as follows:

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Examples for such surveys include the survey of the Anti-Defamation League, “ADL Global 100: An Index of Anti-Semitism” (<http://global100.adl.org/>, accessed October 21, 2018), the survey of the European Fundamental Rights Agency, “Antisemitism – Overview of Data Available in the European Union, 2005–2016” (<http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2017/antisemitism-overview-2006-2016>, accessed October 21, 2018), and some of the results of the survey of the PEW Research Center “Being Christian in Western Europe” (<http://www.pewforum.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/7/2018/05/Being-Christian-in-Western-Europe-FOR-WEB1.pdf>, accessed October 21, 2018).

<sup>6</sup> Until July 2018, the Working Definition of Antisemitism has been adopted and endorsed by the United Kingdom (December 12, 2016), Israel (January 22, 2017), City of London (February 8, 2017), Austria (April 25, 2017), Scotland (April 27, 2017), Romania (May 25, 2017), Germany (September 20, 2017), Bulgaria (October 18, 2017), Lithuania (January 24, 2017), and the Republic of Macedonia (March 6, 2018). Cf. “Working Definition of Antisemitism,” International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, July 19, 2018, <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/news-archive/working-definition-antisemitism>.

“Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities.”

A statement by the office of the Prime Minister of the UK issued at the end of 2016 illustrates the importance of the WDA for governmental work, i.e., to “ensure that culprits will not be able to get away with being antisemitic because the term is ill defined, or because different organizations or bodies have different interpretations of it.”<sup>7</sup> The WDA is a guideline for understanding antisemitism, and a practical guide to identify incidents, to collect data, and to support implementation of the legislation concerning antisemitism.

Based on the WDA, we recommend that governmental and political decision makers and influencers employ a five-step process in fighting antisemitism.

1. *Assessment*: Assessing the level of antisemitism in a country, a branch of government, a governmental agency, or a political party.
2. *Comprehending the problem*: Analyzing what motivates antisemitism and antisemitic discrimination in a country, a branch of government, a governmental agency, or a political party.
3. *Awareness-raising*: All inhabitants of a country and all members of a branch of government, a governmental agency, or a political party need to be sensitized towards the antisemitism in their country or organization.
4. *Application of policies for combating antisemitism, at the national, pan-European, and international level*: Putting into effect policies developed in steps 1–3.
5. *Adjusting the general policies to combat antisemitism*: The general policies suggested below need to be adjusted to the specific needs of each country, a branch of government, a governmental agency, or a political party.

### 7.1.1 Assessment

The assessment of the level of antisemitism in a given country, branch of government, government agency, or political party has three aspects. All three forms of assessing antisemitism should be carried out by professional and independent agencies, whether academic or private, or even

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7 W. Williams, “Britain has a New Official Definition of ‘Anti-Semitism,’” *Business Insider Deutschland*, December 13, 2016, <https://www.businessinsider.de/britain-new-anti-semitism-definition-2016-12?r=US&IR=T>.

state or internationally sponsored. Only such independent agencies can guarantee that governments will not influence the results of their work.

1. For each governmental agency or political party, the level of antisemitism may be assessed by surveys among the staff or members and by the monitoring of antisemitic incidents.
2. The level of antisemitic prejudice in the population needs to be ascertained by way of representative surveys. Such surveys should not only target whole populations but carefully distinguish between different parts of a population, such as Christians or Muslims, immigrants or locals, young or old. Although lacking these distinctions, a good practice example is the 2010/2011 representative survey of Austria by Maximilian Gottschlich and Oliver Gruber.<sup>8</sup> Another subject of such surveys should include how Jews and Jewish institutions perceive and experience the antisemitism targeted against them. A good practice example is the 2012 survey “Discrimination and Hate Crime against Jews in EU Member States: Experiences and Perceptions of Antisemitism” conducted by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA).<sup>9</sup>
3. While representative surveys are an important indicator, their results need to be complemented by the monitoring of antisemitic incidents to assess both the theoretical presence of antisemitism and its concrete manifestations. The latter range from violence against persons to graffiti, threats, and the desecration of cemeteries in the real world, and to antisemitism present in the virtual world (see chapter 3). Monitoring should be done both by Jewish organizations as well as by officially appointed bodies, such as the Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA). Results of surveys may prove contradictory, even not correlating with the known facts, so that a new carefully chosen matrix is needed. As of now, there is no unified methodology to monitor antisemitism; each agency and community has its own standards, and a common methodology is sorely needed.



Fair, commonly agreed upon, and full monitoring is still far from being achieved. It is one of the tasks that governmental agencies should encourage independent bodies to carry out with generous governmental financing. Surveys and reports should cover the local and national scenes and examine the social sphere in every country and

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8 Cf. M. Gottschlich and O. Gruber, *Waldheims Erbe: Antisemitische Einstellungen der österreichischen Bevölkerung: Ergebnisse einer Repräsentativbefragung 2010/2011* (Wien: Institut für Publizistik und Kommunikationswissenschaft Universität Wien, 2011; unveröffentlicht).

9 Cf. FRA – European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, *Discrimination and Hate Crime Against Jews in EU Member States: Experiences and Perceptions of Antisemitism* (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2014), [http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra-2013-discrimination-hate-crime-against-jews-eu-member-states-0\\_en.pdf](http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra-2013-discrimination-hate-crime-against-jews-eu-member-states-0_en.pdf).

should extend to the world as a whole. An intergovernmental independent institution, that will monitor the situation worldwide, is highly recommended as well.

## 7.1.2 Comprehending the problem

All branches of government, as well as politicians, are confronted with all forms of antisemitism in society at large and with antisemitism inside governmental agencies and institutions. Governmental decision makers and influencers have to ask, therefore, what are the causes of antisemitism in the country they are governing as well as within governmental institutions or political parties. For the former, the reader is referred to chapter 2 of this catalogue, which deals with religious and cultural institutions and organizations. In case of the latter, antisemitic convictions, discrimination, and acts can have different causes. For each of these individual entities, it needs to be determined what motivates antisemitism and what encourages the antisemitic attitudes of those who participate in it.

## 7.1.3 Awareness-raising

Raising awareness of antisemitism within a whole population works differently from calling attention to it within a specific branch of government, a governmental agency, a political party, or among politicians. Awareness-raising for the antisemitism in the society of a country is addressed in detail in the recommendations to religious and cultural decision makers of chapters 1 and 2.

Since politicians and governments participate in the shaping of the public discourse and the national narrative, when they publicly reject antisemitism, they set an example, bring about a moral repudiation of the phenomenon, and create a positive atmosphere towards Jewish citizens. A strongly worded and clear-cut message by leaders to their audiences is of utmost importance in the struggle against antisemitism. Declarations, marching at the head of demonstrations, speeches, and statements of support, such as those issued by Pope Francis, Angela Merkel, Antonio Guterres, and Manuel Valls, are known examples of such conduct.

In addition to the seminars and training courses recommended below to raise awareness among government employees, mechanisms of public pressure and lobbying are recommended to influence politicians and political parties. Jewish communities and representative organizations should advocate with

decision makers and alert them regularly about the current level of antisemitic discrimination, violence, and persecution in their countries, informing them about the success of their efforts to combat antisemitism, or lack thereof. The annual reports of the Kantor Center and other surveys, mentioned above, provide the necessary data for this purpose.

It is crucial to advocate with politicians to raise their awareness of the threat of antisemitism worldwide. Furthermore, public pressure through the media could also help to direct the attention of politicians and political parties towards the growing antisemitism of our time.

To raise awareness of antisemitism with decision makers, influencers, or staff of a branch of government or a governmental agency, we recommend that all decision makers and employees participate *in special training courses and seminars about both the history and culture of antisemitism and about the history, culture, and religious practices of Judaism*. These training courses should enable decision makers and influencers to recognize all forms of antisemitism, including accidental and structural antisemitism, but also to develop more appreciation for cultural and religious needs of their Jewish employees and citizens.

Both politicians and governmental employees should be *exposed* as much as possible to *living Judaism*, both in their home countries and in Israel. Positive practical experiences with Jewish culture and religion are of key importance to sensitize anyone to Jew-hatred.

#### 7.1.4 Applying recommendations

In addition to our own recommendations to political decision makers and influencers, we would like to bring to their attention a host of conferences organized by political bodies to deal with antisemitism as a major problem, especially in democratic societies. Their participants gathered much relevant material, reached conclusions and decisions, and even issued declarations. We recommend that governments and intergovernmental agencies use this valuable material that was collected in order to better implement measures against antisemitism. Examples of these conferences and gatherings include the OSCE conferences in Vienna (2003), in Berlin (2004 and 2014) and in Cordoba (2005); the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in 2007 and 2016; the London and Ottawa inter-parliamentary conferences that resulted in protocols to combat antisemitism unanimously adopted by parliamentarians from 50 countries in Ottawa in 2010; and the six Global Forums in Jerusalem, organized by the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs.



## 7.2 Special recommendations for decision makers and influencers of the legislature

Since antiquity, antisemitic agitation resulted in discrimination, persecution, and murder of Jews. Examples include the pogrom of Alexandria in 38 C.E., the pogroms connected with the First Crusade, the pogrom of Granada, the pogroms that followed the bubonic plague, the Spanish Inquisition, the Farhud, and the Shoah. History leaves no doubt that antisemitism often leads to the most horrendous forms of violence. This mechanism should be taken as an indication that manifestations of antisemitism often lead to a clear violation of basic human rights, laws, and covenants that undergird the world's societies and that have become part of international law. These include Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), Article 18 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), the OSCE Berlin Declaration of 2004, and more.

*Antisemitism should therefore be taken as an incitement to violence that often leads to a violation of human rights. Not only antisemitic violence but all expressions of antisemitism should be subject to legal measures, if and where such measures exist in the local judicial system. Where such legislation does not exist countries should expand their anti-discrimination legislation to include antisemitism as a specific form of discrimination.*

Since victims of antisemitism are entitled to any form of protection a democratic government can give them, legislatures should create laws that are preventive and protective to avoid antisemitic discrimination, persecution and violence. Legislators should create a legal framework that supports the recommendations for a long-term strategy to eradicate antisemitism, discussed in chapters 1–6 of this catalogue.

To some extent, the recommendations following represent a wish list of laws that responds to the need for protection of Jewish citizens and institutions as well as to the need to effectively eradicate antisemitism. Happily, some of these recommendations are already in place in some countries.

The fight against antisemitism should not depend on changing short-term political considerations and the shifting priorities of the electorate because only long-term strategies that will be effective over generations hold the promise of eradicating Jew-hatred.



Combating and eradicating antisemitism should be anchored in the constitutions of all countries as a constitutional purpose if political circumstances allow for this. In democracies, only constitutional legis-

lation can force both legislators and governments to do things that may not be popular with the electorate.

Most UN member countries have enacted laws prohibiting crimes motivated by racist, religious, and ethnic hatred (“hate crimes”), and incitement to hatred (“hate speech”), but antisemitic motivation is not mentioned in most of them. It is most often considered to be subsumed within the categories of the general legislation against hate crimes and hate speech. The UN Vienna conference on human rights of June 1993 declared antisemitism to be a form of racism, hence, allegedly no need for a separate legal treatment of antisemitism exists. This resolution of the conference became an excuse to avoid dealing with antisemitism. Thus, the challenge consists of recovering the narrative of human rights when antisemitism has been displaced or superseded by racism, xenophobia, and other forms of hatred. Moreover, this phenomenon has left antisemitism as an exclusively Jewish cause, undermining its relationship to basic human rights. Human rights are marshalled to nurture antisemitic sentiment through demonization and delegitimization of Israel.

Governments should be aware of the fact that few national penal codes include a specific description or mention of antisemitism (among them are the penal codes of Colombia, France, Mexico, the U.S., and Spain). Similarly, antisemitism is not mentioned in any legally-binding international or regional treaty or convention, only in non-binding resolutions and declarations.<sup>10</sup> This situation needs to be changed. At the same time, states must wisely employ soft law instruments that define or condemn antisemitism, such as the 2016 IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism that has been adopted by many countries although its legal status is non-binding.

After embodying the fight against antisemitism in the (constitutional) legislation of each country, the second most important recommendation is therefore:

- » The parliaments of all countries should adopt the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism to establish a universal standard of what constitutes antisemitism (see p. 106–07, directly below 7.1). This should ideally be done in such a way that it is enforceable or with a certain legal standing.
- › Regarding the adoption of the WDA, it is necessary to treat each state differently, considering differences among legal systems and political cultures in different countries.

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<sup>10</sup> For details, cf. T. Naamat, N. Osin and D. Porat, eds. *Legislating for Equality: A Multinational Collection of Non-Discrimination Norms* (3 vols., Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2012–2016). Vol. 1 covers Europe, vol. 2 the Americas, and vol. 3 Africa.

- › Those parts of the WDA that still wait to be implemented in certain countries need to be identified in order to strengthen those aspects of the WDA that countries are more reluctant to apply.
- › Guidelines should be drafted for each country to implement the WDA and to monitor its use in prosecution and law enforcement.

Given all of the above, we strongly recommend the enactment of specific legislation against antisemitism and Holocaust denial as defined by the IHRA working definitions of antisemitism and of Holocaust denial (see appendices 1 and 2). In Europe, we recommend also bringing cases concerning Jewish matters to the Strasbourg-based European Court of Human Rights. Its judgments are binding and require governments to amend their legislation in human rights-related areas.

- » A first step towards such legislation against antisemitism and Holocaust denial would be to raise the discussion about this much needed change in each country's parliament under anti-discrimination laws that serve as an umbrella.
- » We strongly recommend that individual legislatures enact laws against Holocaust denial. So far only 22 countries out of the 192 UN member states have done so.<sup>11</sup>
- » Create legislation that demands regular assessments of the level of antisemitism in a country and the monitoring of antisemitic activities.

An especially sensitive and difficult topic is the question of antisemitism and freedom of speech. An urgent need exists to *distinguish between freedom of speech and freedom to incite*. Hateful language and incitement cannot be regarded as a legally protected form of speech. The issue is not just what someone says, writes or publishes, but how it is perceived and interpreted. Therefore, a legal strategy needs to focus on the intent of the person who expresses antisemitic stereotypes to mobilize masses or groups to commit violence. The legal challenge is to protect freedom of expression and prevent hate speech at the same time, specifically in the case of antisemitic speech hidden under acceptable expressions. The case of the semantic overlap between “Zionist” and “Jew” is an example, reflected in the contrasting jurisprudence in Europe regarding cases of antisemitism directed against “Jews” or “Zionists” and the variable judgments of the courts.

- » Legislation should be created recognizing that in the long run antisemitism as a whole always results in violence against Jews. Anti-

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11 Cf. T. Naamat and I. Deutch, *Legislating against Antisemitism and Holocaust Denial: Fall 2013* (updated: Summer 2018; The Kantor Center for the Study of Contemporary European Jewry, 2013), 2–6.

semitism should therefore be taken as an incitement to violence that is not protected as freedom of speech.<sup>12</sup>

- » Publications, carrying antisemitic material about which there is no dispute as to their destructive contents, such as *Mein Kampf*, *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, the Nazi propaganda film *The Eternal Jew*, Sayyid Qutb's essay *Our Struggle against the Jews*, and outright Holocaust denying materials, should be banned by law, and punished by heavy fines. Only academic and national libraries should be allowed to hold copies of them. The access to such contents should be restricted to antisemitism researchers (including advanced students) and those civil servants, politicians, and journalists who need them for their work.
- » Legislation should prohibit companies and individuals from marketing or selling antisemitic memorabilia and contents in any form.
- » Legislation should force companies to accept the responsibility for marketing antisemitic contents and prohibit companies from selling or trading them in any form.
- » Legislation should allow judges to prohibit the operation of antisemitic organizations and political parties based on evidence presented in court proceedings.
- » We recommend that each government install institutes for the study of antisemitism, and that these be mandated to create blacklists specifying to which content these suggested laws should apply (see p. 73).

As argued in chapter 3, the Internet is “the primary multiplier and locus for the transmission of manifestations of antisemitism.”<sup>13</sup> A second multiplier transmitting manifestations of antisemitism are other media such as satellite TV. All existing legal means must be used to respond to antisemitic agitation in the on- and offline media. If no such legal means exist, the necessary legislation must be created.

- » Legally-binding agreements should be reached with the main media servers, such as Google, YouTube, Facebook, and Twitter, since they carry the platforms on which antisemitism has flourished most in recent years.
- » Isolated cases of the propagation of antisemitic stereotypes should result in a fine.
- » Media outlets that propagate antisemitic stereotypes or regularly generate antisemitism should be closed and prohibited.

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12 Cf. European Court of Human Rights, “European Convention on Human Rights,” [https://www.echr.coe.int/Documents/Convention\\_ENG.pdf](https://www.echr.coe.int/Documents/Convention_ENG.pdf), 12.

13 M. Schwarz-Friesel, *Antisemitism 2.0 and the Cyberculture of Hate: Hostility towards Jews as a Cultural Constant and Collective Emotional Value in the Digital Age* (short version), published online in 2018 ([https://www.linguistik.tu-berlin.de/fileadmin/fg72/Antisemitism\\_2.0\\_short\\_](https://www.linguistik.tu-berlin.de/fileadmin/fg72/Antisemitism_2.0_short_)

- » Legislation should order the removal of any kind of webpage with content identified as antisemitic.
- » Legislation should prohibit social bots, fake accounts, etc. through which antisemitic hate speech is spread.
- » Laws should be created that make all online platforms liable for any kind of hate speech that is expressed on them. In the virtual world, they function like a publishing house, journals or TV channel; they are hence responsible for the hate that is spread through their platforms.
- » Each country should develop special legislation against cyber-antisemitism and antisemitic content on the Internet if it has not done so already.
- » Laws should be created that block the broadcasting of antisemitic TV and radio stations via satellite and other means.

Any proposed legislation must attempt to balance the interests of protecting free speech and, at the same time, protecting against the spread of antisemitic incitement.

For legislators, another important matter to consider is the legal protection of Jewish religious practices. If such laws do not yet exist, we recommend that legislators should create laws protecting not only all cultic and ritual practices of Judaism but also those of other minorities. Examples for such practices include circumcision, ritual slaughter and the observance of Jewish holidays.

### 7.3 Special recommendations for the judiciary

The judiciary branch of government has two responsibilities in the fight against antisemitism. On the one hand, it should do everything in its power to assess and eradicate any form of accidental or explicit antisemitism in its own institutions. On the other hand, as part of its decision-making, it should use all legal means at its disposal to restrain antisemitism.

#### 7.3.1 Antisemitism in the judiciary

For fighting antisemitic discrimination in institutions of the judiciary, see above 7.1.4. In addition to the policies recommended there for all employees of government, decision makers and influencers of the judiciary are advised to follow the policies below.

- » Training workshops should be organized for judges and prosecutors. Several recent rulings by prosecutors and judges in European courts

show a discernible lack of understanding of antisemitism in its modern and contemporary forms and lack of basic knowledge of the history of World War II and of the Holocaust. Examples include the municipal court of Wuppertal, Germany which denied that an arson attack on the local synagogue was antisemitic in character, as it was intended “to direct attention to the Gaza-conflict.”<sup>14</sup> Therefore, it is necessary to organize workshops for judges and prosecutors based on the WDA in order to improve the understanding of its legal implications. In these seminars, the WDA could serve as a uniform template for the investigation and prosecution of hate crimes. Good practice examples are seminars that are being held in Austria since 2015 in the framework of the training department of the Austrian Federal Ministry for Constitutional Affairs, Reforms, Deregulation, and Justice.

- » Law students in countries where law schools do not include human rights law should be trained in the international human rights law dimension of antisemitism. This training could be offered through special seminars and summer schools targeting the students in question.
- » Decision makers of the judiciary need to carefully monitor decisions by judges and others for accidental and intentional antisemitism.

### 7.3.2 The fight against antisemitism by members of the judiciary

Judges, prosecutors, and lawyers are in a highly respected position in the society of many countries. All members of the judiciary, therefore, have a unique ability to condemn the discrimination and hate of antisemitism and should do so publicly. Members of the judiciary can and should also put every effort into improving the legal system of their countries regarding the fight against antisemitism. For both purposes we recommend the following policies:

- » Refrain from giving legitimacy to antisemites by refusing to participate in or speak at their events.
- » Decry disinformation, hate speech, and antisemitic rumors and propaganda such as the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

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<sup>14</sup> B. Schrep, “Sechs Brandsätze in der Nacht,” *Spiegel online*, January 18, 2016, <http://www.spiegel.de/panorama/justiz/brandanschlag-auf-synagoge-in-wuppertal-taeter-erneut-vor-gericht-a-1072396.html> [“Sie hätten mit ihrer Aktion *nur auf den Gaza-Krieg hinweisen* wollen.”]; S. Laurin, “Wuppertal und die Brandstifter,” *Jüdische Allgemeine*, January 12, 2017, <https://www.juedische-allgemeine.de/article/view/id/27477> [“Die Behauptung der drei Täter, sie hätten mit ihrem Angriff auf das Bethaus die *Aufmerksamkeit auf den Gaza-Konflikt lenken* wollen, wurde ihnen von den Gerichten geglaubt.”]; S. Wildman, “German Court Rules That Firebombing a Synagogue Is Not Anti-Semitic,” *Vox*, January 13, 2017, <https://www.vox.com/world/2017/1/13/14268994/synagogue-wuppertal-anti-semitism-anti-zionism-anti-israel>.

- » Based on your legal expertise, forcefully and publicly argue against any discrimination against Jews.
- » Strengthen coordinated offensives among different actors against international organizations and bodies for their unequal treatment of Israel.

### 7.3.3 Other recommendations for the legal and NGO community

- » Augment activism in international organizations against antisemitism and Israel's delegitimization through increased submissions by NGOs and research centers.
- » Create a coalition of established NGOs (e.g., Human Rights First, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch) for campaigning against hate speech and antisemitism.
- » Create a database of episodes and cases, advocacy, and litigation against antisemitism.
  - › The database should contain different episodes of antisemitism that have been litigated or have been the object of legal advocacy campaigns.
  - › This database should be available to any organization or activist involved in the fight against antisemitism for sharing experiences and creating possibilities of global partnerships.
- » Organize regional legal workshops for circulating best practices.
  - › Legal workshops are fundamental for sharing best practices in the formulation of arguments and the understanding of successful strategies for dealing with antisemitism.
  - › However, the predominance of common law practice makes it difficult for civil law lawyers and activists to translate these practices into their own legal systems. Therefore, regional workshops are deemed to be the most efficacious way to circulate best practices and stimulate strategic thought because lawyers work in similar legal frameworks.
- » Encourage legal activism and advocacy against antisemitism on the domestic and international levels.
  - › Define potentially winning cases of antisemitic hate speech and pursue criminal prosecution.
  - › Engage non-Jewish lawyers in the battle against antisemitism as an ethical call in the battle for human rights.
  - › A good practice example for legal activism against antisemitism is the International Organization of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists (IJLJ) that has branches in many countries. Since 2012, the European branch has had a "Task Force" to combat rising antisemitism through legal means. Its members emphasize the need to have experts come to

court, to guide activists who represent cases in international fora, and to supply relevant material.

- » Either launch or join *Lawfare – a legal struggle for Jewish rights*. Jewish rights have to be treated and protected equally to those of any other citizen. The reason underlying and justifying this recommendation is the uniqueness of the Jewish people that cannot be defined as a nationality, nor as a religion, nor as an ethnic entity, but rather as a particular combination of these components. Hence, the unique nature of antisemitism, as a centuries-long combination of religious, racial, economic, and politically-rooted hatred and the necessity to enact separate legislation to combat it.
- » Prepare and publish legal guidelines online and in print instructing the general public how to deal with antisemitic incidents.
- » Frame antisemitism as not just a problem of hate speech but also of freedom of religion, in order to prosecute those violent episodes against Jewish religious sites or Jewish persons that are identifiable as Jews by their clothing, names, practices, and other characteristics.
- » Bring Hamas, Hezbollah, and Iran to justice based on the 1948 Convention against Genocide as well as any other entity advocating mass murder.

#### **7.4 Special recommendations for decision makers and influencers of the executive**

Many governments have put significant effort into fighting antisemitism but without the successes they desired. There are several reasons for this gap between the efforts of the executive and the lack of success. The triangle made of the extreme left, extreme right, and radical Islamists does not include the audiences that are influenced by the results of governmental efforts. Radicals and extremists might not even be aware of these efforts, and, if they are aware of them, will ignore them anyhow. Mostly, only those who are already convinced about the evil of antisemitism will be open to educational and legislative efforts to fight it. The reasons for the immunity of antisemites to educational approaches to fight antisemitism have been discussed in detail in chapters 1 and 2 of this catalogue regarding religious and cultural institutions and organizations. Antisemitism, however, is not the domain of the extremists only, but became, at least in some countries, part and parcel of mainstream society as well. Such antisemitism is, at least in part, a consequence of widespread disenchantment with local governments and policies. Antisemites of the non-radical brand are, therefore, also resistant to governmental efforts to fight antisemitism. It is of utmost importance that government officials



and political leaders realize the extent of the gap between their well-intended efforts, and the limited success these efforts have had with antisemites.

This discrepancy between governmental efforts, both on the national and the international level, and the limited success in fighting antisemitism, points to the need for a new approach to the fight against antisemitism, which we hope to provide, at least in part, in this catalogue.

As emphasized in the preceding chapters, the fight against antisemitism should be guided by three basic considerations, namely, the religious and cultural nature of antisemitism, and the assertion that many manifestations of antisemitism are a human rights issue. Combating antisemitism to a great extent implies fighting for human rights, a concept that is easily understandable by the public. However, this effort will fall short of success if it is forgotten that all forms of antisemitism—even seemingly secular, racist antisemitism—are dualistic religious convictions that are anchored in the cultural memories of most societies of the world (see p. 20–23).

Governments can and should contribute to the fight against antisemitism in several areas. Their contribution should concern fiscal, domestic, and foreign policy. Cultural, educational, research, and religious policies have been addressed already in the introduction, as well as in chapters 1–2 and 4–5 of this catalogue.

#### 7.4.1 Fiscal contributions to the fight against antisemitism

It is often surprisingly difficult to get funds for projects fighting antisemitism. The common implicit expectation that Jewish donors or Jewish foundations should fund efforts to research and combat antisemitism is in itself an aspect of structural antisemitism that should be addressed in political discourse. While donations of individuals and foundations should and will always be welcome in the fight against antisemitism, it is the duty and obligation of the general public, as represented by their governments, to fund the fight against a phenomenon that most often leads to basic violations of human rights. We recommend, therefore, that each government should allocate annually at least in excess of 0.02% of the gross domestic product of its country to the fight against antisemitism.

Some of the projects that should be funded in this way include

- » The security of Jewish communities and institutions.
- » In regular intervals, representative surveys that assess the level of antisemitism in a country.
- » The continuous monitoring of antisemitic incidents.
- » National and international hotlines, through which victims of antisemitism can ask for help and where cases of antisemitic acts can be registered (see below).
- » The detection and removal of antisemitic contents on the Internet.
- » Institutes for the critical study of antisemitism in each country (see chapter 4, p. 73).
- » Programs that facilitate cultural and religious encounters between Jews and non-Jews, both at home and in Israel.
- » Efforts to make accurate information about Judaism and the history of antisemitism easily available both on- and offline.
- » Cultural and other exchange programs with the State of Israel.

#### 7.4.2 Domestic policy

In the realm of domestic policy, members of the executive have a wide range of options to fight antisemitism. We have discussed policies of how to embed positive content about Jews in the cultural and religious memories of the world in detail in chapters 1 and 2 of this catalogue and refer the reader to them. In addition to these measures, members of the executive could and should honor the victims of antisemitic persecution with special memorial days.

- » In November 2005, the UN declared an International Holocaust Memorial Day (IHMD), to be observed by ceremonies, educational programs, public gatherings, and governmental raising of awareness. Each UN member state was asked to adopt such plans, and a new department was set up, a UN Outreach Program, to help countries implement the UN decision. In 2017, 110 countries mentioned the IHMD, and leaders in most of them spoke about it. The Holocaust, being the most extreme manifestation of antisemitism, provides leaders with an opportunity to emphasize that World War II was a worldwide catastrophe—some 55 million lost their lives and a multitude of countries were physically devastated. The lesson is clear: What begins with antisemitism and persecution of the Jews, never ends with them.
- » In addition to a Holocaust Memorial Day, each country should install local memorial days honoring the victims of local pogroms. A possible example could be an Austrian memorial day for the Vienna Gezerah commemorating March 12<sup>th</sup>, 1421, when Duke Albrecht of Austria had

212 Jews summarily executed because of their alleged “wickedness.”<sup>15</sup> Another possible example could be July 4<sup>th</sup> as a day to commemorate the pogrom in Kielce, Poland in 1946 when a blood libel incited the murder of 40 Jews in the Polish town of Kielce with a further 80 Jews being (severely) wounded.

Central to the well-being of all Jewish inhabitants of a country are measures to restrain antisemitism locally and to protect its victims. The protection and security of Jewish communities will be discussed in part 7.4.4 of this catalogue and is extensively addressed by a catalogue of measures of the OSCE’s Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR).<sup>16</sup> Beyond the realm of protection, members of the executive can and should do more that contributes to reducing the influence and power of antisemites to the lowest conceivable level and to supporting their Jewish populations and institutions as much as possible. For this purpose the following policies are recommended:

- » All antisemitic organizations and political parties should be prohibited if the legislation of a country allows for that, and, if not, laws that provide the executive and the judiciary with that power should be enacted (see 7.2 and 7.3).
- » Governments should take into consideration resolutions formerly adopted by other governments and parliaments regarding combating antisemitism. For instance, in March 2015 the Canadian parliament unanimously condemned the alarming global escalation of antisemitism and called on the Canadian government to make combating antisemitism a domestic and foreign policy priority.<sup>17</sup> The French government decided in 2017 to finance more than 600 projects, both locally and nationally, under the umbrella of a new inter-ministerial program to fight racism and antisemitism, a program to be enlarged in the years 2018–2020 to become a national mobilization against hate and to reaffirm the values of the French Republic.<sup>18</sup>
- » Each parliament should establish a working group to combat antisemitism. The independent scholars’ committee established by the German

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15 The pogrom began on May 23, 1421, when Duke Albrecht had all Austrian Jews incarcerated and had most of them evicted from Austria one month later.

16 Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, *Understanding Anti-Semitic Hate Crimes and Addressing the Security Needs of Jewish Communities: A Practical Guide*, May 15, 2017, <https://www.osce.org/odihr/317191?download=true>.

17 Cf. Jewish Telegraphic Agency, “Parliament Unanimously Condemns Rise of Anti-Semitism,” *The Canadian Jewish News*, February 26, 2015, <http://www.cjnews.com/news/canada/parliament-unanimously-condemns-rise-anti-semitism>.

18 Cf. “Bilan 2017 des actes racistes, antisémites, antimusulmans et antichrétiens,” communicated by Gérard Collomb, *ministre d’Etat*, Minister of the Interior on January 31, 2018, <https://www.interieur.gouv.fr/Actualites/L-actu-du-Ministere/Bilan-2017-des-actes-racistes-antisemites-antimusulmans-et-antichretiens>.

Bundestag in 2014 that handed in its extensive report in April 2017 is such an example.<sup>19</sup> Each such working group should include Jewish experts as members.

- » Each government should appoint a special envoy on antisemitism. This commissioner should serve as a point of contact for the Jewish communities, and as an interlocutor between them and the federal, state, and local organs. A good practice example is the “European Parliament resolution on combating anti-Semitism” of June 1<sup>st</sup>, 2017. The resolution not only welcomes “the appointment of the Commission Coordinator on Combating Anti-Semitism,” currently Katharina von Schnurbein, but “calls on the Member States to appoint national coordinators for combating anti-Semitism.”<sup>20</sup> In Germany, Dr. Felix Klein was appointed to such a position in 2018, and Bulgaria appointed Deputy Foreign Minister Georg Georgiev the national coordinator for the fight against antisemitism in 2017. With regard to an envoy on antisemitism, the current administration in the USA has not nominated a candidate for this position. A positive signal was sent, though, by the U.S. House of Representatives who voted to have the position renewed and upgraded to an ambassadorial level.
- » With the office of each national coordinator on combating antisemitism, a national hotline should be created to report antisemitic discrimination and to offer victims of antisemitism an opportunity to ask for help. In case countries refuse to install such a hotline, it should be provided by an international political organization such as the European Union.
- » Officials who express antisemitic opinions should be named and shamed in public, and forced to resign. If they refuse to resign, they should be dismissed. Decisions about such dismissals should be made by committees that would have to investigate each case, a significant part of whose members should consist of outside expertise.
- » Abusive language of members of the executive and other decision makers and influencers should be denounced unequivocally by any country’s leaders.
- » Government officials should advocate for objectivity and journalistic standards in news media, stressing a commitment to the dignity and safety of the Jewish people, and the Jewish state’s right to exist.

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19 Cf. Unabhängiger Expertenkreis Antisemitismus, “Bericht des Unabhängigen Expertenkreises Antisemitismus,” April 7, 2017, <https://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/downloads/DE/publikationen/themen/gesellschaft-integration/expertenbericht-antisemitismus-in-deutschland.pdf>.

20 European Parliament / Legislative Observatory, “European Parliament Resolution on Combating Anti-Semitism,” June 1, 2017, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//NONSGML+TA+P8-TA-2017-0243+0+DOC+PDF+V0//EN>.

- » In cases of clear-cut antisemitic agitation, members of the executive should do their utmost to abide by the legislation we recommend above (see 7.2), i.e., to prohibit such publications on- and offline.

Another area where members of the executive can help is to facilitate intercultural and interreligious encounters and to initiate targeted education of minorities prone to antisemitism. We therefore recommend that members of the executive:

- » Promote intercultural and interreligious encounters and dialogues of Muslim organizations and institutions, such as mosques, with Jewish institutions and those institutions that support education against antisemitism.
- » Support the interreligious work of many imams that includes their experience in ongoing work against antisemitism in Muslim communities.
- » Facilitate personal and group contacts, such as Muslim-Jewish business enterprises, schools, and sports leagues, in order to give the “other” a personal face that minimizes group stereotypes.
- » Develop preventive measures against religious extremism, particularly against Salafist radicalization in schools, mosque communities, and youth welfare programs.
- » Investigate the possible connection between immigration and antisemitism, and between immigration and terror. Given the possibility of such a connection, as a first step, seminars and courses for newcomers about the customs and traditions and dos and don’ts of their host country seem advisable. Such seminars and courses should include education about Judaism, its traditions and history, especially the local one, and about other minorities. A good practice example is a program of seminars developed in Norway.<sup>21</sup>
- » Empower and protect Muslims who state that extremist views and hatred of Jews are a distortion of true Islam. Such moderates must be empowered and supported because they are often in personal danger for advocating their views.
- » Impress on Muslim leadership that governmental bodies that are vigilant against antisemitism and that promote education to that end are the insurance of human rights for all groups, including the human rights of Muslims.
- » Work in parallel with other minorities to fight antisemitism and other forms of prejudice and discrimination. In this way, the false impression

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<sup>21</sup> The seminars are called “lov om introduksjonsordning og norskopplaering for nyankomne innvandrere” in Norwegian. Their commonly used short title is “introduksjonsloven” meaning “Introduction to Law.”

of an exclusive concern for Jewish interests can be sidestepped, thus avoiding more resentment against Jews. What is needed is to promote the principle and strategy of intersectionality—to make common cause with other victims of racism and discrimination. Along this line, governments should encourage the cooperation between Jewish communities, civil society bodies, and NGOs, that are taking care of other minorities.

- » Fund organizations that work for the integration of migrants and refugees based on the promotion of democratic values and immunization against antisemitism—and not according to ethno-religious credentials.
- » Stop the funding of organizations that promote antisemitism, anti-Zionism, and terror and bring such organizations to court. This same funding should be used for the work of organizations that try to integrate immigrants, by instilling in them democratic and pluralist values.

Many members of the executive have an elevated standing and are thus able to influence the public debate significantly. Much of what politicians and influencers can do to have a positive impact on the public debate about antisemitism is discussed in chapter 2 of this catalogue and further discussions can be found below in section 7.5.

We would like to bring the attention of politicians to a special problem influencing the public debate, i.e., that antisemitism is moving into the mainstream of society and is not only the domain of the extreme fringes. In this way, antisemitic ideas become part of an accepted public discourse. This situation leads, in turn, to a denial of antisemitism, a recent and new phenomenon now common in mainstream society, political parties, amongst intellectuals, and in academia. Mainstream antisemitism and denial of antisemitism are often hidden behind philosemitic self-representations or behind alleged fair criticism of Israel. Opinion leaders and other intellectuals refuse to be labeled as antisemites or the authors of antisemitic texts by fostering the image of objective observers. It seems that antisemitic opinions voiced today by the left-liberal elite or by right-wing elites in the U.S. are becoming socially more accepted, and they are reaching a status of being permissible in mainstream societies, especially when clothed in implicit expressions and academic jargon.

### 7.4.3 Foreign and international policy

The arena of foreign and international policy is key to the solution of many problems created by antisemitism. Antisemites organize and act today on an international scale. Only when politicians and other members of the execu-

tive coordinate their efforts on such an international scale as well can the restraint of antisemitism be successful. On a European level, the “European Parliament Resolution of 1 June 2017 on Combating Antisemitism” is crucial in this context.<sup>22</sup> It is the first resolution by the European Parliament solely dedicated to the fight against antisemitism. The resolution formulates crucial recommendations for the Member States of the European Union to implement the fight against antisemitism more effectively and to guarantee the security of Jewish communities in the European Union. On a trans-European level, the policy recommendations in this resolution resonate beyond the Member States of the European Union. They are also valuable for states seeking access to the EU, as well as countries who are part of the European Neighbourhood Policy. Beyond that, the European parliament resolution on combating antisemitism can also serve as a best practice example for countries elsewhere that are committed to strengthening the fight against antisemitism.

- » As in the case of national parliaments (see 7.4.2, p. 121–22), we recommend the establishment of international working groups of members of parliaments as well. A good and rather successful practice example is the European Parliament Working Group on Antisemitism (EP-WGAS), which brings together Members of the European Parliament (EP) at a cross-party level to improve the way in which the EU combats Antisemitism, and for which the European Jewish Congress acts as secretariat and member of its advisory board. EP-WGAS is recognized as the primary vehicle used by the EP’s Anti-Racism and Diversity Intergroup (ARDI) to deal with antisemitism in the European Parliament and nominates its Chair to the bureau of ARDI. Acting as initiator and advisor to the political groups in the European Parliament, EP-WGAS was instrumental in the adoption of the European Parliament Resolution on 1 June 2017 on combating antisemitism, discussed above.
- » For victims of antisemitism in countries that do not commit to the fight against antisemitism, an international hotline should be created by an international political organization.
- » With regard to countries that are not committed to the fight against antisemitism, depending on the situation, international agencies and NGOs should intervene with due caution or should exert public pressure by way of naming and shaming to bring their governments to acknowledge the problem of antisemitism and its harmful effect on society as a whole. In this way, such governments might understand

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22 Cf. “European Parliament Resolution of 1 June 2017 on Combating Antisemitism,” Brussels, June 1, 2017, [www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=ta&reference=p8-ta-2017-0243&language=EN&ring=B8-2017-0383](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=ta&reference=p8-ta-2017-0243&language=EN&ring=B8-2017-0383) (accessed October 23, 2018).

that not only Jews, but all citizens and minorities of any country benefit from the fight against antisemitism.

- » The UN has become in recent years an arena for antisemitic and anti-Israel-biased debates and resolutions. Prof. Irwin Cotler, former Canadian Minister of Justice, recommends that national representatives not leave the UN or any other international body of similar nature, but stay to try to have an impact from within. Governments should let Jews take issue with such bodies and become plaintiffs, so as not to leave international bodies to act alone.<sup>23</sup>

The question of Islamic antisemitism is a major policy issue. In the age of satellite TV and the Internet, the flow of hate messages and antisemitic agitation against the State of Israel from countries like Iran poisons the minds of Muslims and other people worldwide. Jew-hatred incessantly manipulates Muslims in Europe via social networks or state media in Turkish, Arabic, or Farsi.

- » Governments and intergovernmental organizations should condemn the blatant state sanctioned antisemitism that exists in a number of countries, such as Iran, and consider banning them in the international arena. The difficulty arises when it is perceived that such a ban might harm the economic interests of many countries for the sake of the well-being of one minority. For example, such countries would suffer if they refuse to make agreements with oil-abundant countries, and their support of the fight against antisemitism might affect other needs of the state. It should be remembered, however, that genocidal antisemitism that calls publicly for the destruction of the Jewish state and for killing of Jews no matter where they are, starts with Jews but never ends with them. The other minorities attacked and murdered by Moslem Brothers or ISIS are one example.
- » Encourage interfaith dialogue as well as Jewish-Arab-Muslim meetings for the discussion of issues of mutual interest, such as the meeting of Iraqi poets and writers with former Iraqi Jews in October 2017 in Berlin that discussed the Jewish cultural contribution in Iraq and the reasons for the demise of this community.
- » Politicians should raise the issue of antisemitism with representatives of Muslim states and begin to exert public pressure. Such foreign policy pressure should not be restricted to states like Iran but also include states like Turkey. A good practice example is the 2014 meeting

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<sup>23</sup> Cf. "Report: UN Ignored Antisemitism for Decade," *UN Watch*, July 9, 2018, <https://www.unwatch.org/report-un-ignored-antisemitism-decade/>.



between former U.S. President Barack Obama and Turkey's president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.<sup>24</sup>

- » All governments worldwide should denounce and punish state or non-state actors that allow Islamic antisemitism to spread by means of textbooks, mosques, and media.
- » All governments should ban entities, such as radical Muslim organizations, that openly promote Jew-hatred, deny the Holocaust and/or call for violent acts. This includes a stop to the funding of organizations that promote antisemitism and anti-Zionism, religious fundamentalism, the inequality of women, and hatred against minorities, and that are still partners of Western state institutions today.
- » All governments should investigate if their humanitarian contributions are being used by others to fund antisemitic actions or terrorism.

#### 7.4.4 Law enforcement

Guaranteeing the security of Jewish institutions and individuals is an urgent task that governmental decision makers should shoulder by taking immediate action. Indeed, a number of Western democracies put considerable effort into the physical protection of Jewish sites and persons, such France, the Netherlands, and the UK. But more states have to recognize the physical threat that Jewish communities are under both as Jews, at the hands of right-wing extremists and radical Muslims, and as citizens who are part of a society threatened by terrorism.

For the security of Jewish communities and institutions, as well as for the role of law enforcement in the fight against antisemitism, the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) has published an extensive catalogue that addresses the issue exhaustively and to which we would like to refer our readers.<sup>25</sup> We will restrict our own discussion therefore to principal observations.

The security measures to be taken for the protection of Jewish communities and individuals require long-standing financial support that is a burden on governmental budgets. Nevertheless, such funding must be provided by governments as part of their obligation to provide security for all citizens and inhabitants. Jewish communities should neither be expected nor required to

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24 J. Jalil, "Obama Urges Turkey to Combat Anti-Semitism," *The Times of Israel*, September 9, 2014, [http://www.timesofisrael.com/obama-urges-turkey-to-combat-anti-semitism/?fb\\_comment\\_id=640806102701780\\_641055739343483#fd87cf0eb873b8](http://www.timesofisrael.com/obama-urges-turkey-to-combat-anti-semitism/?fb_comment_id=640806102701780_641055739343483#fd87cf0eb873b8).

25 Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, *Understanding Anti-Semitic Hate Crimes and Addressing the Security Needs of Jewish Communities: A Practical Guide*, May 15, 2017, <https://www.osce.org/odihr/317191?download=true>.

pay for their own security needs. We urge the relevant officials to remember that these expenses are interwoven with the overall expense of security: more police on the streets and around communal sites and better intelligence shared by agencies help to keep public order and are a deterrent not only against terrorism targeting Jews but against all terrorism. We strongly recommend that protective measures be taken in cooperation with Jewish institutions and communities that must be especially attentive to young people. The very presence of army and police near and around Jewish installations might cause children anxiety. A good practice example includes the 10.000 soldiers allocated in 2017 by the French government to protect Jewish sites. The president of the Conseil Représentatif des Institutions Juives de France (CRIF), at that times Roger Cukierman, stated, “We cannot ask for more.”<sup>26</sup> Despite this massive French protection effort, despite the allocated budgets, and despite educational programs, violent antisemitic incidents increased in France during the year 2017 as compared to 2016 (97 compared to 77) according to the French Ministry of the Interior.<sup>27</sup>

Better protection will be achieved once the Jewish communities gain trust in the local authorities and are confident that these authorities are acting for their benefit. In this regard, the hotlines mentioned above (see p. 122 and 125) are of utmost importance. They will enable victims to report immediately or even get immediate help. Very few such hotlines exist and many more are needed. Trust in the state organs will bring about not only the needed help but also better reporting and monitoring.

Similar to the training of judges and prosecutors requested above, training programs for police officers and other law enforcement personnel are needed. These training programs should be guided by the WDA as a uniform template for law enforcement authorities in the investigation and prosecution of hate crimes. In some countries the training of police officers making use of the WDA began years ago:<sup>28</sup> EDPOL, the European Diversity in Policing, an initiative of European police agencies to train officers who will be posted in sensitive areas, is now replaced by the FRA, the Fundamental Rights Agency.

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26 A. Borschel-Dan, “French Government Doing Utmost to Protect Jews, Says Leader,” *The Times of Israel*, November 17, 2015, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/french-government-doing-utmost-to-protect-jews-says-community-leader/>.

27 For exact numbers of the 2017 report of the French Ministry of the Interior cf. “Bilan 2017 des actes racistes, antisémites, antimusulmans et antichrétiens,” communicated by Gérard Collomb, *ministre d’Etat*, Minister of the Interior on January 31, 2018, <https://www.interieur.gouv.fr/Actualites/L-actu-du-Ministere/Bilan-2017-des-actes-racistes-antisemites-antimusulmans-et-antichretiens>.

28 One such training seminar took place, for example in Dublin, in 2014. Ireland has been the most active country in this regard.

EDPOL and FRA should refocus and expand their efforts to train police officers on how to deal with antisemitic incidents.

## 7.5 Special recommendations for decision makers in political parties and influencers of the political discourse

Political parties play a key role in many democracies. Accidental or explicit antisemitism in them are thus particularly dangerous and even greater danger comes from political parties that are committed in their principals to antisemitism. The latter should be prohibited (see 7.2). We therefore recommend the following policies to political parties:

- » Each political party should endorse and apply the Working Definition of Antisemitism (WDA).
- » The constitution or bylaws of each political party should include a clause that antisemitism as defined by the WDA violates democratic principles and that many manifestations of antisemitism violate human rights. Cases of explicit antisemitism are therefore cause to reject new members or to expel existing members.
- » A statement that antisemitism is an affront to human rights, clearly introduced into the constitution of each political party, will facilitate the resignation of members voicing antisemitism.
- » Each political party should encourage outside investigation into incidents of antisemitism among its members.
- » Antisemitic activities of party members confirmed by such investigations should result in suspension or expulsion depending on if an antisemitic incident was explicit. Expulsion should be mandatory for all party members holding public office.
- » Political parties should not hire antisemites.
- » Political parties should not nominate antisemites for any public or party office.
- » During electoral campaigns, candidates should be encouraged to sign a pledge committing them to fight antisemitism if elected.
- » Party leaders should denounce all antisemitic utterances and publications of politicians who wish to attract votes by using antisemitic propaganda. Politicians who use such propaganda should know that there is a price to be paid, by losing party, public, and governmental support.

## 7.6 The BDS Movement

A form of antisemitism particularly debated today is connected with what began as the Arab boycott and what is now known as the BDS (Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions) movement. This movement officially started in 2005, although the Arab boycott dates from the time of the founding of the State of Israel in 1948. It attempted to create a situation in which companies that sought to do business in the Arab world would have to forswear any business contacts with Israel. There was a time in the not-so-distant past when many companies actually succumbed to these threats. As of May 2018, a total of 25 states in the U.S. and the federal government have passed anti-BDS legislation, making compliance with the Arab boycott illegal.<sup>29</sup> In Canada, in 2016, a non-binding motion was passed in the Legislative Assembly of Ontario that “calls on the legislature to stand against any movement that promotes hate, prejudice and racism” and “reject the ‘differential treatment’ of Israel by the BDS movement.”<sup>30</sup> In France, hate speech laws have been applied to BDS activities.<sup>31</sup> In Spain 27 out of 45 municipalities cancelled their ban on Israel because, according to Spanish law, a municipality is not entitled to enact it.<sup>32</sup>

Making the boycott even more insidious, companies seeking to do business in the Arab world were sworn away from doing business with Jewish-identified companies, especially those that had contact with Israel. This tertiary boycott affected many businesses owned by Jews throughout the world. BDS harms the legitimate interests of the general public, businesses, and Ameri-

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29 A list of all states including summaries of the anti-BDS legal statements can be found in the Jewish Virtual Library, “Anti-Semitism: State Anti-BDS Legislation,” accessed October 9, 2018, <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/anti-bds-legislation>.

30 “Press Release: CIJA Applauds Ontario Legislature Motion Rejecting BDS,” *Canadian Jewish Advocacy*, December 1, 2016, <https://cija.ca/press-release-cija-applauds-ontario-legislature-motion-rejecting-bds/>. For the original text of the Standing Up Against Anti-Semitism in Ontario Act cf. “Bill 202, Standing Up Against Anti-Semitism in Ontario Act, 2016,” Legislative Assembly of Ontario, accessed October 9, 2018, <https://www.ola.org/en/legislative-business/bills/parliament-41/session-1/bill-202>.

31 France’s Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen of 1789 (*Déclaration des droits de l’homme et du citoyen de 1789*) includes the freedom of expression, the freedom of press was consolidated in 1881. However, this freedom does not encompass racism, antisemitism, racial hatred, and justification of terrorism. In October 2015, the French Supreme Court (Cour de cassation) officially prohibited the “boycott call by movement associations or citizen to criticize the policy of a third State,” considering it a violation to article 24, §8 of the French Press Law that prohibits provocation for discrimination or hatred. Following this legal decision, BDS activities have continuously been considered public offences according to the Cour de cassation statement of October 2015 and are thus punishable by law. Cf. “France Outlaws Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS),” Conseil Représentatif des Institutions Juives de France, November 10, 2015, accessed October 9, 2018, <http://www.crif.org/en/actualites/france-outlaws-boycott-divestment-and-sanctions-bds/57796>.

32 Cf. Jewish Telegraphic Agency, “Spanish Municipality To Cancel Resolution Boycotting Israel,” *The Times of Israel*, August 25, 2016, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/spanish-municipality-nixes-resolution-on-boycotting-israel/>.

ca's longstanding ally, Israel. BDS seeks to cripple brands affiliated with Israel or that are Israeli invented, yet Israel is at the forefront of technological and medical innovation. The BDS boycott list includes: Nestlé, Motorola, Hewlett-Packard, Starbucks, Coca Cola, Sodastream, Revlon, Victoria's Secret, and Proctor & Gamble. Even Disney was boycotted because Disney World's Theme Park Epcot's exhibit acknowledged Jerusalem as Israel's capital. In addition, companies that have had factories in the West Bank have been forced to close their operations by BDS advocates, putting Palestinian workers, the very people they claim to champion, out of work.

On the whole, the movement has been less successful in the United States than in Europe, where a number of pension funds and private banks have divested from targeted companies. In the United States, several university student bodies have called on their schools to divest. Though to date none has done so, the movement has made Israel a polarizing issue on U.S. campuses. Several scholarly organizations and other academic bodies have committed themselves, however, to the BDS movement.

All in all, this economic boycott ceased to be very successful because companies found that doing business in Israel was much more worthwhile than restricting themselves to the Arab world with its less developed and less innovative economies. Gradually, companies made clear to Arab governments that they would cease upholding the boycott, and the Arab world seemed to accept this situation.

While BDS has succeeded to a very limited extent, perhaps more insidious than its actual economic effect is the fact that it has clearly moved beyond opposition to Israel's domestic and foreign policy. As argued above, BDS applies a double-standard to the State of Israel and its citizens. The BDS sponsorship of the delegitimization and demonization of Israel is a human rights issue.

Holding Israel to a double standard while neglecting gross human rights violations of other countries, particularly in the Middle East, and focusing on Israel-bashing are forms of antisemitism. As it developed, especially in the European environment, it has increasingly been closely linked with antisemitic tropes and with demands of Israel that clearly are unlike those demanded of any other nations in the world, an approach that usually indicates antisemitic prejudices. It is quite common to see protest signs, cartoons, and other materials regarding BDS that are clearly based on and connected to antisemitic themes and symbols. While it is difficult to determine exactly the boundary between boycott as a means of political protest and as a manifestation of antisemitism, it is clear that the two have often merged as a major

problem today. While there has been much argument about the question of whether BDS must be considered antisemitic, and, for that matter, what is the boundary between antisemitism and opposition to Israel, it is widely agreed that the antisemitism in this movement must be stamped out.



As argued above, BDS applies a double-standard to the State of Israel and its citizens. The BDS sponsorship of the delegitimization and demonization of Israel can lead to human rights issues.

Sanctions against Israel are counterproductive. Keeping abreast of the latest in technology from agricultural aids, to disaster relief, to medical devices, will reveal that many inventions originate in Israel. These important enterprises are having a positive global impact, especially in less-developed countries. The stifling of academic interchange and pressure on performers and entertainers to withdraw from Israeli tours is another manifestation of BDS. Given that BDS can lead to violations of human rights, anti-BDS legislation is a wise and constitutional alternative that should be adopted in Europe and elsewhere.

We therefore call on members of all branches of government and of all political parties as well as all other decision makers and influencers:

- » To make BDS and other such boycotts illegal when and where they violate existing laws.
- » To publically challenge organizations that refuse to do business with Israel or that will not deal with companies that trade with or have offices in Israel.
- » To not subscribe to boycotting Israeli imports and to not refuse to buy products that are sold in Israel.
- » To not allow your company, university, etc. to remove its investments in the Israeli economy and academia.
- » To not subscribe to wholesale sanctions against Israel.

## 7.7 Antisemitism and the State of Israel

Far be it for us to advise the government and administration of the State of Israel regarding the means to combat antisemitism. Yet it is clear that the hopes and illusions of the forerunners of Zionism and the dreamers about a reduction of antisemitism as a result of the establishment of a Jewish political entity did not materialize: From 1948 up to the Six Day War in 1967, the level of antisemitism decreased worldwide, but from the 1970's on, it came back in a number of forms—the rise of the extreme left coupled by Soviet interests in

the Arab and Third Worlds targeting Israel as a colonial capitalist endeavor; the comeback of extreme right-wing movements that wish to whitewash the past; and radical Islamists, whose goal is to foster a Muslim antisemitic identity as a tool against Israel.

Today Israel is targeted from the three sides of this triangle, and the more it is recognized as a Jewish state, the more the image of the Jews, and their alleged characteristics, as individuals and as a collective, is being transferred to their state. Therefore, let us suggest a few modest recommendations, along the the issues of those already outlined in this catalogue:

- » To convene the Global Forums organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at regular intervals, and to continue in the interim the initiatives proposed in the forums.
- » To renew a forum established by now supreme-court judge Elyakim Rubinstein when he was Secretary of the government, in which representatives of all bodies that deal with antisemitism will participate, again—on a regular basis.
- » To enhance and strengthen the cooperation that already exists between the two departments for the struggle against antisemitism, one in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the other one in the Ministry of Diaspora Affairs.
- » To continue acknowledging the efforts of academic institutes to conduct independent research, both for purely academic purposes, as well as for the needs of the state organs to be updated and advised.
- » To offer as many opportunities as possible for visits to Israel by decision makers, influencers and youth groups from the Western and Muslim worlds. These visits should be coupled with seminars, lectures, and encounters, in which the history of the country and the people, and the customs and traditions of Judaism and modern Israel, will be taught to as many visitors as possible.
- » To enhance contacts with world leaders, with opinion shapers in all fields, and with media channels, so as to put forward the country's responses to accusations, and try to reverse negative images by offering positive ones instead.
- » To cooperate as closely as possible with the Jewish communities abroad, their leaders and organs, and to remember that Jews in the diaspora must immediately face the results of the Middle Eastern conflicts and of Israeli policies.
- » To be active in international fora and not to leave them or ban them, even if hostility is the order of their day, but rather to try to change their agenda.

- » To train as many students, faculty, and company personnel as possible, who go abroad for short stays, to spread the word, equipped with the proper materials.
- » To avoid a xenophobic approach of Jews and Israelis toward Arabs and Muslims as well as Christians. Israel can serve as a positive model for inter-confessional relations.

### To summarize

Antisemitism most often provokes human rights violations. Therefore, all governments, governmental agencies, and political parties have a special responsibility to do their utmost to repress and eradicate antisemitism. Combating and eradicating antisemitism should be anchored in the legislation and/or constitutions of all countries, and the Working Definition of Antisemitism should be accepted by all branches of government in each country, by all international organizations, by all political parties, and by all other political decision makers.

Each government should allocate each year at least in excess of 0.02% of the gross domestic product of its country to the fight against antisemitism. Governments should undertake both nationally and internationally regular assessments of the level of antisemitism both by representative surveys and by monitoring antisemitic incidents on- and offline.

All branches of government should cooperate in suppressing antisemitic publications and contents on- and offline, in blocking antisemites from holding positions of political or governmental influence and in dissolving and prohibiting all antisemitic organizations and parties. Governments should appoint special envoys on antisemitism and install hotlines to which victims of antisemitism can turn for help. Governments and political parties should sensitize all their members and employees to antisemitism by way of special seminars. All members of government and all politicians should use their influence to speak out against antisemitism and name and shame everyone who holds antisemitic views or commits acts of antisemitism.



## APPENDICES

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## Appendix 1 - IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism

In the spirit of the Stockholm Declaration that states: “With humanity still scarred by ... antisemitism and xenophobia the international community shares a solemn responsibility to fight those evils” the committee on Antisemitism and Holocaust Denial called the IHRA Plenary in Budapest 2015 to adopt the following working definition of antisemitism.

On 26 May 2016, the Plenary in Bucharest decided to:

**Adopt the following non-legally binding working definition of antisemitism:**

**“Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities.”**

To guide IHRA in its work, the following examples may serve as illustrations:

Manifestations might include the targeting of the state of Israel, conceived as a Jewish collectivity. However, criticism of Israel similar to that leveled against any other country cannot be regarded as antisemitic. Antisemitism frequently charges Jews with conspiring to harm humanity, and it is often used to blame Jews for “why things go wrong.” It is expressed in speech, writing, visual forms and action, and employs sinister stereotypes and negative character traits.

Contemporary examples of antisemitism in public life, the media, schools, the workplace, and in the religious sphere could, taking into account the overall context, include, but are not limited to:

- » Calling for, aiding, or justifying the killing or harming of Jews in the name of a radical ideology or an extremist view of religion.
- » Making mendacious, dehumanizing, demonizing, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective—such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.

- » Accusing Jews as a people of being responsible for real or imagined wrongdoing committed by a single Jewish person or group, or even for acts committed by non-Jews.
- » Denying the fact, scope, mechanisms (e.g., gas chambers) or intentionality of the genocide of the Jewish people at the hands of National Socialist Germany and its supporters and accomplices during World War II (the Holocaust).
- » Accusing the Jews as a people, or Israel as a state, of inventing or exaggerating the Holocaust.
- » Accusing Jewish citizens of being more loyal to Israel, or to the alleged priorities of Jews worldwide, than to the interests of their own nations.
- » Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, e.g., by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavor.
- » Applying double standards by requiring of it a behavior not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation.
- » Using the symbols and images associated with classic antisemitism (e.g., claims of Jews killing Jesus or blood libel) to characterize Israel or Israelis.
- » Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.
- » Holding Jews collectively responsible for actions of the state of Israel.

**Antisemitic acts are criminal** when they are so defined by law (for example, denial of the Holocaust or distribution of antisemitic materials in some countries).

**Criminal acts are antisemitic** when the targets of attacks, whether they are people or property—such as buildings, schools, places of worship and cemeteries—are selected because they are, or are perceived to be, Jewish or linked to Jews.

**Antisemitic discrimination** is the denial to Jews of opportunities or services available to others and is illegal in many countries.

## Fact Sheet: Working Definition of Antisemitism

**On 26 May 2016 in Bucharest, the Plenary of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) adopted a non-legally binding working definition of antisemitism under the Romanian Chairmanship.**

1. The problem of antisemitism has led the international community to take a number of steps in recent years: in 2004 the OSCE issued the Berlin Declaration and appointed a Personal Representative on Combatting Antisemitism; in December 2015 the European Commission appointed the first Coordinator on Combatting Antisemitism; the German Chair-in-Office of the OSCE encouraged the endorsement of the working definition of antisemitism at the 23<sup>rd</sup> OSCE Ministerial Council in Hamburg on 8/9 December 2016.
2. The IHRA is the only intergovernmental organization mandated to focus solely on Holocaust-related issues, and accordingly has the responsibility to deal with the issue of antisemitism as it is directly embedded in the organization's founding document, the Stockholm Declaration.
3. The IHRA Plenary consists of 31 Member Countries—24 of which are EU member countries.
4. The IHRA is the first intergovernmental body to adopt this working definition.
5. The recommendation that the IHRA adopt the working definition came from the experts of IHRA's Committee on Antisemitism and Holocaust Denial.
6. The working definition of antisemitism aims to guide the IHRA in its work and to illustrate how antisemitism can manifest itself.
7. The adopted working definition of antisemitism is based on a definition first published by the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) in 2005, now the Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA).
8. Similar definitions of antisemitism have been used by the European Parliament Working Group on Antisemitism, the U.S Department of State and the UK's College of Policing. The Inter-parliamentary Coalition for Combating Antisemitism call for adoption in their London and Ottawa protocols.
9. To date, the working definition has been adopted and endorsed by the following governments and bodies: the United Kingdom (12 December 2016), Israel (22 January 2017), Austria (25 April 2017) Scotland (27 April 2017), Romania (25 May 2017), City of London (8 February 2017), Germany (20 September 2017), Bulgaria (18 October 2017), Lithuania (24 January 2018), former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (6 March 2018).
10. On 1 June 2017 the European Parliament voted to adopt a resolution calling on member states and their institutions to adopt and apply the working definition of antisemitism.

## **Appendix 2 - IHRA Working Definition of Holocaust Denial and Distortion**

IHRA's 31 member countries adopted the "Working Definition of Holocaust Denial and Distortion" at IHRA's Plenary meeting in Toronto on 10 October 2013.

The Working Definition of Holocaust Denial and Distortion was developed by IHRA experts in the Committee on Antisemitism and Holocaust Denial in cooperation with IHRA's governmental representatives for use as a working tool.

### **Working Definition of Holocaust Denial and Distortion**

The present definition is an expression of the awareness that Holocaust denial and distortion have to be challenged and denounced nationally and internationally and need examination at a global level. IHRA hereby adopts the following legally non-binding working definition as its working tool.

Holocaust denial is discourse and propaganda that deny the historical reality and the extent of the extermination of the Jews by the Nazis and their accomplices during World War II, known as the Holocaust or the Shoah. Holocaust denial refers specifically to any attempt to claim that the Holocaust/Shoah did not take place.

Holocaust denial may include publicly denying or calling into doubt the use of principal mechanisms of destruction (such as gas chambers, mass shooting, starvation and torture) or the intentionality of the genocide of the Jewish people.

Holocaust denial in its various forms is an expression of antisemitism. The attempt to deny the genocide of the Jews is an effort to exonerate National Socialism and antisemitism from guilt or responsibility in the genocide of the Jewish people. Forms of Holocaust denial also include blaming the Jews for either exaggerating or creating the Shoah for political or financial gain as if the Shoah itself was the result of a conspiracy plotted by the Jews. In this, the goal is to make the Jews culpable and antisemitism once again legitimate.

The goals of Holocaust denial often are the rehabilitation of an explicit antisemitism and the promotion of political ideologies and conditions suitable for the advent of the very type of event it denies.

Distortion of the Holocaust refers, *inter alia*, to:

1. Intentional efforts to excuse or minimize the impact of the Holocaust or its principal elements, including collaborators and allies of Nazi Germany;
2. Gross minimization of the number of the victims of the Holocaust in contradiction to reliable sources;
3. Attempts to blame the Jews for causing their own genocide;
4. Statements that cast the Holocaust as a positive historical event. Those statements are not Holocaust denial but are closely connected to it as a radical form of antisemitism. They may suggest that the Holocaust did not go far enough in accomplishing its goal of “the Final Solution of the Jewish Question”;
5. Attempts to blur the responsibility for the establishment of concentration and death camps devised and operated by Nazi Germany by putting blame on other nations or ethnic groups.

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# AN END TO ANTISEMITISM!

## A CATALOGUE OF POLICIES TO COMBAT ANTISEMITISM

Eighty years after the November 1938 Pogrom and more than seventy years after the liberation of the Nazi concentration and death camps, attacking and killing Jews, slandering and denigrating them in their daily lives have become again a sad reality in Europe and in other parts of the world. This, together with calls to boycott the Jewish state and denying its right to exist can have grave implications for both Jews and society in general.

Jew hatred is no longer restricted to the extreme right and radical Islam, but has spread across parts of the left and center of the political spectrum, as well as mainstream Christian and Muslim groups.

Given this unacceptable reality, about 1000 scholars, activists, decision-makers and influencers met in Vienna from February 18<sup>th</sup> through 22<sup>nd</sup> of 2018, at the conference “An End to Antisemitism!” The conference was jointly organized by the European Jewish Congress, New York University, Tel Aviv University, and the University of Vienna. Over 150 presentations of speakers from all over the world and all fields of study engaged with all forms of antisemitism in order to develop strategies to effectively fight them.

Their interdisciplinary work opens new perspectives in the fight against antisemitism. The policy recommendations in this catalogue are an original effort to take the fruits of scholarly research and turn them into a document that will have practical impact. In addition, the detailed scholarly arguments underlying this catalogue are available under the proceedings of the conference. We hope that it can help to eradicate and suppress antisemitism in all its forms globally.

