

DE GRUYTER

COMPREHENDING AND CONFRONTING ANTISEMITISM

A MULTI-FACETED APPROACH

*Edited by Armin Lange, Kerstin Mayerhofer,
Dina Porat, Lawrence H. Schiffman*

AN END TO ANTISEMITISM!



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Comprehending and Confronting Antisemitism

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Edited by

Armin Lange, Kerstin Mayerhofer, Dina Porat,
and Lawrence H. Schiffman

Volume 1

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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, yet again, attacking and killing Jews, regularly slandering and denigrating them have become 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 Tacitus, Augustine, and Justinian, the expulsion of the Jews from Medina at the time of Mohammed, the Crusades, the Granada massacre, Martin Luther, the expulsion of the Jews from the Iberian Peninsula and the Spanish Inquisition, the pogroms, Henry Ford, the Ku Klux Klan, the 1941 pogrom in Bagdad, 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 18th through 22nd of 2018, approximately 1,000 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 one-hundred and fifty presentations from all over the world engaged with all forms of antisemitism from antiquity until today from the perspective of numerous fields.

To each field, a separate panel was dedicated which was organized and headed by leading experts.

- Ancient History (Benjamin Isaac, Tel Aviv University)
- Medieval History (Simha Goldin, Tel Aviv University)
- Modern History (Klaus S. Davidowicz, Vienna University)
- Contemporary History (Dina Porat, Tel Aviv University)
- Bible, Christianity, and Antisemitism (Karin Finsterbusch, University of Koblenz-Landau and Armin Lange, Vienna University)
- Islam and Antisemitism (Esther Webman, Tel Aviv University)
- Judaism, Jewish Studies, and Antisemitism (Lawrence H. Schiffman, New York University)
- Israel Studies (Evyatar Friesel, Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

- Philosophy and Ethics (Julius H. Schoeps, Moses Mendelssohn Center for European Jewish Studies)
- Sociology and Social Sciences (Eliezer Ben-Rafael, Tel Aviv University)
- Psychology (Florette Cohen Abady, CUNY College of Staten Island)
- Pedagogy (Martin Rothgangel, University of Vienna)
- Media Studies, Journalism, and Visual Cultures (Frank Stern, University of Vienna)
- Internet and Antisemitism (Monika Schwarz-Friesel, Technical University of Berlin)
- Jurisprudence (Aleksandra Gliszczynska-Grabias, Institute of Law Studies Polish Academy of Sciences)
- Political Studies (Karin Stögner and Stephan Grigat, University of Vienna, Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

All of these scholars and two additional colleagues serve the editorial board of these proceedings, aiding the editors in their work. For their work, suggestions, and support we are indebted to all of them.

The initial motivation for the conference “An End to Antisemitism!” was the need of Jewish organizations for strategic guidelines to combat antisemitism successfully. This is because the recent staggering increase of antisemitism has proven that existing strategies were limited in their success. The approach of the conference “An End to Antisemitism!” was to combine the practical experience of decision makers and stakeholders with the input of academic specialists. Our approach might therefore be described as applied humanities and applied social sciences. This new approach to the fight against antisemitism resulted into two major outputs of the conference’s research. Therefore, the first volume of the conference proceedings publishes, on the one hand, keynote lectures based on practical experience and academic research as well as, on the other hand, policy recommendations regarding how to combat antisemitism distilled out of both practical and academic contributions to the conference. It is in the nature of academic research that new insights are gained by a contradictory discourse. Hence, some of the presentations published in the present volume might disagree in some aspects with its policy recommendations. The present volume of the conference proceedings is structured to mirror this initial motivation of the conference “An End to Antisemitism!” by grouping the academic research of the keynote lectures together with the corresponding recommended policies how to combat antisemitism.

1. A general audience, including decision makers and stakeholders in particular, is addressed by a catalogue of policy recommendations explaining how to

combat antisemitism.¹ Together, its policy recommendations are an original effort to take the fruits of our conference’s scholarly research and turn them into a document of practical impact. While some of these policies are almost direct quotes of conference participants, others represent conclusions based on the combined research of the conference. We hope that the recommendations of this catalogue of policies combating antisemitism can be applied to help to 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 proposes will in some cases contradict the views of some presenters of the conference “An End to Antisemitism!” and will find the support of others. Even those with whom we disagree were of great help as their arguments helped us to improve the policies regarding how to combat antisemitism.

2. An academic audience is addressed by the present conference proceedings, which will include both the recommendations of the catalogue of policies combating antisemitism as well as the research leading to them. The presentations of the conference “An End to Antisemitism!” will be published in a total of five volumes. The first volume will include the published versions of all presentations and greetings by dignitaries, decision makers, and stake holders as well as all plenary presentations by scholars. The volumes following the present first volume will include the published versions of the presentations given at the sixteen panels of our conference.

1. *Comprehending and Confronting Antisemitism: A Multi-Faceted Approach*
2. *Confronting Antisemitism from the Perspectives of Christianity, Islam and Judaism*
3. *Confronting Antisemitism through the Ages—A Historical Perspective*
4. *Confronting Antisemitism from Perspectives of Philosophy and Social Sciences*
5. *Confronting Antisemitism in Modern Media, the Legal and Political Worlds*

The present first volume consists of five parts. An introduction reflecting the nature of antisemitism and strategies to combat it (I) is followed by the contributions of those political and religious decision makers who described their experiences in combating antisemitism at our conference.

¹ Cf. A. Lange, A. Muzicant, D. Porat, L. H. Schiffman, and M. Weitzman, *An End to Antisemitism! A Catalogue of Policies to Combat Antisemitism* (Brussels: European Jewish Congress, 2018).

II Leadership Talks by Decision Makers and Stakeholders

These practical experiences of decision makers and stakeholders form one important component of our endeavor to develop academically guided policy recommendations regarding how to combat antisemitism. The other component is the contributions of academics from a broad range of different specializations. At the conference, for each of the program units a keynote lecture was presented to set the tone for the overall discussion. The keynote lectures of each of the sixteen panels published in this volume represent this academic component. Only the combined approach of both components allowed us to develop policy recommendations regarding how to combat antisemitism. The published versions of the keynote lectures are structured into three parts.

III Religion

IV Culture, Education, and Research

V Politics, Business, and Jurisprudence

In these three parts, each set of keynote lectures is followed by the policy recommendations that thematically correspond to them.

Antisemitism has a history of more than 2,000 years. Combating antisemitism is complicated, and there are no easy solutions to it. The complexity of antisemitism requires complex answers to combat it successfully. The contributions to this volume and the policy recommendations regarding how to combat antisemitism reflect this complexity and do not attempt to give easy answers. Only a combined approach as outlined above holds promise of successfully combating this age-old hatred.

The first volume of our conference proceedings as well its policy recommendations as to how to combat antisemitism not only aim at reaching the attention of decision and opinion makers as well as stakeholders in many fields worldwide but also address a general interested public. While the contributions and policy recommendations of the present volume concern only antisemitism, we as editors and authors 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 present volume combining practical and academic contributions with policy recommendations 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.

We would like to express our deepest gratitude to a long list of dignitaries, decision makers, and stakeholders without whose support and contributions our conference, its proceedings, and its catalogue of policies combating antisemitism would not have been possible. They contributed financial, political, and religious support and spoke at our conference.

We are indebted to His Holiness Pope Francis I and to Alexander Van der Bellen, Federal President of the Republic of Austria, for their greetings and encouragement. To Christian Kern, Federal Chancellor of the Republic of Austria (2016–2017), and Sebastian Kurz, Federal Chancellor of the Republic of Austria (2017–2019), for the financial support Austria’s Chancellery provided us with and for their presentations and contributions to our conference and its proceedings.

Researching antisemitism and developing policy recommendations regarding how to combat it requires funds which are often surprisingly difficult to raise. It is therefore more than a pleasant obligation to express our gratitude to the main sponsor of the conference “An End to Antisemitism!” Moshe Kantor, President of the European Jewish Congress. Moshe Kantor did not only provide much needed financial support but also gave a most inspiring talk at the conference and contributed to the present proceedings.

We are most grateful for the financial support of the Salo W. Baron and Jeannette M. Baron Foundation and the Knapp Family Foundation made possible by Charles Knapp. We would also like to thank Alan and Carol Silberstein for their generous support.

A particular gratitude is also due to the public institutions of the Federal Republic of Austria, to the federal States of Austria—in particular the Federal State of Vienna—and to long list of universities worldwide including the organizing academic institutions, University of Vienna, New York University, and Tel Aviv University.

At the same time, we would also like to take the opportunity to convey words of thanks to all other sponsors as listed on pages 573–4.

Furthermore, we would like to express our gratitude to Heinz Faßmann, Austrian Federal Minister of Education, Science and Research (2018–2019), and Talya Lador-Fresher, Ambassador of Israel to Austria (2015–2019), for their presentations and contributions to our proceedings, and to Heinz Engl, Rector of the University of Vienna, for his role model support of our conference and his greeting and contribution. We are deeply indebted to Michael Häupl, former Mayor of the City and Federal State of Vienna, and Andreas Mailath-Pokorny, former City Councilor for Culture, Science and Sports of the City of Vienna for the city’s support of our conference and its cooperation with the opening event of the conference.

We would also like to extend warm words of thanks to the members of the conference's advisory board as listed on page 569. We are much indebted to their counsel.

Further words of thanks are due for the wonderful support of our conference staff, Dara Fischer, Maria Hartmann, Denise Saskia Landau, Kerstin Mayerhofer, Yael Müller, Milli Segal, 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.

The work on the policy recommendations regarding how to combat antisemitism was guided by the support and advice of many colleagues and activists to whom we are indebted. We would like to express our gratitude to those who facilitated policy recommendations regarding how to combat antisemitism: Mehnaz Afridi, Raya Kalenova, Ariel Muzicant, Sara Rembiszewski, Johanan Seynave, Marlene Schiffman, Mark Weitzman, Wolfgang Wieshaider, and Ariella Woitchik.

We want to mention in particular the good advice and support of Ariel Muzicant who, as the political *spiritus rector* of our project, was instrumental to its success on more than one level. Special gratitude is also due to Klaus S. Davidowicz who was one of the conferences co-organizers, to Father Norbert Hofmann of Pontifical Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews for facilitating our co-operation with the Catholic Church, and to Daniel Löcker from the administration of City of Vienna for cooperation in preparing the opening event of our conference.

We are grateful to De Gruyter Publishers for accepting our five volumes of the conference proceedings for publication and for the exemplary support that Albrecht Döhnert, Sophie Wagenhofer, and Alice Meroz from De Gruyter gave us in preparing these mammoth proceedings for publication. The same gratitude is due to Anna Cwikla for her enormous effort in copyediting our proceedings and to Ursula Riezinger for her support with French-English translations.

The other editors are especially grateful to Kerstin Mayerhofer for taking the lead in editing our proceedings. Her commitment has been unparalleled and without her, none of the conference's outcomes would exist.

Furthermore, we are indebted to the European Jewish Congress for allowing us to include the recommendations of our *Catalogue of Policies to Combat Antisemitism* in the first volume of our conference proceedings.²

² See footnote 2.

Our final word of gratitude regards all speakers at our conference and all contributors to the five volumes of our conference proceedings as listed on pages 571–2. All would have come to naught without their input.

New York, Tel Aviv, and Vienna, May 21, 2019

Armin Lange

Kerstin Mayerhofer

Dina Porat

Lawrence H. Schiffman



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.

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 Hol-

ocaust 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).¹ 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."² 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*."³

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."⁴

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

1 Cf. "We Remember: a Reflection on the Shoah," Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews, accessed July 17, 2018, http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/chrstuni/documents/rc_pc_chrstuni_doc_16031998_shoah_en.html.

2 Ibid., "Letter of Pope John Paul II," 12 March 1998.

3 "We Remember: a Reflection on the Shoah," I:2.

4 His Holiness, Pope Paul VI, *Nostra Aetate: Declaration On The Relation Of The Church To Non-Christian Religions*, issued October 28, 1965 (accessed July 17, 2018, http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651028_nostra-aetate_en.html), 4.

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.

Pope Francis (Jorge Mario Bergoglio) was elected Pope of the Catholic Church in 2013. He took the name Francis after Saint Francis of Assisi, who was known for his embrace of poverty and chastity.

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- Pope Paul VI. *Nostra Aetate: Declaration On The Relation Of The Church To Non-Christian Religions*. Issued October 28, 1965. Accessed July 17, 2018. http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651028_nostra-aetate_en.html.

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 “industrialized” 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.

Consequences of Racial Fanaticism

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. 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 ten thousands 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.

Historical and Present Day Antisemitism

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, organized 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 Kertész, 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.⁵

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.

Challenges and the Fight against Antisemitism

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? Can visits to memorial sites do so? 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. We need to sensitize our society 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 volume 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.

⁵ 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. Translation by the author of this article.

Alexander Van der Bellen is the current President of Austria. He previously served as a professor of economics at the University of Vienna, was a member of the National Council representing the Green Party there from 1994 to 2012, and served as both leader of the party as well as its parliamentary group. As President of Austria, Van der Bellen's core value lies in the recognition of Austria as home of every person living in the country and their right to a life in freedom and dignity based on general human rights.

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Talya Lador-Fresher

Ambassador of the State of Israel to the Republic of Austria (2015 – 2019)

I am deeply honored to have taken part in such a unique conference on the fight against antisemitism taking place here in Vienna. As many esteemed experts have discussed in full detail the phenomenon of antisemitism and the appropriate means to fight it during the conference, I wish to focus my short remarks on the issue of anti-Zionism and anti-Israel agitation.

On May 26, 2016, the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance—which incorporates twenty-seven countries including Austria and Israel—adopted in Bucharest a working definition of antisemitism. This resolution includes examples to illustrate antisemitism, including “denying the Jewish people the right to self-determination” by claiming that the sheer “existence of the State of Israel is a racist endeavor” and by “applying double standards” by requiring Israel “a behavior not expected or demanded from any other democratic nation.”⁶

Israeli diplomats are often confronted with these phenomena. While in the first case—the denial of Israel’s right to self-determination—it is relatively possible to build coalitions against it, it is extremely difficult to fight against the expectations regarding Israel’s moral ground. The double standard and hypocrisy poses a huge challenge to Israel’s diplomats and well-wishers. These manifestations may be found in universities, NGOs, media outlets, and political parties in many countries across Europe on the bilateral front—and most troublesome are its manifestations on the multilateral agenda.

Israel is the only long-term member of the United Nations that was never elected as a member of the UN security council.⁷ There are seven well-known protracted conflicts worldwide, including for example Northern Cyprus, Western Sahara, or Georgia. Throughout the years, in the UN resolutions that dealt with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the terminology of “occupied territories” has been used. All in all, this terminology appears 2,342 times in the context of Israel, while in all other six protracted conflicts combined the wording “occupied ter-

⁶ “Working Definition of Antisemitism,” International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, issued May 26, 2016, <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/news-archive/working-definition-antisemitism>.

⁷ Cf. “Countries Never Elected Members,” United Nations Security Council, accessed January 12, 2018, <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/countries-never-elected-members-security-council>.

ritories” appears only sixteen times.⁸ This brings us back to double standards and the fertile ground where antisemitism is growing.

I wish to thank the many organizers for putting this serious and alarming issue in the spotlight, for bringing a wide array of speakers and experts, and for all of you for taking the time to focus on this ever burning topic.

Following her studies of business administration and political sciences at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Talya Lador-Fresher entered the diplomatic service of the State of Israel in 1989. She has served as Israeli diplomat in Jamaica, New York and London. Since 2015, she is Israeli Ambassador in Austria and has been representing Israel in various international organizations in Vienna, among them UNIDO and OSCE.

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⁸ Cf. E. Kontorovich, and P. Grunseid, “At the U.N., Only Israel Is an ‘Occupying Power’,” *The Wall Street Journal*, September 13, 2016, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/at-the-u-n-only-israel-is-an-occupying-power-1473808544?mod=e2two>; E. Kontorovich, “Unsettled: A Global Study of Settlements in Occupied Territories,” *The Journal of Legal Analysis* 9, no. 2 (2017): 1–66.

Moshe Kantor

President of the European Jewish Congress

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.

Let us also think of 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.⁹ With the international conference “An End to Antisemitism!” back 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 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.¹⁰ We hope that this commission will remain independent and that results will be made public.

⁹ Cf. Presse-Service Rathauskorrespondenz, “Häupl präsentiert erstes Monitoring-Komitee gegen Antisemitismus im Wiener Rathaus,” issued April 18, 2017, <https://www.wien.gv.at/presse/2017/04/18/haeupl-praesentiert-erstes-monitoring-komitee-gegen-antisemitismus-im-wiener-rathaus>.

¹⁰ Cf. “Die braunen Flecken der FPÖ,” *Wiener Zeitung*, January 29, 2018, <https://www.wienerzeitung.at/nachrichten/wahlen/landtagswahlen/niederoesterreich/944032-Die-braunen-Flecken>

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.¹¹ Last April 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 recently refused to recognize an antisemitic motive in this case.¹² This is willful 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.¹³ 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 necessary, but it is a 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.

en-der-FPOe.html; “Ex-Nationalratspräsident Brauneder leitet blaue Historikerkommission,” *Der Standard*, February 13, 2018, <https://www.derstandard.at/2000074161664/FPOe-stellt-Historikerkommission-zur-Aufarbeitung-der-eigenen-Geschichte-vor>; “Von Stenzel bis Mölzer: FPÖ präsentiert Historikerkommission,” *Die Presse*, February 13, 2018, <https://diepresse.com/home/innenpolitik/5370762/Von-Stenzel-bis-Moelzer-FPOe-praesentiert-Historikerkommission>.

¹¹ Cf. e.g. F. Jansen, “Pro Tag im Schnitt vier antisemitische Straftaten,” *Der Tagesspiegel*, February 11, 2018, <https://www.tagesspiegel.de/politik/hass-gegen-juden-in-deutschland-pro-tag-im-schnitt-vier-antisemitische-straftaten/20949750.html>; N. Khomami, “Antisemitic Incidents in UK at All-time High,” *The Guardian*, February 1, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2018/feb/01/antisemitic-incidents-in-uk-at-all-time-high>; Sh. Sitbon, “Antisemitic Attacks Surge in France,” *The Jewish Chronicle*, February 9, 2018, <https://www.thejc.com/news/world/antisemitic-attacks-surge-in-france-1.458478>.

¹² Cf. A. Devecchio, “Le meurtre de Sarah Halimi, une tragédie contemporaine,” *Le Figaro*, July 17, 2017, <http://www.lefigaro.fr/vox/societe/2017/07/17/31003-20170717ARTFIG00277-sarah-halimi-une-tragedie-contemporaine.php>.

¹³ Cf. Ch. Anderson, “Three Arrested After Firebomb Attack on Swedish Synagogue,” *The New York Times*, December 10, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/10/world/europe/sweden-synagogue-molotov-cocktail.html>.

Jews constitute less than 1 percent of the European population. We have been, and still are, an integral part of Europe's societies. But 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 of staying and living with the challenges of antisemitism or finding 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.

Therefore, I am pleased to announce a start-up of the European Council on Tolerance and Reconciliation to create an institution that will bring together a panel of international experts including top historians and philosophers. It will work towards elaborating general guidelines on this secure tolerance concept, which finally should lead to fundamental reform of legislation.

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.

One thing is very strange! Until now, 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.

A few words about Poland: as European Jewish Congress President and Deputy Chairman of Yad Vashem, I promise to help the Polish government to clarify the historical truth about the participation of Polish citizens in the Holocaust—both positively and negatively.

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

Dr. Moshe Kantor is a prominent public figure, international philanthropist and scientist who has served as the President of the European Jewish Congress since 2007. He is known worldwide for his fight against antisemitism, racism, neo-Nazism, negationism and intolerance. The prosperity, freedom and security of the Jewish people are his first priorities. Under his leadership, EJC has become a universal recognized unified voice of European Jews.

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Ariel Muzicant

Vice-President of the European Jewish Congress

After the Shoah, European Jews believed that antisemitism would decrease and disappear and in fact, specifically in German speaking Europe, efforts to reduce this sickness showed at least partial success. Big was the shock, when approximately seventy years after the Shoah, antisemitism in its old and new forms, started to rise again. Jews were attacked and even killed. As a result, the majority of the remaining 1.5 million Jews of Europe are contemplating leaving the continent. In this situation, the European Jewish Congress has launched a number of initiatives to discuss how to successfully put an “end to antisemitism.” The conference in Vienna in February 2018 had—amongst others—the goal to produce a handbook including all possible means and strategies for this fight. One-hundred-fifty speakers and more than 800 participants met for four days in Vienna. The results can be seen in this book, and we are thankful to all those who made this possible.¹⁴

When you fight the sickness of antisemitism, you describe it also as a sickness of the antisemites, the problem being that most of the actions are to treat the symptoms and not the real causes. In my opinion, protecting values such as democracy, human rights, freedom of speech, rule of law, tolerance and respect are the real base to evict any kind of antisemitism. If you attack or question these values, it is like taking away the oxygen which we need to survive. When we see the increase of illiberal democracies in Europe, this is a direct threat to the Jewish people, because these new tendencies are accompanied by waves of antisemitism.

If we are not able to find ways and means to stop antisemitism, xenophobia, racism, and illiberal democracy in Europe, Jews will leave this continent.

Ariel Muzicant is the honorary President of the Jewish community of Vienna and was its president for many years. He serves as a Vice-President of the European Jewish Congress and is a member of the World Jewish Congress Executive Committee.

¹⁴ Cf. A. Lange, A. Muzicant, D. Porat, L. H. Schiffman, and M. Weitzman, *An End to Antisemitism! A Catalogue of Policies to Combat Antisemitism* (Brussels: European Jewish Congress, 2018).

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Oskar Deutsch

President of the Jewish Community of Vienna

On the same day that this lecture was given, another Nazi scandal came to light: The nationalist German fraternity *Bruna Sudetia*, whose constituents are FPÖ members and officials, is allegedly using a book of songs that is not only clearly antisemitic but also glorifies the Shoah. The songs tell of drowning Jews and the murder of a seventh million through gas.¹⁵

As President of the Jewish Community of Vienna, one thing is clear: as long as officials of the Austrian Freedom Party are making antisemitic statements, we will not have any contact with this party!

In the short time since the inauguration of the new government, there were no less than sixteen incidents where party officials acted in ways that were antisemitic, racist or right-wing extremist. The best known case concerns the front-running FPÖ official in the elections of Lower Austria, who was a member of a German nationalist fraternity that is publishing a book of Nazi songs.¹⁶ Another FPÖ official posted about “Untermenschen [subhumans]” on social media,¹⁷ and the FPÖ suggested extremist candidates for the university council.¹⁸ These are not isolated incidents—this is systematic.

In this country, the FPÖ carries the responsibility for this network of incidents, but if their partners in government are not standing up to fight—and they have not yet done so—then the responsibility for normalising these incidents will be on them. We all have to be vigilant.

A few days ago, the Forum gegen Antisemitismus [Forum against Antisemitism] presented the report on Antisemitism for the year 2017 to the public. The

15 The original German text reads “Gebt Gas, ihr alten Germanen, wir schaffen die siebte Million.” Cf. N. Horacek, “Neues Liederbuch mit antisemitischen Texten,” *FALTER*, February 20, 2018, <https://www.falter.at/archiv/wp/neues-liederbuch-mit-antisemitischen-texten>.

16 Cf. “Nazi-Lieder bei Burschenschaft von FPÖ-Kandidat Landbauer,” *Der Standard*, January 24, 2018, <https://derstandard.at/2000072861626/Nazi-Lieder-bei-Burschenschaft-von-FPOe-Kandidat-Landbauer>.

17 Cf. K. Riss, “Tullner FPÖ-Funktionärin postet über ‘Untermenschen,’” *Der Standard*, February 7, 2018, <https://derstandard.at/2000073825654/Tullner-FPOe-Funktionaerin-postet-ueber-Untermenschen>.

18 “Neue Uni-Räte werden zur Zeit mit der FPÖ abgestimmt,” *Die Presse*, January 31, 2018, <https://diepresse.com/home/bildung/universitaet/5363645/Neue-UniRaete-werden-zur-Zeit-mit-der-FPOe-abgestimmt>; “Uni-Räte: ÖVP verhandelt zwei Burschenschafter raus und Eva Dichand rein,” *Der Standard*, February 20, 2018, <https://derstandard.at/2000074673280/Wie-die-Regierung-die-Uni-Raete-umbaut>.

number of documented instances of antisemitism in this report has doubled within only three years. This statistic can only show us the cases that have been reported, but we have to assume that there is a vast number of cases that are never reported. These developments are not exclusively an Austrian phenomenon but can be recognized in nearly all European countries.¹⁹

The one criticizing right-wing antisemitism is just as justified in his anger as the one criticizing Islamic antisemitism. Often overlooked are the stereotypes of Jew-hatred that rear their ugly heads from the swamps of the extreme left. For years, we have been seeing a strengthening in the phenomenon of antisemitism under the guise of criticizing Israel, a strategy used by all camps. But the last few years have brought with them a swelling of terrorist activity that gives Islamic antisemitism a more urgent sense of danger, especially to orthodox Jews that are recognizable in the streets due to their *kippot* and other religiously significant garments.

No matter from what direction antisemitism is coming, the right, the left, traditional or Islamic antisemitism—it is time to stop this spiralling menace. This will need action on all levels of society and in all institutions, from the kindergarten to schools and job training centers, adult education, and social media, in the field of criminal policy and others. Educating about antisemitism, visits of former concentration camps with intense preparation and post processing should be a firm component of school education. The Jewish Community takes part in this effort with the project “LIK RAT”—the Hebrew word *likrat* here means “moving towards each other.” Jewish teenagers with special training visit schools and other groups of their peers where they introduce them to Judaism in an authentic way, leading them to see the multiple facets of culture and religion. This in-depth look into what Judaism is, that the students receive, allows them to learn facts and thus prevent and counteract stereotypes and prejudices.²⁰

This conference is a wonderful initiative and a chance to start the process with analyzing the roots and causes of antisemitism and reaching all the way to concrete courses of action.

We have to succeed in anchoring the ostracizing of antisemitism in society to a point when society develops methods of self-regulation that no longer accept any form of antisemitism. Not only politicians, but every member of civil society

¹⁹ Forum gegen Antisemitismus, ed., *Antisemitismusbericht 2017*, https://www.fga-wien.at/fileadmin/user_upload/FgA_Bilder/Berichte/Antisemitismusbericht2017_FgA.pdf (last accessed February 19, 2018).

²⁰ Cf. “LIK RAT. Dialogprojekt mit Jugendlichen der Jüdischen Gemeinde Wien,” LIKRAT Österreich, accessed February 19, 2018, <http://likrat.at/lassunsreden.html>.

carries a share of the responsibility and each and every one needs to ask themselves the question: “How and when are we affecting change?”

The German government has reacted to the rising number of antisemitic incidents and installed a commissioner for combating antisemitism.²¹ I cannot and do not want to judge this initiative in any way, but I want to share my thoughts with you: In the end, the problem of antisemitism cannot be combated by an external force only. What it takes is sensitization, higher awareness, and moral courage. This is why I say that every man and woman who lives in Europe is a commissioner for combating antisemitism. Antisemitism is not only a threat to Jews and Judaism, antisemitism is one of the biggest threats to democracy.

Oskar Deutsch was born in Vienna and has been active in various Jewish organizations and associations, among them the Vienna Maccabi Sports Club. In 1993, he became head of cultural affairs of the Jewish Community Vienna. In 2012, he followed Ariel Muzicant as President of the Jewish Community Vienna and head of the Jewish Religious Community of Austria, the umbrella organization of all Austrian Jewish Communities.

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21 Following the results of an extensive report on antisemitism in Germany from 2017, the German government decided to establish a special commission against antisemitism. In April 2018, the office of the Federal Government Commissioner for Jewish Life in Germany and the Fight against Anti-Semitism was created and is based at the Federal Ministry of the Interior, Building and Community. Felix Klein was appointed the first holder of this commission effective May 1, 2018. Cf. “Federal Government Commissioner for Jewish Life in Germany and the Fight against Anti-Semitism,” Federal Ministry of the Interior, Building and Community, accessed February 19, 2018, <https://www.bmi.bund.de/EN/ministry/commissioners/anti-semitism/anti-semitism-node.html>.

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Heinz Engl

Rector of the University of Vienna

Given its history, Austria has a special responsibility to fight antisemitism. In the beginning of the twentieth century—decades before the Shoah—the University of Vienna had already been a hotbed for antisemitism. The poisoned atmosphere culminated in the murder of our professor Moritz Schlick, an important proponent of the *Wiener Kreis*.²²

Unfortunately, antisemitic resentment at Vienna University had an even longer tradition.²³ One example for the widespread antisemitism in the nineteenth century is the former Rector Eduard Suess. The famous geologist suffered from antisemitic agitation against him and left office only a few months after his inauguration in 1888.²⁴ Later, Wenzeslaus von Gleispach, a fervent antisemite, became Rector in 1929. Gleispach lobbied for discriminating regulations against Jewish students.²⁵

22 German physicist and philosopher Moritz Schlick (1882–1936) was professor of philosophy at the University of Vienna from 1922 until his assassination in 1936. In 1926, he founded and became chair of the Wiener Kreis [Vienna Circle]. Together with other philosophers, mathematicians, natural scientists, and humanities scholars, Schlick was driven to develop and to propagate a scientific world view. Thus, the circle quickly became a stronghold of logical positivism. In 1936, Moritz Schlick was murdered by Hans Nelböck on his way to his lecture at the main building of the University of Vienna. Nelböck had previously studied with Schlick and graduated under his auspices. He named Schlick's antimetaphysical philosophy the main cause for the loss of his social and moral disintegration and support. It is clear though that an atmosphere of growing nationalism, fascism, racism, and antisemitism in Austria in the 1930s that had already spread at the University of Vienna have contributed largely to Nelböck's intent to commit the homicidal act. Cf. K. Kniefacz, "Der Mord an Prof. Moritz Schlick: Attentat im Hauptgebäude der Universität Wien," accessed July 17, 2018, <http://geschichte.univie.ac.at/de/artikel/der-mord-prof-moritz-schlick>.

23 Cf. K. Kniefacz, "Antisemitismus an der Universität Wien," accessed July 17, 2018, <https://geschichte.univie.ac.at/de/themen/antisemitismus-der-universitat-wien>; K. Kniefacz, "A Dark History: Anti-Semitism at the University of Vienna," accessed July 17, 2018, <http://www.austrianinformation.org/fall-2015/dark-history>; O. Rathkolb, ed., *Der lange Schatten des Antisemitismus: Kritische Auseinandersetzungen mit der Geschichte der Universität Wien im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vienna University Press, 2013); K. Taschwer, *Hochburg des Antisemitismus: Der Niedergang der Universität Wien im 20. Jahrhundert* (Wien: Czernin, 2015).

24 Cf. J. Seidl, "Eduard Suess, Prof.," accessed July 17, 2018, <https://geschichte.univie.ac.at/de/personen/eduard-suess-prof>.

25 Cf. K. Kniefacz, "The Gleispach'sche Studentenordnung [Gleispach Student Regulation]," accessed July 17, 2018, <http://geschichte.univie.ac.at/en/articles/gleispachsche-studentenordnung-gleispach-student-regulation>.

Fritz Knoll became the first Rector under national-socialist rule in 1938. On November 5, a symbolic pogrom was organized at the University of Vienna. Memorials and statues honoring Jewish scholars and scientists, like the busts of Sonnenfels, Wiesner, Mussafia, Bamberger, Zuckerkandl, Kaposi, Glaser, Goldschmiedt, Fleischl-Marxow, and Bickel in Vienna University's *Arkadenhof* ["arcaded courtyard"] were disfigured, smeared, and partly knocked over. Rector Knoll ordered an investigation to remove all fifteen memorials. On November 11, 1938, Jewish students were excluded from the University and banished because of racist motives.²⁶

Antisemitism is a complex phenomenon with many faces and facets. Therefore, it can only be fought effectively when specialists from a broad interdisciplinary range work together in order to study and better understand it. The University of Vienna is committed to this conference and its proceedings as a contribution to the fight against antisemitism. The topic of this conference and its proceedings is of great importance for our University.

Recent occurrences in the Faculty of Law have shown once again that the fight against antisemitism has lost none of its relevance in our time.²⁷ The University of Vienna is therefore proud to act as co-organizer of the conference "An End to Antisemitism!" Its members—faculty and students alike—must not cease to contribute to the fight for an open, tolerant society. To say it with the words of Sigmund Freud:

Die Stimme des Intellekts ist leise, aber sie ruht nicht, ehe sie sich Gehör verschafft hat. Am Ende, nach unzähligen oft wiederholten Abweisungen, findet sie es doch. Dies ist einer der wenigen Punkte, in denen man für die Zukunft der Menschheit optimistisch sein darf.²⁸

²⁶ Cf. K. Kniefacz, "Fritz (Friedrich) Knoll, Prof. Dr.," accessed July 17, 2018, <http://geschichte.univie.ac.at/de/personen/fritz-friedrich-knoll-prof-dr>.

²⁷ In 2017, members of a group of the statutory law students representation, the AG-Jus, posted abominable pictures and "jokes" such as an heap as "leaked Anne Frank nudes" and other pictures showing swastikas and Nazi salutes. All this was shared in closed WhatsApp and Facebook Groups, but became public soon thereafter in May 2017. Even though the AG-Jus has distanced itself from these images and their distributors and has expelled a number of people involved in the distribution of the images from participation in the AG-Jus, the incidence gave raise to mistrust in the AG-Jus as a whole. The Faculty of Law has responded to this scandal by putting even more effort into research, information, education, and commemoration of the Shoah and the antisemitic history of Austria and the University of Vienna. Still, events like these show that racist and antisemitic ideas and concepts have reached the middle of society and do not stop in front of the gates of a liberal education institution such as the University of Vienna even today. Cf. S. Fellner and O. Kroisleitner, "Antisemitische Postings in Gruppe der Aktionsgemeinschaft," *derStandard.at*, May 9, 2017, <https://derstandard.at/2000057250697/Antisemitische-Postings-in-Gruppe-der-Aktionsgemeinschaft>.

²⁸ S. Freud, *Die Zukunft einer Illusion* (Leipzig: Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, 1927), 90.

The voice of the intellect is a soft one, but it does not rest until it has gained a hearing. Finally, after a countless succession of rebuffs, it succeeds. This is one of the few points on which one may be optimistic about the future of mankind.

Heinz Engl started his academic career as Professor of Mathematics at the University of Linz. His research in this period concerned inverse problems in industrial applied mathematics. In 2007, he became vice-rector for research of the University of Vienna and has been serving as rector since 2011. Engl has continuously made an effort in bringing the National Socialist heritage of the University of Vienna into consciousness, calling every academic discipline to scrutinize their teaching and research during that era.

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Andreas Mailath-Pokorny

City Councilor of Vienna for Culture, Science and Sports (2001–2018)

Antisemitism is on the rise all over Europe—not only at the extremist margins of the political spectrum but also in ruling parties. Nowadays, antisemitism comes in different shapes and from different communities. Here in Vienna, Austria, where we are very happy and proud to have hosted the conference “An End to Antisemitism!” historically, antisemitism from right wing parties is the main political concern, although we also acknowledge that different strains have developed.

The far-right antisemitism that led to the Holocaust is a defining legacy of our history. It has taken Austria a painfully long time to face up to the responsibility and to deal with history and this difficult legacy. In the early 1990s, chancellor Franz Vranitzky was one of the first in the Austrian parliament in Vienna to speak out and acknowledge Austria’s role in the Holocaust.²⁹ By accepting this legacy, we are obliged to ensure that Jews can feel safe and free in our society, that Jewish life and culture can be openly expressed, and that the community is an integral part of the Austrian society.

All this seems currently to be at stake through the recent political changes. Some political actors are openly playing with antisemitic stereotypes, while most turn a blind eye to the subject matter. As a result, it is necessary to increase the budgets for more and better security measures to protect Jewish institutions.

Antisemitism is lurking among Europe’s resurgent, nativist political movements, and it wins elections. This worries me and many Austrians, too. Political antisemitic campaigns and the resulting events must serve as a wake-up call. Acknowledging them is the first step. But more efforts are needed in education and more scrutiny on social media.

The approach of the City of Vienna in dealing with the past has been very clear. We have been facing our past. The actions we have taken in the past few years and the developments speak for themselves. We have returned seized art objects to the rightful owners and heirs. We have installed projects of remembrance and restored Jewish cemeteries. In addition, many commemoration and teaching projects have been initiated in the past years.

²⁹ Cf. C. Zöchling, “Auschwitz: Jahrelang präsentierte sich Österreich als ‘Erstes Opfer der Nazis’,” *Profil*, October 31, 2013, <https://www.profil.at/oesterreich/history/auschwitz-jahrelang-oesterreich-erstes-opfer-nazis-368762>.

There can be no justification for antisemitism. That may be stating the obvious, but these days it seems that the obvious needs to be stated. Antisemitism is not only a Jewish problem, it is a problem for democracy; it is not “only” threatening Jews, it is threatening our democratic system. If democracy is to be protected, antisemitism needs to be exposed and combated much more actively. As Bernard Henri Lévy states in his recent book, “Judaism is strong,”³⁰—I want to add: and so is democracy.

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30 B. H. Lévy, *The Genius of Judaism* (New York: Random House, 2017), 67–8.



I Introduction to Combating Antisemitism

Armin Lange, Kerstin Mayerhofer, Dina Porat, Lawrence H. Schiffman

General 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.¹

– Nelson Mandela

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.”² 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, the violence and murder of Jews in France and other European countries, rewriting and whitewashing the history of the local collaboration in the Holo-

This introduction is an extended and reworked version of pages 19–26 of A. Lange, A. Muzicant, D. Porat, L. H. Schiffman, and M. Weitzman, *An End to Antisemitism! A Catalogue of Policies to Combat Antisemitism* (Brussels: European Jewish Congress, 2018). The other authors are indebted to Ariel Muzicant and Mark Weitzman for their advice regarding the earlier version of this introduction. The policy recommendations of the catalogue *An End to Antisemitism!* are reproduced in chapters III–V of the present volume.

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

2 “Paris attacks: Timmermans warns of Jewish exodus,” *BBC News*, January 21, 2015, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-30924276>. See also the updated summary of a recent study carried out by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights on experiences and perceptions of antisemitism in the European Union, “Experiences and Perceptions of Antisemitism: Second Survey on Discrimination and Hate Crime against Jews in the EU,” issued March 2019, accessed May 20, 2019, https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2018-experiences-and-perceptions-of-antisemitism-survey-summary_en.pdf.

caust 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, rhetoric 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.

The first person known to argue against Jew-hatred was the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus. In the late first century C.E., Josephus wrote a defense of Judaism against the notorious Egyptian 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 as to whether antisemitism indeed can be overcome and are convinced that the endeavor of eradicating antisemitism will continue to fail. It seems almost impossible to change the mind of a person with a deep-seated prejudice and even more so to eradicate the antisemitic prejudices so deeply rooted in the cultures of the world. 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 has to live.

This attitude comes close to surrender in a conflict in which antisemites do not even allow Jews to capitulate. The only end antisemites envision to their fight against Jews and all friends of Judaism is their eradication.

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. For instance, the UN Vienna conference on human rights of June 1993 declared antisemitism to be “a form of racism” that required allegedly no need for a separate legal treatment³—the conference’s resolution became an excuse to avoid dealing with antisemitism. A major problem in the confrontation with antisemitism is thus 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).

1. 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.
2. The Middle East conflict is *not* the cause of the recent surge in 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 for present-day antisemitism.
3. 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.

³ See D. Porat’s contribution to the present volume, “The Working Definition of Antisemitism – A 2018 Perception,” 475 – 87.

4. 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 as at home with Islamic fundamentalists as it is 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. At the same time, since the nineteenth century, antisemites began to form their own (anti)cultural memory by way of antisemitic texts such as the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* or Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, which now thrive both in the Western and Muslim worlds online and in print.

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, be it the plague in medieval times, the economic crisis of 1927, or the suffering of Palestinian people. Especially in situations of crisis, such antisemitic prejudices guided and guide significant parts of the world's population to allocate guilt and responsibility for catastrophes not where they belong but with the Jewish collective instead. An example for this practice can be found in the motif of Jewish well-poisoning. With its origins dating back to medieval times and various elements describing how and why Jews would poison a city's well to harm their Christian neighbors, the motif evolved to serve as one of the backgrounds for finding a cause for the outbreak of the plague in medieval times that caused hundreds of thousand deaths. However, the outbreak of the plague was not caused by well-poisoning, since Jews were also suffering from its consequences, today it is clear that it was because of poor and confined housing combined with bad hygienic circumstances causing the spread of bacteria that had led to multiple outbreaks of various pestilences of varying proliferation. Still, the motif of Jewish well-poisoning was not forgotten and has survived up until contemporary times. Dating back only a couple of years, Mahmoud Abbas, President of the

Palestinian Authority, echoed this motif as a false accusation in a speech to the European Parliament in June 2016.⁴ This shows how stereotypes, emotionally motivated as they are per definition, can easily shift between frames of reference of time and culture.

Similar 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.

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.

⁴ Cf. D. Hadid, “Mahmoud Abbas Claims Rabbis Urged Israel to Poison Palestinians’ Water,” *The New York Times*, June 23, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/24/world/middleeast/mahmoud-abbas-claims-rabbis-urged-israel-to-poison-palestinians-water.html>.

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*.⁵

Other examples for this phenomenon include the Arabic translations of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* or Henry Ford's *The International Jew* that are today bestsellers in the Arab world. A variety of meanings are thus transferred and reinforce each other through a historical and now trans-regional and trans-national cultural/religious antisemitic code.

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 phenomena of culture and religion are therefore the key to fighting antisemitism successfully. Exclusively educational, and thus rational, approaches to combat antisemitism such as Holocaust education have failed largely due to the quasi-religious nature of antisemitism.

Antisemitism as a Human Rights Violation

Since antiquity, antisemitic agitation has resulted in 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 plague pogroms, and the Spanish inquisition. Millennia of antisemitic thought and action culminated in the Shoah, the genocide of Europe's Jewish population—the paradigmatic and ultimate manifestation of antisemitism. History leaves thus no doubt that antisemitism leads to the most horrendous forms of violence.

Antisemitism is a clear violation of the basic human rights laws and covenants that undergird our society and became part of international law in response to the horrors of the Shoah. These include Article 18 of the Universal Dec-

⁵ Cf. the declaration issued by eighteen internationally renowned human biologists and geneticists following the 1995 UNESCO Conference "Against Racism, Violence, and Discrimination" in Schlaining. "Declaration of Schlaining: AGAINST RACISM, VIOLENCE, AND DISCRIMINATION," issued June 1995, accessed May 20, 2019, https://www.friedensburg.at/uploads/files/Declaration_1995.pdf.

laration of Human Rights (1948), Article 18 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), the OSCE Berlin Declaration of 2004, to name just the most important examples.

Antisemitism should be taken as an incitement to violence and human rights violation. Not only antisemitic violence, but any expression of antisemitism should therefore be subject to legal measures. Victims of antisemitism are entitled to any form of protection a democratic government can afford them.

A Long-Term Project that Requires Strategies Extending over Generations

Legal prosecution 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. This long-term process is the second focus in the fight against 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 the heterogeneous character of antisemitism 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. A *holistic and multidisciplinary* approach is therefore appropriate. In addition to the general recommendations of the executive summary below, the catalogue reproduced in the present volume therefore provides specific recommendations to religious, cultural, educational, business, judiciary, and governmental decision makers. These recommendations do not attempt to replace earlier catalogues of policies combating antisemitism such as the OSCE’s “Understanding Anti-Semitic Hate Crimes and Addressing the Secur-

ity Needs of Jewish Communities: A Practical Guide”⁶ or UNESCO’s “Addressing Anti-Semitism through Education: Guidelines for Policy Makers.”⁷ Instead, our recommendations focus 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 in 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 specifics 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.

⁶ 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>.

⁷ 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 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 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.

The Working Definition of Antisemitism⁸

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 made in the present volume are therefore based on the IHRA’s Working Definition of Antisemitism that was officially adopted by the thirty-one 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.⁹ Its central statement is as follows:

8 For an extensive discussion of the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism, see the contributions by Dina Porat, “The Working Definition of Antisemitism – A 2018 Perception,” 475–87, and Mark Weitzman, “The IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism,” 463–73, in the present volume. The full text of the Working Definition of Antisemitism is reproduced in the present volume’s appendix for the readers’ convenience, cf. 565–6.

9 As of February 2019, the Working Definition of Antisemitism had been adopted and endorsed by the United Kingdom (December 12, 2016), Israel (January 22, 2017), the 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), the Republic of Macedonia (March 6, 2018), the Netherlands (November 27, 2018), Slovakia (November 28, 2018), the Republic of Moldova (January 18, 2019), the Czech Republic (January 25, 2019), the Greek Ministry of Education (February 11, 2019), Hungary (February 18, 2019), and France (February 20, 2019). Cf. “Working Definition of Antisemitism,” International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, issued July 19, 2018, accessed May 20, 2019, <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.

Antisemitism and Other Forms of Hatred

Although a unique cultural and religious category, antisemitism often pairs with other forms of hatred. Next to Jews, the Nazis murdered in their concentration camps Roma, people with disabilities, and political opponents. The Spanish inquisition targeted not only Jews but also Moriscos, and the anti-Jewish legislation of the Christian Roman Empire was accompanied by even fiercer legislation against heretics. Today, hatred against Jews pairs, for example, with hatred of migrants.

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.¹⁰

The policies proposed in the catalogue *An End to Antisemitism!* are focused on 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.

¹⁰ W. Gerlach, *And the Witnesses Were Silent: The Confessing Church and the Persecution of the Jews* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 47.

Armin Lange, Kerstin Mayerhofer, Dina Porat, Lawrence H. Schiffman

Executive Summary

The recommendations of the catalogue *An End to Antisemitism!* 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.

This executive summary is a slightly adjusted version of pages 27–29 of Lange, Muzicant, Porat, Schiffman, Weitzman, *An End to Antisemitism!* The authors are indebted to Ariel Muzicant and Mark Weitzman for their advice regarding the earlier version of this executive summary. The policy recommendations of the catalogue *An End to Antisemitism!* are reproduced further in the present volume.

- 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 of 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 catalogue reproduced in the present volume 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, and consider banning them in the international arena.
- 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 of antisemitism studies.
- Each country should fund the fight against antisemitism with 0.02 percent of its Gross Domestic Product annually.
- Each group, organization, and institution should spend 1 percent 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 in 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.



II Leadership Talks

Sebastian Kurz

Leadership Talk by the Federal Chancellor of the Republic of Austria (2017 – 2019)

As a young person of thirty-two years, I can hardly imagine that nearly one hundred years after the Shoah, antisemitism still exists. And it is not just almost inconceivable to me that antisemitism still exists, but that newly imported antisemitism is constantly emerging in our society.

Being aware of all the efforts in Austria to ensure that awareness of our history is implemented at our schools, that what happened in Austria will never be forgotten, that everyone is aware that there were not just victims in Austria during the Holocaust, but also many perpetrators.

Given all that, I still believe that direct contact with Holocaust survivors is crucial, for only they can describe what they and their families had to suffer, what all those had to suffer who did not survive. Although listening to Holocaust survivors and their suffering can be difficult and painful—that was at least my experience when meeting Holocaust survivors for the first time—I do believe that it was encounters with Holocaust survivors that brought about a change of attitude here in Austria.

We have to admit though, that my generation most likely belongs to the last ones who have the privilege of encountering Holocaust survivors personally, and this is uniquely possible in Austria and Germany, but not all over the world. Being aware that the horrible crimes of the Holocaust, fortunately, were limited only to a few countries, it also means that students there are not given the opportunity to speak to Holocaust survivors.

Nowadays we must be aware that antisemitism and anti-Zionism are increasingly merging. Being a member of the young generation in Austria, I learned about the Holocaust and the antisemitism leading to it at school. My perception of today's actual dimensions of antisemitism, however, was sharpened when I was appointed State Secretary for Integration. I similarly recognized that antisemitism and anti-Zionism often go hand in hand and are just two sides of the same coin when I became Austria's Foreign Minister. I am convinced that today, it is not just our responsibility as Republic of Austria to look back and deal with our history in a straightforward manner by establishing memorials such as the Shoah Wall of Names in Austria. We also have a responsibility to look forward. Looking forward will, fortunately, reveal many opportunities for taking action—opportunities that are not meant to undo our own history, but that allow us to live up to the responsibilities stemming from our history.

In this context, I would like to thank David Harris who invited me to Jerusalem a long time ago and gave me the opportunity to participate in the AJC Global Forum. That was a moving experience for me, where David Harris and I together developed the idea for the high level conference “Europa jenseits von Antisemitismus und Antizionismus—Sicherung des jüdischen Lebens in Europa” on 21 November 2018 in Vienna. At that time we were considering what a small country like Austria, in concert with the European Union, could do to fight antisemitism.

It seems to me that our opportunities and options are sometimes larger than we realize. To give you one example, the *Catalogue of Policies to Combat Antisemitism* was developed during the conference “An End to Antisemitism!” in February 2018 in Vienna and was presented to the public in November 2018 at our high level conference.

Let me conclude by emphasizing the commitment of the Republic of Austria not just to assume responsibility for the past but also to look forward and to live up to our responsibility by implementing lasting measures. I strongly hope that the adoption of the IHRA definition of antisemitism—proposed at the “High Level Conference on the Fight against Anti-Semitism in Europe,” but hopefully also as one of the European Council conclusions of on the fight against antisemitism and anti-Zionism, scheduled at the end of Austria’s Presidency—will mark an important step ahead, so that Jews in Austria, in Europe and everywhere else will be able to live safely. Only then will we have lived up to our historical responsibility.

Following his positions as state secretary for integration in the Ministry of the Interior and Foreign Minister, Sebastian Kurz served as the Federal Chancellor of the Republic Austria from December 2017 to May 2019. In addition, Kurz has been the Chairman of the Austrian People’s Party (ÖVP) since May 2017.

Heinz Faßmann

Leadership Talk by the Austrian Federal Minister for Education, Science and Research (2018 – 2019)

It has been an honour to speak at the conference, “An End to Antisemitism!” There cannot be enough words of thanks to the European Jewish Congress and the Jewish Community in Vienna, especially Dr. Moshe Kantor and Dr. Muzicant for organizing this conference in Vienna. The academic partners Tel Aviv University, New York University, and the University of Vienna have designed an excellent multi-day program with eminent speakers.

Especially in 2018, the year of commemoration in which we remember the eightieth anniversary of the take-over of power by the National Socialists in Austria, the so-called “Anschluss,” this conference is so important because of our special duty to fight against any form of antisemitism that we can still observe in our society today.

Personal Experience

Denying historical co-responsibility was the dominant way of thinking in post-war Austria. It took many decades and it was Franz Vranitzky, and after him many other politicians, who clearly stated that Austria had, on the one hand, been a victim but, on the other hand, that also way too many Austrians had become perpetrators.¹ Antisemitism was not a new phenomenon at the time, rather it was deeply rooted in Austrian history and society.

We have to learn from historic events, and we have to fight against antisemitism at its roots. Not only do we have a historic responsibility, but we also have to live up to that responsibility every day.

Today, the new government of Austria is very much committed to the fight against antisemitism in Europe and everywhere else. There is zero tolerance for any form of antisemitism.

¹ Cf. C. Zöchling, “Auschwitz: Jahrelang präsentierte sich Österreich als ‘Erstes Opfer der Nazis’,” *Profil*, October 31, 2013, <https://www.profil.at/oesterreich/history/auschwitz-jahrelang-oesterreich-erstes-opfer-nazis-368762>.

This is also why a conference against antisemitism in Vienna is very important and timely in order to raise awareness.

New Forms of Antisemitism

In the past decades, new forms of antisemitism have surged. One of them is the disproportional criticism of Israel, as described in IHRA's working definition of antisemitism.² Another highly disturbing form of antisemitism manifests itself among migrants in Europe and Austria, unfortunately also, but not limited to migrants from Muslim societies. With the current refugee crisis in Europe, we face numerous challenges in this context. There is also a considerable number of migrants who have not been raised in liberal societies and have little respect and knowledge for the values of democracy. Together with antisemitic traditions, this fact produces a dangerous mix. This has been and will therefore be an important part of our integration efforts with courses on our values for refugees as well as raising awareness in kindergartens and schools.

I recommended these measures when I was Chair of the Expert Group on Integration, and I received a lot of criticism for suggesting them. The dominant opinion was that values cannot be built with education. I do not agree with this opinion, we have to communicate clearly what the basic values of our Republic are and the rejection of antisemitism is one of them. And of course, also we who bear responsibility for the country, and our society have to live up to these standards and will not accept any double standards for migrants or for autochthonous Austrians.

The Role of Education

Let me emphasize another question: What can we do against the rise of antisemitism. My answer is: Education—adequate information and intelligent learning tools as an instrument.

At the Ministry of Education there are many activities to keep history relevant. `_erinnern.at_`, the Holocaust Education Institute of my Ministry provides

² Cf. "Working Definition of Antisemitism," International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, issued May 26, 2016, accessed July 2, 2018, <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/news-archive/working-definition-antisemitism>.

an important program to support teaching and learning the lessons about the Holocaust.

For the last twenty years, *_erinnern.at_* has provided sustainable seminars on teaching and learning about the Holocaust in close cooperation with Yad Vashem.³ And if it would be possible, it would be my sincere wish to enable every teacher in Austria to attend this training course once in his or her professional career. Until now, we have subsidized the participation of nearly seven hundred teachers at these annual in-service trainings.

The preservation of the life stories of survivors of the Shoah, as a legacy for our young people, is another core element of our pedagogical endeavors. The commemoration year 2018 marks the realization of a comprehensive online database with a collection of Austrian-related survivors' testimonies by the Ministry of Education and Science and *_erinnern.at_* and we are a leading partner in "Stories that Move," a large innovative European online platform against racism and antisemitism.⁴

I also would like to point out that Austria is fully committed to the vision and mission of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance and its *Working Definition of Antisemitism* which the Austrian government has adopted last year.⁵

Education is a key element in order to prevent new generations from repeating the failures of the past. We will therefore continue to foster a culture of commemoration in our schools.

The Bilateral Relations between Austria and Israel

As my last point, I would like to mention the bilateral relations to Israel.

Austria and Israel have had excellent bilateral relations. Not only on the political sphere, but also tourism between Austria and Israel is at an all-time high, and we have developed excellent and increasing economic relations.

We will support Israel if it should decide to run for the UN Security Council.

³ Cf. <http://www.erinnern.at/bundeslaender/oesterreich/zu-erinnern-at>, accessed July 2, 2018.

⁴ Cf. <https://www.storiesthatmove.org/de/startseite/>, accessed July 2, 2018.

⁵ Austria has adopted the Working Definition of Antisemitism on April 25, 2017. Cf. IHRA, "Austrian Government Adopts Working Definition of Antisemitism," April 28, 2017, <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/news-archive/austrian-government-adopts-working-definition-antisemitism>; N.N., "Ministerrat beschloss Antisemitismus-Definition," *ORF*, April 25, 2017, <https://orf.at/v2/stories/2388793>.

We also have a clear pro-Israel government-program. For the first time, there is a clear commitment to Israel as a Jewish state; we will also introduce new legislation within the coming years to grant citizenship to descendants of Nazi-victims.

And, we are not naive when it comes to the Middle East and the role of Iran and its growing influence on the region. This is a concern for Israel, but it's also a matter of concern for Europe.

Conclusion

To conclude, I would like to say that I have been to Israel twice and I was so impressed by the achievements of the Israeli people. Excellent infrastructure, excellent universities higher ranked than my alma mater, and a strong economy. The country celebrates its seventieth anniversary and it can be proud of it.

As Vice-Rector at the University of Vienna, I have established the first strategic partnership with the Hebrew University and due to competence and the enthusiasm of the professors, the partnership is now flourishing. It has always been a highlight for me to welcome twenty-five students from the Hebrew University—together with Her Excellency Ambassador Lador Fresher and Governor Nowotny—who will stay in Vienna for some weeks and in many cases discover the hometown of their grandparents or grand-grandparents.

I wish to convey my regards to this conference and its participants and hope that the theme of the conference “An End to Antisemitism!” will eventually become reality.

Heinz Faßmann is Professor of human geography and land-use planning at the University of Vienna. Between 2011 and 2015, he has served as vice-rector for human resources development and international relations at the University of Vienna. From 2015 to 2017 he has been vice-rector for research and international affairs. Faßmann routinely acted as a political consultant and advisor to the Austrian government. From 2018 until 2019, he has served as Austrian Federal Minister of Education, Science and Research.

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Christian Kern

Leadership Talk by the Federal Chancellor of the Republic of Austria (2016 – 2017); Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Austria (2016 – 2018)

Dealing with antisemitism is a very specific and sensitive issue in our country, and that is because of two main reasons. The first one is because I strongly believe that human dignity is absolutely untouchable. And the second is that we have to take care in a very sensitive way because of our heritage. This heritage imposes three main duties for a representative of Austrian society. The first one, perhaps, is that we are obliged to run a zero-tolerance policy as far as antisemitism is concerned. The second is that this heritage constitutes a very specific, special, and solidary relation to the State of Israel. And the third duty is to remember, not only with regards to the victims and their relatives, but it is also an important aspect as I strongly believe that the way how we deal with our past constitutes in what type of future we are going to live. And there is another specific issue—and I was totally impressed by one of the quotes and sayings of Noah Klieger. He is a survivor of the concentration camp in Auschwitz, and he was a member of the boxing squad, he was a sportsman, an active sportsman, and his resume after all the years was to say that “some fights,” he learned, “you can win, but they are never over.”¹ And that is exactly my position as far as antisemitism is concerned. It is a permanent task we have to undertake.

And I would like to tell you a short personal story which is very important in order to understand my way of thinking. It is a story which happened in my family. My mother was born in the year 1928, and my grandmother was serving as a housekeeper for an old Jewish couple in the late 30s, early 40s. After the Nazis took over, the old Jewish couple had to hide at the garret. My mother’s task was to provide the old couple with food and drinking water. One day, she was received at the doorstep of the house of the old couple by Gestapo officers. They chased her away and from that day on, the old couple was never seen again.

Decades later, this episode was still a lively memory in my family and my mother, becoming older and older, was repeating this story and telling it to my sister and me over and over again. And I can tell you I am really grateful

1 Cf. J. Stock, “Der Auftrag des Lebens,” *Der Spiegel*, April 11, 2015 (<http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-133575551.html>).

and humble to have a first-hand insight into what happens if humanity is smashed into pieces.

Years later, I became the CEO of the Austrian Federal Railways. What you have to know is that the railway business is not a run-of-the-mill business. The Austrian Federal Railways are not an ordinary company. People are so enthusiastic, fascinated—it is full of emotions. One of the consequences was that literally hundreds of books have been published about the history of the Austrian Railways, about the tracks, about the locomotives, about the stations. When I became the CEO, it did not take long for me to have a big bookshelf full of railway books. Interestingly enough, there was one book missing. And I was asking my colleagues how does it come that we do not have any evidence about what happened in the years from 1938 to 1945? That was an important question because the Austrian Railways were part of the logistic backbone of the Holocaust as you know.² And I was asking, what is the explanation? And that was [only] roughly six years ago. And the answer was a very common one, the answer was: “that wasn’t us!” Because three days after the Nazi invasion, they took over the company and merged it with the German Federal Railways. So, it was not our responsibility. But of course, this was a usual excuse, but a totally pointless excuse by the way. Because there was a continuity of people, a continuity of assets, of machines before, during and after the Second World War and after the Holocaust.

And that was the reason why Traude Kogoj, Milli Segal, Oliver Rathkolb, and I decided to examine scientifically the history of the Austrian Railways. Our intention was not only to do that but also to involve our youngest employees in this procedure. You have to know that the Austrian Railways are the biggest educator of technical apprentices in Austria, we are talking about people in the age range between 16 and 18 years old. They did interviews and supported the researchers in this way.

One day, I had the opportunity to visit the apprentices eagerly doing their examinations. And I asked them “what have you learned in your family, what have you learned in school about this period?” Here, you have to take into account that the parents of these young people were born long after the end of the Second World War. And the answer they gave me was really disillusioning; I would say it was really frustrating. They were poorly familiar with the facts of the Holocaust. And this encounter was a very important lesson for me. Be-

² Cf. “Detailinformationen zur Thementausstellung ‘Verdrängte Jahre’,” ÖBB-Konzern, accessed January 21, 2019, <https://konzern.oebb.at/de/vielfaeltige-oebb/verdraengte-jahre/naehere-informationen-zur-ausstellung>.

cause all of a sudden, I had understood how important the first-hand record is for my generation and those to come. And due to the biological facts, we know that the survivor generation will leave us, and the chain of remembrance is breaking. Even more so, we have the obligation to increase our efforts to educate the next generations.

To prevent our society from hatred and humiliating other people because of a religion, gender, political orientation or their religious convictions, to end antisemitism—that is our responsibility. It is our responsibility to learn from the past but also to act upon the recent events where we experience a re-kindling of antisemitic rhetoric and actions in our country. However, recent events demonstrate that remembrance is not enough. Standing up against antisemitism is a matter of cause in all Sunday speeches of all politicians. And we may assume that those emphasizing its importance actually mean it. But that does not diminish the fact that antisemitic assaults are rising.³

In Austria, in these days we experience a government which intends to establish “a conservative counter revolution.”⁴ The red lines of what is morally and politically acceptable are permanently shifted to the right. The government is permanently shaping a public debate in a very problematic sense. Sebastian Kurz and Heinz-Christian Strache, the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor of Austria, are framing, for example, unemployed people as cheaters.⁵ They denounce private persons accommodating refugees as greedy profit makers. And migrants are serving as the general scapegoat, blamed for almost any problem in our country, whether it concerns the education sector, the healthcare system, or domestic security. And step by step, we witness that right-wing secret societies, the so-called *Burschenschaften*, are subverting our public institutions. They become members of the constitutional court, cabinets, top civil servants, members of the university

3 The recent antisemitism report by the *Forum gegen Antisemitismus* in Vienna has shown a significant rise of antisemitic hate crimes in Austria in 2017. Since 2014, the number of incidents has doubled. Cf. Forum gegen Antisemitismus, “Antisemitismus Bericht 2017,” issued February 15, 2018 (https://www.fga-wien.at/fileadmin/user_upload/FgA_Bilder/Berichte/Antisemitismusbericht-2017_FgA.pdf).

4 This expression was first used by Norbert Nemeth, Chairman of the Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ) in August 2017. It has also been recently employed by Austria’s Minister of the Interior, Herbert Kickl, in his description of returning to what he calls the “normality” of political agenda, especially with regards to homeland security. Cf. “Kein Durchwinken mehr: Kickl will Grenzschutzeinheit,” *Tiroler Tageszeitung*, January 18, 2018 (<https://www.tt.com/politik/innenpolitik/13906635/kein-durchwinken-mehr-kickl-will-grenzschutzeinheit>).

5 Cf. “Regierung: Vermögenszugriff bei ‘durchschummelnden’ Arbeitslosen,” *Die Presse*, January 10, 2018 (https://diepresse.com/home/innenpolitik/5351033/Regierung_Vermögenszugriff-bei-durchschummelnden-Arbeitslosen).

boards, members of public companies, and other institutions.⁶ And even worse, top down from the government, they are attacking freedom of speech and intimidate individual journalists who are not compliant with their agenda. Some of us have expected that the representatives of FPÖ would be acting in a more responsible way, being part of the government. But instead of that, they continue their hate speech as we had to witness several time in the past few weeks. In Austria, the right-wingers are no longer in the corner of society. They are sitting in the government, in the public institutions, and they have not changed their ways.

We all have to be cautious, and I am calling for the need to hold temperance. Because we all know that after verbal violence there comes the violence of actions. We have to take care that resentment and racism is not becoming socially acceptable. But unfortunately, the conservative parties like ÖVP in our country have also been taking a right-wing path. Their excuse was that they are taking the wind out of the sails of the right-wing populists in doing so.⁷ But that does not work. If they do so, their words and speeches are fueling expectations which have to be met eventually. We observe that radicals feel increasingly motivated to spread their messages. The inconvenient truth is, that the chairman of the ÖVP is paving the way for FPÖ politics. Mister Kurz has prepared the black and blue coalition for eighteen months. Now he has to learn the hard way that he cannot control the radicals in the FPÖ. The head of ÖVP is acting as described in Goethe's famous poem of the sorcerer's apprentice: "Spirits, that I have cited, my commands ignore."

Last year, I was meeting the president of Israel, and I can tell you it was really a very impressive encounter for me. President Rivlin told me that for him, it is not enough if somebody acts in a pro-semitic way but also, in other parts of his doing, in a rather racist way.⁸ And I believe he is absolutely right. From experience we know that when minorities are assaulted, we are walking at the edge

⁶ Cf. L. Ennser-Jedenastik, "Burschenschaftler in der FPÖ: Vom harten Kern zur bestimmenden Kraft," *Der Standard*, February 6, 2018 (<https://derstandard.at/2000073719143/Burschenschaftler-in-der-FPOe-Vom-harten-Kern-zur-bestimmenden-Kraft>).

⁷ Cf. R. Misik, "Im Sog des rechten Mainstreams," *Zeit Online*, October 12, 2017 (<https://www.zeit.de/wirtschaft/2017-10/oesterreich-wahlkampf-migration-flucht-medien>).

⁸ Referring here to the Freedom Party members of the Austrian government. The Austrian government has repeatedly expressed its political loyalty to the State of Israel. However, its Freedom Party members have continuously acted in racist ways, e.g. making immigrants in Austria the number one scapegoat for unemployment, housing shortage and an increase in crime. This general behavior led to a boycott of a political cooperation with the Freedom Party by the Israeli government in December 2017. Cf. e.g. "Israel boykottiert FPÖ-Minister," *Wiener Zeitung*, December 19, 2017, <https://www.wienerzeitung.at/nachrichten/politik/oesterreich/936094-Israel-boykottiert-FPOe-Minister.html>.

of a cliff—and it would take just a small step to fall down. Some might say that the recent outbursts of Freedom Party and its supporters were not motivated by antisemitism. But we all know that Jews will be among the first affected if our social redlines get blurred.

So what are the take-aways for our open and liberal society? How can we successfully protect it? First and foremost, I believe that we have to be aware that our democracy is not a given. Second, we need to strengthen the civil rights to protect our values and convictions, and we all know that civil society could make a significant contribution. And the third point is that we have to activate our institutions, such as freedom of the press, or rule of law. They are strengthening our democracy and therefore opposition and civil society have to defend them as well as we have to protect our fellow Jewish citizens. And finally, we need to make clear that antisemitism is an insult of ourselves, of our constitution, of our open society, and we have to foster the understanding that the best weapon against hatred of any kind, and antisemitism is a pluralistic and self-confident democracy.

A business journalist by profession, Christian Kern served as spokesman of Austria's Social Democratic Party's (SPÖ) parliamentary group in the mid-1990s, before he became a senior manager in Austria's leading electricity company Verbund AG. In 2010, Kern was appointed CEO of the Austrian Federal Railways (ÖBB). Kern served as Chancellor of Austria from 2016 to 2017 and as chairman of the Social Democratic Party from 2016 to 2018.

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Raya Kalenova

Leadership Talk by the Executive Vice-President and CEO of the European Jewish Congress

The European Jewish Congress (EJC), the umbrella organization of European Jewry, represents Jewish communities in 42 countries across Europe. Our communities face very diverse challenges, from security issues and attacks on fundamental freedom, to antisemitism, which comes from the far right, the far left, and from radical Islam. As such, they need a strong voice, a voice that is heard and respected, and most importantly, an effective voice. From our headquarters in Brussels, we advocate for policies and mechanisms that will hopefully have tangible effects for our communities, and we are vigilant against attacks on human dignity and democratic values.

At the core of these challenges lies the scourge of antisemitism. In all dimensions of our work, we focus on practical efforts towards combatting this evil. This is why I would like to share some of our strategies with you: Our main tool in order to achieve tangible results on the ground is advocacy. A central element of our strategy is to advocate for the development and implementation of legislation. We also identified the need for a dedicated forum to raise awareness and develop tools to fight antisemitism at the European Parliament. We succeeded in establishing the European Parliament Working Group on Antisemitism, which brings together around one hundred principled and motivated MEPs across all major political groups.¹ The EJC advises the Working Group and acts currently as its Secretariat. The Working Group's groundbreaking success of 2017 was the adoption by the European Parliament of the first Resolution solely dedicated to the fight against antisemitism at EU level. The Chair of the Working Group at the time, the former Justice Minister of Spain was the legislative initiator of the Resolution. In the plenary, we found broad political support across all political the spectrum, with 76 percent of MEPs voting in favor. Through this Resolution,

¹ The European Parliament Working Group on Antisemitism (WGAS) was founded in 2012 by the European Jewish Congress together with the B'nai B'rith International, who also serve as the Working Group's advisory board. The WGAS brings together members of the European Parliament at a cross-party level to improve the ways in which EU institutions contribute to combatting antisemitism. Cf. "European Parliament Working Group ON Antisemitism (WGAS)," European Jewish Congress, accessed March 18, 2019, <https://eurojewcong.org/what-we-do/combating-antisemitism/ep-working-group-on-antisemitism-wgas/>.

the European Parliament reaffirmed the responsibility of society as a whole to find a solution for the problem of antisemitism and formulated a series of policy recommendations to be implemented in the Member States of the European Union.²

This has given us considerable momentum for one more element of our strategy: Pushing for the implementation of the policy recommendations contained in the Resolution. These include the adoption and use of the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism, as well as increased support for security and education to combat antisemitism. In the last six months, the number of Member States who have adopted the definition has doubled.³ Adopting the definition is of course only a first step: all stakeholders must be able to use it as a point of reference for identifying antisemitism. Moreover, a priority for us is that law enforcement and the judiciary rely systematically on the Working Definition, because they need to be able to recognize antisemitic hate speech, deeds, and crimes when they occur.

An important challenge for the Jewish street is that antisemitic incidents are too often not recognized as such, and as a consequence Jewish communities feel abandoned. We were again painfully reminded of this when a court in France rejected the antisemitic character of the brutal murder of Sarah Halimi.⁴ Sadly, these incidents are all too common in Europe.

Although we operate mostly at the EU level, we also focus on international organizations, such as the Council of Europe and the OSCE—where the adoption of the working definition is also a priority. We also work with the respective national parliaments and governments of our affiliates.

Keeping the memory of the Shoah alive is another pillar of our advocacy work. This year we commemorated seventy-three years since the liberation of Auschwitz at the European Parliament. Since 2008, we have organized High-Level events on International Holocaust Commemoration Day in the European

² Cf. European Parliament, “European Parliament Resolution of 1 June 2017 on Combating anti-Semitism,” accessed March 18, 2019, <https://eurojewcong.org/resources/european-parliament-resolution-on-combating-anti-semitism-of-2017/>.

³ Until February 2018, the Working Definition of Antisemitism has been adopted and endorsed by the United Kingdom (December 12, 2016), Israel (January 22, 2017), Austria (April 25, 2017), Scotland (April 27, 2017), Romania (May 25, 2017), Germany (September 20, 2017), Bulgaria (October 18, 2017), and Lithuania (January 24, 2017). Cf. “Working Definition of Antisemitism,” International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, issued May 26, 2016, <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/news-archive/working-definition-antisemitism>.

⁴ Cf., e.g., C. Valentin, “L’affaire Sarah Halimi et le tabou du “nouvel” antisémitisme,” *Le Figaro*, July 14, 2017, <http://www.lefigaro.fr/vox/societe/2017/07/14/31003-20170714ARTFIG00092-l-affaire-sarah-halimi-et-le-tabou-du-nouvel-antisemitisme.php>.

Parliament and in parallel at the historical sites of the Shoah. The Shoah commemoration ceremony, initiated and organized by the EJC under the leadership of its president Moshe Kantor, has become one of the most prestigious and well-attended events within the European institutions.⁵ In 2018, it was adopted by the European Parliament as an official event, and this means that from now on, it will remain on the parliamentary calendar, no matter who the president is. This is the direct outcome of our efforts to raise awareness of this issue. With the rise of narratives that seek to minimize or deny the Holocaust, and with Holocaust denial still not a crime in many EU Member States, commemorating the Shoah continues to be of utmost importance. Furthermore, for two years already, we have co-organized events with the European Commission around the topics of Shoah commemoration and Shoah education, with the active participation of First Vice-President of the European Commission, Frans Timmermans. We hope that this will become a tradition and that this successful partnership will continue, and we are grateful to Katharina von Schnurbein for being essential in this partnership.

As you know, one of the main drivers of violence and harassment of Jews in Europe today is antisemitic aggression under the pretext of anti-Zionism. Therefore, there is an urgent need to educate against the notion that Jews are “fair target” for violence and harassment in the name of this so-called “political criticism” of Israel, the only Jewish state. Our approach here is to oppose the normalization of narratives that threatens our communities and to ensure that they are not given space in political discourse. For instance, Mr. Omar Barghouti, one of the founders of the BDS movement, has been invited to speak at the European Parliament by a Socialist MEP next week. Probably no other person exemplifies attempts to normalize the new antisemitism today as he does. Therefore, together with other Jewish organizations operating at the EU level, we wrote a letter to the President of the European Parliament in order to prevent Mr. Barghouti from using our democratic institutions to spread hatred.⁶ At the same time, the people who have been targeted by the BDS movement have the right to be heard. We bring these voices—students who were harassed, academics who were blacklisted, and businessmen whose shops were vandalized—to be heard by legislators and decision makers within the walls of the European institutions. We know the geography of Jewish communities very well and the main

⁵ Cf. “Shoah Commemoration,” European Jewish Congress, accessed March 18, 2019, <https://eurojewcong.org/category/ejc-in-action/shoah-commemoration/>.

⁶ Cf., e.g., “Jewish Groups Slam Hosting of BDS Founder at European Parliament,” *The Times of Israel*, February 18, 2018, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/jewish-groups-slam-hosting-of-bds-founder-at-european-parliament/>.

fears and challenges that they face. Whereas in Eastern Europe, communities suffer mostly from the old antisemitism, in Western Europe we face a different threat. Living in Brussels, in the heart of Europe, I think I can express our feelings about what kind of antisemitism is the most dangerous today. Therefore, I cannot finish my message without talking about radical Islam.

Last week, we commemorated the horrific murders of Ilan Halimi⁷ twelve years ago in France, and Dan Uzan, who three years ago gave his life protecting young children at a Bat Mitzvah in the synagogue of Copenhagen.⁸ Today in Europe, Jews avoid public schools, certain universities, and neighborhoods. They are often faced with a dilemma: whether to compromise their security by being publicly Jewish or to give up their freedoms and hide their Jewish identity.

We face this challenge in two interconnected ways: on the one hand, it is crucial to strengthen the security infrastructure of Jewish communities on the ground. This is the main task of our specialized office here in Vienna.⁹ We work closely with our communities on security and crisis management, so that they are resilient if and when the worst happens. On the other hand, not all communities receive enough support from national governments. Like all European citizens, Jews have a right to live safely and without fear. Our task is to help our affiliates' advocacy efforts in order to gain support from national governments for their security infrastructure. This has been successful. Some countries have recognized their responsibility and have begun to provide support for the security of Jewish communities. Finally, there are instances where advocacy is not successful and where other measures are required. The recent preparation of laws banning *shechita*, i. e., ritual slaughter, in Belgium constitute such an example.¹⁰ We supported our affiliate, the Coordinating Committee of Belgian Jew-

⁷ Cf. P.-A. Taguieff, "Au sein d'un conflit mondial, une bande de barbares peut s'autoriser à sacrifier un Juif...", *Le Figaro*, February 24, 2006, http://www.lefigaro.fr/lefigaromagazine/2006/02/24/01006-20060224ARTMAG91687-au_sein_d_un_conflit_mondial_une_bande_de_barbares_peut_s_autoriser_a_sacrifier_un_juif.php.

⁸ Cf. "Copenhagen shootings: Denmark buries Jewish victim Dan Uzan," *The Telegraph*, February 18, 2015, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/denmark/11421109/Copenhagen-shootings-Denmark-buries-Jewish-victim-Dan-Uzan.html>.

⁹ In 2012, in a major effort to enhance the security of European Jewish, the EJC launched the Security and Crisis Centre (SACC) program with its office with a Control Room in Vienna, Austria. Cf. "Protecting our Communities," European Jewish Congress, accessed March 18, 2019, <https://eurojewcong.org/what-we-do/protecting-our-communities/>.

¹⁰ Belgium plans on a complete ban of ritual slaughter to be executed in late 2018 or early 2019. Cf. "Legislation on Religious Slaughter: Factsheet," DIALREL: Encouraging Dialogue on Issues of Religious Slaughter, accessed July 28, 2018, <http://www.dialrel.eu/images/factsheet-legislation.pdf>.

ish Organizations, in bringing challenges to these unjust laws before the Belgian Constitutional Court, based on a religious freedom approach.¹¹ In such cases, our communities take the lead, since they possess the local expertise to proceed more effectively, knowing that they have our complete support. Following recent developments in Poland, the country might be the next frontline in the fight for religious freedom, which may have disastrous consequences for the whole of Europe.¹² In fact, our affiliate in Poland has already been affected by these developments.

To conclude, we hear very often these days the offensive claim that Jews have “an agenda” when talking about antisemitism. Of course we do—our agenda is to protect our communities, so that they can do their part in building a better society for all. Scholars from various fields have taken on a leading role in the academic field by providing a better understanding of antisemitism in your respective disciplines. However, a serious commitment to ending antisemitism requires a coordinated response from all actors, including government, academia, and civil society. Our message is that we need partners who understand the issue of antisemitism and are committed to finding practical solutions. We cannot do this alone, and nor should we.

Raya Kalenova is the Executive Vice-President and CEO of the European Jewish Congress (EJC). From 2008 till 2012, Raya served as Deputy Secretary General and was responsible for the creation and management of the EJC office in Brussels.

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¹¹ Cf. T. Zieve, “Belgian Jews File Second Lawsuit against Ban on Religious Slaughter,” *The Jerusalem Post*, January 16, 2018, <https://www.jpost.com/Diaspora/Belgian-Jews-files-second-lawsuit-against-ban-on-religious-slaughter-536905>.

¹² Cf. “President Signed the Amendment of the Act on the Institute of National Remembrance,” Official Website of the President of the Republic of Poland, issued February 6, 2018, <https://www.president.pl/en/news/art,674,the-president-signed-the-amendment-of-the-act-on-the-institute-of-national-remembrance.html>. Cf. also T. Staff, “Full Text of Poland’s Controversial Holocaust Legislation,” *The Times of Israel*, February 1, 2018, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/full-text-of-polands-controversial-holocaust-legislation/>.

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Katharina von Schnurbein

Leadership Talk by the European Commission Coordinator on Combating Antisemitism

Even today, the Jewish community of Vienna sets an excellent example of a positive interaction between the community and wider society, thanks to organizations such as the Makkabi Sports Club, the Maimonides Center, the Job Training Centre JBBZ, the psychosocial center ESRA, to name a few. The fact that Jewish life was revived at all in such a way after the Shoah was certainly not a given and testifies to the inherent strength of the community here in Vienna.

At the European Commission, we are very much aware that Europe has a specific obligation to protect and support Jewish life. Europe would not be Europe without its two thousand years of European Jewish history, cherishing the continuation of this special symbiosis. The European Commission is about supporting vibrant Jewish life across Europe, and all our antisemitism policies are geared towards it.

With this contribution, I will add a European perspective to our reflections on how to tackle this cancer and prevent it from spreading its malignant manifestations further across European societies and indeed to end antisemitism. While none of us are naïve enough to think that this will be any time soon, I like the exclamation mark in the title of “An End to Antisemitism!” If we do not aim for the maximum, we will not achieve the minimum.

Antisemitism is not a national problem only! It is a European one. It touches the very heart of the European project. And it needs to be tackled with the greatest rigor on all levels, European, national and local. Yet, in Europe at the start of 2018, antisemitic prejudices are found in all forms, in all countries, irrespective of the size of the Jewish community, and in all strata of society. Sometimes violent, sometimes “only” as oral pinpricks, by questioning the right to a Jewish identity in public.

Where antisemitic incidents are recorded properly, figures are record-high: Four antisemitic incidents per day were recorded in Germany and the UK (in 2017)¹ and France (in 2016),² while in all European countries the Jewish community represents significantly less than one percent of the population.

1 Cf., e.g., F. Jansen, “Pro Tag im Schnitt vier antisemitische Straftaten,” *Der Tagesspiegel*, February 11, 2018, <https://www.tagesspiegel.de/politik/hass-gegen-juden-in-deutschland-pro-tag>

I was shocked to see the demonstrations in December in the heart of our cities, London, Paris, Vienna, and Berlin. People took to the streets in Europe to burn Star-of-David flags and chant antisemitic slogans in protest of the announcement by President Trump of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.³ As a German, seeing such actions in front of the Brandenburg Gate and 200 meters away from the Holocaust Memorial gave me shivers. In Gothenburg, young people had to hide in the basement of the synagogue as burning objects were thrown onto the premises⁴—this all is happening in Europe in 2017!

On behalf of the European Commission, First Vice President Timmermans and Commissioner Jourová condemned these actions and attacks and stressed the need to bring the perpetrators to justice.⁵

Acknowledgement of the Problem for Society at Large

Europe is at a crossroad and rising antisemitism is only one alarm bell. While Jews have been ringing it for some time, certainly since the brutal killing of Ilan Halimi in France in 2006,⁶ the general public has remained largely ignorant of these developments. For example, while an average of eight of ten German

im-schnitt-vier-antisemitische-straftaten/20949750.html; N. Khomami, “Antisemitic incidents in UK at all-time high.” *The Guardian*, February 1, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2018/feb/01/antisemitic-incidents-in-uk-at-all-time-high>.

2 Cf., e.g., Sh. Sitbon, “Antisemitic Attacks Surge in France,” *The Jewish Chronicle*. February 9, 2018, <https://www.thejc.com/news/world/antisemitic-attacks-surge-in-france-1.458478>.

3 Cf., e.g., “Demonstranten verbrennen israelische Flaggen in Berlin,” *Welt.de*, December 9, 2017, <https://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article171430290/Demonstranten-verbrennen-israelische-Flaggen-in-Berlin>; “Demonstrators in Stockholm Set Fire to Israeli Flag,” *The Local*, December 9, 2017, <https://www.thelocal.se/20171209/demonstrators-in-stockholm-set-fire-to-israeli-flag>; “Protesters Rally in Paris a Day Ahead of Netanyahu Visit,” *The Times of Israel*, December 9, 2017, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/protesters-gather-in-paris-over-jerusalem-a-day-ahead-of-netanyahu-visit/>.

4 Cf. Ch. Anderson, “Three Arrested After Firebomb Attack on Swedish Synagogue,” *The New York Times*, December 10, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/10/world/europe/sweden-synagogue-molotov-cocktail.html>.

5 Cf. European Commission, “Joint-statement by First Vice-President Timmermans and Commissioner Jourová on the Recent Antisemitic Attacks and Demonstrations,” issued December 11, 2017, http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_STATEMENT17-5207_en.htm.

6 Cf. C. S. Smith, “Torture and Death of Jew Deepen Fears in France,” *The New York Times*, March 5, 2006, <https://www.nytimes.com/2006/03/05/world/europe/torture-and-death-of-jew-deepen-fears-in-france.html>.

Jews see antisemitism as a worrying rising threat, statistics show that only two members of the general public regard antisemitism as a significant threat.⁷ This is due to little reporting in the media, although, following recent incidents, reporting about antisemitism has increased in some countries.

As the oldest minority in Europe, the Jewish people have been perceived for centuries as the emblematic “Other.” It is often said that when antisemitism is on the rise, “something bigger” is going on. Indeed the spread of Jew-hatred in a society has led time and again to the decay of openness of that society.

Jew-hatred is therefore not only a threat to the Jews but also a threat to an open and diverse society in which communities and people of various cultural backgrounds and faiths can live together based on the rule of law. Antisemitism is the “canary in the coal mine,” indicating that hatred elsewhere in society will increase. And thus we witness significant racism and xenophobia perceived by Muslim, Roma, and other minorities as was shown by the EU Midis Survey.⁸

Acknowledging All Forms of Antisemitism

Antisemitism has been—and still is—expressed in various forms. Some point currently to the Muslim community as a source of “imported antisemitism.” Indeed, according to the ADL Global Antisemitism Survey, anti-Jewish prejudices are two to three times higher among Muslims than among the general population.⁹ It is necessary to address these prejudices and not apply an ostrich policy under the false pretext that this might be offensive. Instead, addressing the issue strengthens the back of those courageous—often Muslim—people who fight antisemitic attitudes among the Muslim community. I am pleased to see that here in Austria the Muslim Youth Austria (MJÖ) has started a project together with the Documentation Centre of the Austrian Resistance (DÖW) to address antisemitism among Muslim young people.¹⁰ As you know, addressing antisemitism (and other

7 Cf. Kantor Center for the Study of Contemporary European Jewry at Tel Aviv University, “Antisemitism Worldwide 2017 Report,” issued April 11, 2018, <https://eurojewcong.wpengine.com/resources/antisemitism-worldwide-2017-report/>, 39–43.

8 Cf. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, *Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey: Muslims – Selected Findings* (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2017).

9 Cf. Anti-Defamation League, “ADL Global 100: An Index of Anti-Semitism,” <http://global100.adl.org/>.

10 Cf. B. Ichner, “Junge Muslime wollen Antisemitismus bekämpfen,” *Kurier*, January 24, 2018,

forms of racism and discrimination) in your own ranks is always the most difficult. It is indeed a benchmark for successful integration. I applaud the MJÖ for this project. We need many more such initiatives across Europe.

At the same time, we need to acknowledge reality: what do new-comers or those with migrant backgrounds see when scratching the surface of convictions among European society in a broader sense? Our continent has witnessed centuries of racist and Christian antisemitism and persecution, initiated and followed-through by Nazi Germany, supported by collaboration in many countries that made the dimension of this industrial killing in the Shoah possible. Yet, Holocaust denial and distortion coming from the extreme right is still a flourishing industry and must be addressed in public discourse as well as by the judiciary. European legislation criminalizes Holocaust denial inciting hatred and violence, and we are pressing Member States to apply this legislation with rigor.

On the left political spectrum, we see antisemitism hiding behind anti-Zionism and bias against Israel. The Middle East conflict has been imported not only by migrants coming from the region but also by those intellectuals, activists and politicians who occasionally cross the red line from criticizing Israel's policies to antisemitism. No conflict anywhere in the world justifies attacks on Jews in Europe—oral or physical ones.

Finally, the most widespread form of antisemitism is conspiracy theories that can be found on the left, the right, and among the Muslim population, reaching right into the middle of society. As a result, school principals do not address antisemitism properly and thus the victim rather than the perpetrators leaves the school, judges justify an arson attack on a synagogue by Palestinians with reference to their political convictions, and police make the wrong judgement call when an anti-Israel demonstrations become antisemitic.¹¹

The European Commission is committed to fight antisemitism in all its forms whether coming from the right-wing, the left-wing, from with the Muslim community, or the middle of society. We need to tackle this challenge holistically.

Dokumentationsarchiv des Österreichischen Widerstandes (DÖW), starting 2018, <https://www.mjoe.at/projekte/musliminnen-gegen-antisemitismus/>.

¹¹ Cf. S. Laurin, "Wuppertal und die Brandstifter," *Jüdische Allgemeine*, January 12, 2017, <https://www.juedische-allgemeine.de/article/view/id/27477>; B. Schrep, "Sechs Brandsätze in der Nacht," *Spiegel online*, January 18, 2016, <http://www.spiegel.de/panorama/justiz/brandans-chlag-auf-synagoge-in-wuppertal-taeter-erneut-vor-gericht-a-1072396.html>; 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>.

Policies are Needed on European, National, and Local Levels

The EU is based on the Lisbon Treaty that defines the competencies on a European and national level. And, in fact, many of the issues that need to be tackled in the fight against antisemitism, like security, integration, training of state administration, teacher training, curricula are national responsibilities. Thus, each Member State has its own approach, according to its structures and history. The EU's added value in these areas is to share best practices among them and provide certain impetus for Member States.

To tailor our policies, we need to know how the Jewish communities across Europe regard the threat of antisemitism and what their possible reactions are. Are they sitting on packed suitcases, are they moving to different neighborhoods, have they stopped wearing a kippah for security concerns?

In this vein, the European Commissioner for Justice, Vera Jourová this year invited the EU's Fundamental Rights Agency, based here in Vienna, to conduct the largest ever survey among 16,500 European Jews in twelve countries. In a representative way of ninety-five percent of European Jews will have a say.¹² The survey will allow a country by country comparison and thus allow Member States to take appropriate action. The survey also provides stakeholders with evidence to examine progress in ensuring the protection of Jewish people's fundamental rights in line with existing EU law and policies.

You Can't Fight it if You Can't Define it

In order to achieve a change of mind that antisemitism needs to be addressed on all levels, I have used every occasion—often together with the local Jewish community—to reach out to relevant national ministers and ministries, to Council working groups, to the EU Presidencies and to international organizations. We have seen encouraging change in the level of awareness. We think that policy de-

¹² Published in December 2018, it is entitled *Experiences and Perceptions of Antisemitism: Second Survey on Discrimination and Hate Crime against Jews in the EU*. The foreword reads: "The findings make for a sobering read. They underscore that antisemitism remains pervasive across the EU – and has, in many ways, become disturbingly normalized. The important information provided herein can support policymakers across the EU in stepping up their efforts to ensure the safety and dignity of all Jewish people living in the EU." FRA, *Experiences and Perceptions of Antisemitism* (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2018), 3.

velopments can be mutually reinforcing when exchanged and coordinated among Special Envoys on Antisemitism, and I am pleased that one third of EU Member States have put such a contact point in place.

Following the adoption of the non-legally binding working definition on antisemitism by IHRA in May 2016,¹³ the European Parliament adopted the definition in a Resolution on Antisemitism on June 1, 2017. Since then, six Member States have adopted the Definition (United Kingdom, Austria, Denmark, Bulgaria, Romania, Lithuania).¹⁴ Member States have started using the definition as guidance in their training of police and judges. The European Commission has also started staff training on current forms of antisemitism on the basis of the definition.

In the context of “You can’t fight it if you can’t define it,” the definition can be a useful tool for NGOs, Jewish communities, and state authorities to recognize the various forms of antisemitism. This definition will hopefully help improve data collection of antisemitic incidents. It is important to make antisemitism more visible, because without data, efforts to combat antisemitism will remain general and untargeted.

Ensure Proper Data Recording of Hate Crime and Antisemitic Incidents

Every year in November, the Fundamental Rights Agency publishes an annual report on antisemitic hate crimes in each EU Member State. Last year again, eight Member States reported no antisemitic acts.¹⁵ Many countries do not categorize the political convictions of the perpetrators of antisemitic hate crime. Often, all antisemitic hate crimes are simply categorized as right wing because this is where antisemitism predominately came from in the past. Of course, we

13 International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, “Working Definition of Antisemitism,” issued May 26, 2016, <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/stories/working-definition-antisemitism>.

14 Additional countries have adopted and endorsed the Working Definition of Antisemitism until today: Israel (January 22, 2017), City of London (February 8, 2017), Scotland (April 27, 2017), Germany (September 20, 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>.

15 Cf. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, “Antisemitism: Overview of Data Available in the European Union 2006–2016,” Issued November 2017, <https://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2018/antisemitism-overview-2007–2017>.

would be making a mistake in belittling that threat. In countries where data is collected properly—usually with the help of community based NGOs that collaborate closely with the police—a record number of antisemitic incidents, ranging from verbal and online threats to assaults, were recorded in 2017.

In order to improve data collection on hate crime, the European Commission installed in June 2016 a permanent group under the leadership of the Fundamental Rights Agency to improve proper recording. It is the first step in ensuring that offenses are investigated and, where necessary, prosecuted in all twenty-eight EU Member States.

Beyond Holocaust Education

President of the European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker, stressed on Holocaust Remembrance Day last month that we have a responsibility as Europeans not only to remember the Shoah as part of our history but also to pass on these lessons to the next generation. Education about the Holocaust, as the abyss of our common European history, can help to build resilience in society against discrimination, racism, and antisemitism when taught in an appropriate manner.¹⁶

However, even in countries like Germany where the Holocaust is anchored in school curricula—which is not the case in all Member States—the minority of teachers are confronted with it in the course of their studies. Often learning about the Holocaust is consigned to history teachers. And teaching about modern forms of antisemitism reaches even fewer students. The truth is even the sports teacher needs to recognize an antisemitic remark made on the school court and be able to address it. We are pleased that the OSCE/ODHIR is currently working on educational materials for teacher education and guidance for difficult situations in the classroom related to antisemitism, and we will support their efforts to reach all EU Member States with the findings.

To practice what we preach, at the Commission, we hold an annual internal EU staff training on the occasion of International Holocaust Remembrance Day on the role of civil servants in bringing about the Holocaust. A separate staff training session on modern forms of antisemitism is held every year on the 9th of November to commemorate *Kristallnacht* (Nov. 9–10, 1938).

¹⁶ Cf. European Commission, “Message by President Jean-Claude Juncker on the occasion of Holocaust Remembrance Day 2018,” issued January 26, 2018, http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_STATEMENT-18-393_en.htm.

Addressing Illegal Online Hatred

Given the significant rise of racist and antisemitic content on the internet, the European Commission concluded in May 2016 a Code of Conduct with the big IT companies to more quickly remove illegal hate speech.¹⁷ Facebook, Microsoft, YouTube, and Twitter have committed to reviewing and, when necessary, taking down illegal hate speech within 24 hours according to European legislation. Our latest data shows the continuous progress on the removal of illegal hate speech with seventy percent of illegal hate speech removed and over eighty percent being reviewed within 24 hours. Work remains to be done, in particular in relation to user's transparency (meaning proper feedback), which is an important guarantee for freedom of expression online, in line with the Guidance provided in the September Commission's Communication.

Given the good progress, the Commission has been focusing attention on ensuring the Code becomes an industry standard and encouraging the on-boarding of as many relevant social media platforms as possible. Good progress has also been recorded here with Instagram and Google+ announcing on January 19, 2018 their intention to join the Code of Conduct.¹⁸

The Ultimate Aim: Normality for Jews in Europe!

While all of these measures are necessary at the moment, we must never lose sight of the ultimate goal of Jewish life in Europe: normality. Jews should be able to make the same choices as anybody else, religious or secular, wearing Jewish symbols or not, putting a Mezuzah on their door or not, sending their kids to public schools or Jewish schools—without having to go through three layers of security.

And by the way, it is unacceptable for the Jewish communities to have to bear the costs for this security. Ensuring the security of its citizens is one of the most generic responsibilities of the state. I was pleased to have been invited by the Austrian Ministry of Interior last December to a meeting of the future EU

¹⁷ Cf. European Commission, “Code of Conduct on Countering Illegal Hate Speech Online,” issued May 2016, https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/code_of_conduct_on_countering_illegal_hate_speech_online_en.pdf.

¹⁸ Cf. European Commission, “Countering Illegal Hate Speech Online—Commission Initiative Shows Continued Improvement, Further Platforms join,” issued January 19, 2018, http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-18-261_en.htm.

Presidencies to talk about the specific security needs for Jewish communities. We are working with the Austrian EU Presidency in the second half of 2018 to focus specifically on security as well as the recognition of all forms of antisemitism.

I mentioned in the beginning that when antisemitism is on the rise, something bigger is going on. That is true. But the reverse is also true: Accepting Jewish life in its diversity as an integral part of Europe is a sign of a healthy society. Accepting Jewish life as normality will send positive vibes into the wider society to stand up against any form of racism and xenophobia. It is thus in the interest and the responsibility of every single European to put “An End to Antisemitism!” So, in order to put “An End to Antisemitism,” let us not be by-standers. Condemning and pushing back on antisemitism is a continuous and repetitive exercise. Civil courage is a state of mind.

Katharina von Schnurbein was appointed as the first European Commission Coordinator on combatting Antisemitism in December 2015. In close cooperation with and Jewish communities as well as EU Member States her aim is to advance effective policy measures on Antisemitism across the EU. Before that she advised EU Commission President José Manuel Barroso on the dialogue with churches, religions and non-confessional organizations. Prior to that she served as spokesperson for employment and social affairs at the European Commission (2004–2010).

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Andrew Baker

Leadership Talk by the AJC Director of International Jewish Affairs; Personal Representative of the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office on Combating Anti-Semitism

Fifteen years have passed since the OSCE held its first conference on antisemitism in June 2003, here in Vienna. It addressed specific matters relevant to antisemitism, including the importance of understanding and defining it, the need for education about Judaism and the Jewish community, and the value of promoting Holocaust education and remembrance.

But the conference also spoke in general and comprehensive ways by offering recommendations. It underscored the obligation for governments to identify and monitor hate crimes, the need to train police and prosecutors, and the need to teach students about religion and religious communities generally.

In that pre-social media era, the conference flagged concerns about the spread of hate on the internet and the responsibility of traditional media to avoid promoting intolerance.¹

It offered the OSCE as a place for governments to share best practices and to prod its participating States to do more.

Before the conference had come to an end, the German delegation stood up to propose that it host a follow-up conference in Berlin the following year. That conference and the Berlin Declaration that resulted from it were a milestone in efforts by the OSCE to tackle the problem of antisemitism.

In carefully worded language, the conference began a process of defining antisemitism as it relates to Israel. The declaration spoke of antisemitism taking on “new forms and expressions,”² and it made clear that incidents in Israel and the Middle East could never justify antisemitic attacks.

It spelled out commitments for participating States and for the OSCE’s Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), including identifying

¹ Cf. “OSCE Conference On Anti-Semitism, Vienna, 19 and 20 June 2003: Consolidated Summary,” Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, issued July 18, 2003, <https://www.osce.org/cio/42394?download=true>.

² “Berlin Declaration, 2004,” Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, issued April 29, 2004, <https://www.osce.org/cio/31432?download=true>.

and monitoring hate crimes and promoting Holocaust education. It led to the creation of a new department in ODIHR focused on promoting tolerance and non-discrimination.

We must acknowledge that antisemitism is no less a problem today than it was fifteen years ago. But we are better able to understand it, governments are more willing to acknowledge it, and we have more tools at our disposal to address it.

In January of this year, the Italian OSCE Chairmanship organized the Rome International Conference on the Fight against Anti-Semitism. This conference also stressed the value of education, spoke of the need to understand religions and religious differences, and reviewed the progress of governments in monitoring and responding to hate crimes.³ However, what made this conference unique was the presenters and discussants themselves, who now have the benefit of real work experience to share.

And today's environment is not the same as it was fifteen years ago.

In 2003, we had not fully appreciated the very real security challenges that Jewish communities faced and the genuine anxiety that many Jews have come to feel in just the public observance of their faith. It has taken lethal attacks and physical harassment to mobilize authorities.

We must acknowledge the complicated and even contradictory forces in our work to combat antisemitism connected to immigration and the politics of immigration. Large numbers of migrants have come from majority Muslim countries in the Middle East and North Africa, where anti-Jewish and anti-Israeli sentiments are commonplace.

We do not know yet that immigration will necessarily mean an increase in antisemitism, but it adds to the challenges of integrating them and to standing concerns about antisemitism in the more established Muslim communities. At the same time, these immigrants themselves are victims of prejudice, and they are being used to fuel the campaigns of right-wing, populist parties. Their support is growing, and these parties and their members are no less antisemitic than they are anti-Muslim.

In the United States, we have seen an increase in antisemitic incidents, including examples that also reveal how Jews still serve as ready targets from all corners of the political spectrum. In 2017, neo-Nazis and white supremacists

³ Cf. "Rome International Conference on the Responsibility of States, Institutions and Individuals in the Fight against Anti-Semitism in the OSCE Area," Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, issued January 26, 2018, <https://www.osce.org/chairmanship/368061?download=true>.

railed against Jews in their torchlight parade in Charlottesville.⁴ Meanwhile, progressive groups on college campuses are telling Jewish students who support Israel that they are not welcome to be part of their anti-racist coalitions.⁵ And on some of those same campuses, posters recently appeared claiming that a Jewish conspiracy was behind liberal efforts to derail President Trump's recent Supreme Court nominee.

We face as irrational a mix of antisemitic charges today as we did a century ago, when Jews were blamed for both communism and capitalism.

European Jewish leaders will debate whether antisemitism coming from the right (nationalists, populists, neo-Nazis) or the left (usually as part of an anti-Zionist agenda) or from still another source (an immigrant population with roots in the Middle East) is the most significant danger at the moment. But there is no disagreement that the problem in all three of these categories has been steadily increasing.⁶

Twenty years ago, we witnessed significant measures being taken in the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe to confront the legacy of the Holocaust in these countries. It was not easy after a half-century of communist oppression to look critically at the role their fascist-era governments and local citizens played in assisting the Nazis in their genocidal mission. But a process was put in place. National historical commissions provided a critical review of those complicated years. New Holocaust memorials and educational programs were established. Legislation provided for the restitution of former Jewish property. Political leaders came to recognize that it was not appropriate to rehabilitate or pay honor to wartime fascist leaders who were complicit in the murder of Jews, even if they in turn had been persecuted under communism because of their nationalism.

Different countries moved in different ways and at different paces, but the direction was largely positive. We cannot say that today, when many of these same countries are looking to revise and distort the authentic, critical narrative

4 Cf. H. Spencer, S. G. Stolberg, "White Nationalists March on University of Virginia," *The New York Times*, August 11, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/11/us/white-nationalists-rally-charlottesville-virginia.html>.

5 Cf. D. Ziri, "'Massive Drop in US Jewish College Students' Support for Israel'," *The Jerusalem Post*, June 22, 2017, <https://www.jpost.com/American-Politics/Israel-dramatically-losing-support-among-Jewish-college-students-in-US-497605>.

6 FRA's December 2018 survey of Jews in the EU reports that respondents cite as perpetrators of antisemitic incidents those with extreme Muslim views 30%, with left-wing political views 21%, and with right-wing political views 13%. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, *Experiences and Perceptions of Antisemitism: Second Survey on Discrimination and Hate Crime Against Jews in the EU* (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2018), 13.

of the Holocaust and the role of wartime leaders. Twenty years ago, we might have excused this as a matter of naiveté or ignorance. Today, they know better, but do it all the same.

For Jewish communities comprised primarily of Holocaust survivors and their descendants, this is much more than a question of history; it goes to their very sense of belonging.

There has been real progress in employing a comprehensive definition of antisemitism. That first Working Definition, issued by the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) in 2005, was adopted by the thirty-one-nation International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) in 2016. It has been recommended for use by the European Parliament and the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, and a growing number of countries have formally adopted it.⁷ The Chief Rabbi of the United Kingdom and the Archbishop of Canterbury jointly endorsed the definition with its full list of examples and without any modifications, a very public condemnation of antisemitism in the political arena.⁸

On occasion, we look at the problem of antisemitism through the broader prism of protecting the freedom of religion and belief. Let me then illustrate how adhering to these principles can also direct our work.

We need to recognize that Jewish security fears directly impact the ability to worship freely and to engage in related communal activity. Additionally, political efforts ostensibly in the name of protecting children or for the humane treatment of animals threatens the freedom to conduct certain religious practices that are elemental to Judaism.

As both FRA surveys indicate, one third of the Jewish population avoids wearing religiously-identifying symbols in public or even attending Jewish events for fear of being harassed or attacked.⁹ Synagogues, schools, and other communal buildings require special protection and often stringent security mea-

7 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, issued May 26, 2016, <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/news-archive/working-definition-antisemitism>.

8 Cf. N.N. "Church of England's Bishops Adopt Full International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance Definition of Anti-Semitism," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, September 13, 2018, <https://www.jta.org/2018/09/13/global/church-englands-bishops-adopt-full-international-holocaust-remembrance-alliance-definition-anti-semitism>.

9 Cf. FRA, *Experiences and Perceptions of Antisemitism*, 38.

asures must be employed. Who can deny that this adversely constrains basic religious freedoms?

There are ongoing efforts in several European states to restrict or outright ban the practice of infant (and child) circumcision.¹⁰ Even when Jews were subject to many antisemitic restrictions in pre-modern Europe, no one sought to restrict this practice, whose origins can be traced to the first book of the Bible. Even granting that the proponents of these efforts are only concerned with the well-being of children and have no intention of promoting antisemitism, the public and social media discourse that accompanies their activities is frequently and overtly antisemitic. In a similar fashion, a growing number of European states have banned the practice of religious (kosher) slaughter.¹¹ Together, these efforts, if successful, seriously threaten the future of Jewish life in Europe.

In conclusion, as we gather here in Vienna to marshal our collective efforts to put “an end to antisemitism,” we have new tools, increasing government com-

10 Cf. for example H. Sherwood, “Iceland Law to Outlaw Male Circumcision Sparks Row over Religious Freedom,” *The Guardian*, February 18, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2018/feb/18/iceland-ban-male-circumcision-first-european-country>; M. Busby, “Danish Parliament to Consider Becoming First Country to Ban Circumcision of boys,” *Independent Minds*, June 3, 2018, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/denmark-boyhood-circumcision-petition-danish-parliament-debate-a8381366.html>.

11 Slovenia, Denmark, and Poland were among the first European Countries to re-evaluate ritual slaughter. Already in 2012, Slovenia’s Animal Welfare Act was amended to add provisions banning all ritual slaughter of animals, thus making Slovenia the first country in the European Union to fully ban any ritual slaughter of animals, both kosher and halal. Cf. “Zakon o Zaščiti Živali [Animal Welfare Act]”, issued November 28, 1999, amended 2012, http://extwprlegs1.fao.org/docs/html/slv_101698.htm. Following this decision, Poland’s Constitutional Court effectively banned religious slaughter following protests by animal welfare groups. However, religious slaughter continued in practice in Poland and led to the ban being overturned in 2014 on religious freedom grounds. Cf. N.N., “Polish Ban on Kosher Slaughter of Animals is Overturned,” *BBC News*, December 10, 2014, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-30412551>. Denmark too banned ritual kosher and halal slaughter for reasons of animal welfare in 2014. Cf. A. Withnall, “Denmark Bans Kosher and Halal Slaughter as Minister Says ‘Animal Rights Come before Religion’,” *Independent Minds*, February 18, 2014, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/denmark-bans-halal-and-kosher-slaughter-as-minister-says-animal-rights-come-before-religion-9135580.html>.

Until today, the discussions and legal decisions of countries such as Denmark and Poland have given continuous rise to re-evaluations of and attempts to ban kosher and halal slaughter in other European countries too. Currently, Belgium plans on a complete ban of ritual slaughter to be executed in late 2018 or early 2019. Cf. “Legislation on Religious Slaughter: Factsheet,” DIALREL: Encouraging Dialogue on Issues of Religious Slaughter, accessed July 28, 2018, <http://www.dialrel.eu/images/factsheet-legislation.pdf>.

mitments, and greater communal resolve to take up the fight, but the problem remains complex and intractable.

Rabbi Andrew Baker is AJC Director of International Jewish Affairs. In 2009, he was appointed Personal Representative on Combating Anti-Semitism of the Chairperson-in-Office of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and continues to serve in this position. He is an officer of the Jewish Claims Conference and has served on restitution and historical commissions in the Czech Republic, Lithuania, Romania and Slovakia. In recognition of his work in Europe he was decorated by the Presidents of Germany, Lithuania, Latvia and Romania. He is a past President of the Interfaith Conference of Washington, a former Commissioner of the District of Columbia Human Rights Commission, a past President of the Washington Board of Rabbis and a former chaplain at San Quentin Prison.

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Irwin Cotler

Leadership Talk by the Chair of the Raoul Wallenberg Centre for Human Rights

The fight against antisemitism is part of a larger common cause that brings us together—the struggle against racism, against hate, against antisemitism, against mass atrocity, and against the crime whose name we should even shudder to mention, namely genocide. And mostly, and here I reference my mentor and teacher Elie Wiesel, against indifference and inaction in the face of injustice and antisemitism; and all this is part of the larger struggle for justice, for peace, and human rights in our time.¹

As it happens, the conference “An End to Antisemitism!” took place at an important moment of remembrance and reminder of bearing witness and taking action. It took place in the aftermath of International Holocaust Remembrance Day, reminding of horrors too terrible to be believed but not too terrible to have happened. Of the Holocaust, as Elie Wiesel would remind us again and again; of a war against the Jews in which “not all victims were Jews, but *all* Jews were victims.”² The conference “An End to Antisemitism!” also took place on the seventieth anniversary year, moving towards both the Genocide Convention and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Genocide Convention was called the “Never-Again-Convention,” but after it, genocide has occurred again and again. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, being the Magna Charter of the UN, as former UN secretary-general Kofi Annan said, “emerges from the ashes of the Holocaust intended to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.”³ Both bears that reminder today, that a UN that fails to be at the forefront at of the struggle against antisemitism and other forms of racism, denies its history and undermines its future.

The conference “An End to Antisemitism!” also took place in the aftermath of the seventieth-third anniversary of the liberation of the death camp Oświęcim,

1 Cf. E. Wiesel, “The Perils of Indifference,” speech delivered April 12, 1999, Washington, D.C. <https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/ewieselperilsofindifference.html> (last accessed January 14, 2019).

2 E. Wiesel, “President’s Commission on the Holocaust: Report to the President,” September 27, 1979, reprinted by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, June 2005 (<https://www.ushmm.org/m/pdfs/20050707-presidents-commission-holocaust.pdf>, last accessed January 16, 2019), iii.

3 United Nations, “Preamble,” Charter of the United Nations (<http://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/preamble/index.html>, last accessed January 16, 2019)

which, as Holocaust survivor Noah Klieger summarized so succinctly, is “the largest cemetery in the world without graves.”⁴ From 1942 to the beginning of 1945, 1.3 million people were deported to Auschwitz, 1.1 million of them were Jews. These 1.1 million Jews were murdered in Auschwitz because of antisemitism. When Auschwitz was liberated, antisemitism itself did not die. It remains the bloodied and often mutated canary in the mine shaft of global evil today.

In this context of remembrance and reminder, I want to express some thoughts, some concerns, some reflections, and some proposals as to what can be done regarding assaults on the Jewish condition and the human condition, regarding assaults on Jews and assaults on human rights, regarding the state of Jews in the world today and the state of human rights as well as the state of the world inhabited by Jews. One cannot really separate, if I can use the term here, the intersectionality of escalating global antisemitism, on the one hand, and escalating global terrorism, and in particular terrorism targeting Jews on the other. Antisemitism is not only the oldest and most enduring of hatreds but also the most lethal. Antisemitism is a paradigm of radical hatred, as the holocaust is a paradigm of radical evil. It is “a lethal obsession,” as the late Robert Wistrich put it in his magisterial work on antisemitism.⁵

A New Antisemitism

The underlying thesis of my remarks is that we are witnessing and indeed have been witnessing for some time a new global, escalating, sophisticated, virulent, and even lethal antisemitism, that is grounded in classical antisemitism but distinguishable from it. This new form of global antisemitism found its first institutional, juridical, and international expression in the “Zionism as racism” United Nations resolution of 1975,⁶ but has gone dramatically beyond that. The US ambassador to the United Nations at the time, Daniel Moynihan, described this 1975

⁴ N. Klieger, quoted in “Der grösste jüdische Friedhof der Welt,” *St. Galler Tagblatt*, January 27, 2015 (<https://www.tagblatt.ch/international/der-groesste-juedische-friedhof-der-welt-ld.929901>).

⁵ Cf. R. Wistrich, *A Lethal Obsession: Anti-semitism from Antiquity to the Global Jihad* (New York: Random House, 2010).

⁶ The United Nations General Assembly Resolution 3379, adopted in 1975, determines that “Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination.” In 1991, this determination was revoked following Israel’s claim of revocation of this statement as the condition of its participation in the Madrid Peace Conference. Cf. United Nations General Assembly Resolution 3379 (XXX): Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, 10 November 1975 (https://web.archive.org/web/20121206052903/http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/761C1063530766_A7052566_A2005B74D1, last accessed January 14, 2019).

resolution rightly as “the abomination of antisemitism” and as “the appearance of international legal sanction.”⁷

For this new antisemitism, a new vocabulary is needed to define it. This can best be achieved in a set of metrics anchored in human rights and international law conceptualization in general and in equality rights and equality law in particular. The IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism which addresses both the old and the new forms of antisemitism does exactly what is needed.⁸ Traditional antisemitism is a discrimination against denial of assault upon the rights of Jews to live as equal members in whatever state or society they inhabit. New antisemitism is a discrimination against denial of assault upon the right of the Jewish people and the State of Israel to live as an equal member of the family of Nations.

The Anti-Defamation League global survey of 2014 demonstrates the importance of my approach. This ADL survey anchors itself in eleven of the classical metrics by posing the questions “Do the Jews have had too much power?,” “Do the Jews control the economy?,” etc. etc. It determined that antisemitism was a persistent and pervasive virus.⁹

I suggest that if we do not take the new metrics into consideration, we may come to a rather disturbing outcome and not fully appreciate what is happening. The example of Sweden demonstrates what I am aiming at. Applying the old metrics, the 2014 ADL global survey identifies only 4 percent of Sweden’s population as antisemitic. But if—considering the new metrics—you ask a question like “How many of you believe, that Israel is acting in the same way as the Nazis did?” it goes up to about 40 percent. One has to look thus at the issue of antisemitism both in terms of the traditional metrics and in terms of a new set of metrics, which I will discuss in this contribution.

Let me try to put this in context by referencing Per Ahlmark. Ahlmark is a former deputy prime minister of Sweden and one of the great leaders in the struggle against antisemitism. In appreciating the interaction of old and new antisemitism, Ahlmark argued that discrimination against Jews would move inexorably to discrimination against and assault on the Jewish nation state in Israel. From discriminating and assaulting the state of Israel it would move again back to assaults on Jews themselves. Ahlmark concluded, and I quote, “in the past,

7 D. Moynihan, “Response to United Nations Resolution 3379,” speech delivered 10 November 1975. <https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/danielpatrickmoynihanun3379.htm> (last accessed January 14, 2019).

8 Cf. “Working Definition of Antisemitism,” International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, July 19, 2018, <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/news-archive/working-definition-anti-semitism>.

9 Cf. ADL Global 100 Survey 2014, <http://global100.adl.org/> (last accessed January 14, 2019).

the most dangerous antisemites were those who wanted to make the world *judenrein*, free of Jews. Today, the most dangerous antisemites might be those who want to make the world *judenstaatrein*, free of a Jewish state.”¹⁰

Five Metrics of the New Antisemitism

Before I go into detail, I would like to summarize five metrics of the new antisemitism. These are (1) *genocidal antisemitism*, (2) *demonological antisemitism*, (3) *political antisemitism*, (4) *anti-Jewish terror*, and finally, (5) the one that is the most sophisticated and perhaps maybe the most dangerous, because the others are at least overt and public and clear. But the one that I would call *the laundering or the masking of antisemitism under universal public values*, under our shared and common humanity is in my view the most pernicious and prejudicial, and in that sense, threatening aspect of new antisemitism.

Genocidal Antisemitism as the First Metric of Antisemitism

The first metric of the new antisemitism I would call genocidal antisemitism. This is not a term that I use lightly or easily. It is a term that I am taking right out of the Genocide Convention’s “Cumulative Conviction against the Direct and Public Incitement to Commit Genocide.”¹¹ Genocidal antisemitism is the toxic convergence of the advocacy of the most horrific of crimes, namely genocide, embedded in the most lethal of hatreds, namely antisemitism, and involving a public call to kill Jews wherever they may be. The Supreme Court of Canada addressed the last aspect of genocidal antisemitism in upholding the constitutionality of our anti-hate legislation in Canada, which is closer to the European approach than it is to the American First Amendment approach. Canadian hate-crime legislation embodies all the attributes of protected speech or the American First Amendment, but when it comes to matters relating, for example, to the willful promotion of hatred or contempt against an identifiable people or people identifiable by reason of the race, religion, nationality, ethnicity, sex, etc., and in particular with regard to the advocacy of genocide, then this is sanctioned

¹⁰ P. Ahlmark, quoted in Y. Sheleg, “A World Cleansed of the Jewish State,” *Haaretz*, April 18, 2002 (<https://www.haaretz.com/1.5196582>).

¹¹ United Nations, “Cumulative Convictions: Direct and public incitement to commit genocide,” filed November 28, 2007, <http://cld.irmct.org/notions/show/265/direct-and-public-incitement-to-commit-genocide> (last accessed January 18, 2019).

and criminalized under our law. Upholding the constitutionality of our hate-law, the Supreme Court of Canada used a statement that I thought summed it up very well: The Court said that the Holocaust did not begin in the gas chambers. It began with words.¹² These are the catastrophic effects of racism. These are the chilling facts of history.

In another case, the Supreme Court of Canada established a very important principle and precedent which has gone almost unknown in the international legal community, but which deserves not only referencing but needs to be acted upon. I mean the Mugesera case. Mugesera was a Rwandan who came to Canada in 1992 and sought refugee status, which he preliminary received. In 1994, the genocide of the Tutsis in Rwanda took place. During the legal proceedings of his case, Mugesera's refugee status was transformed to that of accusing and charging him of incitement to hatred and to genocide. And Mugesera defense was, "well, how can you accuse me of that? I came to Canada in 1992, the genocide in Rwanda occurred in 1994. I wasn't even there! I had nothing to do with the genocide that took place!"

But the court determined on the evidence is that Mugesera had been involved in the incitement to hate and genocide, which led to the genocide that took place in 1994. The court concluded in its very important judgement, that "the very incitement to hate in general constitutes the crime, whether or not acts of genocide follow."¹³ That is why Mugesera was then deported back to Rwanda for trial, which took place there.

That was the first expression of genocidal antisemitism. But there are a number of others of which I will address only the most important ones: the second manifestation of genocidal antisemitism are the covenants, charters, declarations, and programs of Iranian surrogates, i.e., Hamas, a Sunni surrogate, and Hezbollah, a Shiite surrogate. Perhaps, I should just preface my elaborations regarding this second expression of genocidal antisemitism by saying, that the twenty-first century began with Ayatollah Khomeini saying, and I quote, "there can be no solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict without the annihilation

¹² Cf. "Canadian Anti-hate Laws and Freedom of Expression," September 1, 2010, revised March 27, 2013, <https://lop.parl.ca/staticfiles/PublicWebsite/Home/ResearchPublications/BackgroundPapers/PDF/2010-31-e.pdf> (last accessed January 18, 2019).

¹³ *Mugesera v. Canada (Minister of Citizenship and Immigration)*, Report [2005] 2 SCR 100, June 28, 2005 (<https://scc-csc.lexum.com/scc-csc/scc-csc/en/item/2273/index.do> , last accessed January 14, 2019).

of the Jewish state.”¹⁴ Khomeini relinquished in this statement all euphemisms about “the Zionist entity” but expressed himself clear. Over the last seventeen years, events moved from Khomeini’s statement and other inciting references of the need to excise the supposed cancer or tumor Israel from the Middle East to manifestations of and parading of Shihab missiles with the emblem “Wipe Israel off the map!” etc. At regular intervals, leaders of the IRGC are calling for the annihilation of the Jewish state.

What is so disturbing about these calls to genocide is that they are standing violations of the prohibition against the incitement to hate and genocide in the Genocide Convention. It mandates state parties to the Genocide Convention, to hold the leadership of those who engage in such incitement to account, as was done with regard to Mugesera. This is not a policy option, this is an international legal obligation of state parties to the Genocide Convention, who have yet to invoke it against any of the leaders in Iran in that regard. I mentioned above in this context Hamas and Hezbollah, because they cannot be seen alone but must be seen, as surrogates of their larger *patron*, Khomeini’s Iran. I use the term Khomeini’s Iran to distinguish it from the people and public in Iran.

In its own public charter, Hamas calls for the destruction of Israel and the killing of Jews wherever they may be. You can find it in article 7.¹⁵ In May 2017, Hamas purported to amend this article. But it remains unclear whether the original Hamas charter is still in place, which I think it is, and that this has just been an amendment to it. But even if it is not in place anymore, the important thing to understand is that, if you look at the original Hamas charter and covenant, Jews, not Israelis, are accused of being responsible for all the ills of human history. According to the Hamas charter, they are responsible for the French Revolution, the League of Nations, and the United Nations. In other words, those things that we would look upon positively, the Hamas charter looks upon as evils for which the Jews’ evil footprint is responsible. The only change in the charter, that was amended in May 2017, is that the word “Jew” was switched to “Zionism.” Everything else, in fact, remains the same. But of course, it looks much more politically correct to accuse Zionism and Zionists than to you accuse Jews and Judaism.

With regard to Hezbollah, we know of its public threats for the destruction of Israel. But Hassan Nasrallah, the physical leader who not only speaks about

¹⁴ Cf. M. Newman, “Iranian supreme leader calls for Israel’s ‘annihilation,’” *The Times of Israel*, November 9, 2014 (<https://www.timesofisrael.com/iranian-supreme-leader-calls-for-israels-annihilation/>).

¹⁵ Cf. The Platform of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas), “The Charter of the Hamas: The Charter of Allah,” <http://www.acpr.org.il/resources/hamascharter.html> (last accessed January 18, 2019).

“Israel’s disappearance,” but he is also a classic case study of how the old and the new antisemitism come together: As Nasrallah put it, “if all the Jews were gathered in Israel, it would be easier to kill them all at the same time.”¹⁶ And in a lesser known but no less defamatory and incendiary expression he said, “if we search the entire world for a person more cowardly, despicable, weak, and feeble in psyche, mind, ideology, and religion, we would not find anyone like the Jew.” To make matters even more clear, Nasrallah adds, “note, I’m not saying the Israeli, I am saying the Jew.”¹⁷ Thus, Shiite scholar Amal Saad-Ghorayeb, author of the book *Hizbu’llah: Politics and Religion*,¹⁸ sums up succinctly, that Nasrallah’s statement provides moral and ideological justification for dehumanizing the Jews. She demonstrates the grave antisemitism underlying the terrorist assaults against Jews in Israel: “the Israeli Jew becomes a legitimate target for extermination” under this Nasrallah ideology, “and it also legitimates attacks on non-Israeli Jews.”¹⁹ So again, the classical and new antisemitism come together. The whole serving is a form of prologue for the attacks against Jews themselves.

A third manifestation of genocidal antisemitism are the religious fatwas or execution writs calling for the killing of Jews wherever they may be. I can give a litany of them that find regular expressions by radical Imams whether they be in Paris or Berlin or in Spain or North America, where Jews and Judaism, not just Israelis in Israel, are held out to be the perfidious enemy of Islam. In these incendiary genocidal calls, Israel emerges as the Salman Rushdie among the nations. The object of these ongoing religious fatwas is to call for the murder of all Jews.

In addition to these three manifestations of genocidal antisemitism, other manifestations exist, which include a populist antisemitism in the streets of Europe with expressions of “Jews, Jews to the gas!” Genocidal antisemitism marks also ISIS and other terrorist organizations like Al-Qaeda. It needs to be remembered that these groups are killing not only Jews but others in even greater numbers. But killing others more than Jews, they also always add “we will get to the Jews!” Incendiary incitement can therefore be found with these groups as well.

16 Cf. E. Lappin, “The Enemy Within,” *The New York Times*, May 23, 2004 (<https://www.nytimes.com/2004/05/23/books/the-enemy-within.html?pagewanted=1>).

17 H. Nasrallah, quoted in A. Saad-Ghorayeb, *Hizbu’llah: Politics and Religion* (London: Sterling, 2002), 170.

18 Cf. note 17.

19 A. Saad-Ghorayeb, quoted in J. Goldberg, “In the Party of God: Are Terrorists in Lebanon Preparing for a Larger War?” *The New Yorker*, October 14, 2002 (<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2002/10/14/in-the-party-of-god>).

Yet another manifestation is online genocidal antisemitism: Studies have shown, that every sixty or even every fifty seconds this kind of incitement, racism, hate, and indeed genocide occur online. And so it is, that under this phenomenon of genocidal antisemitism, Israel becomes the only state in the world today—and the Jewish people become the only people in the world today—that are the standing targets of genocidal antisemitism.

Demonological Antisemitism as the Second Metric of Antisemitism

This brings me to the second metric of the new antisemitism, namely what I would call demonological antisemitism. Being the globalized indictment of Israel and the Jewish people as the embodiment of all evil in the world today, of Israel as a racist, imperialist, colonialist, ethnic cleansing, child killing, apartheid, genocidal, Nazi state—the embodiment of the worst evils of the twentieth century and constitutive of all evil in the twenty-first century. And so it is that Israel and the Jewish people become not only the only state and the only people that are standing targets of genocidal antisemitism, but the only state and the only people that are systematically accused of being genocidal themselves. All of this serves as a form of prologue if not justification for the incitement and assault upon Israel and the Jewish people. It serves as a warrant for genocide, or justification for that genocide. It represents the fundamental denial of the rights of the Jewish people and only the Jewish people in that regard.

Political Antisemitism as the Third Metric of Antisemitism

And so, if the first indicator of the new antisemitism is the public call for the destruction of Israel and the Jewish people, and if in the second metric is to regard Israel and the Jewish people as the embodiment of all evil, then the third metric is political antisemitism. Political antisemitism expresses itself in the denial of Israel's right to exist to begin with, in the denial of its legitimacy, in the denial of Jewish people's right to self-determination, and in the denial even that the Jews are a people. As Martin Luther King Jr. put it, it "is a denial to the Jews of the same right, the right to self-determination, that we accord African nations

and all peoples of the globe. In short,” Martin Luther King Jr. concluded, “it is antisemitism.”²⁰

Anti-Jewish Terror as the Fourth Metric of Antisemitism

This brings me to the fourth metric of antisemitism and that is the increasing anti-Jewish terror. It underpins and begins with anti-Jewish hate and incitement, which leads to that terror. It finds expression—in terms of the Palestinian terrorism—in the glorification of that terrorism, the celebration of the terrorists as a martyr, the rewarding by both Hamas and the Palestinian Authority of that terrorism, in a word the “incentivization” of terrorism as we have seen it.

Above I referred to the beginning of the twentieth century with regard to the first metric of genocidal antisemitism. The fourth metric of antisemitism represents the intersection of antisemitic incitement to terrorism as demonstrated by what happened in Israel at the beginning of the twenty-first century. If you want to understand the psyche of the Israeli people today, then you have to understand that from 2000 to 2004 in what was called the Second Intifada—itsself a kind of sanitizing term—but what really was in empirical terms one of the worst terrorism in contemporary history. Some 600 Jews were murdered in the first two years of that Intifada; equivalent to a half a dozen 9/11s in comparative demographic terms. At the same time, and this goes ignored, there were a series of major attacks that never took place because they were thwarted. I am referring to the attempt to bomb the Azrieli towers, which could have been Israel’s 9/11. I am referring to specific anti-Jewish terror, which included the targeting of synagogues, Jewish community centers, the Hebrew University, etc. What we were witnessing in all this, is the ignoring, or marginalizing, or sanitizing, or indifference to such attacks.

Personal experiences from my stay in Israel over the December-January break 2015–2016 exemplify what I mean. I went to Israel to participate in a meeting of an international assembly of Jewish parliamentarians. When I arrived at the airport on December 20, I read in the paper, that while I flew to Israel three terrorist attacks happened in Ra’anana. As it happens, my daughter and grandchildren live in Ra’anana. I called them immediately and my daughter said, “no we’re fine, daddy, but our neighbors, in fact, were attacked, but happily

²⁰ M. L. King, Jr., quoted in S. M. Lipset, “The Socialism of Fools: The Left, the Jews and Israel,” *Encounter*, December 1969, 24. Cf. also: J. Lewis, “I Have a Dream for Peace in the Middle East: Martin Luther King, Jr.’s Special Bond with Israel,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 21, 2002.

that they're fine too." On January 1, New Year's Day, I walked to visit my son, who had just made *Aliyah*. I got caught up in a dragnet, because of a terrorist attack on Dizengoff, in the heart of Tel Aviv. Some two weeks later, a pregnant woman was attacked and fortunately survived the attack together with her fetus who happened to be my cousin.

I tell you all this because when I returned to Canada, I had a meeting as it happened with Prime Minister Justin Trudeau. We are old colleagues being in Parliament together and the like. And he said, "so, Irwin, how was your Christmas and New Year's?" And I told him that I spent the holiday in Israel, and then I told him about these three events and he looked at me and said, "I'm sorry, Irwin, I didn't know about that." And in fact, nobody in Canada really knew about that, because while Israel was experiencing this type of state sanctioned incitement, that led to terrorist attacks and the like, Canada and Canadians, happily, were on vacation.

Up to the present moment, my family and I happen to have an Israeli channel in our home in Canada, so I watch Israeli news every night. And almost every night you'll see that it leads off with some terrorist attack to which sometimes even the Israeli public becomes inure to these attacks. This terror has been particularly prevalent but it is neither understood, nor experienced, nor felt, and, mostly, not even known by the international community. Because the international community was not aware of the terror in Israel when it began at the beginning of the twenty-first century, it was not prepared for what the terrorist attacks in Europe that followed. It was not prepared for what happened in Paris and Copenhagen and Brussels. If you look at these terrorist attacks, you can find antisemitic footprints which ended up in those acts of terrorism. The interaction between antisemitism and terrorism against Jews as well as Europeans reaffirms again the notion that while it begins with Jews, tragically, it does not end with Jews.

The Laundering and Masking of Antisemitism under Universal Public Values as the Fifth Metric of Antisemitism

This brings me to the final and most important metric of antisemitism. It might be called the "laundering" of the de-legitimization of Israel under universal public values. I will mention four public values abused for this purpose, giving one example for each of these values.

The first rubric is the laundering under the protective cover of the United Nations, the laundering under the authority of international law, the laundering under the culture of human rights, the laundering under the struggle against rac-

ism. I mention this because—and I can tell you as somebody who lives and works in the world of human rights—the Jewish community is very often not there. They are with and amongst the Jews, but they are not interacting in the human rights community where this laundering of de-legitimization is taking place. And you have to be present, and you have to be engaging, and you have to be acting if you want to counteract it.

Regarding the laundering of the de-legitimization of Israel under the protective cover of the United Nations, an annual ritual exists at the United Nations: Every December some of the resolutions of condemnation are adopted against one member-state of the international community—which happens to be Israel—and four resolutions against the rest of the world combined. In this way, one UN-member-state is singled out in a breach of equality before the law and exculpatory immunity is given to the major human rights violators. This exculpatory immunity acts as an incentivization for their crimes against the innocence of their countries.

What is important here is not only the critical mass of inditement against Israel in these resolutions, but the critical mass of exposure to that inditement. The regular ritual inditement of Israel has been going on now for some forty-five years. Consider how many people come to the UN and sit there as members of their country's delegation, academics, parliamentarians, faith leaders, journalists, and the like, until the resolution is passed in December. Every inditement goes through a three-month process of discussion and debate, they come there as *tabula rasas*, basically uninformed, but after three months of the drumbeat of inditement, they internalize the notion of Israel as the major human rights violator of our time. In a world, in which for over forty years now, human rights emerged as a new secular religion of our time, positing Israel as the major human rights violator of our time, lets Israel emerge as—to use a contemporary metaphor—a new Antichrist of our time.

Which brings me to the second rubric, i.e., the laundering of de-legitimization under the authority of international law: The contracting parties of the Geneva Convention have come together three times in the last fifty years to put one state in the docket for its violations of international humanitarian law, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and the like. No, it's not Iran, it's not Syria, it's not Russia, it's not Sudan—on all three occasions, only one state in the international community was put in the docket and that state is Israel. I do not want to say that Israel is not itself responsible for any violations of international humanitarian law, like any other state. But to be the only state singled out three times in fifty years, where the rest of the world has enjoyed exculpatory immunity, has dangerous repercussions. To give but one example: The history of Israel's inditements is taught in the jurisprudence of law schools,

but what is not taught is the context of the nature of these indictments before the Geneva Convention.

This brings me to the third example of the laundering of de-legitimization and that is laundering under the culture of human rights. I referenced this above in terms of Israel emerging as a new Antichrist of our time. One example will illustrate what I mean. In 2006, the head of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, Louise Arbour, herself a former colleague of mine and a member of the Supreme Court of Canada, became the UN Commissioner. She called me and asked me if I would join a commission of inquiry into the killings of Palestinians in Beit Hanoun, in northern Gaza.

Louise Arbour said, “Bishop Tutu will be the one member of that commission and you will be the second.” I said to her, “will this commission also be going to Sderot in the Negev?” and she said, “well, why would it be going to Sderot?” I said, “because of the rockets fired from Beit Hanoun into Sderot.” Israel responded to this rocket fire, and regrettably and tragically one response went astray, and some fourteen Palestinians were killed. She said, “well, you know, you can be a member of that commission and you can share that.” I said, “Louise, I’ve read the resolution establishing this commission of inquiry. It says in the resolution that Israel *willingly* murdered eighteen Palestinians in Beit Hanoun. So what is there to investigate? This commission of inquiry has already predetermined the outcome, has not only put Israel in the docket but, in fact, in this ‘Alice-in-Wonderland situation’²¹—this sentence has already been adopted even before the evidence has been considered.” I can go on about Operation “Protective Edge.”²² The Commission of Inquiry that established Operation “Protective Edge” by the UN had eighteen references, eighteen express references to Israeli criminality in the resolution establishing an inquiry into the Israel-Hamas war and not one reference even to Hamas. So is it surprising that the outcome was as it was?

21 Cf. I. Cotler, “The UN, Hamas, and Alice in Wonderland,” *The Jerusalem Post*, July 26, 2014 (<https://www.jpost.com/Opinion/Op-Ed-Contributors/The-UN-Hamas-and-Alice-in-Wonderland-368970>).

22 Operation “Protective Edge” (Hebrew: מבצע צוק איתן – Mivtsa Tzuk Eitan) was a military operation launched in July 2014, aiming at the restoration of security of the south of Israel which had previously suffered from a series of missile attacks by the Hamas and other Palestine military groups from Gaza. It ended in August with the announcement of an open-ended ceasefire following extensive fighting. Cf. Israeli Defense Forces, “Operation Protective Edge (July/August 2014),” <https://www.idf.il/en/minisites/wars-and-operations/operation-protective-edge-julyaugust2014/> (last accessed January 18, 2019).

My final example and case study has to do with the laundering of de-legitimization under the struggle against racism. The worst thing you can say about any particular state is to refer to it as a racist state. The very label supplies the inditement and if any further proof is required, then you refer to it as a racist, apartheid state. Because those who drew up and drop this inditement know very well that apartheid is defined in international law as a crime against humanity. And so, if Israel is an apartheid state, it is a crime against humanity, and if it is a crime against humanity, then has no real right to be.

But it does not stop there. Israel also referred to as a Nazi state. Not only does Israel have no right to be, but we as an international community have an obligation to see that Israel has no right to be, because we have an obligation to see that an apartheid, Nazi state cannot remain a member of the community of nations.

We have to appreciate the cumulative effect of these allegations. I just gave you one example but there are many, under each of the rubrics of de-legitimization, namely de-legitimization under the authority and the protective cover of the UN, under the authority of international law, under the culture of human rights, and under the struggle against racism.

Recommendations for Fighting the New Antisemitism

I want to close with a set of recommendations on how to fight the new antisemitism I have discussed above. My first recommendation has to do with the laundering of de-legitimization under the four universal values. To counter this de-legitimization, referencing it in terms of Israel, will not succeed. It has to be pointed out instead that this laundering of de-legitimization under the protective cover of the United Nations is eroding the integrity of the United Nations itself. It needs to be made clear that it is diminishing the authority of international law and that it corrupts the culture of human rights. The laundering of de-legitimizations is undermining the struggle against real racism and real apartheid, and against the real gender apartheid of our time, be in Iran, Saudi Arabia, or elsewhere. So, if you care about these universal values, then you have to be protecting these universal values, forget about the question with regard to Israel!

My second recommendation regards the role of Israel and Judaism. We've got to get out of the docket of the accused and stop always being defensive as the accused in the docket. Israel and Jewish associations should take issues of international humanitarian law seriously and become the plaintiff, become the claim-

ant, instead of saying we are not going to have anything to do with the United Nations, and we are retreating from the United Nations. Instead of such a retreat, we have to engage with the United Nations. A positive example for such an engagement is Hadar Goldin and the Goldin family. Hadar Goldin was murdered and his remains were abducted by Hamas in violation of a United Nations mandated humanitarian ceasefire during Operation “Protective Edge.” Three and a half years later, the Goldin family cannot get any information from Hamas about Hadar nor has Hamas, as they are obliged under international humanitarian law, provided any information about Hadar’s remains or repatriated them to the Goldin family.²³

I mention the case of the Goldin family because we went before the United Nations Security Council in what was called the area hearing. All members of the UN Security Council were present, except for China, which apologized for not being there. Lea Goldin gave a very compassionate and compelling talk. I then identified seven violations of international humanitarian law by Hamas, and at the end of that hearing, all members of the UN Security Council identified with the pain and plight of the Goldin family and others murdered or missing in Hamas territory. My example shows how important it is to recognize the violations of international humanitarian law committed by Hamas and to recognize that the United Nations, as the trustees of international humanitarian law, has a responsibility to remedy this and that this must begin with also holding the PA accountable.

I am referring to the example of the Goldin family because if we do not use United Nations in a manner in which it was intended to be used, then we are not only allowing the continuing singling out and continuing discriminatory actions against Israel, we are harming our common humanity as a whole. This is all the more important now, at the seventieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was intended to promote and protect human rights that grew out of “the ashes of the Holocaust,” as the former secretary-general Kofi Annan put it,²⁴ and which was intended to prevent and protect succeeding generation from the scourge of war.

²³ Cf. M. Cotler-Wunsh, “Hadar Goldin is the Victim of a Humanitarian Cease-Fire,” *The Jerusalem Post*, August 9, 2018 (<https://www.jpost.com/Opinion/Hadar-Goldin-is-the-victim-of-a-humanitarian-cess-fire-564520>).

²⁴ “UN Has ‘Sacred Responsibility’ to Combat Hatred, Intolerance, says Kofi Annan at Jerusalem Holocaust Memorial,” United Nations Secretary-General, issued March 15, 2006, accessed January 12, 2018, <https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/speeches/2006-03-15/un-has-sacred-responsibility-combat-hatred-intolerance-says-kofi>.

An admonition my parents gave to me when I was young, brings what I want to say aptly to the point. My mother and father would say to me: “*Tzedek tzedek tirdof—justice, justice shall you pursue* (Deut 16:18). My father would explain to me that the commandment “is equal,” as he put it, “to all the other commandments combined.” And this, as he put it, “must be what you teach your children.”

The word *tzedek*, in Hebrew and even in Arabic requires at least three or four words in English or French to accommodate it—justice, charity, compared righteousness, and the like. But when my mother would hear my father sing the commandment of Deut 16:18, she would say to me that if you want to combat injustice, if you want to pursue justice, then you have to understand, you have to feel the injustice about you. You have to go in and about your community and feel the injustice and combat the injustice. Otherwise, the pursuit of justice remains a theoretical abstraction.

This is our responsibility in terms of protecting our common humanity and in terms of protecting the universal values. It is not just a matter of Israel and the Jewish people being singled out for differential discriminatory acts. It is a matter of protecting our common humanity as part of *tzedek tzedek tirdof* (Deut 16:18).

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Natan Sharansky

Leadership Talk by the Chairman of the Jewish Agency for Israel (2009 – 2018)

There are many faces of the end to antisemitism—and many faces in the struggle. So it's impossible to speak about all the faces. I'll speak about one very important aspect: all the cooperation or coordination between Israel and Jewish communities in this struggle.

First, as the head of the Jewish Agency Organization, which connects Israel with Jewish communities all over the world and helps those who want to make *aliyah*, let me mention a couple of very dramatic figures for Europe.

A few years ago, after an awful terrorist attack in a Jewish school in Toulouse,¹ I was there a couple of times, and it was so obvious that these children would have not been killed if there were minimal measures of defense in place. For example, if the electrical gates actually worked. Additionally, the cameras were fake, and this lonely terrorist who learned all this information from internet came a number of times and saw that it was possible to gain entry, and as a result there was a terrorist attack.

After this attack, we checked and found that the school was too poor to spend money for its security. So the Jewish Agency created security funds for places, and we try to help, and give some minimal help to the communities which need this help to protect themselves. Of course, we are using our network and that of other Israeli agencies, like the foreign ministry, to make sure that we check that the funds which are needed are used correctly. Currently, we are deal-

¹ In March 2012, the Ozar Hatorah school in the northeast of Toulouse was attacked by a gunman who, approaching the school in the early morning, immediately started shooting outside the building and inside. Four people were killed, among them a teaching Rabbi and three children. A teenager was severely injured. The event was called the worst school-related attack in French history and has been perceived as ushering in an era of terrorist attacks in France. Cf. "France Shooting: Toulouse Jewish School Attack Kills Four," *BBC News*, March 19, 2012, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-17426313>; "Toulouse Jewish school attack ushered in era of terror for France," *The Times of Israel*, October 1, 2017, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/marseille-jewish-school-attack-ushered-in-era-of-terror-for-france/>; "Terror Attacks in France: From Toulouse to the Louvre," *The Telegraph*, June 24, 2018, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/0/terror-attacks-france-toulouse-louvre/>.

ing with Jewish communities in Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Australia, South Africa, Russia, Ukraine, Turkey, and many other countries.²

More than 60 percent of all the funds go to Western Europe, not to Europe in general. To Western Europe means that they essentially go to the “free world.” I am calling Western Europe the “free world,” since for us in the Soviet Union, we were fighting the free world as a symbol of security, of our defense, of our home. So, over 60 percent of the money, which I raise, (we spend maybe 12–13 million dollars for all over the world), 60 percent of this goes to the security of Jews in the free world. This is an alarming factor since it shows how the situation has deteriorated in the last decades.

Aliyah and the Jews of France

Second, this concerns *aliyah*. When Jews make *aliyah* and decide to go to Israel, of course we welcome them. But we ourselves, we have moved to Israel long ago, from *aliyah* or escape, when Jews after the Second World War were escaping from many different countries. All Jews from the Soviet Union, one million Jews, left after we succeeded to bring down the Iron curtain. Nowadays, it’s mainly *aliyah* of free choice. Approximately 30,000 Jews a year come, because they can plan their lives and decide when they want to come. Statistically, usually one-tenth of the percent of Jewish communities in different countries of the free world makes *aliyah*, more or less. Of course it changes. In France, it was more or less two tenths of a percent. In America, it is almost five times that. A few years ago, it started growing very quickly, and soon it reached more than one percent—one percent of different community members moved in one year to Israel. Ever since 1948, it did not happen again that such a large percentage of Jews coming from the “free world” were coming to Israel.

We started studying, discussing, and researching what is really happening with the Jews of France. Our studies show that it’s a huge community, 600,000 Jews, while a relatively small population in general is nevertheless a big community for the Jewish people. But starting two years ago, half of the Jews in France began deciding that the future of their children will not be in France.³ It does not mean that they are leaving immediately. We are of course glad that when they decide to leave, their first option is Israel, because there

² Cf. The Jewish Agency for Israel, “2017 Performance Report,” http://lln-websites.com/pdf/Performance_Report/2017/mobile/index.html#p=1, 11.

³ Cf. J. Fourquet and S. Manternach, *L’an prochain à Jérusalem? Les Juifs de France face à l’antisémitisme* (Paris: Éditions de l’Aube: Fondation Jean Jaurès, 2015).

are also Australia, London, Montreal, Miami, and many other places where they could go to. The main point with the Jewish in France is that when they are planning their life, or they are thinking about their life, half of them already decided that the future of their children is not in France. So it is quite a question for the free world and for Europe. And when you study to find out why—right now, and that was my answer a couple of years ago in another study—in France, they feel very uncomfortable. There is Muslim France. There is conservative France. There is liberal France.

Muslim France—so I just want to be clear, the overwhelming majority of those Muslims who came to France, they are loyal citizens and some of the leaders of Muslim France are here and many of their brothers are great partners—but the question is the feeling of insecurity. There are enough cases of killings of Jews. Now, there is a whole generation of young Jews whose religious leaders, Rabbis and teachers in schools, tell them not to go into the street wearing a kippah.⁴ Well, this is not happening in Kiev. It is not happening in Moscow. It is not happening in Budapest today. It is happening in France. So this feeling of insecurity which, especially for those neighborhoods where there is a big Muslim population, is there. Even if you look, and say it again and again as to how good are our relations with majority of Muslim communities in France, this feeling of insecurity remains.

Then there is conservative France, which at this moment tries to say that they have very positive feelings for Jews, but Jews have historic memory, and they remember that for at least two hundred years, for conservative France, the Jew was the “other” in Europe. And then there is liberal France, which was, as many Jews can believe, built by the Jews, was created by Jews, was inspired by Jews, and Jews have filled the government, which today is extremely anti-Israel, anti-Zionist. Maybe, for those Jews who want to be assimilated, it does not matter. But for those for whom their Jewishness is important—and for French Jews it is very important—Israel is very important for them. It is very difficult to always hear someone saying, in the newspapers, in the university, in the bank, what a great guy you are and “of course, you have nothing to do with these war criminals in Israel!” This is uncomfortable, and this is also why the Jews in France feel uncomfortable.

I would say that there is a connection between new antisemitism and old antisemitism. But I think that it goes without saying that there is a connection. Be-

⁴ Cf. C. Liphshiz, “Will Europe’s Jews Stop Wearing Kippahs? Most Already Have,” *The Times of Israel*, April 26, 2018, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/will-europes-jews-stop-wearing-kippahs-most-already-have/>.

cause twenty years ago we had a big problem, just to convince anybody that some extreme forms of criticism of Israel have to do anything with antisemitism. Remember when the leaders of the political parties in Europe, especially in Europe, but also in the other places, made a great command: “We are all against antisemitism, but don’t try to stop legitimate criticism of Israel by putting on it the word antisemitism.” And then really we had a challenge—why stop legitimate criticism? Why not stop any form of criticism? Not only legitimate criticism. Every Israeli politician every day criticizes Israel, so why should you be against it?

The Three D’s

The main point to all of these examples mentioned above is the question as to when does it become antisemitic? As a possible answer to this question, let me propose three D’s: Demonization, double standard, and delegitimization.⁵ When, as we have seen lately, the caricature depicting Ariel Sharon eating Palestinian children and the blood of these children is dripping from his mouth, when a caricature like this gets a special prize in Europe, or the guy responsible for this caricature is rewarded this prize—that is antisemitism! It is not legitimate criticism!⁶

When at the first Durban Review Conference, which dates back to 2001, the United Nations was preparing for a big attack on racism all over the world, a sudden twist occurred that shifted the conference’s focal point to one thing—

5 Cf. N. Sharansky, “3D Test of Anti-Semitism: Demonization, Double Standards, Delegitimization,” *Jewish Political Studies Review* 16, no. 3–4 (Fall 2004), <http://jcpa.org/article/3d-test-of-anti-semitism-demonization-double-standards-delegitimization/>.

6 In 2003, an anti-Israeli cartoon by cartoonist Dave Brown was published in the London based newspaper *The Independent*, depicting then Prime Minister Ariel Sharon eating Palestinian children. After a large wave of critique, the newspaper’s editor still insisted on the cartoon being purely “anti-Sharon,” but bearing no antisemitic message. Brown also rejected the charge of an intended antisemitic meaning of his portrait of Sharon. Continuous complaints by the public as well as the Israeli Embassy in UK were rejected by the PCC and the media watchdog. Cf. “Anti-Sharon Newspaper Cartoon Provokes Charges of Anti-semitism,” *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, February 28, 2003, <https://www.jta.org/2003/02/28/archive/anti-sharon-newspaper-cartoon-provokes-charges-of-anti-semitism>; C. Byrne, “Sharon: Independent Cartoon ‘anti-Semitic,’” *The Guardian*, March 5, 2003, <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2003/mar/05/theindependent.middleeastthemedia>.

into choosing Israel from all the nations and taking it as an example of racism, thereby delegitimizing the State as a whole.⁷

Why was it important? Of course it was important in order so that we can speak about it, and so that it will be understood by the world that there is a phenomenon of hating the Jews. I have to say that Joschka Fischer, who was the foreign minister of Germany at that time, helped us a lot to start bringing it into the official definition, first of the Berlin Conference in 2003, when for the first time, it was said that things like some forms of criticism of Israel, demonization of Israel, and applying different standards is also antisemitism. Then the State Department in fact adopted those three D's and today it is almost a working formula.⁸

So it was not only in order that we could speak about it, but it was also very important for the Jews, for the young generation of Jews, who, especially on American campuses, every day hear these awful things about Israel. And even if it is legitimate criticism, all these criticisms of Israel are a new form of antisemitism. Then you feel very uncomfortable with this. Today, with many leaders, they all say the BDS movement is antisemitism—this is easy. But then when you have this in Israel, what do you do? Back then, it was the same BDS, but can you separate yourself from this? Even those who say, “no, I better distance myself from Israel,” can sometimes not separate their criticism of Israel from their attitude towards Jews in general. Statistics have shown that it is only a matter of a very short time of whether you distance yourself from Jewish people as a whole while supporting BDS.

So there are three D's. We could also say, and I would welcome it, three C's or any other letter. But three D's are very accurate, just as you say in English, there are the so-called 3D films. If you look at 3D films without 3D spectacles, you will understand nothing. The moment you put on the spectacles, suddenly you understand. That was the image that I proposed to remember, and it worked for some time. What was the ideological basis of the fact that this attitude to Israel, this new antisemitism became so popular? There was an appropriate ideological

⁷ A draft document of the 2001 World Conference against Racism (WCAR), also known as Durban I, equated Zionism with racism and made various allegations to delegitimize Israel as a state. Following this, Israel and the United States of America withdrew from the conference and Israel has also boycotted the Durban II and III conferences in 2009 and 2011. Cf. E. Braun, “United Nations: UN World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance—Durban, South Africa,” *Jewish Virtual Library*, <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/durban-i-un-conference-against-racism-2001>.

⁸ Cf. Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, “Berlin Declaration 2004,” issued April 29, 2004, <https://www.osce.org/cio/31432?download=true>.

platform, and this was identity. Even at the time of the creation of the state of Israel as a national state, it was very popular idea. Then came cross-identity, multicultural identity and they all said: we don't want identities, we don't want nations, we don't want Europe without religion, without God, without nations, without governments. But without all that, I quote John Lennon, because without that there is "nothing to die for."⁹ So Europe did not want to have a life where there was nothing to die for. Here is this Israel, which insists that today—a part of us— they are a *Jewish* state. And who needs it? We have so many problems, so Israel suddenly becomes the last remnant of colonialism. I remember one of my debates in 2004 with some Jewish human rights activists in France, and I was speaking to them about this new antisemitism. They were saying: "who needs this national state? Who needs national statehood? Once, you will see, all the Jews will come back to France." Well, we know that the opposite happened.

There is clear reaction in the world, which does not want to live without identities. As a result, there are different elections, and there is Brexit and many other things. And all of a sudden, parties appear in France, England, Austria, Germany, Poland, Denmark, Hungary, Greece, who try to go back to the pride of national identity. And, most of them are very far to the right. And for some of them, Israel is the country which survived as a national state. They say, we have nothing against Israel. They say, we love Israel. We have always helped it, we want to learn from Israel! But these Jewish liberal communities, who are so much against us, we really don't like them.

So, after the long period when there were big forces on the left, who tried to embrace Jews, but brought a lot of hate into Israel, we made a big effort to make sure that Jews understand that the relevant liberals and Zionism go together. This concerns especially Jews on the campuses, who are referring to all these so-called liberal friends. And all these people like Linda Sarsour, who is leading a million people to think that Zionists cannot be feminists because Zionism is against feminism.¹⁰ Or also, take Black Lives Matter, which is such a great idea, to defend black people, but still they argue that of course Zionists are racists so they cannot be our members.

Now they have a challenge in Israel to understand that those, who are saying that they love us—and it is important for us to have normal relations, especially with parties getting positions of foreign minister and defense minister and so on

⁹ J. Lennon, "Imagine," song, 3:53, issued 1971.

¹⁰ Cf. e.g., "Linda Sarsour: Zionism and Feminism Are Incompatible," *Haaretz*, March 15, 2017, <https://www.haaretz.com/us-news/linda-sarsour-zionism-and-feminism-are-incompatible-1.5448822>.

—but they really don't like Jews. Or at least Jews are sure that they don't like them. Then we had some voices, such as the Israeli government, who took a very strong position about the Freedom Party in Austria, and also in other countries.¹¹ We are not going to be different from the Jewish community, but there are serious debates. The Israeli government is saying “look, we have a country to run. We are interested in cooperation. We are interested in the world, in the United Nations. They love us, and after all, maybe their disagreement with Jewish communities is only political.” So antisemitism can be found on the right, and on the left—but there is always a disagreement.

Another argument: of course there are some very bad people who are voting for this party. There are neo-Nazis maybe who are voting for them, but it doesn't mean that the leadership of the party is so bad. And today, there was a position of Labor Party in England that wondered how can Hamas members, supporters of terror, have voted for Labor Party. That is really not like the Labor Party. So it is very important, at this moment—it is a very critical moment—to keep this nation when there is no daylight between the government of Israel and the Jewish community.

There are those who love Jews and hate Israel, and those who love Israel and hate Jews; they are partners of this new and old antisemitism. But, it means that we cannot continue like this, saying, let us see what this Freedom Party will decide about their own investigation. I think we have to be practical and that comes with the three D's that we put up a principle and say, here is new antisemitism, but what is not?

The Criteria for Antisemitism

So, what are the criteria for antisemitism—and it cannot be criteria of left and right. What are the criteria which will be acceptable for Israel and the Jewish community together, in order to have normal relations with those parties? I want to propose that there is a reasonable debate as to what kind of commission the Freedom Party has to create. I don't think the commissions are enough—now, we know that commissions take many years to create. We need the answers now! I propose that our attitude to these projects in every country will be that we have to come and work together, Israel and the Jewish community.

¹¹ Cf. H. Keinon, “For Now, Israel Won't Deal with Far-right Austrian Freedom Party Ministers,” *The Jerusalem Post*, December 19, 2017, <https://www.jpost.com/Israel-News/For-now-Israel-wont-deal-with-far-right-Austrian-Freedom-Party-ministers-518447>.

What are we expecting? For example, the leaders of this party are saying that they are absolutely against the Nazi past. There are some members, but okay, let them lead the legislation in the country. They are strong enough to lead the legislation, which condemns this Nazi past.

Second, there are very dangerous legislations in Europe against Jewish communities. They are not called directly as against Jewish communities, but if now Denmark will be prohibiting *brit milah*, circumcision,¹² or in some countries there might be legislations to prohibit kosher meat, *shechitah*, i.e., religious slaughtering¹³—by the way, the pretext always will be either it is against animals, or it is against Muslims, why do you care? It's not against you. First of all, we do care. If it is against identities of any community and I repeat, we are not in this situation to erase any identity. Only if a type of identity is being imposed on others, imposing and aggressive, that's what is dangerous. But living in a community in accordance with your identity, it's only good. It's good for everybody. So let these parties be in a strong position against these laws which do not allow the European Jewish communities to live a normal life. So at least striving for these two demands in the legislation sphere I think is very good.

Now, there are a couple of demands in the programs and manifestos of the parties. Because again they would say incorrectly, so we cannot decide for some of our members, but then who is really leading? These members or you, who is the platform of the party? That the party is the party and everybody who joins the party has to know the nuances of the collaboration that is in it, and it will not support any usage of the symbols of the Nazis. I would even propose that we will expect from these parties all those who are suspected in believing or in being involved with organizations who believe in the Aryan superiority or white superiority, to be put in their platform that they are against it.

One of the leaders of alt-right movement, Richard Spencer, in America recently said: “we aren't against Zionists, I am a white Zionist. I love Zionists. Because of that you are insisting to be different from the others. You didn't mix with

¹² A debate about the necessity of circumcision of male infants with no concern to general health has been ongoing in Denmark since roughly 2014. In January 20, 2014, the Danish Medical Association (Lægeforeningen) issued a document in which they state that circumcision is a mutilation and a violation and should be legally banned. There have been ongoing debates and quarrels for a legal ban of any form of circumcision, both cosmetically and religiously, however, until now, there is no complete ban circumcision. It has been continuously overruled after several protest by religious right groups. Cf. M. Selsoe Sorensen, “Denmark Talks (Reluctantly) About a Ban on Circumcising Boys,” *The New York Times*, June 2, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/02/world/europe/denmark-circumcision.html>.

¹³ For a short overview on European efforts of banning religious slaughter see the contribution by Andrew Baker in this volume, 53–59.

the others!”¹⁴ I don’t know by what I was appalled more: by the fact that he said it or the fact that the Reform rabbi whose synagogue it was didn’t know how to answer him. It was so simple, we who are bringing Jews from Ethiopia and who are making such an unbelievable mix from all the races into Judaism—well, of course, Judaism has the broadest sense of conversion—but it has absolutely nothing to do with racism.

So in order that we don’t have a doubt about these stances, put it in the party platform. So I do believe we are now at the stage—when twenty years ago, there was a big fight about how to make it clear to Jewish communities that there are forms of criticism of Israel which in fact are against them, they are antisemitism—today we must make sure, and it’s just in the time that this question is debated in the Israeli government because until now I have to say the Israeli government took a very principled position, but it cannot be position null. It has to be a position: “you say you’re not antisemites!? We want proof!” The proof must be in their behavior towards legislation of their country and their own party platform.

The last thing, we have antisemitism on the left and antisemitism on the right. It is very important that left-wing Jewish organizations will fight antisemitism on the left. Right-wing Jewish organizations will fight antisemitism on the right. Because usually the opposite happens. The left wing is very happy to criticize antisemitism on the right and it’s of no use. Who cares there? And, to the contrary, the right wing is very happy to say, it’s all you, left liberals, that antisemitism is among you. Everybody has to deal with their own camp and be together against our common enemy.

*Natan Sharansky is an Israeli politician, human rights activist, and author who, as a refusenik in the Soviet Union during the 1970s and 1980s, spent nine years in Soviet prisons. From 1996–2005 Sharansky served as Minister as well as Deputy Prime Minister in four successive Israeli governments. In November 2006, Sharansky resigned from the Israeli Knesset. He served as Chairman of the Executive of the Jewish Agency from June 2009 to August 2018. His book *Defending Identity: Its Indispensable Role in Protecting Democracy, is a defense of the value of national and religious identity in building democracy.**

¹⁴ Cf. S. Kestenbaum, “The ‘Alt-Right’ Hates the Jews. But It Also Loves Them – and Israel,” *Forward*, January 16, 2017, <https://forward.com/news/359889/the-alt-right-hates-the-jews-but-it-also-loves-them-and-israel/>.

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Ana Luiza Massot Thompson-Flores

Leadership Talk by the Director of the UNESCO Regional Bureau for Science and Culture in Europe, Venice

I am very grateful for the opportunity to address the role of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization in countering and preventing antisemitism and our efforts in preserving the legacy of the Holocaust. This topic sends us back to the founding of UNESCO, created in response to the horrors of the Second World War, in response to the Holocaust, and to all forms of racism and antisemitism yesterday, today, and tomorrow. UNESCO's role, our core function within the United Nations, is unique—we act on mentalities, we act by building the defences of peace in the minds of human beings, building a climate for dialogue, for human rights, and peace through education, culture, and sciences.¹

We advocate this approach because we believe that the ethical and political commitment against antisemitism and all forms of intolerance and discrimination must be founded on an intellectual effort to understand the roots of hatred to defuse the discourses that exploit ignorance. We strongly believe that knowledge is the most powerful tool for peace and that culture is our strongest weapon against hatred. This is why we are convinced that education and culture have become core security issues in today's world.

Today, antisemitism kills. Children were killed in Toulouse because they were Jewish. Women and men were murdered in Paris, Brussels, Copenhagen, and other places because they were Jewish. Places of worship, schools, and community centres are attacked because they are Jewish. We see antisemitism in regions of the world where there are no Jewish communities. Antisemitism fuels extremist ideologies that promote destruction and murder globally. Antisemitism feeds conspiracy theories, disseminating lies, and prejudice on the internet and through social media. It builds on public discourses stigmatizing minorities, refugees, foreigners, and is a core element of ideologies that seek to divide and exclude. It builds on distortions of history and attempts to relativize and minimize the scope, the impact, and the complex realities of the Holocaust. It also expresses itself, let us be very clear, in the form of a demonization of Israel, through the

¹ Cf. "UNESCO in brief—Mission and Mandate," UNESCO, accessed February 15, 2018, <https://en.unesco.org/about-us/introducing-unesco>.

hateful and systematic criticism of a country and seeking to delegitimize its very existence.

Antisemitism evolves with time and context. It can adopt new masks, learning how to hide under different forms, sometimes finding shelter behind freedom of expression. Antisemitism does not concern Jews only. By cultivating ideologies anchored in hate, prejudice, and inequality of identities, antisemitism threatens the realization of all people's human rights. Antisemitism germinates irrespective of the presence of a Jewish population. It instead flourishes as an attitude, replicated in myth, conspiracy, imagery, media, and culture, borrowing from historic tropes and reinventing itself in new guises.

Antisemitism is also a clear indicator of broader societal problems and the manifestation of regressive and dangerous tendencies that deeply affect the fabric of societies in which it strives. This calls for action. Political leadership at local, national, and global levels must name antisemitic violence when it occurs and speak clearly against it. We must also bolster the role of civil society, to strengthen partnerships, reinforce dialogue, and ensure that antisemitism is dealt with as a concern for all and not only as a problem of the Jewish communities.

We must monitor antisemitism, strengthen legislation, and improve law enforcement. In this regard, I want to acknowledge the efforts of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA), to which UNESCO is an active "Permanent International Partner," for providing its member states with a *Working Definition of Antisemitism*.² We must be able to recognize manifestations of antisemitism if we want to be able to combat it. This sentiment underpinned the round table UNESCO and IHRA organized together in 2016, with the participation of Steven Katz of Boston University and the former Minister of Justice of France, President of the Constitutional Court, and Senator, Robert Badinter.³

Our message was clear: Antisemitism must be countered, and it must also be *prevented*. For UNESCO, this begins with education. Education cannot entirely eliminate antisemitic prejudice and behaviours, but it can develop and encourage sets of skills needed to identify and counteract them and to create conditions that make it difficult for them to proliferate. Education can foster democratic and self-reflective citizens by strengthening critical thinking, building media infor-

² Cf. International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, *Working Definition of Antisemitism*, issued May 26, 2016, <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/node/196>.

³ Cf. "IHRA/UNESCO Roundtable," International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, issued November 25, 2016, accessed February 15, 2018, <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/es/node/746>.

mation literacy, and advancing learners' understanding about the functions and allure of antisemitism.

Education policies should also ensure that educational establishments are equipped to address instances of antisemitism in education, building practitioners' knowledge of what to react to, and how to respond effectively in the classroom. This is both a pedagogical and an institutional challenge for education-stakeholders, which should urgently be addressed in areas where antisemitism manifests itself repeatedly.

Antisemitic incidents violate fundamental rights. Antisemitism must therefore be approached primarily as a human rights issue and should be handled as such, for the benefit of all groups which may become victims of racism, intolerance, and discrimination. But it should also be addressed in ways which tackle its specific and distinct characteristics.

Education to prevent antisemitism thus requires a particular effort to equip learners and educators with knowledge about the phenomenon of antisemitism as such, so they can better identify and understand its historical and contemporary functions, manifestations, and impact on Jews and on society as a whole.

Against new forms of antisemitism, we must constantly reinvent our tools. This effort requires policy reviews, curriculum and textbook revisions, new education materials, dedicated teacher training, review of effective pedagogies, and stronger synergies with the non-formal sector of education. This is the spirit of UNESCO's work on antisemitism.

Together with the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, OSCE, we have developed policy guidelines to address antisemitism through education,⁴ as we have done jointly in the past to counter anti-Muslim racism in schools.⁵ These guidelines, destined to support policy makers in the formal sector education, will provide the necessary educational framework for combatting antisemitism in a manner that addresses the need to prevent intolerance and discrimination. This guide will be supplemented later on with support materials for teacher trainers.

Alongside manifestations of antisemitism, we see more and more attempts to distort the history of the Holocaust and minimize the responsibility of local authorities and populations alongside Nazi Germany, deflecting responsibility in

4 Cf. 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>.

5 Cf. Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, *Guidelines for Educators on Countering Intolerance and Discrimination against Muslims: Addressing Islamophobia through Education*, 2011, <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000215299.locale=en>.

the crimes perpetrated, if not expunging national histories from their Jewish dimension. Traumas from the past keep re-emerging, more than seven decades after the genocide, highlighting the constant difficulty to deal with these painful and embarrassing historical facts and their destabilizing impact of national historical narratives. We see forms of “secondary antisemitism” and accusations that Jews are cultivating the feelings of guilt of non-Jews in relation to the Holocaust for political and financial gain, or for the benefits of Israel, a particularly insidious and sly form of antisemitism. We see also outright denial of the Holocaust, which remains pervasive in several parts of the world.

This issue too must be addressed and it is, I believe, UNESCO’s role. Against “Holocaust denial and relativization,”⁶ which keeps fueling antisemitism, we teach about the Holocaust—and, over the years, UNESCO has organized countless workshops and conferences, involving educators of all regions of the world, from Europe to Latin America and Africa, to educate and to mobilize.

To achieve our goals in the fight against antisemitism, UNESCO works mostly with educators to provide them with concrete solutions to address past atrocities while promoting the knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes that can help prevent antisemitism, racism, and all forms of intolerance that may lead to group-targeted violence.

Education about the Holocaust in particular and, more broadly, education about the history of genocide and atrocities crimes, stands at the heart of UNESCO’s efforts to foster peace and mutual understanding. For UNESCO, quality education, based on knowledge of the social and political dynamics that can lead to mass violence, is fundamental to building stronger societies, resilient to violence and hatred.

Please allow me to give some examples of our work:

- In 2017, UNESCO published the first-ever guide on educating about the Holocaust and the prevention of genocide, designed for policymakers, curriculum developers, and teacher-trainers.⁷
- UNESCO hosts a remarkable exhibition about the International Tracing Service of Bad Arolsen, participating in a social media campaign to help families

⁶ “UNESCO highlights responsibility to educate on the history of the Holocaust,” UNESCO, issued January 28, 2016, accessed February 15, 2018, http://www.unesco.org/new/en/media-services/single-view/news/unesco_highlights_responsibility_to_educate_on_the_history_o/.

⁷ Cf. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, *Education about the Holocaust and Preventing Genocide: A Policy Guide*, 2017, <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000248071>.

identify artefacts that belonged to victims of Nazi persecutions.⁸ The archives of the International Tracing Service, together with Anne Frank's *Diaries*, the *Ringelblum Archives of the Warsaw Ghetto* and the *Pages of Testimony of Yad Vashem* are inscribed to UNESCO's "Memory of the World" register, which recognizes and protects the most important archives of humanity's shared documentary heritage.

- Since 2016, UNESCO has been working with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum to promote and develop education about the Holocaust in all regions. Together, we support the development of national initiatives in countries as diverse as Chile, Colombia, Hungary, Indonesia, India, Kenya, Lithuania, Namibia, Mexico, the Republic of Korea, Rwanda, Tunisia, Turkey, and many others.⁹
- In Latin America, UNESCO leads a *Network on Education about the Holocaust and Genocides* composed of ministries of education of ten countries, and supporting national efforts to teach about the Holocaust, genocide, and other atrocity crimes with a variety of partners: Yad Vashem, the USC Shoah Foundation, Yahad in Unum, Facing History and ourselves and others.¹⁰
- In western and central Africa, UNESCO is working with the French Shoah Memorial and the South African Holocaust and Genocide Foundation to train senior education officials.¹¹
- In Southeast Europe, UNESCO has been facilitating an initiative of the successor states of Yugoslavia to create a permanent joint-exhibition on the history of the Holocaust and other crimes perpetrated at this time in the region

8 The International Tracing Service at Bad Arolsen is an archive and a center for documenting National Socialist persecution, forced labor and the liberated survivors. Since 2013, the original documents belong to UNESCO's "Memory of the World" program. Cf. "A Memorial of Paper," International Tracing Service, accessed February 15, 2018, <https://www.its-arolsen.org/en/archives/?caller=133>.

9 The Holocaust and genocide education project is being developed proceeding the Conference for International Holocaust Education, which has been jointly organized annually since 2015 by both UNESCO and USHMM. Cf. "Conference for International Holocaust Education," UNESCO, accessed February 15, 2018, <https://en.unesco.org/events/conference-international-holocaust-education>.

10 Cf. "Education about the Holocaust and Genocide," UNESCO, accessed February 15, 2018, <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/santiago/education/education-about-the-holocaust-and-genocides/>.

11 Cf. UNESCO, *Education about the Holocaust*, 30.

in the former Yugoslav pavilion of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum, a UNESCO World Heritage Site.¹²

- UNESCO has supported the creation of chairs in a number of universities on Holocaust education and genocide prevention in Poland, France, and the United States of America.¹³

A special focus of UNESCO's work to confront antisemitism, Holocaust denial and distortion is on the social media and the internet. I am pleased to inform you that UNESCO is currently working with the World Jewish Congress to establish a new online platform and social media campaign to disseminate historical facts about the Holocaust and counter antisemitic hate speech on the internet.¹⁴

These are substantial developments. Understanding the past and how the consequences of the Holocaust still impact our present, especially here in Europe, and keep fighting new forms of antisemitism is crucially important. Nevertheless, antisemitism is an issue for today, related to our particular political and societal contexts. The justified attention we pay to the history of the genocide should not lead young people to misconceive the contemporary forms this hatred has taken. It is why we consider UNESCO's work against antisemitism as a part of its wider efforts to prevent violent extremism and promote global citizenship education. They underpin UNESCO's global leadership in the field of preventing violent extremism through education and demonstrate the importance of normative tools developed by UNESCO, i.e., our *Teachers' Guide on the Prevention of Violent Extremism*, which refers to the issue of antisemitism¹⁵ and our *Guide for Policy-Makers* on the same topic.¹⁶ In line with these efforts, we are now developing new tools for teachers on the prevention of violent ex-

12 Cf. "Holocaust Education. Renewing the 'Ex-Yugoslav' Pavilion in World Heritage Memorial site of Auschwitz-Birkenau," UNESCO, issued May 23, 2012, accessed February 15, 2018, http://www.unesco.org/new/en/member-states/single-view/news/holocaust_education_renewing_the_ex_yugoslav_pavilion/; "Renewing the 'Ex-Yugoslav' Pavilion in Auschwitz-Birkenau: Towards a Common Exhibition Space," UNESCO, issued April 12, 2013, accessed February 15, 2018, http://www.unesco.org/new/en/member-states/single-view/news/renewing_the_ex_yugoslav_pavilion_in_auschwitz_birkenau/.

13 Cf. UNESCO, *Education about the Holocaust*, 57, 72.

14 Cf. <https://aboutholocaust.org>.

15 Cf. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, *A Teacher's Guide on the Prevention of Violent Extremism*, 2016, <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000244676>, 31.

16 Cf. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, *Preventing Violent Extremism through Education: a Guide for Policy-makers*, 2017, <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000247764>.

tremism, including on specific issues such as antisemitism and conspiracy theories.

Another important aspect of UNESCO's fight against antisemitism is our work to protect heritage from destruction and cultural cleansing. The UN Security Council resolution 2347 adopted on 24 March 2017,¹⁷ was a historical decision in this respect, with the first ever G7 meeting on culture organized a week later and attested to a new awakening about the power of protecting culture for peace and security.¹⁸ Violent extremists know the power of culture to unite, and this is why they target and destroy heritage, this is why they destroyed the fabled Shrine of the prophet Jonas/Yabbi Yunis in Mosul in Iraq, revered by Jews, Christians, and Muslims.¹⁹

This is what marks UNESCO today. Protecting and transmitting the values of heritage and cultures, including Jewish culture, can help people understand history and reject manipulation. Through its World Heritage Sites programme, UNESCO protects landmarks of Jewish history and culture in Israel. In the same spirit, UNESCO continues to advocate the protection of the cultural heritage of Jerusalem, as the holy city of the three main monotheistic religions, recognizing the link of all three religions with the universal city. Further examples of UNESCO's efforts to protect and further the cultural heritage of Judaism include the following:

- UNESCO has worked with the B'nai B'rith to organize major international conferences, respectively in 2012 and 2014, on the *Permanence of Yiddish*²⁰ and on *Judeo-Spanish Paths and the Mediterranean*²¹.

17 Cf. United Nations Security Council, "Resolution 2347 (2017)," issued March 24, 2017, [https://undocs.org/en/S/RES/2347\(2017\)](https://undocs.org/en/S/RES/2347(2017)).

18 Cf. "G7 Highlights the Power of Heritage for Peace in first-ever Meeting on Culture," UNESCO, issued April 2017, accessed February 15, 2018, <https://en.unesco.org/news/g7-highlights-power-heritage-peace-first-ever-meeting-culture>.

19 Cf. S. Samuel, S. Farhan, and A. Lawandow, "ISIS Destroyed Jonah's Tomb, but Not Its Message," *The Atlantic*, July 24, 2017, <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/07/tomb-of-jonah-mosul-isis/534414/>.

20 Cf. "Permanence of Yiddish International Symposium," B'nai B'rith International, issued November 12, 2012, accessed February 15, 2018, <https://www.bnaibrith.org/events/permanence-of-yiddish-international-symposium>.

21 Cf. "Judeo-Spanish Paths: Mediterranean Ports of Call and Heritage Networks," UNESCO, accessed February 15, 2018, <https://en.unesco.org/news/judeo-spanish-paths-mediterranean-ports-call-and-heritage-networks>.

- In 2016, the UNESCO-Madanjeet Singh Prize for the Promotion of Tolerance and Non-violence was awarded to the Jewish Museum and Tolerance Centre in Moscow.²²
- With the Simon Wiesenthal Center, UNESCO created in 2014 the exhibition *People, Book, Land: The 3,500-year Relationship of the Jewish People with the Holy Land*, to share and deepen knowledge about the history and culture of the Jewish people.²³ It is now touring the world—it has been to the Congress in Washington, the Knesset in Israel, the Vatican, Westminster Palace in London, Buenos Aires, and Baku.

We at UNESCO believe that human rights and cultural understanding must be the bedrock for all progress moving forward, including the fight against antisemitism. At a time of rising challenges and growing frustrations that foster cynicism, may such examples of humanity and courage guide us in our work to build a better future for all.

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²² Cf. "Tolerance Center (Russian Federation), Winner of the 2016 UNESCO-Madanjeet Singh Prize," UNESCO, issued November 22, 2016, accessed February 15, 2018, http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/fight-against-discrimination/sv4/news/tolerance_center_russian_federation_winner_of_the_2016_un/.

²³ Cf. "'People, Book Land: The 3500 Year Relationship of the Jewish People with the Holy Land' exhibition opens at UNESCO," UNESCO, issued June 11, 2014, accessed February 15, 2018, <https://en.unesco.org/news/%E2%80%9Cpeople-book-land-3500-year-relationship-jewish-people-holy-land%E2%80%9D-exhibition-opens-unesco-0>.

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Michael Bünker

Leadership Talk by the Bishop of the Protestant Church of Austria (2008 – 2019)

Antisemitism is not in accordance with the Christian faith or the values of the Protestant Church. Today, we see this as a generally accepted fact. However, a couple of decades ago, this sentiment would have not been so certain. The Protestant Church of Austria was inflicted by German nationalism and Antisemitism during the first half of the twentieth century. Anti-Jewish pamphlets by Martin Luther and other reformers had a particularly adverse impact, too.

The Protestant Church only began reconsidering the issue after the war in 1945. While the Roman Catholic Church as a whole committed to a strong opposition against antisemitism in their Conciliar Declaration *Nostra Aetate* in 1965, within the Protestant Church, each regional church had to go its own way.¹ Some regional churches progressed faster than others. The Evangelical Church in the Rhineland, for example, issued the important Synod decision “On the Renewal of the Relationship between Christians and Jews” in 1980.² Other regional churches followed, some with considerable delay. With their declaration “A Time for Change,” the Protestant Church of Austria accepted its joint guilt and responsibility only in 1998 and made way for a new relationship with Judaism.³

All Protestant declarations clearly and roundly condemn and oppose antisemitism. What was new about the declarations from the 1980’s and 1990’s was the Church’s understanding of the consequences these declarations should and must have both for the Church and within the Church. These consequences first and foremost concern the joint guilt and responsibility of the Churches concerning antisemitism, a phenomenon also stemming from a Christian Jew-hatred that is hundreds of years old. Second came the need to examine our own doctrines and practices to rid them of antisemitic elements. These ele-

The English Translation of the original contribution in German was done by Kerstin Mayerhofer.

1 His Holiness, Pope Paul VI, *Nostra Aetate: Declaration On The Relation Of The Church To Non-Christian Religions*, issued October 28, 1965, accessed July 17, 2018, http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651028_nostra-aetate_en.html.

2 “Zur Erneuerung des Verhältnisses von Christen und Juden,” Landessynode 1980, accessed July 19, 2018, <https://www.ekir.de/www/service/2509.php>.

3 “Zeit zur Umkehr: Die Evangelischen Kirchen in Österreich und die Juden,” Erklärung der Generalsynode, issued November 1998, accessed July 19, 2018, https://evang.at/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/umkehr_011.pdf.

ments can be found in misinterpretations of biblical traditions as well as in a distorted view of Judaism and the meaning of Jesus's significance for both the Christian and Jewish faiths. A third focus was put on the relationship between Protestant Christians and Jews as well as with the Jewish communities as a whole. Fighting antisemitism always encompasses solidarity with our Jewish brothers and sisters in the here and now. In Austria, this sadly is a recurrent situation with a governing right-wing party and members of student fraternities singing antisemitic texts from their songbooks. As a fourth part, the Protestant Church has changed and strengthened its position regarding the State of Israel. This too is a logical consequence coming together with the fight against antisemitism. According to the "Working Definition of Antisemitism" by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA), which Austria has recently adopted,

Manifestations (of antisemitism) 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 antisemitic.⁴

Already ten years prior, the Protestant Church of Austria stated the following:

60 years ago, on May 14th, 1948, the State of Israel was founded. The Protestant Churches of Austria congratulate all Israeli citizens on the jubilee of their state. After centuries of homelessness, discrimination, expulsion, and persecution that culminated into the Shoah, Jews have now found refuge in a newly founded state. Due to the centuries-long Jew-hatred that continues until modern times, the Protestant Church too is guilty of the untold misery of the Jewish people. We most support our Christian brothers and sisters in Israel and Palestine in their continuous fight for peace and justice in which together with Jewish peace groups they see themselves as bridge builders between peoples and religions. We hope and pray that the state of Israel will find its peace alongside their neighbors, especially with the Palestine people, on the basis of mutual respect for the right of residence so that one day, Israelis and Palestinians, Jews, Christians, and Muslims will be living together in what will be a fruitful community and future in the same land.⁵

⁴ "Working Definition of Antisemitism," International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA), issued May 26, 2016, accessed July 19, 2018, https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/sites/default/files/press_release_document_antisemitism.pdf.

⁵ "'60 Jahre Staat Israel': Erklärung des Evangelischen Oberkirchenrates A.u.H.B.," Evangelischer Oberkirchenrat A.u.H.B, issued May 6, 2008, accessed July 19, 2018, https://evang.at/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/080506_OKR_60JahreIsrael.pdf. Original text: "Vor 60 Jahren, am 14. Mai 1948, wurde der Staat Israel gegründet. Die evangelischen Kirchen in Österreich gratulieren seinen Bürgerinnen und Bürgern zu diesem Jubiläum. Nach jahrhundertelanger Heimatlosigkeit, Diskriminierung, Vertreibung und Verfolgung, die schließlich in der Shoah gipfelte, fanden Jüdinnen und Juden eine Zufluchtsstätte in dem neu errichteten Staat. Aufgrund der bis in die jüngste Geschichte andauernden Judenfeindschaft haben auch die evangelischen Kirchen in

In 2011, the first statement concerning Judaism encompassing all Protestant Churches was issued. It was compiled by the “Community of Protestant Churches in Europe” (CPCE) and recommended to roughly one hundred member churches and communities. In this statement, the commitment against antisemitism is combined with basic theological understandings of the relationship between Judaism and Christianity from an Protestant point of view. The renewal of the relationship hereby is based on the following insights:

[...] recognition of the abiding election of the Jewish people the recognition of the Jewish roots of the Christian faith the recognition of the indissoluble bond between the Church and Israel renunciation of mission to the Jews recognition of the central role of the state of Israel for Judaism, along with efforts at the same time for a just and peaceful resolution of the Middle East conflict admission of Christian co-responsibility and guilt for the Shoah the irreconcilability of Christian faith with anti-Semitism and all forms of hatred for Jews.⁶

However, some critical questions remain open. It is not clear if declarations issued by church leaderships and expert commissions always reach all parishes and communal working areas, such as religious education. Also, do they reach church members who are not participating in an active church life and communication?

The report by the “Unabhängiger Expertenkreis Antisemitismus” [“Independent Body of Experts on Antisemitism”] for the German Bundestag from April 2017 has reported, based on an empirical survey, that church membership does not have clear effects on whether or not a person is free from antisemitic prejudices.⁷ This sobering report makes clear that for our Church there is still a lot of work to do.

Österreich Mitschuld am unermesslichen Leid des jüdischen Volkes. Als evangelische Kirchen unterstützen wir besonders unsere christlichen Geschwister in Israel und in Palästina, die sich seit Jahren als Vorkämpfer für einen gerechten Frieden einsetzen und sich gemeinsam mit jüdischen Friedensgruppen als Brückenbauer zwischen den Völkern und Religionen betätigen. Wir hoffen und beten, dass der Staat Israel mit seinen Nachbarn, insbesondere mit dem palästinensischen Volk, in gegenseitiger Achtung des Heimatrechtes einen sicheren und gerechten Frieden findet, sodass Israelis und Palästinenser, Juden, Christen und Muslime in fruchtbringender Gemeinschaft im Land miteinander in Zukunft leben können.”

⁶ “Closing Communiqué of the Consultation ‘Church and Israel’—A Reappraisal,” Community of Protestant Churches in Europe (CPCE), issued June 19, 2011, accessed July 19, 2018, <http://www.leuenberg.eu/press-release/international-conference-state-relations-between-christians-and-jews>.

⁷ “Antisemitismusbericht 18/11970: Bericht des Unabhängiger Expertenkreises Antisemitismus,” issued April 7, 2017, accessed July 19, 2018, <http://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/18/119/1811970.pdf>, 198–201.

Michael Bünker was served as Bishop of the Lutheran Church in Austria (Evangelische Kirche A.B. in Österreich) from 2008 until summer 2019. From 2006 to 2018 he also was the General Secretary of the “Community of Protestant Churches in Europe (CPCE)”. The Lutheran and the Reformed Church in Austria are committed in good dialogue and trustful relations with the Jewish Community in Austria (“Zeit zur Umkehr” 1998).

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Arie Folger

Leadership Talk by the Chief Rabbi of Vienna, Austria (2016 – 2019)

The title of the conference “An End to Antisemitism!” invited, on purpose, a mixture of unbridled optimism, disbelief, and introspection, which was duly noted by several speakers at the gala opening on the evening before the conference.

The hopes were very high, for some of the best, most creative, most perceptive, and most systematic academics had assembled there, and hopes were that some magic solutions—yes, solutions in the plural, because no one is so naïve as to still believe that there can be a single silver bullet that will remove the scourge of antisemitism on its own—would be advanced, which within the medium term will, if not eliminate antisemitism, at least vanquish it and forever push it back in the dark corner out of which it dare not come out again.

The endeavor is very worthwhile, but, for all the high esteem in which I hold science and humanities, as well as its teachers and researchers, in my opinion, the stated goal of the conference was obviously doomed for failure. This patently does not mean that the conference was not worthwhile or its recommendations not worth implementing; quite the contrary.

As the French philosopher Bernard-Henri Lévy showed in his address at the gala opening of the conference, antisemitism is old, very old,¹ and as the academic organizer of the conference, Armin Lange showed in his paper, it is multifaceted and extremely diverse.² An almost endless list of people and events that expressed antisemitism in particularly ugly and murderous manners was brought to our attention. The list only ended somewhere because it had to, for an exhaustive list would have kept us hungry and tired for many more hours, as the speaker would rattle off the leading figures of the bottomless pit of hatred that is antisemitism in all its forms.

Hatred of Jews has been justified because they are poor and because they are rich; because they are powerful and because they are weak; because they are healthy and because they are ill; because they are geniuses and because they are devoid of wisdom; because they are pious and because they are godless; because they hew to high morals and because they are degenerate. In short, Jews have been hated simply because they are.

1 Cf. Bernard-Henri Lévy’s contribution to this volume, xx.

2 Cf. Armin Lange’s contribution to this volume, xx.

Let me illustrate this with one historical curiosity that repeated itself in our days. Robin Judd, in her study of the circumcision debates of nineteenth-century Germany,³ describes how in the 1840s and again in the 1890s and the 1910s, medical debates raged as to whether to prohibit the Jewish practice of circumcision. This debate was known as the *Circumcisionsfrage*, to be distinguished from the *Beschneidungsfrage*—“Beschneidung” is synonymous with circumcision in German, but in this historical context the *Beschneidungsfrage* relates to the controversy of Jewish fathers refusing to circumcise their sons and yet demanding that they be registered as Jews in the Jewish community, a fascinating but very different issue. Judd writes:

The *Circumcisionsfrage* also debated the effects of circumcision on male sexuality. Some physicians asserted that circumcision dulled the sensory organ, thus robbing Jewish boys of their manliness. This claim appeared frequently not only in the antisemitic press, but also in the established medical literature as well. As Freud’s writings began to have an influence, some physicians evoked images of castration in claiming that the removal of the foreskin caused Jewish men to experience severe sexual frustration. Such frustration allegedly would result either in abstention from any type of sexual contact or, on the contrary, in excessively passionate behavior and sexual deviance. Similarly, masturbation also supposedly had its origins in the circumcised penis, a particularly awesome charge since nineteenth and twentieth century medicine and science considered masturbation antisocial—the cause of homosexuality, deviant sexual behavior, insanity, even death. Impossibly categorizing the Jewish man as both undersexed and supersexual and his penis as both unresponsive and hyperactive, medical writings suggested that there was indeed something abnormal about the Jewish man.⁴

During the most recent German circumcision debate of 2012–2013, following a court decision of a regional supreme court in Cologne, echoes of the very same arguments were heard.⁵ Plus que ça change...

3 Cf. R. Judd, “Circumcision and Modern Jewish Life: A German Case Study 1843–1914,” in *The Covenant of Circumcision: New Perspectives on an Ancient Jewish Rite*, ed. E. W. Mark (Hanover: Brandeis University Press, 2003), 142–55.

4 *Ibid.*, 149.

5 The verdict of Cologne considering religious circumcision in a case from 2010 ruled circumcision as a form of bodily mutilation which can neither be justified by religious motives nor by the child’s parents’ wish for circumcision. Following this court decision, the largest discussion on religious circumcision both from Muslim and Jewish authorities started and has continued up to this very day. Cf. “Beschneidung von Jungen aus religiösen Gründen ist strafbar,” *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, June 26, 2012, <https://www.sueddeutsche.de/panorama/urteil-des-landgerichts-koeln-beschneidung-von-jungen-aus-religioesen-gruenden-ist-strafbar-1.1393536>. In December 2012, the verdict of Cologne was later severely limited by a new law revoking the ban on religious circumcision as long as it is carried out “according to the rules of medical art.” Cf. “Bundestag er-

In their paper “Bible, Christianity and Antisemitism, Jews and Judaism Between Bedevilment, and Source of Salvation: Christianity as a Cause of an a Cure against Antisemitism,” Maxine Grossman and Armin Lange show that Christian antisemitism is unfortunately deeply rooted in Christian theology and epistemology.⁶ Let me illustrate this with the following experience I had. In the wake of the most recent German circumcision brouhaha, I was invited to give a lecture at the Catholic academy of the Diocese of Rottenburg-Stuttgart on May 5, 2013, to defend the practice of circumcision. In the audience was a Catholic religious leader, member of an order of monks, who listened attentively, and then interjected that as far as he is concerned, children should not be circumcised. They could, of course, be circumcised after puberty, when they could express their own agreement, but until then, let them suffice with what was, in his opinion, the true meaning of circumcision, namely *circumcision of the heart*.

The concept of *circumcision of the heart* is found in the Torah, in Deuteronomy 10:16. The monk’s interpretation fits neatly into Christian theology and exegesis, which, in the wake of the Pauline doctrine of the Abrogation of the Law, interprets almost all commandments symbolically. Jews, on the other hand, have consistently understood the commandments and injunctions of the Torah to be law, which is to be applied in real life. It is telling that in his comments, the monk wrapped two Christian anti-Jewish prejudices into one: seeing and projecting only his own exegesis while ignoring the validity of the alternative Jewish approach, a fallacy that was only possible because in his heart of hearts, it is quite clear that he considered Christian teachings to supersede Jewish teachings. Despite the then almost five decades since the Second Vatican Council ratified *Nostra Aetate* no. 4 and repudiated the doctrine of “*verus Israel*,”⁷ that doctrine was alive and well in the understandings of that religious leader.

Like other expressions of prejudice against Jews, the manifold arguments against the Jewish practice of ritual circumcision, though often cloaked in scientific argumentations, are so contradictory and so factually inconclusive but philosophically strident, that we must conclude that these are not rational arguments, after all, but rather manifestations of a deep-seated—probably subconscious—prejudice, seeking to delegitimize Jews no matter what.

laubt Beschneidung von Jungen,” *Zeit Online*, December 12, 2012, <https://www.zeit.de/politik/deutschland/2012-12/beschneidung-urteil-bundestag>.

⁶ Cf. the contribution of Maxine Grossman and Armin Lange to this volume, xx.

⁷ According to the doctrine of “*verus Israel*,” Christianity has defined itself as the “new” chosen people thus superseding the Jewish people in its divine choice.

A case in point is the well-documented phenomenon whereby people who bend over backwards to recognize prejudice against any and all groups, repeatedly fail, whether by ignorance or on purpose, to recognize manifestations of antisemitism.⁸ There is a particular unwillingness to recognize antisemitism when committed by disadvantaged minorities, and there is also an unwillingness to recognize the modern mutations of antisemitism, particularly anti-Zionism.⁹ This phenomenon has been richly documented by other authors, so I will not delve further into this, sufficing with some footnotes. However, I do believe that I am making an original contribution in highlighting a particular aspect of the contemporary mutations of antisemitism, in the last paragraph of this article.

Let me illustrate the breadth and depth of antisemitism by citing two studies that were published in the wake of our conference. In December 2018, the European Agency for Fundamental Rights published its second report on antisemitism.¹⁰ During the six years since the first report had been published in 2012, the concerns about antisemitism have massively grown. For the latest report, 16,395 people were interviewed in twelve EU countries. For 89 percent of respondents, antisemitism has increased. One third of European Jews have considered leaving. For 80 percent, it is the greatest problem society is facing nowadays; it is not just a problem for Jews, but for society as a whole, even as society does not always understand this.¹¹

In March 2019, the lower house of the Austrian parliament published a major study on antisemitism, which has some good but also plenty of bad news. It is based on 2,400 interviews, of which 300 were specifically with Turkish and Arabic speaking people. The report reveals some good news—78 percent of Austrians

⁸ Cf. e. g., J. Kirchick, “How Dare Chelsea Clinton Defend the Jews?” *Tablet Magazine*, March 19, 2019, <https://www.tabletmag.com/jewish-news-and-politics/282106/how-dare-chelsea-clinton-defend-the-jews>.

⁹ For an analysis of a particularly egregious case of modern institutional antisemitism, cf. the following article on the British Labour Party: J. Frazer, “Report Charts 130 Cases of Labour Antisemitism and Denial,” *Jewish News*, March 21, 2019, <https://jewishnews.timesofisrael.com/report-charts-130-cases-of-labour-antisemitism-and-denial/>; and S. Knight, “Jeremy Corbyn’s Anti-Semitism Crisis,” *The New Yorker*, August 12, 2018, <https://www.newyorker.com/news/letter-from-the-uk/jeremy-corbyns-anti-semitism-crisis>.

¹⁰ Cf. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, *Experiences and Perceptions of Antisemitism: Second Survey on Discrimination and Hate Crime against Jews in the EU* (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2018).

¹¹ Cf. “Antisemitismus-Bericht der EU: Jeder dritte Jude überlegt auszuwandern,” *Der Standard*, December 10, 2018, <https://derstandard.at/2000093590684/EU-Bericht-zu-Antisemitismus-Jeder-dritte-Jude-ueberlegt-auszuwandern>.

not only recognize the basic facts about the Holocaust, but accept that its culpability gives rise to a special responsibility to protect Jews. However, the report also reveals that about 10 percent of Austrians are hardcore antisemites, and about another 20 percent are at risk, being convinced of the veracity of some antisemitic canards.¹²

Among Turkish and Arabic speaking Austrians—note, I am not talking about refugees here, who, as a group, seem to be less antisemitic, mind you, but about Austrian-born Muslims—among them, antisemitic prejudices are extremely high. Over 60 percent believe that Jews control the world economy. Very large percentages believe that Jews kind of deserved the Holocaust, that were Israel to cease to exist, there would be peace in the Middle East, that Jews exaggerate the extent of the Holocaust, that upon meeting someone, they would know within minutes whether they are dealing with a Jew, and other such dangerous nonsense.¹³ It should be noted that while the interviews with the general Austrian population were conducted with a statistically representative sample of the population, the 300 interviews with the Turkish and Arabic speaking Austrians were not statistically representative; obviously more studies are needed, but the results so far are cause for great concern.

There is some good news, too. Presidents, chancellors, and prime ministers are at least paying lip service to the need to take antisemitism very seriously, and in some cases, governments are taking steps to better combat antisemitism. In March 2019, the United Kingdom, Denmark, and Austria announced that they will no longer support blatantly one-sided UN resolutions against Israel, particularly at the UN Human Rights Council.¹⁴

Also, despite the ascent of the far right in Austria and Germany, those countries have so far done a better job keeping antisemitism lower than in France and Belgium. Make no mistake about it, the far right parties are a haven for many real and unapologetic antisemites, but as a whole it surely seems that the countries that bear the greatest guilt for the Holocaust find their culpability inescapable and their shame is still great.

¹² Cf. E. Zeglovits, P. Unterhuber, F. Sommer, “Antisemitismus in Österreich 2018: Analysebericht,” accessed April 8, 2019, https://www.antisemitismus2018.at/wp-content/uploads/Antisemitismus-in-%C3%96sterreich-2018_Analysebericht.pdf.

¹³ Cf. “Massives antisemitisches Potenzial,” *Die Presse*, March 15, 2019, <https://diepresse.com/home/innenpolitik/5596607/Massives-antisemitisches-Potenzial?from=suche.intern.portal>.

¹⁴ Cf. “In Major Breakthrough, Britain, Denmark Announce Opposition to Anti-Israel Resolutions at UNHRC,” *The Tower Magazine*, March 21, 2019, <http://www.thetower.org/7369-in-major-breakthrough-britain-austria-announce-opposition-to-anti-israel-resolutions-at-unhrc/>.

I noted earlier that the stated goal of the conference, to end antisemitism, is, in my opinion, doomed to failure. It is indeed my conviction that we cannot expect to really end antisemitism. Let me explain this: antisemitism is very old, very diverse, is not taken aback by self-contradictions, and can thus not be rationally justified. Sure, we can rationally explain how one manifestation or another of anti-Jewish prejudice was triggered or spread, but considering the vast diversity and consistent hardness of antisemitism must perforce lead us to the recognition that it defies rational explanation.

As a religious leader, I have no problem recognizing that antisemitism must have metaphysical origins. As the philosopher Bernard-Henri Lévy then said, we believe antisemitism to be a necessary manifestation of the Revelation of the Word of G“d to the People of Israel at Sinai and it being charged with living the Word of G“d and passively allowing it to spread.¹⁵ Religiously, we would explain it as follows: Whether because of envy, hatred of truth, antipathy to the messengers of morality and holiness, or simply as a result of misunderstanding and ignorance, there have always been people, too many people, way too many people, who have hated Jews and their values. Academics acting in the name of religiously neutral research may be wary of confirming such metaphysical reasoning, but I do not think that we can deny that antisemitism defies ordinary explanation. If we want to end antisemitism now, in an unredeemed, pre-Messianic world, we will fail.

However, even if it be G“d’s will that antisemitism exists in a still unredeemed, pre-Messianic world, that does not mean we ought to allow it to flourish. Most surely, identifying sources of instances of antisemitism and seeking remedies against those manifestations will help us keep antisemitism in check and that may be a fruitful endeavor. I dare claim that from a Jewish religious perspective, fighting antisemitism may be part of a process of human redemption leading to redemption of humanity as a whole.

Those who are not of the Jewish faith may obviously understand the persistence of antisemitism in different metaphysical terms. In this regard, it is noteworthy that the Catholic Church and many major Protestant denominations have firmly rejected their erstwhile anti-Judaism and no longer find it morally acceptable to justify antisemitism on account of Jews’ rejection of Jesus. It is likewise morally incumbent on each and every one of us to recognize how much evil antisemitism has perpetuated and how much pain and suffering it has inflicted. It then becomes morally incumbent on each and every one of us to undergird in

15 Cf. B.-H. Lévy, *The Genius of Judaism* (New York: Random House, 2017).

our respective metaphysical thought systems the just cause of fighting antisemitism and the wrongness of blaming the victims in any form.

In their paper, Lange and Grossman present ways in which Christian antisemitism may be successfully attenuated. Well, indeed.

I was most fortunate to be entrusted with leading an international rabbinic committee, whose task it was to craft a rabbinic response to *Nostra Aetate* no. 4, which had just celebrated its fiftieth anniversary. The committee was constituted of members of the Conference of European Rabbis, the Rabbinical Council of America, and representatives of the Chief Rabbinate of the State of Israel; Prof. David Berger, who is part of the present conference, was an invaluable member of that committee. On August 31, 2017, we presented our declaration to Pope Francis.¹⁶

Through the process of leading the committee and writing its declaration *Between Jerusalem and Rome*,¹⁷ I gained much insight into the effect that *Nostra Aetate* had on the Church. Beginning with the Second Vatican Council, the Catholic Church embarked on a long road, and though it has not yet reached the destination of eliminating Catholic antisemitism altogether, it has succeeded in largely eliminating antisemitism from its official doctrine and within its top leadership. The trickle down effect will require many more years of consistent work, and there have been setbacks, such as the lifting of the excommunication of the Society of Saint Pius X, but generally, *Nostra Aetate* no. 4 and the establishment of the Pontifical Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews have been extraordinarily successful in removing Jew-hatred from official Church doctrine and combating it among mainstream Catholics.¹⁸

Nostra Aetate no. 4 most significantly abolished the “teachings of contempt,” as *Nostra Aetate* finally absolved from the charge of deicide all Jews of later generations, as well as Jews of Jesus’ time who were not involved in his crucifixion. Furthermore, *Nostra Aetate* Nr. 4 abandoned the supersessionist doctrine of “verus Israel.” Though the Church quite obviously sees itself as hav-

¹⁶ Cf. N. Marans, “From Regret to Acclaim: A Jewish Reaction to *Nostra Aetate*,” *AJC Global Voice*, May 20, 2015, <https://www.ajc.org/news/from-regret-to-acclaim-a-jewish-reaction-to-nostra-aetate>; “Rabbis Present Pope Francis with Official Response to *Nostra Aetate*,” *The Jewish Chronicle*, September 3, 2017, <https://www.thejc.com/news/world/rabbis-present-pope-francis-with-official-response-to-nostra-aetate-1.443679>.

¹⁷ *Nostra Aetate* Response Committee, “Between Jerusalem and Rome: Reflections on 50 Years of *Nostra Aetate*,” issued August 31, 2017, accessed February 28, 2019, <https://rabbiscer.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Between-Jerusalem-Rome-Reflections-on-50-Years-of-Nostra-Aetate.pdf>.

¹⁸ Pope Paul VI, “*Nostra Aetate*: Declaration On The Relation Of The Church To Non-Christian Religions,” issued October 28, 1965. Accessed July 17, 2018. .

ing a special covenant with G^d, it no longer claims that its purported later covenant replaces the earlier covenant with Israel. Instead, as a 2015 publication of the Pontifical Committee on Religious Relations with the Jews strongly emphasized, the Church believes that the covenant with Israel is eternal,¹⁹ and quite obviously, the Church now sees itself as having a parallel covenant instead of a supersessionist one, even as it continues to hew to a theology which only allows for a single path to salvation.²⁰ Thus, presciently, the Church implemented Lange's and Grossman's major suggestions for combating Christian antisemitism, and that was long before Lange and Grossman presented their paper. Would it be that other Christian denominations now follow suit.

Fortunately, I can report that the highest echelons on the Catholic Church are very supportive of Jews and Judaism. In summer 2018, Pope emeritus Benedict XVI published a paper that was widely seen as reawakening some Christian anti-Jewish prejudices, and thus setting back Jewish-Christian dialogue.²¹ After writing a rebuttal, Benedict wrote to me a personal letter, which showed him to actually be quite sensitive to Jewish concerns, and he aptly explained his position in a way that opened the door for more respect and appreciation. Our correspondence was published internationally,²² and it culminated in a personal visit to the Vatican, where a couple of colleagues and I voiced our concerns to

19 Cf. Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews, "'The Gifts and Calling of God are Irrevocable' (Rom 11:29)," §36–§39, issued December 10, 2015, http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/chrstuni/relations-jews-docs/rc_pc_chrstuni_doc_20151210_ebraismo-nostra-aetate_en.html .

20 The proclamation of the pontifical committee should indeed not be misunderstood as an acceptance of so called Dual Theology that would recognize Judaism as a valid path to salvation. The Church continues to maintain that salvation requires belief in Jesus (just as Jews continue to maintain that for a Jew to believe in Jesus would be a grave sin—and yet, the two faith communities recognize their differences and celebrate their brotherhood). For more on this topic, Cf. A. Folger, "Eine unwahrscheinliche Reise," in the forthcoming volume of *Dialog – Du siach, christlich-jüdische Informationen* (2019).

21 J. Ratzinger, Benedict XVI, "Gnade und Berufung ohne Reue: Anmerkungen zum Traktat 'De Iudaeis'," *Internationale Katholische Zeitschrift Communio* 47 (2018): 387–406.

22 In the German language edition of *Communio*, 2018, in the French edition of *Communio*, 2018, in the Slovenian edition of *Communio*, 2019, and in a forthcoming Italian volume. The press also widely reported on our correspondence. Cf. e.g., L. Palmieri-Billig, "The Pope and the Rabbi," *La Stampa*, September 12, 2018, <https://www.lastampa.it/2018/09/12/vaticaninsider/the-pope-and-the-rabbi-cJZDNmnykAFRRJySMftHL/pagina.html>; "Benedikt XVI. korrespondiert mit Wiener Oberrabbiner." *KathPress*, September 19, 2018, <https://www.katholisch.at/aktuelles/123030/judentum-benedikt-xvi.-korrespondiert-mit-wiener-oberrabbiner>; J. Ratzinger, Benedict XVI, "Nicht Mission, sondern Dialog," *Herder Korrespondenz* 12 (2018): 13–14.

Kurt Cardinal Koch, the chairman of the Papal Committee for Religious Relations with the Jews. Cardinal Koch went out of his way to assure us in word and deed that our concerns are taken very seriously, and ended with a long personal visit with Benedict, during which he expressed his moral support to fight all delegitimizations of Jews and Judaism, and with the support of the present church administration committed to be more deeply engaged in this fight.

And yet, despite the good news emanating from the Catholic Church, I posit that Christian antisemitism has so profoundly embedded itself into Western culture that it continues to inspire terrible prejudice among many Westerners even when they no longer associate with any church. How else but as a manifestation of the doctrine of “*verus Israel*” can we explain that otherwise enlightened, tolerant and generous people who support all ethnicities’ right for self-determination, question Israel’s right to exist or otherwise apply a double standard when evaluating policies and actions of the Jewish state. How else do we explain respect for the cultures and religions of many minorities but insist on explaining to Jews that their religious laws, including such practices as ritual circumcision and ritual slaughtering without stunning are “really” the product of earlier, primitive ages, and that continued practice thereof is not befitting modern man? Unfortunately, those old prejudices are not finished rearing their ugly heads.

Arie Folger was born in Antwerpen and trained as a Rabbi in Belgium, the UK, Jerusalem and New York. He has served as Rabbi at the Jewish Community in Basel and Munich, was member of the Frankfurt Rabbinate and Rabbi of the Jewish Community of Karlsruhe. Since 2015, he has been serving as Chief Rabbi of Vienna. In 2017, Folger served as a representative of the rabbinic delegation to the Vatican, contributing to Between Rome and Jerusalem, a milestone document on Christian-Jewish relations.

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Hassen Chalghoumi

Leadership Talk by the Imam of the municipal Drancy mosque Seine-Saint-Denis

I want to start my deliberation by emphasizing that there are four aspects to the question of Islamic antisemitism in particular and all forms of antisemitism in general. These four aspects mark four areas on which we should focus and for which we can develop solutions to combat antisemitism successfully. The first area is religious discourse, the second education, the third the internet and social networks, and the fourth politics and civil society.

Religious Discourse

When it comes to religious discourse, unfortunately, we are in a sad state of affairs in Europe: Instead of spiritual religion, a political religion exists. It is this political religion that has come to the fore, rather than a religion concerned with the relationship between individuals and their Creator. Today, Islam is dominated by the so-called Muslim Brotherhood, also referred to as the Ikhwan.¹ This movement has been gaining ground enormously in France, wherever it is present.² Its influence can be seen when at the end of their sermon, Imams raise their hand in prayer against the Jews and the Christians, saying “God,

¹ Founded in Egypt in 1928, the Muslim Brotherhood is the oldest political Islamist group in the Arab world. Establishing a universal Islamic system of belief and rule based on a wide-range reform of existing political systems in the Arab world is the main focus of the Muslim Brotherhood. During the last ninety years, the movement has spread throughout multiple countries of the Arab world, most notably through Syria and Jordan, and has influenced other Islamist groups such as the Hamas. While the Brotherhood itself claims to be a peaceful, democratic organization, Western countries look at it as a radical Islamist organization. Especially after the events following the Arab Spring in Egypt 2013, the Muslim Brotherhood is largely considered a terrorist organization. For an overview about and evaluation of the Muslim Brotherhood cf. C. Wickham, *The Muslim Brotherhood: Evolution of an Islamist Movement* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).

² Cf. F. Khosrokhavar, “The Muslim Brotherhood in France,” in *The Muslim Brotherhood: The Middle East in Focus*, ed. B. Rubin (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 137–47; Y. Visser, “Analysis: How the Muslim Brotherhood is taking over France,” *Arutz Sheva*, February 1, 2018, <http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/241461>.

please, deal with the Jews and Christians.” The destructive influence of the Muslim Brotherhood presents us with an enormous task. Until we as European Muslims have distanced ourselves from this and any other form of political Islam, until we have taken the necessary steps within the Muslim community to eradicate and fight political Islam, and to fight the movement which feeds this discourse, there can be no solution to the problem of Islamic antisemitism in Europe. The Muslim movements we have in France and in Europe illustrate my point. The UOIF (*Union des Organisations Islamiques de France* [*Union of Islamic Organisations in France*]), the CCIF (*Collectif contre l’Islamophobie en France* [*Collective against Islamophobia in France*]), the AMIF (*Association Musulmane pour l’Islam de France* [*Muslim Association for Islam in France*]) etc.—none of these movements seek spirituality. Unfortunately, they stir up conflict; they incite hatred. When you hear an imam, a sheikh or a lecturer say that Jews are the brothers of pigs and apes, you can imagine the influence that will have on his audience and in particular the children among his audience.³

Next to political Islam, another problem are the antisemitic elements included in the Quran, Hadith, and Sira. Otherwise, we would never have seen, for instance, the collusion between the grand mufti of Jerusalem, Mohammed Amin Al-Husseini and Hitler. I think that there are some passages in the Quran which are harsh. These days, in Paris neighbourhoods such as Barbès, which is predominantly Muslim, you can find groups of people coming together to burn Israeli flags, bash into Jewish shops and throw stones not only onto Jewish or Israeli targets but also onto members of riot police trying to stop them.⁴ There are some verses in the Quran that are very harsh. It is high time for Islamic scholars, be they from Al-Azhar or from another school, to engage in a real reading of the Quran. Such an interpretation of the true sense of the Quran will counteract the negative influence of these harsh passages. To illustrate my point: Some texts say that the Jews have been cursed by God, for they have killed the Prophet. If you teach this to a child, you will pay the price someday. What children should be taught from the Quran should be guided by its true sense and by nothing else. I think this is an important task to be fulfilled within Islam, by Muslims them-

³ For a discussion of the widespread discourse of depicting Jews as “the descendants of apes and pigs” in the Arab and Islamic worlds and its foundations, cf. A. Dankowitz, “Based on Koranic Verses, Interpretations, and Traditions, Muslim Clerics State: The Jews Are the Descendants of Apes, Pigs, And Other Animals,” *Memri, Special Reports* 11, October 31, 2002, <https://www.memri.org/reports/based-koranic-verses-interpretations-and-traditions-muslim-clerics-state-jews-are>.

⁴ Cf. G. Jikeli, *European Muslim Antisemitism: Why Young Urban Males Say They Don’t Like Jews* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015), 60, 83, 93.

selves, in order to promote a reading and explanation of the texts which is based on the historical context, to avoid interpretations which have terrible consequences. This is very important: if we do not fulfil this task, we as Muslims will pay the price because the harsher passages of the Quran feed the hatred of political Islam.

An answer to these problems would be to create a French Islam, or a European Islam, which so far does not exist. Two initiatives illustrate the approach such a French or European Islam should have to its Christian and Jewish brother religions. The first initiative I would like to mention is that we have founded the *Conférence des imams de France* [*Conference of French Imams*] which includes eighty imams. In 2012, there were hundred imams of the *Conférence des imams de France* assembled before the Shoah Memorial. Some twenty of us went to Israel, to Yad Vashem, to Ramallah, to the Wailing Wall, the Al-Aqsa Mosque and so forth.⁵ It was a powerful moment. As part of our initiative, we met with president Mahmoud Abbas in Ramallah. In Israel, we met with president Peres, may his soul rest in peace. And you know, at that moment, there in Israel, we thought, “This is it; this is peace.” We were a group of twenty imams, together with members of the Jewish community and members of the Palestinian community. But when we returned to France, there were demonstrations against us at the airport, against the traitors who had sold out. We asked some questions in response; we said, “where are the Palestinians? Are they in France or in Ramallah?” This is an effort that will have to go on for a long time.

The *Conférence des imams de France* has also introduced the “Time of Abraham,” which we celebrate every year during Ramadan. Every year, there’s a fast-breaking event, called Iftar, at which Jews, Christians, and Muslims eat together. We are continuing to develop this initiative.

Education

This brings me to questions of education. Education is key in the Muslim fight against Islamic antisemitism. The example of Abdelkader Merah illustrates why. He gave evidence in the case of his brother Mohammed Merah, the killer of Toulouse. In his testimony, Abdelkader Merah said that their mother had

⁵ Cf. C. Lussato, “Des imams en route vers Jérusalem: ‘Notre mission c’est la paix’,” *L’Obs*, November 11, 2012, <https://www.nouvelobs.com/monde/20121111.OBS8932/des-imams-en-route-vers-jerusalem-notre-mission-c-est-la-paix.html>; E. Miller, “‘Imam of the Jews’ Pays Historic Visit to Yad Vashem,” *The Times of Israel*, June 4, 2012, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/imam-of-the-jews-pays-historic-visit-to-yad-vashem/>.

raised her children to hate Jews, from their earliest years.⁶ A poor child pays the price of such an education in hatred. If you tell your children that Jews and Christians won't go to heaven, that is a serious problem. If you tell your children that a billion people (the Muslims) are going to heaven, but the other six billion are going to rot in hell, then that is a serious problem. It is a problem of education in the family and at school.

By contrast, the *Conférence des imams de France* is engaging in active education about terrorism and its implication for young Muslims. An organized visit to the Shoah Memorial and Drancy was organized for a group of young people from Molenbeek, the neighbourhood of the murderers of November the 13th, the perpetrators of the terrorist attacks at the Bataclan Theatre in Paris. Following this initiative, these young people started to see things differently. They listened to the testimony of one of the survivors. And at that tangible moment, the importance of education was demonstrated. The fruits of such an education can protect across generations.⁷

Social Media and Internet

This brings me to my third point, social media and the internet. Unfortunately, Mr. Google holds more power than Imam Chalghoumi. It is a sorry picture: 2,600 francophone Islamist websites; 43,000 tweets per day. That's a huge number. There is a massive amount of antisemitic propaganda out there. Recently, videos of killings in Syria were posted online. Also recently, a video was posted showing a person dressed like an Israeli massacring Palestinians. This propaganda is appealing to young people across the social networks.

Beside the social networks, there's Al Jazeera, the well-known TV network. It is a powerful network of hate which is present in many homes. This has a huge impact, because Al Jazeera spreads hatred, and there is culpability in that. In the Middle East, Christians are being massacred; Yezidis are being massacred. And the network bosses are responsible.

The hate incited by the social media, Islamist webpages, and Al Jazeera incites new hatred on a daily basis. Take my own Facebook page as an example,

⁶ Cf. A. Breeden, "Brother of 2012 Toulouse Killer Sentenced to 20 Years in Prison," *The New York Times*, November 2, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/02/world/europe/brother-toulouse-attack.html>.

⁷ Cf. Line Press, "Attentats. Hassen Chalghoumi et jeunes de Molenbeek en homage," filmed February 18, 2017, Paris, video, 51:47, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DbQFavcTBFs>.

Imam Hassen Chalghoumi.⁸ You will find thousands of antisemitic comments, “Chalghoumi is a Zionist,” “Dog of the Jews,” etc. You will see how much hate there is.

Politics and Civil Society

In closing, I would like to come to my fourth area, politics and civil society. I think that the political class shares responsibility for the growing antisemitism, too. There are, unfortunately, some political parties in France that try to capitalise on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. There are some political parties which for electoral reasons as well as out of pure and simple clientelism chase the Muslim vote. Instead of having such opportunistic politicians—be they from the right or left—we need politicians who have a vision: a vision to unite the faithful, to unite all citizens. The desire to support the Palestinians and the Israelis means to strive for peace, not for its opposite. I think that when these extreme left-wing parties or communist parties exploit the poverty of Muslim people, the poverty of certain neighbourhoods, for their own political purposes, we pay a very high price for it and we can reckon with very, very serious consequences. In my opinion, there is a culpability here.

It is important for us as civil society, to be involved. The reason why is demonstrated by the following allegory: There are two groups of people in a boat, those down below and those on top. Those below would like to get some water, but they don’t want to bother those above. So they start making a hole in the boat’s hull. If you let them do that, then everyone is going to drown. If you stop them, everyone will be saved. I think that unless civil society as a whole—the various associations, the citizens, the writers—react, then unfortunately in the face of all this hatred and the rise of Islamism and the extreme right, Europe is at risk of enormous damage, similar to what happened in the last century.

What Can Be Done?

In light of these four points, I would like to conclude my remarks with some reflections on what can be done to fight Islamic antisemitism beyond the ideas I

⁸ Cf. “Imam Hassen Chalghoumi,” Facebook, accessed May 13, 2019, <https://www.facebook.com/Imam-Hassen-Chalghoumi-441382799350121/>.

have already mentioned. I basically recommend a dual approach. On the one hand, there needs to be enforcement: It is very important that the current government and President Macron are discussing Islam, but I also think that people expect President Macron and Europe to stand firm on political Islam, really firm. It is time to move beyond discussion alone. Seventeen people were killed between the crimes committed by Merah and those of the Kouachi brothers⁹ and Mehdi Nemmouche¹⁰ and others. There has to be proper punishment for such crimes and any others. On the other hand, and at the same time, we also need to develop spiritual Islam, an Islam that helps us to live together. There's a need to make sufficient funds available for this because, you know, sometimes we at the *Conférence des imams de France* struggle on our own. We try to make progress, but it's not easy. I think if President Macron's government is not successful in this regard, there will be an enormous risk.

At the end of my contribution, I would like to emphasize that the future of the French Jews is in France, that the future of the French Muslims is in France, that my future is in France, and that the future of the Europeans is in Europe. If there are problems, we cannot just throw in the towel and leave. That's not a solution. The solution is to resist, in spite of the threats, in spite of the problems, but at the same time, we need everyone to be involved. If the Jews leave, then, to my mind, everyone will leave. Why do you think I pay tribute to you? Who founded LICRA (*Ligue Internationale Contre le Racisme et l'Antisémitisme* [*International League against Racism and Antisemitism*]) or *SOS Racisme*? Wasn't it the leading lights of the Jewish community, because of what they had to endure, the Shoah? And this is what the Muslim community does not understand. If the Jews leave, the next victim is going to be the Muslim community itself; and it will pay a very high price. But unfortunately, the scourge of Islamism prevents this message from being heard.

9 Saïd and Chérif Kouachi, French citizens of Algerian origin, are responsible for the 2015 attack against the Paris offices of the French satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo*. For an overview of the attack cf. N. P. Petrikowski, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15th ed., "Charlie Hebdo shooting," (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2019), accessed May 13, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Charlie-Hebdo-shooting>.

10 Mehdi Nemmouche is a French-born jihadist of Algerian origin who, after spending a year in Syria fighting for the IS, was responsible for the shooting at the Brussels Jewish Museum of Belgium in May 2014 where he killed four people. Cf. e.g. A. Penketh, "Brussels Jewish Museum Shooting: Suspect with Islamist Links Arrested," *The Guardian*, June 1, 2014, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/01/suspect-arrest-brussels-jewish-museum-shooting>.

Hassen Chalghoumi is Imam of the municipal Drancy mosque, Seine-Saint-Denis, near Paris. He stood out during the Islamic scarf controversy in France for supporting French President Sarkozy's draft law to ban the burqa. He has good relations with Jewish organizations in France and has continuously co-operated with the French Jewish organization CRIF. In 2009, he founded the "Conference of Imams," an organization whose aim is to publish fatwas for Muslims living in France and uniting Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the fight against fanaticism.

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Abraham Skorka

Leadership Talk by the Rector of the Seminario Rabínico Latinoamericano Buenos Aires

The first thoughts and sentiments that came into my mind and heart when I had received the proposed theme of this panel was about the terrible silence which accompanies us Jews throughout the greater part of our history—both heavenly silence and human silence. Jews have had many opportunities to understand, since the very beginning of their existence, the meaning of suffering, such as they experienced during the slavery in Egypt. They questioned God about the suffering of the people and especially about the unjust suffering of the righteous. Jeremiah (Jer 12:1–5)¹ posed the question and received an answer similar to the one God gave to Job: “Who are you, O mortal, that I should reveal my secrets to you?” When the Talmudic sages asked desperately why their colleagues were being tortured to death by Hadrian’s legionaries, the answer they received from God, from Heaven was: “Keep silent!”² These were my initial reflections about the theme of this panel.

In 1944, when the dimensions of the Shoah began to be known among Jews living outside of Europe, Yehudah Leib Magnes, then president of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, in the opening address for its twentieth academic year, quoted Rabbi Levi Yitzhak of Berdichev’s dramatic question: “I do not ask, Lord of the World [...] to know why I suffer, but only this: Do I suffer for Thy sake?”³

André Neher investigated this issue for years and wrote a masterpiece: *The Exile of the Word: From the Silence of the Bible to the Silence of Auschwitz*.⁴

However, it is not the silence of God toward Jewish suffering that we come to analyze today but the human silence and indifference towards the plight of their Jewish brothers and sisters. My father used to be a great reader of Yiddish liter-

1 In accordance to Radak’s exegesis.

2 Bavli Menaḥot 29b.

3 J. L. Magnes, “For Thy Sake Are We Killed All the Day Long!” Opening address, 20th academic year, Hebrew University, issued November 1, 1944, in *The Perplexity of Times*, ed. J. L. Magnes (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Press, 1946), 65–78.

4 Cf. A. Neher, *The Exile of the Word. From the Silence of the Bible to the Silence of Auschwitz* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1981; originally published in France under the title *L’Exil de la Parole*, Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1970).

ature, and from time to time he read and shared with me things that made an impact on him, even though I was then just a little boy. The books he read were published in Argentina and one of them was *Un di Velt Hot Geshvigen*⁵ [*And the World was Silent*] by Elie Wiesel. A shortened French version of the book became his famous novella *La Nuit* [*The Night*], when the Noble prize winner François Mauriac encouraged him to publish it. That was my first encounter with human silence regarding the saga of the Jews.

A second pivotal experience for me of this silence I felt personally in the weeks before the Six-Day War in 1967. The impressive victory of the Israeli Defense Forces concealed the anguish and anxiety suffered by Jews in Israel and throughout the world. The Israeli Prime Minister, the Foreign Affairs Minister, and even the old President were seen on television screens calling, begging for a peaceful solution. Gamal Abdel Nasser, the Egyptian president, declared constantly that his ultimate aim was to throw all the Jews living in Israel into the Mediterranean. Since that day, we know the outcome of his efforts, so it is easy to forget the anguish felt then. But at the time, I asked myself, I asked God: “Are Hitler’s survivors going to be annihilated? Will what Hitler did not finish be completed by Nasser and his allies?”

The United Nations were totally unable to resolve the crisis peacefully. The self-interests of the rival Cold War superpowers dictated the speeches of the representatives of the great powers. They played a political chess match at a safe distance while real people were preparing to fight and die in their proxy war. The Jews of Israel stood alone again, in silence, as in Europe twenty-seven years earlier.

Elie Wiesel masterfully bound these two anguishes and silences in the first paragraphs in his book *A Beggar in Jerusalem*.⁶

Silence and indifference in the face of antisemitic acts and words was—and continues to be—a great failing of many institutions at large and of religious organizations in particular. One of the strongest weapons that antisemites have in their hands is the indifference of the others. A careful reading of the history of the Shoah reveals that Hitler only determined his “final solution” of the Jewish problem—their total physical extermination—on January 30, 1942, when the Wannsee conference took place. This was years after the Shoah is usually considered to have begun on November 10, 1938; Hitler came to his abominable reso-

5 Cf. E. Wiesel, *Un di Velt Hot Geshvigen* (Buenos Aires: Tsentral Verband fun Poilische Yiden in Argentine, 1956).

6 Cf. E. Wiesel, *Le mendiant de Jérusalem* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1968).

lution only after seeing the silence and apathy that his antisemitic policies had produced to that point.

In addition, in some Christian denominations and in some language coming from the Islamic world, there still persists a theological antisemitism. One of the most sincere and meaningful self-criticisms on this subject can be found in Cardinal Walter Kasper's foreword for the book: *Christ Jesus and the Jewish People Today*:

The history of Jewish-Christian relations is complex and difficult. In addition to some better times, as when bishops took Jews under their protection against pogroms by mobs, there were dark times that have been especially impressed upon the collective Jewish consciousness. The *Shoah*, the state sponsored organized murder of approximately six million European Jews, based on primitive racial ideology, is the absolute low point in this history. The Holocaust cannot be attributed to Christianity as such, since it also had clear anti-Christian features. However, centuries-old Christian theological anti-Judaism contributed as well, encouraging a widespread antipathy for Jews, so that ideologically and racially motivated anti-Semitism could prevail in this terrible way, and resistance against the outrageous inhuman brutality did not achieve the breadth and clarity that one should have expected.

Unfortunately, it required the unprecedented crime of the *Shoah* for a fundamental rethinking to come about.⁷

In our present reality, antisemitism is one of a large number of fanatical violent expressions that hurts humanity. In his visit to the Al-Azhar University in Egypt, Pope Francis and Professor Ahmed El-Tayyeb, Grand Imam of Al-Azhar, condemned in the strongest terms all those who kill and teach hate in the name of God. When such abhorrent things occur, the voices of all the religious leaders are not as loud and clear as they must be. Universal and unified verbal religious condemnation is a powerful force against antisemitism and all kinds of racism. Instead, cynical comments and attitudes are very often what appear in the world media. Human blood has the same color and characteristics for everyone. It does not matter if it is Jewish blood, Christian blood, or Muslim blood. When one person is killed by the madness of bigotry, humankind has to be in mourning.

Antisemitism is a very difficult phenomenon to understand. Jean-Paul Sartre,⁸ Hannah Arendt,⁹ and many other brilliant minds devoted their best intellectual powers to uncover its roots and motivations. In our day, antisemitism

⁷ W. Kasper, foreword to *Christ Jesus and the Jewish People Today*, ed. P. A. Cunningham et al. (Rome: Gregorian & Biblical Press, 2011), x–xi.

⁸ Cf. J. P. Sartre, *Réflexions sur la question juive* (Paris: Éditions Morihien, 1946).

⁹ Cf. H. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt, 1951).

also can be expressed as an anti-Zionism that desires to see the end of the existence of the State of Israel.

Zionism is rooted in the two thousand years hope of the Jewish people of returning to the land of Israel. Isaiah's and Ezekiel's prophecies were not understood by many Jews throughout the generations as merely a fantasy or a metaphor but as a reality that could come into being. Jews prayed and continue praying each day for the reunification of their people in Zion, and the return of God's presence to it. The land, and today the State of Israel, is a defining aspect of Jewish spiritual identity.

Hasidim and Mitnagdim, the two great Jewish religious movements in the eighteenth century organized *alyiot*, the establishment of members of their communities in different cities of what was then a province of the Turkish Empire. After the last decades of the nineteenth century, Jews that looked for a new style of Judaism, with religious values expressed in different ways, came to the land and transformed swamps into oases. Hebrew was transformed into a living language, and many other cultural aspects of Judaism were revitalized.

When David ben Gurion visited Argentina in 1969, he delivered a message to the Jewish community of Buenos Aires. He summarized the history and achievements of the Zionist movement, and concluded by rephrasing the verse of Psalm 29:11, which says: "The Lord will give strength to his people; the Lord will bless his people with peace," into: "The Lord gave strength to his people; the Lord will bless his people with peace." Most of the dreams of the Zionists became a reality in a democratic modern state, living in peace with its neighbors. The greatest contribution that the various religions can offer to Jews nowadays is to proclaim messages and spread attitudes of peace that lead to the solution of the Israeli-Palestinian controversy. To express clearly in all possible ways, through every type of media, that terror is not the way, that war is not a solution. They must insist that the life and future of each Israeli and Palestinian youngster, whether Jew, Christian, or Muslim, must be everyone's primary concern, and that dialogue is the only tool to pave the way to this future.

Jewish history as conveyed by Jewish liturgy recalls that each generation has known a poisonous leader who tried to eliminate the Jewish people: Pharaoh, Amalek, Haman from Susa, Titus, Hadrian, Inquisitions, Pogroms, etc. In the words of the traditional Haggadah that Jews recite during the Passover dinner: "For not just one person alone has risen against us to destroy us, but in every generation they rise against us to destroy us; and the Holy One, blessed be He, saves us from their hands!" It is a challenge for all of us, and especially for religious leaders, to make in our generation a turning point in history, to change inherited hatred into friendship. This will enable us to realize that

dream of human unity that all religions have sought since they first discovered the presence of God in the midst of human reality.

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III Religion



Contributions

Armin Lange and Maxine L. Grossman

Jews and Judaism between Bedevilment and Source of Salvation: Christianity as a Cause of and a Cure against Antisemitism

The phenomenon of antisemitism employs powerful, appalling, and strangely consistent imagery across cultures and down through time, to associate Jews and Judaism with the devil. Accusations of demonic alliances—and images of “the Jews” as demonic entities—appear in diverse antisemitic contexts, which might be Christian, Muslim, or “secular” and which manifest distinct versions of a consistent underlying pattern.

What gives life to this cultural formation, and why does it continue so vibrantly, even in social settings where Jews and Judaism are not themselves to be found?

In light of treatments of antisemitism that focus on its varying content, and especially in light of distinctions that have been made between religious anti-Judaism and racial antisemitism,¹ our attention to the demonization of the Jews seeks to reframe a basic premise of the argument. By understanding antisemitic tropes as cross-communal cultural formations, reliant on cultural memory and transmitted across social barriers, we seek to understand antisemitism itself as a “religion,” one whose tenets can easily be integrated into other worldviews or religious formations.

It is the “religious” nature of antisemitism that renders it powerful and gives it vibrancy across time and culture. This religious nature is also what makes antisemitism so difficult to battle. Close attention to antisemitism as religion thus offers opportunities to think in new ways about how to undercut its potency and further develop effective strategies to restrain, combat, and end it.

1 This paper joins an extensive conversation on the origins of antisemitism. For an overview of key arguments, with extensive bibliography, see René Bloch, “Ancient Anti-Semitism,” in *Oxford Bibliographies*, last modified November 28, 2016, accessed May 9, 2019, <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199840731/obo-9780199840731-0140.xml>; Key treatments of ancient antisemitism include esp. J. G. Gager, *The Origins of Anti-Semitism: Attitudes Toward Judaism in Pagan and Christian Antiquity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); and P. Schäfer, *Judeophobia: Attitudes toward the Jews in the Ancient World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997).

1 Introduction

Philosophers observe that cognition is guided by antecedent ideas and that cognition about particular objects relates back to prior experience or assumptions about them. The phenomenon of antecedent ideas is illustrated by the following joke:

What is the difference between an English pensioner, a French pensioner, and a German pensioner?

The English pensioner reads *The Times* while eating breakfast and then goes to the golf club.

The French pensioner drinks a glass of wine for breakfast.

And the German pensioner takes a blood pressure tablet and sets off to work.²

This brief joke clearly illustrates the role of prejudice in shaping our perceptions of our counterparts. Stereotypes about British, French, and German cultural norms shape this joke. Whether a hearer finds the joke funny or not, what makes it possible is the presence of generalized categories that facilitate understanding through the use of antecedent ideas.

It was Karl Jaspers who pointed to the insurmountable divide between the understanding subject and the object of understanding, or what might be classified as the subject-object divide. I, as a subject, view another person as an object of my understanding. To achieve cognition of this object, my preconceptions—based on cultural or religious memories, prior experiences, and things I have seen or been told—equip me to draw conclusions without attention to specifics. Thus, for the joke to work, listeners must already assume—or know that some people around them assume—that all Germans are workaholics.

Preconceptions based on prior experience are not necessarily bad.³ The assumption that it is dangerous to drive through an intersection when the light is red, because we have seen other people do this (or done so ourselves), is a prod-

2 Adapted from “Top 20 German Jokes: Translated into English,” accessed May 9, 2019, <http://www.learn-german-language-online.com/german-jokes.html>. Except as noted below, all web-sites were last accessed on May 9, 2019.

3 Gadamer controversially argued for the value of a concept he identified as “prejudice” (*Vorurteil*) in his classic of hermeneutics, *Wahrheit und Methode* (in English, see H.-G. Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 2nd revised ed. [London: Continuum, 1989], 267–304). The implications of this understanding of prejudice were addressed in a series of publications (the “Gadamer-Habermas Debate”), selected and published with other resources in K.-O. Apel, *Hermeneutik und Ideologiekritik* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1971); see also P. Ricoeur, “Ethics and Culture: Habermas and Gadamer in Dialogue,” *Philosophy Today* 17 (1973): 153–65.

uct of past experience that can keep us, and the drivers around us, safe and out of trouble.

In interpersonal engagements, preconceptions underlie our earliest rounds of communication, in which we experience an unfamiliar Other—sympathetically or not—as an object of understanding and cognition. Such preconceptions are a given in any interaction, but they have the capacity to become almost instantly problematic, if a prior sense of understanding is treated as an objective and comprehensive truth, unchangeable in the face of new evidence for the ordinary complexities of lived experience.

In light of these observations with regard to preconceptions, this paper considers the question of the extent to which Christian religious texts form and transmit negative antecedent ideas of Jews and Judaism, which in turn may determine or provide support for antisemitic perceptions of the Jewish Other.

As we will argue below, antisemitic prejudices and the fixed understandings they generate contribute to the cultivation of a symbolic system that is so potent and self-enforcing—if in addition so irrational—that it provides an antisemitic believer with a nearly unbreakable Truth, a paradigm of Jew-hatred as religious conviction.

2 Antisemitism, Religion, and Cultural Memory

With particular attention to the Bible and Christianity, we wish to ask to what extent the demonization of Jews and Judaism in Christian literature contributes to an antisemitic fervor that is best understood as a *religion* of Jew-hatred.

The examples in this paper are drawn from a variety of historical contexts, from antiquity to the contemporary. While they are constituent to the texts in question and provide a backdrop for an understanding of Christian antisemitism, they should not be viewed as implying either that all Christians are antisemitic or that all antisemites are Christian. Rather, one of our claims will be that the ideas generated in any one set of antisemitic arguments take on a veil of objectivity that allows them to carry weight far outside of their original context. This, indeed, is one of the dynamics that allows antisemitism to resurface repeatedly, often at apparent remove from any visible external influences.

Classic scholarly treatments of religion note its capacity to shape order out of chaos, creating meaning that is powerful for its adherents. Mircea Eliade, for ex-

ample, understands the sacred as a force that turns chaos into cosmos, by creating identifiable religious spheres of experience and meaning.⁴

Anthropologists, responding to and critiquing Eliade's phenomenological appreciation of the sacred, have especially recognized the powerful cultural formations that undergird any notion of religious Truth. Clifford Geertz defines religion precisely in terms of its apparent objectivity and its capacity for creating a sense of "the real" among its adherents.

Although scholars have critiqued Geertz's approach to religion, especially his emphasis on its systemic and systematic qualities, this very sense of system can be helpful for a clearer understanding of the potency of antisemitic thought. Geertz describes a religion as:

(1) a system of symbols (2) which acts to establish powerful, pervasive and long-lasting moods and motivations in men (3) by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic.⁵

Further consideration of these premises will provide a useful backdrop for certain points we wish to argue.

Note, first, Geertz's presentation of religion as "a system of symbols." The implication here is far-reaching and reflects Geertz's focus on culture and its layering of meaning. Geertz treats cultural formations as both a "model of" human experience—one that represents and reflects back on itself—and a "model for" future constructions of it.⁶ Culture is thus both received by and the product of humans and their creativity in a given historical moment. The concept of "culture," in this light, indicates for Geertz a "historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms." By means of this formation, people can then "communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life."⁷

The founding myths of a religious community, its history, authority-structure, ritual practices, music, art, and specialized language all contribute "sym-

4 M. Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1959), 29–30.

5 C. Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," in *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*, ed. M. Banton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 4. Extensive critiques of this approach have been articulated in T. Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).

6 Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," 7.

7 *Ibid.*, 3.

bolts” of the sort that Geertz identifies as building-blocks of religious cultural formation. To the extent that multiple religions share a common history and geography, they will also partake of a shared corpus of symbols. One might think here of the spring holiday in which a lamb is sacrificed in order to rescue an enslaved people and provide them with a new covenant of salvation. The symbols—blood, lamb, sacrifice, covenant—are shared, but the systems (which differently underlie the Passover of Jewish tradition and the Easter of Christianity) may both differ from and compete with one another in claims for authenticity. Common religious symbols (cleansing in water, anointing the dead) may arise out of historical contact and influence, but they may also be the independent products of unrelated parallels; their significance will depend upon how they are integrated into a given tradition (the “system”) as a whole.

In addition to his trademark appreciation for “thick description,” Geertz also highlights an important and often under-recognized phenomenon: the emotional power of religious systems. William James, of course, emphasizes the emotional impact of religious experience,⁸ but Geertz’s contribution takes a different tack, by acknowledging the two-part dynamic of “moods” (emotional states) and “motivations” (mental states that encourage action, change, or a particular set of thoughts). Geertz also distinguishes between fleeting emotional or intentional states and those that have long-lasting effect. The mental-emotional experience of a religious symbol system can have, as Geertz asserts, “long-lasting” effects, that are not only hard to escape but in fact hard to *want* to escape. Religious symbol systems are effective because they push our buttons, and they lead us to think that this is both a normal and a desirable reality.

Geertz’s definition further claims that religious symbol systems postulate a “general order of existence” that is clothed in “an aura of factuality.” Such a claim can render readers remarkably uncomfortable. In an introduction to a religious studies class, only a few brave students, when pushed to clarify their objections to Geertz’s assertions, will say, “Geertz seems to be saying that religion *isn’t* real, but is only pretending to be, that religious realities don’t really exist but just claim to.” They are rarely happy to have their perceptions confirmed.

But Geertz’s point remains a vital one, particularly when we turn to a discussion of antisemitism, because the very point of religion, according to this definition, is that it is at once utterly convincing and at the same time grounded in a logic that is only susceptible to confirmation within its own cognitive frame. The long-lasting moods and motivations of a given religion or religious symbol sys-

⁸ Cf. W. James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, translated and reprinted for Oxford World’s Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

tem are a product of the aura of factuality articulated by it. The efficacy of any religion, according to this definition, lies in its power to convince.

Geertz's definition concludes with attention to religious exclusivism, which again will be an important component in our discussion of antisemitism.⁹ The convincing power of religion—and especially of monotheistic religions—lies in the assertion of reality, indeed of a unique reality.

Religion thus makes people feel. It makes people act on their feelings. And it leads people to believe that their feelings and actions are confirmed objectively by the evidence around them, which includes a system of symbols so convincing that they can be understood as entirely—indeed, uniquely—credible.

Disproving any such symbol system is far from easy and hardly accomplished through rational argumentation alone. It requires unraveling the system, demonstrating not only that it is not unique, or even real, but that its very potent symbols have created false feelings and false perceptions. It entails convincing a person that his or her fundamental understanding of the universe is misplaced.

It is possible to convince people to abandon strongly-held religious views—by providing evidence, offering an alternative value system, or emphasizing the doubts the person might already have—but by their very nature, such views are easier to retain than to dismiss. This should serve as an indicator of one reason why antisemitism retains its staying power over time and geographic distance.

Religions, as symbol systems, are also potent in their specificity: myths, belief structures, sacred texts, and ritual practices contribute large quantities of data (in the form of everything from literary characters to food smells to the physical shape of a sacred object) which together are preserved in the corpus of cultural memory. Exposure to the troves of cultural memory, often from earliest childhood, reinforces for its participants the unique plausibility of the symbol system, by grounding it in specific images and stereotypes, as well as particular narratives that define truth and value, good and evil.

Cultural memory, scholars have noted, externalizes and objectifies particular components of a given culture.¹⁰ An individual's experience (of a moment of grace, for example, or the exposure to wickedness) contributes to that individu-

⁹ On religious exclusivism, see D. Eck, "Is Our God Listening?" Exclusivism, Inclusivism, and Pluralism," in *Encountering God: A Spiritual Journey from Bozeman to Banaras*, ed. D. Eck (Boston: Beacon, 2003), 166–99.

¹⁰ Cf. J. Assmann, "Communicative and Cultural Memory," in *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, ed. A. Erll and A. Nünning (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010), 109–18. Assmann distinguishes between cultural memory, as preserved in texts and other externalized evidence, and collective memory, which Halbwachs frames as limited by a shared lived experience of three successive generations, or roughly eighty years; see Assmann, "Communicative and Cultural Memory," 111.

al's ongoing preconceptions of the world. The collection of "past experiences" of this sort in the context of cultural memory—written, illustrated, or handed down orally—similarly creates a pool of "past experiences" that individuals can claim as their own. That these experiences are not literally "one's own" might appear to render them less potent, but in practice the opposite is true: the externalization of themes or images in cultural memory renders them *more* potent, in that they take on "an aura of factuality," an objectivity, which arises specifically in light of their coming from the "outside" of a person's own experience.

As Aleida Assmann so powerfully observes,

Through culture, humans create a temporal framework that transcends the individual life span relating past, present, and future. Cultures create a contract between the living, the dead, and the not yet living. In recalling, iterating, reading, commenting, criticizing, discussing what was deposited in the remote or recent past, humans participate in extended horizons of meaning-production. They do not have to start anew in every generation because they are standing on the shoulders of giants whose knowledge they can reuse and reinterpret.¹¹

Aleida Assmann's observation that cultural memory creates a contract between past and future is important for our argument. It is not only, as Geertz observes, that symbol systems call upon people to think and feel in particular ways and that these thoughts and feelings have significant staying power. Even more significantly, Aleida Assmann has demonstrated, cultural memory generates a moral compulsion—individual experience of the collective past implicates those later generations. The evidence from the past *requires* something of them, that they listen and engage with those externalized—that is, "real" and authoritative—claims from past times.¹²

Even as Assmann notes the potency of cultural memory, she does not imagine later generations as passive recipients of it. To the contrary, the very act of engaging with the past must include critique and comment. Assmann speaks of active and passive forgetting as dynamics that can accompany exposure to cultural memory, and she distinguishes between two central concepts: the canon of active memory, and the archive of memories set aside, preserved for their potential relevance to lived experience but not imbued with authoritative value.¹³

11 A. Assmann, "Canon and Archive," in *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, ed. A. Erll and A. Nünning (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010), 97.

12 *Ibid.*

13 *Ibid.*

Cultural memory serves as a starting point for understanding the potency of antisemitic thought and also for responding to it. To the extent that antisemitic cultural formations (arising from biblical and non-biblical sources and preserved and expanded through history) are externalized as authentic responses to the eternal “problem” of the Jews, they hold moral sway over their recipients. But this claim to authority does not exist in isolation, and Assmann points toward a variety of available responses: active critique, struggle, and head-on engagement.¹⁴ In light of such options, it may be possible to de-authorize received antisemitic tradition, effectively to “decanonize” it and relocate it in a separate framing, as received, archived, problematic memory but not as authoritative truth.¹⁵

Antisemitic cultural formations—arising from biblical and non-biblical ancient sources—preserve specific and detailed motifs or memes, which are available to successive generations irrespective of their personal connections to one another. Central among them—and central motifs for the discussion that follows—include stereotypes of Jews as destroyers of truth, who suppress the true messianic message of their own Bible, while manifesting as demonic antitheses to God’s chosen people.

Doctrinaire antisemite Rudolf Hess provides fascinating evidence for an antisemitic symbol-system that lines up with Geertz’s definition of religion. Hess framed his own acceptance of an antisemitic outlook explicitly in terms of a conversion narrative. In a speech he gave on May 14, 1935, for the German-Swedish society in Stockholm, he stated:

I myself was until then not an antisemite, but on the contrary defended the Jews based on the usual historical theory against their adversaries and persecutors. The facts of 1918 and later were so eye-catching that I was forced to *convert* to antisemitism, even though inwardly I was rather reluctant to revise my hitherto conviction about the innocence of persecuted Judaism.¹⁶

14 Ibid.

15 Contemporary discussions around memorialization of the U.S. Civil War provide an apt parallel here. A long history of active memorialization of the Confederacy (especially around the fiftieth anniversary of the Civil War and again, even more perniciously, during the Civil Rights movement of the mid-twentieth century) has created a cultural landscape of monuments, memorials, and named institutions whose future is a topic of significant public debate.

16 Translation and emphasis by the authors of this article: “Ich selbst war bis dahin kein Antisemit, sondern nahm in Gegenteil auf Grund der üblichen Geschichtslehre die Juden gegenüber ihren Widersachern und Verfolgern in Schutz. Die Tatsachen von 1918 und später waren aber so in die Augen springend, daß ich mich zum Antisemitismus *bekehren* mußte, so sehr ich mich auch innerlich dagegen sträubte, meine bisherige Überzeugung von der Unschuld des verfolgten Judentums berichtigen zu müssen.” Rudolph Hess, “An die Ausländer guten Willens,” in *Reden*, ed. Rudolf Hess (München: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, Franz Eher Nachf., 1938), 104. A strikingly

Several points here deserve attention. First, Hess views his experience as a movement from one belief system to another; he initially defended the Jews but was later “forced” to change his perspective. His observation that he was initially reluctant to change his perspective lines up with Geertz’s view that religious systems not only appear uniquely real to their followers but also that they create long-lasting motivations. Hess frames his initial view in terms of a *desire* to believe in the innocence of the Jewish people against their persecutors, and he claims that it has taken a lot to change his views.

In the case of Hess, too, we notice that he claims to have made his conversion by rational means: the introduction of evidence that is to his mind new and convincing leads him to analyze his previous understanding of the Jews and to find it inaccurate. But we would argue that this language of rationality actually covers over a much less rational thought-process. His sense that “the facts of 1918 and later were so *eye-catching*” suggests that they captured his thought process emotionally, that they led him from one set of long-lasting perceptions to a very different set. This is not a process of rational education, but rather one of emotional—religious—transformation.

Hess’ language of conversion is even stronger in the original German than in the English translation. It demonstrates that Hess perceived or at least framed his own antisemitism as a religion. After all, he “converted” to it.

The “powerful, pervasive and long-lasting moods and motivations” of anti-semitism are evident in its many historical iterations, from Hecataios and Manetho in the third century BCE, down to the present day. They contribute to slanderous views of Jews that not only claim factuality but take on an uncorrectable conviction, which in turn generates a remarkably flexible, long-lived religious credo: that Jews are evil and destroy anything that is good.

Returning momentarily to the problem of preconception, we should remember that especially in situations of crisis, communities consider the Other, the stranger, as a foreign object that is threatening in its very existence. Religious symbol systems provide contexts for understanding these treacherous Others, enabling their adherents to create a sense of stability in the midst of chaos and also to define and confirm their own identity, through rejection of the

similar example appears in a recent article in the New Yorker, which explores the intellectual development of Mike Enoch, an American white supremacist. He describes attending a meeting with Jewish political activists: “An overwhelming sense of loathing washed over me like an awesome wave [...] the people I was around suddenly seemed twisted and horrible. A revelatory religious experience is the closest thing I can compare this experience to.” See A. Marantz, “Birth of a Supremacist,” *The New Yorker*, October 9, 2017, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/10/16/birth-of-a-white-supremacist>.

Other. In times of economic crisis, it is, for instance, much easier to hold the collective Jew as the paradigmatic Other responsible for an economic catastrophe than to direct blame on the less immediately-visible systems and decision-makers who are specifically at fault. Crises are thus catalysts, not only for change, but also for continuity and revisiting of negative prejudices with respect to the Jewish Other.

Christianity is not, as such, to blame for this situation. The current pope, in his greeting to the conference “An End to Antisemitism!” provides an impressive example that there can be a Christianity without Jew-hatred. But it cannot be denied that even fundamental Christian texts provide the resources for a religious memory that cultivates and communicates a particular religious symbol system characterized by hatred of Jews.

An antisemitic symbol system grounded in the texts of early Christianity has provided and continues to provide antisemitic believers with preconceived interpretive grids that are especially reassuring in situations of crisis. Among these preconceived interpretive grids are dualistic symbol systems that distinguish the subjects who perceive (Christian partakers of God’s truth) and the objects that are perceived (the Jews, as denizens of a negative other-world). Christian texts provide language for envisioning the Jews as the sons of the devil, who conspire to murder and destroy anything of positive value.

Hatred of Jews is not a product of the specific moments in which Christian texts have been written, although those moments and those texts have contributed to the symbol system of antisemitism. Rather, it is the transmission of those texts and symbols, over centuries and millennia, in highly specific and at times highly diverse social contexts that has allowed for the continuity of antisemitic messages. The individual claims of Christian texts, re-read and reconsidered by successive generations of Christians—and further claimed and transformed by Muslims and post-Christian antisemites—provide one engine that allows antisemitism to flourish. Religious disciples of antisemitism read their own reality in light of the symbol systems that Christianity (and Islam) have transmitted, and this in turn creates a context in which they can blame the collective Jew for any and all failings around them.

3 The Bedevilment of Jews in (Late) Ancient Christianity

Our first sample text comes from the Gospel of John. As the latest of the four canonical gospels, John often presents exacerbated versions of the early Christian

ideas that came before him. Thus, in its treatment of conflicts between Jesus and “the Jews” (as if Jesus himself were not a Jew throughout his life), the Gospel of John escalates the fictional conflict even more than the synoptics did in their earlier presentations. John’s treatment of this account is unique in its claims that the Jews plotted to murder Jesus (John 7:1–3; 8:20–47) and in fact attempted to do so unsuccessfully two times (John 8:48–59; 10:22–30). The peak of this narrative plot is the passion story, which is of profound importance to so many believing Christians. Christians and other readers of the gospel thus absorb, at this most intense narrative point, the slanderous claim that the Jews as a collectivity would have killed Jesus.

The narrative plot of an escalating conflict between Jesus and the Jews in the gospel of John has nothing to do with historical reality. It is a means by which the author of the gospel unfolds an antithesis defining Christian identity in opposition to a negative otherworld. This is particularly evident in the infamous account in John 8.

37 “I know that you are descendants of Abraham; yet you look for an opportunity to kill me, because there is no place in you for my word. 38 I declare what I have seen in the Father’s presence; as for you, you should do what you have heard from the Father.” 39 They (the Jews) answered him, “Abraham is our father.” Jesus said to them, “If you were Abraham’s children, you would be doing what Abraham did, 40 but now you are trying to kill me, a man who has told you the truth that I heard from God. This is not what Abraham did. 41 You are indeed doing what your father does.” They said to him, “We are not illegitimate children; we have one father, God himself.” 42 Jesus said to them, “If God were your Father, you would love me, for I came from God and now I am here. I did not come on my own, but he sent me. 43 Why do you not understand what I say? It is because you cannot accept my word. 44 *You are from your father the devil, and you choose to do your father’s desires.* He was a murderer from the beginning and does not stand in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he lies, he speaks according to his own nature, for he is a liar and the father of lies. 45 But because I tell the truth, you do not believe me. 46 Which of you convicts me of sin? If I tell the truth, why do you not believe me? 47 Whoever is from God hears the words of God. The reason you do not hear them is that you are not from God.”¹⁷

The Gospel of John presents a sharp and clear duality here, between the historical people of the Jews and the Christians who will replace them.¹⁸ The historical Jewish people are depicted as representatives of the devil, who reject the truth of

¹⁷ Translations of the New Testament are according to NRSV.

¹⁸ See in particular A. Reinhartz, “Jews’ and Jews in the Fourth Gospel,” in *Anti-Judaism and the Fourth Gospel: Papers of the Leuven Colloquium, 2000*, ed. R. Bieringer, D. Pollefeyt, and F. Vandecasteele-Vanneuville (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 213–30.

the Johannine gospel and hence murder Jesus. Christianity, in this formulation, is the representative of the positive pole of a dualistic universe and Judaism is the negative. The Johannine gospel thereby severs any ties between Christianity and Judaism, defining Christian identity and Christians in opposition with Judaism, by means of slander and Jew-hatred.

In this process, the Gospel of John takes ownership of and transforms the religious symbol of “the Jews.” No longer understood as the keepers of God’s covenant, “the Jews” of this gospel are instead preserved in the cultural memory of nascent Christianity as followers of a demonic deity. Erasing the Jewishness of Jesus, of the disciples, and of much of the early church, John’s dualistic worldview creates a bedeviled Other in “the Jews” of the negative otherworld, the opponents of positive Christianity.

The impact of the Gospel of John is evident at various points in Christian history, nowhere more vividly than in the sermons of John Chrysostom. In the years 386–387 CE, Chrysostom gave eight sermons *Adversus Judaeos* in the city of Antioch. These sermons were intended to respond to a problem in Chrysostom’s parish, that a significant number of his flock were participating in synagogue services, celebrating Jewish festivals, and observing Jewish fasting. Chrysostom’s sermons treat this Christian fascination with Judaism as a danger not only for the so-called Judaizing Christians but in fact for Christianity itself.

Like the Gospel of John, then, Chrysostom emphasizes the importance of separations between Jews and Christians and the incompatibility of their two religious systems. His response is not a mild criticism of those Christians that are fascinated with Judaism but an attack on Jews that includes condemnation, abuse, and outright slander. The Jews, says Chrysostom, are “pigs” and “goats” (I:4,1), a “pack of hunting dogs” (II:4), and many other things. Christians are wrong to engage with them but are excused for their misbehavior and assured of clemency and acceptance upon their return.

Chrysostom’s dualistic view treats Jews and Christians not only as opposites in a worldview of good and evil but as inhabitants of entirely separate realms, one heavenly and the other satanic. Jews are robbers of the soul, and the synagogue is a dwelling place of demons (I:3,3). The devil seduces Christians to go there (I:3,5), and once they have crossed the threshold, they enter a realm of evil where only the sign of the cross can protect them.

But now you see your own brother being dragged off unjustly to the depth of destruction. And it is not the executioner who drags him off, but the devil ... If he will stand fast in his obstinate resolve, I shall choose to risk my life rather than let him enter the doors of the synagogue. (*Adv. Jud.* I:4,6)

But how will you go into the synagogue? If you make the sign of the cross on your forehead, the evil power that dwells in the synagogue immediately takes to flight. If you fail to sign your forehead, you have immediately thrown away your weapon at the doors. Then the devil will lay hold of you, naked and unarmed as you are, and he will overwhelm you with ten thousand terrible wounds. (*Adv. Jud.* VIII:8,7)

Chrysostom's slander of the Jews not only resembles the Gospel of John in its bedeviling language but in fact draws upon the Christian cultural memory that includes John, framing a prejudicial antecedent conception. This conception of the Jew serves equally well to characterize any Christians who pursue a fascination with Judaism. It is this cultural memory on which Chrysostom relies in responding to the crisis of his own diminishing parish.

As a consequence of his slander and his false accusations of deicide, Chrysostom goes much further than the Gospel of John. Chrysostom calls for physical violence against the Jews of Antioch. He tries to instigate the mass murder of all Jews of the city. What Chrysostom asks of his parishioners is nothing less than a late ancient pogrom.

Although such beasts (*scil.* the Jews) are unfit for work, they are fit for killing. And this is what happened to the Jews: while they were making themselves unfit for work, they grew fit for slaughter. This is why Christ said: "But as for these my enemies, who did not want me to be king over them, bring them here and slay them" (Luke 19:27). (*Adv. Jud.* I:2,6)

These excerpts from Chrysostom's sermons against the Jews identify particular motivations for his extreme Jew-hatred. In his eyes, the Christian fascination with things Jewish endangers Christianity. For him, in itself and as the quintessential negative Other, Judaism threatens to taint Christianity by allowing for the intersection of Christian good with Jewish "Evil." In his fear, Chrysostom goes to any length of hatred to respond to that illusionary threat.

The anxieties of the Gospel of John and the sermons of John Chrysostom continue to resonate in antisemitic thought at later historical points. Examples from Medieval, (early) Modern, and Modern times reflect the ongoing potency of these ideas.

4 The Bedevilment of Jews in Medieval and (Early) Modern Christianity

In medieval times, the bedevilment of the Jews became a standard motif, a generally accepted truism of antisemitic polemics, which could be assumed without

explicit argumentation.¹⁹ Examples from medieval Christianity thus demonstrate how an ancient antisemitic religious symbol could become not only a widespread and deeply rooted canard but also a resource for the construction of both the negative Jewish Other and, through its demonization, a contrasting Christian in-group identity.

An example is provided by Agobard of Lyon. Agobard was archbishop of Lyon from 816–840 CE. and was one of the harshest antisemites of the Frankish Empire. In the years 826–829 CE, Agobard wrote five letters against Judaism to different addressees.²⁰ His antisemitic agitation is common in other parts of his oeuvre, too.²¹ With this antisemitic agitation, Agobard responds to policies of King Louis the Pious (813–840 CE) that were favorable towards Jews. Louis' policies allowed Jews to gain positions in which they ruled over Christians, shattering Agobard's understanding that—because of their alleged murder of Jesus of Nazareth—Jews could only exist as servants to Christians.

Confronted with the political realities of the Frankish empire and their challenge to inherited Christian doctrine, Agobard develops in his writings an extensive antisemitic ideology. This belief-structure is deeply grounded in the antisemitic religious symbol system of (late) antiquity.

Agobard's worldview is deeply dualistic and influences his idea of how the political structures of the Frankish empire should be formed. In a treatise against the Burgundian law code, Agobard compares, for example, the Frankish empire with the kingdom of God, which should be clearly demarcated from the kingdom of the devil.

Here truly should be the difference and boundary between kingdom and kingdom, that is, that of Christ and of the devil, the city of God and the city of the devil which constitute two peoples. (*Adversus legem Gundobaldi*, 6)

19 For a survey, see already J. Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Conception of the Jew and its Relation to Modern Antisemitism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943).

20 *Epistola ad proceres Palatii Walam et Hilduin* (to abbots Wala and Hilduin), *Consulatio ad Adalhardem, Walam et Helisachar* (to Adalhard, Wala and Helisachar), *Ad Nibridium* (to bishop Nibridius of Narbonne), *De Insolentia Judaeorum* ("About the Insolence of the Jews," to king Louis the Pious), *De judaicis superstitionibus* ("About the Superstition of the Jews," written together with bishops Bernhard of Brienne and Eaof of Chalons, synodal letter).

21 For Agobard's antisemitism, see J. Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 123–45; see also M. G. Minsky, "Agobard and His Relations with the Jews" (MA thesis, University of Massachusetts, 1971); J. Heil, "Agobard, Amolo, das Kirchengut und die Juden von Lyon," *Francia* 25, no. 1 (1998): 39–76; A. B. Langewalter, "Agobard of Lyon: An Exploration of Carolingian Jewish-Christian Relations" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2009).

Agobard argues here to abolish the Burgundian law code, which is framed in terms of class division, in favor of a dualistic social order that distinguishes only between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of the devil.

In his treatise *De cavendo convictu et societate Judaica*, Agobard assigns the Jews of the Frankish Empire to the latter kingdom, employing the religious symbol of the bedevilment of the Jews to establish strict boundaries between Christian and Jewish societies in the political sphere. He further diminishes privileged Jews as “children of the devil” (*diaboli filiis*), accusing them of exposing their Christian maids and servants to their diabolic anti-world.

Many women, day maids and others, are employed by them as workers. Not all are perverted, but all by domination, lust, and deception are in some way prostituted in common by the sons of the devil hiding hatred behind fallacious blandishments. They call themselves the progeny of patriarchs ... and the miserable people hear this not knowing that their own prophets were accustomed to call them a nation of sin, a people heavy with iniquity, a worthless seed, polluted children, their father Amorrhoe, their mother Cethee the princess of Sodom and the people of Gomorrah.²²

In Agobard’s worldview, Jews may be permitted to serve Christians but not to rule over them. He thus argues against Jews employing any Christians. In the face of a challenging social reality, in which the alleged Jewish deicides have risen above their menial status to the point of employing Christian maids and servants, Agobard must restate and underscore the assumptions of his Christian identity. To this end, he employs the familiar Johannine religious symbol of the Jews as children of the devil (John 8:44). The appeal to this demonization allows Agobard to reconcile the alienation of his Christian worldview, while removing the Jewish Other from his Christian world into a negative anti-Christian realm.

Agobard is but one example of the long life of this religious symbol of bedevilment. The power of this generally-accepted, widespread, and unquestioned antisemitic canard is further demonstrated by a series of antisemitic caricatures from later centuries.

The first caricature is part of the Forest Roll of the County of Essex in the fifth year of Edward I’s reign (1277).²³ The subject of this caricature is identified by the English version of the Jew-badge as a Jewish man. The caricature accompanies a record about fines imposed on some Jews and Christians who in the year 1267 pursued a doe that had escaped from the hounds during a hunt near Colchester.

²² Quoted according to Minsky, “Agobard and his Relations with the Jews,” 33, 72–73.

²³ 1277 Forest Eyre Roll, TNA/E32/12, rot. 3d. For a discussion of the caricature, see Joseph Jacobs, “Aaron Son of the Devil,” in *Jewish Ideals and Other Essays*, ed. J. Jacobs (New York: Macmillan, 1896), 225, 231–33.

For their poaching—regarded in the thirteenth century as a criminal offense little less than treason—the Christians members of the poachers’ group had to pay comparatively small fines, while the Jewish members were fined much higher amounts. One of the Jewish members of the illegal hunting party—named Aaron, son of Leo—escaped to Lincoln and returned some ten years later to Colchester. The caricature might have been made when this Aaron paid his fine after a delay of ten years.



Image 1. Aaron, son of the devil. J. Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Conception of the Jew and its Relation to Modern Antisemitism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943), 27.

The scribe who made the caricature included a caption that presents the poacher, Aaron son of Leo, in a familiar light:

Aaron fil(ius) diaboli
Aaron, son of the devil

In the context of thirteenth-century England, such a description of a Jewish person would be an unambiguous reference to the tropes of texts like John 8:44. The use of *diabolo* here is particularly telling, given the Greek and Latin terminology of this biblical text:

- ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ὑμεῖς διαβόλου ἐστ
- vos ex patre diabolo estis (Vulgata)
- You are from your father, the diabolus.

Aaron son of Leo, in this caricature is more than a simple poacher; he is a poacher who is also a Jew. Both he and the rest of his Jewish partners, who were required to pay a higher fine than that assigned to their Christian compatriots, occupy a key antisemitic memory space associated with the bedevilment of the

Jews. Furthermore, the Christian scribe responsible for the demonization of Aaron may be seen as representative of a larger negative attitude towards Jews in England, which resulted in their expulsion in 1290. The Forest Roll of Essex reveals the presence of powerful religious symbols from the Christian cultural memory as potential elements in an attitude toward Jews and Judaism that permitted or supported the argument for their expulsion from the land.

The second example is a mural painting on a bridge tower in Frankfurt am Main close to the entrance of the city's *Judengasse* ("Jewish lane") that was made during the period from 1475 to 1507. The mural depicted a popular iconographic libel known as the Jews' Sow. The bridge tower, a tourist attraction in its day, was demolished in 1801, but the mural is preserved in modern reproductions that remained popular even after its destruction.²⁴ Other representations of similar images can still be found among the medieval and early modern art-works of many German churches.²⁵

The stereotype of the Jews' Sow is among the most disgusting and offensive in the antisemitic visual lexicon: A rabbi rides backwards on a sow, while another rabbi licks its anus, and a third drinks from its teats. Beyond the obvious assaults on sexual and social mores is the use of the pig itself, with the special impurity that it connotes in Jewish tradition.²⁶ The presence of such depictions as decorations in Christian sacral buildings points to the intent of this caricature, to contrast the holiness of the sacred Christian ritual of the Eucharist with an obscene and profane representation of an imagined Jewish counter-ritual.²⁷ Thus, the Christian sacrament of the body and blood of Christ is here contrasted with the alleged "Schleck- und Dreck-Sakrament" of Judaism.²⁸

24 See G. von Graevenitz, S. Rieger, F. Thürlemann, eds., *Die Unvermeidlichkeit der Bilder* (Tübingen: Günter Narr Verlag, 2001), 109; E. Fuchs, *Die Juden in der Karikatur: Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte* (Bremen: Dogma, 2013), 31; R. Kreis, "Die christliche Bildwelt und der Antisemitismus aus der Gegensicht Kafkas," in *Die Unvermeidlichkeit der Bilder*, ed. G. von Graevenitz, S. Rieger, and F. Thürlemann (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 2001), 109.

25 For the Jews' Sow motif, see I. Shachar: *The Judensau: A Medieval Anti-Jewish Motif and its History* (London: Warburg Institute, 1974); E. Fuchs, *Die Juden in der Karikatur*, 114–22; Th. Bruinier, *Die 'Judensau': Zu einem Symbol des Judenhasses und seiner Geschichte* (Stuttgart: Kreuz-Verlag Breitsohl, 1995), 4–15; H. Schreckenberg, *Die Juden in der Kunst Europas: Ein historischer Bildatlas* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 343–49; H. Schreckenberg, *Christliche Adversus-Judaeos-Bilder: Das Alte und Neue Testament im Spiegel der christlichen Kunst* (Wien: Lang, 1999).

26 Cf. Fuchs, *Die Juden in der Karikatur*, 120–21.

27 Similar Kreis, "Die christliche Bildwelt und der Antisemitismus aus der Gegensicht Kafkas," 109.

28 *Ibid.* The German phrase means "lapping- and dirt sacrament." Translation by the authors of this article.

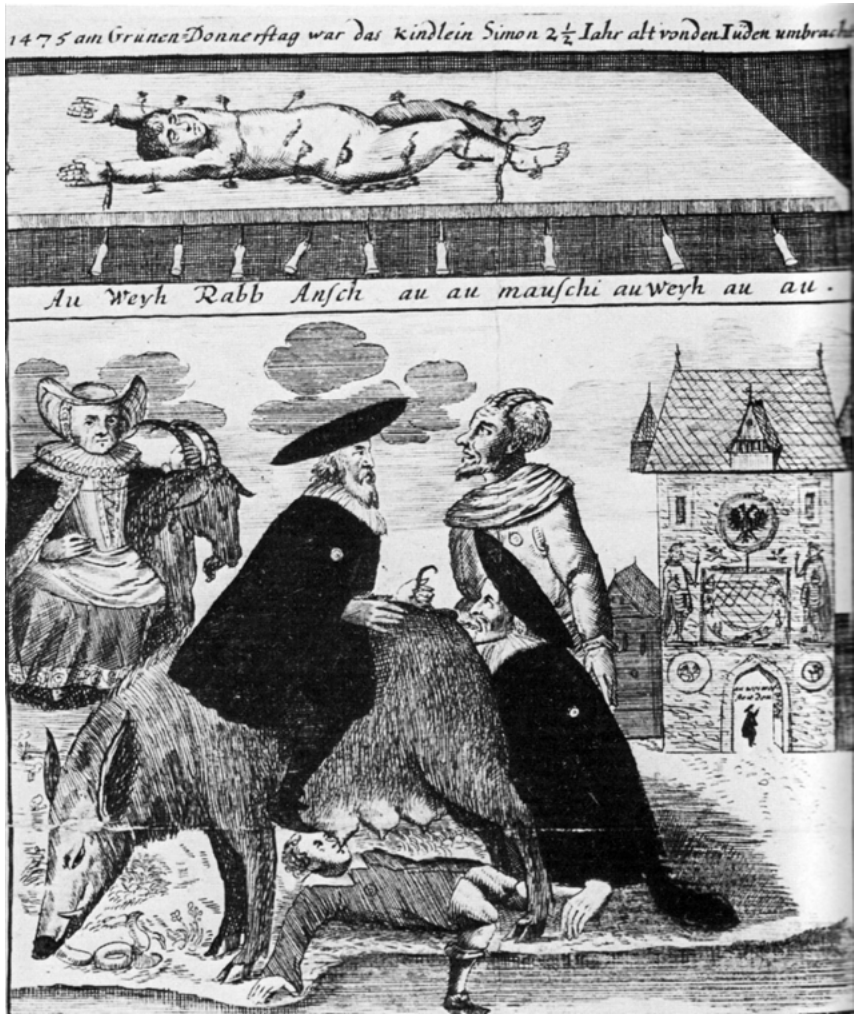


Image 2. *The Frankfurt Jews' Sow*, copperplate 18th c., taken from the Bridge Towers of Frankfurt's "Alte Brücke."
Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/25/Judensau_Frankfurt.jpg, accessed June 3, 2019.

But the Frankfurt mural introduces two new elements into the familiar motif of the Jews' Sow, which further emphasize the contradistinction between Jewish and Christian religiosity. (1) Above the Jews' Sow, the Frankfurt mural depicts the alleged ritual murder of Simon of Trent. (2) Next to the Jews' Sow stands a devil, while behind the sow a woman rides a billy goat (the latter a sexual symbol of

the devil). By way of this dual diabolic iconography, the Frankfurt Jews' Sow mural questions the very humanity of the Jews, who are otherwise under demonic rule in all things.

The combination of this perverse set up with the violated body of the child Simon intends to emphasize the impression of Jewish abnormality. Their (*scil.* the Jews') animalistic-infantile sexuality and their obscenity leaning towards coprophagy and sodomy are intended to raise doubts whether they are human beings at all.²⁹

But the religious meaning of the Frankfurt Jews' Sow is not restricted to a contradistinction between Jewish and Christian ritual. Taken together, the antisemitic religious symbols of the Jews' Sow and the bedevilment of the Jews create a firm distinction between the world of Christianity and the Satanic otherworld in which all Jews must dwell. The placement of the sign, near the entrance to the Frankfurt Ghetto further identifies it as a diabolic realm. Like John Chrysostom's antisemitic agitation, the mural draws on symbols from Christian cultural memory to provide a clear distinction for Frankfurt's Christians, between their own positive group identity and the realm of the bedeviled Jew.

The third caricature is by Matthew Darly, a famous and very successful caricaturist of eighteenth-century England.³⁰ Entitled "The Masquerade Dance," it was published on December 8, 1771, and shows six men—a friar, a Jew, a Quaker(?), a Turk, a Muslim, and a bishop—dancing to a devil's tune.³¹

29 Ibid. The German original of the quote is: "Die Kombination dieser perversen Gruppierung mit dem geschändeten Leib des Kindes Simon soll den Eindruck jüdischer Abartigkeit verstärken. Ihre tierhaft-infantile Sexualität und ihre der Koprophagie und Sodomie zugeordnete Obszönität sollen Zweifel schüren, ob sie überhaupt Menschen sind." English translation by the authors of this article.

30 For Matthew Darly, see H. M. Atherton, *Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth: A Study of the Ideographic Representation of Politics* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1974), 18; M. Bryant, *Dictionary of British Cartoonists and Caricaturists: 1730–1980* (London: Lund Humphries, 1994), 54; H. J. Stroomberg, "Matthew en Mary Darly: Graveurs, uitgevers en verkopers van prenten in London 1748–1781," *Die Boekenwereld* 13 (1996–1997): 229–41; A. Rasche and G. Wolter, *Ridikül! Mode in der Karikatur: 1600 bis 1900* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2003), 42; and "Matthew Darly (Biographical Details)," *The British Museum*, accessed May 9, 2019, https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=127680.

31 For descriptions of this caricature, see F. G. Stephens, *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Division 1: Political and Personal Satires, vol. 4: A.D. 1761 to c. A.D. 1770* (London: British Museum, 1883), 761 (no. 4635); F. Felsenstein and Sh. Liberman Mintz, *The Jew as Other: A Century of English Caricature: 1730–1830: An Exhibition: April 6–July 31, 1995* (New York: The Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1995), 42; "Collection Online: The Masquerade Dance," *The British Museum*, accessed May 9, 2019, <https://www.britishmuseum.org/re>



Image 3. Matthew Darly, *The Masquerade Dance*, etching, 1771.

Source: The British Museum Image Gallery, Museum Nr. 1865,0610.1104. https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=298482001&objectid=1642319, accessed June 3, 2019.

This etching represents a “visual echo of the phrase ‘Jews, Turks, Infidels and Heretics’, first found in 1548 in the Book of Common Prayer, and recurrent as a general term of abuse throughout the eighteenth century.”³² This clustering of “undesirable” religious entities—outside Christianity or heretical to a particular set of Christian norms—is not unusual in medieval and early modern polemics. Muslims and Catholics are often attacked side by side with Jews in Protestant antisemitic agitation. But the explicit demonization of these religious Others, who dance to the devil’s song, emphasizes their outsider status and evil intents. Darly’s treatment of the Jews, and other Others, here represents yet another ex-

search/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?assetId=384375001&objectId=1642319&partId=1; “The Masquerade Dance,” Library of Congress, accessed May 9, 2019, <https://catalog.loc.gov/vwebv/holdingsInfo?searchId=10462&recCount=25&recPointer=0&bibId=14404191>.

³² Felsenstein and Mintz, *The Jew as Other*, 42.

ample of the longevity and malleability of the religious symbol of the bedevilment of the Jews.

5 The Bedevilment of Jews among the Nazis

The literature of the Nazis draws upon and expands these themes of Jewish bedevilment in literature intended for both adults and children. Our first example is a children's picture book, published by the infamous Stürmer Press and written by Elvira Bauer.³³ Its title "Trau keinem Fuchs auf grüner Heid und keinem Jud auf seinem Eid" ["Trust no fox in a heathland and no Jew with his oath"] is adapted from an antisemitic pamphlet by Martin Luther.³⁴

Bauer titles her book's introductory poem

The Father of the Jews is the Devil

At the creation of the world
 The Lord God conceived the races:
 Red Indians, Negroes, and Chinese,
 And Jew, too, the rotten crew.
 And we were also on the scene:
 We Germans midst this motley medley-
 He gave them all a piece of earth
 To work with the sweat of their brow.
 But the Jew went on strike at once!
 For the devil rode him from the first.
 Cheating, not working, was his aim;
 For lying, he got first prize
 In less than no time from the Father of Lies.
 Then he wrote it in the Talmud.

By the banks of Pharaoh's Nile
 Pharaoh saw this folk, and said:
 "I'll torment the lazy blighters,
 These people shall make bricks for me."
 The Jew did this all wailing and whining,
 Never was there such cursing and swearing,

³³ E. Bauer, *Trau keinem Fuchs auf grüner Heid und keinem Jud auf seinem Eid* (Nürnberg: Stürmer Verlag, 1936).

³⁴ *Trau keinem Wolf auf wilder Heiden // Auch keinem Juden auf seine Eiden // Glaub keinem Papst auf sein Gewissen // Wirst sonst von allen Drein beschissen*. M. Luther, *Von den Jüden und iren Lügen* (Wittenberg: Hans Lusst, 1543). ["Trust no wolf in wild heathland and no Jew with his oath, believe no Pope with his conscience, else you will be screwed by all in it."] Translation is by the authors of this article.

With bent backs and over-big slippers.
 Even today we see them shambling
 With lip hanging down and great red noses
 And looking daggers, flashing hate.
 They owe Pharaoh thanks,
 Who trounced them soundly for their pranks.
 The Jews soon had enough of that!
 The Devil brought them to Germany.
 Like thieves they stole into our land
 Hoping to get the upper hand.³⁵



Image 4. E. Bauer, *Trau keinem Fuchs auf grüner Heide und keinem Jud bei seinem Eid* (Nürnberg: Stürmer Verlag, 1936), 4.

Bauer's distortion of the Exodus story is characterized by antisemitic stereotypes from Nazi propaganda, such as the supposed physiognomic characteristics of Jews. In her slander, Jews are lazy, but Pharaoh puts them to work. The so-

³⁵ Elvira Bauer, *Trau keinem Fuchs*, no page number. English translation by R. Bytwerk, see <http://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/fuchs.htm>. Last accessed May 9, 2019.

jour in Egypt is described as a kind of concentration camp. Israel did not do slave labor in Egypt: Pharaoh introduced it to teach the Jews how to work.

This slander is reminiscent not only of the Nazis' lie about the educational function of concentration camps but also of the bedevilment slanders of the Gospel of John and the sermons against the Jews by Chrysostom. Bauer's treatment of the Jewish Other draws upon prejudices and religious symbols from this cultural memory. For Bauer, it is the devil and not God who brought the Jews out of Egypt. From Egypt, they then traveled not to the land of Israel (unmentioned in her poem) but directly to Germany. Further resonance appears in Bauer's explicit allusion to John 8:44 with the title of her poem: "The Father of the Jews is the Devil."

Here again, Bauer employs the religious symbol of the bedevilment of the Jews for the purpose of oppositional identity construction. While the Gospel of John and the sermons of Chrysostom identified Christians as the positive opponents of the Jews, Bauer positions the Germans in that role. The Jews remain the sons of the devil, but pious Germans replace pious Christians as their ongoing opponents.

Bauer's children's book is not an isolated example. It is symptomatic of the religious ideology of Nazi Germany. Two further examples may suffice to demonstrate how widespread the religious symbol of the bedevilment of the Jews was during the Nazi period in German literature.

Polemicalizing against the supposed lies and slanders of the Jews, Hitler writes in *Mein Kampf*:

In this, he (*scil.* the collective Jew) flinches away from nothing and becomes so vast that nobody should be surprised why with our people the personification of the devil as the emblem of all evil takes the living shape of the Jew.³⁶

A second example appears in a book series, Pamphlets of the SA, edited by Nazi journalist and writer Rudolf Elmayer von Vestenbrugg, under the pseudonym Elmar Vinibert von Rudolf. Elmayer von Vestenbrugg wrote the first volume of the book series himself and titled it after the infamous *Jews' Mirror* of Johannes Pfefferkorn, *Der Judenspiegel: Judentum und Antisemitismus in der Weltgeschichte*. In his book, Elmayer outlines the idea that the history of the world is

36 A. Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 514th–518th ed. (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, Frz. Eher Nachf., 1940), 355: "Hier schreckt er vor gar nichts zurück und wird in seiner Gemeinheit so riesengroß, daß sich niemand zu wundern braucht, wenn in unserem Volke die Personifikation des Teufels als Sinnbild alles Bösen die leibhaftige Gestalt des Juden annimmt." The translation above is by the authors of this article.

patterned by recurring conspiracies of Judaism to gain world dominance and that each such conspiracy must be defeated by a pure Nordic Aryan people. In the introduction to this book, Elmayer von Vestenbrugg characterizes the basic conflict of history as follows:

As the son of the Satan-quality, Ahasver moves through world history. Forever under a different name but always remaining the same; in perpetuity reaffirming the truth and always lying. If lying implies the death of the Nordic people, it is the vital principle of Judaism.³⁷

6 The Bedevilment of the Jews in White Supremacist Christianity

Our last example consists of two internet memes from the white supremacist neo-Nazi webpage smoloko.com.³⁸ This webpage was founded and run (until at least 2018) by Scottie Spencer. Its self-description leaves little doubt that Smoloko adheres to antisemitic conspiracy theories:

Smoloko is a[n] independent run news-organization which strives to deliver educational and informative information and news to help give those who visit our site a better sense and understanding of the world and how it really works. Whether the topic is false-flag terrorism, the (((Illuminati))) central banking cartel or world-wide Judeo-Masonic misconduct, we will always cover it.³⁹

The first example from this site attempts to demonize (and sexualize) Jewish experience of the Western Wall, one of the most sacred sites of Judaism. Spencer, using the outdated expression “Wailing Wall,” labels this sacred site the seat of

37 R. von Elmayer von Vestenbrugg, *Der Judenspiegel: Judentum und Antisemitismus in der Weltgeschichte* (München: Zentralverlag der NSDAP Frz. Eher Nachf., 1938), 7 (published under the pseudonym Elmar Vinibert von Rudolf): “Als Sohn der Satan-Natur zieht Ahasver durch die Weltgeschichte. Ewig unter anderem Namen und doch immer sich gleich bleibend; ewig die Wahrheit betuernd und immer lügend. Wenn Lüge den Tod der nordischen Menschen bedeutet, so ist sie für das Judentum das Lebenselement.” The translation above is by the authors of this article.

38 <http://smoloko.com>. While the Smoloko website could be accessed during much of the research and writing of this paper, by late 2018 or early 2019 the site had been deactivated. Much of its content has been copied (or had already been cross-posted) on other websites. Where possible, parallel sources to Smoloko examples will be noted below.

39 http://smoloko.com/?page_id=2; see, for example, “9/11 Truth and Facts, Hidden History and Jewish Abuse of Power Revealed. Smoloko.com,” accessed May 9, 2019, <http://www.chuckmaultsby.net/id59.html>.

Satan, in terms reminiscent of John Chrysostom's slander of the synagogue as the dwelling of demons. The image portrays a section of the Western Wall, with typical notes and prayers pressed into the cracks between the stones. But the prayers are labeled "a note to SATAN," and a demonic face is imposed over one side of the image. The result is shocking and profane.

In the second meme, Spencer's activation of religious cultural memory is made explicit. Here he quotes the Gospel of John to describe Jews as the children of Satan. His treatment is resonant with early Christian themes, including the accusations that the Jews as a collectivity would have rejected Jesus and would have crucified him. "Jews are not the 'Chosen People,' of God anymore because they lost that privilege when they rejected the Son of God and crucified Him."



Image 5. Reference to John 8:44 to bedevil contemporary Judaism; image from a Protestant white supremacist website.

Source: Originally posted on <http://smoloko.com/?p=12567>; see also the comment by "Glory B.," posted September 23, 2019, on "Christians NOT Jews are God's Chosen People!" <http://www.realjewishnews.com/?p=134#comment-167963>, accessed May 9, 2019.

Spencer's antisemitic memes draw upon a diversity of memes from the religious and cultural memory of the Christian West, going back to ancient times. He uses these religious symbols to evoke the stereotype of a Jewish conspiracy of purportedly enormous power. Identifying the Jews as an external threat, he combines this trope with that of a larger conspiracy theory that Jews run "the new media, Hollywood, Wall Street," and "the government."⁴⁰

While tapping into cross-cultural tropes of antisemitism, Spencer's approach is also specific and local. His roots in Youngstown, Ohio, and the concern there

⁴⁰ See "The Man Behind the 'Anti-Semitic' Memes," issued April 2, 2017, accessed May 9, 2019, <https://www.henrymakow.com/2017/04/the-man-behind-the-memes.html>.

for the economic decline of the region (the so-called “Rust Belt”) are as important to his thinking as the symbols of cultural memory are to its representation. The impoverishment of his home region and the identity crisis that results from it might be specific to the experience of the predominantly white population of the Rust Belt, but the articulation of antisemitism that follows upon it relies upon religious and other symbolism from a larger cultural memory.

Scottie Spencer’s engagement with this antisemitic cultural memory does not end with his quotation of the Gospel of John. As another antisemitic web page observes, Spencer actually was in possession of Chrysostom’s *Sermons Against the Jews*, which was found in his car at the time of his arrest on charges of ethnic intimidation.⁴¹ The influence of the content of Chrysostom’s sermons on Spencer’s thought process is the *least* significant aspect of this picture—whether Spencer read the book, or simply came into possession of it—it served for him as an element in a larger cultural formation, the canon of Christian white supremacists in the United States.⁴² And this is a canon that assumes and asserts that Jews are demonic and have been since earliest history.

We must return here to notions of cultural memory and antisemitism as religion. Preconceptions about Jews—as demonic or bedeviled—are easily accessible in Christian cultural memory and in popular culture outside of Christian circles. An antisemite need not sit down and read Chrysostom—or even the Gospel of John—to have access to these tropes, because their transmission continues among antisemites (and indeed among Christian Bible-readers, even those who are not antisemitic).

The externalization of these tropes, in fact, lends them even greater strength: as examples of “objective” realities or inherited truths, they provide antisemites with “conceptions of a general order of existence” (as Geertz would have it), that are not only “uniquely realistic” but also provide a source for deep and “long lasting moods and motivations.” Inherited cultural memory takes on the potency of unique reality and truth, which participants need not *believe*—an excessive religious step—because those truths are simply there to *perceive* and acknowledge. The truth-value of even the most extreme antisemitic claims—within a closed

41 Ibid.

42 The act of owning such a text is as likely to locate a person culturally or socially as it is to reflect genuine ideological or intellectual engagement with its content. An interesting parallel can be found in the 1980s “Satanic Panic” in the United States, where accused criminals were sometimes labeled Satanists if investigators found copies of *The Satanic Bible* in their possession. Such texts must be understood as cultural objects that participants in a specific thought-world feel the need to claim, irrespective of whether they actually delve into their content in any nuanced way.

system of thought—is obvious and unchangeable to a believing, perceiving anti-semite.

The specific content of a particular antisemitic view can be variable—some antisemitism is indeed grounded in racialist assumptions, while other views focus on religious claims and tensions, for example. But these distinctions belie other overlaps between racial and religious antisemitism, and the two certainly overlap in the claims of Scottie Spencer.

Nor is Spencer an isolated example in his use of the religious symbol of the bedevilment of the Jews; he is, instead, the tip of a large iceberg. Consider just one other such example, from the *New History of the Jews*, by the American anti-semitic writer and Holocaust-denier Eustace Mullins:

Churchill and Roosevelt and Stalin are dead, but their heritage of Jewish terror is with us today. *All power to the Jews!* This was the Satanic pact which Roosevelt and Churchill signed, and because of it, each of these men died cursing the Jews, facing eternal damnation. All was ashes in their mouths, and they faced eternity with the terrible realization that for a few young girls and some bottles of whiskey, they had sold their peoples into slavery to the Jews.

To those who know the history of mankind, there is nothing new or shocking in this. [...] Throughout history, this sordid tale is repeated again and again, and throughout history, for the leaders and for the led, the message of Jesus Christ remains the same, “Turn away from Satan and follow Me.”⁴³

In past decades, Mullins’ writing might have passed away as idle or isolated ramblings. In the context of contemporary technology, however, every writer is also a publisher, and even the most isolated thinker can bring ideological claims to the eye of the world. Mullins’ book is available to all takers, free of charge, on the internet and is sold in hardcopy today by Omnia Veritas press.⁴⁴

7 Policies against Christian Antisemitism

The ideas of antisemites about Jews are deeply felt and long-lasting; they are equally irrational and passionate. They find expression in a shared canon of texts—some biblical, some post-biblical, and many more contemporary—that provide believers with externalized confirmation of their inherited and cultivated

⁴³ E. Mullins, *Mullins’ New History of the Jews* (Staunton: The International Institute of Jewish Studies, 1968), 7–8. The address of this purported Institute of Jewish Studies is that of Mullins’ home.

⁴⁴ See “Omnia Veritas,” accessed May 9, 2019, <https://www.omnia-veritas.com/>.

understandings of the world and the place of the Jews within it. The legacy of ancient and late ancient antisemitism, and the contributions of medieval, modern, and contemporary antisemitism, can thus be described as a religious symbol system. But it is one that is united not by a positive confession of law, faith, or praxis but rather by a negative belief system: The Jews are the sons of the Devil, and their role in the world is to thwart all those whom they oppose.

In tracing examples of a religious symbol system that pictures the Jews as the children of the devil and as devil worshippers, finding links along the way from ancient Christian literature to the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, we hope to have shown that Christian antisemites draw on a system of negative religious symbols to perceive the Jewish Other. While outsiders will find their fervor irrational and their beliefs incredible, the unshattered conviction of antisemitism is grounded in a set of inherited lore that renders it consistent, logical, and utterly convincing from within.

This treatment of antisemitism in terms of religious truth-value is both troubling and potentially beneficial. Its trouble lies in the potency of religious commitment, which people feel in their deepest selves, in response to their experiences of family, education, and cultural memory. But people—and not only antisemitic people—do convert from one meaning-making system to another, and the very core of cultural memory that renders Christian belief potent for antisemites also retains deep possibility for rejections of their claims. Christianity itself, with its complex heritage of cultural memory, contains the tools to combat Christian antisemitism and bring it to an end.

7.1 Converting the Antisemitic Believer

Recent events in the United States and globally have demonstrated that concerns about antisemitism are far from theoretical. In fact, the very memes and stereotypes presented here have surfaced in the discourse of two young male white supremacists who perpetrated synagogue shootings exactly six months apart, in Pittsburgh, PA, on Oct. 27, 2018, and in San Diego, CA, on April 27, 2019.

The first shooter, Robert Bowers, used social media to post an announcement of his plans an hour before the attack. His announcement focused on Jewish support for immigration, but in his capsule biography on the website where he posted, he quoted and directly referenced John 8:44 as a reason for his actions.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ The Southern Poverty Law Center's "Hatewatch" column analyzed Bowers' social media

John T. Earnest, the California shooter, chose to attack exactly six months after the Pittsburgh attack and identified both Bowers and the attacker in a mass shooting at two Christchurch, NZ, mosques as inspirations for his assault.⁴⁶ Earnest published a lengthy manifesto before the shooting, in which he referenced both the Gospel of John and the book of Revelation in demonizing Jews as the children of the devil and a “synagogue of Satan.”⁴⁷

In both of these recent shootings—as in the polemics published in *Der Stürmer* under the Nazis; as in the vile imagery at the gates of the Frankfurt Ghetto; as far back as Chrysostom’s tirades against his Jewish competition—the choice to dehumanize Jews as demonic or to construct Jewish communities as synagogues of Satan has been an implicitly violent one. At times, acts of violence have been pursued by people who *believed* in a Satanizing stance toward the Jews; at other times, we might argue that this rhetoric has simply provided a cultural frame in which hateful people can understand and act on their worst instincts. In either case, however, it is the presence of dehumanizing and demonizing memes as part of active cultural memory that has provided rationales and cultural cover for their destructive actions.

But the very source of these antisemitic memes is also the site in which Christian communities can locate theological, cultural, and social challenges to them. The very Christian churches in which John 8:44 have been read are also the places where pastors and congregations have access to profound alternative messages, of love for the Other, acceptance of difference, and even tolerance for contradiction. Some reconsiderations will be harder than others: acknowledgment of a painful history of challenge and conflict with a real Jewish Other will require that Christians not only recognize Judaism as a legitimate and meaningful parent religion but in fact take the much more difficult step of viewing Judaism as a sibling religion, as well, and one whose own claims and interpretations of a shared scriptural heritage require respect and engagement.

presence, for which see A. Amend, “Analyzing a Terrorist’s Social Media Manifesto: The Pittsburgh Synagogue Shooter’s Posts on Gab,” SPLC Southern Poverty Law Center, issued October 28, 2018, accessed May 9, 2019, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2018/10/28/analyzing-terrorists-social-media-manifesto-pittsburgh-synagogue-shooters-posts-gab>.

⁴⁶ See the analysis in the Columbia Journalism Review, published shortly after the April shooting; J. Allsop, “With Poway Synagogue Shooting, Online Hate Comes Alive again,” *Columbia Journalism Review*, April 29, 2019, https://www.cjr.org/the_media_today/chabad_poway_synagogue_shooting.php.

⁴⁷ The full manifesto was published by the newspaper *Haaretz*, April 28, 2019, at https://www.haaretz.co.il/embeds/pdf_upload/2019/20190428-073955.pdf.

The very universality of the Christian gospel brings with it the claim—and the ongoing challenge—to love or at least tolerate those who have not yet entered the fold. For every accusation of bedevilment in Christian Scripture there is a claim to universal love; for every text of *Adversos Ioudaios* literature, there is a doctrine of mutual respect.

In identifying antisemitism as a “religious” symbol system, and in locating a significant portion of its cultural memory and canonical content in texts drawn from the heritage of Christianity, we thus argue that the solution to the problem lies somewhere in relation to its source. As participants in a religion of love, and as heirs of a textual heritage that challenges that claim, contemporary Christians have an obligation to engage not only with their antisemitic coreligionists but more fundamentally with the texts that provide cover—and cultural authority—to antisemites across a diverse range of social settings and religious communities.

With this challenge and this obligation in mind, we refer readers to the Catalogue of Policies published in conjunction with this volume. As Pirkei Avot, the classical Jewish *Ethics of the Fathers*, remarks in the name of Rabbi Tarfon, “Yours is not to complete the task, but neither are you free to refrain from it.” (Pirkei Avot 2.16.)

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Esther Webman

Redeeming Humanity from the Evil of the Jews: Islamist Rationalization of Antisemitism

In his book *A World Without Jews: The Nazi Imagination from Persecution to Genocide*, historian Alon Confino places the imagination of a world without Jews at the center of the history of the Holocaust, and he argues that the Nazis interpreted anew the past of Jewish, German, and Christian relations to fit their vision of creating a new world.¹

Jews were responsible for bolshevism, communism, Marxism, socialism, liberalism, capitalism, conservatism, pacifism, cosmopolitanism, materialism, and democracy; for Germany's defeat in the First World War [...] for the Weimer's culture of entertainment [...] as well as for sexual freedom, psychoanalysis, feminism, homosexuality, and abortion.²

Confino's analysis provides the reading of Arab and particularly Islamist antisemitism with a new perspective. Imagining a world without Jews, re-interpreting past Muslim-Jewish relations and raising similar accusations against the Jews, are also major themes of Islamist imagination. In 1992, a book with same title —*'Alam bila yahud*—was published in Cairo. The author, Egyptian intellectual 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Hufni, adopted the title from the English translation of Marx's *On the Jewish Question* published by Jewish philosopher Dagobert Runes. Quoting western sources like Marx, Sartre, Freud, and others, he embarked on an attempt to show that all the problems of the world, from the dawn of humanity through ancient Christianity, from the Middle Ages to the present were caused by one group—the Jews, pushing peoples to fight them and kill them.³ The logical conclusion was clear: a world without Jews will be a better place.

Twenty-five years later, a Jordanian writer, Jamal Shawaheen, warned in the Islamist Jordanian daily newspaper *al-Sabil*:

The elimination of the Jewish Israeli entity will therefore remain on the Arab agenda generation after generation [...] and even if today [we] are in an unfortunate state of submis-

1 A. Confino, *A World Without Jews: The Nazi Imagination from Persecution to Genocide* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 11.

2 *Ibid.*, 31.

3 'Abd al-M. al-Hufni, *A World Without Jews* [in Arabic] (Cairo: Dar al-Rashad, 1992).

siveness, this will not forever be the case [...]. It can be said that, of all the peoples of the world, only the Jews lack any [common] features that make them into a people, except for their religion, and throughout history this has never been sufficient to make them into a kind of nation. They have always been, and still are, nothing but concentrations of greedy crooks. Even if wars will not defeat them today, history indicates that a million Hitlers from all over the world will [appear and] eliminate them and get rid of them forever. This will not be long in coming, because they are the problem of the whole world and not just the Arabs.⁴

In the same vein, an Egyptian MP Nashwa Al-Dib asserted in a TV discussion that the Israelis will be gone like the Crusaders who were in Palestine for two hundred years. “Israel is destined to perdition,” she declared. But although she referred only to Israel, she apparently meant the Jews, when she wondered: “We are 300 million Arabs. Can’t we handle 15 million Jews?”⁵ Imam Ahmad al-Rawashdeh explained in a Friday sermon in Jordan that as long as the Jews are dispersed all over the land, it is impossible to annihilate them, but Allah will gather them in one place, “so that they could be dealt a mortal blow.” As we see today, he continued, “after the declaration of the Jewish state [...] the Jews began to flock to Palestine [...] to meet their end, Allah willing, because they constitute an epidemic.”⁶

These kinds of statements are abundant in the Arab antisemitic discourse, especially in times of crisis. Islamist discourse relentlessly discusses past Jewish-Muslim relations to prove the Jews’ inherent vices, projecting the past on today’s Jews—their character and way of thinking, and predicting their inevitable demise.

In adopting Confino’s approach, it is not the intention of this essay to compare or equate Islamism and Nazism. There are scholars, such as the late historian Robert Wistrich, who engaged in such comparisons, defining Islamists as “the heirs of communism and Nazism,” and claiming that they “inexorably transformed themselves into the revolutionary avant-garde of antisemitism in

4 J. Shawaheen, “The Jewish Entity [Is] the Problem of the Whole World,” *al-Sabil*, March 18, 2017; “Jordanian Columnist in Muslim Brotherhood Daily: A Million Hitlers from all over the World Will Appear and Eliminate The Jews,” *Memri, Special Dispatch* no. 6890, April 23, 2017, <https://www.memri.org/reports/jordanian-columnist-al-shawaheen-two-antisemitic-articles>.

5 “Egyptian MP Nashwa Al-Dib: Abolish the ‘Shameful’ Peace Accords,” *Memri*, Clip no. 6408, January 3, 2018, <https://www.memri.org/tv/egyptian-mp-nashwa-dib-abolish-shameful-egypt-israel-peace-accords/transcript>.

6 “Imam Al-Rawashdeh in Jordan Friday Sermon Says Allah Gathered the Jews in Palestine so They Could Be Annihilated,” *Memri, Special Dispatch* no. 7346, February 21, 2018, <https://www.memri.org/reports/imam-al-rawashdeh-jordan-friday-sermon-says-allah-gathered-jews-palestine-so-they-could-be>.

the twenty-first century.”⁷ Others defined Islamism as Islamo-fascism, rooted in Nazi ideology.⁸ This contested topic preoccupied and continues to preoccupy scholars of the Middle East and antisemitism,⁹ but this is beyond the scope of this paper.

This paper is divided into three parts. The first part is a brief introduction of the Islamist vision and the place of the Jews in it. The second part outlines two parallel debates over the roots of Arab-Muslim antisemitism and of Islamist movements which preoccupy scholars of antisemitism and Islamism, and the third part concludes by throwing light on the increasing critical Arab and Muslim voices, condemning antisemitism and prevalent conspiratorial thinking in Arab and Muslim societies, and examines whether those voices could provide clues for ways of combating antisemitism.

I contend that Islamism is an apocalyptic ideology which seeks to redeem the world from the ills of all *isms*—modernism, nationalism, capitalism, imperialism, socialism, communism, and the Jews. It reinforces Islam’s dichotomous worldview of good and evil, believers and non-believers, the House of Islam and the House of war, which can be reconciled only with the ultimate victory of Islam. The Jews play a crucial role in this worldview. They are perceived as the spearhead of all those ills and of the enmity to Muslims and Islam, suggesting justification of genocidal measures against them to free humanity from their evil.

Islamism—Historical Account

The origins of modern day Islamism may be traced to nineteenth-century reformist Islamic movements in the Arab world and South Asia that aimed to revive Islam as a political and social force, in response to the apparent decay of Muslim societies, to the occupation of western powers and to the penetration of western secular values in Muslim culture. Believing that Muslims went astray and hence

⁷ R. S. Wistrich, “Anti-Zionist Connections: Communism, Radical Islam, and the Left,” in *Resurgent Antisemitism: Global Perspectives*, ed. A. H. Rosenfeld (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2013), 419.

⁸ M. Küntzel, *Jihad and Jew-Hatred: Islamism, Nazism and the Roots of 9/11* (New York: Telos, 2007).

⁹ For the discussion of this topic see for example S. Wild, “Islamofascism?: Introduction,” *Die Welt des Islams: International Journal for the Study of Modern Islam* 52, no. 3–4 (2012): 225–41; F. R. Nicosia and B. A. Ergene, eds., *Nazism, The Holocaust, And The Middle East: Arab and Turkish Responses* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2018), 1–22.

lost their superiority, Islamic reformism since its early stages was divided into two clear trends: one that called for a gradual change and return to the pure values of early Islam, through adopting knowledge, science, and rational reinterpretation of Shari‘a laws to adjust to modernity and to the new emerging circumstances. Another one discerned the same predicaments but rejected any attempt to compromise a strict literalist interpretation of Islam, embraced ideological puritanism, pan-Islamic unity and the implementation of Shari‘a, and encouraged the use of force against any deviation of what is conceived as the right path, fusing politics, religion, and violence.¹⁰ The most outspoken thinkers of the first approach were Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, Muhammad ‘Abduh and Rahnema Rida,¹¹ whereas the other trend was typical of revivalist movements such as Wahhabism in the Arabian Peninsula.¹²

Jeffrey Bale explained that

Islamism can be defined as a radically anti-secular and anti-“infidel” Islamic political ideology, based upon an exceptionally intolerant and puritanical interpretation of Islamic scriptures and Islamic law, which has both revolutionary and revivalist features. It can be described as revolutionary because, in order for Islamists to achieve their stated objectives, the existing international world order would have to be fundamentally transformed if not overturned, either wholly or in part. It can be characterised as revivalist because the Islamist goal is to restore the pure, pristine Islamic community that supposedly existed at the time of Muhammad and his companions (*sahaba*), as well as the first two generations of their successors [...].¹³

Islamists developed what American intellectual Mark Lilla calls nostalgia for a glorious past, and they seek to re-establish it. “Once that is accomplished, the glorious age of the Prophet and his companions will return for good.”¹⁴

10 R. L. Nettle, *Past Trials and Present Tribulations: A Muslim Fundamentalist’s View of the Jews* (Jerusalem: Pergamon, 1987), 14–19.

11 M. Kerr, *Islamic Reform: The Political and Legal Theories of Muhammad ‘Abduh and Rashid Rida* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966); A. Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age 1798–1939* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 103–60, 222–44; N. Safran, *Egypt in Search of Political Community* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), 75–84; N. A. Ayubi, *Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Arab World* (London: Routledge, 1991); J. G. Jansen, *The Dual Nature of Islamic Fundamentalism* (London: Hurst, 1997).

12 D. Commins, *The Wahhabi Mission and Saudi Arabia* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2016); S. R. Valentine, *Force and Fanaticism: Wahhabism in Saudi Arabia and Beyond* (London: Hurst, 2015).

13 J. M. Bale, “Islamism and Totalitarianism,” *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 10, no. 2 (June 2009): 79.

14 M. Lilla, *The Shipwrecked Mind* (New York: The New York Review of Books, 2016), 142.

One of Islamism's most prominent ideologues was Egyptian thinker Sayyid Qutb. He was a literary critic in the 1940s, who became a member of the Muslim Brotherhood, broke away from them, spent many years in prison during the 1950s and 1960s, and eventually was hung by president Gamal 'Abd al-Nasir in 1966. While in prison, he wrote his most important books which later became the cornerstone of Jihadist thought. Qutb spent nearly two years from 1948 in the US and he wrote his impressions in a three-part essay "The America I have seen" in the literary weekly *al-Risala*. He admired America's scientific and intellectual achievements and acknowledged its major role in the world, but he condemned what he called its shallowness, racism, and moral bankruptcy.¹⁵ "America's virtues are the virtues of production and organization, and not those of human and social leadership," he concluded.¹⁶

Qutb rejected what he perceived to be "the apologetics of Modernist Islam," whose proponents (such as Muhammad 'Abduh) accepted western standards as the ultimate gauges, and "endeavored to salvage whatever they could from the ruins by arguing that many elements of Islam are compatible with modernity."¹⁷ In his quest for authenticity, he compared the state of affairs in Muslim societies to the age of ignorance before the arrival of the Prophet—the *jahiliyya*. In his view, adopted by Islamists, "secularism, individualism, materialism, moral indifference, tyranny—have now combined to bring about a new *jahiliyya* that every faithful Muslim must struggle against, just as the Prophet did at the dawn of the seventh century."¹⁸ His prescription to the future was "to go back to the Quran and to the manner in which it was understood and practiced by the Prophet and the first generation of Muslims (*al-salaf al-salih*). This meant total rejection of all man-made political, economic, legal and educational models practiced in all Muslim nations."¹⁹ Qutb saw in all those models, a hidden deception and distraction engineered by the "enemies of Believers" and Christendom. Hence, they must be removed even by force, and be ultimately replaced by Allah's sovereignty (*hakimiyyat Allah*) over the entire planet by conducting missionary activity

15 S. Qutb, "The America I Have Seen," *Al-Risala*, November 5, 1951, 1245–47; *Al-Risala*, November 19, 1951, 1301–6; *Al-Risala*, December 3, 1951, 1357–60. On his trip to America see J. Calvert, *Sayyid Qutb and the Origins of Radical Islamism* (London: Hurst, 2010), 139–55.

16 Qutb, "The America I Have Seen," 1360; A. Ali, "From Islamophobia to Westophobia: The Long Road to Radical Islamism," *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs* 3, no. 1 (2016): 9.

17 E. Sivan, *Radical Islam, Medieval Theology and Modern Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 67.

18 Lilla, *The Shipwrecked Mind*, 141.

19 Ali, "From Islamophobia to Westophobia," 9.

(*da'wa*) and/or waging armed struggle (*jihad*) against “hypocrites,” “apostates,” “tyrants,” “polytheists,” and “unbelievers.”²⁰

The militant Islamist movements that emerged in the 1980s and 1990s, and adopted Qutb’s worldview, went even further “in casting aspersions on the fidelity of rulers and, in some cases, of general Muslim populations to Islam. Although Qutb condemned the general culture of the age as ‘ignorant’, he avoided branding individuals *kuffar* (‘unbelievers’).”²¹ The ultra-radical manifestation of Islamism in the twenty-first century explains scholar Ameer Ali,

signals the recognition of the failure of that ideological alternative and represents an uncompromising determination by a new generation of Muslims to redesign Islamism and to bring Islam as a “master signifier” back to the center stage of politics, economics, society and culture. This twenty-first century Islamism, an amorphous entity splintered by objectivity and subjective elements but united in methodology of unmitigated violence, was born out of the impotence of a Muslim leadership that abysmally failed to repair injustices and humiliation inflicted upon the *umma* by yesterday’s colonizers and today’s imperialists.²²

Hence the Muslim Caliphate, which organizations such as al-Qa’ida and the Islamic State seek to reestablish, “is not only a hopeless attempt to resurrect a dead institution, but on the contrary [...] is ‘a metaphor’ for the struggles between Muslim aspirations to reorder the post-colonial world.”²³

Where are the Jews in this Worldview?

The Jews did not preoccupy the Islamic reformists at the end of the nineteenth century, but they could not ignore them in their attempts to define the place of non-Muslims in their Islamo-national vision and especially in view of the emerging conflict between the Arabs and the Jewish-Zionist settlers in Mandatory Palestine. Islamic modernist Rashid Rida, for example, praised the solidarity among Jews, their determination to help each other and raise money for collective goals at the beginning of the twentieth century.²⁴ However, by 1934, he developed a

²⁰ On Sayyid Qutb’s worldview see Calvert, *Sayyid Qutb and the Origins of Radical Islamism*.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 15.

²² Ali, “From Islamophobia to Westophobia,” 12.

²³ *Ibid.*, 15.

²⁴ See for example, R. Rida, “The Jews in France and in Egypt,” *al-Manar* 1, no. 2 (1898): 35–55; R. Rida, “The Life of a Nation After Its Death,” *al-Manar* 4, no. 21 (1902): 801–9. S. G. Haim, “Arabic Antisemitic Literature. Some Preliminary Notes,” *Jewish Social Studies* 17, no. 4 (October 1995): 309–10; S. Haim, “The Palestine Problem in al-Manar,” in *Egypt and Palestine*:

strong antipathy to Zionism which verged on antisemitism, and adopted the spirit and the letter of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* without explicitly mentioning them, due to the conflict in Palestine.²⁵ Influenced by the reformist movement, the Muslim Brotherhood movement, which was founded in 1928 by Hasan al-Banna, and its radicalized offshoots since the 1970s placed Palestine at the core of its Islamist ideology.²⁶ However, up until the 1967 War, they exposed “a sort of disdainful disregard for Jews and Israel.”²⁷ The Arab defeat in the 1967 War was interpreted by the Islamists as the defeat of the nationalist project and caused a split in the rank and file of the Muslim Brotherhood, which coincided with Qutb’s new ideas, and with a generational gap that led to the formation of radical Jihadist movements. Again, it was Sayyid Qutb who contributed to the ideological rationalization of the hatred of the Jews. He allotted them a special role as the ultimate enemies of Islam and Muslims since early Islam, and considered the conflict in Palestine a pivot war in the “struggle between the resurgent East and the barbaric West, between God’s law for mankind and the law of the Jungle.”²⁸ However, he prioritized Islamism’s principal goals as toppling existing heretic Arab rulers, establishing an Islamic order, and then dealing with Israel.

The Jews were perceived by him and by the radical movements that adopted his vision not only as the epitome of evil from time immemorial but also as the symbol of the modern world, who spread atheism, instigated revolutions, and invented corrupted ideologies:

One single line inexorably connects the battles and the fighting of the Prophet against the Arab idolaters and Jews of 7th century Arabia, the crusades of later medieval times, modern Western colonialism, and the current day conflict between Zionism and the Arab-Islamic

A Millennium of Association (868–1948), ed. A. Cohen and G. Baer (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1984), 300–305.

25 R. Rida, “A Lecture at The Association of Muslim Youth,” *al-Manar* 34 (1934): 208. See also Haim, “Arabic Antisemitic Literature,” 307–12; Haim, “The Palestine Problem in al-Manar,” 299–313; Jansen, *The Dual Nature of Islamic Fundamentalism*, 120–21.

26 On the Muslim Brotherhood, see R. P. Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Abd al-F. M. al-Uwaisi, *The Muslim Brothers and the Palestine Question 1928–1947* (London: Taurus Academic Studies, 1998); Jansen, *The Dual Nature of Islamic Fundamentalism*, 123–37.

27 E. Sivan, “Islamic Fundamentalism, Antisemitism and Anti-Zionism,” in *Anti-Zionism and Antisemitism in the Contemporary World*, ed. R. S. Wistrich (London: Macmillan, 1990), 76; E. Sivan, “A Resurgence of Arab Antisemitism?,” in *Survey of Jewish Affairs*, 1988, ed. W. Frankel (London: Associated University Presses, 1989), 87.

28 S. Qutb, “The American Conscience...and the Palestinian Case,” *al-Risala*, no. 697 (October 21, 1946): 1156, as quoted in Calvert, *Sayyid Qutb and the Origins of Radical Islamism*, 120.

world. In fact, both sides do not have any choice but to participate in this inevitable and eternal struggle between good and evil.²⁹

Qutb, according to Bassam Tibi, “reads the European Antisemitism into Islamic history to give it through selective religious arguments an Islamic authentic shape.”³⁰

Qutb’s famous essay *Our Struggle with the Jews* (*ma‘rakatuna ma‘a al-yahud*) “is a rounded and concentrated expression of his thoughts on the Jews.”³¹ Written and probably published first in the early 1950s and reprinted in 1970 by the Saudi Arabian government, it reflected his deep enmity toward the Jews as the embodiment of all things anti-Islamic. “The Muslim Community continues to suffer from the same Jewish machinations and double-dealings which discomfited the Early Muslims,”³² he clarified in his opening sentence. Nettler identifies three perspectives in Qutb’s discussion on the Jewish question:

(1) the Jewish goal of Islam’s destruction: Islam past trials and present tribulations with the Jews. (2) The true nature of the Jews. (3) The real balance of power and the solution. Or, despite the Jews’ evil intent toward Islam they would be unable to withstand the will of the Muslim Community—if the Muslims would only be real Muslims.³³

In Qutb’s view, the “Jewish campaign against Islam was being conducted from two sides, the physical and the spiritual. The former was a bodily and material struggle against Islam’s society, polity and civilization. The latter was an attack on Islam’s system of belief.”³⁴ “Perhaps the most critical point of Qutb’s diagnosis of the Jewish threat was that they had infiltrated Muslim society.”³⁵ They carry Muslim names, but actually they are Jews in disguise who fulfill the ancient role of the Jews as the Muslims’ worst enemy: they conspire against

29 M. Ebstein, *In the Shadows of the Koran: Said Qutb’s Views on Jews and Christians as Reflected in his Koran Commentary* (Washington: Hudson Institute, 2009), 13.

30 B. Tibi, “From Sayyid Qutb to Hamas: The Middle East Conflict and the Islamization of Antisemitism,” in *Global Antisemitism: A Crisis of Modernity* IV, ed. C. A. Small (New York: ISGAP, 2013), 12.

31 Nettler, *Past Trials and Present Tribulations*, v. Nettler’s book provides a full translation of Qutb’s essay, 72–89. S. Qutb, *Our Struggle with the Jews* [in Arabic] (Cairo: Dar al-Shuruq, 2001).

32 Nettler, *Past Trials and Present Tribulations*, 72.

33 *Ibid.*, 30.

34 *Ibid.*, 34.

35 J. T. Kenney, “Enemies Near and Far: The Image of the Jews in Islamist Discourse in Egypt,” *Religion* 24, no. 3 (1994): 256.

Islam from within to sow doubt and suspicion about it in the Muslim community.³⁶

The Jews also harbor hatred for others, “and they just wait for humanity to meet with disaster [...]. All of this evil arises only from their destructive egotism.”³⁷ For example, they were behind the doctrine of atheistic materialism; the doctrine of animalistic sexuality; the destruction of the family and the shattering of sacred relationship in society.³⁸ For their evil-doing, Allah punished them and brought upon them humiliation and expulsion more than once, explained Qutb. Hitler was his last servant, but they returned to evil-doing in the form of Israel, and they will be meeting their punishment again.³⁹ Although Qutb did not explicitly call for the annihilation of the Jews, as later Islamists did, they were perceived as a threat not only to Islam and the Muslims but also to Christianity and to all of humanity. Therefore, as David Patterson contends, “they fall outside the possibility of conversion and redemption.”⁴⁰

The stigmatization of the Jews as “essentially evil” and the division of the world between good and evil, which characterize Islamist ideology, are also typical to any Manichean worldview. “For Manicheans, the demonic enemy personifies whatever is most reviled [...] That can be a ‘soft’ government, a protest movement, unruly legislature, the press, the intelligentsia, ‘permissiveness.’” The Satanic Jew of antisemitic fantasy is often a kind of composite stereotype of all these forces,⁴¹ and “serve as an explanatory master key”⁴² for all disasters.⁴³

It should be stressed, however, that although Muslims have always viewed Islam as a superior religion, superseding Judaism, they did not consider Jews as heretics which required eradication as long as they did not challenge Islamic rule. By insisting on maintaining the State of Israel and by rejecting the Islamist

36 Nettler, *Past Trials and Present Tribulations*, 76–7; Qutb, *Our Struggle with the Jews*, 26; Calvert, *Sayyid Qutb and the Origins of Radical Islamism*, 168.

37 Nettler, *Past Trials and Present Tribulations*, 79. Qutb, *Our Struggle with the Jews*, 29.

38 Nettler, *Past Trials and Present Tribulations*, 83; Qutb, *Our Struggle with the Jews*, 34.

39 Nettler, *Past Trials and Present Tribulations*, 86–7; Qutb, *Our Struggle with the Jews*, 37.

40 D. Paterson, “The Muslim Brotherhood and the Evolution of Jihadist Antisemitism,” *ISGAP Flashpoint* 50, January 17, 2018, <https://isgap.org/flashpoint/the-muslim-brotherhood-and-the-evolution-of-jihadist-antisemitism/>.

41 D. N. Smith, “The Social Construction of Enemies: Jews and the Representation of Evil,” *Sociological Theory* 14, no. 3 (November 1996): 233.

42 *Ibid.*, 234.

43 E. Karsh, “The Long Trail of Islamic Antisemitism,” in *Islamic Attitudes to Israel*, ed. E. Karsh and P. R. Kumaraswamy (Milton Park: Routledge, 2008), 3.

peace offer to live as a protected minority under Islamic rule, the Jews have forfeited their right to exist.⁴⁴

The radicalization of Islamist groups in Egypt, who adopted Qutb's Muslim-centered and violent vision in the 1970s and 1980s, also entailed the adoption of his view of the Jews. However, "they ceased, or at least significantly lowered the level, of anti-Jewish rhetoric."⁴⁵ The struggle against the Jews and Zionism was postponed to a later stage, after the accomplishment of their goals in changing Muslim societies. Jihad against "the Crusaders and the Jews" was also a major theme in the ideology of global Jihadist movements, such as al-Qa'ida and its offspring ISIS, and constitutes a crucial stage in a long campaign for the restoration of the Muslim Caliphate and the establishment of an Islamic world order. The Jews, in their perception as well, are not only the occupiers of Muslim lands in Palestine but are part of the western Judeo-Christian civilization, which constitutes a threat to Islamic civilization and Islamic revival.

In his "Declaration of the World Islamic Front for Jihad against the Jews and the Crusaders" of February 23, 1998, Osama bin Laden deemed jihad as "an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it,"⁴⁶ similar to Hamas in their Charter.⁴⁷ On the eve of the Iraq War, bin Laden described the Jews in a broadcast on February 11, 2003, as the same ones that had lied and tried to trick the Creator, killed the Prophets, and had broken their promises. The Jews were the lords of usury and leaders of treachery, who believed that humans were their slaves. In conclusion, he repeated the oft-quoted saying (*hadith*) about Judgment Day, whereby Jews would hide behind rocks and trees, which would call on the Muslims to come and kill them. This *hadith*, he stressed, indicated that the battle would be face-to-face and that the Muslims would emerge victorious in their jihad against the Crusaders and the Jews.⁴⁸

Although seen also as the spearhead of the West in the war against Islam, the Jews and the issue of the Arab-Israeli conflict were not al-Qa'ida's nor ISIS's first priority. Whereas al-Qa'ida was more concerned with the American

⁴⁴ M. Maqdsi, "Charter of The Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) of Palestine," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 22, no. 4 (Summer, 1993): 122–34, articles 13, 9, and 7.

⁴⁵ Kenney, "Enemies Near and Far," 260.

⁴⁶ *Al-Quds al-'Arabi*, February 23, 1998; *al-Hayat*, February 24, 1998. See also B. Lewis, "License to Kill," *Foreign Affairs* 77, no. 6 (November-December 1998): 9–14; E. Webman, "The Polarization and Radicalization of Political Islam," in *Middle East Contemporary Survey*, XXII: 1998, ed. B. Maddy-Weitzman (Boulder: Westview, 2001), 129–31.

⁴⁷ Maqdsi, "Charter of The Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) of Palestine."

⁴⁸ *Al-Quds al-'Arabi*, February 21, 2003; "Bin Laden's Sermon for the Feast of the Sacrifice," *Memri*, Special dispatch 476, March 6, 2003, <https://www.memri.org/reports/bin-ladens-sermon-feast-sacrifice>.

presence in Saudi Arabia and Iraq, ISIS sought to reshape the geographic boundaries of the Middle East, establish its version of Shari'a rule, and unite the Muslim world before it turns its guns against the United States, Europe, and Palestine. ISIS believed that it must first weed out apostates and "fake" Muslims, a definition that covers anyone standing against them. As a result, ISIS was accused by its opponents of being Mossad agents and Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi was accused of being a Jew.⁴⁹ However, Jewish communities in the West were a legitimate target of Jihadists since the early 1990s. In the wake of its territorial retreat since 2014, ISIS is redefining its priorities and its strategic goals, meanwhile encouraging its Muslim followers and sympathizers to act where they live—a strategy that al-Qa'ida pursued before it.⁵⁰

Debates on Islamism and Antisemitism

What are the roots of the radical, violent Islamist vision and its attitudes towards the Jews? There seem to be two separate parallel debates on these issues—one, on the roots of Islamist ideology and violence, and the other on the roots of antisemitism in Arab and Muslim societies in general and in the Islamist worldview in particular. But these debates have some common characteristics, and they are entangled with each other. They both seek the roots to better understand the phenomena they discuss, and they are driven by the urge to find ways to combat them, which make them at times susceptible to bias and misinterpretation.

The first wave of debates on Islamism or political Islam, as it was referred to, took place since the mid-1980s in the wake of the emergence of Islamic regimes and radical Islamic movements in the Middle East and North Africa. It evolved around questions such as:

49 "Syrian Minister of Culture Issam Khalil: Jehovah and ISIS Use the Same Terrorist Methods," *Memri*, Clip no. 4546, October 3, 2014, http://www.memritv.org/clip_transcript/en/4546.htm; "Veterans Today: Da'ish Leader is Jewish and a Mossad Agent," *Iranian Student's News Agency*, September 10, 2014, <http://www.isna.ir/fa/news/93051607502/>; "Daish: Allah Did Not Order Us to Fight Israel," *al-Masri al-Yawm*, July 9, 2014, <http://www.almasryalyoum.com/news/details/479626>; "Claims That ISIS Has Jewish Roots Grow In Muslim World," *Anti-Defamation League*, August 26, 2015, <http://blog.adl.org/intentional/claims-that-isis-has-jewish-roots-grow-in-muslim-world>.

50 E. Webman, "Al-Qa'ida and the 'Arab Spring': Redefining Its Modus-Operandi," *Tel Aviv Notes* 6, no. 23, December 10, 2012, <https://dayan.org/content/tel-aviv-notes-al-qaida-and-arab-spring-redefining-its-modus-operandi>; D. Porat, ed., *Antisemitism Worldwide, General Analysis 2015* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, Kantor Center 2016), 32–36, 59, <http://kantorcenter.tau.ac.il/sites/default/files/Doch2015-%20%28160117%29.pdf>.

Is Islamism driven by religious fervor, social protest, or nationalist xenophobia? Is the rise of Islamism a threat to stability, tolerance, and order? Or, is it the first step towards reform, participation, and democratization? Does repression of Islamist radicalize them or tame them? Are Islamists in power guided by their ideals or their interests? Should the governments in the West base their policy on human rights or *realpolitik*? Does Islamism have the momentum to remake the future, or is it a rearguard action that is already failing?⁵¹

These were some of the questions that had been raised, as Martin Kramer thoroughly defined.

The second wave of debates on Islamism and terrorism was the result of the rise of global-Jihadist movements at the turn of the twentieth century, which reached its peak with the declaration of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) in 2012 and the collapse of law and order in several Middle Eastern states in the wake of the so-called “Arab Spring.”⁵² It dealt with similar questions, but due to the pervasive violence and the growing Muslim presence in the West, this wave of debates focused more on the roots and uniqueness of Islamism and violence, introducing a wide range of interpretations. Some saw them as an exclusive Islamic phenomenon, whose roots are purely Islamic and sectarian,⁵³ while others considered them as part of global radical and violent social movements in reaction to identity crises, the crisis of enlightenment and globalization processes, in which Islam is only one component, if at all. Even ISIS’s violence was presented as an additional link in the barbaric violence and genocides of the twentieth century, including the Holocaust.⁵⁴ Mehdi Hasan even insisted that

to claim that ISIS is Islamic is egregiously inaccurate and empirically unsustainable, not to mention insulting to the 1.6 billion non-violent adherents of Islam across the planet. Above

51 M. Kramer, ed., *The Islamism Debate* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1997), 7.

52 See for example, A. Bayat, “Islamism and Empire: The Incongruous Nature of Islamist Anti-Imperialism,” *Socialist Register* 44 (2008): 38–54.

53 See for example, S. Moubayed, *Under the Black Flag: At the Frontier of the New Jihad* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2015); G. Wood, “What ISIS Really Wants,” *Atlantic*, March 2015, <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/03/what-isis-really-wants/384980/>; S. Mabon and S. A. Royle, *The Origins of ISIS: The Collapse of Nations and Revolution in the Middle East* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2017).

54 See for example, P. Rogers, *Irregular War: ISIS and the New Threat from the Margins* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2016); B. H. Fishman, *The Master Plan: ISIS, al-Qaeda, and the Jihadi Strategy for Final Victory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016); M.W. S. Ryan, *Decoding Al-Qaeda’s Strategy: The Deep Battle Against America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017); F. Devji and J. B. Mohaghegh, “Point of No Return: Extremism, Sectarian Violence, and the Militant Subject,” *JSCITW Interlocutors Series, SCTIW Review* (September 3, 2014).

all else, it is dangerous and self-defeating, as it provides Baghdadi and his minions with the propaganda prize and recruiting tool that they most crave.⁵⁵

French social scientist Olivier Roy parallels Jihadists to the radical Left in Europe in the 1960s and 1970s. The two movements, he claims, derive from the same social swamp of alienated restless youth. Although the Jihadist-Salafists believe that they represent Islamic tradition, their violence “has more to do with a Western tradition of individual and pessimistic revolt for an elusive ideal world than with the Koranic conception of martyrdom,” he concludes.⁵⁶

In his book *The Shipwrecked Mind*, Lilla agrees that “there is little that is uniquely Muslim in the myth of an imagined glorious past, but claims that political Islamists, resemble European nationalists, and the American right in ‘their ideological tale’.”⁵⁷ “Even its success in mobilizing the faithful and inspiring acts of extraordinary violence has precedents in the Crusades and in the Nazi efforts to return to Rome by way of Walhalla,” he concludes.⁵⁸ Political nostalgia is the force “that shaped the imaginations of all the political thinkers and ideological movements in the twentieth century,”⁵⁹ and that inspires “dreams of a modern caliphate with global ambitions” in Islamist imagination.⁶⁰

Muslim and Arab scholars, such as Faisal Devji and Mohammed Ayoob, also place al-Qa’ida and ISIS on a spectrum of global, radical, and violent social movements, as a reaction to identity crises beyond the crisis in the Middle East and the Muslim World.⁶¹ Bader al-Ibrahim and Sami Zubaida acknowledge the role of Islamic doctrines in the Islamist ideology but attribute no less importance to external factors—leftist and nationalist perceptions, such as anti-impe-

55 M. Hasan, “How Islamic Is the Islamic State? Not at all. What the Atlantic Got Wrong about ISIS,” *The New Republic*, March 13, 2015, <https://newrepublic.com/article/121286/how-islamic-islamic-state>.

56 O. Roy, *Globalised Islam: The Search for a New Ummah* (London: Hurst, 2004), 43. M. Rodenbeck, “The Truth About Jihad,” *The New York Times Review of Books*, August 11, 2005, <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2005/08/11/the-truth-about-jihad/>. O. Roy, “Who Are the New Jihadis?,” *The Guardian*, April 13, 2017.

57 Lilla, *The Shipwrecked Mind*, xiii.

58 *Ibid.*, 142.

59 *Ibid.*, xvi.

60 *Ibid.*, xx.

61 M. Ayoob, “Challenging Hegemony: Political Islam and the North-South Divide,” *International Studies Review* 9 (2007): 629–43; F. Devji, “Al-Qaeda, Spectre of Globalisation,” *Soundings, A Journal of Politics and Culture* 32 (Spring 2006): 18–27.

rialism, Israeli occupation, western hegemony, liberal economy, and globalization, which drive anarchistic movements and populist rhetoric.⁶²

However, despite the resemblance between Islamist-Jihadist movements and various shades of western radical movements, the Islamic background and the particular causes that led to their emergence and the content of Islamist ideology are crucial to any attempt to properly understand and explain the phenomenon of Islamism and global Jihadism. “Islamism, including Jihadism, is inconceivable without reference to Islam.”⁶³ Bale criticizes much of the literature which was published since the 1979 Islamic Revolution, and even more since 9/11, as embodying

problematic conceptual perspectives that can be best characterized as “Islam bashing” [conflating Islam with Islamism], “Islam apologetics” [claiming that Islam is a religion of peace, that all religions are equally prone to produce extremists], or—worst of all—“Islamist apologetics” [dismissing any connection between Islamism and Islam].⁶⁴

Distorted perspectives guided political leaders as well. Historian Jeffrey Herf accuses the leaders in democracies since 9/11 of refraining from stating in public what they knew to be true in private concerning the connections between Islam, Islamism, and terror. They were cautious, he contends, for a variety of reasons,

including not offending Muslims, gaining support from Muslim communities for counterterrorism intelligence operations, avoiding fanning hostility to Muslims in democracies and being accused of Islamophobia. Such a policy was thought to be realistic to avoid the “clash of civilizations” that Islamist terror organizations were trying to foster.⁶⁵

Similarly problematic is ignoring the Jewish component in Islamist ideology among scholars of Islamism who discuss Islamist Westphobia—an extreme antipathy towards the West, without considering the role of the Jews in their perception of Judeo-Christian civilization.⁶⁶

⁶² S. Zubaida, “Trajectories of Political Islam,” *Index of Censorship* 4 (1996): 150–57; B. al-Ibrahim, “ISIS, Wahhabism and Takfir,” *Contemporary Arab Affairs* 8, no. 3 (July–September 2015): 408–15.

⁶³ Bale, “Islamism and Totalitarianism,” 77.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 73.

⁶⁵ J. Herf, “Realism, Islamism, and Counterterrorism,” *The National Interest*, June 7, 2017, <http://www.meforum.org/6755/realism-islamism-and-islam-when-will-difficult>.

⁶⁶ See for example A. Mirsepassi, “Religious Intellectuals and Western Critiques of Secular Modernity,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia and the Middle East* 26, no. 3 (2006): 416–33.

Islamism and Islamist movements are also fervently discussed in Arab public discourse, and it seems in contrast to the trend among western scholars and commentators, which tend to minimize the impact of Islamic culture and religion on the emergence of Islamism, there is a growing awareness among Arab writers that the ideas and goals embedded in Islamism derive from canonical traditional Sunni Islam, and the differences between them are only in methods and style. Khalid al-Hurub, an Arab scholar spoke of “a pleasant ISISm,” represented by al-Azhar, the highest authority of Sunni Islam, versus ISIS’s “barbaric ISISm.”⁶⁷ Those Jihadists, acknowledged another writer, “belong to the same tree—and all of them stem from the Arabs’ civilizational ills. The Islamic State, like al-Qaeda, is the tumorous creation of an ailing body politic.”⁶⁸ Fighting it requires a revolution in Islamic thought and discourse, and a new relationship between religion and modernity. “We are in need of a religious revolution,” declared Egyptian president ‘Abd al-Fattah al-Sisi in a gathering of religious scholars in January 2015.⁶⁹

This insight is permeating into growing audiences in view of ISIS’s conduct and its repercussions in Arab societies. “*Your fatwa does not apply here*” was a call of young Muslims resisting IS and its ilk.⁷⁰ ISIS succeeded in exploiting the existing sectarian, religious, and tribal structure for its own ends, and its ideology threatens not only the shaky Middle Eastern state system but also the religious institutions. Killing Muslims, fanning inter-sectarian conflicts and a rigid subversive ideology converged to create revulsion from Islamism, which is reflected in the Arab public discourse in the press and social media, as well as in official political statements, and even re-interpretation of Islamic jurisprudence.⁷¹

67 *Al-Hayat*, March 15, 2015.

68 H. Melhem, “The Barbarians Within Our Gates,” *Politico Magazine*, September 18, 2014, <https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2014/09/the-barbarians-within-our-gates-111116>.

69 R. Ibrahim, “Egypt’s Sisi: Islamic ‘Thinking’ is Antagonizing the Entire World,” *Middle East Forum*, January 1, 2015, <https://www.meforum.org/articles/2015/egypt-s-sisi-islamic-thinking-is-antagonizing>.

70 See for example, K. Bennoune, *Your Fatwa Does not Apply here: Untold Stories from the Fight against Muslim Fundamentalism* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2013).

71 See for example, W. ‘Abd al-Rahman, “The Mufti of Jordan: The ‘Ulama Should Agree on One Discourse to Fight the Takfiri Thinking,” *al-Sharq al-Awsat*, December 21, 2014; “Al-Azhar: The Islamic State (ISIS) is a Terrorist Organization, but it Must not be Accused of Heresy,” *Memri, Special Dispatch*, no. 5910 (December 21, 2014), <https://www.memri.org/reports/al-azhar-islamic-state-isis-terrorist-organization-it-must-not-be-accused-heresy>; E. Landau-Tasserou, “Delegitimizing ISIS on Islamic Grounds: Criticism of Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi by Muslim Scholars,” *In-*

A parallel debate is going on among scholars of antisemitism on the roots of Arab/Muslim antisemitism. At first glance, it seems that there is no connection between the two debates, but in fact they exhibit similar problematics—lack of a conceptual perspective that can introduce a balanced interpretation of the two phenomena without being accused of “Islam/Muslim-bashing,” “Islam-apologism,” or “Islamist-apologism.” German scholar of Islamic studies Gudrun Krämer, accurately explained that there are few topics more sensitive and controversial than antisemitism in the Muslim world, and researchers in the field “have long hesitated to touch it, be it out of fear to be branded as enemies of Islam, or alternatively, as antisemites.”⁷² At one end of the spectrum are scholars such as Andrew Bostom, an American author and associate professor of medicine at Brown University, who claims that the phenomenon of Muslim Jew-hatred dates back to the origins of Islam and is embedded in Islamic doctrines and history. “When I put together the Koranic verses on the Jews, they read like an indictment, prosecution and conviction [...] antisemitism cannot be explained by cultural influences but is, in fact, inherently Islamic.”⁷³ At the other end is associate professor for Modern Middle Eastern History at Maryland University, Peter Wien, who insists that there is no tradition of antisemitism in Islam and that Europeans brought antisemitism to the Arab World.⁷⁴

This controversy has been extensively discussed by several scholars.⁷⁵ Summarizing the conflicting views in the debate of antisemitism, social psychologist Neil Kressel accurately explained that one side in this debate,

quiry and Analysis, no. 1205 (November 19, 2015), http://www.memri.org/publicdocs/MEMRI_IA_1205_Delegitimizing_ISIS_On_Islamic_Grounds-FINAL.pdf.

72 G. Krämer, “Antisemitism in the Muslim World. A Critical Review,” *Die Welt des Islams*, 46, no. 3 (November 2006): 243.

73 S. Ser, “A Simmering Hatred, Interview with Andrew G. Bostom,” *The Jerusalem Post*, June 20, 2008, <https://www.andrewbostom.org/2008/06/jerusalem-post-interview-with-sam-ser/>. A. G. Bostom, ed., *The Legacy of Islamic Antisemitism: From Sacred Texts to Solemn History* (New York: Prometheus Books, 2008), 33.

74 P. Wien, “There is no Tradition of anti-Semitism in Islam,” *Qantara*, May 23, 2018, <https://en.qantara.de/content/anti-semitism-there-is-no-tradition-of-anti-semitism-in-islam>.

75 See for example N. J. Kressel, “*The Sons of Pigs and Apes*”: *Muslim Antisemitism and the Conspiracy of Silence* (Washington: Potomac Books Inc., 2012), 122–27; C. Heni, *Antisemitism: A Specific Phenomenon: Holocaust Trivialization—Islamism—Post-colonial and Cosmopolitan anti-Zionism* (Berlin: Edition Critic, 2012), 482–500; M. Küntzel, “The Roots of Antisemitism in the Middle East: New Debates,” in *Resurgent Antisemitism: Global Perspectives*, ed. Alvin H. Rosenfeld, (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2013), 382–98; Karsh, “The Long Trail of Islamic Antisemitism”; E. Webman, “Treading in Troubled Waters: Seeking the Roots of Muslim Antisemitism,” *Bustan. The Middle East Book Review* 4, no. 2 (2013): 113–36.

which might be labeled the received wisdom, sees Jew-hatred as essentially alien to Islamic history and culture. Here, experts may acknowledge a variety of negative references to Jews in the Islamic religious literature and occasional antisemitic incidents through the years, but they portray Islamic political and social traditions as fundamentally tolerant, at least when judged by the standards of their day [...]. They see antisemitism mainly as a European import, brought to the Muslim world by manipulative European antisemites and fueled by the Arab-Israeli conflict.⁷⁶

On the other side of the debate,

the challengers of the received wisdom acknowledge that Jews at times fared tolerably well under Muslim rule in some places; however [...] these scholars assign more weight to hostile statements and incidents concerning Jews in the Quran, hadiths, and other religious documents of Islam. Moreover [...] [they] argue that a considerable body of anti-Jewish material, significant anti-Jewish discrimination, and substantial violence preceded the modern Israeli state and Zionism for centuries and sprouted from seeds planted at the very inception of Islam.⁷⁷

There is no definite conclusion to this controversy as well. But, it seems that scholars of Islam and the Middle East agree that “Islamic culture includes natural antipathy directed against Jews [...] that arose from the phenomena associated with the emergence of new religions [...] [and] that antipathy is embedded in the Qur’an, the Hadith, and most forms of traditional literature.”⁷⁸ However, this antipathy was not constantly translated into operational action against the Jews under Muslim rule until modernity, and Muslim aversion toward the Jews “had neither the particular qualities nor the virulence of Christian antipathy toward Jews.”⁷⁹ Reuven Firestone suggests that latent antisemitism becomes activated when life becomes difficult and people’s hopes and dreams are frustrated,

76 Kressel, “The Sons of Pigs and Apes,” 122.

77 *Ibid.*, 123. In addition to the debate on the roots of Arab antisemitism and its relation to the Arab-Israeli conflict, an ongoing debate evolves around the centrality of antisemitism in Islamist ideology, and the impact of Nazism on its development. See for example, M. Küntzel, *Jihad and Jew-Hatred*; J. Herf, *Nazi Propaganda for the Arab World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); E. Webman, “The Challenge of Assessing Arab/Islamic Antisemitism,” *Middle East Studies* 46, no. 5 (September 2010), 677–97.

78 R. Firestone, “Islamophobia and Anti-Semitism: History and Possibility,” *Arches Quarterly* 4, edition 7 (Winter 2010): 49.

79 R. Firestone, “Contextualizing Antiemitism in Islam: Choseness, Choosing, and the Emergence of New Religion,” in *Not Your Father’s Antisemitism: Hatred of the Jews in the 21st Century*, ed. M. Berenbaum (St. Paul: Paragon House, 2008), 137; D. Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism. The Western Tradition* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2013), 177–78. See also B. Lewis, *Semites and Antisemites* (London: Phoenix Giant, 1997), 117–39.

when there is a need to blow off steam or find scapegoats for serious disappointment and aggravation. Then, “ancient slanders are re-discovered, old writings and complaints are renewed and stereotypes images revived. The result is the restoration of an old prejudice in new clothes.”⁸⁰ Jonathan Judaken as well concedes that antisemitic codes “serve as short cut to explain the operational forces of anxiety in people’s lives, when they do not have the language or analytic sophistication to name them properly.”⁸¹

Indeed, the encounter with modernity, and the growing European political and cultural penetration of the Middle East in the nineteenth century, challenged the extant political, social, cultural, and economic order in the region and created a deep sense of crisis in the Muslim world. Coupled with the emergence of Arab nationalism and Zionism, Jewish immigration to Palestine, and the later trauma of Arab defeats, this enhanced the anti-Jewish hostility and led to the entrenchment of antisemitic perceptions. The Arab antisemitic discourse developed a uniqueness and authenticity that differentiates it from western antisemitism. While borrowing themes from it, the sources and motivation of Arab-Muslim antisemitism were indigenous, stemming from religious and nationalist sentiments, thereby producing a unique symbiosis of Islamic anti-Jewish motifs and classical western antisemitic tropes, deriving from Christianity, and from the repository of racist and political antisemitism.

Conclusion—Arabs and Muslims Criticizing Antisemitism and Holocaust Denial

Although Islamists continue to envision a world without Jews, and despite the widespread antipathy toward the Jews and the continued rejection of Zionism and Israel in Arab and Muslim societies, there are increasing Arab and Muslim voices that criticize antisemitism and even look at the Jews and Israel as a model worthy of appreciation and emulation. Criticism of antisemitism is part of a self-critical literature, which bemoans the inability of Arab and Muslim societies to overcome their differences and solve their acute predicaments. It increased in the mid-1990s when it seemed that globalization and normalization of relations with Israel would usher a new era of democratization and liberalization; in response to the rise of global Jihadist movements at the turn of the twenty-first

⁸⁰ Firestone, “Islamophobia and Anti-Semitism,” 45.

⁸¹ J. Judaken, “So What’s New? Rethinking the ‘New Antisemitism’ in a Global Age,” *Patterns of Prejudice* 42, nos. 4–5 (2008): 546.

century; and in the wake of the so-called “Arab Spring” in 2011. The “Arab Spring” and the new nexus between Islamism and terrorism, embodied in ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) exacerbated self-criticism in Arab and Muslim societies, which incorporated criticism of the belief in conspiracy theories and of the antisemitic discourse associated with it.⁸²

“We should reconsider our notions regarding the Jewish question [...] We are not even aware how much this affects us,” admitted Egyptian philosopher Youssef Zeidan in an interview on December 30, 2013.⁸³ “It is impossible to understand what is going on in the Arab countries as long as we continue to write ‘Israel’ in inverted commas. Israel is a fundamental part of the picture [...] Our first and foremost problem is internal, with our heritage,” explained the well-known Syrian poet Adonis in an interview in August 2017.⁸⁴ This realization of the central role of the Jews in the Arab and Muslim attempts to explain the world around them, by a growing number of Arab intellectuals is perhaps the first step toward a fresh thinking about Jews, Israel and Jewish-Muslim relations. Articles rejecting antisemitic generalizations regarding the nature of the Jews based on religious sources as unfit to the present circumstances,⁸⁵ or “antithetical to the teachings of Islam,”⁸⁶ and calling to abandon hatred and hostility towards Jews in Arab cultural and official discourse⁸⁷ became more frequent.

This critical approach toward Arab societies and Arab antisemitism also included criticism of the Arab discourse on the Holocaust, especially its widespread denial.⁸⁸ Visiting Holocaust museums, visiting concentration camps, calling for Holocaust education in Arab schools are all part of this trend, although it

82 See for example, E. Webman, “From the Damascus Blood Libel to the ‘Arab Spring’: The Evolution of Arab Antisemitism,” *Antisemitism Studies* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2017): 157–206.

83 J. Hugi, “Egyptian Intellectuals Call for Fresh Thinking about ‘Jewish Question,’” *al-Monitor*, January 17, 2014, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/ru/originals/2014/01/youssef-zeidan-in-tellectual-egypt-israel-relations.html>.

84 “Syrian Poet Adonis: There Can Be No Democracy in the Arab World under Present Circumstances,” *Memri*, Clip no. 6185, August 11, 2017, <https://www.memri.org/tv/syrian-poet-adonis-no-democracy-in-arab-world-people-undergoing-extinction>.

85 S. al-Qahtani, *al-Jazira*, July 23, 2016; “Articles in Saudi Press: End the Antisemitic Discourse, Learn from the Jews’ Success,” *Memri*, *Special Dispatch*, no. 6574, August 14, 2016, <https://www.memri.org/reports/articles-saudi-press-end-antisemitic-discourse-learn-jews-success-0>.

86 L. Speyer, “Prominent American Islamic Scholar Calls ‘Horrific’ Antisemitism Rampant among Muslims Antithetical to their Religion,” *Algemeiner*, January 3, 2017.

87 Y. Hijazi, *al-Jazira*, July 30, 2016; “Articles in Saudi Press,” *Memri*.

88 For a broader discussion of the new approach see: M. Litvak and E. Webman, *From Empathy to Denial: Arab Reactions to the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2015), 331–38 [in Hebrew]; E. Webman, “Old and New in the Palestinian Holocaust Public Discourse,” *Journal for the Study of Antisemitism* 7, no. 2 (2015): 203–20.

should be noted that simultaneously they still arouse public resentment. In December 2017, for example, a Holocaust exhibition was inaugurated at the Tunisian National Library, but it was greeted with anger and protests.⁸⁹ On the occasion of International Holocaust Memorial Day in January 27, 2018, the secretary general of the Muslim World League in Saudi Arabia, Muhammad bin Abdel-Kareem Al-Issa, condemned Holocaust denial as a “crime that distorts history and an insult to the dignity of those innocent souls who have perished,” in a letter to the US Holocaust Memorial Museum.⁹⁰ In 2017, Menhaz Afridi, an Associate Professor of Religious Studies and director of the Holocaust, Genocide & Interfaith Education Center in Manhattan College published her book *Shoah Through Muslim Eyes*, which is an account of her personal educational journey to learn about Jews, the Shoah, and Judaism, sparked by her desire “to understand ‘the other’.” Fatigued by antisemitism and Islamophobia, Afridi wanted to offer Muslim readers “a different perspective” by deconstructing pervasive misconceptions about the Holocaust and the Jews, and “help to create a dialogue about pain and suffering of the ‘other’.”⁹¹

Another remarkable trend is the renewed interest in the history of the Jews in Arab lands among Arab scholars, writers and documentarians, which already led to joint meetings between Iraqi intellectuals and poets and Israelis and Jews;⁹² conferences such as the one held in Berlin in October 2017 on “the Jews in majority Muslim Countries—History and Prospects;”⁹³ documentaries recreating Jewish life in Egypt and penetrating discussions of the reasons for the demise of the Jewish communities in Arab countries and its detrimental consequences

⁸⁹ “Protesters Smash Holocaust Exhibition at National Library of Tunisia: Holocaust Was a Myth and a Lie,” *Memri*, Clip no. 6349, December 15, 2017, <https://www.memri.org/tv/protesters-smash-holocaust-exhibition-in-tunisia-holocaust-was-myth-and-lie>. See also *Memri*, *Special Dispatch*, no. 7262, January 3, 2018, <https://www.memri.org/reports/protesters-smash-holocaust-exhibition-national-library-tunisia-holocaust-was-myth-and-lie>.

⁹⁰ R. Satloff, “A Historic Holocaust Awareness Awakening in Saudi Arabia, of All Places,” *New York Daily News*, January 26, 2018, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/a-historic-holocaust-awareness-awakening-in-saudi-arabia-of-all-places>; *Al-Sharq al-Awsat*, January 27, 2018, <https://aawsat.com/print/1156256>; M. Sones, “Saudi Cleric: ‘Holocaust Denial a Crime that Distorts History’,” *Israel National News*, January 30, 2018, <https://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/241361>.

⁹¹ M. M. Afridi, *Shoah Through Muslim Eyes* (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2017), 210.
⁹² H. Pedaya, “Baghdad,” *Haaretz*, January 26, 2018.

⁹³ R. Qamari, “The History and Life of the Jews in Arab and Islamic Societies at a Conference in Berlin,” *al-Mughared*, November 13, 2017, <http://almughared.com/arabjews/13112017-17613>.

to Arab societies.⁹⁴ The Iraqi site, Imara wa-Tijara, introduced a four-part article on the penetration of antisemitism in the Middle East,⁹⁵ and posted an Arabic book from the 1920s on the *The Jewish Revival and its Eternal History (al-nahdha al-ʿisraʿīliyya wa-tarikhuha al-khalid)*,⁹⁶ as well as the Arabic translation of *The journey of Rabbi Benjamin Tudela (Rihlat Binyamin)* in the Middle East in the twelfth century. The book was translated in Baghdad in 1945, with an introduction of an Arab historian ‘Abbas al-‘Azzawi.⁹⁷

These trends, which are still in the bud, lead me to believe that spreading knowledge is the most effective tool for fighting prejudice and antisemitism. This approach should include learning about Jewish life in Arab lands, learning about the Holocaust, and holding interfaith dialogues that would facilitate a fresh re-interpretation of religious sources. “This provides the ability to deal with texts that run contrary to what we regard as the fundamental values of our tradition,” as Prince Hassan of Jordan asserted.⁹⁸ Muslims and Jews

have much in common and can benefit from mutual understanding and cooperation, and it will be of benefit for all parties when Muslims and Jews can work together consistently and reliably. But working together requires that both communities take stock of their own prejudice against the other and work to resolve it.⁹⁹

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94 See for example, A. Ramses, “Jews of Egypt,” filmed 2012, video, 1:36:04, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UB1oFW-lrHA>; “Muslims in Egypt Are Trying to Preserve its Jewish Heritage,” *The Economist*, September 9, 2017, <https://www.economist.com/middle-east-and-africa/2017/09/09/muslims-in-egypt-are-trying-to-preserve-its-jewish-heritage>.

95 <http://www.imarawatijara.com/antisemitismmiddleeast/>.

96 http://www.imarawatijara.com/nahdha_israeliya.pdf.

97 <http://02e37fc.netsolhost.com/site/benjamintudela.pdf>.

98 Prince Hassan of Jordan and E. Kessler, “Muslims and Jews Must Combine to Champion Tolerance and Stop the Isil-Inspired Hatred across the Middle East,” *The Telegraph*, August 23, 2016, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/08/23/muslims-and-jews-must-combine-to-champion-tolerance-and-stop-the/>.

99 Firestone, “Islamophobia and Anti-Semitism,” 50.

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Lawrence H. Schiffman

Scrolls, Testament and Talmud: Issues of Antisemitism in the Study of Ancient Judaism

The study of ancient Judaism raises numerous issues regarding antisemitism such as: Greco-Roman antisemitism and early antisemitic (or anti-Judaic) literature,¹ early Jewish-Christian relations,² and antagonism to the Jews in Babylonia.³ These phenomena continue to be studied by numerous scholars. What has been lacking in research is a meta-analysis that seeks to show how antisemitism has affected the study not only of ancient anti-Judaism but of ancient Judaism and Jewish history in Late Antiquity as a whole.

Aspects of this problem include the effects of antisemitism on descriptive terms for Judaism in Antiquity and Late Antiquity; approaches to periodization within the larger ancient historical framework; construal of Jews and Judaism in light of New Testament images and later anti-Jewish material in the Church Fathers; effects of the Reformation and Protestantism on views of the Jews and Judaism; and numerous such topics. More recently, there has been fundamental questioning of the basic geographical and historical facts of ancient Jewish history as a result of modern Middle Eastern issues, to name just a few of the most prominent problems.

Some might wonder why one would consider the field of Judaic Studies at a conference devoted to antisemitism. At first glance, it would appear that Judaic Studies is itself a strong antidote to anti-Jewish/Judaic prejudice. Indeed such a notion lay behind the rise of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, the scientific study of Judaism, as it developed in Germany and elsewhere in the nineteenth century.⁴ Its earliest advocates thought it could be utilized as a strategy for combating

1 Cf. P. Schäfer, *Judeophobia: Attitudes toward the Jews in the Ancient World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 15–210.

2 Cf. P. Frederiksen, *Augustine and the Jews: A Christian Defense of the Jews and Judaism* (New York: Doubleday, 2008), 64–101.

3 Cf. Y. Gafni, *Yehude Bavel bi-Tequfat ha-Talmud* (Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center, 1990), 40–42, 151–52 where Gafni notes that antagonism came from the Mazdaean priests and not from the common people; R. Kalmin, *Jewish Babylonia: Between Persia and Roman Palestine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 121–48.

4 See the thorough review of the literature on the *Wissenschaft* in K. von der Krone and M. Thulin, “*Wissenschaft* in Context: A Research Essay on the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*,” *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 58 (2013): 249–80. M. A. Meyer, “Two Persistent Tensions within Wissen-

the antisemitic views that penetrated society in nineteenth-century Germany.⁵ It was expected that subjecting Judaism and the history of the Jews to academic research and teaching would attain for it respectability in the “enlightened” society of nineteenth-century Western Europe.

Unfortunately, however, Judaic Studies, or some of its research results, have sometimes been harnessed by antisemites. Even worse, under the Nazis⁶ and the Soviet Union⁷ essentially antisemitic forms of Judaic Studies were conducted under government auspices. Such anti-Jewish approaches were especially present in New Testament scholarship when dealing with Jews and Judaism.⁸ Some of the Nazi-supporting Judaic “scholars” actually transformed themselves into Judaica professors in the post-War era. However, we will see that much of the anti-Judaism that is embodied in Judaic Studies comes rather from perceptions of the field stemming from those who work in related disciplines. In the case of the study of Judaism in Antiquity, to which we are giving most of our attention here, we will see that a kind of academic supersessionism, admittedly with a small letter “s,” has resulted from interest in Jews and Judaism in the course of explaining the New Testament and the rise of early Christianity. This, indeed, was the case with the Dead Sea Scrolls.⁹

schaft des Judentums,” *Modern Judaism* 24, no. 2 (2004): 105–19. Its ideology has been discussed in D. N. Myers, “The Ideology of Wissenschaft des Judentums,” in *History of Jewish Philosophy*, ed. D. H. Frank and O. Leaman (London: Routledge, 1997), 706–20.

5 Cf. Ch. Wiese, “‘The Best Antidote to Anti-Semitism’? Wissenschaft des Judentums, Protestant Biblical Scholarship, and Anti-Semitism in Germany before 1933,” in *Modern Judaism and Historical Consciousness: Identities, Encounters, Perspectives*, ed. A. Gotzmann and Ch. Wiese (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 145–92.

6 Cf. A. Gerdmar, *Roots of Theological Anti-Semitism: German Biblical Interpretation and the Jews, from Herder and Semler to Kittel and Bultmann* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 415–576.

7 Cf. G. Estraiikh, “Studies of Jews and Judaism in Post-Stalinist Soviet Union,” lecture for the Panel *Judaism, Jewish Studies and Antisemitism*, Conference “An End to Antisemitism!” University of Vienna, Vienna, February 22, 2018.

8 As an example, see the discussion of the *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* (*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* in its English translation), as discussed by J. S. Vos, “Antijudaismus/Antisemitismus im Theologischen Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament,” *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 35 (1984): 89–110; M. Casey, “‘Some Anti-Semitic Assumptions in the Theological Dictionary of the New Testament,’” *Novum Testamentum* 41, no. 3 (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 Honor of James L. Kugel*, ed. H. Najman and J. H. Newman (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 513–44. See especially S. Heschel, *Transforming Jesus from Jew to Aryan: Protestant Theologians in Nazi Germany* (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1995).

9 Cf. L. H. Schiffman, “Confessionalism and the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Jewish Studies: Forum of the World Union of Jewish Studies* 31 (1991): 3–14.

A related issue is that of periodization and the terms used to describe Judaism in Late Antiquity, Spätjudentums, “late Judaism,” being the worst example.¹⁰ This term bespeaks an assumption that Judaism effectively ceased to be a living organism in Antiquity and ignores the totality of medieval and modern creativity. A second terminological issue pertains to the argument that the term antisemitism should refer only to the racial variety of hatred for Jews that developed in modern times, and that was a major theme in the Holocaust.¹¹ The argument goes that ancient forms of Jew hatred should be called anti-Judaism.¹² Such a term refers not to people but to a conceptual entity, thereby falsely denying that hatred of Jews as people is an ancient phenomenon.¹³ More importantly, use of the term anti-Judaism severs the continuity of hatred of Jews and relieves the ancient historical memory—much of it handed down through the medium of Christianity—of any role in preparing the way for the culmination of anti-Judaism/antisemitism in the Shoah.

In what follows, we will try to flesh out these issues and propose some ways in which the academic field of the study of ancient Judaism can itself help in the fight against antisemitism. This era is uniquely positioned as it occurred during

10 Cf. G. W. E. Nickelsburg, “Anti-Judaism in Christian Theology,” *Religious Studies Review* 4, no. 3 (1978): 161–62; J. D. G. Dunn, “Altering the Default Setting: Re-envisioning the Early Transmission of the Jesus Tradition,” *New Testament Studies* 49, no. 2 (2003): 141.

11 D. Engel, “Away from a Definition of Antisemitism: An Essay in the Semantics of Historical Description,” in *Rethinking European Jewish History*, ed. M. J. Rosman and J. Cohen (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2009), 30–53 argues against the use of this term as a category in Jewish history, claiming that there is no demonstrated unity to anti-Jewish actions over the course of history. See the critique of this distinction by S. Heschel, “Historiography of Antisemitism versus Anti-Judaism: A Response to Robert Morgan,” *Journal of the Study of the New Testament* 33, no. 3 (2011): 257–79; J. Favret-Saada, “A Fuzzy Distinction: Anti-Judaism and Anti-Semitism,” *Hau: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 4, no. 3 (2014): 335–40; and the more popular discussion in E. Wexler, “The Semantics of Anti-Semitism,” *Moment Magazine*, May 12, 2017. <https://www.momentmag.com/semantics-anti-semitism/>. Cf. also D. Engel, “The Concept of Antisemitism in the Historical Scholarship of Amos Funkenstein,” *Jewish Social Studies: New Series* 6, no. 1: *Amos Funkenstein’s Perceptions of Jewish History: An Evaluation of his Work by his Students* (1999): 111–29.

12 This is the view of G. I. Langmuir, *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 57–99 and is the overall approach taken in R. Chazan, *From Anti-Judaism to Anti-Semitism: Ancient and Medieval Christian Constructions of Jewish History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 3–106.

13 Cf. Schäfer, *Judeophobia*, 197–211.

the so-called matrix of Christianity, the “crossroads,” or, to use another term, at the “parting of the ways.”¹⁴

In order to understand this problem, it is necessary to say a bit about the standard explanations of the origins of Judaic Studies as it is practiced in modern universities.¹⁵ The field has a kind of *Heilsgeschichte*, a “sacred history,” that certainly accompanied its rise in Israel and in the United States. According to this sacred history, the field developed out of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*.¹⁶ This quest for engaging in the scientific study of Jewish history, literature, thought, and even material culture developed in some ways parallel with the movement for religious reform in Germany and elsewhere in Western Europe.¹⁷ The earliest proponents sought to bring methods of philological study, known to them primarily from the field of Classics, to bear on Jewish texts and to bring as well a historical perspective. They argued forcefully for the need to establish chairs in Jewish studies at German universities, a dream not fulfilled until after the Holocaust. Further, and very important for our purposes today, they argued that the integration of Jewish subjects into mainstream academic institutions would serve to normalize the Jews in society¹⁸ and, thereby, to stem the antisemitism that at the very same time was being transformed into its modern racial—and indeed lethal—variety. There is certainly no question that the *Wissenschaft* played a major role in the development of Judaic Studies and its intellec-

14 For a critique of this term and its implications, see J. Lieu, “‘The Parting of the Ways’: Theological Construct or Historical Reality?” *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 17, no. 56 (1995): 101–19. Such a critique is the overall message of the essays in A. H. Becker and A. Y. Reed, eds., *The Ways that Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003). See their “Introduction: Traditional Models and New Directions,” 1–24.

15 Since I will be concentrating on my own area of research, it is possible that some of the issues raised here may not apply across the full chronology and varying methodologies of Jewish Studies. Nevertheless, some concerns will be easily transferred to issues my colleagues face in their own particular specialties.

16 For a useful corrective, see S. Imhoff, “Reflections on Jewish Studies,” *Bulletin for the Study of Religion* 43, no. 4 (2014): 25–26, who emphasized the 1960s as the real foundation point of Judaic Studies in American universities.

17 Cf. I. Schorsch, *From Text to Context: The Turn to History in Modern Judaism* (Hanover: Brandeis University Press, 1994), 303–33; M. A. Meyer, “Jewish Religious Reform and *Wissenschaft des Judentums*: The Positions of Zunz, Geiger, and Frankel,” *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 16, no. 1 (1971): 19–41; M. A. Meyer, *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 75–77.

18 N. N. Glatzer, “The Beginnings of Modern Jewish Studies,” in *Studies in Nineteenth-Century Jewish Intellectual History*, ed. A. Altmann (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), 39–40.

tual character. But there were several other aspects as well that will be important for us.

In particular, biblical studies was a very strong influence on the field,¹⁹ especially as it relates to the periods of Antiquity and Late Antiquity, that is, the era of the Hebrew Bible, Second Temple, and rabbinic periods. Here we have to reckon with two things: First, the study of the Old Testament (as opposed to the Jewish Tanakh) was a field in which Jews were excluded in Europe until after the Holocaust. Inroads occurred in the U.S. and, together with the field of archaeology, biblical studies had an enormous impact, especially in Israel.²⁰ When I entered the field seeking employment in the early 1970s, we were warned that many American departments of religion simply would not hire Jews to teach the Old Testament. Of course, in many European universities, Hebrew Bible is only taught in Protestant or Catholic theological faculties where adherence to the appropriate faith is a *sine qua non* for appointment.

Second, there is another half to biblical studies: New Testament and the origins of Christianity. The reality is that the study of Judaism in Late Antiquity in university settings emerged primarily not from the *Wissenschaft* but rather from the quest for New Testament background, a quest that can be traced to a variety of trends in modern Protestantism, especially the search for what is termed “Christian origins.”²¹ Here we deal for the most part not with antisemitism in its usual sense but with a kind of intellectual supersessionism in which certain models have become primary and have influenced the way in which the field is pursued.²² To some extent, this Christianization of ancient Judaism results from both good and bad causes. The good, especially in the years following the Holocaust, is a tremendous interest on the part of Christian scholars in understand-

19 See N. M. Sarna, “The Bible and Judaic Studies,” in *The Teaching of Judaica in American Universities: The Proceedings of a Colloquium*, ed. L. Jick (New York: Ktav, 1970), 35–40.

20 O. Bar-Yosef and A. Mazar, “Israeli Archaeology,” *World Archaeology* 13, no. 3 (1982): 310–25. For critiques of Israeli archaeology, highlighting nationalistic tendencies, see R. S. Hallote and A. H. Joffe, “The Politics of Israeli Archaeology: Between ‘Nationalism’ and ‘Science’ in the Age of the Second Republic,” *Israel Studies* 7, no. 3 (2002): 84–116, and T. Shay, “Israeli Archaeology—Ideology and Practice,” *Antiquity* 63, no. 241 (1989): 768–72.

21 B. Schwartz, “Christian Origins: Historical Truth and Social Memory,” in *Memory, Tradition, and Text: Use of the Past in Early Christianity*, ed. A. Kirk and T. Thatcher (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 43–78. See also L. Hurtado, “Interactive Diversity: A Proposed Model of Christian Origins,” *The Journal of Theological Studies* 64, no. 2 (2013): 445–47 for recent scholarship.

22 See the critique of P. Fredriksen, “Mandatory Retirement: Ideas in the Study of Christian Origins whose Time has Come to Go,” *Studies in Religion/ Sciences Religieuses* 35, no. 2 (2006): 231–46.

ing the Jewishness of Jesus and earliest Christianity. This interest has, in turn, helped tremendously in the fight against antisemitism, especially in Christian denominations and institutions. That is the good part.

The problem, however, comes when the conceptualization of the field is based on Christian models, and when sometimes these models are essentially anti-Jewish. Let me take an example that pertains to periodization. A fundamental question regarding the study of ancient Judaism is when the transition takes place between what scholars call “Israelite religion” and “Judaism.” This question itself is one that runs against the self-understanding of Judaism that sees a continuity of development, even with certain changes, from the Iron Age through the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman periods. Standard works such as Schürer’s *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* (1886–90), note the title carefully, revised edition, (1973–97) simply assumed, in the original edition, that a hiatus had occurred when the Jews went off course and rejected the messiahship of Jesus.²³

The anti-Judaic character of this argument was clear already when George Foot Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim* (1927), focusing on certain features of early Second Temple Judaism, decided that the transition had occurred at the time of Ezra and Nehemiah.²⁴ Yet, ironically, for many scholars, the destruction of the Second Temple became a sort of stand-in for the crucifixion. No longer arguing for the anti-Jewish claim that Judaism came into being when Jews abandoned the true religion of biblical Israel by rejecting Jesus, the date was simply transferred to a few years later, still marking the transition at virtually the same point. This view was followed, *mirabile dictu*, by Jacob Neusner in the form of an assumption that underlies most of his work, namely, that the destruction of the Temple served as a watershed for the development of Rabbinic Judaism.²⁵ By this time, what was originally an anti-semitic trope survived to a great extent because the results of the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and other Second Temple literature had remained the property of a different academic “sect” from that which studied rabbinic literature. Rabbinics had only overcome the anti-Jewish stereotypes that accompanied it and entered into the university environment in the mid-twentieth century. So here we have an example of scholars seeking to free themselves of an antisemitic, su-

²³ Cf. G. F. Moore, “Christian Writers on Judaism,” *Harvard Theological Review* 14, no. 3 (1921): 237–41.

²⁴ Cf. G. F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era* (New York: Schocken, 1971), 14–26.

²⁵ However, see his *How Important Was the Destruction of the Second Temple in the Formation of Rabbinic Judaism?* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2005).

persessionist trope still falling into the same trap laid for them by their antisemitic predecessors.

Perhaps the best example of this kind of academic supersessionism plagued my chosen field, the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls.²⁶ Here we saw a field emerge in which an amazingly important corpus of early Jewish writings was harnessed to provide a proto-history for Christianity and studied in an imbalanced manner and without serious attention to the real significance of the material. This, of course, is an overstatement, since from the very beginning some Jewish, Israeli, and non-Jewish Judaic scholars of eminence were involved. However, the maintenance of a monopoly on publication and a virtual monopoly on interpretation during the early years of Scrolls studies encouraged what I have called the Christianization of the Scrolls.²⁷ Some members of the original Scrolls publication team and scholars close to them have been known to have subscribed to an attitude of anti-Judaism.²⁸ One prominent scholar, writing about early attempts to purchase scrolls from the Bedouin, openly describes the competition with Israeli archaeologists as a struggle to keep the Scrolls out of the hands of the Israelis.²⁹ Even so, for the most part we were dealing with a kind of academic supersessionism, pursued even by those friendly to the Jewish people and respectful of Judaism.

This Christianization of the Scrolls led to the creation of a caricatured construct of the Essenes meant to provide a new solution to the difficult problem of Christian origins. The relevance of the material for the history of Judaism was given way insufficient attention, and those qualified to interpret it in that manner were for over forty years kept at arm's length from the still unpublished material and not admitted to the charmed inner circle of Scrolls scholars. All kinds of exaggerated accounts of parallels to the New Testament or to early Christian monasteries were highly influential on the interpretation of the Scrolls. Most Scrolls research on the quarter of the material (measured in words) that had been published was carried on as if the Jewish context had no independent sig-

26 For a detailed history of the early years of the field, see W. Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Full History*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

27 Cf. L. H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1994), 16–19.

28 Cf. J. Noble Wilford, “Dead Sea Scrolls Editor’s Exit Tied to Anti-Jewish Remarks,” *The New York Times*, December 12, 1990, <https://www.nytimes.com/1990/12/12/world/dead-sea-scrolls-editor-s-exit-tied-to-anti-jewish-remarks.html>.

29 Cf. J. C. Trevor, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Personal Account* (Upland: Upland Commercial Printers, 1988), 83–84, 115, 125, 137–38, 147.

nificance. Jewish Dead Sea Scrolls study essentially stood as an almost independent field, for example, using its own abbreviation system for the Scrolls that differed from those in use among Christian colleagues.³⁰ The net effect of the Christianization of the Dead Sea Scrolls was twofold: First, materials of primary importance for understanding the history of Judaism, such as the halakhic texts, were placed on the back burner. Second, it led to a skewed view of the Dead Sea sectarians emphasizing their supposedly monastic character and their apocalyptic messianism.

This trend was reversed by the entry of a generation of scholars, Jewish and Christian, devoted to properly contextualizing the material and only then using it to understand the history of Judaism and the background of Christianity. In fact, the study of the Scrolls more recently has made a positive contribution to Jewish Christian relations.³¹ In my view, the turning point was the recovery of the Temple Scroll by Yigael Yadin in 1967 and its subsequent publication in Hebrew and then English editions.³² Nevertheless, the early study of this field was highly confessionalized and the victim of a kind of intellectual supersessionism that greatly warped its significance.

The problem we have been talking about is not limited to the influence of the study of Christianity on the framing of Jewish studies. There is also a kind of Middle Eastern academic supersessionism that needs to be recognized. Here we need to remember that in many North American universities, partly because of U.S. government critical language programs,³³ Hebrew and, hence, Judaic Studies, often found its way to departments or programs in Middle Eastern or Near Eastern Studies. This is the third point of origin of Jewish Studies in the U.S. (besides Wissenschaft and biblical studies). I spent my first fifteen years at NYU in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures, closely affiliated with the Hagop Kevorkian Center for Near Eastern Studies. The department taught Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, ancient Near Eastern languages, and attendant literature and history courses. While absolutely none of my colleagues was an

30 See the list of abbreviations in Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), xvii–xviii.

31 Cf. E. Schuller, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and Jewish-Christian Dialogue,” in *From Judaism to Christianity: Tradition and Transition, A Festschrift for Thomas H. Tobin, S.J., on the Occasion of His Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. P. Walters (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 43–58.

32 Cf. Y. Yadin, *Megillat ha-Miqdash*, 3 vols. (Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book, 1977); *The Temple Scroll*, 3 vols. and suppl. rev. ed. (Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book, 1983).

33 Hebrew is no longer listed as a critical language. Its exclusion and the continued inclusion of Arabic and Persian created inequities regarding graduate financial support in some of these departments.

antisemite, the department was arranged according to what was essentially an Islamic intellectual framework. Jewish studies, therefore, were significant for study of the period of the Jāhiliyah, the pre-Islamic period of ignorance that preceded the prophecy of Mohammed.³⁴ Further, Jewish studies were seen as essential for understanding the medieval Middle East and, therefore, effectively looked at in the department as a “protected minority” (*dhimmi*) in the world of Islam (*dar el-Islam*).³⁵ Those of us who were in Jewish Studies had no choice but to leave that structure in order to create the Skirball Department of Hebrew and Judaic Studies. This expansion allowed Judaic Studies to encompass the full historical, cultural, religious and geographical experience of the Jews. Essentially, the former structure was an intellectually supersessionist approach that was pursued unconsciously by friendly colleagues.

A related problem results from false anti-Jewish construal of rules or laws of ancient Judaism that result from faulty New Testament exegesis. The New Testament is an excellent source for all kinds of historical information about Jews and Judaism in Antiquity. However, the tendency to create “constructions” of Judaism in the image of New Testament anti-Jewish polemic often results in highly skewed pictures of ancient Jewish practice. Let me just mention one example. In the commentaries and academic discussion of the hemorrhaging (more accurately bleeding) woman mentioned in the Gospels (Mt 9:20–22, Mk 5:25–34, Luke 8:43–48), one finds two fundamental interlocking misconceptions. First, many commentators assume that someone who was ritually impure would be totally segregated from the rest of the community. They fail to understand that most varieties of ritual impurity require only that the impure person abstain from going to the Jerusalem Temple or eating of sacrificial offerings. Otherwise, throughout the country, in Judea or the Galilee, their behavior would be totally like that of anyone else. Menstrually impure women were not separated but simply abstained from sexual relations until purification. In this case, however, there is a much worse element. It is claimed, even by modern scholars, that the state of impurity in which this unfortunate woman remained because of a continuous flow of blood was a result of the generally misogynist society in which she lived.³⁶ Not only is this a false construal of the ancient ritual reality,

34 Cf. E. A. Doumato and B. D. Cannon, *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World*, “Jāhiliyah” (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

35 See F. Astren, *Encyclopedia of the Jews in the Islamic World 2*, “Dhimma” (Leiden: Brill, 2010) for the relevance of this status to the Jewish community under Islam.

36 See L. H. Schiffman, “Matthew 9:20–22: ‘And Behold, a Woman Who Had Suffered from a Hemorrhage’—The Bleeding Woman in Matthew, Mark, and Luke,” in *The Gospels in First-Century Judaea: Proceedings of the Inaugural Conference of Nyack College’s Graduate Program in An-*

but the claim that ancient Jewish society was misogynist is totally belied by the position women played in the Jewish communities of the land of Israel and the Diaspora, even according to New Testament documents.³⁷ What is most upsetting, however, is that some of the modern scholarly works that deal with this passage and others like it, as a result of a false assumption, morph into presentist screeds against an ancient culture that are effectively screeds against the contemporary traditional Jewish community.³⁸ All this results from analysis of the Judaism that lies behind the New Testament narratives that is conducted in isolation from serious academic Judaic Studies.

To be sure, prejudices regarding the Talmud, many stemming from medieval antisemitic tracts and now propagated on internet sites, had major effects on retarding the development of the academic study of Rabbinic literature. One might argue today that the entry of the study of rabbinic literature and thought into the academic world is a result of the gradual overturning of the antisemitism of the past. Talmudic studies, a field that clearly lies at the core of Judaism's own self-understanding, was among the last of the fields of Judaica to find a home in the modern academy. It is hard not to recognize here the influence of the enormous anti-Talmudic literature that came into being primarily in the Middle Ages,³⁹ from the thirteenth century on,⁴⁰ and that continued to be created under Nazis⁴¹ and Communists.⁴² Such originally antisemitic terms as "legalism" and "rabbinism" still haunt the field, often used by Jews and non-Jews with very positive views of Judaism and of rabbinic literature. Further, it would not be fair in this discussion to fail to admit that within the various groups and subgroups of the Jewish community, that is, the various religious movements, there is severe difference of opinion about the authority of the Talmud and its related litera-

cient Judaism and Christian Origins, August 29, 2013, ed. R. S. Notley and J. P. García (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 5–19.

³⁷ Cf. L. J. Archer, *Her Price is Beyond Rubies: The Jewish Woman in Graeco-Roman Palestine* (Sheffield: JSOT-Press, 1990) and T. Ilan, *Jewish Women in Greco-Roman Palestine: An Inquiry into Image and Status* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006).

³⁸ Cf. Schiffman, "Matthew 9:20–22," 8–10 and n. 8. On feminist antisemitic New Testament scholarship, see J. Plaskow, "Feminist Anti-Judaism and the Christian God," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 7, no. 2 (1991): 99–108.

³⁹ See J. Friedman, J. C. Hoff, and R. Chazan, *The Trial of the Talmud: Paris, 1240* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2012), 1–168.

⁴⁰ Cf. Chazan, *From Anti-Judaism to Anti-Semitism*, 109–200.

⁴¹ Cf. A. Steinweis, *Studying the Jew: Scholarly Antisemitism in Nazi Germany* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 7–151.

⁴² The prime example is J. Neusner, *Soviet Views of Talmudic Judaism: Five Papers by Yu. A. Solodukho in English Translation* (Leiden: Brill, 1973).

ture.⁴³ For this reason, some spirited internal arguments may themselves sound as if they were also infected with the anti-Talmudism of historical antisemitism. While the recent New Perspective on Paul has proposed new interpretations for a variety of New Testament passages,⁴⁴ it has yet to seep into some of the stereotypes of rabbinic Judaism that were created in the image of older interpretations of some of those same Pauline passages.

Let me now balance this view of academia with some of the enormous accomplishments that have occurred since the Holocaust. The manifestations of antisemitism in the study of ancient Judaism, whether intentional or simply the result of bad scholarship, are not the entire story. The horrendous tragedy of the Holocaust seems to have brought in its wake a realization in many circles that the anti-Judaism and antisemitism of the past contributed in various ways to the attempt to eradicate the Jewish people. This realization, in turn, has clearly been the stimulus for much of the growth of Judaic Studies in Europe and in Christian academic institutions in the United States. Vatican II and conscious moves by other Christian groups have also contributed to much more positive understandings of ancient Judaism. In Dead Sea Scrolls research, the monopoly on the right to hold texts for publication was broken in 1991, and the field expanded to include Jewish and Israeli scholars, some with expertise in Jewish law. This has had positive effects on the overall discussion of the development of Judaism from the Hebrew Scriptures, through the Second Temple period, to the Mishnah, as well as its role in understanding the Second Temple background of the New Testament.

After considering the biases once rampant in Judaic studies, we strongly advocate including the study of modern meta-issues in courses dealing with early Judaism and Christianity so as to make students aware of these pitfalls. Here we have in mind creating a sense among students as future citizens and, in some cases, future clergy or scholars, of how prejudiced points of view on the very specific issues that relate to early Judaism and Christianity can be factors in creating a climate of hatred and antisemitism. Students should be sensitized so as to be suspicious in their reading of precisely where these issues can be found and should be encouraged to see such views for what they are.

We further propose asking academic series and journal editors as well as publishers of more popular works to participate in workshops aimed at sensitizing them to these issues. The problems we are talking about are not obvious;

⁴³ Cf. Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 81–83, 92–93, 120–22.

⁴⁴ Cf. E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1977); J. D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998); J. D. G. Dunn, *The New Perspective on Paul* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005).

they do not come with antisemitic vocabulary or wearing the hoods of the Ku Klux Klan. Rather, they often are simply the result of misunderstanding and faulty scholarship. However, editors and publishers should know how to distinguish them and to ask for their correction.

We can learn a lot from the case of the Dead Sea Scrolls: all kinds of misunderstandings were possible when the core scholars working on the material was limited to an essentially *judenrein* group. As soon as the field began to function in an open and interconfessional manner, with scholars coming from different backgrounds learning from each other and about one another, the problem essentially evaporated and the Qumran Scrolls became a force for positive developments in Jewish-Christian relations. This is a very important lesson. Positive cooperation and exchange of ideas will always win over religious prejudice.

Finally, we will propose that sessions regarding such issues be part of academic conferences in all relevant areas. There is a false notion among those of us who study Antiquity to the effect that relevance represents the dissolution of scholarship. This notion has to be overcome. The contribution of scholarship to the elimination of antisemitism and other prejudices has to be one of its explicit purposes. And the interchange of ideas about how antisemitism may still hide among the building blocks of contemporary scholarship, let alone be present in modern publications, needs to be faced and discussed.

So-called “scholarship” was harnessed by some in the past to support hatred of Jews and others, so as we seek to extirpate antisemitism, scholars must acknowledge the prejudices of the past and seek by all means to uproot them. In both our teaching and research, we must accept our collective responsibility to improve the world in which we live and work. Scholarship in many fields, Judaism in ancient times being one of them, needs to face the antisemitism of the past and work to fight the antisemitism of today.

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Recommendations

Recommendations regarding Religious Groups and Institutions

The following section reproduces policy recommendations for religious groups and institutions how to fight antisemitism as they were developed for the *Catalogue of Policies to Combat Antisemitism*.¹ These policies grew out of all research presented at the conference “An End to Antisemitism!” in Vienna, February 18–22, 2018. This research pertains to antisemitic traditions in Christianity and Islam and to the contribution these religions could make to the fight against antisemitism. It also engages with effects of antisemitism on Judaism and its representations within Judaism.

The contributions in questions can be found in the previous section of this volume. Further articles that contributed to the recommendations presented below are published in volumes 2 and 3 of the conference proceedings *An End to Antisemitism!*, both forthcoming.

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 such a total absence of antisemitism in these two religious traditions might sound like 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-Christian 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 the clergy and the members are actively philosemitic, while others still adhere to Jew-hatred. An example of the latter case 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

1 A. Lange, A. Muzicant, D. Porat, L. H. Schiffman, M. Weitzman, *An End to Antisemitism! A Catalogue of Policies to Combat Antisemitism* (Brussels: European Jewish Congress, 2018), 31–49.

Anti-Semitism Report of 2008 as “one of Europe’s most blatantly anti-Semitic media venues.”² 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.

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.

² 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>.

To achieve these aims 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 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. We argue that, the very irrationality of antisemitism identifies it as a religious phenomenon, that is, as a belief system. 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, 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 did not become criminals should be religiously educated and missionized 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."³

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 Assessing the Level of Antisemitism within a Religious Group, Organization, or Institution

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 whose independence vouches for an uncompromised assessment and whose expertise warrants 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.

1.2 Comprehending the Problem: Analyzing which Religious Traditions Create Jew-hatred inside a Religion, a Religious Group, or a Religious Institution

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, we are concerned with 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.

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>.

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 recommendations regarding 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 below, 222).

These surveys for antisemitic content in the religious memory of Christian churches, groups and institutions should be done 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.

1.3 Awareness-raising: Clergy and Lay People Need to Be Alerted to the Antisemitism Inherent in their Religion

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 antisemitic 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*, 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 the present chapter 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 the present chapter 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 relationship with the Jews that meets regularly with a comparable Jewish institution.

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 continual 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 interfaith understanding.

- Each Christian church and Muslim denomination should include a statement in their constitutions that antisemitism is incompatible with Christianity and Islam.

- Positive examples of such statements include 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 565–6).
- 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 be complemented by mandatory classes in Jewish studies.
- Each religious group, organization or institution needs to spend at least percent 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 to authorities 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.
- 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. Such antisemitic contents should be replaced by employing positive traditions about Jews and Judaism in Christianity and Islam.
- Liturgical, educational, and doctrinal texts need to be assessed for antisemitic elements including inappropriate language, such as using the word Pharisee as an insult in a Christian context.
- 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 practice 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.⁴ 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 anti-semitism 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 Jewish-Christian dialogue.
- Christian and Muslim religious education should include classes on Judaism taught by Jewish studies experts or especially trained experts on all levels of education. Curricula for these classes need to be developed.
- Christian and Muslim religious education should include classes on the history of Christian and Muslim antisemitism in 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.

⁴ 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.cjvoices.org/article/re-dreaming-jerusalem/>. More information about Kehilat Zion, prayer times and interfaith events can be found on the official website of the congregation at <https://studiodov.wixsite.com/kehilat-zion> (accessed October 2, 2018).

- 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/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. Antisemitic thought is a system of religious symbols that developed in antiquity and continues to evolve today. Christianity, and later on Islam, dispersed the antisemitic system of religious symbols over 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.

Given their experience in missionizing, 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. 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*.

2 Adjusting the Above Policy Recommendations to Judaism, Christianity and Islam

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 denominations⁵ 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 understood Judaism's rejection of the Messianic character of Jesus of Nazareth and 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

⁵ For number of Christian denominations in 2014, see <http://www.gordonconwell.edu/re-sources/documents/StatusOfGlobalMission.pdf>

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 in 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. Nevertheless, Christian replacement theology and became part of the religious memories of the various Christian denominations and churches and thrives even today.

Christianity 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 it 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,⁶ Counter-narratives, counter-myths, and counter-dogmata to antisemitic stereotypes need to be embedded into the religious memories of the Christian churches, groups, organizations, and

⁶ 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&>

institutions through education and a conscious effort to develop positive views on Judaism in Christian thought based on the Jewish origin 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 origin 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*.⁷ Christianity needs to acknowledge that it emerged from the matrix of Judaism.

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 that the Jews are equally God's chosen people. Christians need to recognize God's

⁷ A. J. Levine and M. Z. Brettler, eds., *The Jewish annotated New Testament: New Revised Standard Version Bible Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

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.

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 time 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 part 3.1 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. For example, 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 19th 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 would share this opinion with other religions. 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.⁸

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.

⁸ Ḥāfīz, *The Poems of Hafez*, transl. R. Ordoubadian (Bethesda: IbeX Publishers, 2006), 98.

- When Quran, Hadith, or Sira polemize against Jews or Judaism, cross-references to those parts of these scriptures should be added that describe Jews positively to counterbalance the antisemitism in Muslim scriptures.
- Emphasize those parts of Quran, Hadith, and Sira which advocate a 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 the 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 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 the elements of Christian and Western origin.
- 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, ex-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 *Qur'an grants the land of Israel to the Jews*. References used by Muslim supporters of Israel are Suras 5:21; 17:104 and 26:59 in this context. Good practice examples are Sheikh Prof. Abdul Hadi Palazzi, Director of the Cultural Institute of the Italian Islamic Community⁹ and the Jordanian Quranic scholar Sheikh Ahmad al-Adwan.¹⁰

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 addressed to political decision makers (see below, 529–61).

- 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 are not limited only to Muslim religious decision makers and influencers in the Muslim world. We list them here,

⁹ 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>.

¹⁰ 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/>.

nevertheless, as they can and should be applied both inside and outside of Muslim communities in the Western world as well. 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 will hence remain ineffective as long as Jew-hatred incessantly manipulates Muslims in Europe via social networks or state media in Turkish, Arabic or 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 (see below, 529–61).

- 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.

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 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 opening up to work with non-Jewish groups and individuals, in a variety of ways to counter antisemitism.

This Jewish openness to non-Jews allows for interfaith encounters that have 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 interfaith 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 mitzvot and bat mitzvot 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.
- 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 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 therefore 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, Christian and Muslims are particularly important to overcome the Jew-hatred of Christian and Muslim antisemitism.



IV Culture, Education, Research



Contributions

Julius H. Schoeps

Contemporary Philosophical and Ethical Fights over Jews, Judaism, and the State of Israel

In recent decades, Jews in Europe could hardly complain about a lack of public attention regarding Jewish history, culture, and especially Israel. In general, European mainstream media is covering lots of news, trends, biographies, and conflict-ridden stories with a direct or indirect reference to Jewish issues. It might easily be that the excessive attention nowadays paid to Jews in Europe is part—and syndrome—of the still existing abnormality in the relations between Jews and non-Jews on the “old continent,” seventy-five years after the Shoah. Probably it could fill books, academic workshops, and university semesters to analyze the chosen topics and the specific forms of reporting when Jews are of interest in the media.

In the academic field, things do not look much different, especially not in Germany. We have experienced a real “boom” of Jewish Studies, Israel Studies, Yiddish and Hebrew language courses especially during the 1990s. To make it quite clear: I do not want to discredit this massive interest in Jewish issues in re-unified Germany—on the contrary. Especially in East Germany, there were a lot of things to make up for conveying profound and objective knowledge on modern Jewish History, Israel and the Middle East conflict—after forty years of anti-Israeli propaganda in the former G.D.R. It is my feeling that during the past twenty-five years, we have been able to do a lot in Germany, in the academic field, to educate future scholars, publishers, journalists, teachers or even diplomats, all of whom have developed a notable understanding of Jewish religion and history, of Jewish rituals and customs, of dreams and visions, and of course also of the Jewish dilemmas and traumata across the centuries. I am convinced this is the best way of prevention against old and new forms of antisemitism.

It is an irrefutable fact that parts of the European societies in recent decades have developed enormous interest in studying and understanding the Jewish world as a whole—and this was, in general, not the case before the Second World War and the Shoah. Though, after World War II, at least some people in Europe asked the crucial question, why this old, allegedly highly educated, enlightened continent was, in fact, unable to avert the million fold genocide of the European Jews. They also had to realize that not a few, allegedly civilized non-Jews from almost all countries occupied by the German “Wehrmacht” applauded

when the Germans started their infamous “program of extermination”—or even joined forces with the Nazi thugs.

Collaboration with the German Nazis, and also excessive own riots against the local Jewish population in several European States under German occupation have finally become a subject of strong interest after World War II—and this makes a lot of sense for distinct reasons: First of all to clarify—or, at least to try to clarify—why a non-Jewish, mainly Christian population appeared as unable or unwilling of protecting a small minority of culturally and religiously “others” when the German killers and their allies entered the scene.

The relevant discussions went on for decades now, among scholars, academics, intellectuals, theologians, and others, also in Eastern Europe, and some co-evils are convinced that the European self-conception has distinctly changed since World War II and the Shoah. This might, of course, also be a question of feeling guilt, but obviously not chiefly. It rather seems to be a question of reorientation and re-determination of one’s own relations to the Jews.

Now we can speculate to what extent such a process of re-orientation and re-determination has really taken place, how many European non-Jews have really been involved and so on.

However, it is important to have these questions in mind when trying to understand how Jews and Jewish life are appearing in contemporary philosophy and ethics, and what these disciplines could have learned from the Shoah. Or, just to put it the other way around: What affects modern philosophy and ethics—in Europe and anywhere else around the globe—when still flirting with anti-Jewish and anti-Israeli ideas and imaginations, *despite* the Shoah?

Fortunately, both Jewish and non-Jewish philosophers and ethicists have been engaged in figuring out why relations between Jews and non-Jews drastically failed in Europe, at least until the middle of the twentieth century. Theoretical approaches might open now the doors for a better mutual understanding and future living together. Anyhow, the Shoah is present as a constant shadow, as an incurable break accompanying the past, present, and probably also the future in Europe.

Lars Rensmann described in our joint panel on “Philosophy and Ethics,” how the Frankfurt School theorists, in particular Theodor W. Adorno, Max Horkheimer, and Leo Löwenthal, have dedicated a considerable part of their philosophical and analytical work on anti-Jewish politics and its implications for critical thinking after the Holocaust. In so doing, they have immensely contributed to our current understanding of modern antisemitism but also to critical ethics and politics of anti-antisemitism. Their ideas and analyses yet provide important

resources for political and ethical responses to the ongoing, and once again resurgent, challenge of antisemitism.¹

Eva-Maria Ziege, from her perspective, has brought to mind that actually the most important contributions of sociology given to research on antisemitism date back to the 1940s. Since the works of the exiled Frankfurt School, successive sociologies gained importance which have not substantially contributed to theory of antisemitism.² But antisemitism has consistently updated and “modernized” itself, and a crucial question emerges: How can present sociology—without neglecting current theory formation—cope with the problem of antisemitism, beyond exclusively empirical research? Could it be that philosophy and other disciplines are currently overstrained to grasp the roots of new, “modernized” Jew-hatred, especially when its creators are coming from academic spheres themselves?

We have quite popular philosophers and ethicists on stage now who criticize the established monotheistic religions—all of them!—for being intolerant, for allegedly speaking in absolute terms, for still confining people in their individual way of life and so on. These critiques might come along as general allegations, and this is nothing really new under the sun.

However, it makes, to my mind, a huge difference, when distinct critics of religion—philosophers, ethicists, psychologists, and others—start blaming religious representatives for “practicing barbarous rituals” to which in their mind, circumcision belongs. Olaf Glöckner has reflected on the so called “circumcision debate” in Germany in 2012—a distinctly “heated debate” where, aside from medical doctors, a considerable number of public figures argued against circumcision by applying ethical and moral points. The debate is yet brewing, in Europe in general. It was not the debate itself, as Glöckner mentioned, that has shocked the Jewish and the Muslim population in Germany but rather the radicalness of the attacks, the absolutization of “arguments” which made a factual discussion almost impossible.³

1 Cf. L. Rensman, “The Politics and Ethics of Anti-Antisemitism: Lessons from the Frankfurt School,” lecture for the Panel *Philosophy and Ethics*, Conference “An End to Antisemitism!”, University of Vienna, Vienna, February 19, 2018.

2 Cf. E.-M. Ziege, “The Problem of Antisemitism and the Current Challenges for Political Sociology,” lecture for the Panel *Philosophy and Ethics*, Conference “An End to Antisemitism!”, University of Vienna, Vienna, February 19, 2018.

3 Cf. O. Glöckner, “The ‘Circumcision Debate’ in Germany 2012—an Ethical Discussion?,” lecture for the Panel *Philosophy and Ethics*, Conference “An End to Antisemitism!”, University of Vienna, Vienna, February 19, 2018.

From there, also today it seems to be only a small transition to Jew-hatred and to mark Jews as the distinct “others.” Critics of central elements of Jewish religion—though, not necessarily only of Jewish religion—often claim to act according to high ethical values, referring to moral categories of the western World but denying their own anti-Jewish attitude. Critique of the circumcision of Jewish and Muslim infants and of kosher butchering are favored starting points for scathing a religion like Judaism in general. As Monika Schwarz-Friesel, also in our joint panel, vividly described by means of examples again from Germany, camouflaged anti-Jewish stereotypes are “better” accepted in discourse than open hostility against Jews, but as such, they are much more dangerous. Using philosophical argumentation patterns and the strategy of self-legitimization, educated critics of Judaism call upon values such as humanity and reason, protecting the individual and striving for world peace. “For the sake of all mankind” they demand the alteration of Jews, Judaism—and connected to this, the alteration of the Jewish state of Israel.⁴

However, this seems to be not only a German or European but also a global phenomenon and as such, fatally underestimated. Regarding a massive and polarizing criticism on Israeli politics in general that sometimes even flows into delegitimization of the State of Israel, strange to say, some renowned Jewish intellectuals are noticeably involved.

A notable recent example is Omri Boehm. Boehm, a very young Jewish philosopher born in Israel, having lived in Germany for a while, but teaching now in New York, published a well-received essay in *The New York Times* on March 9, 2015, titled: “The German Silence on Israel, and its Cost.” In this essay, he sharply criticized prominent German intellectuals like Jürgen Habermas for—as he worded it—“the reluctance to speak critically about Israel.” Indeed, Boehm wrote that he could understand a general German intellectuals’ hesitation in commenting and assessing Israeli politics—“because of German responsibility for the crimes of the Holocaust.” However, this did not hinder Omri Boehm to go so far to conclude: “When intellectuals like Jürgen Habermas and Günter Grass fail to speak out, they are stepping into a familiar, and dangerous, trap.”⁵

⁴ Cf. M. Schwarz-Friesel, “Referring to Ethical Values in Contemporary Discourse of Educated Antisemites: Empirical Data from a Corpus Study (2010–2017),” lecture for the Panel *Philosophy and Ethics*, Conference “An End to Antisemitism!”, University of Vienna, Vienna, February 19, 2018.

⁵ O. Boehm, “The German Silence on Israel, and Its Cost,” *The New York Times*, March 9, 2015, <https://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2015/03/09/should-germans-stay-silent-on-israel/>.

Notwithstanding that Günter Grass, in fact, took a very critical position against Israel in his disputed poem “Was gesagt werden muss” [“What Needs to Be Said”] in 2012,⁶ a lot of questions remain regarding Omri Boehm’s accusation against Habermas and his colleagues.

First of all: Who defines when a philosopher has to intervene in day to day politics? And what is the “guideline”—which countries and politics, which conflicts and human rights abuses have to be on top of the agenda? Boehm is lamenting on the “German intellectuals silence” regarding present Israeli politics as “dangerous”—but what happens, when the voices keep silent regarding Russia’s Crimes on the Crimea, China’s human rights violations in Tibet, “American Guantanamo,” and Assad’s gas attacks against his own Syrian population?

But Omri Boehm goes further in his criticism—something really seems to plague him. In an interview with *Deutschlandfunk*, a well-established, public German radio channel, he stated that Zionism could not be compatible with humanistic values.⁷ In this interview, of course, Boehm is responding to the locking up of the “Jewish character” of the State of Israel, pushing the question “either-or” (“entweder-oder”): *Either* a Jewish state—*or*, as the other option—a “democratic, liberal” state but without a Jewish imprint.

In fact, Omri Boehm “indicates” that Zionism is, in his mind, not compatible with humanistic values. Should this mean, in reverse conclusion, that the Zionism movement has a distinct inhuman imprint, and is unacceptable for modern and enlightened people? I do not feel as the right person to rate the impacts of Omri Boehm’s critique on Habermas and his colleagues, and also not the social impacts of his statement regarding “incompatibility” of Zionism and humanistic values. Boehm, however, says he loves his home country (Israel) but explains that he is very worried about its future. I tend to believe him at this point. On the other hand, his moral radicalism might easily invite misinterpretation and denigration of the whole national Jewish project.

And so once more, the current State of Israel is considered the biggest obstacle for possible peace between Israelis, or better: between Israeli Jews, and Palestinians. From there, it seems only a small step to overemphasize the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as one of the biggest trouble spots in the Middle East, and

6 Cf. G. Grass, “Was gesagt werden muss,” *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, April 4, 2012, <https://www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/debatten/das-israel-gedicht-von-grass/das-gedicht-von-guenter-grass-was-gesagt-werden-muss-11707985.html>.

7 N. Freundel, “Zionismus nicht vereinbar mit humanistischen Werten’. Der Philosoph Omri Boehm im Gespräch mit Natascha Freundel,” *Deutschlandfunk*, February 8, 2015, https://www.deutschlandfunk.de/philosoph-omri-boehm-zionismus-nicht-vereinbar-mit.1184.de.html?dram:article_id=306399.

to consider it as the central issue of the whole region. At least since the failed “Arab spring” and the extremely violent, fanatic and ideologically heated civil wars which appeared following autocratic regimes for example in Libya, Egypt, Syria, and Yemen, we witness that the whole region is shaken by much worse problems.

However, also among leading intellectuals, including keen thinkers like Noam Chomsky, the perception predominates that former Colonial Empires—and nowadays more or less “exclusively” the USA—would be mainly responsible for the actual outbreak of civil wars and excessive massacres even among civil population. We find such “steep theses” also among European intellectuals, but Noam Chomsky is probably the most idolized thinker who merges an allegedly disastrous American Middle East policy together with special American-Israeli interests, good food for new “conspiracy theorists.”

It might be debatable to what extent such an overemphasis on Israel’s allegedly destructive impacts on the whole Middle East is just a naive by-product of intellectual analysis, of moral and especially radicalism, or indeed of philosophical hypocrisy. Chomsky is not alone in the Jewish group of icons of America’s New Left pulling Israel to pieces. Judith Butler might be seen as specific example of this strange intermixture of ideological premises, moral radicalism, starry-eyed—and yes, maybe even dangerous—admiration of different cultures and rigorous damnation of Israel. For Butler, as Berkeley philosopher of post-structuralism well-esteemed around the globe, it is “extremely important” to have “understanding (for) Hamas, Hezbollah as social movements that are progressive, that are on the Left, that are part of a global Left.”⁸

Who wonders then, that Butler is also a supporter of the international *Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions* movement against Israel, the BDS? Interestingly, she is also very popular in Germany, and in September 2012, she was even awarded the prestigious Theodor Adorno Prize in Frankfurt am Main. There was, of course, protest by Jewish organizations, but without effect.

A little curiosity might illustrate Judith Butler’s—and other intellectuals’—loss of reality when exclusively fixed on criticizing the politics of the State of Israel. Butler is in favor of a binational State of Jews and Palestinians *with an Arab majority*, that would, of course, mean the end of the Jewish State. However, especially wondrous is Butler’s justification for such a proposal. In her book *Parting Ways: Jewishness and the Critique of Zionism* she seriously tries arguing that

⁸ P. Marquardt-Bigman, “Judith Butler and the Politics of Hypocrisy,” *The Jerusalem Post*, August 30, 2012, <https://www.jpost.com/Blogs/The-Warped-Mirror/Judith-Butler-and-the-politics-of-hypocrisy-365385>.

“the loss of demographic advantage for the Jewish population in Israel would surely improve prospects for democracy in that region.”⁹ Again we might speculate whether Judith Butler’s views on the history, “nature,” and future perspective of the State of Israel are ideologically blurred or ethically over-coded, or just the result of ivory-tower exercises far away from the factual developments in the world.

The same question makes sense when confronting ourselves with Noam Chomsky. It is indisputable that Chomsky is one of the worldwide most molded intellectuals on the left, and in some aspects on the far left. Chomsky is renowned for his harsh criticism on both American and Israeli politics for the last fifty years. He is brilliant in certain analyses of power politics and fatal political dependencies. People from very different backgrounds, ages, and cultures do stream to his lectures and disputations.

However, it seems that Chomsky has undergone a certain kind of radicalization in his critiques on Israel, over the years. Since 2008, he has supported the “Free Gaza Movement” calling it “a courageous and necessary endeavor.”¹⁰ And in 2013, Chomsky was one of the renowned academics who called on Stephen Hawking to boycott the prestigious international “Facing Tomorrow”-conference in Jerusalem—“successfully,” as we know.¹¹

Later on, in an interview with Amy Goodman for “Democracy Now,” Chomsky went so far to say: “Israel’s actions in Palestine are much worse than apartheid in South Africa.”¹² In face of this statement, it seems appropriate to remember the bloodshed in Soweto in 1976—just one of the huge white crimes of violence with about 500 casualties among children and teenagers. Or the townships and the fences where people of all ages died by thirst or starvation behind.¹³ However, there are also statements by Noam Chomsky that reveal a dan-

9 J. Butler, *Parting Ways: Jewishness and the Critique of Zionism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 210.

10 “Who We Are,” Free Gaza, accessed February 11, 2019, <https://www.freegaza.org/about-us/who-we-are/>.

11 Cf. Y. Skop, “Top Scientist Joins BDS Movement: Stephen Hawking Confirms He Is Boycotting Israeli Conference,” *Haaretz*, May 8, 2013, <https://www.haaretz.com/hawking-confirms-israel-boycott-1.5241535>; R. Booth and H. Sherwood, “Noam Chomsky Helped Lobby Stephen Hawking to Stage Israel Boycott,” *The Guardian*, May 10, 2013, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/may/10/noam-chomsky-stephen-hawking-israel-boycott>.

12 “Noam Chomsky: ‘Israel’s Actions in Palestine Are much Worse than Apartheid’ in South Africa,” *Democracy Now*, August 8, 2014, https://www.democracynow.org/2014/8/8/noam_chomsky_what_israel_is_doing.

13 Cf. e.g. M. Gallagher, “The Birth and Death of Apartheid,” *BBC News*, June 17, 2002, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/575204.stm>.

gerous underestimation—or minimization?—of objective threats: For example, when he compares Israel and Iran in their respective striving for regional power. In March 2015, Chomsky said in a TV disputation with Ezra Levant: “Israel has invaded Lebanon five times. Iran hasn’t invaded anyone.”¹⁴

Also in the spring of 2015, Chomsky gave an interview with *euronews*, and despite Barack Obama’s strong efforts of that time to reach a Nuclear Deal with Iran, Chomsky said: “There are two states who cause disaster in the Middle East, by permanently carrying out aggressions, violence, terroristic and illegal acts. Both are atomic States with giant arsenals of nuclear weapons.”¹⁵ Chomsky referred to the United States and Israel as nuclear states heavily feared by the rest of the world, and in the converse argument he showed, again, a lot of empathy for Iran and understanding for its efforts also to reach the status of an Atomic power. Chomsky indeed claimed in the same interview that

Iran has very small military spending, even in terms of the region, not to mention those of the United States. The strategic doctrine of Iran is defensive, just conceptualized in a way, that an attack can be repelled until diplomacy will intervene successfully. But the United States of America and Israel, the two rogue states, don’t want to tolerate this kind of determent. No strategic analyst with half a brain would think that Iran would ever use a nuclear weapon [...] There is no indication that the ruling clerics—whatever we think about them—would be interested in destroying everything they possess.¹⁶

It is well known that Noam Chomsky, a longstanding professor at the MIT, brilliant linguist and author of about 100 books, had offered extreme positions already many years before. But in case of the Iran, it becomes, especially in recent years, a kind of risky dimension when one of the biggest intellectual icons of the global Left—and, not to forget, a Jew—starts to whitewash the Iranian Islamic Regime in its criminal efforts.

One might find different descriptions and explanations for such a loss of reality. And even presumed, the “argument” of unconditional self-defense might contribute to the ambitious Iranian atomic program—what about the Iranian “export” of terrorism around the globe? It seems to be a great (Western) delusion that the Islamic Regime in Iran is “only” a threat for the Middle East region.

¹⁴ E. Levant, “EXCLUSIVE: Ezra Levant and Noam Chomsky clash on Israel, anti-semitism (Part 3 of 3),” *The Rebel Media*, March 8, 2015. https://www.therebel.media/exclusive_ezra_levant_and_noam_chomsky_discuss_israel_and_anti_semitism_part_3_of_3.

¹⁵ “Noam Chomsky: ‘Die USA sind ein Schurkenstaat, Europa ist extrem rassistisch,’” *euronews*, April 17, 2015. <https://de.euronews.com/2015/04/17/noam-chomsky-die-usa-sind-ein-schurkenstaat-europa-ist-extrem-rassistisch>.

¹⁶ Ibid. Translation by the author of this article.

Its secret operations are meanwhile traced in quite different countries—including today’s Germany—and not to forget those tens of thousands of Iranian soldiers and officers meanwhile fighting for Assad in Syria, in line with Russian troops, not that far from the Israeli borders.

But back to Noam Chomsky and his demonizing view on American and Israeli politics on the one hand, and the apology of current Iranian politics on the other. Where are reasons to identify one with the other? Is it, we might ask, the ideological factor in his mind that puts the world upside down? Or is it, first of all, a compulsive demand to make the Western World guilty for all evil? Or, at the end of the day, also politics of hypocrisy?

The impression would be totally wrong that the notorious anti-Israel-critiques by today’s philosophers would just be an exclusive American—or even American-*Jewish*—problem. Although, the remarkable number of outstanding American intellectuals and publicists who also directly stricture to current Israeli politics—including prominent names like Peter Beinart, Norman Finkelstein, and Max Blumenthal—might raise the question whether there’s a special sense of mission, however justified.

Of course, on other continents, we find similar voices attacking Israel, sometimes similarly provoking, and sometimes in a rather hidden or subtle way. Thus, in the aftermath of 9/11, German philosopher Peter Sloterdijk reversed George W. Bush’s “nomination” of Middle-Eastern “rogue states” and claimed that the United States of America and Israel would be “the real rogue states.”¹⁷ The main critique: Israel and the United States are, in Sloterdijk’s eyes, playing their own games, regardless of any consequences.

Until now, I have mainly focused on critical *philosophical* voices against Israel and the United States. Though, if we turn to the *ethical* civic voices—or, at least, to those who are considered as distinct ethical voices—we cannot bypass the churches in Europe. For years, we note church congresses decisively paying special attention to the Palestinian “Nakba” in 1948 but without explaining in detail what had just caused the Independence War of 1947/48. At the same time, church events focus especially on human rights violations by Israeli military or police but do not mention subtle or open efforts of Palestinian forces to develop effective terrorist structures (like the obsessive digging of terrorist tunnels from Gaza and Lebanon).

The remarkable European Christian solidarizing with the Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank often goes hand in hand with new forms of political ac-

17 “‘Schurkenstaat USA’: Sloterdijk holt aus,” *n-tv Germany*, September 25, 2002. <https://www.n-tv.de/archiv/Sloterdijk-holt-aus-article121474.html>. Translation by the author of this article.

tivism. On the organizational level, there are indications that anti-Israel attitudes could become a common denominator at least for some of the Christian congregations. For example, in the Fall of 2013, the Methodist Church in Britain launched an online survey among its members to determine whether the Church should support the “Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement” (BDS) or not.¹⁸ Among the Christian theologians, in view of the unsolved Israeli-Palestinian conflict, some have obviously fallen back into anti-Israel clichés which are easily discernible as anti-Jewish. Thus, the German protestant theologian Jochen Vollmer wrote in the prestigious *Deutsches Pfarrerblatt* [*German Pastor’s Journal*] already in 2011:

We, the Christians of Germany, cannot theologically compensate our untold guilt toward the Jews by considering the state structure of the people of Israel as a sign of God’s loyalty; [a state] which has made hundreds of thousands of innocent people victims and continues to do so.¹⁹

In consequence, Vollmer denied the Jewish State of a Christian (theological) recognition, because of its (allegedly) inhuman behavior.

This is what I would describe as a kind of “ethical correctness” primarily taking care for the Palestinians as an ethno-cultural minority group that is mostly the loser in a subtly or openly proceeding asymmetric conflict (at least so in Israel).

In the future, it would be worthwhile to explore to what extent Christian churches and especially their local communities are indeed willing to join political forces with an anti-Israel line of attack—like the BDS—but to what extent they are also sensitized for recently expelled Christians from Middle East “frontier” states around Israel.

To sum up: Our panel on “Philosophy and Ethics” has clearly shown, that there is—in our days—a special attention on Jewish issues, at least in Europe, more or less in equal parts “distributed” on Jewish life on the old continent and the wider Diaspora, on the one hand, and on Israel on the other. In principle, public attention might gratify such a small ethno-cultural and ethno-religious minority in Europe, like the Jews, especially since there are indicators

18 Cf. “Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Briefing,” The Methodist Church, accessed February 11, 2019, <https://www.methodist.org.uk/our-work/our-work-in-britain/public-issues/peace-making/israel-palestine/boycott-divestment-and-sanctions-briefing/>.

19 J. Vollmer, “Vom Nationalgott Jahwe zum Herrn der Welt und aller Völker. Der Israel-Palästina-Konflikt und die Befreiung der Theologie,” *Deutsches Pfarrerblatt* 111, no. 8 (2011): 409. Translation by the author of this article.

that European civic society has altered its attitudes towards Jews and Judaism after World War II and the Shoah. However, it appears as highly questionable, when non-Jewish philosophers, intellectuals, theologians and other key figures of Western society blame Jews (and in some cases also Muslims) for allegedly “practicing barbarous rituals” (as circumcision and kosher butchering) without engaging in a factual discussion with Jews on-site. It appears, however, also highly questionable when Jewish-born icons of the New Left in the USA undertake exceptionally sharp attacks on modern Israel and its politics, possibly ready to delegitimize the State of the Jews. Thus, while some of the left-wing Jewish intellectuals—like Omri Boehm—argue in a kind of moral sense, other celebrities—like Judith Butler and Noam Chomsky—evidently operate with clearly abstruse comparisons, thus supplying “argumentation aid” for Jew-haters across all political camps. A plausible intellectual explication of this (inner-)Jewish phenomenon is still missing.

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Eliezer Ben-Rafael

Antisemitism: Sociological Perspectives

The story of European Jewry is more than two thousand years old. It has known periods of prosperity but also times of persecutions.¹ Above all, it is impossible to describe this history without assessing the vicissitudes of their condition as a minority repetitively harassed in most various circumstances. Hatred of Jews has even received a special label—antisemitism. Early examples of massacre of Jews took place in Alexandria, before and after the beginning of the Common Era, when the city was home to the largest Jewish diaspora community.² Manetho, an Egyptian historian, wrote scathingly of the Jews and so did Agatharchides of Cnidus who ridiculed Jews' laws as "absurd." Many scholars have studied this persistent attitude and come up with a variety of accounts.

Shaul Bassi cites the historical testimony of Ludwig Börne, a German Jew who converted to Christianity, written in 1832: "Certain people object to my being a Jew; others forgive me; still others praise me for this; but everybody remembers it."³

It is this special look on Jews or past-Jews that qualifies for the term antisemitism. The term itself was formulated by Wilhelm Marr who in 1879 founded the "League for Antisemitism" and elaborated on his intentions in *Der Weg zum Siege des Germanenthums über das Judenthum* [*The Way to Victory of Germanism over Judaism*], published the same year.⁴ This term became common usage in many languages. According to Marr, Jews constituted physically and morally a distinct inferior race predisposed to be a "slave race." He followed notorious figures who shared his hatred of Jews among whom Richard Wagner stood out with his *Das Judenthum in der Musik* [*Jewishness in Music*], published in 1850. Wagner

1 Cf. S. W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, 18 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952–1983).

2 Cf. E. H. Flannery, *The Anguish of the Jews: Twenty-three Centuries of Antisemitism* (New York: Paulist Press, 2004), 21 ff.; W. Nicholls, *Christian Antisemitism: A History of Hate* (Lanham: Jason Aronson, 1993), 198; P. W. Van der Horst, *Philo's Flaccus: The First Pogrom: Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

3 S. Bassi, "Resisting Jews: Allo-Semitism and the Dialectic of Assimilation," in *Resisting Alterities: Wilson Harris and Other Avatars of Otherness*, ed. Marco Fazzini (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004), 210.

4 Cf. W. Marr, *Wählet keinen Juden! Der Weg zum Siege des Germanenthums über das Judenthum. Ein Mahnwort an die Wähler nichtjüdischen Stammes aller Confessionen. Mit einem Schlußwort: "An die Juden in Preussen."* (Berlin: Hentze, 1879).

contended that Jews are alien to German culture and an enemy of its foundations.⁵

This kind of hatred of Jews was new because it was a constitutive element of nationalistic convictions and spoke of race rather than religion and religious practices. Jews' "rootlessness," it implied, was genetic. To this persuasion, scientists and philosophers added that Jews share mystical beliefs and an unambiguous tendency to pursue their lives separately from non-Jews. The "empirical" support of antisemitism was to be provided with the publication of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* or *The Protocols of the Meetings of the Learned Elders of Zion*.⁶ These "protocols" narrate secret sessions of "the rulers of Zion" which revealed, assumedly, to the public at large, a Jewish plot to control the world. It is a fabricated text, first published in Russia in 1903 and translated into numerous languages in the early twentieth century. The *Protocols* detail how Jewish leaders intended to gain hegemony over the Gentiles by undermining their moral power and controlling the world's economy. In the 1920s, Henry Ford funded 500,000 copies to be distributed in the United States. The Nazis found in the *Protocols* a useful means of propaganda—even though, in 1921, *The Times* of London and other newspapers denounced their falsehood. Even today, the *Protocols* are available, in print and on the internet, and are still designated by some figures as genuine.

Such pseudo-scientific theories about race had become widespread in Europe by the second half of the nineteenth century. Today, such theories meet incredulity, but other approaches are formulated which express the same exclusionism vis-à-vis Jews. The *European Forum on Antisemitism* (2013) quotes the updated working definitions of antisemitism as adopted, in 2004, by the European Union Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC). This definition enounces as follows:

Antisemitism is a perception of Jews expressed as hatred toward them. 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 [...] such manifestations could also target the state of Israel, conceived as a Jewish collectivity. 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 traits of character.

5 Cf. R. Wagner, "Das Judentum in der Musik," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, September 3/9, 1850.

6 Cf. "Програма завоювання мира євреями (Programa zavoevaniya mira evreyami)" [The Jewish Program to Conquer the World], *Знамя (Znamya) [Banner]*, August–September, 1903.

Contemporary examples of antisemitism in public life, the media, schools, the workplace, and in the religious sphere include, but are not limited to:

- Calling for, aiding to, or justifying the killing or harming of Jews in the name of an ideology or a religious faith.
- Making mendacious, dehumanizing, demonizing, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as individuals or as collective—such as the myth about a world conspiracy of Jews to control the media, economy, government or other 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, the scope, the mechanisms (e.g. gas chambers) or intentionality of the genocide of the Jewish people undertaken by Nazi 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 the nations where they live.
The ways in which antisemitism manifests itself with regard to the State of Israel may include:
- 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 Israel a behavior not expected or demanded from any other nation.
- Using symbols and images associated with historical hatred of Jews (e.g., claims of deicide by Jews of Jesus or blood libel of children) 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.

Criticism of Israel similar to that leveled against any other country cannot be regarded as antisemitic. Antisemitism is evident however when they respond to the following:

- 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.⁷

⁷ “Working Definition of Antisemitism by the European Union Monitoring Centre on Racism

As a historian, Dietz Bering evinces that antisemites share the belief that Jews are bad by nature. They bring disaster on their “host societies” and the whole world. Hence, it is the duty of antisemites to unmask them.⁸ Helen Fein suggests that this notion consists of persisting hostile views of Jews illustrated in attitudes, culture, myth, ideology, folklore and imagery that are designed to exclude the Jew.⁹ Bernard Lewis sees antisemitism as marked by two distinct features: (1) An antisemite judges Jews by standards different from those which apply to non-Jews;¹⁰ (2) He or she would be convinced that Jews are to be accused of “cosmic evil.”¹¹

More detailed definitions differentiate kinds of antisemitism: social, economic antisemitism, religious, or political. Bernard Lazare and William Brustein discuss some of these aspects and Gerald Krefetz summarizes by contending that the notion of antisemitism is a myth and stereotype according to which Jews are in control of the banks and the economy, and thus, of the community, the country and the world.¹²

These specifications, however, bring antisemitism close to nineteenth-century racism. Hence, William Nicholls shows that even baptism into another faith does not delete an individual’s Jewish origin and thus, Jewishness.¹³ In turn, this outlook is not alien to Nazis’ auto-justification that a Jew is anyone, adult or child, who has even “one drop” of Jewishness ancestry in his or her blood. According to Bryan Cheyette’s research, antisemitism is not a one-dimensional story. It is a history starting from ground-rules accounting for a basic ambivalence. The figure of the Jew, he contends, has always been and still is multi-faceted.¹⁴

and Xenophobia (EUMC),” European Forum on Antisemitism, accessed December 5, 2013, <http://www.european-forum-on-antisemitism.org/working-definition-of-antisemitism/English/>.

8 Cf. D. Bering, *The Stigma of Names: Antisemitism in German Daily Life, 1812–1933* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992).

9 Cf. H. Fein, *Genocide: A Sociological Perspective* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 1993).

10 Cf. B. Lewis, “The New Anti-Semitism,” *The American Scholar* 75, no. 1 (2006): 26.

11 *Ibid.*, 27.

12 Cf. B. Lazare, *Anti-Semitism: Its History and Causes* (New York: Cosimo Classics, 2006); W. Brustein, *Roots of Hate: Antisemitism in Europe before the Holocaust* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); G. Krefetz, *Jews and Money: The Myths and the Reality* (Minneapolis: Book Sales, 1984).

13 Cf. Nicholls, *Christian Antisemitism*.

14 Cf. B. Cheyette, *Constructions of ‘the Jew’ in English Literature and Society: Racial Representations, 1875–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 12, 269; and *idem*, *Between ‘Race’ and Culture: Representations of ‘the Jew’ in English and American Literature* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 9.

Regarding present-day hatred of Jews, however, other scholars—from Lewis to Taguieff—sustain the concept of *new antisemitism* or *neo-judeophobia* to designate this hatred focalized on Jews sustained by the most hybrid kind of alliance of the left, the right, and radical Islam.¹⁵ This alliance tends, as a rule, to converge on opposing the existence of Israel as a Jewish State. Jack Fischel writes that this new antisemitism generates a coalition of irreconcilable enemies but all sharing endorsement of the Palestinian cause.¹⁶ The left, for its anti-Americanism for whom Israel is the United States' ally; the right-wing for its xenophobic nationalism for whom Jews are the eternal foreigner; fundamentalist Muslims for whom Israel is the number one enemy of the Arab nation. This alignment makes the new antisemitism unique; a new concept that displays criticism of Israel and Zionism completely disproportionate in degree and kind to any attitude in the world toward other actors of the international scene.¹⁷

Moreover, as shown by Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein some years ago, this new antisemitism takes the form of indifference to the fears of the Jewish people displaying thereby its inability to understand the importance of Israel to Jewish survival.¹⁸ Cotler, more recently, argues that while classical anti-Jewish hatred equates discrimination against Jews as such, the new antisemitism is primarily embedded in discrimination and opposition to the embodiment of Jewishness in the State of Israel. It remains that the essence itself of antisemitism has remained the same: it consists of an assault upon the core of Jewish self-definition. Irwin Cotler thus maintains that while classical anti-Jewishness consists of denying the right of Jews to live as equal members of society, the new antisemitism denies the right of the Jews to live as an equal member of the family of nations.¹⁹

These approaches confront opposed views that minimize the significance of the new antisemitism, or antisemitism at all, in present-day debates. Brian Klug complains that people of goodwill who support the Palestinians resent being falsely accused of antisemitism and that supporters of the Jewish State exploit the stigma of antisemitism in order to silence legitimate criticism of Israel's policy. The source of hostility to Jews today, Klug contends, is the Arab-Israeli con-

15 Cf. Lewis, "The New Anti-Semitism," 25–36; P. A. Taguieff, *La Judéophobie des Modernes: des Lumières au jihad mondial* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2008).

16 Cf. J. Fischel, *The A to Z of the Holocaust* (Lanham: Scarecrow, 2005).

17 Cf. L. N. Powell, *Troubled Memory: Anne Levy, the Holocaust, and David Duke's Louisiana* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

18 Cf. A. Forster and B. Epstein, *The New Anti-Semitism* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974).

19 Cf. I. Cotler, "Human Rights and the New Anti-Jewishness," *FrontPage Magazine*, February 16, 2004, <http://frontpagemag.com/Articles/ReadArticle.asp?ID=12191>.

flict. Israel proclaims itself as the state of the Jewish people, and many Jews align themselves with this statement. It is out of this configuration that hostility to Jews as Jews arises.²⁰ Earl Raab pursues that systematic accusations of anti-semitism against anti-Israel opinions may lack credibility.²¹ Steven Zipperstein also believes that many people following the events of the Middle-East reach the conclusion that Israel shares the largest large part of responsibility for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.²² Norman Finkelstein goes further and claims that there has been no significant rise at all in antisemitism and that organizations such as the Anti-Defamation League have brought forward charges of new anti-semitism to exploit the historical suffering of Jews in order to immunize Israel against any sort of criticism. What is called the new antisemitism, he says, consists of exaggeration and mislabeling of legitimate criticism of Israeli policy.²³ Tariq Ali, a British-Pakistani historian and political activist, goes as far as to contend that the concept of new antisemitism amounts to an attempt to subvert the language in the interests of the State of Israel.²⁴

The French philosopher Pierre-André Taguieff answers all these claims by noting that today antisemitism is no longer based on racism and nationalism but, paradoxically enough, on antiracism and anti-nationalism. It equals Zionism and racism, uses Holocaust denial manufactured material, borrows third-worldist discursive tokens, and the slogans of anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism, anti-Americanism, and anti-globalization, and disseminates the myth of the intrinsically “good Palestinian”—today’s innocent victim par excellence.²⁵

As a result, while the Jews do not, with few exceptions, suffer discrimination in a country like France, they are often victims of stigma, threats, and physical violence on the part of regular people, passers-by or traders. They are, above all, victims of the media which disseminate fake news and radical anti-Zionism. This atmosphere exposes Jews to suspicion, and in some cases, to the accusation of criminal complicity with the Israelis. Judeophobia or neo-judeophobia be-

20 Cf. B. Klug, “In Search of Clarity,” *Catalyst*, March 27, 2006, <http://www.catalystmagazine.org.uk/Default.aspx?LocID=0hgnew0bvRefLocID=0hg01b00100600f009.LanEN.htm>.

21 Cf. E. Raab, “Antisemitism, Anti-Israelism, Anti-Americanism,” *Judaism* 51, no. 4 (Fall 2002): 387–96.

22 Cf. S. Zipperstein, “Historical Reflections of Contemporary Antisemitism,” in *Contemporary Antisemitism: Canada and the World*, ed. Derek J. Penslar et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 52–63.

23 Cf. N. Finkelstein, *Beyond Chutzpah: On the Misuse of Antisemitism and the Abuse of History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

24 Cf. T. Ali, “Notes on Anti-Semitism, Zionism and Palestine,” *Counterpunch*, March 4, 2004, <https://www.counterpunch.org/2004/03/04/notes-on-anti-semitism-zionism-and-palestine/>.

25 Cf. Taguieff, *La Judéophobie des Modernes*.

come thereby a cultural given on a public scene that, in many places, has turned mechanically and nearly unanimously supportive of the Palestinian cause.

One example among much too many expressions of neo-judeophobia is as follows: a respectable Danish newspaper (*The Copenhagen Post*) published on 13 December 2012 a warning to Jews to avoid displaying Jewish symbols on the street, echoing a Jewish group, *Mosaik Troessamfund*, that advises Jews to avoid wearing the Star of David or the kippah in public. The article informs its readers that 37 antisemitic aggressions occurred in Copenhagen in 2012, including the case of a man whose chain with a Star of David was ripped off from his neck. This incident occurred in a district of Copenhagen with a large Middle-Eastern and Arab population, which brought Imran Shah, a spokesperson for a Muslim group, to deny that there were widespread anti-Jewish feelings among the country's Muslim population. Yet both the police and the City Council urged Jews to be particularly cautious. The City Council even advised Jewish participants of an international food fair where Israel was present not to carry Israeli flags.

Hatred aimed at Jews is ideologized and expressed in the form of harsh statements against Israel and Zionism. It mixes systematic hostility towards Israel and exclusive compassion for Palestinians. It reduces the State of Israel to a criminal entity and favors the Islamization of the Palestinian cause that, for some, symbolizes, in a positive sense, no less than a global jihad. To this public opinion, enouncing the text of the 28th Article of the Hamas Charter (August 1988) remains without any influence. This text, to recall, states clearly that Israel, because it is Jewish and has a Jewish population, challenges Islam and the Muslims. Hence, the objective of this anti-Zionist program is definitely to “purify” or “cleanse” Palestine from the “Zionist Jewish presence” considered a priori as an invasion of sacred Palestinian land.²⁶

Judeophobia accuses the Jews at the same time of being “too community,” too religious, and nationalist. In the same breath, it also describes them as cosmopolitan. The defense of Palestinians as victims of Zionism is the ideological core mode of legitimation for contemporary anti-Jewish violence. Every act of violence against Jews is justified as revenge for Palestinian children killed by the Zionists, a theme that awakens the old accusation of ritual murder. Pro-palestinianism leads to view the Palestinians as a messianic people. Taguieff quotes Jean Genet saying that the Palestinian revolution is not a fight for stolen land but a “metaphysical” struggle. From here, the jump to anti-Jewishness is easy:

26 Cf. L. F. Bove and L. Duhan Kaplan, *From the Eye of the Storm: Regional Conflicts and the Philosophy of Peace* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995).

today, Genet contends, one cannot be pro-Palestinian without being anti-Jewish.²⁷

Concerning this point, David Hirsh discusses whether criticism of Israel is necessarily antisemitic. And indeed, criticism of Israel often sounds like antisemitism: requiring the Jewish state to conform to higher standards than expected from other states; articulating conspiracy theories; using demonizing analogies. Such criticism hurts many Jews in the world and are seen as revealing antisemitism.²⁸ David Matas and Taguieff, for example, are convinced that anti-Zionism is indeed a form of antisemitism because it denies the right of Jewish self-determination while standing for the self-determination of other nations.²⁹

Clearly enough, anyway, a boycott of Israel aiming at the punishment of Israel while any other oppressor—they are numerous today—attracts much less hostility, can be defined as antisemitism. The demonization of Israel today is, indeed, quite unique in its pervasiveness in numerous countries. It invades the mainstream discourse and is no longer restricted to extremists on the left or on the right. The inseparably pro-Palestinian and anti-Israeli mass demonstrations recurrent in many capitals have no counterpart with respect to Israeli victims of terrorist attacks, nor in defense of Arab victims of Arab dictatorships. The ideological novelty of this phenomenon consists of the justification of this anti-Jewish hatred in terms of “fight against racism,” “in favor of human rights,” nay even standing against anti-Islamophobia.

In brief, the demographic changes in the European population have created a new monster: present-day judeophobia. It is firstly carried by young jihadists recruited from among a fighting *lumpenproletariat* who confound the hatred of the West—especially the US—and of Jews. Jacques Déom insists that this point on the antisemitic orientation can already be found in Islamic theology and may have an impact on the hatred of Jews today in the twofold context of the Middle-Eastern conflict and the encounter of Muslim immigrants with Jews on European soil. Citing the original theology of falsification that stigmatizes Judaism as a perversion of the message of God to humans, the Coran, Déom evinces how this perspective is often bound these days to anti-Western Third-Worldism

²⁷ Taguieff, *La Judéophobie des Modernes*.

²⁸ Cf. D. Hirsh, *Anti-Zionism and Antisemitism: Cosmopolitan Reflections* (New Haven: Yale Initiative for the Interdisciplinary Study of Antisemitism (YIISA), 2007).

²⁹ Cf. D. Matas, *Anti-Zionism and Anti-Semitism* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2005); Taguieff, *La Judéophobie des Modernes*.

and an uncompromising de-legitimization of Israel. At the limit, it supports anti-Jewish and anti-Israeli terrorism.³⁰

It should also be underscored that Judeophobia is diffused in recent years by virulently anti-Israel works of intellectuals. Alain Badiou, for instance, attacks Israel under the form of a general anti-Jewish homily. This literature is often carefully articulated as “revisions” of the role and status of Jews in contemporary history.³¹ Enzo Traverso, who dedicates a large part of his scholarly work to the Jewish experience—including the Shoa—attacks Israel uncompromisingly as colonialist and oppressor of the Palestinian people. He pursues this hostility as an attack on Jews in general. He enounces a view according to which present-day diaspora Jewry has broken up its links with its past contribution to progress and modernity. Ever since the Shoa, he contends, Jews have exploited their “victimhood” to get material advantages and become a well-to-do group that has sunk into conservatism. Thereby, Jews contributed not only to the disappearance of antisemitism but to the growth of Islamophobia. In this, Traverso joins Badiou for whom the “genuine” Jews today are the Palestinians. Anyone can easily conclude from such “analyses” that Jews belong to the enemy for everyone who fights against the evils of present-day society in general.³²

All these sentiments create an uneasy climate for actors moved by good will who aspire to combat antisemitism. Hence, for instance, the 2004 working definition of the EUMC of antisemitism which figured on the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights website was dropped in November 2013 under the pretext that by its legal mandate, this agency is not a standard-setting body; it can neither set nor repudiate any definition. This position, to be sure, took aback many observers: how can the Agency do away with the definition of the plague, antisemitism, against which it is supposed to fight?

These developments contribute to the antisemitic atmosphere of many milieus. Rensmann and Schoeps speak of “modernized antisemitism.”³³ They emphasize with this concept the link between old and new elements in today’s anti-

30 Cf. J. Déom, *Qu'est-ce que l'antisémitisme? Quelques éléments de réponse: données et analyses, dossier pédagogique* (Brussels: Fondation de la Mémoire contemporaine, 2012).

31 U. Aloni, A. Badiou, S. Žižek, and J. Butler, *What Does a Jew Want? On Binationalism and Other Specters* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011).

32 Cf. E. Traverso, *La Fin de la Modernité Juive: Histoire d'un Tourment Conservateur* (Paris: La Découverte, 2013).

33 L. Rensmann and J. H. Schoeps, “Politics and Resentment: Examining Antisemitism and Counter-Cosmopolitanism in the European Union and Beyond,” in *Politics and Resentment: Antisemitism and Counter-Cosmopolitanism in the European Union*, ed. L. Rensmann and J. H. Schoeps (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 31–33.

semitism and, above all, that antisemitism should be understood in the context of the dissent widespread among some strata with what they perceive as cosmopolitanism and exploitative liberalism. Stereotyped by many as cosmopolitans par excellence, Jews are assumedly the very representative of everything that arises dissent among people.³⁴

Francis Kaplan, however, does not accept explaining antisemitism by such specific causes; for him, antisemitism is an a priori posture receiving in each particular conjuncture another rationalization:

nearly one third of the Poles think that the influence of the Jews is too big in their country [...] an Algerian newspaper alleged the far-reaching penetration of Jews in the Algerian State and society while there are nearly no Jews in these two countries [...] the ideologists of antisemitism actually contradict each other: for some, they have no ethics [...], for others, they have too much [...]; for the ones they are counter-revolutionaries [...], for others, they are too revolutionaries [...]; for the ones they are the masters of the universe [...], for others, they are miserable [...]. An antisemite ideology is not an intellectual error due to ignorance, confusion or stupidity, it is a passion that can be dressed, intellectually, [as one wishes].³⁵

Whatever the terminology used to qualify the hatred of Jews, what is of no less crucial importance is how Jews confront the phenomenon: how do they combat it?

Self-Hatred and Other Responses

Over the centuries, Jews have reacted in very varied manners to the hatred turned against them. These reactions might be disguise, suicide, a shift to mysticism and kabbala, conversion to Christianity or Islam, emigration to more tolerant places, or searching for a collective exit from vulnerability.

A well-known and documented consequence to not a few Jews of the hatred toward them in the modern era is *self-hatred*. Self-hatred designates, in general terms, one's dislike of the group to which one belongs. This attitude accepts the norm often prevailing in the environment according to which "Jews are bad by nature." This acceptance brings not a few Jewish individuals to hate themselves as Jews—illustrating what may be called "Jewish antisemitism." Theodor Lessing's *Der Jüdische Selbsthaß* [*Jewish Self-hatred*] shows the diffusion of this occurrence among intellectuals who adopted a hateful view of Judaism and, thereby,

³⁴ Ibid., 34.

³⁵ F. Kaplan, *La Passion antisémite habillée par ses idéologues* (Paris: Le Félin – Kiron, 2011), 47. Translation by the author of this article.

of themselves.³⁶ Jewish antisemitism and Jewish self-hatred are not, however, necessarily the same: Jews who agree with antisemitic judgements do not always hate themselves even if they hate other Jews. John P. Jackson Jr. recalls, in this respect, that the concept developed in late nineteenth-century Germany was first directed at Eastern European Jews who had immigrated to the country.³⁷

A major academic discussion of Jewish self-hatred was conducted in the 1940s by Kurt Lewin, who was Lessing's colleague at the University of Berlin in 1930.³⁸ Following Lewin, the concept gained widespread currency. It was used in a derogatory way during the 1940s by "militant" Zionists against the disparaging looks of many well-established Jews toward Jews who moved to Palestine/Israel. The publication of Hannah Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem*³⁹ in 1968 attracted heavy criticism for her condemnation of the trial as a "show trial." In the heated discussions this book provoked, more than a few accused the author of self-hatred.

Today, Jewish self-hatred, as Sander Gilman understands it, often refers to Jewish intellectuals who do not deny their Jewish identity but adopt radical anti-Israeli positions. He sees one of the most recent forms of Jewish self-hatred in the virulent opposition to the existence of the State of Israel. Jewish antisemitism, he contends, can be disguised as anti-Zionism in the same measure that general antisemitism is often hidden behind anti-Israelism.⁴⁰

Alvin H. Rosenfeld also attacks Jewish authors who take positions that go well beyond what he understands as legitimate criticism of Israel, and he considers rhetoric that calls into question Israel's right to continued existence to be antisemitic.⁴¹ Self-hatred in Jewish debates about Israel has grown more frequent and more intense in the US, the UK, and France over the past few years. Hence, in 2007 it was reported that an association called "British Independent Jewish Voices" had been jointly created by Nobel Prize winner Harold Pinter, the illustrious historian Eric Hobsbawm, film director Mike Leigh, and prominent actors. This association stresses that British Jews do not unanimously support

36 Cf. T. Lessing, *Der jüdische Selbsthaß* (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1930).

37 J. P. Jackson, Jr., *Social Scientists for Social Justice: Making the Case Against Segregation* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 121–22.

38 Cf. P. Reitter, "Zionism and the Rhetoric of Jewish Self-Hatred," *The Germanic Review* 83, no. 4 (2008): 343–63.

39 H. Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (New York: Viking Press, 1968).

40 Cf. S. Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred: Antisemitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).

41 A. H. Rosenfeld, "Rhetorical Violence and the Jews," *The New Republic*, February 27, 2007, <http://www.spme.net/cgi-bin/articles.cgi?ID=1884>.

the Israeli government and asserts that a distinction should be made between Jews in the Diaspora and Jews in Israel.⁴² In France, a long series of intellectuals and academics of Jewish origin—from sociologist Edgar Morin to writer Marc Levy—see it as an obligation to state their criticism of Israel, which, in some instances, assumedly goes as far as associating Israel with Nazis in their handling of the Palestinian population.⁴³ Kenneth Levin, a Harvard psychiatrist, comments that Jewish self-hatred can be referred to as Stockholm syndrome. Accordingly, individuals under protracted siege tend to embrace the indictments of their besiegers, however bigoted and outrageous; another example is the psychodynamics experienced by abused children who blame themselves for their predicament and ascribe it to their being “bad.”⁴⁴

Jews’ self-hating is not necessarily focused on, or limited to, resentment against Israel. Irving Louis Horowitz also sees Jewish self-hatred in many cases of Jews wishing to distance themselves from their community.⁴⁵ The historian Bernard Wasserstein contends that many Jews have internalized elements of antisemitic discourse and have psychologically “surrendered” to their detractors.⁴⁶

Self-hatred is but one possible response of Jews to antisemitism among the ones observed today or in the past. Another pattern consists in dimming the visibility of Jewishness in public. Ben Halpern speaks of *duplicating norms* prevalent with non-Jews and in this way avoiding the blame that Jews always tend to distinct themselves from non-Jews.⁴⁷ Deborah Cohen contends that this strategy only worsens the individual’s sense of being threatened. She quotes Alain Finkelkraut when he contends that racial hatred is essentially the punishment for Jews who do not display their Jewishness in the open. Genocide, he also con-

42 M. Beckford, “Jewish Group Rejects Uncritical Support of Israel,” *Daily Telegraph*, February 5, 2007, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1541606/Jewish-group-rejects-uncritical-support-of-Israel.html>.

43 Cf. *JSS News*, December 18, 2013.

44 Cf. K. Levin, “The Psychology of Populations under Chronic Siege,” *Post-Holocaust and Anti-Semitism*, July 2, 2006, <http://jcpa.org/article/the-psychology-of-populations-under-chronic-siege/>.

45 Cf. I. L. Horowitz, “New Trends and Old Hatreds,” *Springer New York Society Journal* 43, no. 1 (2005): 48–55.

46 Cf. B. Wasserstein, *On the Eve: The Jews of Europe Before the Second World War* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2012), 211.

47 Cf. B. Halpern, *The American Jew* (New York: The Theodor Herzl Foundation, 1956).

tends, “was not imposed on the Jews in spite of their effort to assimilate, but in response to this very attempt.”⁴⁸

Yet, it is often the case that a pursuit of “liberty from Judaism,” so to speak, is available in the form of conversion to Christianity or Islam. It is the opinion of Todd M. Endelman that when facing what seem to Jews as a no-solution situation for them as Jews, individuals may find it reasonable to embrace another faith and get rid of their Jewishness.⁴⁹

A ramification of this model may consist in the attachment to non-Jewish cause aspiring to create a new society where to be Jewish would not matter anymore. In this Eden, it might be hoped, being Jewish would be freed from the predicaments of Jewishness for the benefit of an “all-humanity” ideal dooming antisemitism to total irrelevance. This scenario is well known in Jewish history, and one remembers how strongly Jews involved themselves in socialism and communism—and how grim were the results, especially in the USSR and its satellites. In more than one case, the adherence of Jews to secular movements by no means deleted antisemitism among their fellow-members and their leaderships.

Other forms of response endorse the contrary principle: changing reality in the sense of creating circumstances where asserting Jewishness is fully legitimate, nay even prevailing. The two major historical responses here were Bundism and Zionism. *The Bund*, a Jewish socialist movement created in the late nineteenth century in Russia, aspired to draft Jewish workers in the struggle for socialism while setting as its ultimate goal the establishment in the future socialist society of a principle of cultural autonomy for a secular Jewish nationality. Bolshevism in Russia and Nazism in the rest of Europe decimated the Bund. Hence, the only collective attempt to extract Jewry from antisemitic realities remained Zionism.

The return to Zion has always been an aspiration of Judaism. All along the Middle Ages, a trickle of Jews settled in the Holy Land; Judah Halevi, author of *Zionides*, died on his way from Spain to the Holy Land; Yehiel of Paris and Nahmanides took to a similar route, with the same destination; Obadiah ben Abraham of Bertinoro created an administration for Jerusalem’s Jewish community in the fifteenth century; Yosef Karo wrote the *Shulkhan Arukh*—a compendium of all the commands for observant Jews—in sixteenth-century Safed. In the late nineteenth-century, when modernity was conquering Europe, Leon Pinsker pub-

48 A. Finkelkraut, *The Imaginary Jew* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 83, cited in D. Cohen, “Who Was Who? Race and Jews in Turn-of-the-Century Britain,” *Journal of British Studies* 41, no. 4 (October 2002): 482.

49 Cf. T. M. Endelman, “In Defense of Jewish Social History,” *Jewish Social Studies* 7 (2001): 52–67.

lished *Auto-Emancipation*,⁵⁰ the first Zionist manifesto, and founded the *Lovers of Zion* movement. The movement called for the colonization of Palestine in view of creating a national home for the Jew. The first group was organized in 1881 in St. Petersburg, even before the book was published. The movement expanded rapidly with the goal of creating new facts on a land still in the hands of Ottomans. This “*first Aliyah*” (immigration to Palestine) consisted of close to 10,000 people. Simultaneously, from 1882, Baron Edmond de Rothschild, one of the most active supporters of the nascent Zionist entity, began buying land in Palestine to settle newcomers.

Less ambitiously, most Jews—non-Zionist as well as Zionist—actually do find significance in their Jewishness, even if they do not immigrate to what is now a Jewish State. As such, they sustain the creation of Jewish bodies to respond on their behalf to antisemitism at the level of local, national, and transnational institutions. Jewish leaders, especially in present-day democratic and liberal societies, respond to antisemitic acts by expressing dismay and anger, and requests for reactions by Authorities. Concomitantly, large funds are invested in constructing Holocaust museums in cities throughout the Diaspora, with the intention of maintaining the memory of the Jews’ terrible suffering. It is expected that these museums will also help in reducing the antisemitic drive among non-Jews and teaching Jews the painful path of their history.

These efforts also pertain to the intentions to set down a general strategy of strengthening community life by developing community institutions, Jewish schools, adult clubs, youth movements, media, and local Jewish cultures. The density of these activities that one may observe throughout the Jewish world undoubtedly bolster intercommunity and transnational bodies and allegiances, and above all, transfer to the young essentials of what Jewishness stands for. The self-confidence that these forms of activity and institutions are likely to instill in the mind of Jewish individuals may be seen as a pattern of confronting antisemitism and, eventually where there is no other way, just living with it and getting “no harm.”

This Jewish endeavor, it should be noted, is encouraged by parallel developments among other groups in this era of globalization and multiculturalization. Advanced countries are nowadays indeed powerful poles of attraction for immigrants from all over the world who aspire to insert themselves in wealthy societies and benefit from democratic regimes that are—more or less willingly—toler-

50 L. Pinsker, *Auto-Emancipation: An Appeal to his People by a Russian Jew* (Berlin, 1882).

ant of ethno-cultural diversity.⁵¹ Many of these newcomers show desires and wills to create sets of organizations that bind their dispersed communities to each other as well as to their—real or chosen—original homeland.

Allosemitism

Still, this Jewish history remains enigmatic after all: how is it that Jews have always—and up to these times—been a target of special attention and feelings in so many different circumstances? Zygmunt Bauman, who has been very concerned with this question, uses the notion of *allosemitism*; a notion that was coined by Artur Sandauer (translated from the Polish and quoted by Bauman) and implies the assessment that Jews' plights in society are radically different from any other social entity's and require special concepts to be described and analyzed.⁵² Jewishness may attract hate or love, but these feelings are always extreme and intense. The entity signaled by allosemitism is not just "unfamiliar" or "strange": in its essence, it does not comply with the general order of things and does not fit either into any other category of phenomena. And still more, the allosemitic attitude toward its object is extra-temporal and extra-spatial: it consists of a permanent interrogation resulting, each time, from the interplay of historical developments, on the one hand, and actual circumstances, on the other.

Modern antisemitism or hate of Jews, Bauman contends, targets "Jewishness" rather than Judaism. When all over Western Europe the walls of ghettos were crumbling and Jews were shaving their beards to match the prevalent norms in the non-Jewish environment, by no means did they, through these actions, bring antisemitism to end. For the antisemite, whatever they do, Jews possess their own inimitable *Volkseigentümlichkeit* [people peculiarity]. It is in this that, in the eyes of the non-Jew, one may effectively speak of Jews as a "special species." Bauman recalls Gombrowicz for whom the Jews' unnerving uniqueness goes back many centuries, and he also cites E. M. Cioran who observed that if to be a man is a drama, to be a Jew is another, and as such, the Jew represents the

51 Cf. E. Ben-Rafael and Y. Sternberg, eds., *Transnationalism: Diasporas and the Advent of a New (Dis)Order* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

52 Cf. A. Sandauer, "O sytuacji pisarza polskiego pochodzenia żydowskiego w XX wieku: rzecz, którą nie ja powinienem był napisać." in *Pisma Zebrane*, vol. 7, ed. S. Żeromski (Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1985); Z. Bauman, "Allosemitism: Premodern, Modern, Postmodern," in *Modernity, Culture and 'the Jew'*, ed. B. Cheyette and L. Marcus (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 143–56.

alienated existence par excellence. He is the man who will never be from here.⁵³ David Biale suggests that what explains this unique historical path is widely determined by Jews' relative lack of power, combined with a myth that they share centrality in the world.⁵⁴

It is Bauman's own thesis that Christianity marked the Jews as oddities who rebelled against the divine order of the universe. Though they were the ancestors of Christianity, they refused to disappear once Christianity took over and continued to haunt the world as living fossils; Jews gave birth to Christ only to disown him. In other words, allo-Semitism is endemic to Western civilization as a part of the legacy of Christendom. For the Church, Jews have been the embodiment of ambivalence, that is, of disorder.

With modernity, Bauman continues, in the footsteps of Jacob Katz, the outcome of Jewish emancipation was the pariah's successful assault on highly prestigious professions. The Jews were a low and marginal entity that moved up and instilled in the higher social spheres the fear of downgrading.⁵⁵ This is what Édouard Dumont, the bible-writer of modern antisemitism, complained about: Jews' names, he contends, are inexistent in old parish registers; still a century ago they did not even have the right to dwell on the land from which they now [assumedly] chase the non-Jew away.⁵⁶

In actual fact, again according to Bauman, in this Europe made of nations, states, and nation-states, there were only Jews and Gypsies who did not fit. Jews were not a legitimate part of the population in any nation-state, and their dispersion among many nations was a predicament. They were the epitome of incongruity: a non-national nation. Bauman quotes Hannah Arendt's reporting about Jewish exiles from Germany in France who said that while Jews have been exemplary Germans, they may as well be exemplary French citizens.

In 1882, Leo Pinsker noted that the Jew is considered by the non-Jew as a someone that do not belong to the living, an alien. The poor see the Jew as a millionaire, and the patriots, as a countryless vagrant. For all, the Jew is a hated being. The resulting image of the Jew made light on all social, political, and cultural obstacles to the idea that the world is essentially an orderly place.⁵⁷

53 Cf. W. Gombrowicz, *Dzienniki 1953–1955* (Paris: Instytut Kultury, 1957); E. M. Cioran, *The Temptation to Exist* (London: Quartet Books, 1987).

54 Cf. D. Biale, *Power and Powerlessness in Jewish History* (New York: Schocken Books, 1986).

55 Cf. J. Katz, *From Prejudice to Destruction: Antisemitism, 1700–1933* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980).

56 Cf. É. Dumont, *La France juive: Essai d'Historie Contemporaine* (Paris: C. Marpon & E. Flammarion, 1886).

57 Cf. Pinsker, *Auto-Emancipation*.

Representations of Jews in European literature and art validate this conclusion. They monotonously repeat this non-belongingness, Bauman says, for two thousand years. The production process of those stereotypes and their generation is explained by Litvak as the outcome of both changing and stable factors.⁵⁸ The European cultural model—essentially negative—of the Jew has always primarily stemmed from the myths of the Church which, ever since the fourth century, has persisted to justify the horrors of its persecution of the Jew throughout the Middle Ages. These myths, adds Litvak, led to Hitler's obsession with the destruction of the world Jewry. For the Church itself, anti-Jewish persecution has been an endemic theological-identity need for its self-affirmation, independently from the presence or absence of Jews all around. Litvak insists that the continuous negative view of the Jew in European culture has been completely unrelated to what Jews have done or have not done.

This motivation still stands behind antisemitism. Today, like in the past, it makes do with far-reaching non-truths. It sets and defines Jews as people radically apart, irremediably “different” from any other collection of people. An image of the Jew prevailing in all writings—including and especially, Russian literature—inspired by or just influenced by Christianity.

The continuity of this image of the Jew is also shown in Weinstein's comparative study of two German films, the one produced under Weimar, *Das alte Gesetz*, which is philosemitic and the other, *Jud Süß*, that was produced as a tool for anti-Jewish propaganda by the Nazis.⁵⁹ In fact, one finds many similarities between two portraits of Jewish men who both fight for social acceptance. In both films, the Jew not only aspires to assimilate into the society, but he also aspires to cause disorder and confusion. Jews in both cases appear as “different,” thwarting the social order, failing to fit into structuring categories, and sharing a tendency to straddle all the usual divides. In response to their respective efforts, in both films the Jew attempts to contain his own Jewish character and to re-establish order in the situation he himself created by the will to assimilate. In both cases, the chief problem consists of the sexual alliance between a Jewish male and a non-Jewish female. Breaking barriers between the Jewish and the non-Jewish worlds is the issue which creates tohu-bohu. The boundaries of the world of the non-Jew are threatened by the Jew's attempts to transgress them. The threat represented by Süss legitimizes then unavoidable racist legislation—ultimately

58 Cf. L. Litvak, *The Jewish Persona in the European Imagination: A Case of Russian Literature* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010).

59 Cf. V. Weinstein, “Dissolving Boundaries: Assimilation and Allo-Semitism in E. A. Dupont's *Das alte Gesetz* (1923) and Veit Harlan's *Jud Süß* (1940),” *The German Quarterly* 78, no. 4 (Fall 2005): 496–515.

genocidal—while in *Das alter Gesetz*, order is re-established by partial assimilation. Viewing these films in comparison reveals the affinity between them. The Jew with the best intentions and the one with the worst ones share an essentially similar way of thinking; that is, the will to insert themselves among the non-Jews. This convergence is by no means unexpected, as these films draw their stereotypes from the same culture and vocabulary.

In the postmodern era, however—an epoch distant from the Second World War and its sequels—Bauman's hypothesis is that the impacts of allo-Semitism are growing less and less acute. Society is becoming multicultural, and identity issues are multiplying. Politics today are increasingly wrapped in identity conflicts rather than national or class contradictions. Singularities diversify the texture of societies, and allo-Semitism is likely to lose the unique significance it carried in pre-modern and modern history. Differences are no more seen as secondary nuisances; the human essence seems to consist in the universally shared ability to establish and protect identities' distinctiveness from each other.

Though, at the same time, and in dissonance with Bauman's contention, we learn from Taguieff and others about neo-Judeophobia, and their teachings temper Bauman's optimistic perspective: it is indeed rather difficult to state today that allo-Semitism has lost pertinence. We see that Jews continue to be challenged as Jews, and in actual fact increasingly so, by acute resentment around them stemming, among others, from the newcomers from the Muslim world who settle in the West. Optimism regarding the close ending of antisemitism seems hardly sustainable.

Moreover, the notion of allo-Semitism that Sandauer and Bauman formulated and elaborated conveys another aspect that they themselves did not consider but draws the concept beyond the textual phrasing that they proposed. This aspect derives from the fact that both Sandauer and Bauman belong to contemporary Jewish scholarship dealing with the Jewish condition. By proposing the notion of allo-Semitism for analyzing non-Jews' attitude toward Jews, they actually do not only propose an analytical scheme of general value but also express a possibility for Jews to interpret the attitude of non-Jews toward them. In other words, allo-Semitism may also be understood as a model of perception by Jews of how non-Jews perceive them. In this vein, allo-Semitism belongs to the store of hypotheses Jews are able to suggest in order to understand, and respond to, antisemitism. A hypothesis that asks whether Jews do effectively view antisemitism confronting them throughout their history among non-Jews as an endemic condition, or rather an episodic phenomenon that may be an outcome of specific conjunctures. From their answers to these questions, we may comprehend, at least in part, the behaviors they adopt in face of antisemites and vis-à-vis themselves.

Allosemitism is most often bounded to the demonization of the Jew as the one who is an outsider by essence. It is the mechanism that disseminate the belief that Jews are aiming at the conquest of the world, and are the last cause of all evils. As the joke goes, “The Titanic is the Jews’ fault: Iceberg is a Jewish name, isn’t it?” With modernity, Jews stopped being the “other” of the Church to become the “other of the nation-state,” and eventually, the “other” of Communism and later, the other of “Germaness,” “Aryaness” or other X-ness. Its reality is simply shown in the plethora of anti-Jewish stereotypes: a Christian who steals is a thief, a Jew who steals is a Jewish thief. With the creation of Israel, the Jew was, for a while, on the side of anti-colonialism—Israelis were often praised then as “different Jews”—but after 1967, Jews again stood on the “wrong side,” that of the colonialist and oppressor. Pro-Palestinian attitudes includes, as taken for granted, Holocaust denial which is openly proclaimed at conferences held in Muslim capitals.

Allosemitism is strongly influential, even when Jews fight others’ causes. Yet despite this vigorous formulation of what antisemitism stands for, Bassi sees no other way out from this condition than what he calls “dialectic assimilation,” by which he means assimilating non-Jewish elements in Jewish culture and adopting new patterns of behavior and speech that might disarm antisemitism.⁶⁰ In other words, creating a “non-different other.” The limit of validity of this proposal is the fact that the behavior then expected from Jews is widely endorsed practically by the huge majority of Jews throughout the world who have abandoned since long the constrains—regarding food, clothes, and displacement—of orthodox Judaism.

Conclusions

In conclusion, it is obvious that the special attitude toward Jews is a kind of code or ground-rule that takes root on any ground with ease and may be found in the most diverse cultures and at different societal phases. This reality brings Jews everywhere to adopt patterns of confrontation and modes of behavior that reflect both, and interactively, their perceptions of their environment and their own understandings and practices of Jewishness.

All in all and to conclude by repeating clearly the strategies proposed by scholars of the social sciences regarding the fight against, or the accommodation with, antisemitism may be summarized as follows:

⁶⁰ Bassi, “Resisting Jews,” 209–23.

- The theory of Jewish self-hatred assumes that Jews actually agree with antisemites in their description of Jews as “bad guys”—whether or not this includes themselves, members of their community, or a given category from among their fellow Jews—today, with an emphasis on Israel.
- The “dimming-Jewishness-in-public” approach assumes that the acuteness of animosity toward Jews flourishing around them, triggers off Jews’ tendency to become more or less “invisible” as Jews, at least in the public sphere—which, actually many of them, the non-religious non-traditional Jews—already practice.
- The instrumental-conversion line would assume that the ultimate stage of becoming “invisible” as Jews consists of transgressing the collective’s border and joining other faiths. The issue is what do they gain in their new milieus where they might appear as “former Jews.”
- Still another hypothesis in a similar vein, consists of accepting commitments to pan-humanity ideals that strive to create a social reality where particularistic identities become irrelevant to the classification of individuals. This seducing hypothesis may appear, over time, as an overestimation of the capacity of comrades to disregard the Jewish origin of their fellow militants.
- In a quite opposite direction, the hypothesis of allo-Semitism views the animosity toward Jews as endemically attached to Jewish history; though, today’s multiculturalization of advanced societies seems to encourage expectations that the impact of allo-Semitism will grow steadily less significant. The difficulty of this proposition is that, in the context of the Middle-East conflict, it is rather the contrary that often occurs: the newcomers are a priori motivated to see Jews as a factor of nuisance and hostility.
- Multiculturalization, however, may present one positive aspect for Jews’ confrontation with allo-Semitism: it encourages them to find self-confidence in strengthening their own communities through institutionalization, education, the work of memory, and transnational solidarity.

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Florette Cohen Abady

The Psychology of Modern Antisemitism: Theory, Research, and Methodology

The term “Antisemitism” was coined by Wilhelm Marr in 1879 in Germany in order to provide a more intellectually acceptable veneer to the crude and blunt “hatred of Jews.”¹ To date, “antisemitism” continues to be used to describe Jew-hatred.² Ironically (given the origin of the term), some Arab/Muslim commentators have complained that Jews have inappropriately expropriated the term “antisemitism,” arguing that antisemitism technically also refers to hatred of Arabs, who are “Semites” as well.³ Nonetheless, the term antisemitism commonly refers solely to prejudice against Jews.

Given Jews’ relative success in the world since the end of World War II, it is reasonable to wonder why a conference dedicated to understanding antisemitism is even necessary. It is necessary because current world events demonstrate that antisemitism is far from dead; it may actually be in its prime. Blatant antisemitism is easily recognizable. Physical attacks on persons and property, verbal slurs, and discrimination reveal obvious prejudice. While Jews have long been subject to such forms of discrimination throughout the diaspora, it was hoped that it waned since WWII, unfortunately this is no longer the case, and Jews are once again being victimized by high levels of blatant antisemitism in much of the world.

Antisemitism Research

Although antisemitism was a major field of scientific study among psychologists between the 1930s and mid 1950s,⁴ research dropped off sharply after the 1960’s.

1 Cf. M. Zimmermann, *Wilhelm Marr: The Patriarch of Anti-semitism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

2 Cf. M. Ostow, “A Contribution to the Study of Antisemitism,” in *Error without Trial: Psychological Research on Antisemitism*, ed. W. Bergmann (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1988), 52–76.

3 Cf. e.g. I. Nafie, “Israel’s anti-Semitism,” *Al-Ahram Weekly Online*, November 20–26, 2003, <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2003/665/op1.htm>.

4 Cf. T. W. Adorno, E. Frenkel-Brunswik, D.J. Levinson, and R. N. Sanford, *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950); L. Berkowitz, and D. S. Holmes, “A Further Investigation of Hostility Generalization to Disliked Objects,” *Journal of Personality* 28 (December 1960): 427–42; L. Festinger, “Informal Social Communication,” *Psychological Review* 57, no. 5

In its early years as a discipline, social *psychology* investigated the relationship between personal attributes and social behavior regarding antisemitic attitudes in Europe, Russia, and the United States.⁵ Effects of changes in roles on individual's attitudes were tested using films such as a *Gentleman's Agreement*⁶ as primes, in which experimental participants were more likely to show reductions in the expression of *anti-Semitic* sentiments. Correlations between status, authoritarianism, and *antisemitism* were demonstrated as well.⁷

By the late 1950s and early 1960s, however, social psychological interest in antisemitism began to decline. The shock of the Nazi war crimes wore off, the remaining Jews became progressively more accepted and assimilated into the western European and North American democracies, and, at least in America, the Black Civil Rights Movement largely defined the 1950s and early 1960s. Anti-semitism studies waned and Black-White racial studies concerning stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination became a major topic.⁸ Interestingly, the common psychological phenomena underlying all prejudice should help to explain antisemitism.

Prejudice is an attitude and thus has affective, behavioral, and cognitive components, which may be referred to as the ABC's of prejudice.⁹ The ABC's of prejudice have been experienced by Jews throughout history.

Prejudice: The Affective Component

An understanding of prejudice towards Jews begins with an investigation of what social psychologists refer to as the affective component. Affect (commonly thought of as emotions in laymen's terms) begins with an attitude or evaluation

(1950): 271–82; D. J. Levinson, and R. N. Sanford, "A Scale for the Measurement of Anti-Semitism," *The Journal of Psychology* 17, no. 2 (1944): 339–70.

5 Cf. Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, and Sanford, *The Authoritarian Personality*; Levinson and Sanford "A Scale for Measurement"; N. C. Morse and F. H. Allport, "The Causation of anti-Semitism: An Investigation of Seven Hypotheses," *The Journal of Psychology: Interdisciplinary and Applied* 34 (1952): 197–233.

6 L. Z. Hobson, *Gentleman's Agreement* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1947).

7 Cf. Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, and Sanford, *The Authoritarian Personality*.

8 Cf. e.g. M. Rokeach and L. Mezei, "Race and Shared Belief as Factors in Social Choice," *Science* 151, no. 3707 (1966): 167–72; J. M. Jones, *Prejudice and Racism* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1996).

9 Cf. S. J. Breckler, "Empirical Validation of Affect, Behavior, and Cognition as Distinct Components of Attitude," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 47, no. 6 (1984): 1191–205.

of an object ranging from extremely positive (love) to negative (hate).¹⁰ A negative affective/emotional response to an object is likely to cause a negative attitude towards that object. Additionally, emotions are automatically and unconsciously aroused. Because they are unconscious, the reason for the emotion is rarely recognizable or logically founded. As such, prejudice is defined as a hostile or negative attitude toward a distinguishable group of people, based solely on their membership in that group. The affective component of antisemitism would be the illogical statement, “I HATE Jews.”

Antisemitic people direct their prejudice towards all Jews as a whole, ignoring individuating characteristics of members of Jewish communities. Often those who are the most antisemitic have never even encountered a Jew. As a young graduate student at Rutgers University, I mentored an undergraduate researcher in our Prejudice and Stereotypes lab who was shocked to find out that I was Jewish. He asked where my horns and tail were. He went on to explain that as a young boy, he was taught that Jews were demons who wore skullcaps or head coverings referred to in Yiddish as “yarmulkas” to hide their horns—Jews were to be feared, detested, and regarded as evil. Unfortunately, this student was not the first to recant tales of the old antisemitic motif, and I suspect he will not be the last. But why are such horrific pictures painted of Jews who were never seen? What psychological need do these images serve?

Stereotypes: The Cognitive Component

As thinking creatures, we all walk around with images in our minds of the world, its contents, and its inhabitants. Some images are flattering and some are outright grotesque. As children, we learn to understand the world around us by categorizing or grouping together similar objects of all sorts of things, such as inanimate objects (e.g. toys, clothes and furniture), food items (e.g. fruits and vegetables) and animals (e.g. dogs, fish and birds).¹¹ Similarly, categorizing people into like groups enables us to easily and effectively simplify a complex world.¹² In 1922, Journalist Walter Lippman penned the term stereotype to generalize essentially all members of a group of people with identical characteristics regardless of individuating differences among its members.

10 Cf. W. Wood, “Attitude Change: Persuasion and Social Influence,” *Annual Review of Psychology* 51 (2000): 539–70.

11 Cf. M. B. Brewer and R. J. Brown, “Intergroup relations,” in *The Handbook of Social Psychology*, ed. D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske, and L. Gardner (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1998), 554–94.

12 Cf. G. W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (Cambridge: Perseus Books, 1954).

Because Stereotyping is a cognitive process used to simplify the world around us, it is not always affectively charged and does not always lead to the act of discrimination. Some stereotypes may even be positive. Referring to Jews as clannish, hardworking, or smart in itself may not constitute antisemitism, unless every individual Jew encountered is subtly expected to be a perfect student. Negative stereotyping leading to blatant antisemitism may occur when all Jews are outright considered greedy and shady business people (see Matthew Baigell's *The Implacable Urge to Defame* for an early American history of Jewish stereotypes in the American Press).¹³ In a study conducted with Russian participants, Jews were rated higher on stereotypes for power (specifically, smart and show initiative) than their Chechen counterparts and lower for stereotypes of morality.¹⁴ Preconceived stereotypes in which all Jews are cheap, and greedy may affect behavior towards a specific Jew, regardless of whether the individual Jew possesses the stereotyped character trait.

Discrimination: The Behavioral Component

Stereotypical beliefs may result in discrimination, consensually defined among most social psychologists as an *unjustified negative behavior toward members of a group based solely on their group membership*.¹⁵ Antisemitic discrimination may range in its severity. On the most basic level, discriminatory, antisemitic behavior may be something as simple as exclusion from an exclusive golf club for being undesirable applicants.¹⁶ In the United States and in Europe, Jews are disproportionately victimized in bias crimes compared to other demographic groups.¹⁷

13 M. Baigell, *The Implacable Urge to Defame: Cartoon Jews in the American Press, 1877–1935* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2017).

14 Cf. C. W. Leach, A. Minescu, E. Poppe, L. Hagendoorn, A. E. Abele, A. J. C. Cuddy, Ch. M. Judd, and V. Y. Yzerbyt, "Generality and Specificity in Stereotypes of Out-group Power and Benevolence: Views of Chechens and Jews in the Russian Federation," *European Journal Of Social Psychology* 38, no. 7 (December 2008): 1165–174.

15 Cf. L. M. Jackson, *The Psychology of Prejudice: From Attitudes to Social Action* (Washington: American Psychological Association, 2011).

16 Cf. D. Dee, "There is no discrimination here, but the committee never elects Jews': Antisemitism in British Golf, 1894–1970," *Patterns Of Prejudice* 47, no. 2 (May 2013): 117–38.

17 Cf. L. Cheng, W. Ickes, and J. B. Kenworthy, "The Phenomenon of Hate Crimes in the United States," *Journal Of Applied Social Psychology* 43, no. 4 (2013): 761–94; P. Iganski, "Too Few Jews to Count? Police Monitoring of Hate Crime against Jews in the United Kingdom," *American Be-*

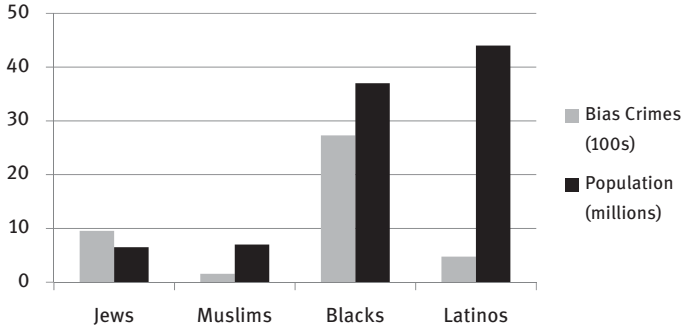


Figure 1. Jews are Disproportionately Victimized by Hate Crimes.

On the extreme end of the spectrum, historical events such as the Crusades, the Inquisition, and the Holocaust led to Jews being burned at the stake, tortured, expelled, and mass murdered simply because they were Jews.¹⁸

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, novels and movies such as *A Gentleman's Agreement* starring Gregory Peck highlighted antisemitic discrimination in the United States. The plot set in post-World War II New York City portrayed a non-Jewish reporter, Phil Green, pretending to be Jewish in order to research antisemitism. As a Jew, he faced job discrimination, housing discrimination, and his son was bullied at school. It was a revolutionary motion picture in its time for tackling the then taboo theme of antisemitism. In the US, the Holocaust was still fresh in people's minds and it was unconscionable to believe that Americans harbored antisemitic prejudice. The book made the New York Times Best Sellers List and the movie won three Academy Awards. Critics are still hailing it as a "must watch" today for cleverly combining a social psychological experiment with a powerful social message.¹⁹ The outcome depicted in the movie was consistent with results of several experiments on interpersonal discrimination.²⁰

havioral Scientist 51, no. 2 (October 2007): 232–45; U.S. Census, "Law Enforcement, Courts, and Prisons," accessed June 25, 2018, <http://www.census.gov/prod/2004pubs/04statab/law.pdf>.

¹⁸ Cf. A. Mohl, "The Evolution of Anti-Semitism: Historical and Psychological Roots," *The Journal Of Psychohistory* 39, no. 2 (2011): 115–28.

¹⁹ Cf. P. Bradshaw, "My Favorite Best Picture Oscar Winner: Gentleman's Agreement," *The Guardian*, February 15, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/film/2017/feb/15/best-picture-oscar-winners-gentlemans-agreement-1947>.

²⁰ Cf. M. R. Hebl, J. B. Foster, L. M. Mannix, and J. F. Dovidio, "Formal and Interpersonal Discrimination: A Field Study of Bias Toward Homosexual Applicants," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 28, no. 6 (June 2002): 815–25.

Yet even after the obvious nature of antisemitism was brought to the forefront, antisemitism continues to exist and some question whether it has grown stronger. Can we put an end to antisemitism?

Understanding Antisemitic Thinking

A possible explanation for prejudice and antisemitism in particular is that it is a learned process (brought down from generation to generation) and therefore the inevitable byproduct of information processing. As previously discussed, the most basic cognitive processes include categorization and group creation. Once we have the established mental category Jews (no different for cognitive purposes than the mental category fruit), we group all members of the Jewish religion, race, and nation into the simple group Jews while at the same time downplaying individual differences between Jewish group members and exaggerating differences between Jews and non-Jews. Social categorization by nature creates an us-versus-them-scenario, or what social psychologists refer to as an in-group bias, in which we prefer members of their own group, referred to as the in-group (those similar to us) over members of other groups, referred to as the out-group (anyone considered different from us—them).

For centuries, Jews were considered social pariahs. Throughout Europe, Jews were enclosed behind ghetto walls and often forced to wear distinctive clothing thereby creating an obviously different social group. Indeed, research revealed that European participants even tended to agree with negative antisemitic stereotypes presented in abstract rather than concrete terms, but this was not the case for negative stereotypes of other groups.²¹ Research tends to support theories of in-group bias suggesting that Jews over centuries have become the perennial out-group.

According to Henri Tajfel, in-group bias is psychologically motivated by the need for self-esteem. Tajfel created the minimal group paradigm to study this phenomenon. He arbitrarily grouped random strangers into two groups and assigned each group a name. This simple grouping criterion was enough to induce in-group bias among group members. Group members showed a preference for their own group members through higher ratings and rewards. Additionally, social categorization leads to what social psychologists refer to as out-group homogeneity, or the perception that those in the out-group are more similar to each

²¹ Cf. A. Maass, F. Montalcini, and E. Biciotti, "On the (Dis-)confirmability of Stereotypic Attributes," *European Journal Of Social Psychology* 28, no. 3 (May 1998): 383–402.

other than they really are, as well as more similar than the members of the in-group are (i.e., the belief that “they’re all alike”).²² In his book *Anti-Semite and Jew*, Jean-Paul Sartre presents a scenario in which a non-Jew felt she was cheated by a Jewish furrier and as a result disliked all Jews in general rather than that particular Jew (or even furriers as a group).²³ Sartre’s example demonstrates a collapse of logic. With logic gone, it becomes very difficult if not impossible to get a deep-seated antisemite to change his or her mind.

Allport presents a debate between a steadfast antisemite and a non-antisemite (for lack of a better term) in which the non-antisemite presents the charitable nature of Jews; the antisemite, despite repeated attempts to the contrary, clings to his convictions that Jews are cheap, selfish people with shady business practices.²⁴ This may be the case for one of two reasons: first, antisemitism is not logical; it is emotional. Attitudes stemming from antisemitic emotion are no longer reasonable, causing a prejudiced person to distort challenges to their beliefs.²⁵ Second, an ardent antisemite has such strongly imprinted stereotypes of Jews that all they can pay attention to is the information consistent with their antisemitic beliefs, at which point the stereotypes are invulnerable to change.²⁶ While these stereotypes may not be as blatantly expressed today, they continue to persist. Terms like “don’t Jew me down” are still heard during bargaining processes even among elite businessmen, and these stereotypes to a degree have become culturally recognizable and acceptable.²⁷

Research reveals that these stereotypes are automatic even if one considers him or herself a non-prejudiced person.²⁸ Because stereotypical and prejudiced beliefs are automatic, they then affect information processing. When we encounter a Jew, commonly held Jewish stereotypes are automatically triggered. Once those old stereotypes are activated in our minds, then it is up to us to decide whether or not to accept the stereotype and allow it to affect our judgement. Research on automatic and controlled prejudice has shown that non-Jewish partic-

22 Cf. H. Taifel, “Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations,” *Annual Reviews of Psychology* 33, no. 1 (1982): 1–39.

23 Cf. J.-P. Sartre, *Anti-Semite and Jew* (New York: Schocken Press, 1948).

24 Cf. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*.

25 Cf. N. W. Ackerman and M. Jahoda, *Anti-Semitism and Emotional Disorder: A Psychoanalytic Interpretation* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950).

26 Cf. Ch. Y. Glock, and R. Stark, *Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966).

27 Cf. P. G. Devine, and A. J. Elliot, “Are Racial Stereotypes Really Fading? The Princeton Trilogy Revisited,” *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 21 (1995): 1139–150.

28 Cf. P. G. Devine, “Stereotypes and prejudice: Their Automatic and Controlled Components,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 56, no. 1 (1989): 5–18.

ipants administered stronger shocks to Jewish targets than non-Jewish targets only after they believed the Jewish targets spoke about them. This means that antisemitic stereotypes were activated, but they were only acted upon once the participant believed they were justified in doing so.²⁹

Antisemitism is often automatic and unconscious. Research in terror management theory (TMT³⁰) proposes that many human activities unconsciously function to reduce the terror that comes from awareness of one's own mortality. Culture provides one way to manage death-related anxiety. It does so by providing worldviews that offer order, meaning, and permanence; by providing a set of standards of valued behavior that, if satisfied, provide self-esteem; and by promising protection and, ultimately, death transcendence to those who fulfill the standards of value. People therefore expend a great deal of effort maintaining their culturally-bestowed worldviews and defending them against threats.

Although adherents often experience their cultural worldviews as absolute reality, these are actually fragile social constructions requiring continual validation from others especially when confronted with reminders of mortality. This validation occurs mainly through the process of social consensus. Thus, the mere existence of others with similar worldviews (the in-group) bolsters people's faith in the validity of their own worldviews, thereby increasing the effectiveness of the worldviews as anxiety-buffers. Likewise, the mere existence of others with dissimilar worldviews (the out-group) threatens the people's faith in their own worldviews and undermines the effectiveness of the worldviews as anxiety-buffers. For these reasons, TMT provides a straightforward explanation for antisemitism (prejudice against a Jewish out-group). When focused on their own mortality, and in need of the protection their worldviews provide, non-Jews may become more hostile towards Jews, because Jews represent a challenge to their worldviews. Indeed early TMT studies revealed that after thoughts of death were brought into conscious awareness, non-Jewish participants liked non-Jewish targets more and Jewish targets less. More recent research replicated these findings and additionally showed that often people try to suppress their

²⁹ Cf. R. W. Rogers and S. Prentice-Dunn, "Deindividuation and Anger-mediated Interracial Aggression: Unmasking Regressive Racism," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 41, no. 1 (July 1981): 63–73.

³⁰ Cf. J. Greenberg, Sh. Solomon, and T. Pyszczynski, "Terror Management Theory of Self-esteem," in *Handbook of Social and Clinical Psychology: The Health Perspective*, ed. C.R. Snyder, and D. R. Forsyth (Elmsford: Pergamon, 1991), 21–40.

antisemitic attitudes in order to appear unprejudiced and maintain a positive self-concept.³¹

Very often, in order to justify antisemitic attitudes, people may blame the victim and making what social psychologists refer to as dispositional attributions for their victimization;³² the victim's predicament is due to deficits in the victim's character. The belief is that if Jews have been the targets of antisemitism throughout history, then they probably did something to deserve it. The belief in a just world posits that people get what they deserve and deserve what they get.³³

Beloved children's author and known antisemite Ronald Dahl was quoted as saying,

"There is a trait in the Jewish character that does provoke animosity [...] maybe it's a kind of lack of generosity towards non-Jews. I mean, there's always a reason why anti-anything crops up anywhere; even a stinker like Hitler didn't just pick on them for no reason [...] I mean, if you and I were in a line moving towards what we knew were gas chambers, I'd rather have a go at taking one of the guards with me; but they [the Jews] were always submissive."³⁴

Psychologically, belief in a just world is a coping mechanism used to protect us from fears and worries by convincing ourselves that if we are good people, no harm will come to us. Unfortunately, belief in a just world leads to derogation of the victim and prejudice. If one believes that six million Jews perished in the Holocaust because of their own doing, they can be comforted in believing that something like that could never happen here to them.

Prejudice and Economic Competition: Realistic Conflict Theory

On a conscious and more obvious level, a main source of antisemitism could be accounted for by economic competition and realistic conflict theory. Whenever Jews have been given a reasonable degree of freedom that approaches or equals

31 Cf. F. Cohen, L. Jussim, K. D. Harber, and G. Bhasin, "Modern Anti-Semitism and Anti-Israeli Attitudes," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 97, no. 2 (2009): 290–306.

32 Cf. M. Lerner and D. T. Miller, "Just World Research and the Attribution Process: Looking Back and Ahead," *Psychological Bulletin* 85, no. 5 (1978): 1030–51.

33 Cf. M. Lerner, *The Belief in a Just World: A Fundamental Decision* (New York: Plenum, 1980).

34 M. Oppenheim, "Roald Dahl after 100 Years: Remembering Beloved Author's Forgotten Anti-Semitic Past," *Independent Minds*, September 13, 2016, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/roald-dahl-antisemitic-100-years-remembering-author-forgotten-past-a7254266.html>.

that of other citizens, they have achieved economic and professional success at extraordinarily high levels (e.g., Spanish Jews under medieval Islamic rule, Polish Jews in the sixteenth century,³⁵ the Jews of Europe after emancipation in the nineteenth century,³⁶ and modern American Jews).

Furthermore, in the modern world, Jews have had an extraordinary record of intellectual success. Jews represent less than one half of one percent of the world population, yet of the 750 Nobel Prizes awarded between 1901 and 2006, 158 (21 percent) went to Jews.³⁷ Although Jews constitute less than 3 percent of the US population they disproportionately enter the university system and professions,³⁸ and, as a result, Jews have substantially higher incomes than do other groups.³⁹

Such disproportionate representation can be a cause of suspicion and envy.

Realistic Conflict Theory posits that limited resources lead to increased conflict between competing groups thereby resulting in increased prejudice and discrimination.⁴⁰ Several historical studies document that prejudice, discrimination, and violence against out-group members is positively correlated with the scarcity of jobs or other resources.⁴¹ Correlational and experimental data exist that support group conflict theory. For example, Hovland and Sears found a significant ($r = -.72$) correlation between the price of cotton and the number of lynchings of blacks in the South from 1882 to 1930.⁴² Classic scientific experiments conducted by Şerif et al. known as the “Robber’s Cave” experiment pitted two randomly assigned groups of twelve-year-old boys at a summer camp, the Eagles or the Rattlers. Group cohesiveness and group competitiveness developed causing hostility between the two groups to rapidly escalate demonstrating how

35 Cf. J. Spunberg, “History of the Jews in Poland,” accessed June 5, 2018, http://www.berdichev.org/history_of_the_jews_in_poland.htm

36 Cf. M. Weber, *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Scribner, 1958).

37 Cf. <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jewish-nobel-prize-laureates>.

38 Cf. Hillel International: The Jewish Foundation for Campus Life, <https://www.hillel.org/>.

39 Cf. Ch. Smith and R. Faris. “Socioeconomic Inequality in the American Religious System: An Update and Assessment,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 44 (2005): 95–104.

40 Cf. M. Şerif, *Group Conflict and Cooperation: Their Social Psychology* (London: Routledge & Kegan, 1966).

41 Cf. J. Dollard, “Hostility and Fear in Social Life,” *Social Forces* 17, no. 1. (October 1938): 15–26; P. Jacobs and S. Landau, *To Serve the Devil: Natives and Slaves* (New York: Random House, 1971); D. Kohl, “The Presentation of ‘Self’ and ‘Other’ in Nazi Propaganda,” *Psychology and Society* 4, no. 1 (2011): 7–26.

42 Cf. C. I. Hovland and R. R. Sears, “Minor Studies in Aggression: VI. Correlation of Lynchings with Economic Indices,” *Journal of Psychology* 9 (1940): 301–10.

easily conflict and discrimination can escalate from what were previously non-existing groups.⁴³

In the 1930s, the world economy sank into the Great Depression. In Germany, in particular the economic situation was grim, yet most Jews fared quite well and appeared to be employed in good jobs. This could have contributed to animosity between German Jews and non-Jews competing for scarce resources, as the pre-World War II sentiment in Germany was the Jews are stealing my business, my job and the future of my country.

Historical research also found that antisemitism rises with economic downturn. During the last financial crisis, 31 percent of European adults polled blamed Jews in the financial industry for the economic meltdown; and 40 percent of European adults polled believed that Jews have an over-abundance of power in the business world.⁴⁴ An extreme case of realistic conflict theory is scapegoating, or the tendency for individuals, when frustrated or unhappy, to displace aggression onto those groups who are relatively powerless, disliked, and visible. Often, scapegoating occurs when people are frustrated (economically or politically), but there is no clear target to blame the frustration on. It may occur even in the absence of direct competition.⁴⁵ Jews are often the target of scapegoating because of their visibility and historical weakness. For centuries, they were few in numbers, defenseless, and had no homeland of their own.

Research subjecting antisemitic and non-antisemitic participants to a great deal of frustration revealed that antisemitic participants assigned to write stories about pictures containing Jewish names wrote stories in which more aggressive actions were directed towards them, where those assigned to pictures with non-Jewish names did not (results did not significantly differ for non-antisemitic participants).⁴⁶

⁴³ Cf. M. Şerif, et al., *The Robbers Cave Experiment: Intergroup Conflict and Cooperation* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1961).

⁴⁴ Cf. Anti-Defamation League, "Attitudes Toward Jews and the Middle East in Five European Countries," issued May 2007. https://www.adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/assets/pdf/israel-international/European_Attitudes_Survey_May_2007.pdf; N. Mozgovaya, "Poll: 31% of Europeans Blame Jews for Global Financial Crisis," *Haaretz*, February 10, 2009, <https://www.haaretz.com/1.5073513>.

⁴⁵ Cf. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*; P. S. Glick, "Choice of Scapegoats," in *On the Nature of Prejudice: Fifty Years after Allport*, ed. J. F. Dovidio, P. S. Glick, and L. A. Rudman (Malden: Blackwell, 2005), 244–61.

⁴⁶ Cf. D. Weatherley, "Antisemitism and the Expression of Fantasy Aggression," *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 62, no. 2 (1961): 454–57.

Normative Conformity

Human beings are social creatures in need of love and acceptance by those around them. Explicit and implicit socialization provides the norms our culture is governed by. In order to be accepted, we conform to the standards of our culture. Very often, stereotypes and prejudiced attitudes are ingrained in those cultural norms making conformity very dangerous. Institutionalized prejudice refers to the concept that prejudiced attitudes, stereotypes, and discrimination are the norm; institutionalized antisemitism was the norm in European society and then in Nazi Germany at an alarming level. In this society, normative conformity led the German populace to go along with Hitler's plan to wipe out European Jewry in order to fulfill the regime's expectations and gain acceptance. Research reveals that people's prejudice and discrimination are subject to change when they move to an area with different norms.⁴⁷ As such, while realistic conflict theory and institutionalized antisemitism help to explain the events of the Holocaust, they do little to explain the uptick in antisemitism today. What exactly is happening now?

Modern Antisemitism

Modern sensibilities discourage people from expressing prejudice against minority groups (see, e.g., Nelson's *The Psychology of Prejudice*⁴⁸ for a review). For many people, detecting bigotry in themselves represents a threat to their own self-worth.⁴⁹ As such, overt racism and sexism have gone underground, hidden from external social censure and even from one's own self-recognition. These attitudes are submerged but not necessarily dormant; rather they are expressed

⁴⁷ Cf. T. F. Pettigrew, "Personality and Sociocultural Factors in Intergroup Attitudes: a Cross-national Comparison," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 2, no. 1 (March 1958): 29–42.

⁴⁸ T. D. Nelson, *The Psychology of Prejudice* (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 2002).

⁴⁹ Cf. P. G. Devine, M. J. Montie, J. R. Zuwerink, and A. J. Elliot, "Prejudice with and without Compunction," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 60, no. 6 (1991): 817–30; D. G. Dutton and R. A. Lake, "Threat of Own Prejudice and Reverse Discrimination in Interracial Situations," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 28, no. 1 (1973): 94–100; S. L. Gaertner and J. F. Dovidio, "The Aversive Form of Racism," in *Prejudice, Discrimination, and Racism*, ed. S. L. Gaertner and J. F. Dovidio (San Diego: Academic Press, 1986), 61–90; K. D. Harber, "Self-esteem and Affect as Information," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 31, no. 2 (February 2005): 276–88; E. E. Jones et al., *Social Stigma: The Psychology of Marked Relationships* (New York: Freeman, 1984).

through more socially acceptable guises in the form of modern racism and modern sexism.⁵⁰

Classic antisemitism, like other forms of bigotry, has largely gone underground. Except for extreme hate groups, few in the democratic West explicitly advocate repressing, isolating, or harming Jews. What, then, might be a more socially acceptable avenue for expressing antisemitism? Opposition to Israel. This is not to equate anti-Israel views with antisemitism but instead to suggest that hostility toward Israel may provide a socially acceptable cover for hostility toward Jews in general.

This kind of camouflage is common practice in hostility towards other groups. For example, hostility to minorities or women can be hidden within opposition to affirmative action, even though some who oppose this policy are neither sexists nor racists. Research examining blatant and modern racism in Europe found that those who scored as racist on blatant and modern racism wanted to send immigrants back; while those who scored as nonracist on the blatant scale but racist on the subtle scale did not want to take action to send immigrants back; however they were also unwilling to support any actions to help improve their rights.⁵¹ In the same way, hostility toward Israel can serve as socially acceptable cover for antisemitism precisely because other critics of Israel have motives untainted by such bias.

Except among extreme hate groups that have been around seemingly forever, one rarely sees this type of blatant antisemitic rhetoric in the democratic west. Instead, one finds something far more subtle: Attempts to stigmatize, censure, and sanction Israel for acts and policies that cause far less harm than those of other countries. For example, British academic unions have periodically voted or considered voting to boycott Israel; and both British and American churches have voted or considered votes to divest from Israel. Given the at least comparable, and often far greater suffering and oppression perpetrated by regimes such as China, North Korea, Saudi Arabia, and Burma; given the “occupations” occurring in places such as Kashmir, Northern Ireland, and Tibet; and given the vastly greater death perpetrated in conflicts occurring in Chechnya, the Congo, Syria, and Sudan than in the Arab-Israeli conflicts, the failure of these same unions and churches to advocate for similar sanctions against other, non-Jewish coun-

50 Cf. J. B. McConahay, “Modern Racism, Ambivalence, and the Modern Racism Scale,” in *Prejudice, Discrimination, and Racism*, ed. S. L. Gaertner and J. F. Dovidio (San Diego: Academic Press, 1986), 91–125; J. K. Swim et al., “Sexism and Racism: Old-fashioned and Modern Prejudices,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 68, no. 2 (1995): 199–214.

51 Cf. T. F. Pettigrew and R. W. Meertens, “Subtle and Blatant Prejudice in Western Europe,” *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 25 (1995): 57–75.

tries, at least raises the specter that the desire to punish Israel might spring from something other than deep and sincere concern for human rights.

Does The United Nations Disproportionately Scrutinize Israel?

Supporters of Israel have long claimed that the United Nation subjects Israel to standards and scrutiny that it rarely applies to other countries.⁵² Of course, partisans often see the world as biased against them, which raises the possibility that such complaints reflect the bias of those complaining rather than any real disproportion in the UN's treatment of Israel versus other countries.⁵³ Therefore, archival study of UN records examining whether the UN really does pay disproportionate attention to Israel were quite telling.⁵⁴

"Attention" and "disproportionate" were operationalized using the United Nations website to locate all human rights documents pertaining to any member country. "Attention" therefore was objectively and quantitatively defined as the total number of UN documents on Israel for the period 1990–2007. "Proportionate" was defined by comparing situations such as Israel constructing a security fence that unjustifiably cuts through Palestinian homes and communities with Saudi Arabia's denial of women the right to vote or drive or the human rights violations that occurred during Israel's 2006 war with Lebanon to Russia's 2008 war with Georgia, specifically the amount of civilian death inflicted as a result of war or government policy.

Civilian death, especially when intentional (as it is in many conflicts), is the ultimate human rights violation. Furthermore, numbers of dead are quantitative, objective, and readily comparable across countries, ethnicities, religions, and cultures. Conflicts were specifically chosen where estimates have converged within a fairly narrow range.

Israel was compared to conflicts occurring on five different continents and conflicts with widely varying degrees of civilian death in order to obtain a broad view of the relationship between civilian death and UN scrutiny.

52 Cf. e.g. "UN Security Council Resolution 1701," *Haaretz*, November 26, 2007, <https://www.haaretz.com/1.4960375>.

53 Cf. e.g. R. P. Vallone, L. Ross, and M. R. Lepper, "The Hostile Media Phenomenon: Biased Perception and Perceptions of Media Bias in Coverage of the Beirut Massacre," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 49, no. 3 (1985): 577–85.

54 Cf. F. Cohen, L. Jussim, G. Bhasin, and E. R. Salib, "The New Anti-Semitism Israel Model: Real World Evidence and Experimental Tests," *Conflict and Communication On-Line* 10 (2011): 1–16.

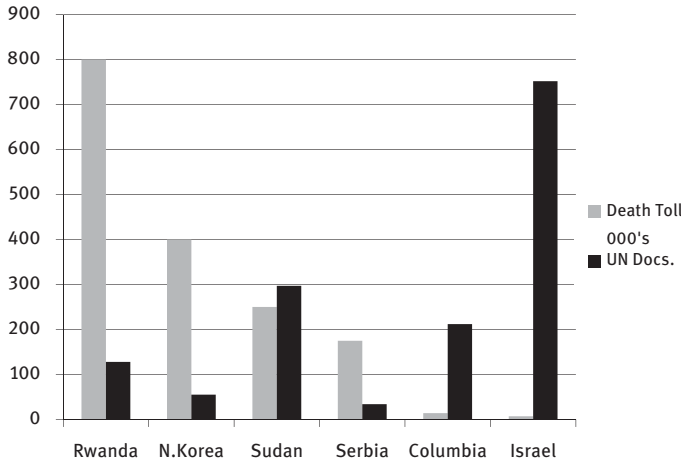


Figure 2. Does the UN Pay Disproportionate Attention to Israel? Numbers of UN Human Rights Documents versus Civilian Death, 1990–2007, in Israel and Five Other Countries.

Figure 2 summarizes the main results, which cover the period from 1990–2007. Several aspects of the data are quite striking: (1) Although the civilian death toll in this period is, in absolute terms, the lowest for Israel (and the figure for Israel includes Israeli civilian deaths as well as Arab civilian death); (2) The UN scrutiny is actually highest in absolute terms. On average, across the five comparison countries, the UN produced about 4 documents for every 10,000 civilian deaths (726 documents for 1,639,000 deaths). For Israel, the ratio is about 1 document for every 9 deaths (752 documents for 7100 deaths). Put differently, (1) The UN produced more documents regarding Israel than for all five of the comparison countries combined; and (2) the UN is about 239 times more likely to produce a document resulting from a civilian death involving Israel than it is to produce one for the other five countries examined.

These data, therefore, do not support the claim that supporters of Israel overstate or exaggerate the extent to which the UN disproportionately scrutinizes Israel. Instead, they support the claim that, in fact, the UN does indeed scrutinize the Israeli human rights situation far more than it does for other countries.

Political Cartoons

Numerous real world events seem to reflect the uniquely hostile reactions people often have towards Israel. For example, there are repeated initiatives to divest

from Israel, to boycott Israeli scholars and universities, and to withdraw U.S. support from Israel on the basis of Israel's human rights records. However, the groups initiating these actions do not advocate similar sanctions against the many countries whose human rights records are much worse than is Israel's. This selectivity suggests that something other than (or in addition to) legitimate umbrage is informing anti-Israel sentiment.

Another disturbing example may be found in modern political cartoons in which Israel and Israelis are depicted as animals, insects, or cannibals.

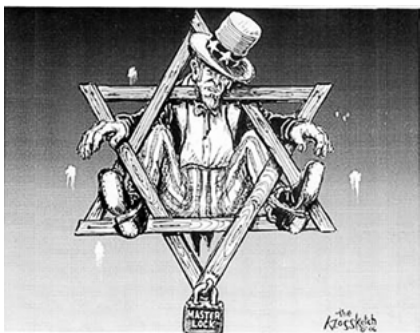


Image 1a. Modern Day Anti-Israel cartoon and its WWII Era Parallel. The US as a captive of the Jewish State. Caricature by John Kloss for *The Sacramento News & Review* August 3, 2006.

Source: www.rhymeswithright.mu.nu/images/JohnKlossAntiSemiticCartoon.jpg, accessed June 3, 2019.

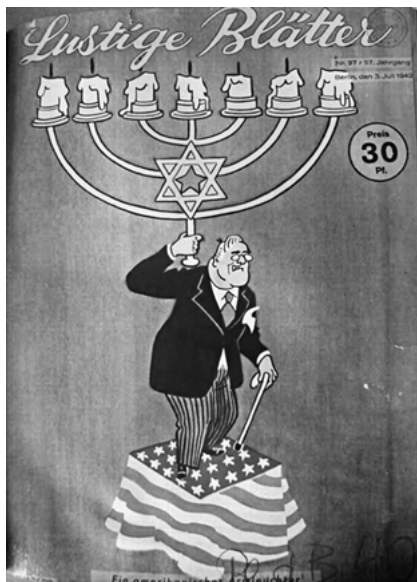


Image 1b. Modern Day Anti-Israel cartoon and its WWII Era Parallel. *Lustige Blätter*, Nr 27, 57. Jahrgang, 1942.

The caption reads “American Candelabra.” The antisemitic theme suggests that Roosevelt is serving the Jews.



Image 2a. Modern Day Anti-Israel cartoon and its WWII Era Parallel Antisemitic cartoon by Seppla (Josef Plank), ca. 1938. An octopus with a Star of David over its head has its tentacles encompassing a globe.
Source: Library of Congress, courtesy of USHMM Photo Archives, Photograph Number: 73815.



Image 2b. Modern Day Anti-Israel cartoon and its WWII Era Parallel Octopus bearing a Magen David (Star of David) clutching the globe in its tentacles. The caption reads “Secure borders for Israel.” *Al-Ahram*, May 25, 2002.
Source: <http://www.antipasministries.com/other/article225.htm>, accessed June 3, 2019.

These cartoons are striking in several regards. First, on their face, they seem to reflect the virulent type of loathing that often characterizes deep-seated bigotries. Second, they were obtained from mainstream presses from a variety of countries (American, British, Egyptian). Third, many have a haunting similarity in substance, style, and motif to Nazi-era cartoons depicting Jews in a manner widely recognized as reflecting the most virulent form of antisemitism (also shown in the images above). I am not claiming that the authors of the modern cartoons are Nazi-sympathizers. The vile nature of these cartoons, however, does suggest that antisemitic attitudes may run wide and deep, and they raise the possibility that these cartoons reflect more than mere opposition to Israel and are consistent with the perspective suggesting that hostility to Israel may be expressed with such virulence that it is most likely powered, at least in part, by antisemitism.

Alternative Explanations

When taken together, the evidence of hate crimes in the U.S., the evidence of rising international antisemitism gathered by a variety of organizations, the harsh bigoted rhetoric by some political leaders, churches, and unions considering sanctioning Israel but not countries with far worse human rights records, and the UN's bizarre record of attention to Israel strongly suggests that, after lying mostly dormant for a few decades immediately after World War II, antisemitism is on the march once again.

The Situation Looks Grim: Possible Remedies

Social psychological research suggests that, in a world bombarded by current events that heighten fear, threat, and group conflict (e.g., newspaper accounts of terrorism, war, natural disasters etc.), antisemitism is likely to continue. In France, religious Jews have been attacked, synagogues burned, and Jewish owned businesses stoned.⁵⁵ In many Middle Eastern countries, Israeli flag burning accompanied by shouts of “death to the Jewish infidels” and “Death to Israel” have become common practice.⁵⁶

Additionally, despite Jewish success, most American Jews continue to see antisemitism as a problem, with some seeing antisemitism as a very serious problem. Research indicates that a multiplicity of factors affect perceptions of the seriousness of antisemitism. Those with a stronger sense of Jewish identity, lower income, and older people are more likely to see antisemitism as a very serious problem. Participants also view antisemitism as a more serious threat if they live in states with higher antisemitic incidents rates and when use of anti-semitic terms in the news media increases.⁵⁷ So what can be done?

55 Cf. D. Porat, R. Stauber, and R. Vago, eds., *Anti-Semitism Worldwide 2003/4* (Tel Aviv: The Stephen Roth Institute, Tel Aviv University, 2005).

56 “Anti-Israel Protests Call For ‘Death to Israel’ & ‘Resistance,’” *Anti-Defamation League Blog*, July 10, 2014, <https://www.adl.org/blog/anti-israel-protests-call-for-death-to-israel-resistance>.

57 Cf. J. E. Cohen, “Perceptions of Anti-Semitism among American Jews, 2000–05: A Survey Analysis,” *Political Psychology* 31, no. 1 (February 2010): 85–107.

Reducing Antisemitism

Research on modern antisemitism specifically accounts for the possibility that Arab-Israeli relations have inspired a new manifestation of Jew hatred—virulent hostility to Israel.⁵⁸ This political and ideological antisemitism provides a socially and intellectually acceptable modern disguise for sentiments that have roots going back at least 2,000 years.⁵⁹ Once one recognizes modern antisemitism, it naturally leads to the question of what can be done to prevent it. Can models of general prejudice reduction be applied to antisemitism reduction as well? Would diversity training programs and prejudice reduction education help reduce both explicit and implicit antisemitism? The hope that prejudice can be reduced by education has proven naive. Change requires more.

Intergroup Contact

Social psychologists have long suggested that intergroup contact positively influences the quality of intergroup relations.⁶⁰ Research has demonstrated that the amount of reported previous contact with outgroup members was generally related to a more positive perception of the outgroup.⁶¹ While contact per se may not be a sufficient condition for this effect, it is a potentially powerful tool for changing and ameliorating reciprocal perceptions between social groups.⁶²

Two experiments conducted at Rutgers University demonstrated that students enrolled in a prejudice and conflict seminar instructed by an African-American professor showed decreased anti-Black biases at the end of the semester as compared with at the beginning of the semester. These effects were obtained for both explicit and implicit measures of prejudice, suggesting that multicultural

58 Cf. Cohen et al., “Modern Anti-Semitism.”

59 Cf. B. Lewis, “The New Anti-Semitism,” *American Scholar* 75 (2006): 25–36; J. Y. Gonen, *A Psychohistory of Zionism* (New York: New York American Library, 1975); H. C. Kelman, “Transforming the Relationship between Former Enemies: A Social Psychological Analysis,” in *After the Peace: Resistance And Reconciliations*, ed. R. L. Rothstein (London: Lynne Renner, 1999), 193–205.

60 Cf. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*; T. F. Pettigrew, “Intergroup Contact Theory,” *Annual Review of Psychology* 49, no. 1 (1998) 68–85.

61 Cf. L. Castelli, L. De Amicis, and S. J. Sherman, “The Loyal Member Effect: On the Preference for Ingroup Members who Engage in Exclusive Relations with the Ingroup,” *Developmental Psychology* 43, no. 6 (2007): 1347–59.

62 Cf. Pettigrew, “Intergroup Contact Theory.”

education can transform people's attitudes and beliefs at both the conscious and non-conscious level.⁶³ However, at times increased contact is difficult to achieve. Often contact is avoided because of preexisting negative attitudes toward the outgroup. Additionally intergroup contact can be stressful and uncertain.⁶⁴

Furthermore, integrating social situations such as the classroom or workplace does not necessarily guarantee increased contact between different groups or reduction in prejudicial attitudes.⁶⁵ The Rudman et al. studies illustrated that students who voluntarily enrolled in diversity education showed a significant reduction in their implicit prejudice and stereotype scores, compared with control students. In other words, in order for contact to reduce prejudice, people must be open to intergroup interactions.⁶⁶

Intergroup contact in which members of conflicting groups were open to dialogue has been shown not only to ease tensions between Israelis and Palestinians in the Middle East but also has led to strong friendships among members of the opposing groups. Palestinian students from the Hebron area and Israeli students from Bar-Ilan University participated in a series of meetings and activities lasting about four years. The meetings focused on commonalities between Islam and Judaism and eventuality led to several cooperative projects between the two groups. Participants reported positive reactions toward the meetings and attributed them to the discovery of commonalities in the other's religious culture.⁶⁷

Awareness and prejudice rejection. Understanding our own biases is the first step to combating prejudice. Research indicates that people who become self-aware of their prejudiced responses attempt to regulate and reduce them because of the experience of negative self-directed affect.⁶⁸ Recent research has demon-

63 Cf. L. A. Rudman, R. D. Ashmore, and M. L. Gary, "'Unlearning' Automatic Biases: The Malleability of Implicit Prejudice and Stereotypes," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 81, no. 5 (2001): 856–68.

64 Cf. J. Blascovich, W. B. Mendes, S. B. Hunter, B. Lickel, and N. Kowai-Bell, "Perceiver Threat in Social Interactions with Stigmatized Others," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 80, no. 2 (2001): 253–67; J. A. Richeson, and J. N. Shelton, "When Prejudice Does Not Pay: Effects of Interracial Contact on Executive Function," *Psychological Science* 14, no. 3 (May 2003): 287–90.

65 Cf. J. Dixon, and K. Durrheim, "Contact and the Ecology of Racial Division: Some Varieties of Informal Segregation," *British Journal of Social Psychology* 42, no. 1 (March 2003): 1–23; H. B. Gerard and N. Miller, *School Desegregation: A Long-Term Study* (New York: Plenum, 1975).

66 Cf. Rudman et al., "'Unlearning' Automatic Biases."

67 Cf. B. Mollov, "The Role of Religion in Conflict Resolution: An Israeli-Palestinian Student Dialogue," *Jerusalem Letter / Viewpoints* 404 (April 1999): 1–6.

68 Cf. e.g., M. J. Monteith, "Self-regulation of Prejudiced Responses: Implications for Progress in Prejudice Reduction Efforts," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 65, no. 3 (1993): 469–85; M. J. Monteith, L. Ashburn-Nardo, C. I. Voils, and A. M. Czopp, "Putting the Brakes

strated that confrontations of racial bias successfully reduced the likelihood of biased responses in a later experimental task. Thus, confrontations from others are likely to be effective to the extent that feelings such as guilt and self-criticism are elicited.⁶⁹

Understanding the role of unconscious death threats in antisemitism. Educating people regarding the potentially harmful effects resulting from reminders of death (that are so common in daily life) and incorporating this education into established prejudice reduction programs could aid intergroup relations, fight antisemitism, and assist in the battle of general prejudice. As people recognize that antisemitism is, in part, a defense aimed at repressing death related anxieties, they may find other means to assuage their terror and protect against it. When people were instructed to think logically, negative mortality salience effects disappeared.⁷⁰ Defense against anxiety need not come at the price of intolerance towards others. Perhaps such animosities may be directed towards more legitimate and inanimate targets, such as poverty, illness, ignorance, and conflict resolution.

Recent TMT research has demonstrated that mortality salience increases a need for heroes. After 9/11, Americans demonstrated great appreciation for police officers and firefighters who risked and even gave their lives to protect us. Additionally, many Americans behaved in altruistic manners (e.g., many gave blood, donated to police, fire fighters, and other 9/11-related charities). Thus, MS in conjunction with institutionalized prejudice reduction programs can indeed be redirected toward those who exemplify cultural values, act benevolently, or risk their own well-being to help others rather than intolerance.

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on Prejudice: On the Development and Operation of Cues for Control," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 83, no. 5 (2002): 1029–50.

⁶⁹ Cf. A. M. Czopp, M. J. Monteith, and A. Y. Mark, "Standing Up for a Change: Reducing Bias through Interpersonal Confrontation," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 90, no. 5 (May 2006): 784–803.

⁷⁰ Cf. J. Greenberg, Sh. Solomon, and T. Pyszczynski, "The Cultural Animal: Twenty Years of Terror Management Theory and Research," in *The Handbook of Experimental Existential Psychology*, ed. J. Greenberg, S. L. Koole, and T. Pyszczynski (New York: Guilford, 2004), 13–34.

plied to cases of individual voting preferences, stereotypic thinking and prejudice, which seems to be aroused by major social disruptions.

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Klaus S. Davidowicz

The Demonization of Judaism

“Jew-hatred is the eldest social, cultural, religious and political prejudice of human kind; Jew-hatred occurs in segregating and stigmatizing stereotypes, long before discrimination and brute force make this resentment public, i. e. in passed down conceptions of the minority by the majority, passed on uncritically from generation to generation.”¹

Is there some continuity in antisemitism from Antiquity to the Shoah up to the present, or are these rather separated periods because of the large local and historical differences? In research on antisemitism, a line is drawn between the religiously motivated Jew-hatred and the national and racist antisemitism that developed in the nineteenth century. Is there a continuous “history of anti-Semitism” as described by Léon Poliakov in his four-volume book (1955–1977) of the same title?² Shulamit Volkov put it aptly when she talked about the development of antisemitism as “continuity and discontinuity,”³ similar to the way Raul Hilberg showed the connection between medieval Jew-hatred and National Socialist antisemitism in his standard work *The Destruction of the European Jews* (1961), but he also did not fail to point out the differences between the two. Certainly, religion-based anti-Judaism, racial antisemitism, and anti-Zionist antisemitism are forms of the same root—Jew-hatred, a phenomenon that can be encountered throughout the entire history of the Jews.

Of course, there are large and important differentiations between cultural and racist antisemitism, between primary and secondary antisemitism, just as there are surprising continuities with the phenomena of Jew-hatred. Certain antisemitic pictures from antiquity up to the present can be established that create new, often bizarre, bonds that survive preposterous to reason. One of the central antisemitic perceptions is the alleged relation between Judaism and the devil, which will be shown here.

The demonization of Judaism began already in ancient times, especially at the beginning of Christianity, and its ramifications became reflected not only in anti-Jewish legislation and pogroms but also in literature, arts, and movies. In antiquity, scribes such as Apion (20 B.C.E.–45 C.E.) and Manetho (250

1 W. Benz, *Was ist Antisemitismus?* (Munich: Beck, 2005), 7. Translation by the author of this article.

2 All four volumes of *Histoire de l'antisémitisme* were published in 1955, 1961, 1968, and 1977 in Paris by Calmann-Lévy; the English translation, *The History of Antisemitism*, was published in 1966, 1973, 1975, and 1984 in Philadelphia by the University of Pennsylvania Press.

3 Sh. Volkov, *Antisemitismus als kultureller Code: Zehn Essays* (Munich: Beck, 2000), 54.

B.C.E.) used antisemitic elements that show an alleged connection between Jews and dark forces. The texts of Apion and Manetho are lost and passed on in excerpts only by Flavius Josephus (37–100 C.E.), who points out aptly: “Would not anyone either laugh at such nonsense or alternatively detest the effrontery in writing such things?”⁴

In the first century C.E., Josephus wrote a rebuttal to the antique antisemitism of authors like Apion and Manetho. In the third century B.C.E., Artapanus of Alexandria also knew about the antisemitic texts of Manetho, which should serve as a proof that Manetho himself wrote them and that they were not attributed to a later Pseudo-Manetho. Artapanus of Alexandria, an early Jewish historian of the second century, wrote a history of the Jews entitled “Concerning the Jews” as an apologia against authors like Manetho. Unfortunately, only fragments of this text are preserved. Manetho, an Egyptian-Alexandrian high priest from Heliopolis, spoke out harshly against the Jews. He regarded them as “impure” Egyptians who pollute the country. It is of a certain importance that in his text, Manetho described Avaris as the living and dwelling place of the Jews, Avaris being the city of Seth, a rather evil god of the desert and ruler of war and chaos who killed Osiris according to Egyptian mythology.

Antisemitism of the antiquity influences even today’s Latin lessons via later Roman authors such as Tacitus (58–120 C.E.), who merged ideas with ancient antisemitic polemics in the fifth volume of his work “The Histories” in an “Excurus about the Jews.” The antisemite Tacitus deliberately ignored authors like Josephus in favor of these polemics. Tacitus, who contemptuously described Jewish monotheism and aniconism, makes use of elements that sound astoundingly modern.

(5.1) This worship, however introduced, is upheld by its antiquity; all their other customs, which are at once perverse and disgusting, owe their strength to their very badness. The most degraded out of other races, scorning their national beliefs, brought to them their contributions and presents. This augmented the wealth of the Jews, as also did the fact, that among themselves they are inflexibly honest and ever ready to shew compassion, though they regard the rest of mankind with all the hatred of enemies. (5.2) They sit apart at meals, they sleep apart, and though, as a nation, they are singularly prone to lust, they abstain from intercourse with foreign women; among themselves nothing is unlawful. Circumcision was adopted by them as a mark of difference from other men. Those who come over to their religion adopt the practice, and have this lesson first instilled into them, to despise all gods, to disown their country, and set at nought parents, children, and brethren. Still they pro-

⁴ Flavius Josephus, *Contra Apionem* 2: 22, transl. and comm. J. M. G. Barclay, vol. 10 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 179–180.

vide for the increase of their numbers. It is a crime among them to kill any newly-born infant.⁵

Tacitus connects the religion-based Jewish self-exclusion with hatred towards other peoples. He wants to limit Jewish influence on the Romans. According to him, Jews are rich and eager to reproduce heavily in order to rule the world at some point—these are all timeless ideas of antisemitism. Tacitus' effective history in the history of antisemitism has been researched only partly so far. His book "Germania" serves as the background for the *Deutsche Ahnenerbe-Studien-gesellschaft für Geistesurgeschichte* [*German Ancestral Heritage-Study Society for Primordial Intellectual History*] and influenced National socialist ideologist like Alfred Rosenberg.⁶

However, it was not the antisemitism of the Egyptians and the Romans that constituted the central world of images of antisemitism but Christian Jew-hatred. The so-called "Jesus Movement" turned into Christianity by encountering Greek paganism, whereas Judeo Christians and Greek Christians singled out the central points of their common "Christian" teachings stemming from Philo of Alexandria's intellectual world:

Philo didn't see Jesus of Nazareth, his contemporary, as the son of God and as a teacher, he probably didn't even know about him. His teachings were taken up by the Greek Christians who turned his concept into a new world religion. This fact is being downplayed or even denied by almost all Christian theologians of both confessions because of dogmatic reasons. This would lead to the conclusion that the profession of Christ in its display isn't a divine revelation but rather the outcome of a cultural thinking process.⁷

In Christian theology, the Jewish philosopher Philo (20 B.C.E.–50 C.E.), who did not have any influence on rabbinic Judaism, is seen as a link between Greek and Jewish culture with Jesus the Jew in the center of its faith. Nevertheless, a systematic demonization of Judaism took place already in the very first Gospels. A debate about the relevant paragraphs in the New Testament being antisemitic is, in fact, a pure theological discussion. Since these texts are the basis for the researchers' own faith, it is important to free them from anti-Judaism. The

5 Publius Cornelius Tacitus, *The Histories*, transl. A. J. Church and W. J. Brodribb, Book 5 (New York: Random House, 1942), 1–10.

6 Cf. K. Strobel, "Die Kanonbildung in der Alten Geschichte im Wilhelminischen Deutschland," in *Kanonbildung in der Romanistik und in den Nachbardisziplinen*, ed. W. Dahmen (Tübingen: Narr, 2000), 471–94.

7 A. Grabner-Haider and J. Maier, *Kulturgeschichte des frühen Christentums: von 100 bis 500 n. Chr.* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 53. Translation by the author of this article.

New Testament has to be regarded as a collection of texts in its historical reality and most of the defamations should be seen as part of the disputes that came up when the Christians as a partial Jewish sect split from traditional Judaism. Similar disputes occurred also in modern sectarian movements within Judaism, such as Sabbatianism. Nevertheless, one must not ignore the bloody consequences of anti-Jewish sections in the New Testament, no matter if they had been part of a polemic debate or not—these text will never be a haven of charity. Despite engaged Christian theologians pointing out over and over again that the trial of Jesus was a Roman one and that crucifixion was a Roman form of capital punishment, the image of the Jewish deicides persists even today.

In a central study of Jesus' trial, *The Trial and Death of Jesus: From a Jewish Perspective* by Haim Cohn (1911–2003), it is described how—as absurd as it may sound—after the foundation of the State of Israel in 1948, petitions, mostly from Protestant clerics, were sent to the newly established High Court to reinstate the trial of Jesus in order to “fix the tragic judicial error that our immediate predecessors, the Sanhedrin, made with Jesus.”⁸ The Israeli lawyer and law historian Cohn was consigned to this “case” and shows impressively in his book, how different and contradictory the passion reports are and which goals are hidden behind the thesis of the “Jewish deicides.” The four canonical Gospels (Matthew, Luke, John, and Mark) tell different and conflicting versions of the passion (the tale of woe). The High priest accuses Jesus (Mark) or does not (Luke); the story about Barabbas comes from Pontius Pilate (Matthew) or from the people (Mark), etc. The Evangelists wanted to show that the Jews are to blame for the killing of Christ and therefore, as a punishment, the Second Temple had been destroyed by the Romans in 70 C.E. Obviously, this is the background for carefully drawing a parting line between Christianity and Judaism, which unfortunately gradually turned into a deep rift. The alleged “collective guilt of the Jews” of the actual Roman execution of Jesus is pointed out many times in the New Testament—either as an accusation or a self-cursing.

Discrepancies can be found not only with regards to content. Since Jesus as the Messiah was never relevant in Judaism, the Gospel of John depicts the Jews in dualistic pictures in connection with the divine counterworld of Satan, because of their rejection of the wrong Messiah, Jesus states:

³⁷ “I know that you are Abraham’s descendants. Yet you are looking for a way to kill me, because you have no room for my word. ³⁸ I am telling you what I have seen in the Father’s presence, and you are doing what you have heard from your father.” ³⁹ “Abraham is our father,” they answered. “If you were Abraham’s children,” said Jesus, “then you would

8 H. H. Cohn, *The Trial and Death of Jesus* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972), 103.

do what Abraham did.⁴⁰ As it is, you are looking for a way to kill me, a man who has told you the truth that I heard from God. Abraham did not do such things.⁴¹ You are doing the works of your own father.” “We are not illegitimate children,” they protested. “The only Father we have is God himself.”⁴² Jesus said to them, “If God were your Father, you would love me, for I have come here from God. I have not come on my own; God sent me.”⁴³ Why is my language not clear to you? Because you are unable to hear what I say.⁴⁴ You belong to your father, the devil, and you want to carry out your father’s desires. He was a murderer from the beginning, not holding to the truth, for there is no truth in him. When he lies, he speaks his native language, for he is a liar and the father of lies.⁴⁵ Yet because I tell the truth, you do not believe me!⁴⁶ Can any of you prove me guilty of sin? If I am telling the truth, why don’t you believe me?⁴⁷ Whoever belongs to God hears what God says. The reason you do not hear is that you do not belong to God.” (John 8:37–47)

In the book of Revelation, the “obdurate” Jews unwilling to accept Jesus as their messiah are called “Satan’s synagogue” (Rev 2:9; 3:9). They are seen as the leuds of the “anti-Christ” in the Epistles of John, bearing obvious Jewish traits later on in the Middle Ages. The demonization of Judaism, the way it was applied in the writings of the New Testament, was even expanded in the literature of the Fathers of the Church. Origen (185–254 C.E.) wrote a deeply anti-Jewish doctrine, which states that the Jews will of course end up in hell because of their denial of Christianity. John Chrysostom pointed out Judas’ greed and held eight speeches “Adversus Judeaeos” in 387.

But now you see your own brother being dragged off unjustly to the depth of destruction. And it is not the executioner who drags him off, but the devil [...]. If he will stand fast in his obstinate resolve, I shall choose to risk my life rather than let him enter the doors of the synagogue. (Adv. Jud. I:4, 6)⁹

Alfons Fürst summed up the antisemitism of the Fathers of the Church:

They can be seen as the most outrageous denunciation of Judaism that can be found in the writings of a Christian theologian and form a proper compendium of polemic allegations and defamations. Jews are described as godless, brazen, heinous, contentious, rude and inhumane, unfortunate, cursed, mad, they are alleged braggers, robbers and thieves, blasphemers, enemies of the truth, gluttons and drunkards, dogs, studs, bucks and pigs, they are in a league with the devil, sacrifice humans and crucified Christ, their synagogue is a brothel or a robber’s den and serves as a place where the law is breached and as a hide-out for demons.¹⁰

⁹ John Chrysostom, *Discourses against Judaizing Christians/Adversus Iudaeos/Logoi kata ioudaion*, transl. P. W. Harkins (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1979).

¹⁰ A. Fürst, *Von Origenes und Hieronymus zu Augustinus: Studien zur antiken Theologieschichte* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 298. Translation by the author of this article.

When Christianity expanded its dominant position in the Middle Ages, its enemies such as sects and heretics were associated more and more with the concept of the enemy, the devil. Looking at the typical features the devil displays in Christian perception, one can easily notice the connection with Judaism through antisemitism. The devil as the endless roamer on earth looking for humans to seduce turns into the always roaming, restless Jew. The devil's features such as the horns, bad smell, ecstasy, and "satanic" sexuality that he received from his archetypes like Hades, Pan, and his satyr Dionysus, form the antisemitic picture of the Jew. In the Middle Ages, distinct perceptions of the "satanic Jews" were already formed. Jews were blamed for various reasons for using Christian blood, either as a special ingredient for the unleavened bread (Mazzot) for Pesah or for medical or theurgical reasons. These blood accusations, that Jews would kill Christian children in order to draw off their blood (first in Rothenburg, Germany) or that they would copy the crucifixion of Jesus by crucifying Christians (Norwich 1144), draw a line from the Middle Ages up to the present. It does not come as a surprise, then, that in one of the first depictions of a Jew, in the Forest Roll of Essex (1277), one can find the description: "Aaron fil (ius) diaboli," Aaron, son of the devil.¹¹



Figure 1. J. Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Conception of the Jew and its Relation to Modern Antisemitism* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1943), 27.

The image of the Jew as the representative of the world of darkness and Satan is displayed in works of antisemitic writers throughout the ages up to Hit-

¹¹ Cf. J. Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Conception of the Jew and its Relation to Modern Antisemitism* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1943), 26.

ler's *Mein Kampf*, where Jews are described as the “archetype of the evil seeking force”¹² and the “personification of the devil as the allegory of all evil.”¹³

Unsurprisingly, the national-socialist weekly *Der Stürmer* [*The Stormtrooper*] too equates the Jew with the devil. In 1936, the Stürmer publishing house published one of the most disgusting antisemitic books, a children's book by Elvira Bauer, a kindergarten teacher, called *Trau keinem Fuchs auf grüner Heid' und keinem Jud' bei seinem Eid! Ein Bilderbuch für Groß und Klein* [*Trust No Fox on a Green Heath and No Jew on his Oath! A Storybook for the Old and the Young*]. Its aim was to teach children in kindergarten and at school both the ABCs and Jew-hatred.

This unique book wasn't written for little children only, but also for adults, because [...] as long as there are still people who do not recognize the hidden devil within their “decent” Jew [...], as long as people like these exist, this unique book by Elvira Bauer was written for big children too [...]. Young and old will thank her for having written a storybook that should be placed on every Christmas table in the new “Reich” of the new people.¹⁴

The first chapter bears the title “The Jew's father is the devil,” and so it continues:

At the creation of the world
The Lord God conceived the races:
Red Indians, Negroes, and Chinese,
And Jew, too, the rotten crew.
And we were also on the scene:
We Germans midst this motley medley-
He gave them all a piece of earth
To work with the sweat of their brow.
But the Jew went on strike at once!
For the devil rode him from the first.
Cheating, not working, was his aim;
For lying, he got first prize
In less than no time from the Father of Lies.
Then he wrote it in the Talmud.¹⁵

12 A. Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (Munich: Franz Eher, 1941), 332. Translation by the author of the article.

13 *Ibid.*, 355.

14 *Der Stürmer* 48 (1936). Translation by the author of this article.

15 E. Bauer, *Trau keinem Fuchs auf grüner Heid und keinem Jud bei seinem Eid* (Nürnberg: Stürmer Verlag, 1936), 3. Translation by the author of this article.



Figure 2. E. Bauer, Trau keinem Fuchs auf grüner Heid und keinem Jud bei seinem Eid (Nürnberg: Stürmer Verlag, 1936), 4.

One figure in the New Testament that demonstrates the demonization of Judaism very well and firmly established the Jewish connection to the evil side through folklore up to the National Socialist propaganda of the Third Reich and the current trash-culture is Judas Iscariot. In the Gospel of John, he already turns into the figure of the devil and into “Judas, the traitor,” while the Jewish people subsequently turn into the devil’s people par excellence:

⁷⁰ Then Jesus replied, “Have I not chosen you, the Twelve? Yet one of you is a devil!” ⁷¹ He meant Judas, the son of Simon Iscariot, who, though one of the Twelve, was later to betray him. (John 6:70–71)

Hippolytus (d. 255 C.E.) claimed that Judas' ancestry derives from the same tribe as the anti-Christ, while John Chrysostom pointed out Judas' greed.¹⁶ Judas, the Jews, and Satan consequently form a counter image of the Holy Trinity.

It may seem a strange coincidence that of all Jesus's twelve disciples, the one whom the Gospel story singles out as traitor bears the name of the Jewish people. The coincidence was not overlooked by Christian commentators, who saw it as a mysterious sign, by which the Judas-role of the Jews was divinely hinted at [...] And it will become reasonably clear that Judas was chosen for a baleful but necessary mythological role precisely because of his name.¹⁷

Church father Papias of Hierapolis (d. 140 C.E.) depicts Judas as a living dead, an undead. His attempt to take his own life failed because the rope around his neck had been removed before he drew his last breath. However, a devilish miracle happened to him. He started to decay alive until he finally died. Allegedly, the place of his suicide had been polluted in a way that the lingering, hellish smell made it impossible to live there. Judas is being demonized here in a disgusting manner, having the figure of an obese giant that secretes puss and worms and whose eyes are obscured by the amount of bulging fat around them. This depiction already contains antisemitic stereotypes such as ugliness, smell or "abnormal sexuality" that return in the Middle Ages and in Modernity. The Papias text, which has not been preserved, was originally passed on by Apollinaris of Laodicea:

His genitals appeared more loathsome and larger than anyone's, and when he relieved himself there passed through it pus and worms from every part of his body, much to his shame.¹⁸

Papias' monstrous Judas later turns into Judas the "roaming Jew" and the prime father of the vampires. According to a Greek-Macedonian tale, Judas walks the earth as an always thirsty undead.¹⁹ The equation of Judas and Judaism is obvious in many European national customs and sayings, like the custom of burning the "Judas doll":

¹⁶ Cf. Origenes, *Selecta in Psalmos – Psal. LV* (PG 12:1468), and John Chrysostom, *Ad Populum Antiochenium Homil. IV* (PG 49:38).

¹⁷ H. Maccoby, *Judas Iscariot and the Myth of Jewish Evil* (London: Peter Halban, 1992), VII.

¹⁸ Papias, *Fragment 6*, in *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translation*, ed. M.W. Holmes (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1999), 585.

¹⁹ Cf. W. Puchner, *Studien zum Kulturkontext der liturgischen Szene: Lazarus und Judas als religiöse Volksfiguren in Bild und Brauch, Lied und Legende Südosteuropas*, vol. 1 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1991), 102.

Judas is often incinerated as a “Jew,” rarely as Barabbas or Pilate, or as a “woman”. This anti-Semitic side of burning Judas, where at the same time a specific person has to endure the same procedure, almost led to a pogrom in the Jewish ghetto of Zante in 1760, when the Venetian authorities tried to hinder Christians from burning the Jewish merchant Jacob Te-diskos as Judas.²⁰

Some traditional sayings fatally equate Judas with the devil and the devil with Judaism, later adding the aspect of the red hair as a distinctive mark for vampires.

It doesn't come as a surprise that Judas and the Jews are often interchangeable in the maledictory formulas [...] Red beard and blue eyes, Judas' soul, Satan's heart. [...] A saying in Symi, stemming from the Judas doll, calls a disheveled looking person “looking like a Jew on Easter Sunday.”²¹

The idea of the satanic Judas being the first vampire became part and parcel of a popular belief, tending to be antisemitic. It is no wonder that the Irish writer Bram Stoker (1847–1912) in his classic vampire novel *Dracula* (1877) draws the picture of the vampire with a multitude of antisemitic motives and images and refers to Judas as well:

The last I saw of Count Dracula was his kissing his hand to me; with a red light of triumph in his eyes, and with a smile that Judas in hell might be proud of.²²

Literary scholars such as Judith Halberstam have been pointing out this connection for quite a while already; regrettably, this hasn't been taken into account so far and has been ignored in the commentaries of numerous reprints and translations:

Dracula, then, resembles the Jew of anti-Semitic discourse in several ways: appearance, his relation to money and gold, his parasitism, his degeneracy, his impermanency or lack of allegiance to a fatherland, and his femininity. Dracula's physiognomy is a particularly clear cipher for the specificity of his ethnic monstrosity.²³

Historian Sara Libby Robinson of Brandeis University also recognizes quite a resemblance between Stoker's portrait of Dracula with his crooked nose, bushy

²⁰ Puchner, *Lazarus und Judas*, 106. Translation by the author of this article.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 108. Translation by the author of this article.

²² B. Stoker, *Dracula* (London: Penguin Books, 2010), 59.

²³ J. Halberstam, “Technologies of Monstrosity: Bram Stoker's ‘Dracula,’” *Victorian Studies* 36, no. 3 (1993): 337.

eyebrows, pointy ears and claw-like, ugly fingers and the antisemitic image of the Jew: “Dracula’s physical attributes are stereotypically Jewish features.”²⁴

Stoker makes use of the various ritual murder accusations (e.g., the ritual murder trial of Tisza Eszlar in 1882) as well as the eastern European migration to England at the end of the nineteenth century. He lets Dracula and the other vampires kidnap blond children in sacks²⁵ in order to drink their blood.

Dracula also reflects the antisemitic incidents surrounding the hunt for London’s “Jack the Ripper” (1888). Sander Gilman already recognized the contemporary British “Press images” of the murderer as antisemitic:

What is striking is that the image of “Jack” is also set. He is the caricature of the Eastern Jew. Indeed, the official description of “Jack” was of a man “age 37, rather dark beard and moustache, dark jacket and trousers, black felt hat, spoke with a foreign accent.”²⁶

The “Judaizing” of the murderer did not only anger the British Jews but also the “Ripper” himself. He wrote a letter to Scotland Yard, stating that he was not a “Yid.”²⁷

Stoker’s Count Dracula, originating from Eastern Europe, matches the antisemitic conception of the Christian blood drinking Jew and at the same time, the notion of the bloodsucking, Jewish capitalist threatening the entire world. Dracula hoards in his castle “a great heap of gold in one corner—gold of all kinds, Roman, and British, and Austrian, and Hungarian, and Greek and Turkish money.”²⁸ During the last dispute with the vampire, Dracula’s coat turns out to be a veritable treasure chest:

As it was the point just cut the cloth of his coat, making a wide gap whence a bundle of bank-notes and a stream of gold fell out. The expression of the Count’s face was so hellish.²⁹

Significantly, this devilish creature can be defeated by vampire slayers, who slowly turn into a bunch of modern crusaders in this novel, by using Christian symbols like crucifixes, holy water, and hosts as their weapons. The way the “old knights of the Cross” devastated Jewish communities in the Occident and

²⁴ S. L. Robinson, *Blood Will Tell: Vampires as Political Metaphors before World War I* (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2011), 63.

²⁵ Cf. Stoker, *Dracula*, 47, 235.

²⁶ S. Gilman, *The Jew’s Body* (London: Routledge, 1991), 113.

²⁷ Gilman, *The Jew’s Body*, 117.

²⁸ Stoker, *Dracula*, 56.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 340.

Orient in the Middle Ages, they also wanted to “redeem more souls”: “Like them we shall travel towards the sunrise; and like them, if we fall, we fall in good cause.”³⁰

It is not surprising that the “cosmopolitan” Dracula who speaks many languages, employs a German Jew called Immanuel Hildesheim, as his servant, “a Hebrew of rather the Adelphi Theater type, with a nose like a sheep, and a Fez.”³¹

The reference to the theater is not merely a coincidence. In 1895, London’s West End Adelphi Theatre staged the drama “One of the best” by Seymour Hicks (1871–1949), based on the antisemitic trial against Alfred Dreyfus (1859–1935) in Paris. The basis of this trial against the officer Dreyfus was the allegation that, as a Jew, he cannot be a real French patriot and therefore must be a spy. In this way, Hildesheim, the Jew, lets himself get bribed by the vampire slayers in order to support them, according to the antisemitic idea that the homeless Jew cannot be faithful to any home country.

Knowing all languages and fitting in anywhere might be merely impressive accomplishments, but it also signals the potential danger vampires pose. With no ties to any particular country, their movements are harder to control and their loyalties harder to predict—something else linking vampires to the debates regarding Jewish immigrants and their suspect loyalties.³²

The potent images of antisemitism are adopted at times by writers and filmmakers, either naively or deliberately. Patrick Lussier, together with Joel Soisson, wrote the script for his self-staged horror movie “Wes Craven presents Dracula 2000” (USA 2000). The contemporary movie shows Dracula’s “historical” background. He responds with an allergic reaction to Christian symbols like crosses, hosts, and holy water as well as to silver, since he is no one else but Judas. A lengthy cutback shows Judas’ failed suicide attempt, when thirty pieces of silver fall out of his garment. Judas turns into the “roaming Judas” and the first vampire, who not only lives forever but also possesses a seducing “supernatural” sexuality.

Lussier comments about the movie that Bram Stoker led him towards the idea of the Judas figure. He does not seem to realize that he turns Judas, the Jew, into the prime-vampire and thus implements an antisemitic motive used by the Church Fathers up to the Nazis. Naivety and a careless dealing with clas-

³⁰ Ibid., 356.

³¹ Stoker, *Dracula*, 387–88.

³² Robinson, *Blood Will Tell*, 149.

sic antisemitic motives can be seen even today, thus one should treat these images with the utmost care, sensitivity, and awareness.

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Monika Schwarz-Friesel

“Antisemitism 2.0”—The Spreading of Jew-hatred on the World Wide Web

This article focuses on the rising problem of internet antisemitism and online hatred against Israel. Antisemitism 2.0 is found on all web platforms, not just in right-wing social media but also on the online commentary sections of quality media and on everyday web pages. The internet shows Jew-hatred in all its various contemporary forms, from overt death threats to more subtle manifestations articulated as indirect speech acts. The spreading of antisemitic texts and pictures on all accessible as well as seemingly non-radical platforms, their rapid and multiple distribution on the World Wide Web, a discourse domain less controlled than other media, is by now a common phenomenon within the space of public online communication. As a result, the increasing importance of Web 2.0 communication makes antisemitism generally more acceptable in mainstream discourse and leads to a normalization of anti-Jewish utterances.

Empirical results from a longitudinal corpus study are presented and discussed in this article. They show how centuries old anti-Jewish stereotypes are persistently reproduced across different social strata. The data confirm that hate speech against Jews on online platforms follows the pattern of classical antisemitism. Although many of them are camouflaged as “criticism of Israel,” they are rooted in the ancient and medieval stereotypes and mental models of Jew hostility. Thus, the “Israelization of antisemitism,”¹ the most dominant manifestation of Judeophobia today, proves to be merely a new garb for the age-old Jew hatred. However, the easy accessibility and the omnipresence of antisemitism on the web 2.0 enhances and intensifies the spreading of Jew-hatred, and its propagation on social media leads to a normalization of antisemitic communication, thinking, and feeling.

¹ M. Schwarz-Friesel and J. Reinharz, “The Israelization of Antisemitism,” *The Jerusalem Post*, February 16, 2017, <https://www.jpost.com/Opinion/The-Israelization-of-antisemitism-481835>.

Antisemitism Today: The New Hatred is the Old Hatred

After more than sixty years of education relating to the Holocaust, innumerable media discussions and conferences, political declarations, and thousands of scientific books, films, and articles that aim to clarify the roots, the major conceptualizations, the irrational character, and the perils of antisemitism, not only is the phenomenon in the twenty-first century alive and virulent, it is also very much on the rise. The Web 2.0 plays a significant role in spreading and accelerating antisemitic texts, pictures, and films: Jew hatred has exploded in the internet, as data from a long term study reveals.² In the last ten years, the volume of antisemitic comments in online commentary sections has tripled, in some realms even quintupled. In a ten-year comparative study (2007 to 2017), corpus studies examining the comments sections of the quality online media in Germany reveal a significant increase from 7.5 percent to 30 percent in verbal antisemitism. At the same time, we observe a tendency towards a semantic and argumentative radicalization: The prevalence of comparisons with the Nazi regime, fantasies of violence, as well as an extreme, demonizing and dehumanizing pejorative language (*plague, cancer, filth*) have doubled since 2009. This demonstrates the lowering of the taboo threshold regarding the articulation of even such explicit and extreme expressions of antisemitism.

At the same time, the tendency to relativize, to defend, and to deny contemporary antisemitism can be witnessed in our society, this trend is coupled with heightened indifference and an obvious lack of empathy. Our empirical data show that more than 33 percent (mean value) of antisemitic comments on the web are connected explicitly or implicitly to the Jewish state. Israel, as “the collective Jew,” has by now become the major projection ground for antisemitic thoughts and feelings. Thus, contemporary Jew-hatred focuses on this most important symbol of Judaism, Jewish life, and existence. This “Israelization of antisemitism” is found in the right, the left, and in the middle of society.³ Its main feature is the projection of age-old Judeophobic stereotypes onto the Jewish state. In innumerable texts, Israel is described as a “greedy, revengeful, land robbing” and an “illegal state that uses brutal force, murders children, kills inno-

² Cf. M. Schwarz-Friesel, “Antisemitism 2.0. Hostility towards Jews as a Cultural Constant and Collective Emotional Value in the Digital age,” longitudinal corpus study, Technische Universität Berlin, Berlin, 2018. https://www.linguistik.tu-berlin.de/menue/antisemitismus_2_0/.

³ Cf. M. Schwarz-Friesel and J. Reinharz, *Inside the Antisemitic Mind: The Language of Jew-Hatred in Contemporary Germany* (Boston: University Press of New England, 2017).

cent people,” “practices a genocide on the Palestinians,” and “grabs for the power in the world.” Muslim antisemitism, too, is determined primarily by classical stereotypes and reveals a strong religious dimension. Eliminary death threats are dominant. As data show: Classical hostility towards Jews remains the primary conceptual basis for present-day hatred of Jews; 54.02 percent (mean value) of all expressions of antisemitism display classical stereotypes.

We distinguish between the stereotypes of classical antisemitism (CIA), which characterized discourse until 1945, the concepts of the post-Holocaust phase (PHA) after 1945, which gave rise to the stereotypes of Holocaust exploitation, resentful unforgiveness, and taboos on criticism. These post-Holocaust stereotypes ultimately rest upon the classical stereotypes of *Jewish vengeance, greed, and exercise of power* but have been adopted to a modern context projected onto the experience of Auschwitz and should be seen in the context of the rejection of guilt, the refusal to remember, and the antisemitism of the desire to be free of feelings of guilt (*Entlastungsantisemitismus*). In the research, these are sometimes referred to as “primary and secondary antisemitism.” We wish to make a case, however, for not using the latter terms any more as they give rise to semantically confusing interpretations.⁴ The third variation is Israel-centered antisemitism (IA) which is sometimes described as “new.” This manifestation of present-day hatred towards Jews should, however, not be seen as unconnected to the conceptualizations of classical hostility towards Jews.

What in the past had been merely a “felt increase in antisemitism,” going along with a growing feeling of uneasiness in Jewish communities,⁵ is now revealed from empirical data of our longitudinal study to be a real increase of hostility towards Jews. There has been a significant increase of verbal antisemitism, both in the virtual world of the internet and in the real world. In fact, both realms of society cannot be separated from each other, one influencing the other in a mutual way. In Germany, for instance, more and more often Jews find themselves subjected to antisemitic harassment, hate speech, or even physical attacks. In Berlin, there had been several cases of Jewish children who were threatened and mobbed by Muslim pupils because of their Jewishness, youngsters wearing a kippah have been attacked. Anti-Israel rallies on German streets go along with hate speech against Jews. The still deep-rooted Judeophobia in the German society shows its ugly face more openly, and the taboo on antisemitism is losing its grip, especially when articulated as anti-Israelism or anti-Zionism.

⁴ Cf. Schwarz-Friesel and Reinharz, *Inside the Antisemitic Mind*, 58, 61, 359, n. 43.

⁵ Cf. A. Zick et al., *Jüdische Perspektiven auf Antisemitismus in Deutschland. Ein Studienbericht für den Expertenrat Antisemitismus* (Bielefeld: Universität Bielefeld, 2017), accessed September 6, 2017, https://uni-bielefeld.de/ikg/daten/JuPe_Bericht_April2017.pdf.

Seventy years after Auschwitz, antisemitism has become a very visible and audible threat to Jews and to society, once again.

Although official Germany speaks out against antisemitism, it focuses on right-wing extremists and often leaves aside the fact that antisemitism from the left and the middle of society is by far more dangerous, since it is not as easily recognized and rejected as Jew-hatred. Often, it is accepted as “freedom of speech” or “political criticism.”⁶ Besides, a certain kind of political correctness both in the public media and in political communication stands in the way to articulate clearly that there is a severe problem with Muslim antisemitism. In order to avoid strengthening the populist arguments of right-wing political organizations, mainstream Germany is hesitant to point out to this fierce Jew hatred. Even physical violence towards Jews and Jewish institutions has been frequently reinterpreted as “political indignation.”⁷ There is a strong tendency to marginalize Muslim antisemitism by explaining it causally as a reaction to Israeli politics. As our data show, however, more than 50 percent of the stereotypes in Muslim discourse are based on classical Jew-hatred. Denial, relativization, and defensive strategies are typical for the modern-day antisemitism of the post-Holocaust phase.

Hence, we notice a severe dissonance in the way in which society handles the problem. There certainly is a strong official condemnation at all levels of the government, when it comes to extreme and coarse antisemitism. At the same time, we notice acceptance and denial of antisemitism when articulated as anti-Israelism or anti-Zionism by educated, non-racist minded people in the German society. Anti-Israelism from Muslim society, at the same time, is defined as “political indignation.” The same holds true for the public and media: Empirical research shows an increase of verbal antisemitism, but at the same time, there is rejection of those empirical findings in most of the commentary sections of online press, accompanying the denial/trivialization of the phenomenon, or simply lack of interest. In the commentary sections of the online press, we find a substantial denial of the very existence of contemporary antisemitism. Worse, even in the “expert report” of the German Bundestag, a certain margin-

⁶ Cf. M. Schwarz-Friesel, “Educated Anti-Semitism in the Middle of German Society. Empirical Findings,” in *Being Jewish in 21st-Century Germany*, ed. H. Fireberg and O. Glöckner (Oldenbourg: de Gruyter, 2015), 165–87.

⁷ Cf. 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-antisemitism-anti-zionism-anti-israel>.

alization of mainstream antisemitism can be noticed,⁸ since most of the empirical research on mainstream antisemitism has simply been ignored.

The political and intellectual fight against antisemitism reveals serious problems. One must get rid of wrong conceptualizations and frameworks. The position here adopted is that antisemitism is no social prejudice system; it is not necessarily connected racism; it is not a bias against a certain minority; it is not necessarily related to some form of anti-modernism. It is a cultural category deeply embedded in collective memory. Antisemitism 2.0 makes this transparent: The age-old resentment is expressed in multiple modern forms but essentially is the same at its core. Yet, the web and its online communication has brought a new enhancement of Jew-hatred.⁹

In order to understand why the internet plays such a significant role in the increase and spreading of antisemitism, pushing forward the normalization of antisemitic communication at the same time, we should first consider the main features of the online communication.

The Relevance of the Internet: The Web 2.0 as “the Fifth Power” in Society

Web 2.0 is the primary multiplier and place for the transmission of manifestations of antisemitism. Expressions of antisemitic sentiment have increased significantly in the digital age.¹⁰

Through the social web, communication and persuasion have changed in a way and to an extent that has never been seen in history. The term Web 2.0 was coined around 2004, since changes in technology created a kind of internet adapting to new possibilities of information processing. The use of online social networking has led to a new web communication. Antisemitism 2.0 is determined by increasingly effective ways of promoting Judeophobic thinking and

⁸ Cf. Unabhängiger Expertenkreis Antisemitismus, “Bericht des Unabhängigen Expertenkreises Antisemitismus,” issued April 7, 2017, <http://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/18/119/1811970.pdf>.

⁹ Cf. M. Weitzman, “The Internet is Our Sword: Aspects of Online Antisemitism,” in *Remembering for the Future: The Holocaust in an Age of Genocide*, ed. J. K. Roth and E. Maxwell-Meynard (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 925–91; A. Foxman and C. Wolf, eds. *Viral Hate: Containing Its Spread on the Internet* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); R. Cohen-Almagor, *Confronting the Internet’s Dark Side: Moral and Social Responsibility on the Free Highway* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

¹⁰ Cf. Schwarz-Friesel, “Antisemitism 2.0.”

its social acceptance.¹¹ The Web 2.0 is all about the sharing of information: therefore, it is often referred to as the “interactive web” or the “social web,” since Web 2.0 sites are content driven, and a central feature of the web-based interaction is the user-generated content, going along with high speed, global accessibility, and interconnectivity. Social media has become the most important information resource in a broad sense: it means expressing attitudes, communicating feelings, sharing values, all of which together creates mental belief systems. The online processing and interaction of data and information make increased use of multiple semiotic modes: it is multimedia, multichannel, and multimodal which increases its persuasive power.¹² Since often the information processing is anonymous, it has no taboos, no restricting forces, and is not encumbered by political correctness.

The Web 2.0 influences and shapes every aspect of our social life more than any other modern technology, cultural achievement, or social development and plays a significant role in meaning making and in interpersonal bonding. It is presently recognized that the internet and especially social media have become the most important tool that enables the sharing of ideas around the world, that transcend all boundaries.¹³ It enhances the sharing of information quickly and effectively and brings about the development of online communities. This is why the internet has been frequently called the “fifth power in society.”

The following questions deserve attention: How is antisemitism coded and encoded in the web? In what way do specific features of the internet affect and enhance the spreading of antisemitic content? Recognizing the impact of the internet on present-day society and everyday life, how should we describe the symbiosis of the virtual and the real world?

11 Cf. P. Iganski and A. Sweiry, “Antisemitism on Social Media,” Lecture for the Panel *Internet and Antisemitism*, Conference “An End to Antisemitism!”, University of Vienna, Vienna, February 21, 2018.

12 Cf. M. Zappavigna, *Discourse of Twitter and Social Media: How We Use Language to Create Affiliation on the Web* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012).

13 Cf. Reuters Institute, *Digital News Report 2017*, accessed June 10, 2018, <http://www.digitalnewsreport.org/survey/2017/overview-key-findings-2017>.

Research Methods and Corpus Studies: Towards more Authenticity

When it comes to antisemitism research, often the methodological part is hardly mentioned although it is of high relevance: How can Jew-hatred be measured empirically? What data are valuable and reliable in order to understand and to explain antisemitism as a mental and communicative phenomenon?

A much used tool employed by researchers in sociology and political science are polls or attitude surveys. However, that method is unsatisfactory, due to the formulation of the questions asked (that might trigger priming effects), or the situation in which persons are approached, or the inhibitions people have when dealing with the theme “antisemitism” (leaving aside the fact that even in anonymous polls people tend to stick to political correctness). A much better method to capture and to explain antisemitic utterances and their underlying attitudes are corpus studies, which rely on natural data typical of a certain discourse domain and use a great amount of texts that are produced naturally.¹⁴ Corpus analysis provides a method that is based on naturally produced utterances, and hence more reliable, as an authentic source of attitudes about Jews, Judaism, and Israel. Relying on the assumption within cognitive science that verbal utterances are traces of the mental activity of its producers, this data is much more realistic, since authentic language data gives insights into antisemitic thinking and feelings of people and provides the possibility of exploring and understanding the social contexts within which antisemitic discourse takes place.

The Web 2.0 provides a huge reservoir for the research of everyday verbal antisemitism with corpus studies. Social media, especially, offers a wide range of natural data and hence a more reliable source of attitudes about Jews. Nevertheless, despite their potential, there has been little systematic content analysis of antisemitic discourse found in social media.¹⁵

In our project, firstly we constructed a software crawler that was able to draw a huge amount of texts from internet communication with the help of certain key words like Jews, Judaism, Israel. The data (more than 250,000 texts from the Web) were collected and stored, while kept in their original settings. From those texts, subcorpora, then, were analyzed both quantitatively and qualitative-

14 Cf. Schwarz-Friesel and Reinharz, *Inside the Antisemitic Mind*, 326 ff.

15 Cf. P. Iganski and A. Sweiry, “Antisemitism on Social Media”; A. Oboler, “Solving Antisemitic Hate Speech in Social Media through a Global Approach to Local Action,” Lecture for the Panel *Internet and Antisemitism*, Conference “An End to Antisemitism!”, University of Vienna, Vienna, February 22, 2018.

ly with MAXQDA. Using data from different types of texts, the present article shows the wide range of antisemitic communication, examples including cartoons, Facebook posts, blogs, texts from Twitter, YouTube Video comments and contributions to discussion forums and online media on various web sites. Diverse political orientations were observed, all of which illustrates and explains the main conceptual features of contemporary Jew-hatred: Antisemitism 2.0, although new in its form and processing, rests on the age-old Judeophobic image of an omnipresent evil force that needs to be defeated for the sake of humanity and world peace. The conceptualization of *The Eternal Jew* is prevalent in all communication areas of the social media. It is important to emphasize that although various manifestations of antisemitisms do exist—of the right, the left, racist, economic, cultural, religious, explicit, or coded—they are always based on the same age-old hostility influenced by stereotypes engraved in collective consciousness and stored in cultural memory as verbal patterns.

Antisemitism in the Web: The “Dark Net” of Right-Wing Extremists

Of course, we do find a lot of aggressive and vulgar antisemitism uttered by the political far-right. This form of antisemitism has a repulsive face, shown in utterances such as: “ugly mean Jews, mankind’s rats, one should kill by gas all of them [...] Jewish criminals in rascist Usrael (sic!).”¹⁶

Jew-hatred of that kind is found on diverse internet platforms, blogs, and home pages. One of the oldest and well-known right-wing antisemitic sites in the USA is the Jew Watch website, based on the conceptualization of the eternal greedy Jew wanting to dominate the world. They, too, have a website informing about Jew Watch:

Jew Watch [...] by Frank Weltner, a brave man who simply wants to spread the truth. Jew Watch has factual evidence of thousands of atrocities committed by filthy kikes, [...] Jews, as we all know, have total control over almost all the information in the world.¹⁷

16 The original commentary on YouTube reads: “die miesen hässlichen Juden, Ratten der Menschheit, man sollte alle [...] Judenverbrecher im rassitischen Usrael (sic!) vergasen.” Commentary on YouTube, July 2014, accessed February 2, 2018. Translation by the author of this article.

17 https://encyclopediadramatica.rs/Jew_Watch, last accessed February 2, 2018.

Jew Watch contains a huge amount of classical right-wing propaganda. It promotes Holocaust denial and various accusations against “Jews involved in crimes.” In 2004, it was reported that if one is interested in the question “What is a Jew?” and tried to find out from a Google search, the first of 1.75 million entries that appear when typing “Jew” into the search engine had been Jew Watch. Therefore, a petition was started in order to demand that Google remove this hate site “Remove Jew Watch-.” Yet, the content of this page can still be easily accessed with no effort. After only three clicks on Google, one sees a Wikipedia page that promotes and praises Jew Watch. Here, it is worth noting the statement “who simply wants to spread the truth” since this argumentation has a long tradition in antisemitic discourse and is used to justify any antisemitic claims that have no root in facts. Clinging to the truth value of even the most absurd accusations (such as the blood libel claim) is typical of Judeophobic communication along the ages.¹⁸

A crude fantasy frequently found in right-wing circles employs the name “Rothschild” as a figure for the concept of a Jewish conspiracy to rule or wanting to rule the world. The following post with a blurred face of Rothschild can be found on different and multiple Facebook pages:

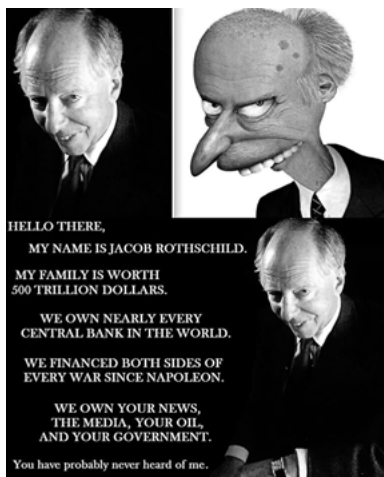


Figure 1. “Hello there, my Name is Jacob Rothschild.” Accessed June 10, 2018, <https://imgur.com/gallery/M5pH0>.

In this example, one sees the symbiosis of multimodal information coding pictures with text stressing Jewish international domination.

¹⁸ See also J. Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Conception of the Jew and its Relation to Modern Antisemitism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943).

The next example is a picture from a Twitter account. It depicts an open oven with money notes lying around. The implication is that if enough money will be deposited into the oven, the Jews will even crawl into the gas oven—a bizarre manifestation of the classical stereotype of “Jewish greediness.” This picture has been posted on many Twitter accounts world wide and is visible up to this very moment.¹⁹



Figure 2. “Ловим еврея [We are catching a Jew].” Accessed June 10, 2018, https://pikabu.ru/story/lovim_evreya_1484475.

The overt, vulgar, and aggressive Jew-hatred expressed by the far-right and by neo-Nazis certainly deserves attention, and its danger should not be ignored. Nevertheless, these primitive texts are not the kind of antisemitisms with the highest influential impact and persuasion on the web. In fact, the “dark net” pages of right-wing extremists are a rather minor part of Antisemitism 2.0 and certainly not the most dangerous ones, since many mainstream users are repelled or bored by such primitive messages.

Conspiracy Phantasies: Open Access

The mainstream webpages accessed by normal everyday users represent a much more worrying phenomenon. It is important to point out that that conspiracy

¹⁹ Cf. <https://twitter.com/mattkatz00/status/740697293507166208>, accessed June 10, 2018.

phantasies about Jewish world domination and the evil nature of the Jews are frequently found also in daily mainstream commentary sections, e.g., in YouTube commentary sections below new films and old movies from Nazi propaganda. Crude conspiracy phantasies are also “open access” on the Amazon book store or Hugendubel.de, booklooker.de, or Google.books on the internet: e.g., the Tilman Knechtel book from 2015, *Die Rothschilds: Eine Familie beherrscht die Welt*, combines on its cover page in a multimodal form a dramatic picture and a sensational verbal text to convey the age-old conspiracy fantasy of Jewish world domination stemming from the Rothschild family with its connections to Israel. The jacket blurb reads: “Incredible, but true: There is a hidden mighty power on this planet that turns the wheel around [...] Find out about the tricks [...] of the Rothschilds. The blood of all great wars is on their hands [...] Yet, their thirst for blood has not been satisfied [...] Their goal is a third world war that destroys everything, and a government, controlled from Jerusalem.”²⁰ It is claimed that “far off from adventurous conspiracy theories, the net of the Rothschilds is identified,” “whose power is wrapped around the globe like octopus arms.”²¹ Although the text follows the classical pattern of crude conspiracy phantasies and depicts several Judeophobic stereotypes and metaphors, it is posted on all online bookseller stores and can be purchased freely—without any warning remark from the booksellers.

Overall, the concept of an almighty world ruling Rothschild family remains a classical theme for Jew-haters up to our own time. Below the film “Die Rothschilds” (a Nazi Propaganda movie from 1940) found on YouTube frequently, there are comments such as “Jews are [...] a barbaric people”²² or: “I agree the Rothschild family is the major root of evil in this world.”²³

Online comments, together with frequently posted rap songs that find millions of followers on the web,²⁴ webpages such as “Anonymous” and even academic books (such as the much referred to book *The Israel Lobby*,²⁵ whose au-

20 <https://www.amazon.com/Die-Rothschilds/dp/3941956213>, accessed June 10, 2018. Translation by the author of this article.

21 Ibid.

22 Commentary on YouTube, accessed January 14, 2018.

23 Commentary on YouTube, accessed January 3, 2018.

24 Cf. M. Eddy and A. Marshall, “Unwelcome Sound on Germany’s Stages: Musicians Who Boycott Israel,” *The New York Times*, July 1, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/01/arts/music/bds-germany-young-fathers.html>.

25 Cf. J. Mearsheimer and S. M. Walt, *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007).

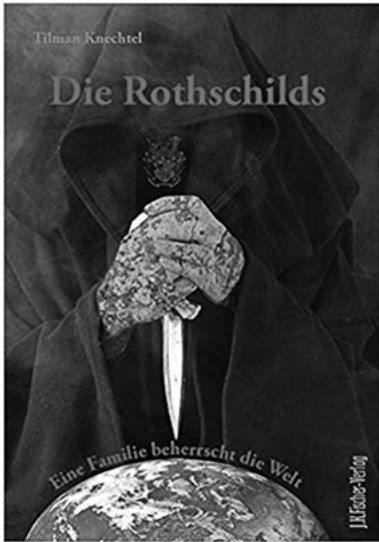


Figure 3. Tilman Knechtel. *Die Rothschilds: Eine Familie beherrscht die Welt*. Gelnhausen: J.K. Fischer Verlag, 2015.

thors, incidentally, deny any anti-Israeli intention) make the notion of a Jewish control acceptable to the social mainstream.

The Real World: No Big Difference Compared with the Virtual Reality of the Web

The belief in Jewish or Zionist inherent evil and in the Jews' alien nature is not only found in the virtual world of the Web 2.0. Also, in the real world, classical anti-Jewish or anti-Israel stereotypes determine thinking and believing of many people from different social strata:

“Jews controlling the media, economy, government, and other societal institutions, [...] I think, [this] is not antisemitism,” pronounced by a student senator at Stanford University in April 2016, claiming that the concept of an overall Jewish domination is not a stereotype but a fact.²⁶ And a cabaret singer posted in February 2018 a song about the mean and evil forces in the world, claiming

²⁶ Y. Rosenberg, “Stanford Student Senator: Saying ‘Jews Control the Media, Economy, Government’ is ‘Not Anti-Semitism,’” *Tablet Magazine*, April 7, 2016, <https://www.tabletmag.com/scroll/199362/stanford-student-senator-saying-jews-control-the-media-economy-government-is-not-anti-semitism>.

that: “The world gets meaner day by day [...] Why? [...] who asks for the names and the sins [...] of Rothschild, Soros and com [...] greedy bankers [...] they buy the world, they tear down the world.”²⁷ Subsequent comments on YouTube declared: “All respect, thank you [...].” Criticized for uttering such antisemitic views, the singer declared that she was merely expressing disapproval for certain ongoing processes.²⁸ Rap songs commonly and frequently distribute anti-Jewish phantasies, surrealistic pictures of a struggle for the good, and a world peace without Jews.²⁹ The German musical industry officials awarded—in spite of vehement protesting—the Echo prize to two rappers calling their music “art and freedom of expression,” although the texts contained lines mocking Auschwitz victims and coding classical anti-Jewish stereotypes.³⁰ The nomination and award shows that evaluations on the web go along with processes in the real world. Only after a wave of protest coupled with a TV documentary uncovering the antisemitic nature of many rap songs,³¹ the Echo nomination process broke down. Some short time later, however, prosecutors in Germany came to the conclusion that there was no clear evidence for spreading antisemitic content in the songs. Even a text such as “Make another holocaust again, come on with the Molotov”³² conveying Holocaust marginalization and implying a call to violence, was considered to be “artistic freedom.”³³

27 Lisa Fitz, “Ich sehe was, was du nicht siehst!” video, 5:18, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0tCNhdUqZJo>.

28 Cf. “Der ganze Liedtext ist voll von Codes,” *welt.de*, January 31, 2018, <https://www.welt.de/vermischtes/article173042642/Lisa-Fitz-bedient-mit-YouTube-Song-antisemitische-Verschwoerungstheorien.html>.

29 Cf. also J. Rathje, “Antisemitism in Post-Holocaust Conspiracy Ideologies,” Lecture for the Panel *Internet and Antisemitism*, Conference “An End to Antisemitism!”, University of Vienna, Vienna, February 21, 2018.

30 Cf. e.g. K. Belihart, “Wie antisemitisch sind Kollegah und Farid Bang?” *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, April 3, 2018, <https://www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/pop/antisemitismus-vor-wuerfe-gegen-echo-nominierte-15524595.html>; M. Eddy and A. Curry, “Fury in Germany as Rap Duo With Anti-Jewish Lyrics Gets Award,” *The New York Times*, April 18, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/18/arts/music/anti-semitism-german-rap.html>.

31 “Die dunkle Seite des Deutschen Raps,” TV documentation by Viola Funk, accessed June 10 2018, <https://www1.wdr.de/mediathek/video/sendungen/die-story/video-die-dunkle-seite-des-deutschen-rap-100.html>.

32 The original German text goes “Mache wieder mal 'nen Holocaust, komm' an mit dem Molotov.” Translation by the author of this article.

33 Bundesverband Musikindustrie, “Presseinformation: Zur Diskussion um das Album “JBG3” von Kollegah & Farid Bang sowie zum Beschluss des ECHO-Beirats,” issued April 6, 2018, accessed June 10, 2018, http://www.echopop.de/fileadmin/echopop/upload/news/2018/Presseinformation_zur_Diskussion_um_das_Album_JBG3_und_zum_Beiratsbeschluss.pdf.

At the same time, for the last fifteen years or so, we witness to the rise and increase of a so-called “new antisemitism” (that proves to be not new at all but rests on the age-old Jew hatred just coming along in the new garb of anti-Zionism), originating mostly from Leftist circles and disguised as “criticism against Israel.” This Israel-related antisemitism is today a prevalent manifestation of Jew-hatred, and its massive spread on social media is a worrying trend. It also articulates itself in the boycott movement against Israel, *Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions* (BDS), invented by Palestinians, strongly supported by the Left, where diverse antisemitic positions combine with a fierce and obsessive anti-Zionism. A typical expression of that new trend were the wide attacks against the science fiction movie *Wonder Woman*, featuring the Israeli actress Gal Gadot: Users on Twitter criticized the actress for being an Israeli “Zionist” and a “child murderer” because she served in the Israeli defense forces. With Lebanon banning the movie, a state took part in this campaign, among the propagators such prominent figures as the cartoonist Carlos Lakuff who re-posted a tweet calling Gal Gadot to be an “genocide enthusiast.”³⁴

#boycottisrael #boycottwonderwoman
L'actrice principale #GalGadot est pro-
sioniste & a servi 2 ans pour l'IDF!
NON à #Wonderwoman #boycott



Figure 4. Gal Gadot boycotted for her role in *Wonder Woman* on the basis of her Israeli nationality and serving the IDF. <https://twitter.com/zionocracy/status/869528564542066689>, accessed June 10, 2018.

Calls to boycott the movie were expressed in Twitter comments to the image shown above from all over the world: “She supports Zionist terrorist Nazi Israeli occupation forces, she is racist, fascist, [...] insane.” (Afghanistan); “Zionist racist who cheers openly as children are killed & promotes the genocide of Palestine, [she] is an appalling example of the human race to present to our growing kids” (Great Britain); “all Israelis are racists and murders” (California); “ISRAHEILL CRIMINEL! ISRAÉLIENS ASSASSINS!” (France); “because Zionism is the biggest threat to our common humanity!” (British Columbia); “to destroy the

³⁴ <https://twitter.com/latuffcartoons/status/871651516423262208>, accessed June 10, 2018.

Zionists from the face of the earth” (India).³⁵ Those tweets coded a fierce anti-Israelism based on antisemitic stereotypes.

And there is hardly any difference in the real world: In 2014, the union in Europe National Union of Teachers (NUT) passed a resolution backing a boycott of companies trading with Israel.³⁶ In 2016, University College London Union (UCLU) voted to support the BDS campaign.³⁷ In the same year, the University of Manchester’s student union adopted BDS motions. On April 5 2018, the Union of Students in Ireland voted to join the BDS campaign against Israel, after the country’s largest teachers’ union articulated its support for the movement.³⁸ In Europe, the UK BDS movement is visible everywhere, and the Labour leader Corbyn is well known for his outspoken anti-Israelism.

So far, there have been innumerable incidents of BDS activists standing in front of supermarkets calling for a boycott of Israeli fruits or disturbing Israeli workshops. In Berlin, during a presentation at the Humboldt University in July 2017, BDS activists stormed a lecture by a member of the Knesset calling her a child murderer. Not willing or able to keep up some argumentation, the action consisted of shouting and cursing and did not allow a discussion to take place. There were hysterical screams such as “the blood of the Gaza Strip is on your hands” or “apartheid Israel.”³⁹ Note that all those allegations are found in thousands on the web. An eighty-two-year old Holocaust survivor who participated in the delegation who had visited the library square of the university, where in 1933 German students and lecturers burned tens of thousands of books of Jews and opponents of the Nazi regime, was shouted down by BDS activist for coming from the “wrong country.” Incidents like those reveal the closed mind, the indoctrination, the obsessive nature of those activists, and total lack of empathy with Holocaust victims. BDS uses any opportunity to harm Israel no

35 <https://www.thepetitionsite.com/de/572/108/486/boycott-wonder-woman-movie/>, accessed June 10, 2018.

36 Cf. “Europe’s Largest Teachers’ Union Endorses Israel Boycott Call,” *Middle East Monitor*, May 3, 2014, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20140503-europes-largest-teachers-union-endorses-israel-boycott-call/>.

37 University College London Union, “Union Policy UP1514: Motion: In support of BDS at UCLU,” issued March 7, 2018, <https://studentsunionucl.org/sites/uclu.org/files/policies/up1514.pdf>.

38 Cf. “The Union of Students in Ireland Votes to Support BDS,” *The Palestine Chronicle*, April 5, 2018, <http://www.palestinechronicle.com/union-students-ireland-votes-support-bds/>.

39 G. Lehrke, “Eklat an Humboldt-Uni Knesset-Abgeordnete bei Podiumsgespräch niedergebrüllt,” *Berliner Zeitung*, June 22, 2017, <https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/berlin/eklat-an-humboldt-uni-knesset-abgeordnete-bei-podiumsgespraech-niedergebruehlt-27845640>.

matter how simple, naïve and banal the event is: even the funny Song Contest ESC 2018 was instrumentalized to delegitimize the Jewish state.⁴⁰

Thus, the only difference between antisemitism online and antisemitism in the real world is that its dissemination online is much more widespread and more easily accessible. You will find a wave of thousands of texts spreading within seconds or minutes within the virtual world. While the violence of antisemitism 2.0 is on the verbal level, the real world shows physical violence against Jews, as well. However, we should not underestimate the persuasive power of death threats, the coding of stereotype, and the spreading of crude phantasies. Beneath the verbal threats and abuses, the linguistic brutality and conceptual hatred lies a powder keg with the potential to explode any time in the real world. Thus, verbal violence, and the rhetoric of hate speech against Jews should be seen as a very dangerous phenomenon.

Accessibility and Omnipresence: “Antisemitism with one Click”

One of the most worrying features of the presence of antisemitisms on the internet is the ease with which they are reached and disseminated. A person may search for information about certain themes related to Jews and get instead antisemitic indoctrination. If one uses certain keywords, such as the Jewish holiday *Purim*, or terms like *Jews*, *Judaism*, after one or two clicks on Google, one accesses antisemitic webpages or blogs. There are innumerable pages like Electronic Intifada⁴¹ or Christianity Beliefs⁴² that share posts and the most surrealistic allegations against Israel, as well. Further, there is a veritable infiltration of everyday topics (e.g., “Birds in Israel,” or Star Wars-SciFi fan forum⁴³) with antisemitic content, expressed as Holocaust relativization, Nazi-comparisons, denial of guilt, refusal of remembrance culture, or Judeophobic stereotypes (e.g., Jews are vengeful, cruel).

40 Cf. “Eurovision Boycott of Israel—ZERO Points to the Song of Israeli Apartheid,” Facebook page, accessed June 10, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/Zero.Points.To.Israeli.Apartheid/>.

41 Cf. <https://electronicintifada.net/>, accessed February 2, 2018.

42 Cf. <http://christianitybeliefs.org/end-times-deceptions/christians-should-not-support-israel/>, accessed February 2, 2018.

43 Cf. <http://www.projektstarwars.de/forum/sonstige-umfragen/32261-schlussstrich-nazi-vergangenheit-2.html>, accessed February 2, 2018.

Typical for internet communication is that a normal user by now finds anti-semitic utterances everywhere, even in campaigns aiming to combat it.⁴⁴ For instance, during the Gaza conflict in 2014, the German journal BILD initiated a campaign against antisemitism, thus reacting to the strong Jew- and Israel-hatred seen and heard on German streets and in recurrent anti-Israel demonstrations.⁴⁵ Among Twitter texts calling people to join a demonstration against antisemitism at the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin, there were also many tweets such as: “End the Zionist occupation! Stop the Jewish terror and the brutal apartheid regime in unjust state Israel.”⁴⁶ Another commentary read “Why ‘Never-again-hatred-against-Jews’? It’s all about the land robbery by the Zionists!”⁴⁷ In 2018, when the Jewish community made a solidarity call “Berlin trägt Kippa” (“Berlin wears a kippah”), after a young man had been attacked physically on the street, the same phenomenon could be observed: Many of the tweets within this context were repugnant and revealed both denial of antisemitism and at same time the coding of Judeophobic stereotypes and hatred against Israel.⁴⁸ This kind of infiltration of verbal antisemitism within texts that are intended to combat that very phenomenon enhances and very much intensifies the omnipresence of Judeophobic belief systems.

Re- or De-contextualizing Antisemitic Content: Echo Chambers

A phenomenon frequently found on the internet is the so-called echo chamber effect. An echo chamber on the web means a discourse situation in which attitudes are reinforced by communication and repetition inside a closed communication system. Webpages of BDS or the page of Anonymous (that is mainly fo-

⁴⁴ Cf. Schwarz-Friesel, “Antisemitism 2.0.”

⁴⁵ Cf. “Stimme erheben: Nie wieder Judenhass!” *Bild Zeitung*, July 25, 2014, <https://www.bild.de/politik/inland/antisemitismus/nie-wieder-judenhass-36968206.bild.html>.

⁴⁶ “Beendet die zionistische Besetzung! Stoppt den jüdischen Terror und das brutale Apartheidsregime im Unrechtsstaat Israel,” Twitter commentary on #niewiederjudenhass BILD campaign, July 2014, issued September 14, 2014. Translation by the author of this article.

⁴⁷ “Wieso #niewiederjudenhass ? Es geht um den Landsraub durch Zionisten!” Twitter commentary on #niewiederjudenhass BILD campaign, July 2014, issued September 14, 2014. Translation by the author of this article.

⁴⁸ Cf. e.g. J. Demnitz, “Solidaritätskundgebung ‘Berlin trägt Kippa’: ‘Heute hat sich etwas verändert,’” *Der Tagesspiegel*, April 25, 2018, <https://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/solidaritaetskundgebung-berlin-traegt-kippa-heute-hat-sich-etwas-veraendert/21215618.html>.

cused on conspiracy phantasies), for example, depict all typical features of an echo chamber. It means that users prefer to stay in communication fields that articulate their own world views and those attitudes alone. Hence, people are able to seek out information which reinforces their existing views. They will not be confronted with controversial arguments that would challenge their fixed beliefs. With regard to antisemitism, in that way it is strengthened through the homogenizing effect. Within echo chambers, re- and de-contextualizing information plays an important role. It means to put information from one source into another, creating a situation in which attitudes are enhanced by repetition, omitting the original contextual information.



Figure 5. German former foreign minister Sigmar Gabriel on Hamas' Twitter account. <https://twitter.com/hamasinfoen?lang=de> (official account of Hamas Movement—picture deleted in the meantime)

On the Hamas account, for instance, an utterance of former German Foreign minister Gabriel had been posted to delegitimize the state of Israel. In this re-contextualization process, the text, containing an apartheid analogy, is extracted from its original context (de-contextualization) and put into another context in order to strengthen and to legitimize the anti-Israel attitude of Hamas. This re-contextualization has a high persuasive potential implying that the minister of Germany supports the view of Hamas.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ After his visit to Hebron in 2012, then German foreign minister Gabriel had called Israel's politics an "apartheid regime" with a legal vacuum for the Palestinians. While Gabriel has revoked his statement in its drastic form and has repeatedly called himself a friend of Israel, he still criticizes Israel's settlement policy in the West Bank and Gaza. Cf. e.g. "SPD-Chef kritisiert israelische Siedlungspolitik," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, March 19, 2012, <https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/kritik-an-siedlungspolitik-spd-chef-nennt-israel-apartheid-regime-1.1309595>. In 2017, Gabriel referred back to his statement from 2012 while speaking about the rising Muslim antisemitism in Germany in Berlin. The Hamas tweet reacts to Gabriel's exemplary usage of

Equally dominant, both in the virtual and the real world, is a conceptual symbiosis of the semantics of Israelization and classical Judeophobic stereotypes. Typical is the trivialization of the Holocaust, brought in connection with the Palestinian-Israel conflict. “How dare you raise the issue of antisemitism when so many people are being killed!”—utterances like this have been frequently posted during the Gaza conflict. The use of symbolism related to the Nazis is used not only to attack Israel and Jews but also to invert the Holocaust. This creates false comparisons that trivialize the Holocaust and misinform those not familiar with the historical facts. A recurrent accusation is that Israel is behaving towards the Palestinians as the Nazis did to the Jews.⁵⁰

Mainstream Antisemitism

Empirical research shows that the main multipliers and propagators of present-day antisemitism are the mainstream web sites.

“Why are Jews always so mean?” is a question asked implying that Jews are indeed mean and vile creatures.⁵¹ For seven years now, this “good question” can be seen on this platform, because the net supporters claim that this an “interesting question” and so far have not eradicated it.

Another typical example of how Antisemitism 2.0 is distributed on mainstream websites comes from an online homepage-platform: “The Jews cause only TROUBLE and occupy a land that does not belong to them and kill women and children and show no remorse [...] Such are the Jews [...] This is the TRUTH.”⁵² This text has not been deleted either. Remarks of such kind remain online for a long time and help to “normalize” antisemitism in the internet and in society, especially among youngsters.

his own statement in this context. Cf. “Sigmar Gabriel, die Apartheid und ein Lob von der Hamas,” *Audiatur Online*, January 4, 2018, <https://www.audiatur-online.ch/2018/01/04/sigmar-gabriel-die-apartheid-und-ein-lob-von-der-hamas/>.

50 Cf. Schwarz-Friesel and Reinharz, *Inside the Antisemitic Mind*.

51 “Wieso sind Juden immer so böse?” Question by user MissSchool, gutefrage.net, issued January 1, 2011, accessed January 11, 2018.

52 “Juden machen nur STRESS und besetzen ein Land das denen nicht gehört und töten Frauen und Kinder und zeigen keine Reue [...] Das sind Juden [...] das ist die WAHRHEIT” *hausaufgaben.de*, issued June 4, 2008, accessed February 1, 2018. Translation by the author of this article.

Combination of Classical and Israel-related Stereotypes⁵³

As we have already pointed out, one of the dominant versions of antisemitism, which has severely intensified in the last few decades, targets Israel, the Jewish state. Its perpetrators often call themselves anti-Zionists. They aim to isolate Israel and portray it in gloomy pictures. Calls for the elimination of Israel are among the most frequent expressions of this position. Israeli steps against terrorism or Israeli military actions are frequently compared with the Nazi extermination of the Jews, equating Israel with genocidal murder in an analogy that is deliberately antisemitic. Nevertheless, the Middle East conflict between Israel and the Palestinians is not the cause but only one trigger among many for present-day Jew-hatred. It is a common feature of contemporary antisemitism in which classical and Israel-related stereotypes mingle and are combined in antisemitic utterances.⁵⁴ Deeply rooted Judeophobia showed up in debate that broke out in Germany in 2012 on the issue of circumcision, where classical antisemitic patterns emerged: “Unchristian madness, religious delusion, barbarian ritual, dubious rites of a backward religion, children mutilation of a sect, crimes against children by an atavistic religion, the rites of tribes from the bronze age, perverse torturers of babies.”⁵⁵

Although the topic “circumcision” had nothing to do with the Middle East conflict, there were recurrent references to Israel in internet comments such as “Who mutilates his own children, easily kills Palestinian kids, too.”

The same holds true for the analysis of web comments on the speech given by Josef Schuster, the president of the Central council of the Jews in Germany, on immigration in 2015: Although neither Israel nor the Middle East conflict were the topic of his talk, 23 percent of the commentaries on it contained references to Israel. In multiple stereotype encodings, 42 percent of the comments displayed

53 All examples and figures given in this paragraph are drawn from Schwarz-Friesel, “Antisemitismus 2.0.” The results of this longitudinal study were published in July 2018.

54 Cf. Schwarz-Friesel and Reinharz, *Inside the Antisemitic Mind* and Schwarz-Friesel, “Educated Anti-Semitism.”

55 These examples are taken from various commentaries on platforms such as Facebook and YouTube but also from discussion forums of various newspapers, magazines, and broadcasting companies such as Fokus, Spiegel, ARD, and ZDF. The originals read “Unchristlicher Irrsinn, religiöser Wahn, barbarisches Ritual, dubiose Riten einer rückständigen Religion, Kinderverstümmelung einer führenden Sekte, Kindsverbrechen einer antiquierten Religion, die Riten bronzezeitlicher Stämme, perverse Säuglingsfolter.” Translation by the author of this article.

Israel-related stereotypes going along with the coding of 57 percent classical stereotypes.

An extensive corpus study of more than 2,000 social media posts during the 2014 Gaza conflict displayed an amount of 46 percent Israel-related stereotypes, 40 percent classical (traditional) stereotypes, and 13 percent post-Holocaust concepts. The combination of classical and Israel-related stereotypes was found in more than 20 percent of the texts, whereas the symbiosis of post-Holocaust and Israel was found in merely 10 percent of the comments. This result points out that the age-old resentment is very much alive and still working on the collective mind. To understand the persistence of this classical Jew-hatred, one has to go back to its origins.

The Continuity of the Concept of the “Eternal Evil Jew”: Along the Ages, never at the Edges of Society

For millennia, Jews have been demonized, defined as the source of all evil and as the enemies of humankind. This is the root of the irrational hatred⁵⁶ against Jews and the legitimization of the wish to eradicate them. On the web, this concept is articulated in utterances such as: “Jews are the enemy to all mankind”; “Israel is the filth of the world!”; “Jews are the evil of mankind and threaten world peace”; “Israel is an illegitimate evil state and threatens world peace.”⁵⁷ The beginnings of this rhetoric are found 2,000 years ago, at the time of the separation between Christianity and Judaism and the condemnation of the Jews, that became part of the developing Christian creed.⁵⁸ This metaphysical belief, fed throughout the centuries also by a variety of additional factors, culminated in the Holocaust, and expressed the belief that the Jews have to vanish from the earth for the good of humankind. A similar concept is presently applied to Israel, aiming at its elimination as a Jewish state.

Anti-Jewish thinking and feeling represents a cultural category stored in the collective memory of Western society, constantly re-activated and kept alive for

⁵⁶ With a mean value of 70 percent, hatred is the most commonly encoded emotion on the web. Cf. Schwarz-Friesel, “Antisemitismus 2.0.,” Pt. 8.

⁵⁷ These are all commentaries found on YouTube, accessed January 15, 2018.

⁵⁸ Cf. M. Simon, *Versus Israel: A Study of the Relations between Christians and Jews in the Roman Empire AD 135–425* (Oxford: University Press, 1996) and the contribution by A. Lange and M. Grossman in this volume, 133–64.

2,000 years through language, as the following examples from the last 500 years clearly show: “blood-thirsty dogs and murderers [...]” (Martin Luther, 1543); “[...] godless, wicked, thieving, predatory and murderous Jews” (Georg Nigrinus, 1570); “like cancer [...]” (Rechtanus, 1606); “the most despicable people on earth”; “enemy of all mankind” (Voltaire, 1761, 1764); “In the middle of excrement” (Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, 1800); “ugly dirty faces [...] cruel” (Charles Dickens, 1839); “fat, rich, horrifying” (Oscar Wilde, 1891); “Human disease” (Jakob Friedrich Fries, 1816); “Rotten and degenerated people” (Arndt, 1814); “bacteria” (Paul de Lagarde, 1887); “a horrible people” (Theodor Fontane, 1898); “mistake of world history” (Rudolf Steiner, 1888); “Decomposing power” (program of the German Social Party, Leipzig 1905); “[...] the judge had the Jew taken to the gallows and hanged as a thief.” (*The Jew among Thorns*, Grimm’s Fairy Tales); “Maiden murdered by Jews,” (Legends book of Grimm’s). The resurgence of antisemitism after the Holocaust reveals how deep its roots are in society.⁵⁹ It has been fostered for such a long time in all European countries that one must consider it as inherent to European culture and a part of European values. It has turned into a tradition of thinking and feeling, stored in the collective memory of European society. As a tradition, antisemitism continues to exist in public discourse and in the mainstream mass media: On the streets (“Child murderer”), TV (e. g., Talk shows), in left-wing newspapers, in right-wing journals, in religious journals, in radio programs, in schools, in cabaret presentations, popular music, caricatures, in universities, and “conferences.”

No End to Antisemitism...

Jew-hatred, then, did not vanish after the Holocaust, nor was it pushed to the edges of society. What happened was that antisemitism, in a temporarily subdued form, continued to exist in the middle of Western society, a fact that may be hard to accept and difficult to cope with, especially for Germans. An end to Judeophobia is apparently not in view, but steps can be taken to prevent its increase and especially, to control its peculiar kind of social normalization that occurs at the present-day internet communication.

A first step in the fight against present-day Jew-hatred is to get rid of wrong conceptualizations of the phenomenon. It must be recognized what antisemitism is not: it is not a social prejudice system; it is not necessarily connected to rac-

⁵⁹ Cf. also R. Wistrich, *Antisemitism: The Longest Hatred* (London: Thames Mandarin, 1992); D. Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2013).

ism; it does not mean a general bias against a certain minority; it has nothing to do with anti-modernism.

Antisemitism should be understood by what it is: a unique cultural category that has been communicated for many centuries and is deeply embedded in the societal mindset and behavior and has become an integral element of Western culture. As such, Jew-hatred has to be dealt with in new ways.

Antisemitism 2.0—Something New?

Antisemitism 2.0 reflects age-old Judeophobic arguments and emotional resentments. Jew-hatred on the internet is based on these stereotypes and feelings, and antisemitism 2.0 is the mirror image of everyday antisemitism in the real world.

Present-day antisemitism 2.0 shows the persistence of classical stereotypes and argumentation patterns. Verbal antisemitism has a characteristic of uniformity, since in the content of the argumentation there hardly is a difference between the social right, left, or middle or Muslim. A recurring conceptualization is that “Jews are the evil in the world,” which is now re-activated as “Israel is the evil in the world.”

However, the Web 2.0 has given new speed and intensification to antisemitism, adding to the globalization and intensification of Jew-hatred. The communication between the users of the web is more radical, since it is anonymous and less restricted. Multipliers and promoters in social media enhance the “normalization” of communications, as well as their social acceptability. It is difficult to fight antisemitism on the web if one does not take into account its omnipresence and habituality on everyday webpages. Antisemitic utterances are found on all mainstream levels of the web, also on sites not necessarily connected to racism and xenophobia. Antisemitism 2.0 is an expression of the age-old Jew-hatred with certain adaptations, but in its essence, it is the same hatred. Multiple expressions of the classical antisemitism do remain, to which new elements are added, in the present Israel-related focus.

Conclusions

The internet has changed the way in which we relate to the world, how we communicate, and how we process information. The Web 2.0 has brought new speed and a significant intensification to the articulation of antisemitism, and the international interconnectivity adds a new intensity to the globalization of Jew-hatred. The characteristics of the internet communication facilitate the immersing

into an antisemitic world view. Users of the web communicate more radically and are less restrained, not only because much of the communication takes place anonymously but also due to the echo-chambers effect in antisemitic discourse that enhances the feeling of belonging to a community where this kind of discourse is justified. Especially young people tend to feel at home in the virtual world of the Web 2.0, where they easily find emotional bonding and cognitive support for their feelings. All these multipliers and promoters in social media enhance the normalization and social acceptability of Jew-hatred and anti-Israelism. To counteract these developments, especially this pattern of normalization of Jew-hatred with its diverse expressions, a determined social and political effort is necessary. How can the various forms of antisemitism 2.0 be confronted? One step in that direction is to fully recognize the dangers that the new communication technologies open for the spread of antisemitism in mainstream society. Another step is to acknowledge that antisemitism is a cultural category with a strong emotional dimension and not a mere prejudice.

In order to minimize antisemitism 2.0, it is not enough to delete or to prohibit it or to give new laws. A new approach, including both virtual and real world, in combating antisemitism is needed.

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Martin Rothgangel

Combating Antisemitism: An Interdisciplinary Approach

The following considerations adhere to an interdisciplinary approach to the subject of religiously-motivated antisemitism, which is often referred to as anti-Judaism. The first part provides a brief historical overview. The intent here is to demonstrate that first of all, one cannot underestimate the importance of Christian-motivated antisemitism for the spread of antisemitism in general, and second of all, one has to take into account the importance of the antithetical evaluation pattern. For this reason, in my view anti-Judaism is the Christian-religious part of antisemitism in general. In the second part, attention will be drawn to anti-Jewish contrasting in religious education, which constitutes more or less the same black and white pattern as described in the historical part. In the third part, the psychological perspective shows why and how the antithetical evaluation pattern is the source of anti-Jewish prejudices. The psychological aspects are also important because they explain how religious education can contribute to combatting religiously-motivated antisemitism, which is the topic of the last part.

1 Historical Perspectives¹

1.1 On the Origin of Anti-Jewish Contrasting

For Christians, Judaism is not just any religion among others. The Christian faith originated wholly within the framework of Judaism; the initial step towards the “law-free” Gentile mission was initiated primarily through the so-called Council of Jerusalem that convened about fifteen years after the death of Jesus. There was no reason to suppose that Gentile Christians would play a dominant role in the future, nor that Jewish Christians would be relegated to a marginal one. At this time, Christians considered themselves as belonging to the Jewish religion. Accordingly, Christianity was situated in a tense relationship with Judaism, one

¹ This chapter is a slightly modified version of M. Rothgangel, “Anti-Semitism as a Challenge for Religious Education,” in *Religious Education: Between Radicalism and Tolerance*, ed. E. Aslan and M. Rausch (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2018), 35–51, esp. 36–39.

that is characterized by both continuity and discontinuity.² With that said, the ensuing history reveals that while discontinuity was increasingly stressed, continuity was consistently downplayed.

In addition to this, from the Jewish perspective, the works of Jesus Christ affected neither the expected restoration of the Davidic kingdom nor the coming of the Kingdom of God. By contesting the messiahship of Jesus, however, Judaism put—and continues to put—the truth and center of the Christian faith to a fundamental test. A decisive cause of the emergence of an anti-Jewish Christian identity is that the Christian community was initially an internal Jewish group. Accordingly, for Christians, the Jewish “mother-religion” can question their self-conception and identity like no other religion.

In his essay “Judaism as Antithesis: On the Tradition of a Cultural Evaluation Pattern,”³ Christhard Hoffmann argues convincingly that the perception and evaluation of Judaism was often characterized by a polarity of black and white, in which Judaism always found itself representing the negative pole.⁴ According to Hoffmann, the origin of this antithetical evaluation pattern, which proved so fateful for Judaism, is grounded in Christian theology.⁵ Indeed, Christian identity is seldom articulated without Judaism being brought up as a foil—one that serves as a dark contrast against which Christian identity can stand out all the brighter. The definition of this relationship lends itself to an evident black/white orientation:

Christianity	kind Jesus	crucifixion of Jesus	righteousness through faith	elected by God
Judaism	self-righteous Pharisees	deicides	righteousness through work	rejected by God

Herein lies one of the roots of enmity towards Judaism if not its principle origin. Throughout history, Judaism has served as a foil for Christian worldviews and as the antithesis of Christian identity. To illustrate this, Hoffmann quotes from a Protestant church newspaper published in 1865: “Since Golgotha, Judaism has

² Cf. G. Harder, “Kontinuität und Diskontinuität des Gottesvolkes,” in *Kirche und Israel: Arbeiten zum christlich-jüdischen Verhältnis*, ed. G. Harder (Berlin: Selbstverlag Institut Kirche und Judentum, 1986), 155–69.

³ Cf. C. Hoffmann, “Das Judentum als Antithese: Zur Tradition eines kulturellen Wertungsmusters,” in *Antisemitismus in der politischen Kultur nach 1945*, ed. W. Bergmann and R. Erb (Opladen: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 1990), 20–38.

⁴ Cf. Hoffmann, “Das Judentum als Antithese,” 20f.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 21.

been at best an antiquated phenomenon; it is only through contrast that it holds any historical significance to life.”⁶

1.2 On the Historical Influence of Anti-Jewish Contrasting

The consequences of this black-and-white thinking are devastating: Even as the influence of the church waned, the Christian West continued to use Jews as a negative foil for their own convictions. The reasons for this might be further detailed through prejudice psychology research, since contrasting and identity issues can form the basis for prejudice. As the following table shows, the religiously-motivated contrast scheme applies also to non-religious areas:

“Christian” origins of the anti-theological valuation model		Jews
	(humane) Jesus	self-righteous Pharisees
	crucifixion of Jesus	deicides
	righteousness through faith	righteousness through works
	elected by God	rejected by God
Transfer to non-religious areas		
Enlightenment	reason (e. g., enlightened Greeks or Chinese)	superstition (e. g., Judaism)
pre-March 1848	“German” (i. e., national-conservative) politics	“Jewish” (i. e., liberal or democratic) politics
Richard Wagner	“German” (i. e., good) music	Jewish (i. e., bad) music
racial doctrine	“Aryan” race	“Jewish” race

With the onset of the Enlightenment, the Christian aspect of this dualistic valuation gradually receded as the new identity and the newly secularized world emerged. And yet, despite the beginning of Jewish emancipation and such literary efforts as Lessing’s *Nathan the Wise*, Judaism continued to serve as the antithesis of one’s sense of identity. When exemplifying the Enlightenment ideals of “reason” and “the secular state,” the Chinese and Greeks served as the “en-

⁶ Ibid., 23. Translation by the author of this article.

lightened” models, while the Jews were associated with the antithetical ideals of “superstition” and theocracy.”⁷

This phenomenon may also be observed in the Counter-Enlightenment. Indeed, the substantive content of the antithetical “Jew—German” valuation can only be understood historically as emerging from a backlash against Jewish emancipation. “By making reference to the Christian and Germanic character of the German ‘folk spirit,’ the ‘foreignness’ and ‘otherness’ of Jews was emphasized and the integration of Jews in German society rejected.”⁸ In this sense, there are some documents of conservative politicians who, for instance, during the pre-March 1848 period decried their democratic opponents as “un-German” and “Jewish.”⁹ Richard Wagner is also a classic proponent of this kind of thought, as is clear from the distinction he made between German, in other words, great music, and Jewish, or bad music.¹⁰

This antithetical valuation is likewise instructive when it comes to the racial doctrine of the Third Reich. As a German, I feel ashamed that in the Third Reich, the “Jewish race” served as the “dark” foil to the “Aryan race”: Surely, this pseudo-scientific racial doctrine has its historical roots in—among other things—an abridged Darwinism and thus primarily in a secular context. But the question remains whether the specific formation of “racist” antisemitism could be completely explained without the prior existence of “Christian” antisemitism and the lasting impression it had made on Western culture. I think it is not possible, as we have to take into account, that under the racist doctrine, the Jews are not only one inferior race among others, such as the Slavs or the Roma—no, the Jews

7 Cf. Hoffmann, “Das Judentum als Antithese,” 24.

8 Ibid., 27, translation by the author of this article. Also see R. Rendtorff and E. W. Stegemann, *Auschwitz-Krise der christlichen Theologie: Eine Vortragsreihe* (München: Kaiser, 1980), 13: “Thus the Jew joined the Frenchman—and even then, more permanently than him—as the counter-image of that which ideologically constituted the German national spirit.” Translation by the author of this article.

However, one should also not proceed in an undifferentiated manner from a unified “image of the Jews”—compare here, for instance, the analysis of pilgrims’ reports from the nineteenth century by M. Langer, “Objektivität—Vorurteil—Feindschaft: Zur Ambivalenz der Wahrnehmung der Juden Palästinas in Katholischen Pilgerberichten des 19. Jahrhunderts,” in *Beziehungen zwischen Orient und Okzident. Interdisziplinäre und interregionale Forschungen*, ed. M. Büttner and W. Leitner (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1992), 123–54.

9 Cf. Hoffmann, “Das Judentum als Antithese,” 27; cf. also J. Katz, *Vom Vorurteil bis zur Vernichtung: Der Antisemitismus 1700–1933* (Berlin: Union Verlag, 1990), 23–29.

10 Cf. “Das Judentum als Antithese,” 27, as well as S. Bergler, “‘Erlösung dem Erlöser:’ Richard Wagner (1813–1883) zwischen Antisemitismus und Antijudaismus,” *Judaica* 48 (1992): 165–76, especially 174.

are the (!) “anti-race,” whose goal it is to subvert the Aryan race.¹¹ How could this be explained without resorting to the Christian antithetical valuation, which posits the Jews as the antithesis of Christian Identity?

2 Anti-Jewish Contrasting in Religious Education¹²

Between 1980 and 1995, several studies examined the topic of anti-Judaism in Germany and Austria through an analysis of religious educational textbooks and curricula.¹³ The results of those studies corresponded with other analyses of antisemitism in the context of religious education and can be effectively explained using different theories of prejudice. In the following, the results of the religious educational analyses from that time period will be presented first, followed by the present study of Julia Spichal.¹⁴

2.1 Previous Studies of Textbooks and Curricula

The representation of Judaism in textbooks and curricula can be characterized by an ambivalence that could be summarized with the formula “between reform and stagnation.” Namely, a comparative analysis of this topic—regardless of all ongoing reform processes—reveals the following critical topics, within which curricula and textbooks presented Judaism in a problematic light: (1) Passion,

11 Cf. W. Hofer, “Stufen der Judenverfolgung im Dritten Reich 1933–1939,” in *Antisemitismus. Von der Judenfeindschaft zum Holocaust*, ed. H. A. Strauss and N. Kampe (Frankfurt: Campus, 1985), 172–85.

12 The following section is a shortened and slightly modified version of M. Rothgangel, “Anti-Semitism as a Challenge for Religious Education,” in *Religious Education: Between Radicalism and Tolerance*, ed. E. Aslan and M. Rausch (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2018), 35–51, esp. 39–48.

13 The respective publications are discussed in M. Rothgangel, *Antisemitismus als religionspädagogische Herausforderung. Eine Studie unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Röm 9–11* (Freiburg: Herder, 1997), 114–27. For the following cf. also M. Rothgangel and J. Spichal, “Antijudaismus in Schulbüchern und Lehrplänen. Zwischen Reform und Stagnation,” *Zeitschrift für Neues Testament* 37 (2016): 58–66.

14 J. Spichal, *Vorurteile gegen Juden im christlichen Religionsunterricht. Eine qualitative Inhaltsanalyse ausgewählter Lehrpläne und Schulbücher in Deutschland und Österreich* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2015).

(2) Torah, (3) Pharisees, (4) “Old” Testament, (5) Jewish history, and (6) a generally insufficient definition of the Judeo-Christian relationship.¹⁵

The findings may be exemplified by the representation of “the” Pharisees as well as the treatment of the Torah in religious educational teaching materials: Although the authors of the textbooks and curricula clearly had good intentions when they accurately describe the Pharisees as a religious group in Jesus’ time. However, “when in the same book—sometimes only a few pages later—the Pharisees appear in opposition to Jesus, they are depicted subjectively, negatively and tendentiously.”¹⁶ A similar problem can be observed in the treatment of the Torah. As long as the Torah is discussed within the context of Judaism—that is, without being brought into relation to Jesus or Pauline or Christian thought—the authors make a serious effort to present an adequate picture of the Torah and its vital importance to everyday Jewish life. However, when the subject of the Torah is taught within the context of Jesus or Paul or topics like “violence and peace,” the tendency to caricature the Torah as a negative expression of Jewish righteousness becomes apparent. Michael Brocke and Herbert Jochum assert quite rightly that “almost without exception, the positive approaches find their limits at the educational instrument of contrast.”¹⁷

Fundamentally, such findings elucidate a challenge not only for religious education but for Christian theology as a whole. It turns out that religious education lacks a reasonable definition of the relationship between Judaism and Christianity—“reasonable” here meaning one in which Christian identity is neither left to inference, nor posited at the expense of Judaism. Indeed, between 1980 and 1995, numerous religious education scholars pointed out the negative consequences of this insufficient definition of the Christian-Jewish relationship.¹⁸ Ultimately, it is religious education teachers who are directly affected by this: “When, for example, [a teacher] attempts to depict Judaism in Jesus’ time in a differentiated and sympathetic manner and comes up with praise for the

15 Cf. Rothgangel, *Antisemitismus*, 121–27. Translation by the author of this article.

16 H. Kemers, “Die wichtigsten Ergebnisse aus der Analyse der gegenwärtigen religionspädagogischen Literatur und die Frage nach den Konsequenzen,” in *Liebe und Gerechtigkeit: Gesammelte Beiträge*, ed. H. Kremers, A. Weyer, and Th. Kremers-Sper (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1990), 233.

17 M. Brocke and H. Jochum, “Das Judentum in Schulbüchern für den katholischen Religionsunterricht heute – eine Problemanzeige,” in *Juden, Judentum und Staat Israel im christlichen Religionsunterricht in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Untersuchungen im Rahmen des Forschungsschwerpunkts ‘Geschichte und Religion des Judentums’ an der Universität Duisburg-Essen*, ed. H. Jochum and H. Kremers (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1980), 67. Translation by the author of this article.

18 Cf. the respective references in Rothgangel, *Antisemitismus*, 125–27.

pious among the Pharisees—then [he or she] finds it difficult to justify what was new about what Jesus brought into the world. [This stands] in stark contrast to [a teacher] who works with a vivid image of the enemy, since the credibility of the new springs on its own from the decadence of the old.”¹⁹ Helga Kohler-Spiegel arrives at a similar conclusion through her analysis of German, Austrian, and Swiss-German curricula: “How can Christians formulate the ‘unique characteristics of Christianity’ and their identity in a positive manner without resorting to negative demarcations in regard to Judaism?”²⁰

2.2 The Present Study of Julia Spichal

It is remarkable that in the nearly twenty years since the initial studies, there have been no similar analyses regarding the handling of Judaism within Protestant and Catholic religious education. The dissertation of Julia Spichal fills this research gap and seeks to identify the developments that have taken place in the intervening decades.²¹ Julia Spichal’s study used comparable syllabi and textbooks as well as Fiedler’s analysis grid (1980). This was essential to ensure a reliable comparison with the previous textbook and syllabus analyses. In addition, she used content analysis for data analysis but in a form developed by Philipp Mayring.²²

From her analysis, one of the neuralgic points mentioned in 2.1 is exemplified here, namely the Jewish understanding of the Torah: In the fourth volume of the *Wegzeichen Religion* textbook series, the Jewish interpretation of the Torah is treated in conjunction with the topic of Paul. The schoolbook builds a factually false contrast between the Torah and faith in Jesus Christ by raising the question of whether Judaism or Christianity is “right” about faith.²³ In contrast to this, the 1977 edition does not contain any distortion of the Jewish understanding of the

¹⁹ Cf. H. Sorge, “Judentum. Didaktische Skizze mit einer Projektidee für die Sekundarstufe II,” *ForR*, no. 3 (1983): 14. Translation by the author of this article.

²⁰ H. Kohler-Spiegel, *Juden und Christen—Geschwister im Glauben: Ein Beitrag zur Lehrplanteorie am Beispiel Verhältnis Christentum Judentum* (Freiburg: Herder, 1991), 323. Translation by the author of this article.

²¹ Cf. Spichal, *Vorurteile*.

²² Cf. *ibid.*

²³ Cf. S. Beck-Seiferlein et al., *Wegzeichen Religion 4. Ein Unterrichtswerk für den Evangelischen Religionsunterricht in der Jahrgangsstufe 4* (Frankfurt a. M.: Diesterweg, 2004), 64.

Torah in the context of Paul; on the contrary, an effort is made to provide a benevolent representation.²⁴ This should therefore be viewed as a negative change.

In a similar way, the textbook *Da sein—Wege ins Leben*, volume 7, offers a factually false picture of the Jewish understanding of the Torah. This textbook suggests that Jesus' critique of the Torah was the reason why Paul persecuted the "Christians"²⁵ and thereby absolutizes the Pauline Torah critique. Furthermore, it characterizes the Torah as constricting²⁶ and thereby contradicts the 2004 curriculum guidelines for Bavarian general schools, where although the term "law" is used in a separate chapter on Judaism, the Torah is characterized as a reason for joy instead of a burden.²⁷ On the other hand, the 1983 curriculum for Bavarian general schools presented Judaism as a negative foil for Christian doctrine, which means the change since then has been a positive development.

In addition to the serious findings listed above, the examined material also contains explicitly positive statements. For example, the school book series *Religion entdecken-verstehen-gestalten* explicitly states that different interpretations of the Torah are the usual practice within Judaism.²⁸ In this manner, the textbook avoids presenting students with a false opposition between the Torah of Jesus and the Pharisees. This danger is also avoided when dealing with Paul by emphasizing the relevance of the Torah to early Christianity. However, a "new law"²⁹ is mentioned here, which leads the text to give a contradictory impression of its earlier mention of the Torah's permanent relevance.

An equally favorable description is found in the curriculum for Austrian elementary schools. Here, the Torah is described as a "way of salvation" for Israel and as a gift from God.³⁰ It is noteworthy, however, that the Christian-Jewish relationship is not addressed. Thus, there is no information on the relevance of the Torah for Jesus and early Christianity.

The explanations in the *REli+wir* textbook seem very similar to this. This textbook also emphasizes that rather than being a constraint, the Torah liberates

24 Cf. Rothgangel, *Antisemitismus*, 138–39.

25 Cf. W. Haußmann et al., *Da sein—Wege ins Leben 7. Ein Unterrichtswerk für den Evangelischen Religionsunterricht an Hauptschulen* (Braunschweig: Diesterweg, 2001), 110.

26 Cf. *ibid.*

27 Cf. Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus, ed. *Lehrpläne für die Hauptschule Jahrgangsstufen 5 bis 9* (München, 2004), 95.

28 G.-R. Koretzki and R. Tammeus, ed., *Religion entdecken-verstehen-gestalten. 5./6. Schuljahr* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 69.

29 *Ibid.*, 101.

30 Cf. Bundeskanzleramt, ed., *Bundesgesetzblatt für die Republik Österreich, 255. Bekanntmachung: Lehrpläne für den katholischen Religionsunterricht an Volksschulen und für den evangelischen Religionsunterricht an Volksschulen und an Sonderschulen, Teil II* (Wien, 2010), 24.

people to life.³¹ Compared to the contrast that the same textbook draws between Jesus' interpretation of the Sabbath and that of "the Jews," however, it is clear that the Jewish understanding of the Torah, which is allegedly hostile to life, here serves as a negative foil to promote the merciful Christian message. Thus, the text presents the very discrepancy that Fiedler has already problematized, namely, the discrepancy between a benevolent depiction of the Torah on the one hand, and a factually false caricature of the Jewish Torah in contrast to Jesus' message, on the other.

Therefore, Spichal's analysis of currently-approved textbooks and curricula leads to the conclusion that there are still clear anti-Jewish polemics to be found in several places regarding the Jewish interpretations of the Torah. In relative terms, her analysis leads to a result similar to the textbook and curriculum analysis of the 1980s and mid-1990s. On the one hand, in certain textbooks and curricula there have indeed been comparatively positive revisions regarding critical points concerning the treatment of Judaism in religious education. It is worth noting, however, that there are other religious educational textbooks and curricula in which tendentious and factually-inaccurate representations prevail, and in which very occasionally, we may even observe regressions in this regard. Overall, there is a clear need for revision in numerous, currently-approved curricula and textbooks.

This result is sobering and shows that the implementation of the findings of religious education research in religious educational teaching materials is a lengthy process. The negative effects of this problem become obvious, when we take into account the following psychological perspectives.

3 Psychological Perspectives on Anti-Jewish Contrasting³²

Before examining the significance of psychological theories of prejudice to anti-Jewish contrasting, one should first consider and outline the different ways of understanding the underlying concepts of attitude and prejudice.

³¹ Evangelischer Presseverband Österreich, ed., *RELi+wir* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 293.

³² The following section is a shortened and slightly modified version of M. Rothgangel, "Inter-religious Education in the Context of Social Psychology Research on Attitudes and Prejudice," *HTS Theologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 72, no. 4 (2016): 1–9.

3.1 Attitude and Prejudice—Conceptual Definitions

Attitude is a well-studied construct in social psychology. One may define it as “a person’s predisposition or inclination to evaluate an object or its symbolic representations in a particular way or manner.”³³ Additionally, under the well-established attitudes model of Eagly & Chaiken, attitudes are understood as comprehensive evaluations that exhibit affective, cognitive, as well as behavioral components.³⁴ Under this model, the affective components of attitude refer to feelings or emotions; the cognitive components refer to thoughts and beliefs that are associated with a given subject; and, finally, the behavioral components refer to behaviors associated with the object under evaluation. The basic psychological need to evaluate an object, which underlies attitudes, derives from the preference for explicit answers to a topic, which are considered positive in contrast to ambiguity and confusing complexity. Attitudes thereby facilitate the formulation of judgment and the classification of topics as well as events.

Prejudice may be considered a subcategory of attitude and defined as a negative attitude toward people or groups of people.³⁵ From this definition emerges the negatively-evaluated aspect of “pre-judgment,” which always includes pre- and misjudgments. Similarly to attitude, prejudice may also be analyzed as having cognitive (e. g., stereotype), affective (e. g., resentment), and behavioral (e. g., readiness to discriminate) components. The function of prejudice lies in the growth of one’s self-esteem or sense of belonging as a result of the devaluation of another person or group. The aim of the following considerations is to determine in which sense anti-Jewish contrasting functions as a form of prejudice.

3.2 Antisemitism as “a Categorization Problem”— Accentuation Theory

In the late 1960s, psychology underwent the so-called cognitive revolution. In prejudice research, psychological explanatory models like scapegoat theory or studies about the authoritarian personality were largely supplanted by theories that explained the emergence of prejudices in “natural” processes of thought and

³³ N. M. Seel, *Psychologie des Lernens* (München: UTB, 2000), 118.

³⁴ Cf. A. H. Eagly and S. Chaiken, *The Psychology of Attitudes* (Fort Worth: Harcourt, Brace, & Janovich, 1993).

³⁵ Though this definition of prejudice is by no means uncontroversial in social psychology, it nonetheless represents a widespread trend (for more detail, cf. Rothgangel, *Antisemitismus*, 18–21).

perception. In the following, the focus will be on one of these cognitive theories, the accentuation theory.

It is well known from perception psychology that a person can absorb and process only a portion of the sensory information available to him or her in the surrounding world. This makes the development of “reduction strategies” especially necessary.³⁶ Accordingly, social prejudices should not be merely understood as “false” judgments. Rather, they represent the natural and inevitable consequence of the processing of social stimuli and provide guidance in a complex outer world.³⁷

In the categorisation of people, a decisive role is played by physical as well as social traits like ethnic or religious membership. We may understand social prejudice as an assumed correlation between a particular category (e. g., Italian) and one or several traits (e. g., body size). This leads, however, to the accentuation of differences between the traits of different categories—in this sense, traits that mark differences are emphasised or exaggerated. In practice this means that a person’s membership of different groups (for instance Italian or Swedish) can lead to an overemphasis on the perception of differences (“the” Swedes are larger than “the” Italians). Numerous empirical studies demonstrate accentuation effects in physical as well as social stimuli.

Because of the complexity of the social environment, accentuation effects related to social prejudice arise primarily as a result of social influence and less as a result of observation. This, in turn, suggests that accentuation theory lends itself more to studying macro factors of socialisation and learning theory. The founder of accentuation theory, H. Tajfel, later extended his explanatory model with the social identity theory, in which he supplemented his use of certain thought processes to explain prejudice formation with human motives and needs. Applied on its own, accentuation theory can explain why differences between two groups are emphasized. Its limitations, however, lie in its inability to explain why other groups are frequently devalued in relation to one’s own group. Accordingly, H. Tajfel refers in his later modified view of “social identity theory” to an essential difference between social prejudice and other cognitive categories: As a rule, prejudices about outgroups are less positive in relation to the in-group—that is, a purely cognitive explanation does not enable us to interpret ad-

36 Cf. J.-P. Leyens and J.-P. Codol, “Soziale Informationsverarbeitung,” in *Sozialpsychologie*, ed. W. Stroebe, M. Hewstone, J.-P. Codol, and G. M. Stephenson (Berlin: Springer, 1990), 92.

37 Cf. H. Tajfel, “Cognitive Aspects of Prejudice,” *Journal of Social Issues* 25 (1969): 82; U. Six, “Ethnische Vorurteile. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen ihrer Reduktion durch Massenmedien,” in *Vorurteile und Einstellungen: Sozialpsychologische Beiträge zum Problem sozialer Orientierung*, ed. B. Schäfer and F. Petermann (Köln: Deutscher Instituts Verlag, 1988), 327.

equately an ethnocentric attitude that is widely observed among a group of people.³⁸

3.3 Antisemitism as a Problem of Identity—Social Identity Theory

When it comes to the so-called “conflict theories,” we may distinguish between the *realistic conflict theory* and the *social identity theory*.³⁹ According to the realistic conflict theory, political, economic, etc. conflicts between groups result in a perception of threat, the consequence of which is again ethnocentrism—that is, enhanced solidarity within the ingroup and a devaluation of the competing outgroup.⁴⁰

For the analysis of religious prejudice, however, the social identity theory⁴¹ deserves more attention, as it provides well-founded corrections and additions to the realistic conflict theory: First, the perception of belonging to one of two groups alone can lead one to prefer one’s own group and disadvantage the other group. Second, not every group conflict needs to lead to ethnocentrism, since an effective antidote might be, for example, the provision of an institutional framework that mediates competition between groups. Third, conflicts might arise not only over “physical” resources but also over social prestige and social status.⁴² With the help of social identity theory, these criticisms may be integrated into a self-contained explanatory model. One could say that the inherent

38 Cf. W. Stroebe et al., “Stereotype, Prejudice and Discrimination: Changing Conceptions in Theory and Research,” in *Stereotyping and Prejudice: Changing Conceptions*, ed. D. Bar-Tal, C. F. Graumann, A. W. Kruglanski, and W. Stroebe (New York: Springer, 1989), 5.

39 On the Realistic Conflict Theory, cf. D. Campbell, “Ethnocentrism and Other Altruistic Motives,” in *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation*, ed. D. Levine (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), 283–311, and M. Sherif, *Group Conflict and Co-operation: Their Social Psychology* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966). On the Social Identity Theory, cf. H. Tajfel, *Gruppenkonflikt und Vorurteil. Entstehung und Funktion sozialer Stereotypen* (Wien: Huber, 1982).

40 Cf. Stroebe et al., “Stereotype,” 14.

41 Petersen and Blank offer an up-to-date overview of this theory. For the significance of this theory, cf. L.-E. Petersen and H. Blank, “Das Paradigma der minimalen Gruppen,” in *Stereotype, Vorurteile und soziale Diskriminierung: Theorien, Befunde und Interventionen*, ed. L.-E. Petersen and B. Six (Basel: Beltz, 2008), 200–213; L.-E. Petersen, “Die Theorie der sozialen Identität,” in *Stereotype, Vorurteile und soziale Diskriminierung: Theorien, Befunde und Interventionen*, ed. L.-E. Petersen and B. Six (Basel: Beltz, 2008), 223–30. “The minimal group paradigm has been the dominant research paradigm in social discrimination research during the last four decades.” Petersen and Blank, “Das Paradigma,” 200. Translation by the author of this article.

42 Cf. Stroebe et al., “Stereotype,” 14.

human desire for a positive social identity represents the Archimedean fulcrum point of this theory.⁴³

This situation can be illustrated by means of the “minimal intergroup” experiments.⁴⁴ In these experiments, research participants were aware of their own group membership and the group membership of those among whom they were asked to distribute money. However, research participants knew the individuals of the ingroup and the outgroup only through code numbers.⁴⁵ In one such experiment, three “money distribution strategies” were available to choose from: the first entailed a maximum shared win for both groups; the second, maximum profit for the ingroup; and the third, a maximum difference between the groups in favor of the ingroup.⁴⁶ Tajfel justified these requirements as follows:

There was no externally defined conflict in our experiments; if there was competition (i.e., actions aimed at differentiating between the groups in favor of one’s own), then it was actively introduced to the situation by the participants themselves as soon as the researchers introduced the concept of a group. Research participants were never together in a ‘group’; they did not interact, nor did they know who belonged to the outgroup or to their ingroup; there was no *explicit* social pressure to act in favor of their own group, nor was it in the interest of the research participants to grant the members of their own group more money. On the contrary, had they consistently pursued a strategy of maximum joint profit, they would *all* have received more money from the researcher.⁴⁷

Nevertheless, the third “money distribution strategy,” the one providing maximum difference in favor of the ingroup, predominated. The minimal intergroup experiments therefore reveal a need to focus on *positive* ways to *distinguish* oneself from other groups.⁴⁸ This striving for a positive trait manifests itself in various social and cultural interactions.⁴⁹

43 Tajfel defines social identity as “that part of an individual’s self-image [...] that is derived from the knowledge of his or her membership in social groups and from the value and emotional meaning that this membership carries.” Tajfel, *Gruppenkonflikt und Vorurteil*, 102. Translation by the author of this article.

44 The so-called “minimal intergroup experiments” were conducted to determine the minimal conditions under which an individual would demonstrate a noticeable difference in his or her behavior in favor of an ingroup versus an outgroup. Cf. Tajfel, *Gruppenkonflikt*, 118.

45 Cf. *ibid.*

46 Cf. *ibid.*, 119.

47 *Ibid.*, 124. Translation by the author of this article.

48 Cf. *ibid.*, 121–25.

49 Cf. *ibid.*, 126.

Since the status of the ingroup represents an important determinant of social identity, low social status motivates the members of a group to join another group of higher status or to improve the status of their own group.⁵⁰ Conversely, members of the “superior” group seek to defend their status against groups that threaten or appear to threaten it and justify their status anew if they see it associated with a conflict of values (e.g., if the higher status is based on unjust prejudices).⁵¹ Under the social identity theory, prejudices may, for instance, be viewed as an effective means to present one’s own group in a better light or to justify its unfair advantages. The purpose of such measures lies, in the former case, in the indirect improvement of the ingroup’s status and, in the latter case, in the justification of the lower social status of the outgroup.

In conclusion, it should nevertheless be stressed that social identity theory is not a “catch-all” framework for antisemitic prejudice.⁵² It does not, therefore, take into account the role that, for example, parents or other agents of socialization—the importance of which is discussed below—play in prejudice formation.

3.4 Antisemitism as Socialization Problem—Social Learning Theory

Education plays an important role in maintaining subcultures and therefore also in the passing on of religious prejudice. Children whose parents espouse antisemitic or Islamophobic values learn these prejudices from their parents. It is primarily educational content that is responsible for prejudice formation and dissemination, not, for example, an authoritarian style of parenting.⁵³ In contrast to scapegoat theory, proponents of social learning theory⁵⁴ do not presuppose a motive which leads to the devaluation of other groups. Social prejudices arise either from the observation of existing differences between different social

⁵⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, 103.

⁵¹ Cf. *ibid.*, 132f.

⁵² The current state of social identity theory, as well as its limitations and prospects for further development, are thoroughly discussed in A. Zick, “Die Konflikttheorie der Theorie sozialer Identität,” in *Sozialwissenschaftliche Konflikttheorien: Eine Einführung*, ed. T. Bonacker (Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2008), 409–26.

⁵³ Cf. H. Weiss, “Antisemitische Vorurteile in Österreich nach 1945. Ergebnisse empirischer Forschungen,” in *Antisemitismus nach dem Holocaust. Bestandsaufnahme und Erscheinungsformen in deutschsprachigen Ländern*, ed. A. Silbermann and J. H. Schoeps (Köln: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, 1986), 62.

⁵⁴ Cf. A. Bandura, *Social Learning Theory* (New York: General Learning Press, 1977).

groups or from social influences that one may be exposed to in the course of one's life through parents, peers, school, and the mass media.⁵⁵

Such prejudices are ultimately passed down by agents of socialization such as family, peers, schools, and the mass media. Since racial, ethnic, and gender prejudices are acquired at a relatively early stage of life (from around the age of four),⁵⁶ parents play a very significant role in this process. A child learns these prejudices, on the one hand, through the linguistic information it receives from its parents and, on the other, through the learning model provided by the parents' behavior.⁵⁷ The consequences that parents experience as a result of their own demonstrated behavior are major determinants for whether the child engages in or avoids the same behavior.

The less education a person has, the less likely it is that he or she will understand a complex phenomenon—such as his or her social environment—in intellectual terms. Likewise, s/he will be less likely to accept ambiguity. Selznick and Steinberg refer to this situation as simplicity and use surveys to demonstrate that simplicity steadily decreases with a rise in education level.⁵⁸ It is worth noting at this point that a lack of education is also accompanied by a lack of ethical sensitivity, which leads to the acceptance of attitudes that include inhumane or intolerant ideas.⁵⁹ Accordingly, a rise in “simplicity” is accompanied by a significant increase in the incidence of antisemitic attitudes.⁶⁰ Simplicity, however, is far from being a purely cognitive phenomenon. It also has an impact on an emo-

55 Cf. Stroebe et al., “Stereotype,” 15.

56 Ethnic prejudices are acquired between the ages of three and five, cf. F. E. Aboud, *Children and Prejudice* (London: Blackwell, 1988), 43. Further discussion of this issue may be found in W. Bergmann, “Attitude Theory and Prejudice,” in *Error Without Trial: Psychological Research on Antisemitism*, ed. W. Bergmann (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1988), 280; for an illustrative example with third graders, see E. Aronson, T. D. Wilson, and R. M. Akert, *Sozialpsychologie* (London: Pearson, 2008), 430f.

57 Cf. Stroebe et al., “Stereotype,” 16.

58 Lower “simplicity” is found among 9 percent of people with only a primary education, 18 percent with a high school education, 34 percent with some college education and 49 percent with a full college education. Conversely, higher “simplicity” is found among 51 percent of people with only a primary education, 34 percent with a high school education, 15 percent with some college education and 9 percent with a full college education. Cf. G. J. Selznick and S. Steinberg, *The Tenacity of Prejudice: Anti-Semitism in Contemporary America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), 141.

59 Cf. Selznick and Steinberg, *The Tenacity of Prejudice*, 141.

60 “As simplicity goes from low to medium to high, the proportion of antisemitism rises from 17 to 39 to 64 percent.” *Ibid.*, 142f.

tional level, since lacking cognitive differentiation and accepting intolerant opinions entails further psychological consequences.⁶¹

The discussion of the various psychological theories shows us that none of these theories can generally explain the origin and function of antisemitic prejudices. To sum up, we find that in the context of cognitive theories, antisemitic prejudice functions as a categorisation problem; in the context of social identity theory, antisemitic prejudice functions as an identity problem; and in the context of social learning theory, it functions as a socialisation problem. The three discussed psychological theories also offer us strategies for combatting antisemitic prejudices as mentioned in the historical and religious educational part.

Nevertheless, at this point, it is worth drawing attention to another conundrum: In the fields of attitude and prejudice psychology, we can currently observe the predicament that evidence-based theories of attitude change or prejudice reduction⁶² were developed relatively independently of the theories of prejudice formation and function discussed above. The elimination of this research deficit has even been described as “the most exciting challenge”⁶³ of the coming decades. This “gap” notwithstanding, we can derive specific evidence-based theories of attitude and prejudice from the enumerated theories and formulate conditions under which religious education can contribute to combat antisemitism.

⁶¹ Cf. *ibid.*, 142, 168.

⁶² Cf., for example, S. Oskamp, ed., *Reducing Prejudice and Discrimination* (London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2000). Much discussed is the contact hypothesis, cf. T. F. Pettigrew and L. R. Troop, “Does Intergroup Contact Reduce Prejudice? Recent Meta-Analytic Findings,” in *Reducing Prejudice and Discrimination*, ed. S. Oskamp (London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2000), 93–114; S. Stürmer, “Die Kontakthypothese,” in *Stereotype, Vorurteile und soziale Diskriminierung: Theorien, Befunde und Interventionen*, ed. L.-E. Petersen and B. Six (Basel: Beltz, 2008), 283–91.

⁶³ W. D. Crano, J. Cooper, and J. P. Forgas, eds., *The Psychology of Attitudes and Attitude Changed* (New York: Psychology Press, 2010), 13. In comparison to other areas of prejudice research, there have been relatively few studies on prejudice reduction. Nevertheless, there has been a wide range of research since the mid-1980s that investigates the possibility of arriving at an empirical synthesis of contact theory and social identity theory (cf. M. B. Brewer, “Reducing Prejudice through Cross-categorization: Effects of Multiple Social Identities,” in *Reducing Prejudice and Discrimination*, ed. S. Oskamp (London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2000), 165.

4 Combatting Antisemitism

4.1 Immediate Prospects for Combatting Antisemitism in Light of the Accentuation Theory

Strictly speaking, accentuation theory tells us that the mere juxtaposition of Christianity and Judaism can lead to an accentuation of the differences between these two religions. And in the light of the accentuation theory, it is obvious that anti-Jewish contrasting, as shown in the historical and religious educational part, is one important source of prejudices against Jews and Judaism.

An effective way to counteract accentuation processes is cross-categorisation. Here, the existing categorisation into Christians and Jews is not simply negated but is in some way relativized or “crisscrossed.” This means that, in addition to existing differences, one has to highlight, from a Christian perspective, the overarching similarities between Christianity and Judaism, for instance the rootedness of Christianity in Judaism. However, members of religious groups may perceive these strategies as a threat to their religious identity and refuse to implement them. For this reason the following point has also been taken into consideration.

4.2 Immediate Prospects for Combatting Antisemitism in Light of the Social Identity Theory

As mentioned before, the mere perception of membership in a different group can lead *a priori* to the favouring of one’s own religion and discrimination of members of another religion. According to social identity theory, prejudices against other religions contribute to securing one’s own religious identity. In contrast to the cognitive-structural theories, social identity theory can explain why from a Christian perspective there is the tendency to devalue Judaism. However, this discrimination process will not take place, if the devaluation of the other religion leads also to a devaluation of one’s own religion. For this reason, the following words of Paul in Romans 11:18 are very important for Christian education: “do not consider yourself to be superior to those other branches. If you do, consider this: You do not support the root, but the root supports you.” By mentioning the realm of Christian education, there is only one step to move on to the following part.

4.3 Immediate Prospects for Combatting Antisemitism in Light of the Social Learning Theory

The analysis of religious antisemitism benefits from the inclusion of social learning theory: Here, the importance of social influences and subcultural values becomes evident. In this sense, one has to consider the coexistence of different cultures and subcultures. For instance, antisemitism by right-wing or Islamist groups or antisemitism in the digital world—and also we have to consider what has been said regarding the anti-Jewish contrasting in religious education. Antisemitic prejudices are therefore acquired by the “completely normal” process of socialisation within different cultures and subcultures full of antisemitic prejudices—and only some of them are totally evident, others are subtle as for instance the mere contrasting of Christianity and Judaism.

For these reasons, there is a need for conferences and projects that establish measures against antisemitic subcultures in an interdisciplinary way. Perhaps the previous considerations have shown how the different perspectives, the historical, the religious educational, and last but not least the psychological, shed light upon each other. We do need these interdisciplinary approaches to combat antisemitism. Nevertheless, there is still a lack of empirical research of what educational measurements are effective against antisemitism. Sometimes antisemitism might appear as an everlasting phenomenon, but interdisciplinary research will increase the chance that there will be an end to it!

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Recommendations

Recommendations regarding Cultural Organizations and Institutions

The following section reproduces policy recommendations how to combat antisemitism regarding cultural, educational and research institutions and organizations, as well as regarding the internet, its influencers, and its users for the fight against antisemitism. These policies were developed for the *Catalogue of Policies to Combat Antisemitism*¹ and grew out of all research presented at the conference “An End to Antisemitism!” in Vienna, February 18–22, 2018. These studies pertain to the emergence and growth of antisemitism within the sectors of culture, education, and academic research. They concern the effects of antisemitism within the mentioned areas and help to develop recommendations for the fight against it.

The contributions in questions can be found in the previous section of this volume. Further articles that contributed to the recommendations presented below are published in volumes 4 and 5 of the conference proceedings *An End to Antisemitism!*, both forthcoming.

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.”² *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 contributes to the making of cultural meaning, too. Education is obviously another important part of the cultural process. Given the special importance of the Internet, academic research, and education for combating antisem-

1 A. Lange, A. Muzicant, D. Porat, L. H. Schiffman, M. Weitzman, *An End to Antisemitism! A Catalogue of Policies to Combat Antisemitism* (Brussels: European Jewish Congress, 2018), 51–92.

2 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.

itism, we will dedicate special chapters to recommendations for 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 antisemitic 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. Currently not one research institution exists that dedicates its work to this topic! Long-term strategies for the fight against antisemitism which last for generations do not exist. To change cultural memories, such long-term perspectives are indispensable though. 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 with cultural decision makers and those who participate in the forming and expressing of cultural memories.
2. Ending false reporting about Jews, Judaism and Israel in the media (see also the recommendations for the business world).
3. Fighting and removing antisemitic contents 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 five 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/culture, cultural institutions, organizations, etc. need to be alerted to the antisemitism in their culture/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.

1 Assessment: Assessing where a Culture or Society as well as a Cultural Institution, Organization, or Profession Stands regarding its Level of Antisemitism

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.³ (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. (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 recommendations for 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 after the application of specific policies. The monitoring of antisemitism has to be *public* and should always lead to interventions.

³ International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, *Working Definition of Antisemitism*, issued May 26, 2016, <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/node/196>.

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 in some areas extensively 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 recommendations for 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 recommendations for academic institutions).

3 Awareness-raising: All Members of a Society/Culture, Cultural Institutions, Organization etc. Need to Be Alerted to the Antisemitism in their Culture/Society

It is necessary to raise awareness about the indebtedness of many cultures and their cultural memories to antisemitic philosophies. 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 for 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 the awareness towards the eventual 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. Awareness-raising of anti-semitic 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*.

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 percent 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 recommendations for governments, political organizations, and institutions) 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 recommendations for religious groups and institutions).

The following policies are therefore recommended.

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 endorse and apply the IHRA's Working Definition of Antisemitism (see 565–6).
- Each cultural organization or institution needs to allocate at least 1 percent 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 are represented should. 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 history, culture and religion of Judaism as well as the history of antisemitism.

4.2 Cultural Forgetting of Antisemitic Memory Spaces in the Cultural Memories of the World

As explained above, 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 of 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 agitations requires detailed arguments. The sheer amount of the lies 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.

- In 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.
- Special Webpages should be created and made easily accessible to help prove the claims of antisemitic agitation false.
- 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 chapters on recommendations regarding the Internet and Business). 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 who need them for their work in studying and combating antisemitism.
- 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, 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*, 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 treatise *On 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*⁴ 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. Examples include

⁴ A. Hitler, *Mein Kampf: eine kritische Edition*, edited by C. Hartmann et al., 2 vols., Munich – Berlin: Institut für Zeitgeschichte, 2013–2016.

- the Lagarde-House in Göttingen which still carries the name of this vicious antisemite from the late 19th 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 need 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.
 - In the case of antisemitic states such as Iran, only governments can stop the hate messages they communicate through the Internet, satellite TV, and other channels.
 - State or non-state actors that allow antisemitism to spread in textbooks, mosques, and media of these countries need to be denounced and punished.

4.3 Replacing Antisemitic Memory Spaces in the World’s Cultural and Religious Memories

Cultural forgetting of antisemitism alone is not sufficient to restrain and in the long-run end it.

To eradicate antisemitic contents from the cultural memories 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

leaves little doubt⁵ 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.

- 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.
 - Playing 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 daily and weekly journals about these topics as well.
 - 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 particularly important in the fight against the Israelization of antisemitism and against the 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.

⁵ Anti-Defamation League, “ADL Global 100: An Index of Anti-Semitism,” <http://global100.adl.org/>.

- 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) and easily available in all these languages 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 recommendations regarding the Internet).
- Organizing by cultural organizations and institutions 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 recommendations regarding 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 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 Constitution 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 out new cultural organizations and institutions out of the public budget (see recommendations for governments, political organizations, and institutions), dedicated to the education and enlightenment of the general public about Judaism and the fight against antisemitism.

4.4 The History of Antisemitism in the Cultural Memories of the World

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 16th 2014, Ditfurth called the journalist Jürgen Elsässer a “glowing antisemite.”⁶ 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 would be an ideology that could not be disconnected from the Nazi period.⁷

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 documentary

⁶ E. Wittich, “Manischer Montag: Mahnwachen ziehen Antisemiten an,” *Jüdische Allgemeine*, June 26, 2014, 3. The German original of the quote is “glühender Antisemit.”

⁷ “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.” “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.”]

“The Longest Hatred” and the book of the same title by Robert Wistrich.⁸ They should be available not only in English, French and German but should be translated into as many languages as possible (including Arabic, Farsi, Spanish and Russian) and easily available in all these languages both in print and online (open access).

- A special topic of such books and documentaries should be the Israelization 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 antisemitism 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.
- 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.
- Next to 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 9th 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 docu-

⁸ R. Wistrich, *Antisemitism: The Longest Hatred*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1991.

mentaries, movies and articles about them. A good practice example is the work of the USC Shoah Foundation Institute for Visual History and Education (<http://sfi.usc.edu/>).

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 making 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 in a concerted effort over several generations. A combination of five approaches provides a long-term strategy to facilitate that 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 the recommendations regarding religious groups, organizations and institutions.

Recommendations regarding the Internet, its Influencers and its Users

Much of what has been said about cultural decision makers and influencers 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 colors 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.”¹ 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 in the Internet.
- Classical hostility towards Jews remains the primary conceptual basis for present-day hatred of Jews; 54.02 percent (mean value) of all expressions of antisemitism display classical stereotypes.
- Muslim antisemitism is also marked by classical stereotypes of hostility towards Jews.

1 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), 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).

- With a mean value of 33.35 percent, Israel-centered antisemitism is a prevalent manifestation of hatred towards Jews, which is, however, conceptually and affectively determined by classical hatred of Jews.
- 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 politics.
- 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 cyberculture.
- 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 contents it might disagree but whose contents would be regarded as “worthy of discussion.”²

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

² Email correspondence from Amazon representative, sent April 26th, 2018.

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 untouched from a prohibitive approach despite the fact that due to their subtlety they are much more poisonous to the mind than 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 contents online can therefore only be a first step and has to be accompanied by the same positive counter-narratives that were recommended 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 contents, 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 flagging 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 if 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 co-operation 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 for 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 contents about Judaism.

1 Monitoring Antisemitism Online

- On the Internet, strategies to combat antisemitism have to focus on “everyday” users and 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 supportive structure for flagging such content, take swift action when antisemitic messages are signaled 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 the 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.
- 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 contents from their platforms.

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.
- 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 re-posts offline can significantly reduce the volume of online antisemitic content.
- Intensified international cooperation between different public institutions, NGOs, lawmakers, and IT can help to take antisemitic content offline, prevent its republishing under different names and so 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 contents of the Internet need 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 recommendations regarding legislatures).
- The Internet platforms of countries that are predominantly antisemitic need to be monitored by the international community of states. Their antisemitic agitation should be blocked from the Internet of all democratic countries.

3 Replacing Antisemitism Online by Positive Depictions of Judaism and Accurate Depictions of the History of Antisemitism

- Positive contents about Jewish history, culture and religion as well as modern Israel should be uploaded to the Web in high quality (see the recommendations for cultural decision makers). Existing contents of this nature should be highlighted.
- Accurate, high quality depictions of the history of antisemitism should be uploaded to the Web (see the recommendations for cultural decision makers). Existing contents 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 for cultural decision makers).
- Internet search engines should privilege positive depictions of Judaism and accurate descriptions of the history of antisemitism. Advice on which contents to preference should be provided by the institutes for the critical

study of antisemitism which we recommend be founded in each country (see recommendations for academic decision makers).

- Internet search engines and other online devices should highlight the voice of all victims of antisemitism (see below and recommendations for 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 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.

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. Semiautomated 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 repression and erasure of antisemitic contents, on the one hand, and by their replacement with positive representations of Judaism as well 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.

Recommendations regarding Academic Organizations and 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. This part of the recommendations is thus aimed at the attention of academic decision makers and influencers. Since research on the anti-semitic manipulations of the world's cultural memories and on how to counter them is urgently needed (see recommendations for cultural institutions), we address academic research institutions here separately, while academic education will be discussed as part of the part on educational institutions (see below, 393–407). 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 introductory and previous parts.

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, 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.

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 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.¹ 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,² 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.”³ This situation of both *open* as well as *accidental* and *structural antisemitism in academic*

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>.

institutions is particularly dangerous. Like institutions of higher learning, academics are not only multipliers of conventions but teach those who will become multipliers. To cope with the growing antisemitism on campuses, in addition to the policies outlined in the previous parts, we recommend the following measures.

- 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 take special classes on the history of antisemitism and Jewish history, culture and religion or to expel them from all institutions of higher learning (see recommendations for 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 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 of the State of Israel.
- 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 academies of higher learning.

2 Critical Antisemitism Research and Research on how to Combat Antisemitism

Especially important, as mentioned above, is research identifying *the antisemitic 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 problem of 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 institutions suggested above would be ideally suited to make the regular antisemitism assessments that we recommend, if they are properly staffed and funded.
- Such research institutions could also compile blacklists of antisemitic texts that can be identified as such. 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.⁴
- 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

⁴ 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.

- Antisemitism and communication
- The assessment and measuring of antisemitism and its methodology
- Documentation and monitoring of antisemitism
- Prevention and combating of antisemitism
- As outlined in the part on recommendations regarding the Internet, further research about antisemitism in the virtual world of the Internet is needed and should be actively solicited by public institutions.
- More specialized research needs include, but are not limited to,
 - Studying several fields of research, whose own history with antisemitism remains under-researched.
 - Quantitative and qualitative research on antisemitism among Muslims in Europe that includes the categories gender and generations.
 - 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 of 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 to fulfill its mission.

To Summarize

In the world of academic research, antisemitic traditions in academic fields need to be identified. Critical research of 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 for each country, and special support programs should be available to fund research projects on antisemitism in other fields of study.

Recommendations regarding Educational Organizations and Institutions

Next to the Internet and academic research, education is another central important expression of the process of constructing meaning in culture. Much of what has been said about cultural decision makers and influencers applies to the decision makers and influencers of the educational world, too. 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 education as well, as outlined in the introductory and previous parts.

Despite energetic efforts during the decades after the Second World War to minimize antisemitic incidents and discrimination, recent violent attacks against Jews have increased in many European countries, and hate speech and demonization of the State of Israel on the Internet and other electronic media are rampant. By use of social media, antisemitism has spread more quickly than previously and to a global constituency. Jews are targeted for no other reason than their identity, even in places where they are practically absent. Educational efforts to promote understanding and tolerance are seen as one way to counteract antisemitic attitudes that can develop into extremist ideologies.

The recommendations following 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 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 it 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 the 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 ed-

ucation 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 anti-semitic 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.”¹

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.”²

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 promotion of resources, and ongoing support for educators must be priorities. In addition, other professionals such as legislators, law enforcement, judges, social workers, policymakers and clergy must be sensitized to the problem of antisemitism and seek to establish a physically safe and morally unprejudiced environment for all, in educational institutions as well as in the street.

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

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

² *Ibid.*, 7.

would recommend that the program be attacked simultaneously from these various points of view.

- **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.
- **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.
- **Awareness-raising:** Alert everybody concerned to the antisemitism that is present in the specific institutions or groups of institutions. The 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 remains, is an important collective step must be cultivated throughout so that the feeling of pride in working towards this goal will be widely accepted.
- **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.
- **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 religion classroom than 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 and functions 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.

2 Preschool

Teaching tolerance in preschool recognizes the values of racial 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.

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.³

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 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

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

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 stereotypical 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 member's 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.”⁴

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 newspapers, 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.”⁵ 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 University Level Studies

Undergraduates may be offered courses on antisemitism and Holocaust in history departments. Psychology courses may deal with power dynamics, stereotypes,

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

⁵ *Ibid.*, 9.

and how propaganda works. Political science departments must strive to present the Middle East conflict with some degree of fairness and refuse to identify an underdog or give 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.”⁶

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

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 right 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.

6 OSCE and UNESCO, *Addressing Anti-Semitism through Education*, 60.

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 of antisemitism and are particularly commended to all educational decision makers and influencers. They regard, on the one hand, how to deal with antisemitic discrimination of students and faculty in educational systems and, on the other hand, general considerations about teaching against antisemitism.

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 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 part of their members should consist of outside expertise.
- Organizations that engage in antisemitic agitation should be prohibited in schools and on campuses.

7.2 General Considerations about the 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 contents. 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 right 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 strengthen the emotional involvement of students.
- Teaching against antisemitism should emphasize the *local* history of antisemitism.
- There is a need to synchronize the cross-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 in 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 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 recommend:

- To regularly scrutinize all textbooks and teaching aids for explicit and implicit antisemitic content. In case such antisemitic contents are 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 make 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.

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 antisemitism.
- 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 ever 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.

8 Special Topics

This catalogue emphasizes that the religious aspects of antisemitism are much more important than was previously thought (see recommendations for religious decision makers). Above we 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 much as remarks about the education of the history of antisemitism and about the history, religious forms, and culture of Judaism.

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 of 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 Pharisees from the New Testament should be addressed to 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.

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 Quran, Hadith, and Sira.
- Emphasize those parts of Quran, Hadith, and Sira which advocate a 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 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.

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 barrier 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 the education of the overall history of antisemitism and that teaches the history of antisemitism as a complement to the teaching of the history of Jewish history, culture and religion. Neither should the history of Judaism be re-

duced to a history of suffering nor should the student's knowledge about Judaism be reduced to 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, though, 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 (see recommendations for cultural decision makers). As important would be 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 it.
- 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, as 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.

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 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. 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 material 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.

Where ever possible, the education about Jewish history, culture, and religion should include practical experiences with living Judaism.

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 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: 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.

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 of all levels of education and 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 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 contents 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 on the history of antisemitism.

V Politics, Business and Jurisprudence

Contributions

Benjamin Isaac

Jews and Non-Jews in Ancient Cities: Alexandria, Antioch, Caesarea, Rome

The investigation of hostility towards Jews in antiquity remains limited in scope by the nature and quantity of the sources. Research has focused most of all on the opinions expressed by ancient Greek and Latin authors in various periods. There is much material here that has been interpreted along different lines by numerous scholars. The disadvantage is that such information is restricted to opinions expressed by upper-class authors. We cannot know what people in pubs in Rome or Antioch were saying about minorities in general and Jews in particular. It is true that a different type of information is conveyed by policy and measures of the authorities with regard to Jews. However, this has the same disadvantage, for it shows what upper-class rulers and administrators did, rather than what they thought. The present paper will focus on a specific phenomenon that is instructive in a somewhat different manner. Several major urban centers had a substantial Jewish population in the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods. There was a good deal of tension between Jews and other groups in cities, tension that at times led to minor or major outbursts of violence as reported by various authors. These also describe measures taken by the local and imperial authorities on those occasions. This paper will offer a brief survey of such events in an attempt to show that we may gain an extra perspective on the position of the Jews in the ancient world. The topic, in other words, is the interaction between authorities and urban population in times of stress between Jews and non-Jews in cities.

Alexandria

According to Philo, the Jews constituted about two-fifths of the population of Alexandria in Egypt.¹ They formed an autonomous organization in the frame-

¹ Cf. Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium* 20 (132) (ed. Smallwood, 86–87); Philo, *In Flaccum* 8 (54–55); idem, *In Flaccum* 55; E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh: Clark, 1986), 3:43–44 and references in n. 45; E. M. Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule: From Pompey to Diocletian* (Leiden, Brill, 1981), 225–50; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt: The Struggle for Equal Rights* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1985).

work of the city and enjoyed specific rights.² This was re-confirmed during the reign of Augustus.³ However, in the reign of Caligula, in 38 C.E., bloody pogroms broke out in Alexandria, described extensively by Philo.⁴ They were carried out by the Alexandrian mob but instigated by the emperor Gaius and his governor of Egypt, Flaccus. According to Philo, the latter could have suppressed the riots in an hour if he had wanted to do so.⁵ However, he used his troops to search Jewish homes for arms in a degrading manner.⁶ Under Claudius, the privileges of the Jewish community were reaffirmed. A famous papyrus contains a letter from 41 C.E. from Claudius to the city of Alexandria which deals also with the status of the Jews there, which was maintained, but opposes their attempts to further improve their status.⁷ In the context of a strongly-worded general warning to both sides to keep the peace, Claudius orders the Alexandrians not to interfere with the customs of the Jews, and the Jews “not to intrude themselves into the games presided over by the *gymnasiarchoi* and the *kosmetai* [...]”⁸

These events clearly show that there was a connection between imperial and provincial policy and events on the ground: chaotic clashes took place under Caligula and a return to relative quiet followed under Claudius.

Furthermore, a number of papyri report parts of the hearing before Claudius in which the leading Alexandrian antisemite, Isidorus, accuses the Jewish king Agrippa—either Agrippa I in 41 C.E. or Agrippa II in about 53 C.E. Problems concerning this text, like the other “Acts of the Alexandrian Martyrs” are still being discussed.⁹ The least that can be said is that Claudius seems to have had the clear aim to prevent a deterioration of relationships.

2 Cf. Josephus, *Contra Apionem* 2.35–36; Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 2.487; Josephus, *Antiquitates judaicae* 14.188; cf. Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 3:92–94; 127–29; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, 227–30.

3 Cf. Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, 232–33.

4 Cf. Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium* 18–20 (120–137); *In Flaccum* 61 (36–39); cf. Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 1:389–91.

5 Cf. Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium* 20 (132); cf. Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, 235–45.

6 Cf. Philo, *In Flaccum* 11 (86–91).

7 Cf. *P.Lond.* 19, 2 (ed. Tcherikover/Fuks, *CPJ* 2:153). Cf. Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 1:398; 3:128–9; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, 246–50.

8 This letter probably shows that the edict preserved by Josephus, *Antiquitates judaicae* 19.279–285, cannot be genuine as it stands, for it emphasizes precisely the equal rights of the Jews in Alexandria. The papyrus suggests that Claudius conceived of the Jews as being long-standing inhabitants of the city with a right to be there; but equally that he did not see them as possessing citizens’ rights identical with those of the Greek inhabitants.

9 Cf. H. A. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs: Acta Alexandrinorum* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1954), Text IV, arguing for 53 C.E.; Tcherikover/Fuks, *CPJ* 2:156, arguing for 41 C.E.; cf. Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, 255–256, inclines to 41 C.E.

Josephus states that the troops in Alexandria were used to suppress fighting between Jews and Greeks at the time of the First Jewish Revolt.¹⁰ This is only one instance in which it is seen that the regular army is used for tasks which in a modern, well-administered society usually is regarded as suitable only for specially trained police forces.

During the revolt of the Jews in the Diaspora in 115 and 116, there was large-scale fighting between Jews and non-Jews in rural Egypt and in Alexandria. In the city, the Greeks were more numerous and stronger and many Jews were killed.¹¹ There are reports of continuing violence in Alexandria in 117.¹²

The Jewish community in Alexandria survived in reduced form and gradually seems to have revived.¹³ This, of course, did not mean that tension and conflict came to an end. The *Historia Augusta* claims that Severus Alexander was ashamed of being called a Syrian, particularly because on the occasion of a certain festival, the people of Antioch, the Egyptians, and the people of Alexandria had irritated him with taunts, “as they are want to do, calling him a Syrian *archisynagogus* and a high priest.”¹⁴ For non-Jewish Alexandrians, apparently, Syrians and Jews amounted to the same thing, and the population did not hesitate in jeering at the Emperor himself if he was of Syrian origin.

Ammianus, in the second half of the fourth century, still notes that Alexandria was for a long time seriously troubled by internal conflict, notably in 272 under Aurelian.¹⁵ The church-historian Socrates, explaining that the Alexandrians are fonder of “*staseis*” than the peoples of other cities, gives an account of strife which resulted in the banishment of Jews from the city early in the fifth century.¹⁶ As in the city of Rome, such banishments only had a short-term effect and solved nothing; the banned population returned. Consequently there were again riots in Alexandria in 455: “the soldiers killed the Alexandrians without pity.”¹⁷ This is yet another example of the disastrous effect of regular troops employed to subdue urban unrest. In a fragment from the *History of Pris-*

10 Cf. Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 2.494–498; Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, 365–66, 393–404.

11 Cf. Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* 4.2.3; Orosius, *Historiae adversus Paganos* 7.12; cf. Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 1:530–533.

12 Cf. Eusebius, *Chronicon* (ed. Schoene, 2:164–168).

13 Cf. Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, 516–19.

14 Cf. *Historia Augusta*, Severus Alexander 28.7.

15 Cf. Ammianus, *Res gestae* 22.16;15; Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* 7.21,1; 22, 1.

16 Cf. Socrates Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastica Historia* 7.13 (ed. Hussey, 2.753–757); cf. A. Cameron, *Circus Factions: Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 151–52.

17 Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* 9.1 (transl. Chabot, 2.126 f.); see also Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* 8.2 (transl. Chabot, 2:11f.).

cus Panites, we have a graphic description of a riot in these years which shows the population attacking magistrates.¹⁸ Soldiers who were dispatched to suppress the unrest were attacked with stones, fled to the old temple of Serapis, were besieged and burned alive in the building. Next, two thousand troops were sent as reinforcement. On that occasion, the governor managed to calm the population.

To sum up, there was a clear connection between policy and acts from above and the behavior of the population in Alexandria. A sensible and moderate leadership kept things under control. A lack of stable government or worse, incitement, might lead to massive violence.

Antioch

The Jews in Antioch, capital of Syria, had equal rights according to Josephus, but it must be admitted that he is the only source asserting this.¹⁹ For the third year of Caligula's reign, Malalas chronicles a pogrom at Antioch in which many Jews were slain. The cause is said to have been a clash between the blue and green factions, a source of violence encountered again in the fifth century.²⁰ Kraeling points out that this coincided with the crisis that resulted from Caligula's demand to have his statue placed in the Temple in Jerusalem.²¹ Petronius, the governor of Syria, who was responsible for carrying out the emperor's command, was based at Antioch. As noted above, at the same time there were large-scale troubles in Alexandria under Caligula.

When in 41 C.E. Claudius countermanded Caligula's edict, he issued a proclamation ordering the cessation of the pogroms in Egypt and in the same document guaranteed the continuance of the privileges granted to the Jews there. A copy of this document was sent to Antioch at the special request of King Agrippa.²² This testifies to the existence in Antioch of conditions similar to those obtaining in Egypt. It again shows the immediate connection between the form of

18 Cf. Priscus frg. 22 from Euagrius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.5 (ed. Müller, FHG 4:101).

19 Cf. Josephus, *Bellum judaicum* 7.43; 110; 7.100–111; Josephus, *Antiquitates judaicae* 12.121; cf. Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 3.127. For the Jews in Antioch: C. H. Kraeling, "The Jewish Community of Antioch," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 51 (1932): 130–60.

20 Cf. John Malalas, *Chronographia* (ed. Dindorf, CSHB 26: 315, p. 24). Cf. P. van der Horst, "Jews and Blues in Late Antiquity," in *Jews and Christians in their Graeco-Roman Context*, ed. P. van der Horst (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 53–58.

21 Cf. Kraeling, "Jewish Community," 148–49.

22 Cf. Josephus, *Antiquitates judaicae* 19.279.

exercise of imperial authority and hostilities or quiet between Jews and others in major cities.

The demand that those who were suspected of Christianity should bring offerings to pagan gods was also made *ceteris paribus* of the Jews in Antioch in 66/7.²³ At this time, the Jews were denounced before the assembled populace by a certain Antiochus, the son of the *archon* of the Jewish community. It was the plan of the Jews, so Antiochus said, to burn the city to the ground in one night.²⁴ These disclosures, we are told, provoked a veritable persecution involving abrogation of Shabbat privileges, demands upon the Jews to sacrifice to the pagan deities, and a general massacre. Those who had been designated by Antiochus as guilty of the infamous conspiracy were all forthwith burned to death in the theatre.²⁵ The sources do not provide sufficient information, but from the punitive measures it is clear that the authorities firmly sided with Antiochus and the enemies of the Jews. Abrogation of privileges was a step that could be taken only by the authorities, not by the urban population.

A short time later, we are told, a tremendous fire did actually occur at Antioch, destroying the four-square market, the magistrates' quarters, the hall of records, and the basilicas. The same Antiochus already mentioned accused his own kinsfolk of the deed, and again the pagans vented their anger and fury upon the Jews. A later investigation proved that none of those incriminated by Antiochus were responsible.²⁶ As observed by Kraeling, to the cautious observer it would appear that Josephus has here reported two different accounts of one and the same series of events.

In 70–71 C.E., the citizens of Antioch asked Titus to expel the Jews from Antioch. When this request was turned down, they asked to reduce and lower their legal status.²⁷ Here we see again that a moderate policy at the top may prevent deterioration and extreme violence.

There is less information on events in Antioch than in Alexandria over time, but there are clear resemblances: in 414 C.E. there was an accusation of ritual murder at Emmestar. Punishment was visited not only upon the Jews of the locality but upon those of Antioch as well, where the synagogues were closed and confiscated.²⁸ Here we already have reached the stage of blood libel. Of interest

23 Cf. Josephus, *Bellum judaicum* 7.41–53.

24 Cf. *ibid.*, 7.46–52.

25 Cf. *ibid.*, 7.48.

26 Cf. *ibid.*, 7.54–60.

27 Cf. *ibid.*, 7.100–111.

28 Cf. Socrates Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastica Historia* 7.1.

for the present paper is that the authorities took these accusations at face value and responded with hostile measures.

In the latter part of the reign of Zeno (474–491), many Jews were murdered in the course of a brawl between the factions of the Blues and the Greens,²⁹ a situation encountered already earlier in the first century. There was a long-standing identification of Jews with the Blues, and the Greens vented their rage on the Jews. In 507 C.E., a riot is reported in the course of which a synagogue was burnt.³⁰ In 610, Phocas attempted to convert the Jews which led to a revolt. Many were killed and the remainder banished from the city.³¹

As in the case of Alexandria, massive hostilities coincided with official hostility, while a moderate policy could restrain outbursts of violence.

Caesarea-on-the-Sea

Caesarea was a substantial city with a mixed population, not as big, of course, as Alexandria and Antioch but definitely significant. The non-Jewish population of the city and its territory furnished a considerable part of the troops in Judaea under Herod and perhaps under the prefects. These were one ala of cavalry and five cohorts of infantry of “Caesareans and Sebastenes.” They played a role in the conflicts between Jews and non-Jews in Caesarea. These are mentioned first in connection with the upheaval following the death of Herod in 4 B.C.E., as being three thousand in number.³²

29 Cf. Malalas, *Chronographia* (ed. Dindorf, *CSHB* 26:389); cf. Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 149–50; cf. van der Horst, “Jews and Blues,” 53–58. van der Horst disagrees with Cameron and emphasizes that anti-Jewish sentiment played a role at this time.

30 Cf. John Malalas, *Chronographia* (ed. Dindorf, *CSHB* 26: 395–8); cf. Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 151; van der Horst, “Jews and Blues,” 53–58.

31 Cf. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, A. M. 6101 (ed. de Boor, 1:296; transl. Mango/Scott, 425–26, with n.3 on p. 427) [608/9 C.E.]; Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* 10.25; 11.1 (transl. Chabot, 2:379, 401); Kraeling refers also to Ephraemius Monachus, *Liber Imperatorum et Patriarcharum*, (ed. Bekker, *CSHB* 11:62).

32 Cf. Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 2.52: “three thousand Sebastenians under Rufus, commander of the cavalry, and Gratus, commander of the infantry;” cf. *Bellum Judaicum* 2.58; 63; Josephus, *Antiquitates judaicae* 17.266. For these troops, see Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 1:363–365. For the army of Herod, see I. Shatzman, *The Armies of the Hasmonaeans and Herod: From Hellenistic to Roman Frameworks* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991); for that of Herod and Agrippa II, see also M. H. Gracey, “The Armies of the Judaeian Client Kings,” in *The Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East: Proceedings of a Colloquium Held at the University of Sheffield in April 1986*, ed. P. Freedman and D. Kennedy (Oxford: B.A.R., 1986), 311–23.

The next occasion for their appearance in Josephus' work is the death of Agrippa I in 44 C.E., when the populations of Caesarea and Sebaste, especially the numerous soldiers among them, caused scandal by their exuberant and tasteless expressions of joy at the death of the king whom they regarded as a pro-Jewish enemy. By way of punishment, Claudius initially decided to transfer the troops to Pontus, but he let himself be persuaded to leave them in Judaea where they remained and continued to be a source of tension, until Vespasian moved them elsewhere.³³

The social and ethnic mix in Caesarea apparently caused tension and occasional open conflict from the beginning, but it came to a head during the reign of Nero, towards the end of the term of office of Felix, the procurator. As in Alexandria and Antioch, in Caesarea there were conflicts between Jews and Gentiles over civic rights and equal status.³⁴ The issue was the respective status of the Jewish and non-Jewish communities, both demanding precedence.³⁵ The Jews based their claim on the fact that the founder, Herod, was Jewish, while “the Syrians” or “Greeks”—Josephus uses both terms without clear distinction—argued that there were no Jews in Strato's Tower before Herod re-founded it as Caesarea. The Jews were wealthier, but the Syrians were proud because “most of those in military service there (i. e. in Judaea) under the Romans came from Caesarea and Sebaste.”³⁶

When the conflict turned violent the Jews were suppressed by the local garrison which, of course, consisted of the local troops described. A Jewish embassy to Rome failed to improve matters, for Nero's secretary, *ab epistulis Graecis*, was bribed by the leaders of the Syrians in Caesarea which resulted in a decision in favour of the Syrians. Consequently the Jews were deprived of their rights, and the Syrians were declared sole masters of the city in 61 C.E. The contrast with measures taken by Claudius in Alexandria and Antioch and, later, in Antioch, by Titus is obvious. It represents the different attitudes and effects of moderation and steadiness and, on the other hand, officially sanctioned polarization on the other.

³³ Cf. Josephus, *Antiquitates judaicae* 19.356–366. See also 20.122 for troops in action against Jews. For these troops, see also Shatzman, *The Armies of the Hasmonaeans and Herod*, 185–86; 193–94.

³⁴ Cf. Josephus, *Bellum judaicum* 2.266–270; Josephus, *Antiquitates judaicae* 20.173–177; cf. Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 1:465; 467; 2:117; 183.

³⁵ Cf. Josephus, *Antiquitates judaicae* 20.173–178; 182–185; Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 2.266–270; 284–292.

³⁶ Josephus, *Antiquitates judaicae* 19.364.

In 66, the Syrian / Hellenized population of Caesarea according to Josephus attacked the Jews there. This, he says, marked the beginning of the First Revolt. Florus, the procurator played a pernicious role. He took bribes from the Jews without taking serious measures to calm the situation which continued to deteriorate.³⁷ The decisive event was the massacre of the Jews in Caesarea, twenty-thousand in number, according to Josephus. Florus, the procurator, was present in the city at the time, acting against the few remaining Jews there.³⁸ Caesarea and its non-Jewish citizens played a significant role throughout the war of 66–70. In 67, Vespasian enlisted in his army five cohorts and one ala from Caesarea, that is three thousand men.³⁹ The city also provided the Roman army with winter-quarters. In 67 “the inhabitants received the army and its general with blessings and congratulations of every description motivated partly by goodwill towards the Romans, but mainly by hatred of the vanquished.”⁴⁰

Jamnia

Jamnia lies about 7.5 km east of Jamnia-on-the-Sea, and was a non-Jewish town in the Hellenistic period. It was quite important as a Seleucid base against the Jews, for it is mentioned three times as headquarters or base.⁴¹ Jaffa and the Port of Jamnia were the target of an attack by Judah the Maccabee in 163.⁴² In Jaffa, this was an act of revenge for the killing of Jews residing in the city by its citizens. Judah set fire to the harbor and ships, and killed anybody he caught outside the walls. Upon being informed that the citizens of Jamnia also intended to kill their Jews, he punished them in similar fashion in a preemptive strike. The gentile character of Jamnia is emphasized in 2 Macc, where “amulets of the idols from Jamnia” are mentioned as typical idolatrous cult-objects.⁴³

Jamnia is listed among the towns (*poleis*) (re-)founded under the rule of Alexander Jannaeus and mentioned among those detached from Judaea by Pom-

³⁷ Cf. Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 2.287–288.

³⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, 2.457; 7.362.

³⁹ Cf. *ibid.* 3.66.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.409–410.

⁴¹ In 163: 1 Macc 5:18–19, 55–62; Josephus, *Antiquitates judaicae* 12.350–352; again in 148: 1 Macc 10:69; finally in 139–138: 1 Macc 15:40. Cf. B. Isaac, *The Near East under Roman Rule: Selected Papers* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 8–12.

⁴² Cf. 2 Macc 12:3–9.

⁴³ Cf. 2 Macc 12:40–45; cf. C. Habicht, 2. *Makkabäerbuch* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1976), 265; cf. I. Lévy, “Les dieux de lamneia,” in *Recherches esséniennes et pythagoriciennes*, ed. I. Lévy (Geneva: Droz, 1965), 65–69.

pey. It was resettled by Gabinius—resettled rather than rebuilt, as often assumed.⁴⁴ Herod bequeathed Jamnia, Azotus and Phasaelis in the Jordan Valley to his sister Salome.⁴⁵ Salome left them to Livia.⁴⁶ After her death, these places became imperial property, as shown by the presence of a procurator (ἐπίτροπος).⁴⁷ In the reign of Augustus, Strabo, while describing Jamnia as a village, asserts that the region all around “was so well supplied with men that it could muster forty thousand men.”⁴⁸ This number undoubtedly is unreliable, but clearly suggest that the region was densely populated. This forms the background for the conflicts now described.

Josephus records a conflict in the reign of Tiberius between the future king Agrippa I and Herennius Capito, the procurator at Jamnia.⁴⁹ Capito is mentioned again by Philo as hostile to the Jews during the reign of Gaius in 39–40—not the only official hostile to the Jews in those years.⁵⁰ The issue was religious strife between the Jews and non-Jews in Jamnia, an episode in which Capito incited the non-Jews:

[...] the following incident gave him [Herennius Capito] a starting-point for achieving his purpose [namely, to neutralize the influence of the future king Agrippa I and his relatives and friends]. Jamnia, one of the largest cities in Judaea, has a mixed population, the majority being Jews and the rest gentiles who have wormed their way in from neighbouring countries. These settlers cause trouble and annoyance to those who may be described as the natives of the place by continually violating one or other of the Jews’ traditions.⁵¹

Philo (like Strabo) emphasizes the great number of inhabitants of Jamnia and the mixed character of the population. It is clear that he reverses the relationship be-

⁴⁴ Cf. Josephus, *Antiquitates judaicae*, 13.395; 14.75; Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 1.156; 166; for the nature of Gabinius’ activities, see B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire: the Roman Army in the East* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 336–40.

⁴⁵ Cf. Josephus, *Antiquitates judaicae* 17.189; 321; Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 2.98.

⁴⁶ Cf. Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 2.167; Josephus, *Antiquitates judaicae*, 18.31.

⁴⁷ Cf. Josephus, *Antiquitates judaicae* 18.158; Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium* 200–203. Cf. Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 2:92, n.25.

⁴⁸ Strabo 15.2.28 (759): τούτων δὲ καὶ ὁ Κάρμηλος ὑπῆρξε καὶ ὁ δρυμός· καὶ δὴ καὶ εὐάνδρησεν οὗτος ὁ τόπος, ὥστ’ ἐκ τῆς πλησίον κώμης Ἰαμνείας καὶ τῶν κατοικίων τῶν κύκλῳ τέτταρας μυριάδας ὀπλίζεσθαι.

⁴⁹ Cf. Josephus, *Antiquitates judaicae* 18.158–159; 163 and above.

⁵⁰ Cf. Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, 262: “The disturbances at Jamnia probably occurred in the winter of 39–40 [...] if Capito’s letter about them reached Gaius by March or earlier.”

⁵¹ Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium* 200–201, trans. Smallwood: τὴν Ἰαμνείαν—πόλις δὲ ἐστὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα πολυάνθρωπος—[ταύτην] μιγάδες οἰκοῦσιν, οἱ πλείους μὲν Ἰουδαῖοι, ἔτεροι δὲ τινες ἀλλόφυλοι παρεισφθαρέντες ἀπὸ τῶν πλησιοχώρων, οἱ τοῖς τρόποι τινὰ αὐθιγενέσιν ὄντες μέτοικοι κακὰ καὶ πράγματα παρέχουσιν, αἷ τι παραλύοντες τῶν πατρίων Ἰουδαίους.

tween non-Jews and Jews in calling the former foreign settlers and the latter the natives of the place. Philo borrows the Athenian term *metoikoi* to describe the non-Jewish residents in what he regards as a Jewish town, which was, however, originally a non-Jewish settlement. The result of the affair, having been reported to Gaius by Capito, was the emperor's demand to place a statue of his in the Temple in Jerusalem which created a major crisis between Rome and the Jews. The conclusion is clear: an official, hostile to the Jews, inspired disastrous measures taken by an unstable emperor.

Scythopolis—Beth She'an

A final example from the Near East is Scythopolis. During the first Jewish revolt, the Jews of Scythopolis were the only group which actively sided with their fellow non-Jewish citizens and joined battle against the Jewish insurgents. It did not help them, for the non-Jews of Scythopolis slaughtered the Jews en masse, more than thirteen thousands of them, and pillaged all their possessions.⁵²

Rome

It is not the aim of this section to discuss the animosity toward Jews in Rome found in Roman authors, but briefly to trace the position of the numerous Jews living in the city of Rome.⁵³ In 139 B.C.E., the *praetor peregrinus* expelled all the astrologers from Rome and ordered them to leave Italy within ten days to prevent them from “offering for sale their foreign science.”⁵⁴ At the same time, he banished the Jews from Rome, “because they attempted to transmit their sacred rites to the Romans, and he cast down their private altars from public places.”⁵⁵ As

52 Cf. Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 2.466–468; Josephus, *Vita* 26. Similar events occurred in Damascus, cf. Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 2.559–561.

53 Cf. B. Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 440–91; B. Isaac, *Empire and Ideology in the Graeco-Roman World: Selected Papers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 285–305 (ch.13: “Ancient Antisemitism”).

54 “[...] *ne peregrinam scientiam venditarent.*” A. E. Astin, *Cato the Censor* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), 169. Astin thinks Pliny exaggerates, but that seems unnecessary. Cato is on record as having advocated drastic steps on other occasions.

55 Valerius Maximus 1.3.3 (ed. Stern, 1.358 [no. 147a]): *Chaldaeos igitur Cornelius Hispalus urbe expulit et intra decem dies Italia abire iussit, ne peregrinam scientiam venditarent. Iudaeos quoque, qui Romanis tradere sacra sua conati erant, idem Hispalus urbe exterminavit arasque privatas e publicis locis abiicit.* Valerius Maximus 1.3.3. (ed. Stern, 1.358–360 [no. 147b]): *Idem Iudaeos, qui Sabazi Iovis*

already noted, such banishments may be a drastic measure, but they usually did not have any long-term effect. This is clear also from attempts to banish other groups from the city, such as Druids and Greek doctors.⁵⁶ The reference to “private altars” set up by Jews is puzzling.⁵⁷ The Jews were expelled again in 19 C.E. by Tiberius together with Isis-worshippers:

Four thousand descendants of enfranchised slaves, tainted with that superstition and suitable in point of age, were to be shipped to Sardinia and there employed in suppressing brigandage: “if they succumbed to the pestilential climate, it was a cheap loss (*vile damnum*).”⁵⁸

We should note that, according to Tacitus, it was the emperor’s view that this would be a cheap loss, although Tacitus presumably agreed with that judgement. The rest had orders to leave Italy, unless they had renounced their impious ceremonial by a given date.⁵⁹ Between the middle of the first century B.C.E. and the reign of Tiberius, measures were regularly taken to suppress the Isis-cult.⁶⁰

cultu Romanos inficere mores conati erant, repetere domos suas coegit. Cf. comments in Stern, 1.358–360; Servius, *Commentarii in Vergilii Aeneida* 8.187 (ed. Stern, 2.653–654 [No. 537a]). For these and related events, see now E. Gruen, *Diaspora: Jews amidst Greeks and Romans* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 15–53 (ch. 1 “The Jews in Rome”); Isaac, *Invention of Racism*, 236–39. 56 Cf. Isaac, *Invention of Racism*, 228; 422–24, with n.63.

57 For speculative explanations, see Stern 1.358 (no. 147a) and E. J. Bickerman, “The Altars of the Gentiles: A Note on the Jewish ‘*ius sacrum*,’” *Revue internationale des droits de l’antiquité* 5 (1958): 150.

58 The normal situation in Sardinia, according to Cicero’s rhetoric, *De Prov. Consularibus* 14: “a campaign in Sardinia against bandits in sheepskins, waged by a *propraetor* with one auxiliary cohort” [*res in Sardinia cum mastrucatis latrunculis a propraetore una cohorte auxiliaria gesta*].

59 Cf. Tacitus, *Annales* 2.85, 4 (ed. Stern, 2. 68–73 [no. 284]); also: Suetonius, *Tiberius* 36 (ed. Stern, 2.112–113 [no. 306]); Cassius Dio, *Historia Romana*, 57.18.51 (ed. Stern, 2.365 [no. 419]); Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* 18.3.5 (81ff.). Dio connects the expulsion with their attraction of proselytes, a factor not mentioned by Tacitus, but implied in Josephus. H. Solin, “Juden und Syrer im westlichen Teil der römischen Welt,” in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* 29.2, ed. W. Haase (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1983): 686–88 accepts that the measure was primarily a reaction to proselytism. M. H. Williams, “The Expulsion of the Jews from Rome in AD 19,” *Latomus* 48, no. 4 (1989): 765–84, has argued that proselytism was not a significant factor in this affair. She seeks a connection with problems in the corn supply and the poverty of many of the Jews in Rome at that time. M. Goodman, *Mission and Conversion: Proselytizing in the Religious History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 68, agrees with Williams and disagrees with Stern and others on this source as evidence for large-scale proselytizing activities. The affair has now again been discussed by Gruen, *Diaspora*, 29–34.

60 Cf. H. Sonnabend, *Fremdenbild und Politik: Vorstellungen der Römer von Ägypten und dem Partherreich in der späten Republik und frühen Kaiserzeit* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1986), 136f. with references.

There was another order by Claudius expelling the Jews in 41 or 49 C.E., “because they all the time made disturbances at the instigation of Chrestus.”⁶¹

The situation in the city of Rome was clearly different from that in the cities discussed above and that is only to be expected. Rome was the capital of the Empire and there were no provincial authorities involved. In the city of Rome, Jews, like other citizens, were immediately subject to the imperial authorities, unlike the situation in the provinces where there existed provincial and municipal administrations. Numerous armed men (at all times at least 7000) could suppress any serious unrest if it arose.⁶² Consequently, we are not told of large-scale clashes between Jews and non-Jews in the city, such as occurred frequently in the cities discussed above. However, on at least three occasions, a decision was taken at the highest level to banish Jews from the city. The reasons are a matter of dispute but according to the sources, they represented attempts to suppress the flourishing of foreign cults in the city. The aim of this paper is to trace the interaction between authorities and urban population in times of stress between Jews and non-Jews in cities. The pattern discernable in Rome is for obvious reasons distinct from that in provincial cities.

Conclusions

While the situation in the city of Rome is *sui generis*, it has been seen that there are common features in the eastern communities discussed. There is evidence of a good deal of tension between Jews and other groups in cities that at times led to minor or major outbursts of violence as reported by various authors. These also report on measures taken by the local and imperial authorities on those occasions. Massive hostilities frequently coincided with animosity on the part of authorities, while a moderate policy from above could restrain outbursts of vio-

⁶¹ Suetonius, *Claudius* 25.4 (ed. Stern, 2.113 [no.307]): *Judaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantis Roma expulit*; cf. Orosius, *Adversus Paganos* 7.6.15; Cassius Dio, *Historia Romana*, 60.6.6 (ed. Stern, 2.367 [no. 422]); *Acts* 18:2. See Stern’s comments, 2:114–17. The scholia on Juvenal refer to this expulsion or to the one by Tiberius or to yet another one, unrecorded in other extant sources: *Scholia in Iuvenalem Vetustiora* (ed. Stern, 2.655 [no. 538]): *Dignus Aricinos qui mendicaret ad axes: Qui ad portam Aricinam sive ad clivum mendicaret inter Iudaeos, qui ad Ariciam transierant ex urbe missi*; Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People*, 3:77 f.; Solin, “Juden und Syrer im westlichen Teil der römischen Welt,” 688–90 and, again, Gruen, *Diaspora*, 38; 39. Nothing can be said about the identity of the person named Chrestus.

⁶² There were at all times at least 4,500 praetorian guards, part of them present in the city. The *equites singulares Augusti* numbered at least 700, the *cohortes urbanae* 1,500 and the *vigiles* 3,500.

lence. A clear connection can be observed between policy and acts on the part of the authorities and the behavior of the population in cities. A sensible and moderate leadership kept things under control. A lack of stable government or worse, incitement, might lead to massive violence. In the case of the events during the reign of Caligula, it was seen also that a provincial official, hostile to the Jews, could inspire disastrous measures taken by an unstable emperor.

There are huge differences between ancient hatred of the Jews and later anti-semitism. So much is obvious. A feature of all times, however, appears to be the direct interaction between mass-movements and the attitudes and acts of the rulers and local authorities.

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Evyatar Friesel

Jews against Zionism/Israel: On the Ambivalences of Contemporary Jewish Identity

Anti-Israel Jews frequently express themselves similar to Gentile antisemites, especially leftist ones, yet their emphases are different. It is not with Jews, but basically with the Zionist idea, that they have a problem. Jewish anti-Zionism is an expression of the complexities of contemporary Jewish identity. It has to be understood in the broader framework of the ongoing redefinition of Jewish identity and group existence in the realities of the twenty-first century.

Anti-Israel Jews are causing increased tensions inside contemporary Jewry worldwide: it should be admitted, a sharp ideological confrontation is developing inside present-day Jewry.

Many of their views and positions are similar to those of non-Jewish antisemites.¹ Not enough attention is paid to this growing phenomenon: in the last fifteen years, there were approximately thirty books critical of Israel and of Zionism, written by Jews, published in English and in German.² This count does

1 A semantic observation: applied to present-day realities, the term “antisemitism” is incorrect. Jew-hatred is a spiritual phenomenon rooted in Western culture that has changed expressions over the centuries while keeping constant its negative attitude toward Jews. Antisemitism was an expression of this Jew-hatred and existed from about the second half of the nineteenth century to about the middle of the twentieth century. It was strongly influenced by racial theories current at the time. However, since the term has become accepted language coinage it will occasionally be used in the present essay. Incorrect also is the concept of the so-called “secondary antisemitism,” an unfortunate sociological coinage, which presupposes the existence of a scale-like antisemitism (primary, secondary, tertiary...) that does not exist.

2 A list admittedly incomplete, for the years 2002–2017: B. Avishai, *The Tragedy of Zionism: How Its Revolutionary Past Haunts Israeli Democracy* (New York: Helios, 2002); P. Beinart, *The Crisis of Zionism* (London: Picador, 2013); I. Braverman, *Planted Flags: Trees, Land, and Law in Israel/Palestine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); M. Brumlik, *Kritik des Zionismus* (Hamburg: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 2007); J. Butler, *Parting Ways: Jewishness and the Critique of Zionism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012); G. Carlstrom, *How Long Will Israel Survive? The Threat From Within* (London: Hurst, 2017); N. Gordon, *Israel's Occupation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008); R. Greenstein, *Zionism and its Discontents: A Century of Radical Dissent in Israel/Palestine* (London: Pluto, 2014); T. Honig-Parnass, *The False Prophets of Peace: Liberal Zionism and the Struggle for Palestine* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2011); A. Karpf and B. Klug, *A Time to Speak Out: Independent Jewish Voices on Israel, Zionism and Jewish Identity* (New York: Verso Books, 2008); J. Kovel, *Overcoming Zionism: Creating a Single Demo-*

not include lectures, interviews, or articles. Obviously, a strong intellectual pathos drives this activity.

Anti-Zionist Jews are frequently dismissed, especially in Israel, as self-hating Jews or even as Jewish antisemites. I completely disagree. To see them as such is simplistic, inexact, and only encumbers the understanding of a growing ideological phenomenon in contemporary Jewish life, also supported, strange as it may seem, by some Israelis, mostly academicians. And one should not forget the distinctive kind of anti-Israelism found among ultra-Orthodox Jews (the *haredim*), but this is beyond the scope of this article.

Jewish anti-Israelism is an expression of the complexities of contemporary Jewish identity. The dramatic events of the twentieth century—Jewish mass migrations, the destruction of European Jewry, the establishment of Israel—upset whatever sociological equilibrium existed in Jewish societies and brought up new and, unavoidably, clashing cultural and ideological tendencies. Among them is Jewish anti-Israelism, which is basically anti-Zionism in new garb.

Some of the utterances of representative figures of that trend are outright weird. A grotesque, but not untypical example: in February 2015, after attacks against Jews in Paris, Prime Minister Netanyahu called French Jewry to migrate to Israel. In reaction, a German-Jewish professor, Micha Brumlik, published an article in a German journal under the title “Israel, I remain here! As a German among Germans.” Netanyahu’s call, he wrote, represented a Jewish collective death-wish [“ein jüdischer Todeswunsch”], of Jews coming to Israel to die together. In his opinion, such a longing “runs like a red thread through Jewish histo-

cratic State in Israel/Palestine (London: Pluto, 2007); A. Loewenstein and A. Moor, eds., *After Zionism: One State for Israel and Palestine* (London: Saqi Books, 2012); A. Lerman, *The Making and Unmaking of a Zionist: A Personal and Political Journal* (London: Pluto, 2012); A. Melzer and M. Zuckermann, *Merkel erwache! Israel vor Gericht: Essays eines antizionistischen Juden* (Frankfurt am Main: Zambon, 2015); M. Menuhin, ed., “*Not by Might, Nor by Power*”: *The Zionist Betrayal of Judaism* (New York: Open Road Media, 2017); M. Neumann, *The Case Against Israel* (Chico: AK, 2005); I. Pappé, *Ten Myths About Israel* (New York: Verso Books, 2017); J. Rose, *The Myths of Zionism* (London: Pluto, 2004); Sh. Sand, *The Invention of the Land of Israel: From Holy Land to Homeland* (New York: Verso Books, 2012); A. Shatz, *Prophets Outcast: A Century of Dissident Jewish Writing about Zionism and Israel* (New York: Nation Books, 2004); A. Shlaim, *Israel and Palestine: Reappraisals, Revisions, Refutations* (New York: Verso Books, 2009); M. Svirsky, *After Israel: Towards Cultural Transformation* (London: Zed Books, 2014); G. Vattimo and Michael Marder, *Deconstructing Zionism: A Critique of Political Metaphysics* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013); R. Verleger, *Israels Irrweg: Eine jüdische Sicht* (Köln: PapyRossa Verlag, 2008); M. Viorst, *Zionism: The Birth and Transformation of an Ideal* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books / St. Martin’s Press, 2016).

ry.”³ Israel, then, is described as a death-wish, not as an expression of Jewish existential strength. Similar, although not so bizarre examples abound. Moshe Zuckermann, an Israeli professor, in an interview also in Germany, explained in the best Marxist fashion that the Zionist movement had an interest in the existence of antisemitism, since it was a means to its own goals. The American-Jewish professor Judith Butler declares that Hamas, whose main reason of existence is the destruction of Israel, is a movement that belongs to the progressive international camp. Frequent also is the apocalyptic view about Israel’s future. The title of a book by Zuckermann, published in 2014 (again, in Germany), proclaims: “The Destiny of Israel: How Zionism Pursues Its Doom.”⁴

The utterances of anti-Israel Jews are related to diverging views about Jewish life and group existence in the conditions of the twenty-first century, which are bound to two sociological directions. One is “external,” namely, the connection of the Jews to the ideological positions and social currents in Western political life. The other is “internal,” namely, the ongoing examination and reformulation among Jews of the trends in Jewish life, in the light of present-day realities.

The “External” Dimension: The Jews in Modern Western Society

Modern Jews were traditionally close to, and in a sense dependent on the so-called progressive or leftist ideological camp in Western society. This political sector was most positively disposed, or at least most open-minded with regard to Jews, and represented a political environment where Jews felt relatively secure. The liberal and leftist sector also supported the Zionist enterprise in Palestine and later on, the young Jewish state. However, since the last decades of the twentieth century, a significant shift happened. Many western leftists and liberals changed from endorsement to critique and opposition to Israel. Worse, this new negative attitude is frequently formulated in terms that indirectly or directly reveal a shadow of classic Judeophobia in new formulation (in a new disguise?): now directed against Israel, obscured by pseudo-liberal sanctimonies, but potentially as threatening as twentieth-century antisemitism. “Israel is an anomaly

3 M. Brumlik, “‘Israel, ich bleibe!’ Als Deutscher unter Deutschen.” *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik* (4/2015): 59–68.

4 Cf. M. Zuckermann, *Israels Schicksal: Wie der Zionismus seinen Untergang betreibt* (Wien: Promedia, 2014).

and should be dissolved peacefully—for the sake of us all,” states an e-mail from 2012 to the Israeli Embassy in Berlin.

How can this new attitude be understood, which from a Jewish perspective is outright bewildering? Apparently, it reflects tendencies in the attitude of the New Left towards Moslems that came up in recent decades. Presently many, leftists and European liberals strain themselves to find areas of agreement and collaboration with the broad Islamic camp. They are moved by a new blend of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism, mixed with guilt feelings about past wrongdoings, real or imaginary, of Europeans in Moslem countries. The problem with that effort is, to build political and cultural ties between European Leftists and Moslem society is extremely difficult, since their fundamental values are incompatible. Islamists and Western liberals or leftists disagree on almost everything: secularism, personal rights, separation between state and religion, equality for women, and much more. However, there is one issue where, surprisingly, the two sides do meet: both oppose the Jewish state. There may be different lines of argumentation, but their anti-Israel positions are similar.

The roots of such a meeting of views are quite different. Moslem anti-Israelism started as political (view), as a result of the continuing Palestinian-Israel conflict, which by now has assumed ideological dimensions. What happens on the Left belongs primarily to the realm of Western culture. One is forced to recognize that the old Judeophobic mindset is resurging again, unconsciously or even consciously, in parts of Western society. Nowadays it is the Jewish state, this present-day expression of Jewish vitality, that is the aim of the reborn animosity. Such a spiritual development brings up gloomy reflections. Apparently, the lessons of the tragedy of European Jewry during the 1940s have not penetrated deeply enough into the collective consciousness of the West. The deep-rooted strength of Judeophobia shows its resilience again. As described by Schwarz-Friesel, Judeophobia is like a chameleon, that along the centuries has changed and re-changed colors, while remaining the same.⁵ Negative attitudes toward

5 Cf. M. Schwarz-Friesel and J. Reinharz, *Inside the Antisemitic Mind: The Language of Jew-Hatred in Contemporary Germany* (Waltham: Brandeis University Press, 2017), XII, ff. For examples of the large and growing literature on that subject, see also: B. Harrison, *The Resurgence of Anti-Semitism: Jews, Israel and Liberal Opinion* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006); M. Gerstenfeld, ed., *Academics against Israel and the Jews* (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 2007); M. Gerstenfeld, ed., *Behind the Humanitarian Mask: The Nordic Countries, Israel and the Jews* (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 2008); M. Gerstenfeld, *Europe's Crumbling Myths: the Post-Holocaust Origins of Today's Anti-Semitism* (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 2003); E. Ottolenghi, "Europe's 'Good Jews'," *Commentary* 120, no. 5 (2005): 42–46; E. Alexander and P. Bogdanor, eds., *The Jewish Divide over Israel: Accusers and Defenders* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006); L. Rensmann and J. H. Schoeps, eds., *Feindbild Juden-*

Jews and Jewish matters—and what is more Jewish than the Jewish state—have clearly survived. Presently, the ideological impulse of Western Jew-hatred comes no longer from the Right, as in the mid-twentieth century, but from the Left, in the form of anti-Israelism. The result is the interaction between European and Moslem anti-Israelism. Leftist activists and organizations participate in Moslem manifestations (demonstrations?) against Israel and Jews in European cities. The BDS movement is a leftist phenomenon, skillfully manipulated by Moslem activists.

The “Internal” Dimension: Present-day Jewish Self-definitions

This new reality has caused consternation and intellectual confusion among Jews. On the one hand, the liberal-leftist connection was and remains a significant component in the self-definition of modern Jews part of non-Jewish societies. On the other hand, Israel is a dominant factor in present-day Jewish life. A Jew can hardly avoid to ask him/herself how he or she stands with regard to Israel. For a majority of Jews, also those who do not live in Israel, the Jewish state represents a conceptual and emotional anchor. But not for all. There is a growing sector in present-day Jewry indifferent to Israel. There are also many Jews, who in the complex and unstable balance between their Jewish ties and their connections to the non-Jewish social or intellectual environment, tend to the non-Jewish side. Most of them identify with the leftist or so-called progressive camp of Western society, many oppose the Jewish state. Typically, they are against nationalism, which they see as retrograde, and define themselves as Europeans, or Western, or cosmopolites. They are mostly unconcerned in matters of religion. They

tum: Antisemitismus in Europa (Berlin: VBB, 2008); D. Cesarani, “Anti-Zionism in Britain, 1922–2002: Continuities and Discontinuities,” *Journal of Israeli History* 25, no. 1 (2006): 131–60; D. Cesarani, *The Left and the Jews/The Jews and the Left* (London: Profile Books, 2004); P. Iganski and B. Kosmin, eds., *A New Anti-Semitism? Debating Judeophobia in 21st-Century Britain* (London: Profile Books, 2003); K. Hödl and G. Lamprecht, “Zwischen Kontinuität und Transformation—Antisemitismus im gegenwärtigen medialen Diskurs Österreichs,” in *Antisemitismus Antizionismus Israelkritik—Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte XXXIII (2005)*, ed. M. Zuckermann (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2005), 140–59; M. Kloke, *Israel und die deutsche Linke: Zur Geschichte eines schwierigen Verhältnisses* (Hanau: Haag + Herchen, 1994); D. Horowitz, *Unholy Alliance: Radical Islam and the American Left* (Washington, DC: Regnery, 2004); A. H. Rosenfeld, *‘Fortschrittliches’ Jüdisches Denken und der Neue Antisemitismus* (Augsburg: Ölbaum Verlag, 2007).

disagree with major tendencies in Israeli society, since many Israelis define themselves as nationalistic, right-oriented political positions have reached significant public influence in Israel, and many Israelis are religious or to some degree religiously observant. The cosmopolitan views found among Diaspora Jews find little resonance in Israel.

There are parallels between these present-day anti-Israel Jews and Jewish positions in the past. Back in the 1950s, the Jewish historian and publicist Isaac Deutscher described one type he called a “non-Jewish Jew,” and who was quite similar to the one mentioned above.⁶ The Zionists labelled these Jews as “assimilationists.” In fact, more than specific figures the “non-Jewish Jews” expressed a tendency in Jewish society. Jews always adapted to the non-Jewish environment and took over from its cultural, social, and economic traits, all this while holding on to their own group characteristics. That process was a major feature of Jewish life in the diverse Jewish Diasporas. As said, this was and (still) is an inherently unstable process; under modern conditions, adaptation can slip into assimilation, into the gradual waning of Jewish identity.

A similar development is happening in the changed circumstances of our days. Controversies with contemporary anti-Israel Jews do not arise about matters of religion, Jewish or non-Jewish, since most have little interest in religious issues. Most are also indifferent regarding subjects important in contemporary Jewish life, like Jewish assimilation or the resurgence of Western Judeophobia. What turns a dormant disagreement into a confrontation is how to define the Jewish collective. The idea of a Jewish people—a people, self-conscious and active—rubs a sore spot on the weakened or very particular Jewish self-awareness of these Jews. And they literally jump at the mere mention of Zionism. An example is the English-Jewish professor Jaqueline Rose, in her book *The Question of Zion*. Rose stumbled on a seventeenth-century Jewish messianic figure, Shabtai Tzvi, who towards the end of his life converted to Islam and thus destroyed the movement he had inspired. Throwing in some morsels of psychoanalytic theory, Rose proceeds to draw a parallel between Shabtai Tzvi and the Zionist movement of centuries later. Her conclusion is that Zionism is a messianic aberration whose success, in the form of Jewish statehood, carries in it the seeds of its own destruction.⁷

6 Cf. I. Deutscher, “The Non-Jewish Jew,” in *The Non-Jewish Jew and Other Essays*, ed. T. Deutscher (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 25–41. In the same volume is also another essay equally pertinent to the theme, “Who is a Jew?” *The Non-Jewish Jew and Other Essays*, 42–59.

7 Cf. J. Rose, *The Question of Zion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

The Jewish State in Historical Perspective

Obviously, a major conceptual question hovers over this internal debate in contemporary Jewry: how should we understand Zionism and the Jewish state?

“But fundamentally, it [Zionism] is the stepchild of antisemitism,” wrote the British-Jewish professor Brian Klug, in 2007.⁸ Anti-Zionist Jews tend to explain the creation of Israel in terms similar to those of most non-Jews: either as a reaction to antisemitism or as a response to the destruction of European Jewry. Neither explanation holds when submitted to sober historical analysis. Although antisemitism was one of the ideological elements of the Zionist idea, it was not, by far, its most important component. The fact is that in 1939, on the eve of World War II and after more than forty years of Zionist activity, after significant antisemitic-driven immigration to Palestine from Poland and Germany during the 1930s, the number of Jews there reached circa 450,000, which was less than three percent of all Jews in the world. Moreover, among these Palestinian Jews, there was a sizable ultra-orthodox community decidedly anti-Zionistic, and a significant number of Jews from Moslem countries whose presence in Palestine had nothing to do with the brand of Zionism that had developed in European conditions. Antisemitism may have brought Jews to migrate to America, but not to Palestine.

The supposed connection between the Holocaust and the creation of the Jewish state is another figment of imagination-running-wild. Logically considered, how could the destruction of East-European Jewry, the sector of the Jewish people most engaged in the development of the new Jewish community in Palestine, have contributed to the establishment of Israel? Dead Jews are dead; they do not create states. Or, another variation of the same idea: that in November 1947, the nations of the world, moved by remorse or by pity, decided to “give” the Jews a state. Such a view runs against commonsense and would mean something that never happened, before or afterwards, in international relations.

Zionism, then, was neither the step-child of antisemitism nor is Israel the result of the Holocaust. The Jewish state was established not *because* but *in spite* of the Shoah.

The essential drive of Zionism was *ahavat-Zion*, love-for-Zion, the idea of the historical bonds of the Jewish people to the Land of Israel. True, that connection is extremely difficult to explain in Western European ideological terms. It is articulated in concepts specifically Jewish: *ahavat-Zion*, bound to *kissufei Zion*, the

⁸ Cf. B. Klug, “The State of Zionism: Tracing the Course of Zionism and the Splintered State it Has Created,” *The Nation*, May 31, 2007, <https://www.thenation.com/article/state-zionism/>.

longing-for-Zion, and to *shivat-Zion*, the Return; over all this hovers the mystically-loaded concept *ge'ulat-Zion*, the redemption-of-Zion. Zionism, the modern incarnation of the historical attachment to the Land, bound these concepts to ideas taken over from the European environment, like modern statehood, nationalism, and semi-secularized itself. If the Zionist result is difficult to understand, or strange, or unacceptable to Western (or Moslem) minds, that does not make the Jewish bonds to The Land less real, as the developments of the last seventy years have shown.

Jewish anti-Zionists and Jewish History

From the perspective of Jewish history, Zionism and Jewish statehood were the repetition of an age-old process, namely, the adaptation of the Jews to the challenges and the possibilities of a(any) given time, in this case the modern age, this while preserving Jewish specificity. That development is described by the Jerusalem school of Jewish historical research as an essential characteristic in the continuing existence of the Jewish people—essential in the sense that it was necessary, unavoidable.

Such an approach is not considered by Jewish anti-Zionists. Few of them dwell into the complexities of Jewish history or offer alternative analyses. Mostly they get lost in this or that critique of Israel, usually delivered with considerable passion. Their strong emotional drive suggests a personal element: like most present-day Jews, they too were touched by the Zionist spark, but in a negative way. Admittedly, this does not explain the historical continuity of Jewish anti-Zionism nor its broad present prevalence. And yet, something seems wrong with what may be called the “emotional wiring” of anti-Israel Jews. They weep over the ordeals, real or imaginary, of the Palestinians, but are quite indifferent to the dangers and worries, some of them highly realistic, of the Israelis. Like anti-Israel Gentiles, they too hold to views that are outright surrealistic: the conflict between the Palestinians and Israel is described as a static landscape drafted in black and white, where one side—the Arabs, or the Palestinians, or the Iranians—do nothing, never threaten, are not accountable for anything. The only active and responsibility-bearing factor are the Israelis, and they, of course, are in the wrong, always. To see the Jewish state as a huge achievement, born in almost impossible circumstances, which step by step worked itself up to the status of a country of the first world—this seems beyond the emotional capabilities of these

Jews.⁹ On the contrary. The Israeli professor Shlomo Sand concludes, in a book from 2012: “the historical myths that were once [...] able to create Israeli society are now powerful forces helping to raise the possibility of its destruction.”¹⁰ In his opinion, shared by similar thinking colleagues, Israel is a deeply flawed creation. To understand Jewish statehood as a creative and essential development in Jewish history is beyond the intellectual horizons of these Jewish intellectuals.

In addition, there is a significant difference of style between the Jewish assimilationists of the recent past and the Jewish Israel-critics today. Unlike the anti-Zionists of old, present-day Jewish critics preach mostly “outside,” namely, to non-Jews. This practice is especially true regarding the Israelis among them. In other words, what was once an internal dispute, with Jews debating Jews, has turned into an affair mostly external, which is plainly weird: it is like an English intellectual critical of British society whose main platform is, let us say, in France. And many anti-Israel Jews say exactly what outspoken Gentile Jew and Israel-haters want to hear, and as a result they confer legitimacy to Judeophobia. After all, it is said, if the well-known Jewish professor “So-and-So” states likewise critical things about Israel, then they must be true, he certainly knows.

To be clear, it is absolutely legitimate to criticize aspects of Israeli life and politics. Every newspaper in Israel does it every day. At the same time, there is no reason not to believe the Iranian ayatollahs, or other Islamists, when they declare that their aim is to eliminate the Jewish state. To support the ideological trend behind such political hopes, as supposed Jewish liberals and moralists do, means to adopt towards Israel and its Jewish population a position that ultimately backs the aims of the worst enemies of Jews and Jewry.

However, it is the contention of the present examination that Jewish anti-Zionism represents a *Jewish* condition, part of the complex sociological realities of contemporary Jewish life. True, in many cases the only affirmation of Jewishness of many neo-assimilationists is a negative one, their anti-Israelism. Never-

⁹ The complex emotional components of antisemitism (as well as anti-Israelism) are analyzed in M. Schwarz-Friesel, “The Emotional Basis of Contemporary Antisemitism: Hatred as a Cultural Factor,” forthcoming.

¹⁰ Sh. Sand, the concluding sentence of *The Invention of the Jewish People* (New York: Verso Books, 2010). See also T. Judt, “Israel: The Alternative.” *The New York Review of Books* 50, no. 16, October 23, 2003, <https://www.nybooks.com/articles/2003/10/23/israel-the-alternative/>; M. Zuckermann, “Deutsche Befindlichkeiten: Wie eine vorgebliche Antisemitismusbekämpfung zur ideologischen Farce gerät,” *Neue Welt* 34, February 10, 2017, <https://www.jungewelt.de/logInFailed.php?ref=/artikel/304364.deutsche-befindlichkeiten.html>. Judith Butler’s views are found in J. Butler, *Parting Ways: Jewishness and the Critique of Zionism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012). Butler’s understanding regarding Jewishness, Zionism, Israel as well as modern Jewish history are very particular, to say the least.

theless, they are not against other Jews in the sense that classical Jew-haters are, even if many of their utterances are similar to those of non-Jewish antisemites. It is not with Jews they have a problem, it is with Israel, or more precisely, with its underlying Zionist concept and its present-day expressions.

It may seem strange to find Israeli Jews in that group. As it happens, in Israel there are also Jews who want to “assimilate” into some hypothetical new collective identity, this out of opposition to the Zionist idea, or because they are unhappy with the social and cultural trends in Israeli society, or due to whatever reasons. As their attempts show, the effort to sketch a mythical state of the Jews devoid from roots in Jewish history—as also certain non-Jewish intellectuals suggest—is an exercise in futility that ends in nothing. In Yiddish, there is a classical saying: *Se shwer zu sain a yid*—it is hard to be a Jew. Many of the Jewish Israel-critics dream about a kind of Jewishness-lite that never existed in Jewish history, especially not in modern times.

Anti-Zionist Jews hold to that central longing in modern Jewry, the hope of the “normalization” of the Jews—whatever that is supposed to mean.¹¹ They reject the explanation that in terms of a Jewish historical analysis Israel embodies such a normalization, in the sense that the Jewish state is built on ideas and political structures that in our days characterize a well-defined human group and condition its existence. Admittedly, one of the central hopes of the fathers of Zionism, that a Jewish state would change for the better the past troubled relationship between non-Jews and Jews, was only partially realized. There are even those who wonder if the establishment of a Jewish state has made Jewish existence easier. Israel seems to attract upon itself all the Judeophobic prejudices of old, now formulated in new threats that are as dangerous for the Israelis as those of the not-so-far-away past in Europe. The conclusion is that the strength of the Jewish state does not lay so much in the fact that it is “normal,” but that it is “modern,” socially and politically modern. One is brought to realize that a certain kind of abnormality seems to be the normal Jewish condition.

All of these considerations anti-Zionist Jews refuse to recognize. Their “anti”-positions provide them with a platform, but one they share with doubtful companions. Their trumpets are shrill but their message bears no hope; they offer no vision of continuing Jewish life. And yet, they represent an ideological upheaval in present-day Jewry, and there is reason to fear that the situation will not improve.

¹¹ See E. Friesel, “The ‘Normalization’ of the Jews: An Inquiry into an Ideological Concept,” accessed August 10, 2018, https://www.academia.edu/31031106/The_normalization_of_the_Jews_2016_.doc.

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Stephan Grigat

The Fight against Antisemitism and the Iranian Regime: Challenges and Contradictions in the Light of Adorno's Categorical Imperative

I Categorical Imperatives

The purpose of a critique of antisemitism is to disable it and to decipher it through a critique of ideology. Any reconstruction of the mentality of the anti-semitite, however trenchant, and any account of the history of antisemitism, however comprehensive, ends up in stunned amazement at the projective madness of the Jew-hatred that one is committed to countering at the practical level. As Maximilian Gottschlich put it: "when all is said and done, there is only one serious motive for concerning oneself with antisemitism: to resist it."¹ However, if we wish to resist it without illusions, a critical reconstruction of the antisemitic mentality is essential.

In some established academic schools of thought, the impression is given that antisemitism is a result of a lack of knowledge about Jews, Judaism, or the Jewish state. I think that this idea is not only wrong but also underestimates the problem. Were it correct, the situation would not be nearly so bad and could be easily addressed, for example, through meetings between Jewish and non-Jewish young people, synagogue open days, and study trips to Israel. Of course, all these things should be done; however, they will not banish antisemitism, because it is a comprehensive worldview of a delusional-projective kind. Instead of downplaying antisemitism as mere prejudice, we have to decipher it through a critique of the "antisemitic society," as Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer put it in their *Dialectic of Enlightenment*.²

Anti-Jewish hatred must be viewed in the light of the basic constitution of this society. Antisemitism is not an anthropological constant but an ever-changing, delusional reaction to the historically existing society. A developed critique of antisemitism must, unlike a traditional theoretical approach, feel itself ob-

1 M. Gottschlich, *Die große Abneigung. Wie antisemitisch ist Österreich? Kritische Befunde zu einer sozialen Krankheit* (Wien: Czernin, 2012), 9.

2 T. W. Adorno and M. Horkheimer, *Dialektik der Aufklärung: Philosophische Fragmente* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1997), 209.

liged to offer “a single existential judgement.”³ From this point of view, the anti-semitism of the twentieth and twenty-first century is simply the epitome of anti-emancipatory ideology, in which hatred of enlightenment, self-awareness and freedom are combined.

Modern antisemitism is essentially a reaction to an uncomprehended, fetishistic, and self-mystifying capitalist society. The urge for a delusional concretization of abstraction—which seems to me to be one of the decisive elements of antisemitism—is inherent to modern capitalist society.⁴ The task of any materialist critique of antisemitism is to make visible the connection between the antisemites and the society that produces them. At the same time, however, we must make it clear that this connection exculpates neither the antisemite nor the society.⁵ Even in such an unfree society, individuals who decide to engage in hatred and violence against Jews are responsible for their decisions and must be held accountable for them.

Antisemitism is a regressive revolt against the global principle of subject-less rule and an abstractness of the economy and politics that is perceived as a burden and a threat. Understood in this way, antisemitism is a basic ideology of a capitalist society that produces its own negation, both positively and negatively. The critique of the fetishism and mystification of capitalist society developed in Karl Marx’s critique of political economy is of decisive importance for the critique of this ideological worldview. The conceptual sharpness of the developed critique of political economy is necessary in order to prevent or at least decisively impede the mutation of economic criticism into persecutory resentment.⁶

A critique of antisemitism must show that it is not simply a form of racism directed against Jews. This does not mean that it must be fought more than racism. But it does mean keeping in mind the different modes of operation of racism and antisemitism in order to be able to combat them more effectively. Racism expresses a demarcation from “those of lesser worth.” The victims of racism are reproached not for their superiority but for their inferiority. Racism biologizes historically and currently existing differences of productivity; it is directed at the powerlessness of the racially classified.⁷

3 M. Horkheimer, *Traditionelle und kritische Theorie: Fünf Aufsätze* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1995), 244.

4 Cf. M. Postone, *Anti-Semitism and National Socialism* (London: Chronos, 2000).

5 Cf. G. Scheit, *Suicide Attack: Zur Kritik der politischen Gewalt* (Freiburg: Ça Ira, 2004), 14.

6 Cf. S. Grigat, *Fetisch und Freiheit: Über die Rezeption der Marxschen Fetischkritik, die Emanzipation von Staat und Kapital und die Kritik des Antisemitismus* (Freiburg: Ça Ira, 2007), 273–81.

7 Cf. J. Bruhn, *Was deutsch ist: Zur kritischen Theorie der Nation* (Freiburg: Ça Ira, 1994), 77–110.

Antisemites are secretly aware of the vulnerability of the Jews, which enables a one-sided onslaught on them—at least prior to the establishment of Israel. However, they imagine their prospective victims, in sharp contrast to the victims of racism, not as powerless, but as all-powerful. As the embodiment of abstraction, in the eyes of antisemites, Jews rule the whole world, something which, in the minds of racists, would be beyond the capacities of the victims of racism. To put it another way: nobody fantasizes about an “African world conspiracy.” Antisemites fantasize about their destruction by a superior intellect, the “masters of money” or a Jewish statehood that is deemed illegitimate. They see themselves as forestalling this imagined threat through the destruction of this abstraction in the form of the Jews, whether individually or as a sovereign political entity.

It is of the essence of antisemitism that Jews are placed in a no-win situation. Rich Jews are faulted for their success and the poor derided as scroungers. The assimilated Jew is deemed a treacherous subverter of the people, the traditionalist an incorrigible misfit. The sexually active Jew is considered a corrupter of youth, the abstinent an impotent weakling. Anything Jews do will be used by antisemites as new material for their delusions. Should a behaviour not fit into the projective imagery of an antisemite, the unexpected action will be construed as a particularly devious means of hiding the Jew’s true intentions.

For critical theory, therefore, a critique of antisemitism is concerned not with the objects, but the subjects of antisemitism: so, not with the Jews, Judaism, or the Jewish state, but with the psychic needs and the sometimes conscious and sometimes unconscious motives of the Jew-hater. In a delusional projection onto the “Jewish principle” and its supposed physical embodiments, antisemites are fighting against social and individual ambivalences, and against individual and social contradictions and crises. This seems to me to be the constant factor in the different manifestations of antisemitism.

One means for combating the above mentioned antisemitic reactions would be the mass education of thinking individuals so that they learn to deal with these individual and social ambivalences, contradictions, and crises in a mature and responsible way.⁸ However, in the critique of antisemitism, one must constantly keep in mind the “limits of enlightenment,” a phrase that not by chance was used by Adorno and Horkheimer as a subtitle for their famous essay “Elements of antisemitism.”⁹ So, wherever feasible, social relations should be established that promote an essential minimum of individual and social reflection and the formation of an effective maturity. The problem however is this: modern

⁸ Cf. T. W. Adorno, *Erziehung zur Mündigkeit* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1971).

⁹ Adorno and Horkheimer, *Dialektik der Aufklärung*, 177.

forms of socialization both *create* and *sabotage* the possibilities for the formation of such a reflective mature individuality. The aim here must be to at least preserve the possibility of counteracting the antisemitic delusions that antisemites allow themselves to be terrified by, promoting self-understanding and encouraging self-criticism. Nevertheless, to keep in mind the “limits of enlightenment” means where the above is impossible, preventing the antisemites from pursuing their goals, whose culmination is mass murder, by all available means. Indeed, Adorno himself stated that, in the face of blatant antisemitism, the “available means of coercion” should be used “without sentimentality.”¹⁰ This sentiment is true both within the framework of the nation-state and in the confrontation with antisemitic actors on the international stage.

In the face of antisemitic agitation required to produce or sustain the persecutory mentality, we are not powerless. Antisemitism can, in the last analysis, only be made to disappear through the abolition of its social foundations. “An end to antisemitism” would therefore ultimately mean the establishment of a society free from domination and exploitation in which everyone could be different without fear or pressure.¹¹ However, even in this society, the “arm of criticism and the criticism of arms,” to paraphrase the young Marx,¹² are also effective against antisemitic agitation and practice. Every action, whether political, police, judicial or even military that is directed towards the prevention of antisemitic practice and propaganda is proof that genuinely effective resistance to antisemitism is possible. However, these urgently necessary defensive measures cannot put a definitive “end to antisemitism.”

The simultaneous necessity of both a fundamental critique of society and urgent action against immediate antisemitic threats highlights the tension between the categorical imperatives of Marx and Adorno. Under the given conditions, it is urgently necessary to adhere to Marx’s demand from 1844 to “overturn all relations in which man is a humiliated, enslaved, forsaken and contemptible being”¹³ in order to maintain at least the theoretical possibility of envisaging a final end to antisemitism. At the same time, we must also keep in mind the need for “unfree mankind to arrange their thoughts and actions so that Ausch-

10 T. W. Adorno, “Zur Bekämpfung des Antisemitismus heute,” in *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 20.1, ed. R. Tiedemann (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1997), 364.

11 Cf. T. W. Adorno, *Minima Moralia: Reflexionen aus dem beschädigten Leben* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1993), 131.

12 K. Marx, “Kritik der Hegelschen Rechtsphilosophie: Einleitung,” in *Marx-Engels-Werke*, vol. 1, ed. Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus (Berlin: Dietz, 1988), 385.

13 *Ibid.*

witz will not repeat itself, so that nothing similar will happen.”¹⁴ That is the new categorical imperative, which, however, may fade from the memory of the past if its meaning in the contemporary context is not concretized.

II The Right and the Left

The analysis of the geopolitical reproduction of antisemitism in the form of anti-Zionism is today a central task for a critical theory of antisemitism. This was proved by the anti-Israeli mass demonstrations of summer 2014 and those accompanying the farce over the so-called recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. When, at demonstrations in Germany, Hamas and Hezbollah flags are quite openly displayed and phrases such as “Jew, Jew cowardly pig, come out and fight alone” are shouted by hundreds¹⁵ of participants without any intervention from the police, and when a leader of a NATO member country, Turkey, states that the defensive measures taken by Israel against Hamas and Islamic Jihad surpass the barbarism of Nazis¹⁶ without this having any consequences, we get an idea of the isolation of the Jewish state.

At the practical level, we must counter this isolation with educational programmes that convey a realistic picture of the Middle East conflict. In discussions about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, one constantly comes up against the assertion that antisemitism in the Arab and Islamic countries is a *result* of the Middle East conflict. Against this assertion, educational efforts at all levels must explain the extent to which Arab and Islamic antisemitism are a *central cause* of this conflict, whose course they have decisively influenced both in the past and the present.¹⁷ In the academic sphere, we need institutes devoted to the criticism of antisemitism that do not restrict themselves to historical research into European Jew-hatred but make a priority of the study of contemporary Israel-fixated antisemitism.

¹⁴ T. W. Adorno, *Negative Dialektik* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1994), 358.

¹⁵ Cf. ReDoc—Research & Documentation, Antisemitische Parolen bei pro-palästinensischer Demonstration am 17. Juli 2014, published April 27, 2017, video, 1:34, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pAHuw0tBGvo>.

¹⁶ Cf. L. Jacobsen, “Recep Tayyip Erdogan. Mit Obama redet er nicht mehr,” *Zeit Online*, July 23, 2014, <http://www.zeit.de/politik/ausland/2014-07/recep-tayyip-erdogan-tuerkei-israel-nahost-gaza-usa>.

¹⁷ Cf. S. Grigat, *Die Einsamkeit Israels: Zionismus, die israelische Linke und die iranische Bedrohung* (Hamburg: Konkret, 2014), 7–11.

Today antisemitism is in no way solely a problem relating to parties on the far right of the political spectrum, as has repeatedly become apparent in recent years. As the historically decisive protagonist of blatant antisemitism, the right has, of course, deserved special attention. It would be a grave error rightly to target implicit, secondary, and structural antisemitic arguments from the left while giving a pass to the right simply because, apart from the openly neo-Nazi groups, openly anti-Jewish statements are now rare there. Just as with the left, we must consider how parties such as the *Alternative für Deutschland* (AfD), *Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs* (FPÖ), or *Front National* (FN), without resorting to openly antisemitic arguments, nonetheless promote an antisemitic worldview in their ideology and political utterances. Of particular note here is the aggressive defence against the past that has recently been displayed within, for example, the AfD.¹⁸

Quite clearly, developments relating to antisemitism are taking place within the parties on the right end of the political spectrum on which we must also keep a close eye. If, in fact, a firmly anti-antisemitic right were to develop, this would really offer some relief to Europe's Jewish communities and would provide Israel with far greater room for manoeuvre in its European alliances.

However, the actions of parties like the AfD and FPÖ point more towards an opportunist exploitation of the theme than a serious attempt at a critique of antisemitism or—in the case of the FPÖ—a sustained attempt to face up to its own antisemitic history. In a nutshell, even though what Gerhard Scheit has aptly described as these parties' "simulation of Israel solidarity"¹⁹ is certainly better than the open hostility towards Israel displayed by sections of the left, such parties cannot be allies in the fight against antisemitism. And we should always keep in mind, that the FPÖ-nominated Foreign Minister Karin Kneissel described Zionism as a "blood and soil" ideology.²⁰

The existence of antisemitic resentment on the left is today evident and, in the light of the abundant evidence repeatedly proving the point, the persistent denial of the problem can only be seen as one of its forms of expression. Such resentment is present as a specific form of post-Auschwitz antisemitism

18 Cf. S. Grigat, "Von Österreich lernen. Die FPÖ als Vorbild der AfD und Antisemitismuskritik in Zeiten islamistischer Mobilmachung," in *AfD & FPÖ: Antisemitismus, völkischer Nationalismus und Geschlechterbilder*, ed. S. Grigat (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2017), 9–23.

19 G. Scheit, "Eingeschrumpfter Behemoth und neue 'Souveränisten'. Über die Voraussetzungen der Erfolge von FPÖ und AfD," in *AfD & FPÖ: Antisemitismus, völkischer Nationalismus und Geschlechterbilder*, ed. S. Grigat (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2017), 170.

20 F. Markl, "Eine Außenministerin mit fragwürdigen Ansichten," *Mena Watch*, November 21, 2017, <https://www.mena-watch.com/mena-analysen-beitraege/eine-aussenministerin-mit-fragwuerdigen-positionen/>.

in most forms of anti-Zionism. On the one hand, because of a lack of concrete hate objects, and on the other, because of the tabooing of open Jew-hatred in left-wing circles, the collective Jew, the state of Israel, is targeted. The only reason that the anti-Zionist fantasies of, and attempts at, destruction have not been realized is Israeli state power.

In the decades after 1945, it was the left that transformed the dictum “Never again Auschwitz, never again War” into the dogma “Never again War against Antisemitism.”²¹ After Israel has however been forced to do exactly that, this dogma has become one of the key rationales for the delegitimization of Zionism. This rationale leads to the absurd situation where criticism of the military assertiveness of the Jewish state is proclaimed as a lesson learned from National Socialism.

In order, however, to avoid any misunderstanding: the critique of left-wing antisemitism must not become a pretext for the abandonment of ideas of general human emancipation. On the contrary, the task is to criticize Marxism with Marx and the really existing left with the critical theory of Adorno and Horkheimer.

Central protagonists of the delegitimization of Israel come from the left wing. But on the other hand, especially in Austria and Germany, this is also true for its harshest critics. This split is also reflected in theoretical references. To put it simply: Those making reference to Critical Theory lean toward defending Zionism as a necessary response to antisemitism.²² Those who refer to post-structuralism and post-colonial theory lean towards defending the so-called “legitimate rights of the Palestinians” and attacking the legitimacy of Israel and Zionism. From the practical point of view, this requires the strengthening, and if possible, an institutionalization of academic approaches based on the critical theory tradition.

21 Cf. S. Grigat, “Delegitimizing Israel in Germany and Austria: Past Politics, the Iranian Threat, and Postnational Anti-Zionism,” in *Deciphering the New Antisemitism*, ed. A. H. Rosenfeld (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015), 454–63.

22 For the development of a pro-Israel Left in Austria and Germany cf. S. Grigat, “‘Projektion’—‘Überidentifikation’—‘Philozionismus’. Der Vorwurf des Philosemitismus an die antideutsche Linke,” in *Geliebter Feind—Gehasster Freund: Antisemitismus und Philosemitismus in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. I. A. Diekmann and E.-V. Kotowski (Berlin: VBB, 2009) 467–85; cf. S. Erlanger, “‘The Anti-Germans’—The Pro-Israel German Left,” *Jewish Political Studies Review* 21, no. 1–2 (Spring 2009); cf. R. Schlembach, “Towards a Critique of Anti-German ‘Communism’,” *Interface: a Journal for and about Social Movements* 2 (November 2010): 199–219; cf. S. Voigt, “Antisemitic Anti-Zionism Within the German Left – Die Linke,” in *Global Antisemitism: A Crisis of Modernity*, ed. C. A. Small (Leiden: Brill, 2013) 335–43; cf. J. Bruhn, “Who are the Anti-Germans?,” interview by Stephen Cheng, Ça Ira Verlag, May 2007, <http://archive.is/ZDtJI>.

If the left were to take the categorical imperative of Adorno seriously, it would have to be on the frontline fighting against the delegitimization of Israel and against the threats that are emanating, for example, from the Iranian regime and from the support for the Ayatollahs and other Islamists by European companies, politicians, and academics. Were the left to concern itself, in the tradition of Marx or, for example, Oscar Wilde,²³ with the full freedom of the individual, it would never march under the banners of Islamist terror groups such as Hamas or Hezbollah in support of the global intifada.

III The Antisemitism of the Ayatollahs

Virtually all the *topoi* of modern antisemitism, as described by Adorno and Horkheimer in “Elements of Antisemitism,” can be found in the Iranian Islamists’ ideology. In particular, the glorification of a concretely transfigured, organic, authentic, destiny-fulfilling and harmonious community seen as the opposite of a chaotic-abstract, alienated, rotten, artificial, immoral, materialist, conflict-ridden, and in the last analysis Jew-associated social model.²⁴

All this underlines the need for an analysis of the modern-regressive tendencies in Islamic societies in general and in that of Iran in particular. The time has come to write an “Elements of Islamic Antisemitism” in the tradition of the *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. The first task in this respect is to decipher the antisemitism in the Islamic world as a delusional and projective reaction to capitalist modernity. Secondly, attention must be paid to the religious component, whose Islamic expression played no role for Adorno and Horkheimer. And, thirdly, we must not lose sight of the decisive role of the contacts of figures such as Ruhollah Khomeini with Nazi propaganda: in the late 1930s, the future revolutionary leader was a regular listener to the Nazi short-wave radio station, Radio Zeesen, which disseminated antisemitic Nazi propaganda in the Middle East.²⁵ From this point of view, the antisemitism of the Iranian regime is a classic example of the continuing global influence of German Nazism after its military defeat.

23 Cf. O. Wilde, *The Soul of Man under Socialism and Selected Critical Prose* (London: Penguin, 2007).

24 Cf. U. Marz, *Kritik des islamischen Antisemitismus: Zur gesellschaftlichen Genese und Semantik des Antisemitismus in der Islamischen Republik Iran* (Berlin: Lit, 2014).

25 Cf. M. Küntzel, *Germany and Iran: From the Aryan Axis to the Nuclear Threshold* (New York: Telos, 2014), 44–45; cf. A. Taheri, *The Spirit of Allah: Khomeini and the Islamic Revolution* (Bethesda: Adler & Adler, 1986), 99.

The Iranian regime's antisemitism is expressed in traditional Jew-hatred, a worldview based on conspiracy theories and projection, Holocaust denial, and hatred of the Jewish state. About ninety percent of the 100,000–150,000 Jews estimated as living in Iran in 1979 have left the country since the revolution. For the Iranian dictatorship, the Middle Eastern conflict is not about improving the lot of the Palestinians, a two-state solution or any kind of agreement or compromise but explicitly about destroying Israel. The destruction of Israel has been the official policy of the Islamic Republic since 1979. It is advocated not only by the fanatical supporters of ex-President Mahmud Ahmadinejad but also by conservatives and those Ayatollahs that the West treats as pragmatists, moderates, or reformists. In Iran, the slogan "death to Israel" has since 1979 been a staple of Islamist state propaganda. In 2012—to give just one example from the time before Hassan Rouhani became president—the Supreme leader Ali Khamenei described Israel as a "cancerous tumour that should be cut and will be cut."²⁶ Wahied Wahdat-Hagh has aptly described the program of the Iranian regime as "eliminary anti-Zionism."²⁷ The annihilation of the Jewish state is not mere rhetoric from the early times of the revolution but a non-negotiable doctrine.

However, the founder of the Islamic Republic, Khomeini, was not only hostile to the Jewish state, but openly proclaimed his enmity towards the Jews. He considered Islam to have been at war with them since its inception. In a classic case of projection of his own megalomania, Khomeini believed himself engaged in a struggle against an unfolding plan for Jewish world domination about which he had already fantasized in his central text, *Islamic Government*:

We must protect and make the people aware that the Jews and their foreign backers are opposed to the very foundations of Islam and wish to establish Jewish domination throughout the world.²⁸

Elsewhere he asserts:

²⁶ FARS News Agency, "Iranian MP Lauds Hezbollah's Anti-Israel Stance," July 24, 2013, <http://english.farsnews.com/newstext.aspx?nn=13920502000466>.

²⁷ W. Wahdat-Hagh, "Die Herrschaft des politischen Islam im Iran. Ein Überblick zu Struktur und Ideologie der khomeinistischen Diktatur," in *Der Iran: Analyse einer islamischen Diktatur und ihrer europäischen Förderer*, ed. S. Grigat and S. D. Hartmann (Innsbruck: Studienverlag, 2008), 44.

²⁸ R. Khomeini, "Islamic Government," in *Islam and Revolution: Writings and Declarations of Imam Khomeini*, ed. H. Algar (Berkeley: Mizan, 1981), 127.

And as you see the Jews have grasped the world with both hands and are devouring it with an insatiable appetite, they are devouring America and have now turned their attention to Iran and still they are not satisfied [. . .].²⁹

A major role in the spread of antisemitism in Iran has been played by the Persian translation of the antisemitic screed, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. First published in 1978, large print runs of several new editions have since been issued by official Iranian bodies, sometimes with modified titles such as *The Protocols of the Jewish Leaders for the Domination of the World*.³⁰ This modified title is in itself enough to show that the sporadic efforts by the Iranian leadership to draw a sharper distinction between Jews and Zionists have had little effect. Moreover, when Iranian propaganda talks about “Zionists” it almost always associates the term with the conspiracy theories characteristic of traditional antisemitism against Jews. In the Iranian regime’s ideology and propaganda, Zionism is attacked not as an everyday political opponent but as the root cause of virtually all the world’s problems, whose destruction would pave the way to salvation.

One tool in gaining this kind of salvation is Holocaust denial. And that is not only true for the so-called hard-liners: According to the Anti-Defamation League, Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani stated on Iranian radio that his personal researches had led him to the conclusion that Hitler had murdered only 20,000 Jews.³¹ Former president Mohammed Khatami—who to this day is regarded as a shining example of a “reformist Islamist,” and who is a supporter of the death penalty for homosexuals—positioned himself as one of the most passionate defenders of the French Holocaust denier Roger Garaudy, whom he invited to Tehran.³²

Contrary to the impression given by much of the Western media, the election of Hassan Rouhani as Iran’s president in 2013 has not led to any significant change in these respects. Since he took office, Rouhani, like his predecessors, has been a regular attender of the annual Al-Quds march in Tehran. This

²⁹ R. Khomeini, “Speech, September 28, 1977, Shaykh Ansari Mosque, Najaf, Iraq,” in *Kauthar. Volume One. An Anthology of the Speeches of Imam Khomeini including an Account of the Events of the Revolution 1962–1978*, ed. Institute for the Compilation and Publication of the Works of Imam Khomeini, International Affairs Division (Tehran: Institute for the Compilation and Publication of the Works of Imam Khomeini, 1995), 368.

³⁰ Cf. W. Posch, “Juden im Iran. Anmerkungen zu einem antizionistischen Brief an Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. Teil II,” *David. Jüdische Kulturzeitschrift* 84 (2010): 32.

³¹ Cf. Anti-Defamation League, *Holocaust Denial in the Middle East: The Latest Anti-Israel Propaganda Theme* (New York: ADL, 2001), 8.

³² Cf. D. Menashri, *Post-Revolutionary Politics in Iran: Religion, Society and Power* (New York: Frank Cass, 2001), 279.

event, initiated at Khomeini's behest in 1979, inspires worldwide demonstrations calling for the destruction of Israel. In his address to the 2013 march, Rouhani ranted about the "artificial regime of Israel"³³—thus taking up a classic theme of antisemitic anti-Zionism, in which the traditional opposition between "creative" and "predatory" capital is replaced by one between "organic," "genuine" states and "artificial entities."

On the anniversary of so-called "Kristallnacht" in 2014, Khamenei published a detailed Q&A, headed "Why should & how can Israel be eliminated."³⁴ In 2015, Khamenei re-published his four-hundred-page book "Palestine," in which he again called Israel "a cancerous tumour" and demanded its annihilation.³⁵ In 2016, the regime in clear violation of UNSC resolutions tested ballistic missiles carrying the message "Israel must be wiped out" in Farsi—and Hebrew.

Even as regards Holocaust denial, we see continuity.³⁶ At the start of 2014, Khamenei once again questioned the historical reality of the Shoah. The current President wants to tone things down in this respect and has developed a kind of (if there is such thing) "moderate Holocaust denial": when asked in an interview whether he believed the Shoah was a "myth," Rouhani confined himself to insisting that he was a politician and not a historian and so could not say anything about the "dimensions of historic events"³⁷—which is a known strategy used by neo-Nazis and international Holocaust deniers when speaking in countries where denying the Holocaust is not allowed.

In 2014, one year after the election of Rouhani, the Ayatollahs once again gave a platform to a gathering of Holocaust deniers from all over the world in Tehran. Among the participants were Italian history professor, Claudio Moffa, who was openly presented on the conference website like this: "He achieved in-

33 H. Rouhani, "Die Diplomatie der Regierung der Weisheit und Hoffnung ist die Stabilität in der Region," Official Site of the President of the Islamic Republic of Iran, November 25, 2013, <http://www.president.ir/de/72947>.

34 A. Khamenei, "Why Should & How Can #Israel Be Eliminated? Ayatollah Khamenei's Answer to 9 Key Questions," Twitter, Photo, November 11, 2014, https://twitter.com/khamenei_ir/status/53136666737717248/photo/1.

35 "Palästina aus der Sicht Ajatollah Khameneis," *Pars Today*, July 9, 2016, <http://german.irib.ir/nachrichten/revolutionsoberhaupt/item/285966-palästina-aus-der-sicht-ajatollah-khameneis>.

36 Cf. M. Mohammadi, "Iranian Holocaust Cartoon Competitions and Exhibitions: Goals, Sponsors, and Themes," May 11, 2016, <https://www.usmmm.org/m/pdfs/PoliticalAnalysisEnglishFINAL.pdf>.

37 A. Karami, "Rohani's Holocaust Comments on CNN Spark Controversy," *Al-Monitor*, September 26, 2013, <http://iranpulse.al-monitor.com/index.php/2013/09/2894/rouhanis-holocaust-comments-on-cnn-spark-controversy/>.

ternational fame through revisionist statements, in particular by the public denial of the Holocaust.”³⁸

Senior government officials attended the conference. Saeed Jalili, an unsuccessful candidate in the 2013 presidential election as well as a former chief negotiator for the nuclear program and Secretary of the Supreme National Security Council, took part as did Alaeddin Boroujerdi, the current President of the Iranian pseudo-Parliament’s Foreign Affairs Committee and Ali Asghar Soltanieh, the regime’s longstanding representative at the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna.

The difference from the 2006 Holocaust denial conference, when former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke had been a guest in Tehran, was striking. While the earlier event drew condemnation from almost the entire world and attracted a great deal of media attention, the only noteworthy protest in the age of Rouhani came from ADL Director, Abraham Foxman. In October 2013, Rouhani had taken care to prevent such a conference happening shortly after his assumption of office. Back then, it would have hindered the charm offensive against the West. In 2014, however, the Iranian regime had clearly ceased to feel the need for such caution.

In 2017, according to Iran’s Press TV, Rouhani repeated one of Khamenei’s catchphrases, when he assailed Israel as a “cancerous tumour,” having previously described the Jewish state as “an old wound that has been sitting on the body of the Islamic world,” and, a year after his election, as a “festering tumour.”³⁹ In 2017 Khamenei proclaimed Western liberal ideas about equality of the sexes to be a “Zionist plot,”⁴⁰ thus demonstrating that the intimate connection between antisemitism and sexism is not the exclusive property of the European far right. Referring to Israel, he reiterated his view that, “there is no cure for the problem

38 “New Horizons: International Conference of Independent Thinkers & Artists,” New Horizon, accessed March 15, 2015, http://newhorizon.ir/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=137:joe-le-corbeau&catid=34&Itemid=31.

39 “Iran needs No Permission to Manufacture Missiles, Planes: Rouhani”, *Pars Today*, April 15, 2017, http://parstoday.com/en/news/iran-i50454-iran_needs_no_permission_to_manufacture_missiles_planes_president_rouhani; IRIB News. “مصاحبه حسن روحانی در روز قندس,” filmed August 2, 2013, video, 0:54, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OF2BBFduwQ&feature=youtu.be>; “Takfiris, Zionists Two Tumors with Same Roots: Rouhani”, Press TV, July 31, 2014, <http://217.218.67.229/detail/2014/07/29/373257/zionists-takfiris-festering-region-tumors/>.

40 L. Dearden, “Iran’s Supreme Leader Claims Gender Equality is ‘Zionist Plot’ Aiming to Corrupt Role of Women in Society,” *Independent Minds*, March 21, 2017, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/iran-supreme-leader-ayatollah-khamenei-gender-equality-women-zionist-plot-society-role-islamic-a7641041.html>.

that this savage and wolfish regime [...] has created except its destruction and annihilation.”⁴¹

Faced with statements of such crystal clarity, even an advocate of closer relations between the European Union and Iran like German-Iranian author Adnan Tabatabai had to admit, “that Holocaust denial remains a permanent feature of the Iranian regime” and that, in relation to Israel and Palestine, the current Iranian regime “clearly opposes a two-state solution.”⁴²

Time and again, the question arises as to what role the antisemitic ideology and hatred of Israel play in the Iranian regime’s political decision-making. The Islamic Republic’s foreign policy has from the outset been characterized by equal measures of pragmatism and destructive irrationality, and this has enabled Western observers to continually downplay the significance of the latter—the destructive fantasies towards Israel—by reference to the former. In fact, however, as Menashri puts it, “Iran’s attitude to Israel [has been] one of the rare examples of adherence to dogma.”⁴³

Representatives of the Realist school of International Relations refer to the concept of Realpolitik and conclude that it should be possible to pragmatically integrate the Iranian regime into an international or at least regional security architecture. Such conclusions overlook the fact that the Ayatollahs have seized every opportunity to expand their sphere of influence, and they also ignore the fact that, as regards the threat to Israel, pragmatism can have no meaning for Tehran other than waiting for the right moment to go on the offensive.

When Khomeini took power in 1979 in Iran, he took a purist view of foreign policy, the thrust of which was documented by one of his first prominent visitors, Yasser Arafat, who, in a festive ceremony, was given the keys to the former Israeli Embassy in Tehran after many future Pasdaran officers had received their initial military training in PLO camps in southern Lebanon. If Khomeini had had his wish, his credo that his Islamic revolution was neither “western nor eastern,” that is, neither capitalist nor socialist but some kind of an Islamic “third way,” would have been applied to the foreign policy of the newly established Islamic Republic. However, even a fanatic like Khomeini had to yield to the facts of the situation facing the regime in the first decade of its existence.

41 A. Khamenei, “The Israeli Entity must be Eliminated, Human Logic Rules,” Khamenei.ir, March 18, 2017, <http://english.khamenei.ir/news/4712/The-Israeli-entity-must-be-eliminated-human-logic-rules-Ayatollah>.

42 A. Tabatabai, *Morgen in Iran: Die Islamische Republik im Aufbruch* (Hamburg: edition Körber Stiftung, 2016), 123.

43 Menashri, *Iran*, 281.

In the current situation, many observers are once again pondering the question of how far political pragmatism might affect the revolutionary goal and whether *maslahat*—expediency over and above ideological principles or goals—a principle that the Iranian Islamists have always recognized, will ever entail a renunciation of eliminatory anti-Zionism as part of the basic core of the regime’s ideology. Even a mainstream German-Austrian Iran expert such as Walter Posch accepts that there is no chance of this outcome. When it comes to Israel, *maslahat* only means that the Islamic republic is currently not looking for an all-out war with the Jewish state but prefers to support its proxies, like Hezbollah in Lebanon and Islamic Jihad in Gaza and the West Bank, with weapons and billions of dollars and tries to build up a military infrastructure in Syria. *Maslahat* means “not defeating ideology, but at most restricting its scope.”⁴⁴ Moreover, Posch clearly explains what the core of this ideology is: a “strategic vision” based on the “paradigm of the illegitimacy of the state of Israel.”⁴⁵

However, this understanding has not prevented Posch from proposing that the West works with the very same figures who have presented the “end of Israel” as a strategic goal. In particular, he advocates the establishment of relations with that very “Iranian think-tank scene” in which such strategic visions of destruction are expressed in the sober language of international relations analysis. So, the acceptance by the West of the “moderate, constructive foreign policy”⁴⁶ that Posch thinks the Iranian regime could adopt would also mean the acceptance of the “strategic vision” of the destruction of Israel and “paradigm of the illegitimacy of the Jewish state” as legitimate positions in international politics.

IV A New Anti-fascism

For Iran’s government, every success in business means progress and a further step in its jihad against emancipation and enlightenment. With the pursuit of nu-

⁴⁴ W. Posch, “Dritte Welt, globaler Islam und Pragmatismus. Wie die Außenpolitik Irans gemacht wird,” *SWP-Studien* 4 (2013): 18. For further discussion of the doctrine of *maslahat* that includes the possibility for the Supreme Leader to overrule Islamic law when such action is considered necessary for the survival of the Islamic Republic, see M. Eisenstadt and M. Khalaji, “Nuclear Fatwa: Religion and Politics in Iran’s Proliferation Strategy,” The Washington Institute, September 27, 2011, <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/nuclear-fatwa-religion-and-politics-in-irans-proliferation-strategy>.

⁴⁵ Posch, “Dritte Welt,” 26.

⁴⁶ W. Posch, “Mäßigung statt Neuanfang. Iran nach den Präsidentschaftswahlen 2013,” *SWP-Aktuell* 39 (2013): 1.

clear bomb technology in mind, its agenda has to be understood as a political program of annihilation. If liberal and radical leftists want to be serious about Adorno's categorical imperative, then they should do everything to prevent the Iranian regime from realizing its murderous ideology and facilitate its overthrow.

It seems apposite, and it is not by coincidence that, as the motto for the second part of his collection of aphorisms, *Minima Moralia*, Adorno quoted F. H. Bradley, "Where everything is bad, it's good to know the worst."⁴⁷ When Adorno and Horkheimer debated the necessity of a new *Communist Manifesto*, the representatives of critical theory had in mind that the critique of the late capitalist society was possible only as long as they listed "the reasons that make it possible to keep on living in the West" at the very same time.⁴⁸ The bourgeois ideal of the individual pursuit of happiness now appears to be ideological, because the capitalist mode of social relations limits its realization materially. The Islamist ideal of a "simple and just life," in contrast, solely points towards absolute barbarism. In order to grasp the distinction between bourgeois capitalist society and its negative dissolution, as it was effected by Germany's National Socialism and as it is—historical and ideological differences aside—also aimed at by Islamism, one must understand one decisive difference: a difference between a social mode of production, whose purpose is the realization of capital and where the death of a human is shrugged off as a part of the business, while having never been originally *intended*; and an economy of death that, as a paranoid reaction, originates from instrumental reason but does not coincide with it entirely, as it declares annihilation an end in itself.

The confrontation between Iran and the liberal West, and Israel in particular, represents an existential and therefore hardly negotiable conflict. It is a conflict between, on the one hand, states whose social structure systematically betrays the individual pursuit of happiness but nevertheless defends the individual against repressive collectives; and on the other hand, those powers who consider the destruction of Israel merely a prelude for turning the rest of the world into a jihadistically "liberated" hell.

Therefore, and not for bellicosity, a materialist critique in the tradition of Marx and Critical Theory must defy any kind of appeasement towards those protagonists of a barbarism that *originates* in enlightenment and the process of civilization, but is by no means *identical* to it. The fight against the Iranian regime and its allies deserves the support of anybody who is not indifferent to the ideas

47 Adorno, *Minima Moralia*, 103.

48 T. W. Adorno and M. Horkheimer, *Towards a New Manifesto* (London: Verso, 2010), 57.

of enlightenment and universal emancipation as envisioned by Marx and Adorno.

In the light of all this, we need an anti-fascism that opposes every form of counter-enlightenment. The currently dominant left and liberal anti-fascisms which focus on the European far right parties have to confront the question of why several thousand people rightly demonstrate regularly in Vienna against the FPÖ's Academic Ball, viewed as one of the European far right's most important networking events, but only a handful turn out when representatives of the Iranian Holocaust denier regime are welcomed by the highest officials of state with full pomp and ceremony. And why can tens of thousands be mobilized for marches against the AfD but barely a hundred when supporters of the openly antisemitic Hamas movement hold large-scale events in Berlin?

What we urgently need is a cosmopolitan critique of political Islam that is aware of global conditions and which also, of course, opposes nationalist xenophobes of every stripe. We must argue against the cultural relativism used by both the right-wing ethnopluralists and many left-wing apologists for Islam.⁴⁹ Instead, we should recall, both in our criticism of parties such as the AfD and FPÖ and the propagation of antisemitism within the main currents of Islam, the slogan raised by the tens of thousands of women who demonstrated day after day in 1979 against the imposition of the headscarf: "Emancipation is not Western or Eastern, but universal."

Against this background, in addition to the above mentioned generally accepted tasks relating to the strengthening of mature individuals and political education, we must make the following priorities in the fight against antisemitism: deciphering antisemitism from the left *and* the right; backing the overthrow of the Iranian regime; and consistently opposing all jihadist militias and supporting Israeli self-defence. In the first place, this means: The necessity to fight against European appeasement of Islamic antisemitism and against European cooperation with antisemitic regimes. Concretely that means, to mention only a few practical measures: European governments must ban and punish trade with the Iranian regime rather than promoting it as they currently do. For as long as Iran refuses to recognize Israel and massacres the opposition in the country, all EU states should break off diplomatic relations with Tehran. The Iranian Revolutionary Guards must immediately be placed on the EU's list of terrorist organizations. Here too belongs Hezbollah as a whole, and not just its military wing, in order to put a stop to its fund-raising activities in Europe.

⁴⁹ Cf. A. Benl, "Western Societies, Cultural Relativism, Anti-Zionism and the Politics of History," *Journal for the Study of Antisemitism* 7, no. 2 (2015): 145–64.

On days of remembrance, such as the 9th of November or the 27th of January, representatives of nearly all political factions in Austria and Germany do their very best to caution against and admonish anything with regard to their countries' National-Socialist past. But criticism of contemporary antisemitism in its Islamic and Iranian form hardly passes through a speaker's lips during commemoration ceremonies. Commemoration in Austria and Germany is limited nowadays to Jews that have passed away, while denying solidarity to the Jewish state facing the Iranian threat.

Let me illustrate what I mean by a purely rhetorical condemnation of anti-semitism, with reference to some of the supporters of the conference "An End to Antisemitism" in February 2018 at the University of Vienna: The fact that almost every Austrian region has sponsored the conference is unreservedly to be welcomed, but what are we to make of the fact that companies from each and every one of these same regions are currently doing business with the Holocaust deniers in Iran with public support? It is gratifying that Vienna's Mayor Michael Häupl has sent greetings to the opening of this conference, but if he is really serious about the struggle against antisemitism, why did he make a courtesy visit to Tehran in 2016? It is very good that also Austria's president Alexander Van der Bellen has sent greetings to this conference, but why then in 2017 did he meet Rouhani, who could be best described as the friendly face of terror, in New York? It is certainly helpful that the Austrian Foreign Ministry was backing the conference "An End to Antisemitism," but let us not forget that this very same Foreign Ministry has hosted Manouchehr Mottaki, who as Iranian Foreign Minister gave the opening speech to the 2006 Holocaust denial conference; or that Sebastian Kurz, when he was Foreign Minister, made a courtesy visit to Iran and that the present Foreign Ministry gave no support to the brave demonstrators who at the beginning of 2018 raised slogans against Hezbollah in cities throughout Iran at risk of their lives, while Hezbollah itself has never once merited a mention in the Internal Security Report of Austria.

So, to draw these concluding points together and once again emphasize: Taking Adorno's categorical imperative seriously today means: Giving all possible support to Israel and its armed forces in their defensive struggle against anti-semitism in all its forms, while focusing criticism, in both the academic and political spheres, on the anti-Israeli resentment that is encountered, not by chance, on an especially large scale in Austria and Germany, the successor states to Nazi Germany, while also, at the same time, targeting the old antisemitism, for example of the Austrian and German fraternities. And taking Adorno's categorical imperative seriously means above all today: consistently opposing both Sunnite Islamism and denying any support to the Iranian regime which, as one of the main protagonists of contemporary antisemitism, now stand on Israel's borders, in

order finally to throw this regime where it has belonged for the past forty years: into historical oblivion.

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Mark Weitzman

The IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism

The recent surge in antisemitic rhetoric, representations, and violence has led to growing recognition that democracies must pay closer attention and take specific steps to combat this problem. Existential questions have been raised about the viability of continued Jewish life in Europe—a community that has existed in Europe for millennia. Were this to change, so too would the future of Europe as a democratic and pluralistic society. In the words of Frans Timmermans, First Vice President of the European Commission in January of 2015—“If there’s no future for Jews in Europe, there’s no future for Europe.”¹

I will here focus on one of the most important international efforts to deal with the problem, the two Working Definitions of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA), which was founded in 2000, at the Stockholm Forum and based on the Declaration issued there. Until January 2013, the organization was known as the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance, and Research.

The IHRA is a thirty-one nation “intergovernmental body whose purpose is to place political and social leaders’ support behind the need for Holocaust education, remembrance and research.”² It is composed of national delegations headed by senior government representatives and selected experts, and it is broken into Academic, Education, and Museums and Memorials Working Groups, as well as committees such as the Committee on Antisemitism and Holocaust Denial. As a member of the US delegation, I have participated in the IHRA since it began, and for the last six years, I chaired the Committee on Antisemitism and Holocaust Denial. In that capacity, I introduced the “Working Definition of Antisemitism,” which was adopted by the IHRA in May 2016 in our plenary meeting in Bucharest.³

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

2 “About us,” The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, accessed July 28, 2018, <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/index.php/about-us>.

3 Cf. “Working Definition of Antisemitism,” International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, issued May 26, 2016, <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/news-archive/working-definition-antisemitism>.

This process began with the adoption in October 2013 of a “Working Definition of Holocaust Denial and Distortion” of which I was the lead author.⁴ The key element in that definition was the inclusion of Holocaust distortion, for while it is easy to condemn Nazi sympathizers like David Irving, or the hardcore Holocaust denial of the Iranian government, it is harder to deal with the problem of those who do not flatly deny that there was a Shoah but distort it for their own ideological reasons. Thus, the rewriting of the historical narrative to white-wash local collaborators by governments presents a different challenge than some posting on social media. IHRA, by virtue of its being the only “intergovernmental body dedicated to the memory of the Holocaust,”⁵ became the natural venue to take on this issue, and although it took five years to achieve consensus (which is required for formal adoption), we succeeded in finally getting it adopted. I am going to return to this issue a little later.

The Stockholm Declaration also contained the mandate to fight antisemitism as well, stating “With humanity still scarred by [...] antisemitism and xenophobia, the international community shares a solemn responsibility to fight those evils.”⁶ Furthermore, when the Committee on Antisemitism and Holocaust Denial was established under the Norwegian Chair, it was set up in order to

form a *common approach* [emphasis added] to address the upsurge in antisemitism and Holocaust denial and trivialization. The Committee on Antisemitism and Holocaust Denial is tasked with assessing the situation and submitting to the Plenary an annual recommendations on measures to be taken to fight antisemitism in all its different forms.⁷

Thus, the directive to the Committee and to the IHRA was to take advantage of the IHRA’s unique position as the only intergovernmental body that deals solely with issues related to the Holocaust and antisemitism and to gain the support of leaders of political and civil society for action on those issues. Further, the struc-

4 Cf. “Working Definition of Holocaust Denial and Distortion,” International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, issued October 10, 2013, <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/working-definition-holocaust-denial-and-distortion>

5 “The Holocaust in Public Discourse. Use and Abuse,” International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, issued November 6, 2015, <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/conferences/holocaust-public-discourse-use-and-abuse>.

6 “Stockholm Declaration: A Commitment Shared by 32 Member Countries,” International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, accessed March 18, 2019, <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/index.php/stockholm-declaration>.

7 “Antisemitism and Holocaust Denial,” International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, accessed March 18, 2019, <https://2015.holocaustremembrance.com/focus/antisemitism-and-holocaust-denial>.

ture of the IHRA, which brings together political leaders and experts from the member countries (the “common approach” emphasized above), gives the IHRA an advantage in achieving practical political benefits based on expert opinion.

It was our feeling that in order to begin to address the problem of antisemitism, there must be clarity about what antisemitism actually is. This is not a simple question; in 1990, the American historian Gavin Langmuir published a major work entitled *Towards a Definition of Antisemitism*⁸ which highlighted the difficulty in narrowing the conceptual framework with which to view antisemitism historically. Langmuir distinguished between anti-Judaism, described as a rational response to a competing religion and antisemitism as an irrational response to an invented Jewish threat. Recently, the New York University historian David Engel, in his essay “Away from a Definition of Antisemitism,”⁹ argued that the term itself was historically anachronistic and its uncritical application could create the false impression of an abstract, disembodied, and eternal “antisemitism.” On the other hand, the leading expert on antisemitism in the post-World War II era, the late Robert Wistrich, described antisemitism as “the longest hatred,” a description that has now become standard in many circles.¹⁰ Finally, David Nirenberg in his important book, *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition*, attempts to steer a middle path of not historicizing the past but at the same time being sensitive to its present impact.¹¹ And that’s citing just some of the historians; we haven’t (and won’t) begin to address the theologians, both Jewish and non-Jewish, the philosophers and political scientists, the psychologists and social scientists such as Adorno and Horkheimer of the Frankfurt School and others who have all offered their own definitions. So, as you can see, the question of which definition to choose was not simple. But, one thing was clear; given the sense of urgency that we were operating under, we could not afford to draft a new definition and debate it for another five years. So I proposed that we use the EUMC/FRA definition (with some editing), which Dina Porat has discussed previously, and in early 2014 the Committee unanimously agreed.¹²

The next step involved the political dimension of the actual adoption. I met with the future Romanian Chair, Ambassador Mihnea Constaninescu during the

8 G. Langmuir, *Towards a Definition of Antisemitism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

9 Cf. D. Engel, “Away from a Definition of Antisemitism,” in *Rethinking European Jewish History*, ed. J. Cohen and M. Rosman (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2009), 30–53.

10 Cf. R. S. Wistrich, *Antisemitism: The Longest Hatred* (New York: Schocken Books, 1991).

11 Cf. D. Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition* (New York: Norton, 2013).

12 Cf. the contribution by Dina Porat in this volume, xx–xx.

IHRA Manchester Plenary of December 2014, and he agreed to make the Definition one of his primary goals during the Romanian Chairmanship of 2016. That was a key step; not only did it ensure that the definition had the weight of the Chair behind it, which made saying no to it more difficult for the other countries since they in turn would want and expect support for their own projects when they assumed the Chair. But even more importantly, when the Romanians took it on they ensured that the Definition could not be viewed as a parochial Jewish or Israeli initiative, or just as negatively an American or Anglo-American initiative (since the US, UK, and Canada were already enthusiastic supporters). This was one of my goals from the very beginning of the process, and it reflected the attitude and composition of the Committee on Antisemitism and Holocaust Denial, which like the composition of the IHRA delegates themselves was probably predominantly not Jewish (probably because no one has ever surveyed the religion of the delegates). Instead, the Romanian championing of the Definition ensured that it was viewed as a European initiative, aimed at solving a European problem.

The next two and a half years involved some very intensive political work that culminated in the adoption of the Definition in the May 2016 Bucharest Plenary. The major sticking point for some of the countries that initially resisted coming on board involved the examples that related to Israel. One of our solutions was to move the paragraph that declared that the legitimate criticism of Israel could not be viewed as antisemitic up in the text to give it greater prominence (immediately following the emphasized section).

And, I have to say, as difficult as the process was, since it required consensus from thirty-one countries, and it was very tough at times, without the personal commitment of Ambassador Constantinescu we never would have achieved our goal. His efforts were truly vital. Still, we were jointly editing the document during the lunch break of the plenary meeting, and it was touch and go before Ambassador Constantinescu was able to declare consensus had been reached. Ambassador Constantinescu's personal commitment to this issue was immeasurable; despite some bruising political battles, he never wavered in working toward adoption of the text. We became good friends during this process, and he was always optimistic and encouraging while maintaining his gentle humor and poise throughout the most difficult times. His untimely death in 2017 was a tragic loss, but the rapid adoption of the Working Definition stands as a worthy memorial to his great achievement in fighting antisemitism.

So where do we stand today, three years later? Well, on one hand the acceptance of the Definition, as you have heard, has actually exceeded expectations, or at least my own. It has now been adopted or endorsed by a number of countries including the United Kingdom (12 December 2016), Israel (22 January 2017), Aus-

tria (25 April 2017) Scotland (27 April 2017), Romania (25 May 2017), Germany (20 September 2017), Bulgaria (18 October 2017), Belgium (14 December 2018), Lithuania (24 January 2018), Republic of North Macedonia (6 March 2018), the Netherlands (27 November 2018), Slovakia (28 November 2018), Republic of Moldova (18 January 2019), Czech Republic (25 January 2019), Greek Ministry of Education (11 February 2019), Hungary (18 February 2019), and France (20 February 2019).¹³ The US State Department posted the Working Definition on its website saying “the United States now uses this working definition and has encouraged other governments and international organizations to use it as well,”¹⁴ and the US Department of Education has also announced its use of the Working Definition.¹⁵ The official Canadian government website also has announced that it “strongly supports the working definition of antisemitism.”¹⁶

According to Michael Whine of the CST, the definition has now been adopted by 160 local “elected government bodies,” including the Cities of London and Manchester.¹⁷ In Germany, the Berlin State Police have adopted it as well, and in the US, Western Washington University recently became the first American University to officially adopt it for their campus.¹⁸ Significantly, in June 2017 the European Parliament adopted a resolution that “calls on the Member States and the Union institutions and agencies to adopt and apply the working definition of anti-Semitism employed by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) in order to support the judicial and law enforcement authorities in their efforts to identify and prosecute anti-Semitic attacks more efficiently and effectively, and encourages Member States to follow the example of the UK

13 For the latest list of adoption or endorsement by countries or international organizations, see <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/working-definitions-and-charters>.

14 “Defining Anti-Semitism,” U.S. Department of State, accessed March 18, 2019, <https://www.state.gov/s/rga/resources/267538.htm>.

15 Cf. “Department of Education Embraces State Department Definition of Anti-Semitism,” Congressman Brad Sherman: Serving the San Fernando Valley, accessed March 18, 2019, <https://sherman.house.gov/media-center/press-releases/department-of-education-embraces-state-department-definition-of-anti>.

16 “Freedom of Religion or Belief,” Government of Canada, accessed March 18, 2019, https://international.gc.ca/world-monde/issues_development-enjeux_developpement/human_rights-droits_homme/freedom_religion-liberte_religion.aspx?lang=eng

17 M. Whine, Personal message to the author, February 28, 2019.

18 Cf. J. Hughes, “Defining Antisemitism and its Contemporary Importance with Mark Weitzman,” *The AS Review*, October 30, 2017, <https://wp.wvu.edu/theasreview/2017/10/30/defining-antisemitism-and-its-contemporary-importance-with-mark-weitzman/>.

and Austria in this regard.”¹⁹ The same resolution also called on member states to “appoint national coordinators on combating antisemitism.”²⁰ Following that, in November 2018 the Council of the European Union

Calls on the member states that have not done so yet to endorse the non-legally binding working definition of antisemitism employed by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) as a useful guidance tool in education and training, including for law enforcement authorities in their efforts to identify and investigate antisemitic attacks more efficiently and effectively.²¹

And UN Secretary-General António Guterres has acknowledged “the efforts of the 31 member countries of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance to agree on a common definition of anti-Semitism.”²²

Finally (and perhaps most significantly) Wikipedia has deemed it “the most widely adopted definition of antisemitism around the world.”²³

However, before I conclude, I want to point out that there are some challenges as well. The BDS movement, along with antisemitic anti-Zionists (like Alison Weir) have focused on the Definition and attempted to discredit it by various means.²⁴ Initially they claimed that it was meant to inhibit and criminalize

19 Cf. European Parliament, “Combating Anti-semitism: European Parliament Resolution of 1 June 2017 on Combating Anti-Semitism (2017/2692(RSP)),” issued June 1, 2017, http://www.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-8-2017-0243_EN.pdf?redirect, 2.

20 *Ibid.*, 3.

21 Council of the European Union, “Draft Council Declaration on the Fight against Antisemitism and the Development of a Common Security Approach to Better Protect Jewish Communities and Institutions in Europe,” issued November 30, 2018, <http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-14966-2018-INIT/en/pdf, 7>.

22 A. Guterres, “Remarks to High-Level Event on the Power of Education for Countering Racism and Discrimination: The Case of anti-Semitism,” issued September 26, 2018, <https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/speeches/2018-09-26/power-education-countering-racism-and-discrimination-remarks>.

23 “Antisemitism,” Wikipedia, accessed December 6, 2018, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Antisemitism>.

24 Cf. A. Weir, “International Campaign is Criminalizing Criticism of Israel as Antisemitic,” *If Americans Knew: What every American needs to know about Israel/Palestine*, accessed December 6, 2018, <https://ifamericaknew.org/history/antisemitism.html>. Weir’s antisemitism has been pointed out by many, including from those in the anti-Zionist camp. For one such a critique, see the “Statement on Complaint Filed Regarding Alison Weir and If Americans Knew,” issued July 16, 2015, by the Steering Committee of the US Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation at <http://jewssansfrontieres.blogspot.com/2015/07/if-anti-racists-knew-alison-weir.html>. A similar statement was issued by the anti-Zionist Jewish Voice for Peace group, cf. “Jewish Voice for Peace Statement on Our Relationship with Alison Weir,” issued June 15, 2015, accessed December 6,

anti-Israel protest and criticism; when that failed because of the Definitions robust defense of legitimate criticism mentioned earlier, they have recently tried a new attack, claiming that the text in the box (which does not mention Israel) was the only officially adopted definition and the rest was just illustrations that have no standing. This would, in effect, decouple the text from anything directly related to Israel and thus create a totally neutered definition unmoored from any current reality that includes Israel. Of course, that fails on two grounds—first, the text they would allow itself states

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.²⁵

One could easily make the case that “Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism [...] directed to Jewish [...] individuals [...] community institutions and religious facilities”²⁶ could also cover antisemitism related to Israel. Further, at the request of some British questioners, Ambassador Constantinescu and I issued a statement that states

We can confirm that the definition itself (as stated in the text of the adopted definition) is part of the entire document, including examples, that was officially adopted (as one piece) by the IHRA Plenary on 26 May 2016. There is no question about that and any assertion otherwise is absolutely false or misleading.²⁷

A second challenge is the current situation in Poland. I could speak for a long time about this, as I have been involved with it for the past few years. Indeed, in December 2016, I was a part of a four member delegation representing the other 30 member nations of IHRA, together with Ambassador Michael Baier, former legal advisor to the Austrian Foreign Ministry and currently Head of Delegation of Austria’s IHRA delegation, Dr. David Silberklang of Yad Vashem and Anthony Julius, the eminent English expert on antisemitism and Deborah Lipstadt’s lawyer in the David Irving case. The delegation was sent to Warsaw on a diplomatic mission to discuss the issue with senior Polish officials at the Ministry of

2018, <https://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/jewish-voice-for-peace-statement-on-our-relationship-with-alison-weir/>.

25 “Working Definition of Antisemitism.”

26 *Ibid.*

27 The statement was published in M. Whine, “Applying the Working Definition of Antisemitism,” *Justice* 61 (Fall 2018): 14.

Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Justice and the Sejm, and in March 2017, I testified in Congress on this issue.²⁸ Obviously we didn't make much headway with the Poles, and the situation has clearly deteriorated, but between what is happening in Poland now, which clearly falls under the definition of both antisemitism and Holocaust distortion as defined in the IHRA definitions.²⁹ With the actions of Poland and other countries, such as Hungary, Croatia, Ukraine, and Russia which also have shown state activities that embrace Holocaust distortion, we are facing a new challenge to the historical narrative of the Holocaust. The implications are grave and not only for Jews; as many have noted, the impact of the Holocaust has been a major factor in shaping the liberal basis that underlies post World War II Europe and the animating of the political and social consensus that has until now rejected any mainstream legitimization of antisemitism. The recent attempts to distort the historical reality of the Shoah serve as the spearhead of the efforts to revive and reinvigorate old xenophobic and antisemitic extreme nationalist ideologies.

My discussion here does not extend to the United States because I am limiting my remarks to countries that have enacted, or are in the process of enacting state activities such as laws, memorials, curriculum, etc. in this area; I am not referring to statements by individual politicians no matter how reprehensible they are.

Brief mention must also be made of those who have expressed opposition to the definition on free speech grounds. To this I can only point out that in the text of the definition, immediately following the emphasized description in the box, comes the explicit statement that "criticism of Israel similar to that leveled against any other country cannot be regarded as antisemitic."³⁰ And, the definition itself is clearly labeled "Legally non-binding," so I think our intent is clear to any fair-minded reader.

28 For the Poland mission, see "IHRA Delegation Visits Poland," International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, issued December 14, 2016, accessed December 6, 2018, <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/media-room/stories/ihra-delegation-visits-poland>. For my Congressional testimony, issued March 22, 2017, see <https://docs.house.gov/meetings/FA/FA16/20170322/105755/HHRG-115-FA16-Wstate-WeitzmanM-20170322.pdf>.

29 In January 2018, the right-wing Law and Justice government in Poland passed an amendment to the Act on the Institute of National Remembrance. The law prohibits any attribution of responsibility for Nazi atrocities, including the Holocaust, to either "the Polish state or the Polish nation." For more information cf. e.g., D. Davison, "The unsettling denialism in Poland's 'National Remembrance' Law," Open Democracy, issued July 26, 2018, accessed December 6, 2018, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/can-europe-make-it/unsettling-denialism-in-poland-s-national-remembrance-law/>.

30 "Working Definition of Antisemitism."

To conclude, I would like to propose some related policy suggestions. One would obviously be to follow up on the European Parliament and the Council of Europe resolutions that countries adopt the definition and appoint a special coordinator. Second would be the implementation of the definition at all levels of society where applicable; in other words it could be used in education, in the media, in law enforcement and legal circumstances etc. Third would be adoption by other international organizations, such as the OSCE, UN, UNESCO etc.—although those are extremely long shots. Fourth, since the conference is built on the premise that we want to influence policy makers, I am proposing an immediate action—namely the issuing of a resolution in the name of the conference condemning the current wave of antisemitism in Poland and calling on the government to reverse course. It might not change anything, but it would at least be a moral statement that would demonstrate our commitment to the theme of this conference.³¹

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³¹ The statement was indeed issued at the end of the conference. Cf. “Official Statement Opposing Poland’s Amendment of the Act on the Institute of National Remembrance,” An End to Antisemitism!, issued February 20, 2018, <https://anendtoantisemitism.univie.ac.at/home-news/news/news/official-statement-opposing-polands-amendment-of-the-act-on-the-institute-of-national-remembrance>.

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Dina Porat

The Working Definition of Antisemitism — A 2018 Perception

The Working Definition of Antisemitism¹ (hereafter WDA) has become recently, during the last four years, a much discussed and debated topic, more than in former years, in national as well as international fora, due to the rise in antisemitic manifestations worldwide. Antisemitism is nowadays recognized as a problem that challenges governmental agencies as well as NGOs, and the WDA is recognized as one of the means to struggle against it.

Therefore, let us first take a look at the WDA as a text, and try to pinpoint its characteristics and their relevance to the present debates; a history of the WDA and its evolution will follow, and finally—a reference to its status and role, as seen in 2018.

1 Characteristics

The WDA was meant by its initiators to be short, for it is presented as a practical tool, not a theoretical one, and the outcome is a document that indeed does constitute a working definition. Moreover, it does not deal with the image of the Jew, today or in former periods; it does not spell out the motivations of antisemites but rather deals with antisemitic activities and manifestations; it does not try to define who is an antisemite, or who is a Jew—it does not even mention Judaism—a concept hard to define in any case. What it does do is facilitate the monitoring and evaluation of manifestations of antisemitism, the training of legislative and enforcing agencies to identify these manifestations and deal with them and to enable observers to gauge and compare the level of antisemitism among countries.

The WDA opens with a short paragraph that defines antisemitism, as a “perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews”² and then presents seven examples of antisemitic incidents. Regarding the relationship between antisemitism and anti-Zionism, the wording is forthright and unambiguous, presented in four more examples yet emphasizing that “criticism of Israel similar to that lev-

1 Cf. “Working Definition of Antisemitism,” International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, issued May 26, 2016, <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/node/196>.

2 Ibid.

eled against any other country cannot be regarded as antisemitic.”³ It is important to bear in mind that the WDA is a non-legally binding document, therefore it is adopted by institutions and countries as a guidance and source of advice.

Who are the initiators of the WDA, that was first adopted in 2005? Over the generations, the term “antisemitism”—coined by an unknown person in Germany around the year 1879 and wrongly attributed to Wilhelm Marr⁴—was successively redefined in a number of different ways. Those definitions reflected the time, place, and local political and social culture in which they emerged. To be sure, antisemitism has always been difficult to define, since antipathy to Jews involves a deep-seated emotional dimension as well as a conglomerate of historic religious, political, and economic elements. There are, of course, inherent complications in the very fact that Jews are not the only people considered to be “Semites,” and in the rebirth of a Jewish political entity in the Land of Israel—a development that has raised new considerations and attitudes towards Jews. Yet the host of definitions reached between 1879 and 2005 was, above all, the work of independent and individual scholars and thinkers, many of whom were requested to do so by editors of various encyclopedias and other reference works. For the most part, these intellectuals produced definitions of an academic and theoretical nature. The 2005 definition, the history of which will be shortly presented, was the product of teams of both scholars and representatives of governments and institutions. In other words, it was a joint coordinated effort aimed at formulating a wording acceptable to all participants, at a watershed moment in the millennial-long history of antisemitism. This was the time not long after the emergence of the so-called “new antisemitism,” which necessitated a practical basis for domestic and international activity and legislation, and following the year 2004, during which the number of violent antisemitic cases nearly doubled.⁵

3 Ibid.

4 The term antisemitism was first used in the covenant of the *Antisemiten-Liga*, founded in 1879 by Wilhelm Marr and Hector de Grousilliers, see M. Zimmermann, “Aufkommen und Diskreditierung des Begriffes Antisemitismus,” in *Ideologie—Herrschaftssystem—Wirkung in Europa: Festschrift für Werner Jochmann zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. U. Büttner (Hamburg: Hans Christians Verlag, 1986), 63.

5 The term “new antisemitism” refers to changes that took place at the beginning of the 2000s, regarding the initiators of antisemitism (more Muslims with Middle Eastern agendas); the modus operandi (more violence against individuals); tone (more verbal and visual insults); and an increasing taboo-breaking atmosphere (especially anti-Zionism using antisemitic motifs encompassing Jews and Israelis, and comparing both to Nazis). Those who oppose the use of the term claim that despite political and cultural developments, the generations-old negative image of the Jew has not changed. For an analysis of the term “new antisemitism” and its char-

2 History

International bodies had previously shied away from any attempt to define anti-semitism—even after the Shoah, the Holocaust—when the murderous potential of anti-Jewish hostility was revealed. During the years 1945–1993, with but one exception, they refrained from even mentioning it in treaties and agreements. Even the term “racism” rated only meager mention in the UN or at European conventions and in European declarations. Instead, rather vague and non-binding expressions such as tolerance, equality, and the rights of minorities were used.⁶ Obviously, after World War II, and with the Cold War at the door, nearly all nations shied away from pointing to specific perpetrators or victims. Yet subsequent developments beginning in the 1990s made the assessment and definition of antisemitism a European and international necessity.

The First Gulf War of 1991 led to a sharp rise in a whole range of antisemitic and anti-Israeli expressions. Privatization, unemployment, and the globalization of the world economy were blamed on Jewish capitalists; millions of immigrants and foreign workers from the poor southern hemisphere flooded the rich northern one, and when they could not be integrated into the surrounding host societies, they poured out their frustration on the well-established local Jewish communities. In the meantime, right-wing extremists exploited the tensions between the newcomers and the local societies to further their own agenda and air their own anti-Jewish sentiments. Jews and Israel were blamed for Washington’s policies in the Middle East. The United States became the strongest yet most despised power in the world, especially in the eyes of many Muslims and European leftists.

In 1993, in the wake of events in Rostock in the former East Germany, where racist violence was combined with antisemitic outbursts and arson setting, the European Parliament passed a forceful resolution mentioning antisemitism by name. Moreover, for the first time since World War II, Holocaust denial was defined as instigation to racism and the EU countries were called upon to enact effective legislation to combat it.⁷ Indeed, the large-scale UN conference on human rights convened in Vienna in June 1993 paved the way for a resolution by the UN

acteristics, see D. Porat, “Does Esau Hate Jacob, and if so—Why?” *Gesher* 145 (2002): 7–16. For detailed reports on the rise of antisemitic incidents, see <http://www.antisemitism.org.il> available in Hebrew, English, German, Russian, French, and Spanish.

⁶ See D. Porat, *The Evolution of Legislation against Racism and Antisemitism* (Jerusalem: World Jewish Congress and the Stephen Roth Institute, 2006), 5–10.

⁷ Cf. St. J. Roth, “The Legal Fight against Antisemitism: A Survey of Developments in 1993,” *Israel Yearbook on Human Rights* 25 (1995): 349–463.

Commission on Human Rights, in which antisemitism was officially classified as a form of racism.⁸ At the same time, a new body, the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) was created and began its work.⁹

As problems related to the presence of immigrants steadily increased, and the 1993 conference proved of little help, the EU declared that 1997 would be “a year of struggle against racism.”¹⁰ This endeavor, too, bore little fruit but the UN announced that a conference on racism would be held in September 2001 in Durban, South Africa. As the UN World Conference against Racism (WCAR) drew near, it became increasingly evident that no definition of racism acceptable to all could be reached, and there was not yet an attempt to define antisemitism. With or without a definition, the conference turned into an anti-Israeli and antisemitic demonstration, which bore no resemblance at all to the goals of its organizers. In fact, it became a part of the problem, not the solution, and one of the worst mass-manifestations of anti-Jewish sentiment since World War II.¹¹

The year 2002 was an especially difficult one in terms of antisemitic violence and expressions of anti-Zionism. It was the year following the Durban conference, which served as a trigger and bridgehead for harsher and more intensive antisemitic activities of all kinds, and it was the year of Operation Defensive Shield¹² that brought the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to a new climax, triggering anti-Israeli expressions around the world. Real concern arose that the widespread outbreaks of violence in Western Europe might get out of hand and be directed against state institutions (this eventually happened in France in Novem-

8 Cf. “World Conference on Human Rights, 14–25 June 1993, Vienna, Austria,” UN Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, accessed May 10, 2019, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/aboutus/pages/viennawc.aspx>. I was privileged to be a member of the Israeli Foreign Ministry delegation to the Vienna conference, charged with persuading the delegations to enter such a statement in their final speeches.

9 See the “Chapter X: Human Rights,” in *Yearbook of the United Nations 1994*, vol. 48., ed. Department of Public Information United Nations (The Hague et al.: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1995), 986–97.

10 “Resolution on Racism, Xenophobia and Anti-Semitism and the European Year against Racism (1997),” The European Parliament, issued January 31, 1997, accessed May 10, 2019, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/workingpapers/libe/102/text5_en.htm#annex5.

11 See D. Porat, “Durban—Another Attack on the Jewish People,” *Kivunim Hadashim* 9 (2002): 51–60. See also T. Lantos, “The Durban Debacle: An Insider’s View of the UN World Conference Against Racism,” *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs* 26, no. 1 (2002): 31–52. Lantos wrote, “For me, having experienced the horrors of the Holocaust first hand, this was the most sickening and unabashed display of hate for Jews I had seen since the Nazi period,” 44.

12 For a quick overview, see “Operation Defensive Shield,” Israel Defense Forces, accessed May 10, 2019, <https://www.idf.il/en/minisites/wars-and-operations/operation-defensive-shield-2002/>.

ber 2005). In June 2003, the OSCE (the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe) convened a conference in Vienna, in which—for the first time—the participants called for the preparation of practical tools to tackle the rapidly deteriorating situation. The lack of an appropriate definition of antisemitism was felt most acutely, and the conference called for this situation to be rectified.

The EUMC (the European Union Monitoring Center on Racism and Xenophobia, then based in Vienna) tried to meet that challenge, but its 2002–2003 report presented an astonishing and disturbing return to some of the earlier definitions dating back to 1880. These were based on Christian, racist, and Nazi notions of the image of the Jew. Its definition referred, among other characteristics, to the “deceitful, crooked, foreign, corrupt nature of the Jew, his power and influence, relation to money,” etc.,¹³ and—not to be forgotten—his responsibility for the death of Jesus. Of course, this was the image of the Jew that the EUMC believed was at the root of antisemitic imagination. But such a definition might actually suggest the idea that the Jew himself was to be blamed for the hostility directed against him, and that in terms of defining the phenomenon, nothing had changed since the collapse of Nazism. As Kenneth Stern, a scholar associated with the American Jewish Committee, described it, “cause and effect are reversed [by this definition]. Stereotypes are derived from what antisemitism is; they are not its defining characteristic.”¹⁴ The analysis of Brian Klug, the Oxford scholar cited by the EUMC (“the essence of antisemitism is turning the Jew into a ‘Jew’”), was to no avail either.¹⁵

The next conference, convened by the German government and held in Berlin in April 2004, proved to be a milestone. The Berlin Declaration forcefully condemned all manifestations of antisemitism. It clearly stated that political issues (meaning the Middle East conflict) never justify antisemitism and urged the fifty-five member states of the OSCE to find an all-encompassing useful definition of the phenomenon. Following the issuance of the Berlin Declaration, the EUMC—to its credit—put aside the former failure. This time it began cooperating with the American Jewish Committee and the OSCE Office for Democratic Institution and Human Rights (ODIHR, founded in 1995 and located in Warsaw), in a coordinated effort to reach a better definition. Quite a number of scholars and institutions

¹³ European Union Monitoring Center on Racism and Xenophobia, “Manifestations of Antisemitism in the EU 2002–2003,” issued May 2004, accessed May 10, 2019, https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/184-AS-Main-report.pdf, 12–13.

¹⁴ See K. S. Stern, “Proposal for a Redefinition of Antisemitism,” *Antisemitism Worldwide* 3 (2003): 21.

¹⁵ Cf. “Manifestations of Antisemitism in the EU 2002–2003,” 12–14.

took part in this attempt to meet the challenge,¹⁶ and on January 28, 2005, the “Working Definition of Antisemitism” came into being, after some two years of coordinated efforts.¹⁷

Barely half a year later, reference to the working definition was made by the participants of the next OSCE conference (in Cordoba, Spain) as a matter of fact. Since then, numerous national and international bodies have used the definition, cited it, or recommended using it. These included the UK National Union of Students (2007); the US State Department (2008), and the London Declaration of the Inter-parliamentary Coalition for Combating Antisemitism (2009). Courts of justice (e.g., in Lithuania and Germany) have also found it useful, as have law enforcement agencies in a number of countries preparing police officers to investigate general hate crimes, not necessarily directed against Jews. To facilitate its use, the WDA has been translated into thirty-three languages used by the fifty-six OSCE member states.¹⁸

In early September 2010, the tenth biennial seminar of the Tel Aviv University Stephen Roth Institute convened in the Memoriale de la Shoah in Paris. The focus of the three-day gathering, in which scholars and representatives from about thirty countries participated, was “The Working Definition of Antisemitism—Six Years After.” Though acknowledging a number of shortcomings of the EUMC document (to be discussed later), the participants issued a statement urging all concerned to make use of the definition because “it sets antisemitism in the context of the contemporary world, encourages consistent analysis of the phenomenon [...] offers venues for reactions against it [...] and might serve as

16 The participants in the deliberations listed on the EUMC “Antisemitism: Summary Overview of the Situation in the EU 2001–2005,” last updated December 2006, accessed May 10, 2019, http://edz.bib.uni-mannheim.de/daten/edz-b/ebr/07/antisem_overview.pdf, 22 are: The European Jewish Congress, The Community Security Trust (UK), the Consistoire of France, the TAU Stephen Roth Institute, the Berlin Antisemitism Task Force, The American Jewish Committee, the Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights, the Anti-Defamation League, B’nai Brith International, the Tolerance Unit of the ODHIR/OSCE and Prof. Yehuda Bauer.

17 Cf. D. Porat, “Defining Antisemitism,” *Antisemitism Worldwide* 3 (2003): xx–xx, and K. Stern, “Proposal.”

18 Cf. M. Whine, “Short History of the Definition,” in *The Working Definition of Antisemitism—Six Years After: Unedited Proceedings of the 10th Biennial Seminar on Antisemitism*, ed. D. Porat and E. Webman (Tel Aviv: The Stephen Roth Institute for the Study of Contemporary Anti-Semitism and Racism, 2010, <http://www.kantorcenter.tau.ac.il/sites/default/files/proceeding-all.pdf>), note 2.

a model for future definitions of other evils, and as a basis for rapprochement and coalitions among minorities and ethnic groups.”¹⁹

On May 30, 2011, the congress of Britain’s University and College Union (UCU) passed a motion that vehemently attacked the WDA. That motion called on the UCU and all other academic bodies to distance themselves from the definition, since it includes paragraphs about antisemitism being camouflaged as anti-Zionism. In late May and throughout June, the UCU motion precipitated a controversy that engulfed the local and international Jewish leadership, members of academia worldwide, the Equalities and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) in the UK, and others. Open letters of protest were sent to the UCU secretariat, and Jewish members of that body announced their resignation in the media.²⁰

On July 1, Anthony Julius—a celebrated Anglo-Jewish lawyer and himself an expert on antisemitism in Britain—acting for one of the resigning members, Ronnie Fraser, sent an open letter of complaint to the UCU for breach of the 2010 Equality Act, demanding an immediate response.²¹

Reacting to the UCU resolution, the Jewish Leadership Council also sent a complaint to the Equalities and Human Rights Commission in the UK. The EHRC’s Chair rebuked the UCU for not having consulted the Commission before deciding on its motion. Other Jewish bodies, such as the World Union of Jewish Students (WUJS), the Community Security Trust (CST), and the Board of Deputies declared that they “will not sit back and allow further red lines to be crossed.”²²

Finally, the matter ended up in court. The UCU members did not resolve to delete the WDA articles that define when anti-Zionism is in fact antisemitic, nor did they suggest any kind of revision or rewriting. They just rejected the WDA en bloc, not heeding recommendations of other UK bodies. Ostensibly, the UCU stands for equality, liberalism, and the inclusion of all narratives of all individuals and groups. However, Fraser argued, when it concerns Jews and Israelis, those values were abandoned. At the same time, they clearly did not see them-

19 D. Porat and E. Webman, eds., *The Working Definition of Antisemitism—Six Years After: Unedited Proceedings of the 10th Biennial Seminar on Antisemitism* (Tel Aviv: The Stephen Roth Institute for the Study of Contemporary Anti-Semitism and Racism, 2010; <http://www.kantorcenter.tau.ac.il/sites/default/files/proceeding-all.pdf>), 196.

20 Cf. various contributions to the “Engage” blog from May 2011, <https://engageonline.wordpress.com/2011/05/>.

21 See Julius’ full letter at the weblog of Norman Geras. “UCU Facing Possible Legal Action,” issued July 1 2011, accessed May 10, 2019, www.normblog.typepad.com/normblog/2011/07/ucu-facing-possible-legal-action.html.

22 M. Bright, “Fightback on Definition of Antisemitism,” *The Jewish Chronicle*, May 26, 2011, <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/fightback-on-definition-of-antisemitism-1.23336>.

selves as antisemitic and were insulted when they were accused of being such. Instead, their attack on the WDA was based on their view that this document is not a genuine tool to be used against antisemitism but rather a weapon in order to stifle criticism of Israel.

The lengthy trial ended in the spring of 2013 with a verdict that shook the Jewish public in the UK and abroad:²³ Judge Snelson handed down a long verdict, in which he accused Fraser and Julius of “an impermissible attempt to achieve a political end by litigious means.” He not only dismissed the claim that the UCU was tainted with antisemitism but also depicted Fraser as a pro-Israeli activist, shifting the focus of Fraser’s claim from antisemitism to Jewish/Zionist politics.²⁴

One of the vociferous participants in the debate that ensued the trial was a blog maintained by the Palestine Solidarity Legal Support, that published a FAQ document entitled: “What to Know About Efforts to Re-define Antisemitism to Silence Criticism of Israel.”²⁵ The document discussed the definition of antisemitism adopted by the US State Department already in June 2010 and tried to undermine its legitimacy by exposing its origins in the EUMC definition and in the efforts of a certain Israeli academic: “The effort to redefine antisemitism to include common criticism of Israel originated over a decade ago when the idea for a re-definition by a Tel Aviv University professor, Dina Porat, was championed by the American Jewish Committee and other US-based Israel advocacy groups.”²⁶ Though it is truly flattering to be mentioned as the initiator of ideas that were eventually adopted by the State Department, it should be re-emphasized that the WDA, whoever the body that adopts it may be, is a result of efforts coordinated among many bodies and individual scholars.

In late 2013, the FRA (the Fundamental Rights Agency of the EU, which has replaced the EUMC in Vienna) issued a comprehensive survey on the responses of Jews to antisemitism in eight EU member countries. The survey presented a gloomy picture of the situation, yet nevertheless, a few weeks after the survey

23 See for instance D. Hirsh, “Tribunal Had Same Attitude as UCU,” *The Jewish Chronicle*, April 4, 2013, <https://www.thejc.com/comment/analysis/tribunal-had-same-attitude-as-ucu-1.43500>; S. Rucker, “Anti-Israel Union Case Was ‘Act of Epic Folly,’” *The Jewish Chronicle*, April 4, 2013, <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/anti-israel-union-case-was-act-of-epic-folly-1.43496>.

24 Cf. Judgment of the Employment Tribunal London Central, Case no. 2203290/2011, March 25, 2013, 44, paragraph 178.

25 Palestine Solidarity Legal Support, “FAQ: What to Know about Efforts to Re-define Anti-Semitism to Silence Criticism of Israel,” issued September 25, 2012, accessed May 10, 2019, <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/548748b1e4b083fc03ebf70e/t/556490f5e4b0658666cfe867/1432654069359/6.+FAQ-onDefinition-of-Anti-Semitism-3-9-15.pdf>.

26 Palestine Solidarity Legal Support, “FAQ,” 3.

was made public, the WDA was even removed from the FRA's website, without notice and without offering any explanation.

The removal of the WDA from the FRA's site worried representatives of several Jewish organizations, and a renewed intensive effort started to have the definition if not re-instated on the FRA's website, then adopted by other international bodies. In May 2016, the WDA was adopted by the IHRA (the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance), during its session in Bucharest. At that time, Romania was chair of the organization—then numbering 31 member countries—and the chairperson, ambassador Constantinescu, led the move. A conference initiated by UNESCO in cooperation with the IHRA took place in December, and the deliberations exemplified the importance of the WDA. Both the general director, Irina Bukova and the IHRA chairperson recommended the adoption of the definition, and expressed opposition, even if indirectly, to the decision approved in the organization's plenum (and later by the United Nations General Assembly) to the effect that Jerusalem's history and present are exclusively Muslim.²⁷ Indeed, a clause in the WDA, which discusses denying the right of the Jewish people to self-determination, made it possible for me to claim at the conference that self-determination means identity, history, and roots, whose denial—in reference to the ancient Jewish people of all groups—is at least discrimination, if not outright antisemitism.²⁸

In the same week of December, a major meeting of the OSCE, the organization for security and cooperation in Europe, took place in Hamburg. Out of 57 member states, only one—Russia—voted against the adoption of the WDA. All others agreed to adopt it, yet due to the rule of consensus, the adoption failed, and months of work and efforts were lost.²⁹

3 Present Status and Role

A major part of the reason why the adoption of the WDA sometimes meets with difficulties is that the WDA has become the focus of heated debates among academics, activists, and politicians. It raises questions about the limits of hate

²⁷ According to a summary of the UNESCO conference, sent to the participants by Karel Fracapano, who initiated the conference, December 11, 2016.

²⁸ Cf. D. Porat, "Definition of anti-Semitism Is a Threat to No One but anti-Semites," *Haaretz*, December 20, 2016, <https://www.haaretz.com/opinion/.premium-definition-of-anti-semitism-is-a-threat-to-no-one-but-anti-semite-1.5476142>.

²⁹ Rabbi Baker kindly shared with me a letter he sent to the OSCE conference participants, on December 19, 2016.

speech and the freedom of speech and about the notoriously blurry line between anti-Zionism and antisemitism. Its detractors fear that it will stifle criticism of Israeli policies, whereas its supporters see it as a useful tool in shedding light on bigoted attacks on the Jewish state. For instance, when—in mid-December 2016—British Prime minister Theresa May announced publicly that she would adopt the WDA due to an increase in the number of antisemitic incidents in the UK,³⁰ a controversy regarding the line between freedom of speech and incitement, the criticism of Israel and the Palestinian cause, broke out. The controversy continued into 2018 when the Labor party leader, Jeremy Corbyn, vehemently rejected the adoption of the definition and took back his decision only after a few stormy months between his followers and the Jewish community.³¹

A number of additional issues have been raised along the years, as criticism of this original text of the WDA, but the text has not been altered—too much effort was put into its wording. Still, let me spell out a few of my own reservations: the “certain negative perception of Jews”³² may indeed be expressed in hatred towards them, but a basic tenet that helps understand antisemitism is that a person does not have to be an antisemite or harbor hatred: one can manipulate the negative feelings of others towards Jews, in order to further one’s political, religious, and social goals, acting in a manner devoid of emotions vis-à-vis the Jewish victims of one’s machinations. Also, denouncing Jewish citizens as more loyal to Israel than the country they live in as antisemitism, is—I believe—debatable. And finally, one may add that the underlying basis for antisemitism is the perception of Jews, and/or of Israel, as a cosmic, universal evil, even the embodiment of evil, an addition that could add a further dimension to the WDA.

But despite these arguments and others, the WDA has been put to practical use over the thirteen years since its inception. It has proven essential in the train-

30 Cf. D. Peled, “‘Claiming Israel Is a Racist Endeavor’: Britain Adopts New Definition of Anti-Semitism,” *Haaretz*, December 12, 2016, <https://www.haaretz.com/world-news/europe/.premium-inside-the-u-k-s-new-definition-of-anti-semitism-1.5472807>.

31 See for instance B. White, “By Limiting Criticism of Israel, Theresa May’s New Definition of Anti-Semitism Will Do More Harm than Good,” *The Independent*, December 12, 2016, <https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/anti-semitism-theresa-may-new-definition-jewish-council-holocaust-society-israel-criticism-palestine-a7470166.html>; T. Greenstein et al., “Fears New Definition of Antisemitism Will Stifle Criticism of Israel,” *The Guardian*, December 16, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/dec/16/new-antisemitism-definition-silences-israels-critics>; A. Levin, “New Antisemitism Definition Is Justified,” *The Guardian*, December 19, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/dec/19/new-antisemitism-definition-is-justified>; D. Porat, “Antisemitism Has no Advantages,” *Haaretz*, September 4, 2018, <https://www.haaretz.co.il/opinions/.premium-1.6441421> (in Hebrew).

32 “Working Definition of Antisemitism.”

ing of police officers and other law enforcement officials, helping them to better understand and identify antisemitism. The WDA has also been put to good use in courts of law, helping to define when speech is antisemitic hate speech, and has served as a basis for better legislation against antisemitism and other forms of discrimination. In other words, despite the attempts to stop its adoption and its use, the WDA has proven its usefulness time and again, and—in the words of the British sociologist David Hirsh—it would seem that the WDA does not pose a threat to anyone except antisemites.³³

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³³ Cf. D. Hirsh, “This New Definition of Antisemitism Is Only a Threat to Antisemites,” *The Jewish Chronicle*, January 8, 2017, <https://www.thejc.com/comment/comment/david-hirsh-this-new-definition-of-antisemitism-is-only-a-threat-to-antisemites-1.429184>.

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Aleksandra Gliszczyńska-Grabias

Counteracting Antisemitism with Tools of Law: An Effort Doomed to Failure?

1 Introductory Remarks

Antisemitism is an everlasting phenomenon—and while its manifestations keep changing over the ages, this “longest hatred,” as rightly emphasized by Robert Wistrich, refuses to give up and remains resistant to various attempts to counteract it.¹ Debates over the most effective ways of combating antisemitism, racism, and xenophobia have been going on for decades, and legal instruments are very often floated as one potentially useful remedy.² This approach, however, is frequently met with opposing voices arguing that offensive attitudes bred by hatred and discrimination based on race, ethnicity, nationality, or religion, so deeply rooted in social and historical contexts, do not lend themselves to legal definitions and should not be tackled with legal norms.

When these debates are waged against the backdrop of the American doctrine of freedom of speech, one point that is obviously and immediately brought to the fore is that freedoms may be restricted by law in very few cases alone.³ This is very much unlike the situation in the member states of the Council of Europe, one fundamental reason for this being the impact the Holocaust had on the historical heritage of what is today a free Europe. The values and principles underpinning the European human rights protection system, which also rests on the European Convention on Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, call for legal steps to be taken against manifestations of hatred.⁴ Council of Europe member states are therefore required to counteract phenomena such as antisemitism with legal measures. However, when those values and principles are ostensibly disrespected and not applied, this may be seen as a breach of multiple fundamental rules all democratic states based on the rule of law must observe, and also as a mockery of law which, while duly promulgated and in force,

1 R. Wistrich, *Antisemitism: The Longest Hatred* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1991).

2 Cf. A. Gliszczyńska-Grabias, *Przeciwdziałanie antysemityzmowi. Instrumenty prawa międzynarodowego*, (Warszawa: Wolters Kluwer, 2014).

3 Cf. F. Abrams, *The Soul of the First Amendment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018).

4 Cf. J. Roubache, “The Council of Europe was the First to Recognize the Relationship between Racism and Antisemitism,” *Justice* 23 (2000): 8.

is either ignored or misapplied by authorities and institutions tasked with properly and effectively implementing it.

All this, however, should not stop us from discussing what may turn out to be the most adequate and effective legal measures in our efforts to eliminate antisemitism and other displays of hatred and discrimination like it. Some might say that in this age of fake news and increasingly uncontrollable cyberspace, whatever legal strategy we come up with will be futile anyway in confrontation with this alternative reality, immune to the regular processes we have grown accustomed to.⁵ Also, in this age of populisms, most of them fueled by xenophobic and nationalistic ideologies and slogans, maintaining respect for the principles of equality and nondiscrimination is an increasingly steep challenge. Populists often openly defy these principles which serve as justification for the legal instruments designed to safeguard equality and nondiscrimination.⁶ These are all problems that require diagnosing and should not tempt us into giving up on law as a possible cure.

It would appear that everything had by now been said and written about hate speech, including antisemitic hate speech, about its manifestations and consequences, and about efforts to counteract it.⁷ For years now, legal scholars and practitioners have been contributing legal analyses to the ongoing discussions on the social, psychological, and cultural factors responsible for the presence of hate speech in the social arena. It turns out however that all of them—all of us—stand largely powerless when faced with an image of Judas made to look like a stereotypical Jew being hanged and burned in effigy in the town of Pruchnik in south-eastern Poland as a part of an Easter ritual with hundreds of people including children taking part.⁸ One does not have to be a Jew to be profoundly hurt and offended—and perhaps even frightened—by the message so conveyed. What one can, and indeed must do is look for ways in which the law may be applied to deal with hateful language of this kind.

5 Cf. A. Alemanno, “How to Counter Fake News? A Taxonomy of Anti-fake News Approaches,” *European Journal of Risk Regulation* 9, no. 1 (March 2018): 1–5.

6 Cf. J.-W. Müller, *What is Populism?* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018).

7 Cf. W. Laqueur, *The Changing Face of Anti-Semitism: From Ancient Times to the Present Day* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

8 For the full statement of the World Jewish Congress on the incident, see: “World Jewish Congress condemns antisemitic effigy burning in Poland,” World Jewish Congress, issued April 21, 2019, accessed May 10, 2019, <https://www.worldjewishcongress.org/en/news/world-jewish-congress-condemns-antisemitic-effigy-burning-4-0-2019>.

2 When Law Fails—the Case of Poland

Needless to say, Poland is not the only country grappling with antisemitism in its various guises and levels of intensity. Antisemitism, obviously, is a global phenomenon. However, for the purpose of this analysis, I would like to focus on the example of Poland, which is representative of Europe for two major reasons. Firstly, the legal regulations applicable to acts of antisemitism in Poland match those in place in the vast majority of Council of Europe member states, and secondly, the intensity of manifestations of antisemitism is on the rise in this country despite the legal tools in place that are supposed to stifle such upward tendencies.⁹

In Poland, the Penal Code, true to the requirements that go with Poland's membership in international systems of human rights protection, prohibits public promotion of fascist and other totalitarian systems, and public incitement to hatred and abuse of persons or entire communities for reasons of their nationality, ethnicity, race, or religious affiliation. It is also unlawful to threaten such persons and communities. So far all the inspections and reviews of the relevant laws applicable in Poland carried out by international human rights agencies have shown these laws to be appropriate.¹⁰ The problem therefore is not the wording of these regulations but their application. To show how these regulations are applied—or rather not applied—in practice, I will cite a few examples from among the many recorded and presented by the Polish Ombudsman's office¹¹ and the *Open Republic Association Against Anti-Semitism and Xenophobia* organization when proper legal protection against antisemitic or pro-Nazi hate was denied. This is just the tip of a veritable iceberg of hundreds of incidents of racist, xenophobic, and homophobic hate speech that have been misinterpreted-

⁹ Cf. “European Anti-Semitism: Trends to Watch in 9 Countries in 2018,” Anti-Defamation League, issued March 28, 2018, accessed May 10, 2019, <https://www.adl.org/blog/european-anti-semitism-trends-to-watch-in-9-countries-in-2018>.

¹⁰ See for example concluding observations to the periodic reports of Poland issued by the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. These can be found in the UN Office of the High Commissioner Treaty Body Database filed under “Poland” at https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/15/treatybodyexternal/TBSearch.aspx?Lang=en&TreatyID=6&DocTypeID=29.

¹¹ Cf. “30 przykładów spraw ‘mowy nienawiści,’ w których działania prokuratury budzą wątpliwości,” Polish Commissioner for Human Rights (Ombudsman), issued February 23, 2019, accessed May 10, 2019, <https://www.rpo.gov.pl/pl/content/30-przykladow-mowy-nienawisci-w-ktorych-dzialania-prokuratury-budza-watpliwosci-RPO>.

ed by prosecutors and courts despite the existence of robust legal grounds for taking action to counter them.¹²

- Demonstration staged by far-right Młodzież Wszechpolska and ONR organizations on 1 August 2015 in Warsaw and on 25 August 2015

The District Prosecutor's Office for the Śródmieście District in Warsaw found that a display of flags emblazoned with the Celtic cross does not in itself constitute promotion of a totalitarian system (prohibited under Article 256 §1 of the Penal Code) if it is not accompanied by praise of specific systemic solutions embraced by the Nazi Third Reich, fascist Italy, the USSR, or other communist countries. If the flag display was not accompanied by manifestly racist or xenophobic gestures, statements, or slogans, it cannot be deemed as having the hallmarks of criminal incitement to racial, nationalistic, ethnic, or religious hatred. The Prosecutor's Office refused to launch an investigation.

- Celebrations of the 82nd anniversary of the foundation of the far-right ONR organization: anti-Islamist and antisemitic slogans chanted during a march through Białystok on 16 April 2016.

The Regional Prosecutor in Białystok discontinued the investigation, claiming to have found no evidence of the demonstration participants chanting the antisemitic rhyming slogan of "Zionists will be hanging from trees instead of leaves" although the slogan was reported in the police documentation provided to the Prosecutor's Office and recorded by the media.

- Public speeches by the now defrocked Catholic priest Jacek M.

During these same celebrations of the 82nd anniversary of ONR, father Jacek M. delivered a sermon which may have borne the hallmarks of the crime of public incitement to hatred and public insulting of Jews or followers of the Judaic faith. An investigation was initially launched by the District Prosecutor's Office for Białystok-Południe, to be subsequently taken over by the Regional Prosecutor's Office in Białystok which eventually discontinued it. The prosecutors quoted the sermon in detail and argued that all the negative references to Jews made in it by father Jacek M. had to do with specific historical facts and events (such as the Jews' enslavement in Egypt) and as such were just expressions of opinions lacking any hallmarks of unlawful acts.

¹² See the database of hateful incidents reported to the Open Republic Association: <https://zglosnienawisc.otwarta.org/?lang=en>.

- Public promotion of the fascist system during celebrations of the pagan feast of Kupala's Night organized by the Zadruga Nationalist Association in June 2016 in Babia Góra.

The highlight of the feast was a flaming swastika. Some of the event organizers and participants were wearing red armbands on their left arms, reminiscent of Nazi swastika armbands. A video recording of the Kupala's Night celebrations was posted on the Association's website. Nevertheless, on 29 November 2016 the District Prosecutor's Office in Białystok discontinued the investigation into the event, having found nothing to suggest it was unlawful. The prosecutors decided that the event could not be construed as an instance of public promotion of a fascist system because the celebrations were held in a forest and could be attended by only a select group of people.

- Incitement to nationalist and ethnic hatred and promotion of a fascist system during the Third March to Commemorate the Cursed Soldiers (members of the post-war anti-Communist resistance) held on 24 February 2018 in Hajnówka.

On 17 September 2018, the District Prosecutor in Białystok approved the discontinuation of an investigation into the actions of the organizers and participants of the March who displayed Celtic crosses, *Totenkopf* skull-and-crossbones badges with the acronym ŚWO standing for "Death to Enemies of the Fatherland." The prosecutor found no evidence of any of the crimes set out in Article 256 §1 and 257 of the Penal Code having been committed. The skull-and-crossbones badge, although a faithful reproduction of the *Totenkopf* Nazi SS symbol, was interpreted as an entirely different historical artifact, namely an honorary badge created in December 1945 by the Nationalist Military Union (NSW), an underground anti-communist organization operating in Poland in the decade following the Second World War, although the prosecutor himself admitted that no graphic representation of the badge survives. The prosecutor also concluded that public displays of the Celtic cross may not be interpreted in terms of racism, hate speech, or promotion of totalitarian systems and made no references whatsoever to the slogans and chants uttered during the March.

- A post on Facebook (31 August 2018) which read: "*It was the Khazar Jews who murdered Poles in Katyń*" (a reference to the 1940 massacre of 20,000 + Polish army officers in Soviet captivity).

This was accompanied by a cartoon drawing of a Jew next to a Star of David with a hammer and sickle inscribed into it and a banner above saying "Communism is a Jewish Conspiracy." On 28 December 2018, the District Prosecutor's Office for

the Śródmieście District in Warsaw refused to launch an investigation, having found no evidence of an unlawful act having been committed.

- An illustration posted on Facebook on 18 September 2018 with an inscription saying: *“The world in disbelief. The Holocaust was the handiwork of Jews, committed with their active involvement and the involvement of organizations they created. This sounds ILLOGICAL to the civilizes world, AND YET THAT IS WHAT THE EVIDENCE AND THE FACTS ATTEST TO...!!!”*

On 31 December 2018, the District Prosecutor’s Office for the Śródmieście District in Gdańsk discontinued the investigation into the post without stating any reasons for its decision.

- Stanisław M. speaking on the “CEPowiśle” YouTube channel: *“One of these days the Jews will be brought to account for this [their alleged communist crimes] ... they should not be surprised that people then want to use them for fuel in ovens ... the people’s patience will finally run out and a Hitler will once again show up on the scene ... let this terrible liability rest on the Jews’ shoulders for their participation in such villainous acts”.*

On 31 October 2018, the District Prosecutor’s Office for the Śródmieście District in Warsaw refused to launch an investigation, having found no evidence of an unlawful act having been committed.

- Stanisław M. speaking in a video posted on the “CEPowiśle” YouTube channel, commenting on, among other things, a letter addressed by the Polish Council of Christians and Jews to the Rector of the Catholic University of Lublin and the Metropolitan Bishop of Lublin, protesting against antisemitic statements made by father Tadeusz Guz: *“This shows what is in store for us under Jewish occupation. Poles will be trained [like animals] to tweet to a key set by the Jews. And those who will refuse to so tweet will be subjected to severe disciplinary measures.”*

On 2 January 2019, the District Prosecutor’s Office for the Śródmieście District in Warsaw refused to launch an investigation, having found no evidence of an unlawful act having been committed.

The statistics presented above show just how few cases concerning antisemitic hate end with convictions of the hate mongers. What is also important is that this kind of lenient attitude of Poland’s law enforcement agencies and courts has been in evidence for very many years now, which may be due to a variety of factors, such as the lack of proper education about—and shortages of sensitivity to—

wards—the issues of protection and non-discrimination of minorities.¹³ These examples from Poland are therefore a good illustration of the fundamental problem we are facing here: the effectiveness of the laws in force.

3 Effective Remedies

The foremost problem when setting out to deal with issues such as antisemitism is that what we are up against are not traditionally conceived crimes or felonies such as theft or assault but actions and words arising from emotions and superstitions, or from centuries-old prejudices deeply entrenched in communities. This is the subsoil that nourishes the kinds dislikes and even hatreds leading to public manifestations of antisemitic sentiments.

As shown above, the penal law remedies providing for penalties commensurate with the seriousness of the problem they were designed to counteract do not produce the desired effects—for a number of reasons operating in parallel. This could change if at least some of the solutions proposed by Poland’s Ombudsman to give more punch to laws leveled against hate speech and hate crime could be adopted.¹⁴ While devised specifically to improve the situation in Poland, these solutions should definitely be in place in very many—if not all—of the Council of Europe member states struggling to deal with this same problem of ineffectiveness of the law.¹⁵ Here are some of the Ombudsman’s recommendations:

- Making membership in organization promoting or inciting to racial hatred punishable

This proposal is in line with General Recommendations No. 35 from the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination of 26 September 2013 as well as Article 13 of Poland’s Constitution which prohibits organizations whose pro-

13 For analysis of the prosecutors’ decision denying legal protection for the victims of antisemitism in Poland, see: Open Republic Association against Anti-Semitism and Xenophobia, “Przestępstwa nie stwierdzono. Prokuratorzy wobec doniesień o publikacjach antysemitkich,” (Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie “Otwarta Rzeczpospolita,” 2006), <http://otwarta.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/Przestepstwa-nie-stwierdzono.pdf>.

14 “Jak walczyć z mową nienawiści. 20 rekomendacji RPO dla Premiera,” Polish Commissioner for Human Rights (Ombudsman), issued February 21, 2019, accessed May 10, 2019, <https://www.rpo.gov.pl/pl/content/jak-walczyc-z-mowa-nienawisci-20-rekomendacji-rpo-dla-premiera>.

15 See in particular the latest state reports on Russia, Hungary, and France, prepared by the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI), “Country Monitoring,” <https://www.coe.int/en/web/european-commission-against-racism-and-intolerance/country-monitoring>, accessed May 10, 2019.

grams are based upon totalitarian methods and the modes of activity of Nazism, fascism, and communism, as well as those whose programs or activities sanction racial or national hatred. The problem here is that the mechanism for identifying and banning the kind of organizations referred to in Article 13 of the Constitution is inadequate as it has no preventive effect on groups bent on broadcasting hate-filled ideologies under different labels and employing ever-changing structures.

- Introducing a statutory definition of hate speech

Hate speech is not currently defined in Poland's statutory laws. The felony described with this colloquial term is identified based on, among other things, separate provisions of the Penal Code. A statutory definition of hate speech should be modelled on the definition proposed in Recommendation no. R (97) 20 of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe adopted on 30 October 1997, categorizing as hate speech all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote, or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, antisemitism, or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including: intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination, and hostility against minorities, migrants, and people of immigrant origin.

- Development of best practices codes by internet providers and NGOs

One of the most frequently recommended measures aimed at combating online hate speech is the creation of best practices codes by internet services providers, NGOs, trade organizations, as well as professional and consumer associations. Each member state is required to support such actions under Article 16 of Directive 2000/31/EC of the European Parliament and the Council of 8 June 2000 on certain legal aspects of information society services, in particular electronic commerce in the Internal Market. The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) in Recommendation no. 6 adopted on 15 December 2000 also called for such codes. The UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) likewise recommends that codes of this nature be put in place.

- Alerting administrators of commercial internet news portals to their mandatory obligation to moderate, filter and remove comments likely to amount to hate speech

Administrators of commercial news portals featuring comments sections and encouraging readers to post their comments online must be prepared to implement a broad range of actions with regard to hate speech posts. While pre-moderation (i. e., preventing offending messages from being posted) is not required, all posted content needs screening for potentially law-violating comments that merit deletion.

- Introduction of the obligation for internet service providers to report hate crimes to law enforcement agencies

In accordance with the E-Commerce Directive, member states may impose an obligation on service providers offering information services to immediately report all prohibited actions to law enforcement agencies. Member states may also obligate service providers to disclose, if requested to do so by relevant authorities, information enabling the identification of customers. Consequently, in the context of hate speech, it seems advisable to introduce the obligation to report each suspected case of hate speech to law enforcement authorities and to secure such content for evidentiary purposes. This obligation, if sanctioned by administrative penalties, could be a requisite measure supplementing the *notice and takedown* procedure provided for in the E-Commerce Directive, which in essence boils down to the obligation to have unlawful content removed.

Other suggested changes with regard to social and legal awareness include:

- Social campaigns targeted at school youth; school training sessions and workshops detailing the harm hate speech can cause; teacher training; trainings on legal aspects of hate speech for police officers, prosecutors, and judges; similar trainings for advocates and legal advisers;
- Comprehensive external review of the reactions of the Parliamentary Ethics Committee to hate speech;
- Review of all investigations discontinued by public prosecutors in the last three years in which hate speech charges could have been prosecuted;
- Encouraging political parties to sign the Charter of Political Parties for a Non-Racist Society;
- Encouraging municipal authorities and local governments to fight hate speech.

The changes and amendments proposed above predominantly refer to criminal law and country-level obligations. At the same time, in such circumstances, a more effective legal solution seems to be filing civil lawsuits against those engaged in spreading antisemitism. The legal construction of personal interest (personal rights) that is to be found in many European jurisdictions, that can be violated by antisemites, includes, among others, such values as good name, dignity, ethnicity, and religion. For their breach, compensation, apologies etc., can be claimed. There are also other civil law remedies available against defamatory, insulting statements or actions with antisemitic motifs.

Here, however, some difficulties appear. Like with the example of Poland, in order to rely on the personal goods construction, one normally needs to prove that antisemitic words were directed exactly at a given person and hurt him/

her personally. The court usually requires harm to be “personalized,” directed against a particular person. However, this deadlock could be perhaps overcome if more Jewish people, for example members of Jewish organizations such as religious communities, would decide to take this civil legal path, supported by their organizations.¹⁶ However, this is difficult in countries such as Poland, where there is generally a reluctance to publicly appear in such matters and where the Jewish community is in fact small. In addition, the civil court process may involve high financial costs and a long wait for the final outcome.

Thus, it seems that also different tools need to be employed, provided that, like all others, they are being developed and implemented in a healthy pro-democratic and rule-of-law-obeying environment. One such tool can be strategic litigation and legal advisory services provided by professional legal representatives in cooperation with non-governmental organizations or individual victims of antisemitic hatred. Such legal measures have a much greater potential to bring about a real change, for example, in the judicial interpretation of certain provisions. Such cooperation may also include the drafting of legal bills on the basis of guidelines provided by NGOs dealing with the issues of combating racial and ethnic hatred. After all, NGOs know best which laws need amending. One other substantial advantage of cooperation of this kind is that the legal services are usually provided on a full or partial pro bono basis, which makes high-quality legal counselling and representation that much more accessible to victims of antisemitism (or relevant NGOs). Another strategy worth considering is lobbying for legal changes that will permanently and effectively improve the system of counteracting antisemitism, including, above all, the adoption of the *Working Definition of Antisemitism*.¹⁷ Although this solution will not automatically lead to antisemitic cases being treated differently by the prosecution or courts, some “soft” law instruments (like programs of actions, best practices guides, etc.) will be mandatory to put into public circulation. This strategy also calls for coordinated efforts and, above all, the identification of what changes are really needed most in a given jurisdiction. Thus, the postulated step would be to conduct a comprehensive and extensive review of the Council of Europe countries’ legal measures, including their case law, regarding antisemitism. Only a compre-

16 A telling example of such a strategy is a lawsuit directed by the Polish Holocaust survivors against the publisher of antisemitic books. Cf. T. Zieve, “Polish Survivors Sue Publisher Over Holocaust Denial Books,” *Jerusalem Post*, April 9, 2018, <http://www.jpost.com/Diaspora/Polish-survivors-sue-publisher-over-Holocaust-denial-Books-549254>.

17 Cf. “Working Definition of Antisemitism,” International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, issued May 26, 2016, <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/news-archive/working-definition-antisemitism>.

hensive, in-depth diagnosis will allow further desirable steps and legal changes to be identified. Moreover, due to the vast differences between the two approaches to the administration of justice with respect to various forms of antisemitism (and other forms of hatred), i.e., the American and European, a comparison of the effectiveness of tactics adopted by EU countries would make it possible to confront the situation in Europe with the American model and its consequences. A project of this kind would naturally require appropriate funds and resources and a team of legal experts capable of drawing correct conclusions from the analyses, but it does seem a worthwhile effort to make if we do not want to spend many more years to come complaining about the ineffectiveness of the legal methods of counteracting antisemitism. It seems a very reasonable idea to turn law into a potent ally in this fight.

4 Concluding Remarks

Antisemitism is a social, political, religious, and cultural phenomenon that wreaked havoc on this persecuted and discriminated group, bringing it to the verge of almost complete annihilation. Antisemitism continues to have a destructive effect on the societies in which this form of discrimination, prejudice, and hatred is present. For centuries, however, the problem of antisemitism, same as racism, xenophobia, and discrimination against minorities, has remained outside the remits of any legislative efforts counteracting these phenomena. Moreover, throughout history, legal regulations have served primarily to sanction antisemitism, including its most drastic manifestation—the planning and perpetration of the Holocaust.¹⁸ This adverse situation began to change with the rise of international human rights protection systems. The gradual extension of the scope of protection afforded to individuals under international human rights treaties has had a stimulating effect on the national legislations in countries which subscribed to the universal and European system of human rights protection and which, therefore, also had to accord protection to victims of antisemitism. In this day and age we no longer ask whether or not we should fight antisemitism with legal regulations, but we discuss how this is to be done in the most effective way while, at the same time, respecting the rights and freedoms of the individual, including, above all, the freedom of expression.

¹⁸ Cf. D. M. Seymour, *Law, Antisemitism and the Holocaust* (London: Routledge-Cavendish, 2007).

A sense of physical and mental security is one of the most important factors in every person's life, and its importance tends to acquire an even greater dimension when it comes to members of minority groups.¹⁹ Most certainly, the very awareness that special mechanisms of legal protection against aggression, humiliation, or persecution are in place brings relief to people who are likely to be on the receiving end of hate speech, but in fact what really matters most is the actual effectiveness and implementation of the law.

The effectiveness of hate speech laws is impaired by several factors. These include difficulties with forging a precise definition of phenomena like antisemitism or xenophobia, the victims' reluctance to report this type of offences to law enforcement agencies, and finally the fundamental issue of whether or not criminal sanctions to hatred and prejudice-inspired behavior are likely to prove efficient and adequate. However, all such difficulties take on a completely different meaning and proportions in situations where they are buttressed by the generally prevailing social climate (and sometimes spurred on by the ruling circles) of consent and leniency towards those who speak antisemitic, racist, and xenophobic language and even commit acts of hatred. This can lead to situations where laws formally meeting all the hate crime legislation requirements remain virtually useless in practice, while the level of verbal and physical aggression against the "Others" goes soaring. This happens for instance when those fond of making fun of the victims of the Holocaust and posting antisemitic tweets about "Jewish scabs" find a safe haven in the mainstream public debate, not disturbed by legal or social consequences.²⁰

And if we are to take seriously the question once posed by Professor Ruth Wiese: "What are we going to do with antisemitism? No, seriously, what?"²¹

19 On the insecurity aspect of antisemitism experienced by the Jews nowadays in Europe, see: Fundamental Rights Agency, *Experiences and Perceptions of Antisemitism: Second Survey on Discrimination and Hate Crime against Jews in the EU* (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2018), <https://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2018/2nd-survey-discrimination-hate-crime-against-jews>.

20 These incidents have been widely covered in the foreign press. See for example "Polish TV Host Suggests Calling Nazi Death Camps 'Jewish Camps'", *Jerusalem Post*, January 31, 2018, <https://www.jpost.com/Diaspora/Polish-TV-host-suggests-calling-Nazi-death-camps-Jewish-camps-540330>. See also the reports on points of sale throughout Poland, including in the Polish Parliament, with the extremely nationalistic *Tylko Polska* [Only Poland] weekly on sale, loaded with antisemitism, carrying lead articles titled like "How to Spot a Jew: Anthropological, Physical and Character Traits." Cf. "Jak rozpoznać Żyda," *Tylko Polska*, March 14, 2019.

21 R. Wiese, "How Do We Put an End to Antisemitism? No, Really, How Do We?" filmed August 2010 at YIISA/IASA Global Antisemitism: A Crisis of Modernity Conference, Yale University,

with regard to legal mechanisms, we must in the first place institute a policy of “zero tolerance” for any individuals using antisemitic rhetoric or committing other antisemitic offenses. To this end, we need a full, comprehensive review (and one using comparative law tools at that) of the effects of law enforcement against antisemitic hatred, the involvement of local lawyers (as well as organizations representing Jewish communities), financial support for legal measures, inclusion of courses in racist and other hate speech/hate crime issues in academic curriculums, and, last but not least, the reinforcement of civil society. All of the above must still be shored up by an uncompromising and unequivocal stance on this matter taken by public authorities, which must firmly react and enforce hate crime laws against any and all antisemitic acts.

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Wolfgang Wieshaider

Equal Treatment, not just Religious Freedom: On the Methods of Slaughtering Animals for Human Consumption

The way to overcome antisemitism is by elucidation; elucidation of—in order to illustrate this point immediately by an example—a Jewish custom which every now and then sparks off antisemitic sentiments: שחיטה, *shechita*, the Jewish traditional method of slaughtering animals for human consumption;¹ Islamic tradition being related hereto.² In the following considerations, this topic will be treated from a legal perspective not just because it is of a genuinely legal nature, but also because it regularly triggers various legal consequences, most recently the prohibitive regulations of Wallonia³ and Flanders,⁴ challenged before the Belgian Constitutional Court, which requested a preliminary ruling of the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU).⁵

1 Cf. only P. Krauthammer, *Das Schächtverbot in der Schweiz 1854–2000: Die Schächtfrage zwischen Tierschutz, Politik und Fremdenfeindlichkeit* (Zürich: Schulthess 2000), *passim*.

2 Cf. e.g. L. Bezoušková, “Práva zvířat, nebo náboženská svoboda? Rituální porážky,” in *Kapitoly o právech zvířat. ‘My a oni’ z pohledu filosofie, etiky, biologie a práva*, ed. H. Müllerová, D. Černý, A. Doležal et al. (Praha: Academia, 2016), 608–29.

3 Most recently Article D.57(1) of *Code wallon du Bien-être des animaux*, *Moniteur belge* 2018, 106772: “Un animal est mis à mort uniquement après anesthésie ou étourdissement [...] Lorsque la mise à mort d’animaux fait l’objet de méthodes particulières d’abattage prescrites par des rites religieux, le procédé d’étourdissement doit être réversible et ne peut entraîner la mort de l’animal.” [An animal may be put to death uniquely after anesthesia or stunning [...] Where the killing of animals is the subject of special methods of slaughter prescribed by religious rites, the stunning procedure must be reversible and may not result in the death of the animal.] According to Art. 28 *leg. cit.* this code entered into force as from 1 January 2019. According to Art. 26 *leg. cit.* Art. D.57 does not apply to religious slaughter until 31 August 2019.

4 Art. 15 of *Wet betreffende de bescherming en het welzijn der dieren, wat de toegelaten methodes voor het slachten van dieren betreft*, *Belgisch Staatsblad* 2017, 73317: “Een gewerveld dier mag alleen worden gedood na voorafgaande bedwelming. [...] Als dieren worden geslacht volgens speciale methoden die vereist zijn voor religieuze riten, is de bedwelming omkeerbaar en is de dood van het dier niet het gevolg van de bedwelming.” [A vertebrate may only be killed after prior stunning. [...] If animals are slaughtered according to special methods prescribed by religious rites, the stunning must be reversible and may not result in the death of the animal.]

5 *Grondwettelijk Hof · Cour Constitutionnel · Verfassungsgerichtshof* 4 April 2019, 52/2019 and 4 April 2019, 53/2019.

The purpose of this article is however to shed light not onto individual players' opinions and deeds but onto the law itself, as it is used both to protect and to oppress. Justice is traditionally symbolised by a pair of scales, which implies that legal solutions are meant to opt not for the extremes but for balance. The geographical approach shall be European, because both the author's quill is wielded in Europe, and the most recent incidents were recorded on this very continent.

A European Regulation with an Exceptional Cause

The slaughter of animals for human consumption is regulated by Council Regulation (EC) No. 1099/2009 on the protection of animals at the time of killing,⁶ which is of relevance to the European Economic Area. In the first place, Regulation (EC) No. 1099/2009 seems to accommodate traditional religious approaches through its Art. 4(4). Pursuant to its Art. 26(2)c, Member States are permitted to “adopt national rules aimed at ensuring more extensive protection of animals” in this regard, which led to a wide spectrum of national rules as a consequence; these rules were partially transferred from the previous regime of Directive No. 93/119/EC⁷ and range from allowance to prohibition.

An example for the former would be the Estonian animal protection act,⁸ section 17 (2) of which allows the slaughtering of a farm animal electrically stunned or not stunned for a religious purpose, taking into account the tradition of the religious association concerned. Implementing provisions are laid down by both section 17 leg. cit. and a regulation concerning special methods of religious slaughter of farm animals, more detailed substantive and formal requirements for religious slaughter and requirements and procedure for religious slaughter.⁹

Reference for the latter would be Lithuanian, Danish, and Polish law. While Art. 17(2) of the Lithuanian act on animal welfare¹⁰ required from 1997 onwards that domestic animals be slaughtered for religious purposes only after having

⁶ Official Journal of the EU L 303/2009, 1–30 as amended.

⁷ Council Directive No. 93/119/EC on the protection of animals at the time of slaughter or killing, Official Journal of the European Union L 340/1993, 21–34, as amended.

⁸ *Loomakaitse seadus*, Riigi Teataja I 2001, 3, 4 as last amended by Riigi Teataja I, 13.03.2019, 2.

⁹ *Põllumajanduslooma religioosel eesmärgil tapmise erimeetodid, religioosel eesmärgil tapmise loa taotluse täpsemad sisu- ja vorminõuded ning religioosel eesmärgil tapmise läbiviimise nõuded ja kord*, Riigi Teataja I, 29. 12. 2012, 53.

¹⁰ *Gyvūnų globos, laikymo ir naudojimo įstatymas*, Valstybės žinios 1997/108–2728 as amended by Valstybės žinios 2012/122–6126.

been stunned according to the prescribed stunning methods,¹¹ the Danish and Polish prohibitions were introduced by reversing original authorisations.¹²

Danish law increased restrictions up to a point where they actually turned into a proper prohibition, although leaving unchanged the legal bases for this regulation, namely section 13(2) of the animal protection act,¹³ authorising the minister for environment and food to decree more detailed rules on slaughter and to prohibit certain forms of killing. Whereas section 7 of the 1994 regulation¹⁴ focused on slaughterhouse, fixation and control, section 7 of the 2007 regulation¹⁵ introduced obligatory post-cut stunning. Section 9 read together with sections 10 and 11 of the 2014 regulation,¹⁶ finally, requires prior stunning effected by non-penetrative captive bolt device for cattle, sheep, and goats and by electrical water-bath for poultry. In this regard, section 10/3 of the 2014 regulation may be of particular interest with regard to the further considerations. Accordingly, the animal must immediately be shot with a penetrative bolt device or electrically stunned, if the animal is not stunned after the first shot with a non-penetrative bolt device.

An Issue of Religious Freedom

With respect to Jewish law, such regulations are tantamount to a simple prohibition. While their wording¹⁷ might still indicate a remaining scope of application, the prescribed stunning methods cause severe if not irreversible damage to the brain, which would thereafter render the animal unfit for slaughter and consumption.¹⁸

The original Polish exemption for religious slaughter in Art. 34(5) of animal protection act¹⁹ was abolished in 2002.²⁰ While the Constitutional Court held the

11 Cf. W. Wieshaider, “Europäischer Überblick,” in *Schächten: Religionsfreiheit und Tierschutz*, ed. R. Potz, B. Schinkele, and W. Wieshaider (Freistadt: Plöchl & Egling: Kovar, 2001), 174 f.

12 Ibid., 169, 177.

13 *Dyreværnsloven* (consolidated act), Lovtidende A No. 20/2018.

14 *Bekendtgørelse om slagtning og aflivning af dyr*, Lovtidende A No. 1037/1994.

15 *Bekendtgørelse om slagtning og aflivning af dyr*, Lovtidende A No. 583/2007.

16 *Bekendtgørelse om slagtning og aflivning af dyr*, Lovtidende A No. 135/2014.

17 See *ibid.*, section 9(1): “*Kun dyr som omfattet af §§ 10 og 11, må slagtes efter religiøse ritualer.*”

18 Cf. *Shulkhan Arukh*, Yoreh De’ah 17; *b. Hul.* 32a–38b. I. M. Levinger, “Die jüdische Schlachtmethode—das Schächten,” in *Schächten: Religionsfreiheit und Tierschutz*, ed. R. Potz, B. Schinkele, and W. Wieshaider (Freistadt: Plöchl & Egling: Kovar, 2001), 4.

19 *Ustawa o ochronie zwierząt*, Dziennik Ustaw 1997/111 poz. 724.

20 Amending act, Dziennik Ustaw 2002/135 poz. 1141.

prohibition which resulted therefrom, unconstitutional in 2014,²¹ the legislator has not repaired the animal protection act since but just added a footnote to its Art. 34, referring to the decision—the most recent amendments dating though from 2018,²² the last consolidated version from 2019.²³

Each of these norms have yet to withstand scrutiny on the basis of superior levels of legislation, in particular to human rights standards. Art. 10(1) of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union²⁴ (CFREU) protects the right to manifest religion or belief, in worship, teaching, practice, and observance. Art. 52(1) of CFREU justifies limitations of a manifestation of religion if they are “provided for by law and respect the essence” of religious freedom. They have to be “necessary and genuinely meet objectives of general interest recognised by the Union or the need to protect the rights and freedoms of others.”

The scope of Art. 10(1) of CFREU matches the one of Art. 9(1) of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR),²⁵ as underlined by Art. 52(3) of CFREU with regard to all corresponding rights and freedoms.²⁶ With reference to the preparatory work of ECHR,²⁷ it is explicitly reiterated that the traditional religious method of slaughtering animals for human consumption is embraced by the protected manifestations of religion.

With regard to the Islamic tradition, the Court of Justice of the European Union recently had the opportunity to develop its legal arguments in the field. Both decisions were handed down by the Grand Chamber. In the first case,²⁸ the validity of the restriction of religious slaughter to slaughterhouses—as provided both by Art. 4(4) of Regulation (EC) No. 1099/2009 and Belgian law²⁹—was scrutinised by the Court, having particular regard to the augmented request

21 Trybunał Konstytucyjny 10 December 2014, K 52/13, Dziennik Ustaw 2014 poz. 1794.

22 Dziennik Ustaw 2018 poz. 663 & 2245.

23 Dziennik Ustaw 2019 poz. 122.

24 Official Journal of the EU C 202/2016, 389–407; cf. thereto H. D. Jarass, *Charta der Grundrechte der EU* (München: C. H. Beck, ³2016), Art. 10, §§ 6–10.

25 Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, ETS no. 005.
26 I. Augsberg, “Art. 10 GRCh., § 3,” in *Europäisches Unionsrecht*, vol. 1, ed. H. von der Groeben, J. Schwarze, and A. Hatje (Baden-Baden: Nomos ⁷2015); Jarass, *Charta*, Art. 10, § 1.

27 Cf. A. Verdoodt, *Naissance et signification de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l’homme* (Louvain, Paris: Éditions Nauwelaerts, 1964), 178, 183; N. Blum, *Die Gedanken-, Gewissens- und Religionsfreiheit nach Art. 9 der Europäischen Menschenrechtskonvention* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1990), 45–49; Jarass, *Charta*, Art. 10, § 7.

28 CJEU (Grand Chamber) 29 May 2018, C-426/16 (*Liga van Moskeeën en Islamitische Organisaties Provincie Antwerpen VZW and Others v / Vlaams Gewest*).

29 See the references *ibid.*, § 13; cf. Wieshaider, “Europäischer Überblick,” 167f. and above fn. 4–5.

at the Muslim Feast of Sacrifice, for which additional slaughterhouses were licensed.³⁰ The Court confirmed that religious slaughter falls within the scope of Art. 10(1) of CFREU,³¹ but held that this restriction does not violate religious freedom, because it

does not lay down any prohibition on the practice of ritual slaughter in the European Union but, on the contrary, gives expression to the positive commitment of the EU legislature to allow the ritual slaughter of animals without prior stunning in order to ensure effective observance of the freedom of religion.³²

The Court refers to recital 18 of Regulation (EC) No. 1099/2009 which stresses the purpose of its Art. 4(4), namely “of ensuring respect for the freedom of religion and the right to manifest religion or belief in worship, teaching, practice and observance.”³³

In the second case,³⁴ the Court was requested to rule whether halal beef products should by default not be allowed to be certified with the label of organic production, as regulated by Council Regulation (EC) No. 834/2007 on organic production and labelling of organic products and repealing Regulation (EEC) No. 2092/91,³⁵ which was implemented by Commission Regulation (EC) No. 889/2008.³⁶ Deducing from the construction of Regulation (EC) No. 1099/2009 itself as rule and exception that religious slaughter “is insufficient to remove all of the animal’s pain, distress and suffering as effectively as slaughter with pre-stunning,”³⁷ the Court came to the conclusion that

the particular methods of slaughter prescribed by religious rites that are carried out without pre-stunning and that are permitted by Article 4(4) of Regulation No 1099/2009 are not tantamount, in terms of ensuring a high level of animal welfare at the time of killing, to

30 § 14 of the judgement C-426/16.

31 Ibid. §§ 42–51, hereby referring also to ECtHR 27 June 2000, 27417/95 (*Cha’are Shalom Ve Tse-dek / France*) in § 45 of the judgement C-426/16, thus confirming the parallelism of both Art. 10(1) of CFREU and Art. 9 of ECHR.

32 § 56 of the judgement C-426/16.

33 Ibid., § 57.

34 CJEU (Grand Chamber) 26 February 2019, C-497/17, (*Œuvre d’assistance aux bêtes d’abattoirs / Ministre de l’Agriculture et de l’Alimentation, Bionoor SARL, Ecocert France SAS, Institut national de l’origine et de la qualité*).

35 Official Journal of the EU L 189/2007, 1–23 as amended.

36 Official Journal of the EU L 250/2008, 1–84 as amended.

37 § 49 of the judgement C-497/17.

slaughter with pre-stunning which is, in principle, required by Article 4(1) of that regulation.³⁸

Therefore, continued the Court, products from animals slaughtered according to Art. 4(4) of Regulation (EC) No. 1099/2009 ought not to be labelled with the Organic logo of the EU.³⁹

The underlying assumption will be challenged by the considerations thereafter. Without doubt and despite their different nuances, both judgements reiterate that Art. 4(4) of Regulation (EC) No. 1099/2009 is a necessary consequence of religious freedom as guaranteed by Art. 10(1) of CFREU.

An Issue of Equal Treatment

In the same vein, the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) as well as constitutional courts confirmed religious slaughter to be a protected and legitimate manifestation of religion.⁴⁰ Opponents of these findings deplored that the courts had attributed too little weight to the public interest of the protection of animals,⁴¹ whereupon constitutional legislation upgraded this interest.⁴² This move seemed to invite opinions to call for a ban alleging that there is now a

38 Ibid., § 50.

39 Ibid., § 52.

40 See the Austrian Verfassungsgerichtshof 17 December 1998, B 3028/97, VfSlg. 15394; cf. the commentaries by R. Potz and W. Wieshaider in *Schächten*, 223–26 and 226–30; ECtHR 27 June 2000, 27417/95 (*Cha'are Shalom ve Tsedek / France*); cf. V. Coussirat-Coustère, “La jurisprudence de la Cour européenne des droits de l’homme en 2000,” *Annuaire français du droit international* 46 (2000): 608f.; P. Lerner and A. M. Rabello, “The Prohibition of Ritual Slaughtering (Kosher Shechita and Halal) and Freedom of Religion of Minorities,” *Journal of Law and Religion* 22 (2006/7): 39–40; further the German Bundesverfassungsgericht 15 January 2002, 1 BvR 1783/99, BVerfGE 104, 337–56; cf. commentary of M. Rohe in *Österreichisches Archiv für Recht & Religion* 49 (2002): 69–84; K. A. Schwarz, *Das Spannungsverhältnis von Religionsfreiheit und Tierschutz am Beispiel des “rituellen Schächten”* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2003), 33–40.

41 Cf. Bundestagsdrucksache 14/8860; R. Scholz “Art. 20a GG, § 84,” in *Maunz-Dürig. Grundgesetz. Kommentar*, ed. R. Herzog, R. Scholz, M. Herdegen, and H. D. Klein (München: C. H. Beck, 1958 ff.).

42 Cf. Art. 20a of the German *Grundgesetz*, as amended by Bundesgesetzblatt I 2000, 2862; thereto section 2 of the Austrian *Bundesverfassungsgesetz über die Nachhaltigkeit, den Tierschutz, den umfassenden Umweltschutz, die Sicherstellung der Wasser- und Lebensmittelversorgung und die Forschung*, Bundesgesetzblatt I No. 111/2013.

strong constitutional interest to do so. Such an approach ignores, though,⁴³ important elements of the case.

First, the interest to protect animals is inherent in both approaches to slaughter. From a religious perspective, it may suffice to refer to the Biblical story of Noah. After the Deluge, God established a covenant with Noah and allowed him and all following generations of humankind to eat meat. A compromise that involved the seventh of the Noahide Laws not to eat flesh from a living animal.⁴⁴

Second, the custom to eat meat is not an exclusively religious one, but practised—with exceptions—throughout the world regardless of cultural background. This has indeed an effect on the scrutiny for it is not a matter of Art. 9 of ECHR taken alone, but of Art. 14 in conjunction with Art. 9 of ECHR in case there are more than one cultural manifestations at stake, or of Art. 21(1) of CFREU respectively. The cultural label was used here intentionally, because this is the only legal way to correlate a minority's exercise of religion with a practice that comprises similar acts but happens not to be regarded as of a religious character.

Third, to this perspective, a thorough reading of Regulation (EC) No. 1099/2009 will provide additional insight. Its recital No. 18 takes up the derogation from stunning in case of religious slaughter as already granted by the previous governing legal act, Directive No. 93/119/EC.⁴⁵ While a certain level of subsidiarity is left to the member states, the importance “that derogation from stunning animals prior to slaughter should be maintained.” Through this principle,

this Regulation respects the freedom of religion and the right to manifest religion or belief in worship, teaching, practice and observance, as enshrined in Article 10 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union.

In this regard it seems appropriate to point to Art. 27(2) of Regulation (EC) No. 1099/2009, according to which the Commission was liable to submit by 8 December 2012 to both the European Parliament and to Council a report comparing

⁴³ Cf. Schwarz, *Spannungsverhältnis*, 27–49.

⁴⁴ See Gen. 9, 1–18; cf. I. M. Levinger, *Schechita im Lichte des Jahres 2000: Kritische Betrachtungen der wissenschaftlichen Aspekte der Schlachtmethoden und des Schächtens* (Jerusalem: Machon Maskil L'David, 1996), 13–16; Lerner, Rabello, “The Prohibition,” 3–5, 49; N. Solomon, “Conservation,” in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 5, ed. M. Berenbaum and F. Skolnik (Detroit: Macmillan Reference, 2007), 165f.; with regard to Islamic tradition cf. Bezoušková, “Práva zvířat, nebo náboženská svoboda?” 610–14.

⁴⁵ Cf. J. Budischowsky, “Europarechtliche Aspekte des Schächtens,” in *Schächten: Religionsfreiheit und Tierschutz*, ed. R. Potz, B. Schinkele, and W. Wieshaider (Freistadt: Plöchl & Egling; Kovar, 2001), 137f.; Schwarz, *Spannungsverhältnis*, 85f.

systems restraining bovine animals. This report had to be based on scientific research and to

take into account animal welfare aspects as well as the socio-economic implications, including their acceptability by the religious communities and the safety of operators.

This paragraph follows the aforementioned permission to member states to adopt stricter national rules in this regard; it does not precede it. But an “acceptability by the religious communities” would not make any sense, were a member state entitled simply to prohibit religious slaughter according Art. 26(2)c of Regulation (EC) No. 1099/2009. A systematic interpretation from the sequence of the provisions of Art. 26 and Art. 27 of Regulation (EC) No. 1099/2009 indicates rather that the permission to adopt rules aimed at ensuring more extensive protection of animals in fact excludes an approval to prohibit religious slaughter.

What Regulation (EC) No. 1099/2009 understands by the process of stunning is defined in its Art. 2/f. Accordingly, it

means any intentionally induced process which causes loss of consciousness and sensibility without pain, including any process resulting in instantaneous death.

Interestingly, Art. 2/5 of Directive No. 93/119/EC had defined the concept of stunning differently, namely as “any process which, when applied to an animal, causes immediate loss of consciousness which lasts until death,” whereas painlessness had clearly not been a constituent element of this definition.

If Art. 2/f of Regulation (EC) No. 1099/2009 is read alone and without reference to Annex I, where the methods are explained in more details, the definition leads to the assumption that stunning is applied in order to prevent the animals from being exposed to pain. While a closer look at the methods referred to in Annex I will reject this assumption, the definition’s distinction of methods which result in instantaneous death and methods which do not do so, will be echoed by the further provisions of Regulation (EC) No. 1099/2009. Accordingly, its Art. 4(1) will call the latter simple stunning, which has to be followed as quickly as possible by another procedure that eventually ensures the death of the animal. In other words, and still without regard to religious implications, there are recognised methods both of stunning and of killing, which result in instantaneous death.

Chapter I of Annex I enumerates mechanical, electrical, gas, and other stunning methods. Among the mechanical ones, table 1 lists the penetrative and the non-penetrative captive bolt device, the firearm with free projectile, maceration, cervical dislocation, and a percussive blow to the head. Both captive bolt device

methods are classified as simple stunning, while the penetrative device still damages the brain irreversibly, as indicated in table 1.

Among the electrical stunning methods, table 2 lists head-only and head-to-body electrical stunning as well as the electrical water-bath. All these methods are classified as simple stunning except where the frequency is equal to or less than 50 Hz, as indicated in table 2. Chapter II of Annex I adds specific requirements for certain methods. It is only there, where division 6.2. explains that “[b]irds shall be hung by both legs.” In this regard, it had been observed in the past that the time poultry had hung head-down at the conveyor amount to several minutes and that the stunning effect had often not lasted long enough to fade to death by bleeding.⁴⁶ Division 5.2. therefore requires that

birds [...] will not remain hung conscious longer than one minute. However ducks, geese and turkeys shall not remain hung conscious longer than two minutes.

Among the gas methods table 3 of Chapter I lists carbon dioxide at high concentration, in two phases or associated with inert gases, further carbon monoxide either pure or associated with other gases. Carbon dioxide at high concentration or associated with inert gases or the latter taken alone are classified as simple stunning for pigs and poultry partially only under certain additional conditions, as indicated in table 3. The only other method, as indicated in table 4, is a lethal injection which does not apply to slaughter and can be neglected in the present context.

A supplementary argument with regard to the relative character of the aforementioned stunning methods is provided by Annex A No. 5 of the Austrian ordinance on the protection of animals at the time of slaughter and killing⁴⁷ read in conjunction with section 32(5) of animal welfare act.⁴⁸ While the latter requires post-cut stunning in cases of religious slaughter and the application of a method provided by Regulation (EC) No. 1099/2009 that will be immediately effective, the ordinance allows further manipulation five minutes after the cut at the earliest, although the bleeding takes between 2.5 and 3.5 minutes.⁴⁹

Hence, when religious slaughter is presented as slaughter without prior stunning, irrespective of the actual stunning effect of a properly performed שחיטה

⁴⁶ K. Troeger, “Schlachten von Tieren,” in *Das Buch vom Tierschutz*, ed. H. H. Sambras and A. Steiger (Stuttgart: Enke, 1997), 523.

⁴⁷ *Tierschutz-Schlachtverordnung*, Bundesgesetzblatt II No. 312/2015.

⁴⁸ *Tierschutzgesetz*, Bundesgesetzblatt I No. 118/2004, as last amended by Bundesgesetzblatt I No. 86/2018.

⁴⁹ Levinger, “Die jüdische Schlachtmethode,” 9.

[shechita] *uno actu*,⁵⁰ it can be asserted that there are indeed stunning methods that actually kill. A closer look into the law confirms that in such cases no additional stunning is mandatory.

Finally, a detailed comparison of methods in relation to animals does not bring about a clear preference for industrial slaughter—if not the opposite,⁵¹ as it was observed

[w]hen the cattle were restrained in a comfortable upright position, a skillful cut made with the special, long kosher knife caused less behavioral reaction than a hand waved in the face of the animal.⁵²

A similar undecided picture is provided by research into the relation of slaughter methods and meat quality.⁵³

While a legislator seems free to allow the consumption of meat of any kind of animal and hence to regulate the methods of slaughter, a well-balanced position has to be taken up in a democratic society, based on human rights, where different cultural approaches are at stake. Well-balanced implies to be generalisable. An obligation to provide lists of local individuals who intend to consume meat produced according to religious tradition, clearly transcends the state's legitimate margin of appreciation. The market is already regulated by the increased cost of production that its additional stages inevitably bring about. Moreover, a prohibition of exportation would contradict the findings of the ECtHR, according to which the possibility for a minority to import meat from an

50 Levinger, *Schechita*, 58–112.

51 Troeger, "Schlachten von Tieren," 523: "*Dabei muß anerkannt werden, daß das Schächten nach mosaischem Ritus durch Sachverständige, eigens dazu ausgebildete Personen mittels spezieller und nur für diesen rituellen Akt vorgesehener Werkzeuge vorgenommen wird ('Chalaf') und somit dem Tier möglicherweise geringere Schmerzen zugefügt werden.*" [Herein it has to be acknowledged that slaughter according to mosaic law is carried out by a skilled slaughterer who has received special training for the procedure and only with tools intended for this ritual act ('chalaf') and that this procedure is therefore possibly less painful for the animal.]

52 T. Grandin, "Making Slaughterhouses More Humane for Cattle, Pigs, and Sheep," *Annual Review of Animal Biosciences* 1 (2013): 503.

53 E. M. C. Terlouw et al., "Pre-slaughter Conditions, Animal Stress and Welfare: Current Status and Possible Future Research," *Animal* 2 (2008): 1501–17; M. M. Farouk et al., "Halal and Kosher Slaughter Methods and Meat Quality: A Review," *Meat Science* 98 (2014): 505–19; K. Nakyinsige et al., "Influence of Gas Stunning and Halal Slaughter (no Stunning) on Rabbits' Welfare Indicators and Meat Quality," *Meat Science* 98 (2014): 701–8.

other country shall be a sufficient justification to restrict the licence to slaughter to a central body.⁵⁴

The language of the law itself declaring a hierarchy by virtue of defining a rule and establishing an exception is not helpful in overcoming prejudice. A positive example in this respect is the American formula of § 1902 Humane Methods of Livestock Slaughter Act,⁵⁵ according to which there are simply two legal ways of slaughter:

No method of slaughtering or handling in connection with slaughtering shall be deemed to comply with the public policy of the United States unless it is humane. Either of the following two methods of slaughtering and handling are hereby found to be humane:

(a) in the case of cattle, calves, horses, mules, sheep, swine, and other livestock, all animals are rendered insensible to pain by a single blow or gunshot or an electrical, chemical or other means that is rapid and effective, before being shackled, hoisted, thrown, cast, or cut; or

(b) by slaughtering in accordance with the ritual requirements of the Jewish faith or any other religious faith that prescribes a method of slaughter whereby the animal suffers loss of consciousness by anemia of the brain caused by the simultaneous and instantaneous severance of the carotid arteries with a sharp instrument and handling in connection with such slaughtering.

Or in other words, somewhat more bluntly: As long as a society does not become completely vegetarian, there is no justification for the prohibition of the religious slaughter of animals for the purpose of human consumption of their meat.⁵⁶ Such a prohibition hence constitutes a breach of both Regulation (EC) No. 1099/2009 and Art. 10 and 21 of CFREU within the European Economic Area, for the rest of Europe of Art. 9 and 14 of ECHR.

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⁵⁴ ECtHR 27 June 2000, 27417/95 (*Cha'are Shalom ve Tsedek / France*), §§ 80–5; cf. Lerner, Rabello, “The Prohibition,” 39, 57–58.

⁵⁵ 7 USCS §§ 1901–1907; cf. *Jones v. Butz* (1974, SD NY) 374 F Supp 1284, aff'd (1974) 419 US 806, 42 L Ed 2d 36, 95 S Ct 22; R. Kuppe, “Schächten und Tieropfer im Recht der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika,” in *Schächten. Religionsfreiheit und Tierschutz*, ed. R. Potz, B. Schinkele, and W. Wieshaider (Freistadt: Plöchl & Egling: Kovar, 2001), 183–206.

⁵⁶ In a similar vein, M. Rohe, *Der Islam—Alltagskonflikte und Lösungen: Rechtliche Perspektiven* (Freiburg, Basel, Wien: Herder, 2001), 177; Lerner, Rabello, “The Prohibition,” 19–20; Bezouškova, “Práva zvířat, nebo náboženská svoboda?” 628.

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Recommendations

Recommendations regarding Organizations and Institutions of the Business World

The following section reproduces policy recommendations for governments, political organizations, as well as for institutions and organizations of the business world how to fight antisemitism. These were developed for the *Catalogue of Policies to Combat Antisemitism*¹ and grew out of all research presented at the conference “An End to Antisemitism!” in Vienna, February 18–22, 2018. These studies pertain to the emergence and growth of antisemitism within the worlds of business, jurisprudence, policy and practical politics. They concern the effects of antisemitism within the mentioned areas and help to develop recommendations for the fight against it.

The contributions in questions can be found in the previous section of this volume. Further articles that contributed to the recommendations presented below are published in volume 5 of the conference proceedings *An End to Antisemitism!*, forthcoming.

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 below 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 administrations and other institutions.

¹ A. Lange, A. Muzicant, D. Porat, L. H. Schiffman, M. Weitzman, *An End to Antisemitism! A Catalogue of Policies to Combat Antisemitism* (Brussels: European Jewish Congress, 2018), 93–134.

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, de-

monizing, 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 of 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.**
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.

1 Assessment: Assessing the Level of Antisemitism in a Business, a Company, a Business-related Organization, or a Profession

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 be also 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.

2 Comprehending the Problem: Analyzing what Motivates Antisemitism and/or Antisemitic Discrimination in a Business, a Company, a Business-related Organization, or a Profession

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?

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

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 fur-

ther topic of such training courses and seminars should be all forms of discrimination in the workplace and how discrimination can be fought effectively.

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.

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 report² 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

² United Nations General Assembly, *Interim Report of the Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief*, issued August 5, 2014, <https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Religion/A.69.261.pdf>.

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 or belief background.

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:

- 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.

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 below. 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, preferring rather to buy from companies that do not do business with 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.

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. Amazon as the largest Internet retailer is an example of this problem, as detailed in the part on recommendations for cultural decision makers. For instance, a book by Joseph Goebbels and the Nazi cartoonist Mjölfnir entitled *Isidor* that is a collection of typical Nazi antisemitic agitation³ is available at Amazon. Companies have a responsibility to refrain from marketing any antisemitic agitation. This particularly applies to contents that are known to have incited genocide in the past.

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

- Do not market or sell any content that is included in the recommended blacklists.
- 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 follow the same policies.

³ Cf. <https://www.amazon.de/Goebbels-Mjoelfnir-Isidor-Zeitbild-Hardcover/dp/9333178767> (accessed October 4, 2018).

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.”⁴

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.

⁴ 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.

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 of 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 theories is such that ultimately it leads to hatred directed against those parts of society that reject antisemitism. 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, if antisemites can be employed by any branch of government. We are also aware that not all democratic systems practice the *trias politica*s, 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 his home country 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,” 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 2017.¹

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.²

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”³ 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.⁴ 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.⁵ Such attitudes have resulted in deep

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/re-sources/antisemitism-worldwide-2017-report/>, 54–5.

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. Violent cases, which numbered worldwide 600–700 cases a 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. Examples for

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.

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. 13–17), 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 utmost 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), that was officially adopted by the thirty-one member nations of IHRA and is accepted now by many governments and parliaments around the world.⁶ The full text of the definition

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).

⁶ 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

can be found on p. 565–6 of the present volume. 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.

A statement by the office of the Prime Minister of the UK issued at the end of 2016 illustrates the importance to 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.⁷

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.
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.

Remembrance Alliance, July 19, 2018, <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/news-archive/working-definition-antisemitism>.

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>.

1.1 Assessment: Assessing the Level of Antisemitism in a Country, a Branch of Government, a Governmental Agency, or a Political Party

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 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.⁸ 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).⁹
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 antisemitism present in the virtual world (see recommendations regarding the Internet). Monitoring should

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).

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.

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.

To Summarize

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

1.2 Comprehending the Problem: Analyzing what Motivates Antisemitism and Antisemitic Discrimination in a Country, a Branch of Government, a Governmental Agency, or a Political Party

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 inside governmental institutions or political parties. For the former, the reader is referred to the recommendations addressed to 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.

1.3 Awareness-raising: All Members of Political Entities Need to Be Sensitized towards the Antisemitism in their Organizations.

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.

Since politicians and governments participate in the shaping of the public discourse and the national narrative, when they publicly reject antisemitism, they set a personal 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 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, 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. Where applicable, campaign donors should connect campaign contributions with warnings about rising antisemitism and calls to action. 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, in-

cluding accidental and structural antisemitism, but also to develop more appreciation for cultural and religious needs of their Jewish employees and business partners.

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.

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 the very 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 five Global Forums in Jerusalem, organized by the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

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 became part of international law. These include Article 18 of the Universal Decla-

ration 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 is not in possible, 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.

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 legislation 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. The 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 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.¹⁰ 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 definition that has been adopted by many countries although its legal status is non-binding.

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. 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.
 - 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. 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.

¹⁰ For details, see 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.

- 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.¹¹
- 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 judgment of the courts.

- Legislation should be created recognizing that in the long run antisemitism as a whole always results in violence against Jews. Antisemitism should therefore be taken as an incitement to violence that is not protected as freedom of speech.¹²
- 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.

11 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.

12 Cf. European Court of Human Rights, “European Convention on Human Rights,” https://www.echr.coe.int/Documents/Convention_ENG.pdf, 12.

- 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.

As argued before, the Internet is “the primary multiplier and locus for the transmission of manifestations of antisemitism”.¹³ A second multiplier transmitting manifestations of antisemitism are other media such as satellite TV. All existing legal means need to 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 most flourished 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.
- 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 their function in the virtual world, they function like a publishing house, journal or TV channel; they are hence responsible for the hate that is spread through their platforms.

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_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).

- Each country should develop special legislation against cyber-antisemitism and antisemitic contents 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
- Observance of Jewish holidays

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.

3.1 Antisemitism in the Judiciary

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 “to direct attention to the Gaza-conflict.”¹⁴ 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 international human rights law dimension of antisemitism.* This training could be offered by 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.

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*.
- Based on your legal expertise, forcefully and publicly argue against any discrimination against Jews.

¹⁴ 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 Branstifter,” *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>.

- Strengthen coordinated offensives among different actors against international organizations and bodies for their unequal treatment of Israel.

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 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 on similar legal frames.
- 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 for 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. The European branch has had since 2012 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 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 a legal guideline 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 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 group advocating mass murder.

4 Special Recommendations for Decision Makers and Influencers of the Executive

Many governments have put significant efforts onto fighting antisemitism but without the successes they desired. There are several reasons for this gap between efforts of the executive and 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 for educational and legislative efforts to fight it. The reasons for the immunity of antisemites towards educational approaches to fight antisemitism have been discussed in detail previously. Antisemitism, though, 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 resilient 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 in all parts of modern societies.

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 previously, 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 a larger public. However, it 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.

Governments can and should contribute in several areas to the fight against antisemitism. Their contribution should concern fiscal, domestic, and foreign policy.

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 part 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 each year at least in excess of 0.02 percent 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.
- 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 anti-semitism easily available both on- and offline.
- Cultural and other exchange programs with the State of Israel.

4.2 Domestic Policy

In the realm of domestic policy, members of the executive have a wide range of options to fight antisemitism. In addition to the previously discussed 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 Gesara on March 12th commemorating March 12th, 1421, when Duke Albrecht of Austria had two-hundred twelve Jews summarily executed because of their “wickedness.”¹⁵ Another possible example could be July 4th as a day to commemorate the pogrom in Kielce, Poland in 1946 when a blood libel incited the murder of forty Jews in the Polish town of Kielce with a further eighty Jews being (severely) wounded.

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.

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 is extensively addressed by a catalogue of measures of the OSCE's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR).¹⁶ Beyond the realm of protection, members of the executive can and should do more that contributes to restraining the influence and power of antisemites to the lowest conceivable level and to support 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.
- Governments should take into consideration resolutions formerly adopted by other governments and parliaments regarding the combat against 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 the combating of antisemitism a domestic and foreign policy priority.¹⁷ 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.¹⁸
- Each parliament should establish a working group to combat antisemitism. The independent scholars' committee established by the Bundestag in 2014 that handed in its extensive report in April 2017 is such an example.¹⁹ Each such working group should include Jewish experts as members.

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>.

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>.

- 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 1st, 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 on combating anti-Semitism.”²⁰ 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 did not nominate a candidate for this position for a long time. A positive signal was sent, though, by the U.S. House of Representatives who voted to have the position renewed and promoted to an ambassadorial degree.
- 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 publicly 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.
- 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.
- In cases of clear-cut antisemitic agitation, members of the executive should do their utmost to abide by the legislation we recommend above, i. e., to prohibit such publications on- and offline.

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>.

Another area where members of the executive could 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 both Jewish institutions and those institutions that support education against antisemitism.
- Support the dialogue work of many imams in the fight against antisemitism that includes their experiences in ongoing work against antisemitism in other 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 likelihood 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 are seminars developed in Norway.²¹
- Much of what is said above with regard to Muslim terrorist antisemitism applies *mutatis mutandis* also to violent Christian antisemitic groups such as chapters of the Ku Klux Klan or the Aryan Nations/Church of Jesus Christ-Christians.
- 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.

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

- Work in parallel with other minorities to fight antisemitism and other forms of prejudice and discrimination. In this way, the false impression 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 that 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 to 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.

We would like to bring the attention of politicians, though, 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. It is common that antisemitic ideas in this way 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 philo-semitic 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 an image of objective observers. It seems that opinions voiced today by the left-liberal elite or by right-wing elites in the U.S. are socially better accepted, and they are reaching a status of being permissible in mainstream societies, especially when clothed in implicit expressions and academic jargon.

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 executive 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.²² 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 in order to fight 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.

- Like national parliaments, 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, they

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 (accessed October 23, 2018).

might understand 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 issues with such bodies and become plaintiffs so as not to leave international bodies to act alone.²³

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 state needs. It should be remembered, though, 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 the 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

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

- Turkey. A good practice example is the 2014 meeting between former U.S. President Barack Obama and Turkey's president Recep Tayyip Erdogan.²⁴
- 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.

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 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 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.²⁵ 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 to governmental budgets. Nevertheless, such funding must be provided by governments as part of their obligation to provide security for all citizens and inhabi-

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.

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>.

tants. Jewish communities should neither be expected nor required to 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 because 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 the Jewish sites. The president of the Conseil Représentatif des Institutions Juives de France (CRIF), at that time Roger Cukierman, stated, “We cannot ask for more.”²⁶ 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.²⁷

Though Jews are entitled to government protection as well as any other citizen, Jewish youngsters should be given the chance to take an active part in the protection of their own families and places for the sake of safeguarding their dignity.

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 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

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 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-anti-chretiens>.

WDA has begun years ago:²⁸ 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. EDPOL and FRA should refocus and expand their efforts to train police officers on how to deal with antisemitic incidents.

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 more so political parties that are committed in their principals to antisemitism. The latter should be prohibited. 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 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 therefore 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.

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

- 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.

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 of the U.S. and the federal government have passed anti-BDS legislation, making compliance with the Arab boycott illegal.²⁹ 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.”³⁰ In France, hate speech laws have been applied to BDS activities.³¹ In Spain, twenty-seven out of

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 Oc-

fourty-five municipalities cancelled their ban on Israel because, according to Spanish law, a municipality is not entitled to enact it.³²

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 America'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 have done so, the movement has made Israel a polarizing issue on U.S. campuses. Several scholarly organizations and other academic bodies have committed themselves, though, 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.

tober 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/>.

Holding Israel to a double standard and neglecting gross human rights violations of other countries, particularly in the Middle East, to focus 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 issue.

Sanctions against Israel are counterproductive. Keeping abreast of the latest in technology from agricultural aids, to disaster relief, to medical devices, will reveal many inventions that 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 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 an 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 ones already outlined in this catalogue:

- To convene the Global Forums organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in regular intervals, and to continue in the interim the initiatives raised 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 go on 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, 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 forwards the country's responses for 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 are the first ones to 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 to rather 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.

Because of the involvements, combating and eradicating antisemitism should be anchored in the legislation an/or constitutions of all countries, and the Working Definition of Antisemitism should be accepted by all branches of government, 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 percent 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.

VI IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism

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.

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