

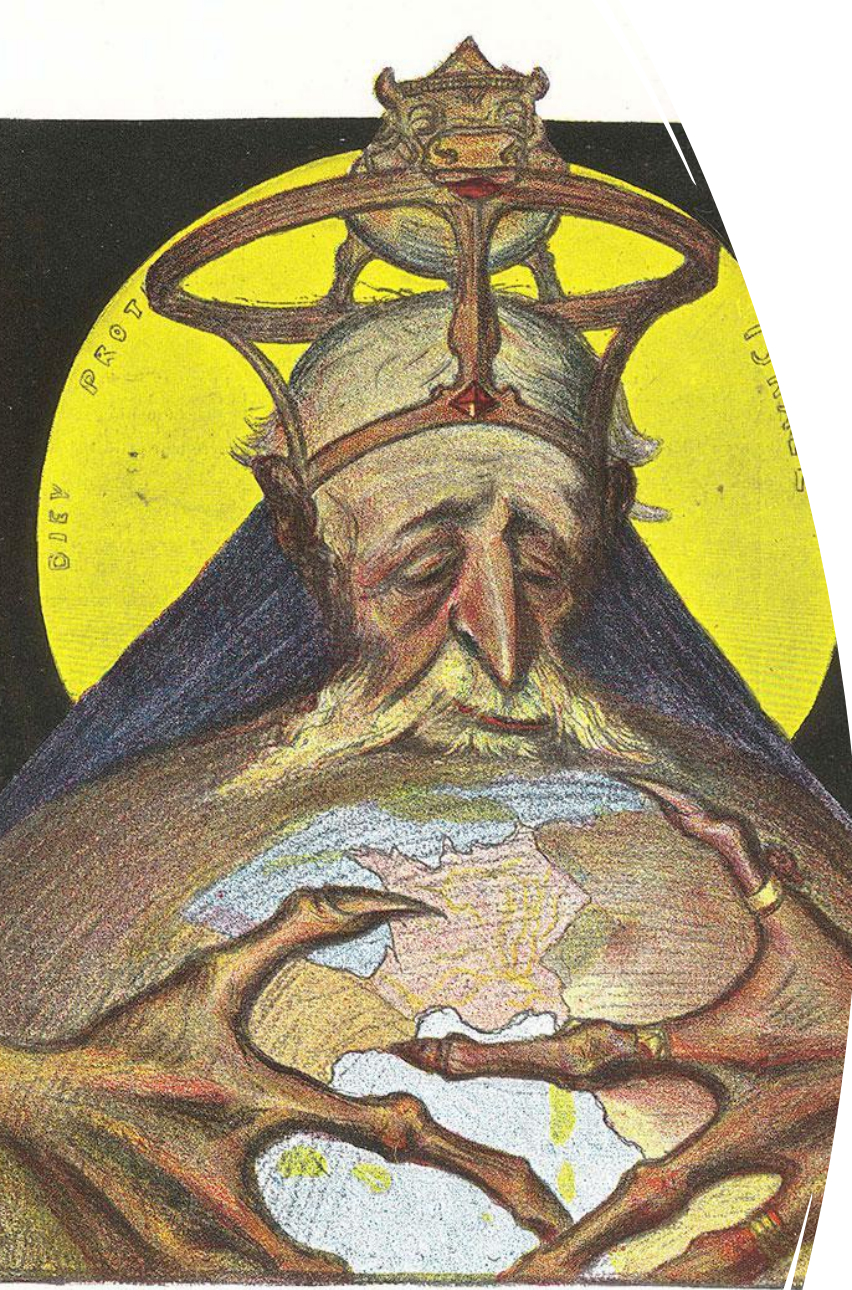
Course Outline

Class One: The History and Politics of Defining Antisemitism

Class Two: Israel and Antisemitism: Two definitions, two worldviews

Class Three: Definitions of Hate as Political Engagement: Antisemitism in the 21st Century





Course Goals

1. To have a better understanding of history and politics of defining antisemitism.
2. To consider the contemporary political situation informing efforts to define antisemitism.
3. To encourage people to find ways to build interreligious coalitions to combat antisemitism (with & without a definition).

Rothschild

Agenda:

7:00 pm **Introduction and Brief Review**

7:10 pm **The Nazis and a New Definition of Antisemitism**

- A Letter dated May 17, 1943
- Josef Goebbels and Alfred Rosenberg and the Dismantling of Old Definitions of Antisemitism

7:25 pm **The End of the 19th Century Definition of Antisemitism**

- Two Israeli Views of Antisemitism and the Relationship to Zionism
- The Argument Over the “New Antisemitism”

7:40 pm **Breakout Room**

7:45 pm **International Definitions of Antisemitism (1990-present)**

- IHRA Adoption of the Working Definition of Antisemitism
- Read the IHRA Definition
- Criticism of the IHRA Definition
- Read The Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism

8:15 pm **Breakout Room**

8:25 pm Parting Thoughts

8:30 pm Adjourn

Caveat: When we try to define antisemitism, our politics regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict can determine how we understand the term.

“Like so much else in politics today, the debate about contemporary antisemitism is a dialogue of the deaf waged as a battle to the death. Both sides are correct about a number of their claims, but neither can hear the truths of the other.”

Jonathan Judaken, “Ten Commandments for thinking about modern antisemitism,” *Forward* 5 January 2018.

Quick Summary

Theodor Fritsch writes **Antisemitic Catechism:**

a set of “commandments” for antisemitism. His definition was clear: “anti—to oppose, Semitism—the essence of the Jewish race; antisemitism is therefore the struggle against Semitism.”

Wilhelm Marr coins the term **“antisemitism”**



Nathan Birnbaum coins the term **“Zionism”**

early 1920's
An **Arabic Translation of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion** first appears.

The Nazis and a New Definition of Antisemitism



Der Stürmer

deutsches Wochenblatt zum Kampfe um die Wahrheit
HERAUSGEBER: JULIUS STREICHER

Nürnberg im Juli 1934
12. Jahr 1934

Wer ist der Feind?

Kriegsheute und die Judenprotokolle von Basel
Europa am Schächtmesser

en Feinden
in Königsberg in O-
Päters, Reichsminister
mittel. Jedoch waren
Zeitschmerz des großen
Frontsoldaten in aller
zu schreiben hin, die her
er tief die Köpfe auf,
die Welt in ein zweites
end und Waffenstillab
propagandaminister Dr.
leidenschaftlich. Er be-
gnell Adolf Hitler, der
zu viele niedergeworfen
oder Disziplin und Ruhe
Holt schließlich aufatmete
ze, daß er die Rechte
Dr. Goebbels wies nach,
in diesen Tagen die Welt
alle Hoffnungen in nieder-
e. Die diese Worte eine
mächtigen Ärgern und Ver-
le dadurch die Welt förm-
und Blut und Haß gegen
erschütterter Rudolf Heß,
abaminiertes Dr. Goebbels
aus Friedensbetrug im
Süßern der Welt verstanden,
aber wollen kein zweitesmal
dring unangenehm Jammer.
y die Welt in einem zweiten
d unangenehm in Zeit und Ver-
d und Ohligkeiten. Die Fran-
die Belgier, die Polen,
schen, sie wollen in Frieden
wollen in Frieden ihre Häuser



Die Völker nicht, der Jude will den Krieg
Die Völker bluten um des Juden Sieg

halt
der Völk
bürgt für einander
haben ein Gottvolk?
Bolt der 100 Völkern über den
den dazw
ann Gottel G. m. b. S.

bauen und ihrer Arbeit nachgehen. Sie tragen in sich
feinen Haß gegen Deutschland. Sie wollen keinen Krieg.
Die Völker Frankreichs, Englands, Ita-
liens und der anderen Länder wissen, daß auch Deutsch-
land den Krieg nicht will. Sie wissen, daß deutsche Völk
will aus dem Zimmerbauern, den die Hochverbreitete
hinterlassen, Frieden und nicht ein einziges lauberes
Deutschland aufbauen. Die Völker der Welt wissen, kein

Die Juden sind unser Unglück!

May 17, 1943: Letter from Hans Hagemeyer to Dr. Koepper

[Doc. XCII-28]



1. **Fritsch's Catechism** was still popular when the Nazis came to power.
2. The Nazi Party needed to change the language of **antisemitism**.
3. Hagemeyer writes letter to Koepper referring to the meeting between the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem (Haj Amin al-Husseini) and Alfred Rosenberg.
 - Rosenberg's promise to issue instructions to the press to *refrain from using the term antisemitism which obviously blended Arabs and Jews together.*
4. The word also appeared in quotation marks so as not to insult the Mufti, who was "a friend of the Germans," or to invite the accusation that the Germans were "throwing Jews and the Arabs into the same pot."



In 1944, Josef Goebbels ordered the radio and the press to stop using the terms “Semitism” and “antisemitism,” since they no longer suited the needs of the Third Reich.

He ordered them to use the words “Jew” and “Judaism” and “anti-Jewish” or “anti-Judaism.”



Rosenberg and Goebbels were not attempting to create another definition, but rather dismantle the current one.

The End of the 19th-Century Definition of Antisemitism

1. Nazi Germany wanted:
 - Categorical differentiation between Arabs and Jews.
 - This was due to its signing of various agreements with the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, who made lengthy visits to Rome and Berlin.
2. The Arabs, who were Semites, were now allies and could no longer be included in such hostile or negative definitions.
3. The use of the terms "Jew" and "Judaism" were clearer "eternal" enemies, especially since by 1944, the extermination camps were in full swing.



A Classic Zionist Definition of Antisemitism



Antisemitism contains “hatred of the other, hatred of the alien, and hatred of the weak... in a more forceful and consistent form than any other form of hatred of minorities.”

Ben-Zion Netanyahu,
“Antisemitism,” in *The Hebrew Encyclopedia*, 1959

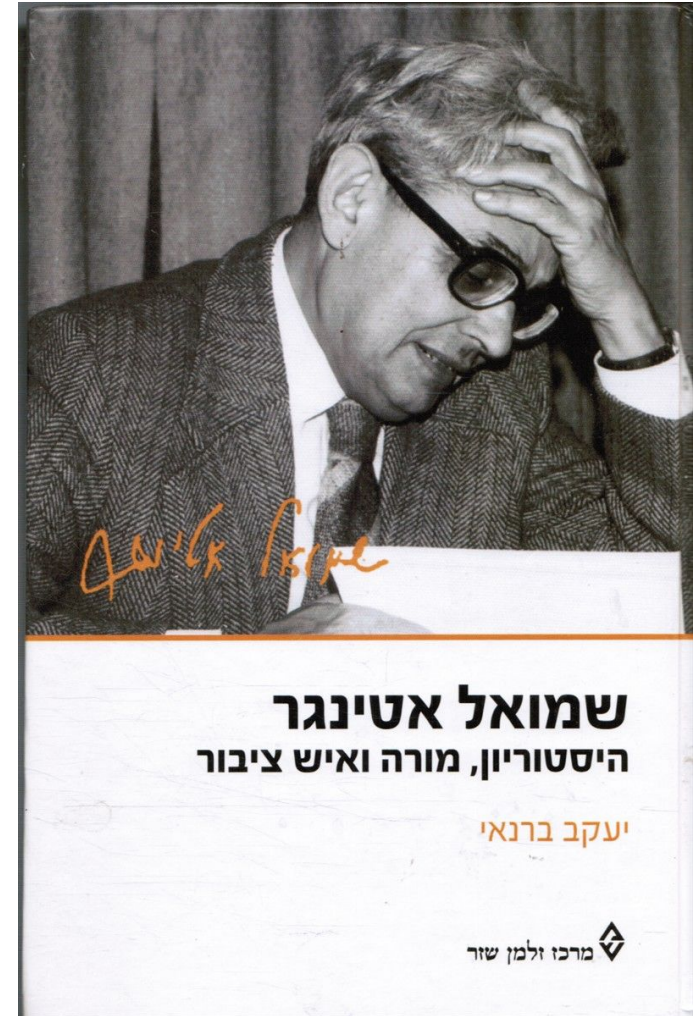
A state of being different, alien, and weak can be changed through the abolition of the Diaspora and the establishment of a Jewish state.

1. Once Jews have a state, their status in other lands becomes one living outside their homeland (they’re immigrants).
2. They would no longer be foreigners different than any other immigrants.
3. As soon as the state flourished, Jews would draw strength from and take pride in it.
4. Israel’s existence would eliminate the elements that had given rise to antisemitism.

Shmuel Ettinger (1919-1988)

In his 1969 article “The Roots of Anti-Semitism in Modern Times,” he argued:

1. Antisemitism is an intrinsic part of Western culture.
2. Zionism would neither solve nor diminish the problem of antisemitism because the image of the Jew and the image of the State of Israel and its citizens existed separately.



The New Antisemitism



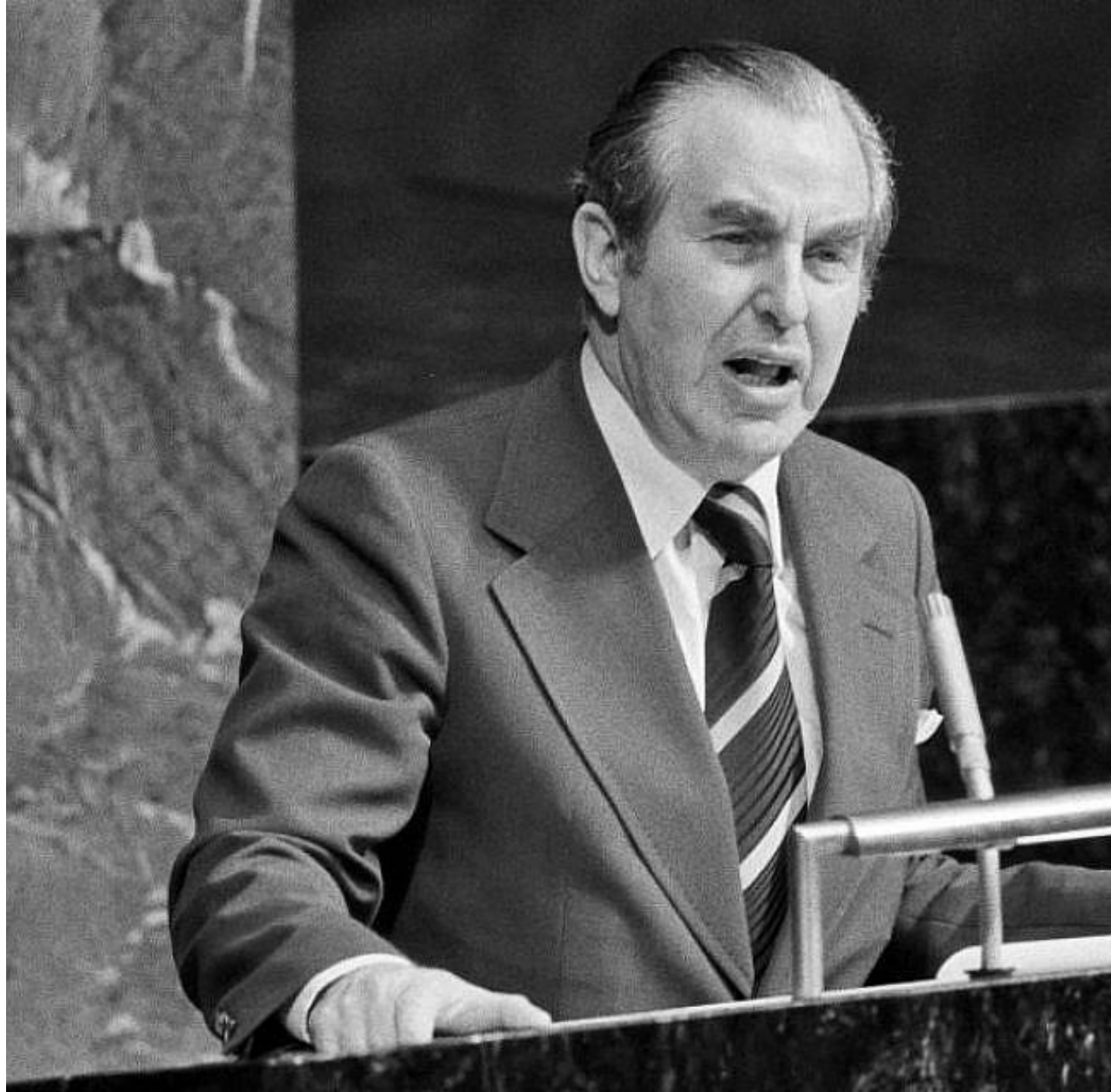
“[R]ecently we have witnessed the rise of the new left which identifies Israel with the establishment, with acquisition, with smug satisfaction, with in fact, all the basic enemies... Let there be no mistake: the new left is the author and progenitor of the new antisemitism... Anti-Zionism is merely the new antisemitism.”

Abba Eban, 1973

UN Resolution 3379

“We are seeing here today but another manifestation of the bitter anti-Semitic, anti-Jewish hatred which animates Arab society. Who would have believed that in this year, 1975, the malicious falsehoods of the “Elders of Zion” would be distributed officially by Arab governments? Who would have believed that we would today contemplate an Arab society, which teaches the vilest anti-Jewish hate in the kindergartens? ... We are being attacked by a society which is motivated by the most extreme form of racism known in the world today.”

Chaim Herzog, 1975



Daniel Patrick Moynihan,
the United States
Ambassador to the UN,
lamented that the “United
Nations [was] about to
make anti-Semitism
international law.”



Response to the New Antisemitism



1991 Helen Fein: “Although neither anti-Zionism nor criticism of Israel is necessarily antisemitic, ‘Zionists’ is very often used as a code word for Jews. This depends on context and affect. Some Jewish organizations have interpreted all criticism of Israel as antisemitic. But branding all those who criticize Israel as antisemites blurs the issue; moreover, it could become a self-fulfilling prophecy.”



2004 Brian Klug: “When antisemitism is everywhere, it is nowhere. And when every anti-Zionist is an antisemite, we no longer know how to recognize the real thing—the concept of antisemitism loses its significance.”

Breakout Room:

Do you think a clear, universal definition of antisemitism is possible?

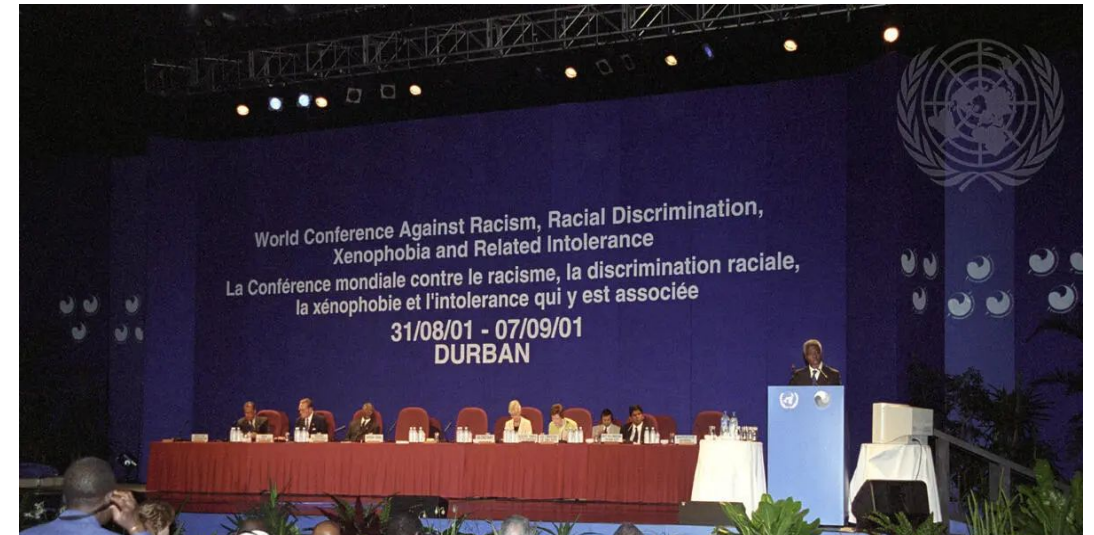


The Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), later replaced by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in 1994.

1. The first to report on and denounce the rise of antisemitism (1992, Copenhagen).
2. Their report inspired a need for a definition, since before legislating, one needs a definition.
3. The following year, at a UN conference on human rights in Vienna, all delegations were required to reach a solution stating that antisemitism was a form of racism.

2001 UN World Conference against Racism Durban, South Africa

1. No definition of racism was acceptable to all delegations.
2. Antisemitism remained undefined.
3. There was more focus on politics regarding Israel's policies toward Palestinians.



January 2005: A New Definition of Antisemitism

THE WORKING DEFINITION OF ANTISEMITISM

- After many failed attempts to define antisemitism, the European Union Monitoring Center on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) joined the OSCE's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) to formulate a better definition.
- As a result, a new "Working Definition of Antisemitism" came into being.
- "Working definition" here meant a practical tool rather than an academic or theoretical exercise.

The 2005 Working Definition of Antisemitism

- It deviates from previous definitions.
- It does not deal with the image of the Jew, but rather with the antisemitic activities.
- It does not mention Judaism.
- It addressed the “new antisemitism.”
- It argues that anti-Zionism is antisemitism.



INTERNATIONAL
**HOLOCAUST
REMEMBRANCE**
ALLIANCE

We educate.

The IHRA's Working Groups and Committees publish educational recommendations to help guide teachers and organizations

We research.

The IHRA is the only intergovernmental organization mandated to focus solely on Holocaust-related issues

We remember.

The IHRA's Member Countries have pledged to commemorate the victims of the Holocaust, honoring their legacy and their memory



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.



INTERNATIONAL
**HOLOCAUST
REMEMBRANCE**
ALLIANCE



- 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.



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ALLIANCE

- 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).





INTERNATIONAL
**HOLOCAUST
REMEMBRANCE**
ALLIANCE

- 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.





INTERNATIONAL
**HOLOCAUST
REMEMBRANCE**
ALLIANCE

- 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.



Kenneth Stern

Previously served as lead drafter of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) “Working Definition of Antisemitism”

1. Dec. 2019, Kenneth Stern expressed concern that right-wing Jewish groups and national governments were using the document to silence what he regarded as legitimate criticisms of Israel.
2. Stern also claimed that the US President Trump’s 2019 Executive Order on Combating Anti-Semitism would stifle Palestinian free speech rather than protecting Jewish students.
3. In December 2020, Stern urged the incoming Biden Administration not to adopt the IHRA Working Definition, claiming that it had been weaponized by pro-Israel lobby groups to silence criticism of Israel.



The Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism

From the website:

The JDA responds to the Working Definition of Antisemitism adopted by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) in 2016. “The IHRA Definition” (including its “examples”) is neither clear nor coherent. Whatever the intentions of its proponents, it blurs the difference between antisemitic speech and legitimate criticism of Israel and Zionism. This causes confusion, while delegitimizing the voices of Palestinians and others, including Jews, who hold views that are sharply critical of Israel and Zionism. None of this helps combat antisemitism. The JDA responds to this situation.

So, is the JDA intended to be an alternative to the IHRA Working Definition?

Yes, it is. People of goodwill seek guidance about the key question: When does political speech about Israel or Zionism cross the line into antisemitism and when should it be protected? The JDA is intended to provide this guidance, and so should be seen as a substitute for the IHRA Definition. But if an organization has formally adopted the IHRA Definition it can use the JDA as a corrective to overcome the shortcomings of the IHRA Definition.



The Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism

From the website:

Definition:

Antisemitism is discrimination, prejudice, hostility or violence against Jews as Jews (or Jewish institutions as Jewish).

Guidelines

A. General

1. It is racist to essentialize (treat a character trait as inherent) or to make sweeping negative generalizations about a given population. What is true of racism in general is true of antisemitism in particular.
2. What is particular in classic antisemitism is the idea that Jews are linked to the forces of evil. This stands at the core of many anti-Jewish fantasies, such as the idea of a Jewish conspiracy in which “the Jews” possess hidden power that they use to promote their own collective agenda at the expense of other people. This linkage between Jews and evil continues in the present: in the fantasy that “the Jews” control governments with a “hidden hand,” that they own the banks, control the media, act as “a state within a state,” and are responsible for spreading disease (such as Covid-19). All these features can be instrumentalized by different (and even antagonistic) political causes.



The Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism

From the website:



A. General - (continued)

2. Antisemitism can be manifested in words, visual images, and deeds. Examples of antisemitic words include utterances that all Jews are wealthy, inherently stingy, or unpatriotic. In antisemitic caricatures, Jews are often depicted as grotesque, with big noses and associated with wealth. Examples of antisemitic deeds are: assaulting someone because she or he is Jewish, attacking a synagogue, daubing swastikas on Jewish graves, or refusing to hire or promote people because they are Jewish.

3. Antisemitism can be direct or indirect, explicit or coded. For example, “The Rothschilds control the world” is a coded statement about the alleged power of “the Jews” over banks and international finance. Similarly, portraying Israel as the ultimate evil or grossly exaggerating its actual influence can be a coded way of racializing and stigmatizing Jews. In many cases, identifying coded speech is a matter of context and judgement, taking account of these guidelines.

4. Denying or minimizing the Holocaust by claiming that the deliberate Nazi genocide of the Jews did not take place, or that there were no extermination camps or gas chambers, or that the number of victims was a fraction of the actual total, is antisemitic.

The Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism

From the website:



B. Israel and Palestine: examples that, on the face of it, are antisemitic

- Applying the symbols, images and negative stereotypes of classical antisemitism (see guidelines 2 and 3) to the State of Israel.
- Holding Jews collectively responsible for Israel's conduct or treating Jews, simply because they are Jewish, as agents of Israel.
- Requiring people, because they are Jewish, publicly to condemn Israel or Zionism (for example, at a political meeting).
- Assuming that non-Israeli Jews, simply because they are Jews, are necessarily more loyal to Israel than to their own countries.
- Denying the right of Jews in the State of Israel to exist and flourish, collectively and individually, as Jews, in accordance with the principle of equality.



The Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism

From the website:

C. Israel and Palestine: examples that, on the face of it, are not antisemitic

- (whether or not one approves of the view or action)
- Supporting the Palestinian demand for justice and the full grant of their political, national, civil and human rights, as encapsulated in international law.
- Criticizing or opposing Zionism as a form of nationalism, or arguing for a variety of constitutional arrangements for Jews and Palestinians in the area between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean. It is not antisemitic to support arrangements that accord full equality to all inhabitants “between the river and the sea,” whether in two states, a binational state, unitary democratic state, federal state, or in whatever form.

JDA



The Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism

From the website:

13. Evidence-based criticism of Israel as a state. This includes its institutions and founding principles. It also includes its policies and practices, domestic and abroad, such as the conduct of Israel in the West Bank and Gaza, the role Israel plays in the region, or any other way in which, as a state, it influences events in the world. It is not antisemitic to point out systematic racial discrimination. In general, the same norms of debate that apply to other states and to other conflicts over national self-determination apply in the case of Israel and Palestine. Thus, even if contentious, it is not antisemitic, in and of itself, to compare Israel with other historical cases, including settler-colonialism or apartheid.



The Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism

From the website:

14. Boycott, divestment and sanctions are commonplace, non-violent forms of political protest against states. In the Israeli case they are not, in and of themselves, antisemitic.



JDA



The Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism

From the website:

15. Political speech does not have to be measured, proportional, tempered, or reasonable to be protected under Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights or Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights and other human rights instruments. Criticism that some may see as excessive or contentious, or as reflecting a “double standard,” is not, in and of itself, antisemitic. In general, the line between antisemitic and non-antisemitic speech is different from the line between unreasonable and reasonable speech.

JDA



Breakout Room:

Please take a minute and collect your thoughts. This will be an exercise in listening. Assign a timekeeper. Each person take 1 minute to share what's on their mind. No responding. Just share. Speak only about your thoughts and emotions. Please do not respond to anyone else's.