



IHRA
FROM WORDS
TO ACTION 2020

IHRA's Working Definition of Antisemitism



**THE INTERNATIONAL
LEGAL FORUM**

INTRODUCTION

The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance's (IHRA) working definition of antisemitism is an internationally accepted definition of antisemitism drafted by representatives and scholars from around the world. The definition includes multiple examples of contemporary antisemitism as it is manifested in public discourse, politics and media. As of January 2020, the IHRA definition of antisemitism has been adopted or recognized by 18 countries, including the United States, the European Union, Germany, France, the United Kingdoms and Canada.

Antisemitism is “a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews.” Throughout the ages, antisemitism has adapted itself to the prevalent paradigms and worldview. In medieval Europe and the Islamic world, antisemitism was directed towards Jews as a religion. Jews were accused of killing Christ, desecrating the host, being in communion with the devil against the Christianity and Islam, and of being uniquely cursed by God. As religion lost its prominence in the modern era, antisemitism shifted toward hatred of Jews as a race. Whereas in the medieval era, Jews could abandon their religion and join non-Jewish society, racial antisemitism saw Jews as possessing certain inherent traits such as greed, cunning and dishonesty. In pseudo-scientific ranking of humanity, Jews were assigned sub-human status, at the bottom of the racial totem pole.

Racial antisemitism was brought to its ultimate conclusion in the Nazi's genocidal “Final Solution” in which six million Jews were murdered. The horrors of the Holocaust and the Second World War, as well as the civil rights movement in the United States and Western Europe, have largely convinced most people in Western countries of the wrongful nature of racist beliefs. While one would be correct in expecting antisemitism to decline or disappear after the Holocaust, antisemitism has once again adapted itself to today's post-racial and post-national zeitgeist. Today, much antisemitism focuses on Jews as a nation, and manifesting itself in allegations of Jewish dual loyalty, conspiracy theories about Jewish world domination or attacks against the Jewish national movement, and expressions of support for the Jewish right of self-determination in their ancestral homeland, the land of Israel. Antisemites and anti-Zionists focus obsessively on the alleged misdoings of the State of Israel, call for its dissolution, and promote conspiracy theories about the Mossad, “the Israel lobby” and Israel's nefarious influence worldwide.

IHRA is a useful educational tool as it understands this three-fold historical nature of antisemitism: hatred of Jews as a religion, as a race and as a nation. These three forms of antisemitism still exist today, often overlapping and interplaying with each other. Antisemitism forms an important ideological component of radical movements worldwide, and Jews find themselves under assault from three main sources: the racist and white supremacist far right, the hard left influenced by “progressive” and “critical” theories that demonize Israel and Jewish national identity, and Islamic radicals and jihadists.

While antisemitism continues to rise worldwide and Jewish communities face increased harassment, intimidation and even murderous violence, IHRA is a powerful means to combat antisemitism. IHRA can be used as an interpretive tool by legal professionals and law enforcement to identify, prosecute and punish antisemitic hate crimes.

There is no need to pass new legislation formally adopting the IHRA definition as legally binding. Rather, by educating legal professionals and lay people, the IHRA definition can be incorporated into existing hate crime and discrimination law.

The purpose of this booklet is to present the background to the IHRA definition, to familiarize readers with the definition itself, to clarify several prominent contemporary antisemitic tropes and to respond to common critiques of IHRA.

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**THIS IS
TODAY -
ALL OVER
THE WORLD**



THE INTERNATIONAL
LEGAL FORUM

BACKGROUND

The dawning of the new millennium saw an explosion of antisemitic violence in Western Europe, often under the guise of anger or protest towards the State of Israel. In response, the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) conducted its first study of European antisemitism in 2004. However, it was soon apparent that the EUMC lacked a definition of antisemitism on which to base their analysis. In cooperation with Jewish community organizations, the EUMC drafted a "working definition" on antisemitism, which it issued in early 2005. This working definition would form the basis of IHRA's definition. The Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA), the successor organization to the EUMC, decided that it would not adopt any definition for antisemitism, racism and bigotry. This left the working definition "homeless", until the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) stepped in and formally adopted the definition.

IHRA is an international organization composed of scholars and researchers dedicated to preserving and advancing the memory of the Holocaust. In May 2016, the IHRA Plenary in Bucharest adopted the working definition of antisemitism. As of January 2020, the IHRA definition of antisemitism has been adopted or recognized by the following countries:

Austria (April 2017)

Belgium (December 2018)

Bulgaria (October 2017)

Canada (June 2019)

Cyprus (December 2019)

Czech Republic (January 2019)

France (December 2019)

Germany (September 2017)

Greece (November 2019)

Hungary (February 2019)

Israel (January 2017)

Italy (January 2020)

Lithuania (January 2018)

Luxembourg (July 2019)

Moldova (January 2019)

The Netherlands (November 2018)

North Macedonia (March 2018)

Romania (May 2017)

Serbia (February 2020)

Slovakia (December 2018)

Slovenia (December 2018)

Sweden (January 2020)

United Kingdom (December 2016)

Uruguay (January 2020)

IHRA provides a general working definition of antisemitism and then proceeds to give eleven examples of contemporary antisemitism tropes. In the document, we have given headlines to each of these examples.

According to the working definition:

“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.”



Neo-Nazis and white supremacists march in Charlottesville, United States on Aug. 11, 2017.
Samuel Corum/Anadolu Agency/Getty Images/ 2017

IHRA is unique in providing for the first time an objective standard by which to identify antisemitism, instead of relying on subjective “gut feeling”. The definition’s comprehensive nature recognizes that antisemitism doesn’t always manifest itself explicitly, often without even using the word “Jew”. Contemporary antisemitism is often coded, targeting “Zios”, “Rothschilds” or the State of Israel. The IHRA definition allows public bodies to “call out” antisemitic expressions and actions, even when couched in implicit language or euphemisms.

- On the occasion of International Holocaust Remembrance Day 2017, European Justice Commissioner Vera Jourová said, “We will make the IHRA definition available on our website dedicated to the fight against Antisemitism.”
- In December 2018, the Council of the European Union adopted a declaration combating antisemitism and called upon all member states to adopt the IHRA working definition of antisemitism.
- In September 2018, UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres said the Definition can, “serve as a basis for law enforcement, as well as preventive policies.”
- The UN’s Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion and Belief, Ahmed Shaheed wrote in his comprehensive report on antisemitism that the Working Definition, “can offer valuable guidance” and “recommends its use as a critical non-legal educational tool.”

Since its adopting, the IHRA definition has been used to train legal professionals, law enforcement agencies and civil society organizations. For example, the United Kingdom College of Policing and the Berlin state police utilize the definition in their police training. The United Kingdom Judicial College included the IHRA definition in its 2018 guidance to judges.

IHRA's definition covers classical antisemitic tropes, like calling for harm against Jews, stereotypes and demonization and Holocaust denial, as well as more modern forms as antisemitism such as anti-Zionism and Holocaust inversion. The definition also recognizes that contemporary antisemitism is often directed against the State of Israel – delegitimization, demonization and the application of double standards towards the Jewish state, even while denying any animus against Jews.

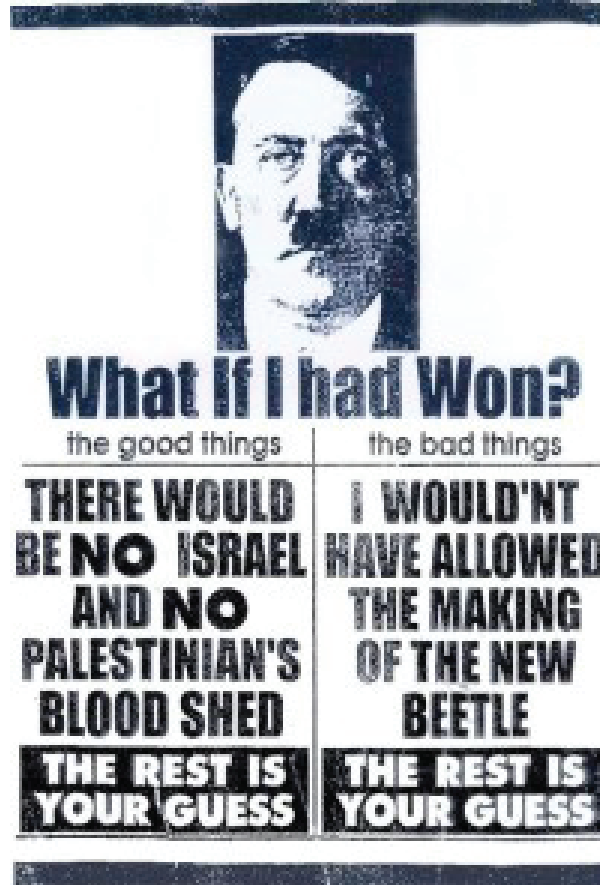
Criticism of Israel, even in harsh or robust terms, is not antisemitic *per se*. The IHRA definition does not prohibit criticism but distinguishes between criticism and hatred, discrimination, blood libels and demonization. This document will further expand on the crucial distinction between legitimate criticism of Israel and antisemitic demonization.



Neo-Nazis commemorate the fall of fascist Budapest [Michael Colborne/Al Jazeera/2020]



Illustrative: Muslim students at an anti-Israel protest at the University of California, Irvine, in 2006. (Mark Boster/Los Angeles Times via Getty Images/JTA)



Antisemitic flyer handed out at UN Conference in Durban, South Africa in 2001
Credit to NGO Monitor/ 2001

DEFINITION AND EXAMPLES

Justifying harm:

Calling for, aiding, or justifying the killing or harming of Jews in the name of a radical ideology or an extremist view of religion.



Denmark Imam Mundhir Abdallah calls for murder of Jews, March 31, 2017. Credit: MEMRI/ 2017

Demonization and stereotypes

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.



Antisemitic graffiti in London. Credit: The Jewish Chronicle/ 2018



In Europe, Jews were traditionally associated with the devil. Titled "Stalin has removed his mask," the propaganda image appeared in the Soviet Union in 1941.



**THE DEVILS RECIPE-
BOOK**

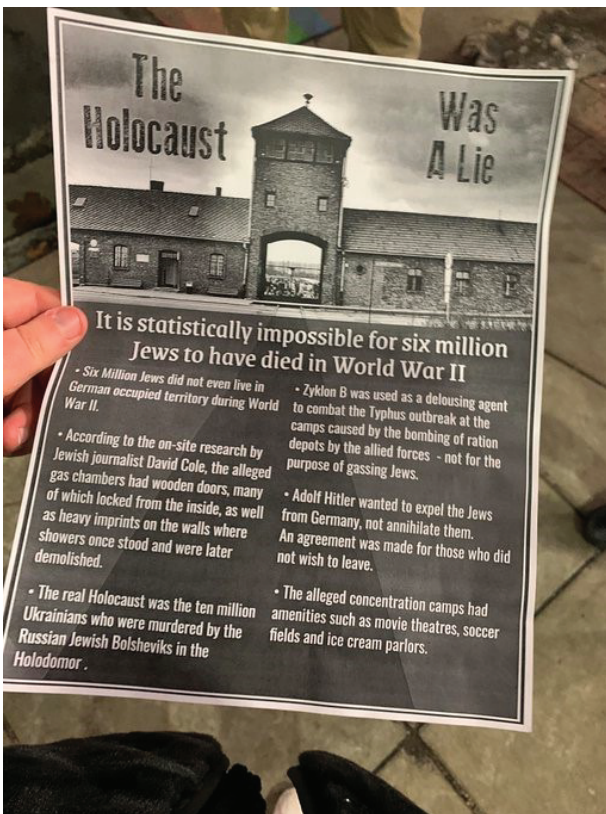
Titled "The Devil's Recipe Book," the image appears on a site called The Zionist Crime (2012).

Collective Blame

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



Antisemitic conspiratorial mural in London
Photographer: Mike Kemp/In Pictures Ltd./Corbis via Getty Images/2019



Holocaust Denial

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).

Holocaust as Jewish Conspiracy

Accusing the Jews as a people, or Israel as a state, of inventing or exaggerating the Holocaust.

Holocaust denial leaflets distributed in Boulder Colorado.
Credit: Amy Bounds/ Bolder Camera Daily/ 2019

Dual Loyalty

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.

Jewish Right to Self-Determination



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.

Anti-Zionism, or the denial of the Jewish people's right to self-determination, is a modern form of antisemitism (Credit: Ryan Rodrick Beiler/Activestills.org/ 2015)

Double Standards for Israel

Applying double standards by requiring of it a behavior not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation.

From the Jewish People to the Jewish State



Using the symbols and images associated with classic antisemitism (e.g., claims of Jews killing Jesus or blood libel) to characterize Israel or Israelis.

A British caricature portraying former Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon devouring a Palestinian baby, evoking traditional antisemitic charges of blood libel. Dave Brown/ the Independent/ 2003

Holocaust Inversion



Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.

An example of Holocaust Inversion
Found at <http://funnypicturesplus.com/nazism-vs-zionism.html>

Collective Guilt

Holding Jews collectively responsible for actions of the state of Israel.

U of Toronto Graduate Student Union opposes campus kosher food as 'pro-Israel'

Organization tells local Hillel representative that support for campaign for kosher items is against 'will of the membership,' which is for boycotting Israel

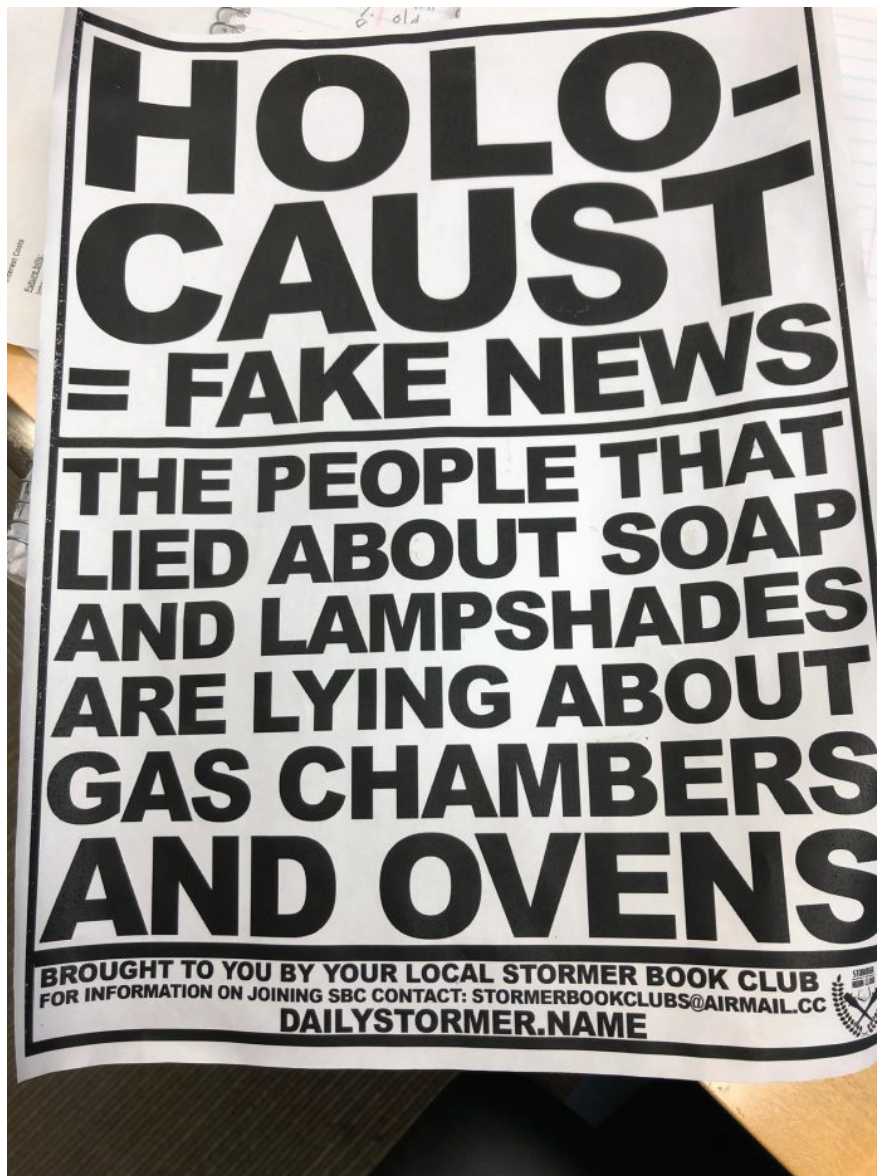
By JTA
18 November 2019, 1:05 am | 20

 48,377 shares

Times of Israel/ Nov 2019

IDENTIFYING ANTISEMITISM

Is this antisemitic?



(Anti-Defamation League/ 2019)

The Holocaust was the systematic genocide of the Jewish people perpetrated by Nazi Germany and its collaborators during the Second World War. It is a crime *sui generis* in terms of its scope, the number of victims, its meticulous planning and its perpetration by one of the most culturally and technologically advanced civilizations in the world. The Holocaust is one of the most well-documented events in history. **Holocaust deniers** typically argue that the German regime did not have a policy of genocide against Jews, that the Nazis did not build death camps or gas chambers, or that the number of Jews murdered is significantly lower than the accepted six million. Holocaust deniers argue that the Holocaust is a hoax—or an exaggeration—arising from a Jewish conspiracy designed to advance the interest of Jews and extort non-Jews. As such, **Holocaust denial is an antisemitic conspiracy theory.**

Is this antisemitic?



Source: Ar-Raya, December 6th, 2017 (Qatar)

This caricature portraying Israel as a hook-nosed octopus spreading its tentacles over the al-Aqsa mosque appeared in the Qatari ar-Raya newspaper on December 6th, 2017. It was published in response to US President Trump's recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital.

While American and Israeli policy towards Jerusalem is a valid target of criticism, this caricature falls under IHRA's definition. The caricature uses **classical antisemitic tropes**: Jews as hook-nosed; the octopus evokes Jewish conspiracy and greed. Jewish conspiracy and avarice were a standard feature of Nazi era propaganda. The caricature transfers these traditional **anti-Jewish stereotypes to the Jewish state**. The image also conveys the idea that Israel is plotting to take over and harm the al-Aqsa mosque, a Muslim holy site. This also plays in to historical Christian and Muslim anti-Jewish tropes of Jews being the enemies of the true faith. This caricature perfectly captures the difference between legitimate criticism of Israeli policies and hateful demonization of the Jewish state.

Is this antisemitic?



Ali Abunimah, Twitter, January 2017

The New York Times

Mahmoud Abbas Claims Rabbis Urged Israel to Poison Palestinians' Water



PA Chairman Abbas, speaking in EU Parliament in June 2016
<https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/24/world/middleeast/mahmoud-abbas-claims-rabbis-urged-israel-to-poison-palestinians-water.html>

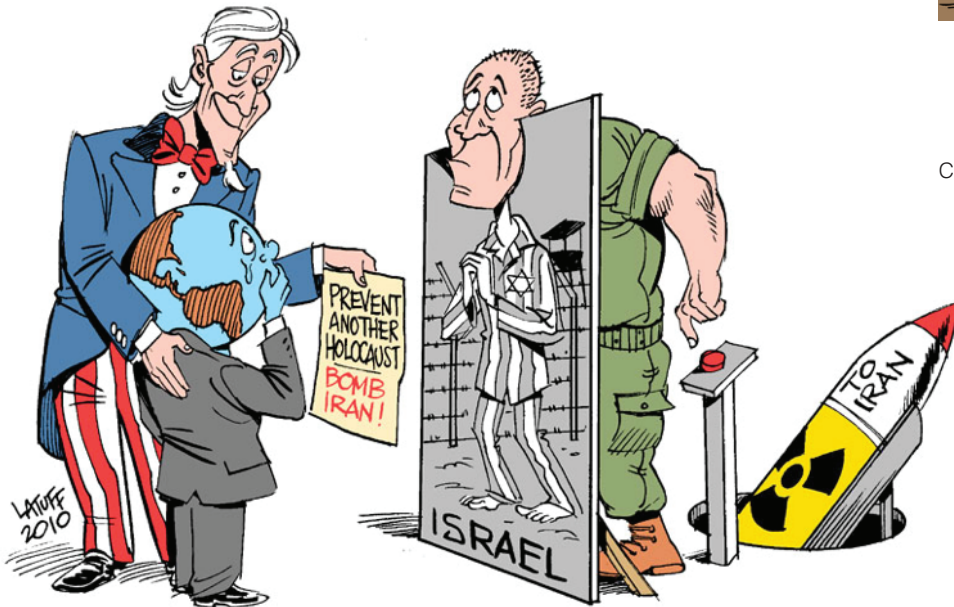
In medieval Europe, Jews were frequently accused of poisoning the wells and spreading disease. Similarly, Jews were accused of **blood libels** – killing Christian children to use their blood for ritual purposes. These portrayals of Jews as cruel and demonic enemies of wider society led to the persecution and murder of millions of Jews throughout the ages.

The false claims of Israel poisoning Palestinian water supplies demonstrates how medieval and classical antisemitic charges are revived and repackaged in the modern era. The above claim accuses Jews and Israel of being responsible for **imagined wrongdoing** and makes **dehumanizing, demonizing and stereotypical allegations**. Israel is portrayed as uniquely evil, motivated by a desire to hurt and maim Palestinians or others. Israel is not considered to have valid motives and interests like any other state, but rather is moved by a demonic wish to harm others.

Is this antisemitic?



Cartoons by Carlos Lutoff



Brazilian cartoonist Carlos Lutoff's caricatures frequently compare Israel's policies towards the Palestinians with the Nazi genocide against Jews and accuse Israel of exploiting the Holocaust to gain sympathy. This is known as **Holocaust Inversion**. The Nazi's "Final Solution" to the "Jewish problem" was the systematic and premeditated destruction of European Jewry, and led to the murder of six million Jews. By contrast, Israel has no policy or ideology of genocide against the Palestinians.

The comparison between Israeli policies and the Holocaust – the largest and greatest antisemitic act in history - is not made innocently. Rather, it is deliberately chosen to offend Jews by comparing the victims of Nazi persecution with its perpetrators, and to diminish the uniqueness and significance of the Holocaust. Holocaust Inversion is an act of hostility towards Jews, Jewish history and the legitimacy of the State of Israel.

Is this antisemitic?



Ilhan Omar
@IlhanMN



It's all about the Benjamins baby 🎵

Glenn Greenwald @ggreenwald

GOP Leader Kevin McCarthy threatens punishment for @IlhanMN and @RashidaTlaib over their criticisms of Israel. It's stunning how much time US political leaders spend defending a foreign nation even if it means a...

Show this thread

On right: Tweet by Congresswoman Ilhan Omar on Feb 10th, 2019.
Left: From Times of Israel,
<https://www.timesofisrael.com/former-uk-labour-mp-says-activists-accused-her-of-dual-loyalty-to-israel/>

23:58 · 10/02/2019 · [Twitter for iPhone](#)

2,284 Retweets 11.7K Likes

Former UK Labour MP says activists accused her of dual loyalty to Israel

Louise Ellman, who left party after 55 years and is Jewish, says members espouse anti-Semitic conspiracies, have 'obsession' with Israel, refused to use her name in publications

<https://www.timesofisrael.com/former-uk-labour-mp-says-activists-accused-her-of-dual-loyalty-to-israel/>

By TOI STAFF

23 October 2019, 5:27 pm | 0



Accusing Diaspora **Jews of dual loyalty towards Israel or of manipulating non-Jews** into supporting Israel is antisemitic. In the above tweet, Minnesota Congresswoman Ilhan Omar invokes **Jewish wealth**, “the Benjamins” (a reference to American dollar bills), as buying American support for Israel. Similarly, veteran Jewish Labour MP in Britain, Louise Ellman, was accused of having dual loyalty towards Israel.

Historically, Jews were seen as untrustworthy and disloyal to local rulers due to their ties to other Jews. In 1894, Alfred Dreyfus, a French military captain who was Jewish, was falsely accused of passing military secrets to the Germans and was convicted in a French military court. His Jewish ancestry played a significant role in the false allegations against him. During the 1930s and 1940s, the Nazis promoted the idea that Jews “stabbed Germany in the back” during the First World War. In 1946, Joseph Stalin launched an antisemitic campaign in the Soviet Union by accusing Jews of being disloyal “rootless cosmopolitans”.

Is this antisemitic?



On Right: Source – Banner by Revolutionary Community Group, <https://www.facebook.com/rcgfrfi/>

Below: Flyer for Columbia University's 2017 Israel Apartheid Week, <https://www.thecollegefix.com/jewish-students-fight-back-zionism-racism-events-columbia/>



Zionism is the belief that Jews should enjoy self-determination and national sovereignty in their ancestral homeland, **in any borders**. The deep historical, cultural and religious ties between the Jewish people and the land of Israel stretch back over three millenia and are expressed in Jewish faith, ritual and custom. The emotional connection to Israel forms a major part of Jewish identity.

Anti-Zionism falsely labels one national movement, the Jewish one, as racism. It does not simply opposed the Israeli government or aspects of Israeli policy. Rather, **it opposes Israel's very existence as a Jewish state**. It demands that Jews renounce a crucial part of their historical identity in order to be accepted in wider society. Anti-Zionism essentially calls on Jews to make a Faustian bargain: renounce your historical ties with your homeland, give up the central role of the land of Israel and the Hebrew language to Jewish identity and cut yourself off from modern Jewish culture in the State of Israel – and you will be accepted.

Is this antisemitic?



[Israeli Ministry of Strategic Affairs/ 2020]

During the 2020 coronavirus pandemic, the far-right, far-left and anti-Zionists began sharing images and memes connecting Jews to the Covid-19 virus. Some said that the virus was a **Jewish hoax or conspiracy**. The charge of Jews being the cause of disease has a long pedigree in the Western world, and reaches back to medieval Europe.

In the Arabic-speaking world, the hashtag #Covid48 became prevalent. The hashtag compares the State of Israel, founded in 1948, to the Covid virus, plaguing the Middle East. The comparison is meant to invite hatred and scorn, and to **demonize and vilify the Jewish state**.

IHRA AND ISRAEL: FAQ

Q: How do we distinguish between legitimate criticism of Israel and antisemitism?

A: One of IHRA's main strengths is that it allows an objective legal definition of antisemitism, as opposed to relying on "gut instinct". Whereas in the past, expressions might have been characterized as antisemitic due to the discomfort they induced, IHRA gives a clear definition of antisemitism.

Of course Israel can be subject to criticism, like any other state. Criticism, however, crosses into antisemitism when, for example, it employs classic antisemitic stereotypes, denies Israel's right to exist, or imposes double standards against Israel. For example, one can criticize Israel's policies and presence in the disputed territories, even harshly. That is certainly not antisemitic. However, denial of Israel's right to exist in any boundaries is antisemitic. Comparing Israel's policies to the Nazis is antisemitic.

Q: Why should anti-Zionism be considered antisemitism?

A: The idea of Zionism is support for the reconstitution of Jewish independence in the Jewish people's historic homeland. While one may disagree with aspects of Israel's current policies, delegitimizing Zionism is denial of the Jewish people's right to self-determination. There is no other state in the world whose very right to exist is questioned. The land of Israel plays a central role in Jewish identity and self-understanding, as expressed in Jewish ritual, belief and history. Anti-Zionism demands that Jews renounce their historical connections to their homeland as well as their hard-won modern sovereignty and independence. Anti-Zionism also disregards the centuries of antisemitic persecution and discrimination faced by Jewish minorities in Christian and Muslim countries. For many Jews, Zionism is a guarantee that Jews are able to live freely in dignity and national independence in their own country.

Let's review a few examples. Iran is a theocracy that practices discrimination against women, religious minorities and sexual minorities. Moreover, it is the biggest state sponsor of terrorism that the world has ever seen. However, does anybody argue that Iran as a country should stop existing or that the Persian people should lose their state?

Similarly, Venezuela is a failed socialist state with a history of violence. Does anybody ever say that Venezuela should stop existing and its citizens lose their independence?

The international community is largely composed of nation-states. Even today, many national groups seek statehood and self-determination, such as the Tibetans, Kurds, Catalans and of course the Palestinians. Despite the widespread nature of nationalist movements, anti-Zionists uniquely single out Jewish nationalism, aka. Zionism, as inherently illegitimate and even racist.

Q: How does IHRA affect free speech?

A: It shouldn't affect free speech. Different countries have different limitations on free speech and there's a balance between the damage that might arise from hate speech or incitement to violence, to the possible limitation on someone's freedom to say hateful things. The balance in the US for example is dramatically different from other countries, where free speech received an almost complete protection.

This is not meant to change that balance, and we must be extremely careful with our understanding of the proper boundaries of IHRA. As said above, criticism is allowed, it is an invaluable part of democracy.

Even without legal force, IHRA allows us to properly identify antisemitism and antisemitic actions. Antisemitism can then be subject to the proper response from society, which is rejection and condemnation

PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS OF IHRA

IHRA provides an important tool for combatting antisemitism, both at the criminal and non-criminal levels. On a basic level, without criminalizing or legally sanctioning every instance of antisemitism, IHRA provides an objective and clearly defined standard by which to identify and “call out” antisemitism. In democratic societies that value and protect freedom of speech, there is always a gap between criminal speech (hate speech or incitement) punishable by law, and illegitimate expressions of intolerance condemned by society. IHRA does not aim to criminalize or punish all forms of antisemitic speech. Rather, IHRA provides a way for civil society to examine the discriminatory and antisemitic intent or objective behind actions or expressions. IHRA allows purveyors and proponents of antisemitism to be subjected to civil society’s rejection and opprobrium. Additionally, the IHRA definition provides parameters to distinguish antisemitism from legitimate political discourse. By doing this, IHRA not only advances the fight against discrimination but contributes to the protection of free speech.

IHRA can be used by police agencies as well as judges and prosecution to identify and classify antisemitic crimes and motives. By familiarizing themselves with IHRA, legal professionals and law enforcement will be more adequately equipped to recognize motivations based on hatred for Jews, stereotyping, Jewish history, the Holocaust or the State of Israel. They will be able to identify motivations as antisemitic, as opposed to merely critical of the Jewish community or of Israel. Stereotypes about Jews can also indicate antisemitic motivations: Jews as cheap or particularly good with money or conspiratorial thinking about Jews. Claiming that Jews or Israel are behind major negative events, such as the coronavirus pandemic¹, the rise of ISIS² or other such conspiracy theories, is a classic sign of antisemitism. Jews as a collective are often blamed for the real or alleged misdeeds of individuals Jews, prominent Jewish figures or the State of Israel. References to the Jewish background or identity of prominent Jews in positions of power, with insinuations that they are untrustworthy, corrupt or unduly influential, can also be seen as antisemitic. There is a crucial distinction between criticism of corrupt individuals who are Jewish, and antisemitic “pointing-out” of the Jewish background these individuals, as an explanation for their misdeed.

1. “White Supremacists’ Dangerous New Conspiracy Theory”
<https://www.haaretz.com/us-news/.premium-the-jews-control-the-chinese-labs-that-created-coronavirus-1.8809635>

2. “Annual Audit of Antisemitic Incidents 2019”, B’nai Brith Canada,
https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/bnaibrithcanada/pages/394/attachments/original/1588351819/B'nai_Brith_Canada_Audit_2019_ENG.pdf?1588351819, p.31

Familiarity with IHRA will also help police understand that many Jews express their Jewish identity through identification with the State of Israel or Israeli cultural events, for example. Therefore, an attack on Jews participating in a pro-Israel rally or at an Israeli film festival would be understood to be antisemitic. Furthermore, Jews are often seen as responsible for Israel's alleged crimes, for no other reason than their Jewish identities. For example, in November 2019, the student union at the University of Toronto expressed opposition to a campaign to provide kosher food on campus on the pretext that such a move might be construed as "pro-Israel"³. This goes beyond a mere political dispute involving the State of Israel, and demonstrates an opposition to Jews practicing their religious obligations due to a supposed affiliation or connection with the Jewish State.

Authorities will also be able to recognize coded or hidden antisemitic statements or expressions. For example, "88" is a white supremacist code for "Heil Hitler". Similarly, a popular Arabic chant at anti-Israel rallies, "Khaybar", references a 7th century massacre of Jews in the Arabian Peninsula by Islam's founding figure⁴. IHRA also helps in understanding the fuller public context of suspected antisemitic attacks. For example, antisemitic intent can be indicated by the timing of the incident: during a flare-up of tensions in the Israeli-Arab conflict, on a date of particular significance in the conflict's history, the Holocaust or local antisemitic events, or during an intense public debate on issues related to Jews, such as circumcision or Holocaust restitution.

3. "U of Toronto Graduate Student Union opposes campus kosher food as 'pro-Israel'" <https://www.timesofisrael.com/u-of-toronto-student-union-boycotts-kosher-food-on-campus-over-israel-divestment/>

4. "Chanting 'Jews, Remember Khaybar' in Italy" <http://www.israelnationalnews.com/Articles/Article.aspx/21495>

NOW MORE THAN EVER

Antisemitism has risen drastically over the past decade worldwide. Jewish religious and community institutions, as well as Jewish individuals, have been the targets of harassment, vandalism, violence and even murder. Jewish communities around the world are under intense pressure, Jews are emigrating massively from Europe and other countries areas facing extreme antisemitism, and Jewish institutions need to take constant security precautions. Over half of younger European Jews (aged 16-34) admit to being the victim of an antisemitic incident in the past year⁵.

According to a survey carried out by the Anti-Defamation League in 2019, one in four Europeans hold hard-core antisemitic beliefs and stereotypes⁶. This is barely 80 years after two thirds of European Jewry were murdered by the German Nazi regime and local collaborators across the Continent.

Jewish community watchdogs in the UK reported record high antisemitic incidents in 2019⁷. The recent elections in the UK saw the mainstreaming of antisemitic tropes and stereotypes. In Germany, Jewish worshippers in a synagogue in Halle were narrowly saved from a massacre by a neo-Nazi gunman last Yom Kippur. Despite Germany's dark history, German Jews continue to be subject to violence and terror from far-right, Islamist and radical leftist groups. In France, violent acts against Jews constituted nearly 40% of hate crimes reported in 2017, despite Jews making up less than 1% of France's population. In 2019, there was 27% increase of antisemitic violence in France⁸. In the past decade, a dozen French Jews have been murdered by Muslim extremists. In New York City, the city with the largest Jewish population outside of Israel, attacks on Jews constitute more than half of hate crimes reported. Over the past two years, American Jews have been assaulted and murdered in Pittsburgh, Poway, Jersey City and Monsey.

5. <https://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2019/young-jewish-europeans-perceptions-and-experiences-antisemitism>
Over half of younger European Jews (aged 16-34) admit to being the victim of an antisemitic incident in the past year.

6. <https://www.adl.org/news/press-releases/adl-global-survey-of-18-countries-finds-hardcore-anti-semitic-attitudes-remain>
According to a survey carried out by the Anti-Defamation League in 2019, one in four Europeans hold hardcore antisemitic views.

7. <https://cst.org.uk/news/blog/2019/08/01/antisemitic-incidents-report-january-june-2019>
Jewish community watchdogs in the UK reported record high antisemitic incidents in 2019.

8. <https://www.jta.org/quick-reads/frances-tiny-jewish-minority-targeted-in-majority-of-racist-incidents-in-2019>
In 2019, there was 27% increase of antisemitic violence in France.

MOVING FORWARD

In this fraught moment, as Jewish communities worldwide face the greatest resurgence of antisemitism since the Second World War, governments must take an active role in fighting anti-Jewish hatred and bigotry. It is not enough for countries to adopt the IHRA working definition. In order to ensure that IHRA does not become a dead letter, governments must train legal professionals and law enforcement agencies to properly identify antisemitism. Civil society organizations must be on the lookout for antisemitic expressions and actions expressed by their members, in social media and in public discourse.

Jews have frequently compared to the proverbial canary in the coalmine. When society turns against its Jews, it is a sign of moral decay and a threat to the rights and wellbeing of all its members. As such, it is the duty of all people of conscience, not just Jews, to promote the adoption of the IHRA working definition and join the struggle against the age-old scourge of antisemitism.



People participate in a Jewish solidarity march across the Brooklyn Bridge on January 5, 2020 in New York City. (Jeenah Moon/Getty Images/AFP/ 2020)