

JPPI'S 2020
ANNUAL JEWISH WORLD DIALOGUE

ANTISEMITISM

ANTISEMITISM AND ITS IMPACT ON JEWISH IDENTITY

Project Heads: **Shlomo Fischer** | **John Ruskay**



המכון למדיניות העם היהודי (מיסודה של הסוכנות היהודית לא"י) בע"מ (חל"צ)

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With fond memories of Alex Grass z"l, Jack Kay z"l and Art Samberg z"l

The Jewish People Policy Institute
Annual Jewish World Dialogue 2020

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Project Heads: **Shlomo Fischer** | **John Ruskay**

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD by Avinoam Bar-Yosef	5
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	8
INTRODUCTION	11
The Rise of Antisemitism	11
The Effects of Antisemitism	14
The Course of the Dialogue and its methodology	16
FINDINGS	17
Feeling in America, Feeling about America	17
Antisemitism and the Expression of Jewish Identity	18
Strategizing against Antisemitism	20
The Place of Israel	23
Antisemitism and the Nature of Jewish Identity	25
Conclusion	27
Policy Recommendations	28
APPENDIX I - QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES	30
APPENDIX II - PARTICIPANT LIST	45

FOREWORD

The decision to dedicate the Jewish People Policy Institute's 2020 annual Jewish World Dialogue to antisemitism and its implications for Jewish identity was made following lengthy discussions between Israeli and American colleagues on the senior staff. There was an understanding that something is changing in North America. Something disturbing. The sense of security felt by Jews is not as it once was. Although most do not feel personally threatened, they sense the arrows of hatred aimed at the community. However, they know how to distinguish between a real threat to the nature of Jewish life in Europe, and the developments at home that mainly spring from the extreme fringes on the right and left.

Historically, the United States has known the cold wind of discriminatory attitude toward Jews. As late as the middle of the last century, quotas were still set for the admission of Jews to leading universities. Jewish families were not welcome in "WASP" clubs. American society did not embrace them. And even harder to fathom, during World War II, US gates were blocked to Jewish refugees fleeing the terror of Europe's gas chambers.

In the last 50 years, the situation gradually changed. There was a growing acknowledgement of Jewish contributions in the public sphere, in science, in literature, in art, in music, and in the media. A perception took hold that American culture is based on a Judeo-Christian heritage). The success of the Jews as served as an example to the general society. The success of Israel as a Jewish state that shared common values and interests with the United States, especially after the Six-Day War, was a catalyst. It is possible that some degree of guilt also arose because America didn't do more to save Jews during the Holocaust. In any case, American society began to embrace Jews, if not as a community, at least as individuals.

It is possible that during these decades anti-Semitism in North America did not completely disappear, but it ceased to be fashionable. It was no longer politically correct.

With Donald Trump's entry into the White House there was a change in discourse. The polarization in American society reached unprecedented heights. Right-wing vs. left-wing – liberal vs. conservative. On the radical fringes, racism surged toward

blacks, toward immigrants, and toward other minorities. This led Jew haters to rear their ugly heads. By no means can Trump be blamed for antisemitism. The discourse that developed under him, however, created a feeling among his radical supporters that antisemitic expressions no longer contradicted American “political correctness.” The racist far right has added Jews to its hit list. The extreme left has turned Israel and the Jewish community that identifies with Zionism into its punching bag.

The diminished sense of security among Jews raises many questions, including its impact on Jewish identity and the principle of mutual responsibility. Does Jewish identity increase when the community is threatened or when it is embraced by society? Is it appropriate to base identity borne out of rejection or out of an increase in hatred of Jews? What are the recommended coalitions to assist in combatting antisemitism, on the right or on the left?

These and other questions informed the decision to hold this year’s Dialogue on this very issue. This is JPPI’s seventh annual Jewish World Dialogue. It has become one of the Institute’s flagship initiatives. Upon my retirement, I would like to hope that the project, despite its complexity, will continue and expand. I would also like to mention how the Dialogue initiative was born and offer my thanks to those who helped it spread its wings.

The one who encouraged us to hold the first discourse was Prof. Ruth Gavison, of blessed memory. In 2013, Prof. Gavison was asked by then-Justice Minister Tzipi Livni to prepare legislation on Israel’s identity as a Jewish and democratic state. Gavison believed that a historical initiative at such a level could not take off without Diaspora input. She turned to the Jewish People Policy Institute to take advantage of its unique status as a global policy body in order to analyze the views and perceptions of Jews around the world.

At the beginning of the summer of 2014, the recommendations were presented to the Government of Israel. Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu encouraged the institute to continue this consultation process regularly, and we did so. The importance of the project stems in part from the fact that each year it touches on a different pressing challenge for Jews worldwide. This in spite the fact that the Institute’s focus, since its inception in 2002, has been on longer-term strategic planning.

Prof. Ruth Gavison ז”ל passed away in August 2020. She left an amazing legacy in the fields of law and society. Above all, her love for the Jewish people, her commitment to the State of Israel, the Zionist movement, and her loyalty to justice, equality

and democracy stood out. Her sharp vision and her creative and original thought influenced JPPI at important crossroads, and I am confident that her legacy will continue to guide my colleagues in the future.

I would like to express my great appreciation to the team who have accompanied the Dialogue since its inception – first to Dr. Shlomo Fischer and Dr. John Ruskay who have led the project in recent years, and to Shmuel Rosner, Amb. Avi Gil and Brig. General (Res.) Michael Herzog who headed it in its first years.

I would also like to extend special thanks to the Co-Chairs of JPPI's Board, Ambassadors Dennis Ross and Stuart Eizenstat, and wish success from the bottom of my heart to JPPI's new President, Prof. Yedidia Stern.

Avinoam Bar-Yosef

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

JPPI's 7th Annual Israel - Jewish World Dialogue focused on the increase in antisemitism and its impact on Jewish identity. eleven dialogue sessions were conducted — nine in North American Jewish communities and two in Israel — with 154 participants.

Participants in JPPI's Jewish World dialogue are a self-selected group, mainly of highly engaged North American Jews. The Dialogues give us a sense of what Jews who are involved with the organized Jewish community are thinking and the range of opinion among them. The methodology we employ is more akin to that of a focus group than of a statistical survey, and it provides a certain measure of qualitative insights. The Dialogues do not presume to offer a definitive picture of North American Jewish opinion insofar as the participants do not constitute a representative sample of the North American Jewish population. The percentages that appear in the text refer to the questionnaire participants completed, not to the frequency or intensity of opinions within North American Jewry.

While the report below outlines the methodology, issues discussed, and results of the questionnaire, the major findings can be summarized as follows:

How Jews Perceive Antisemitism in America

Virtually all participants perceived an increase in antisemitic views and acts over the past decade. That said, most participants had not directly experienced antisemitic behavior themselves.

More than half of the participants did say that recent antisemitic incidents had shaken their confidence in the idea that “America is different.” That is, they still believe that America is different, that in America Jews do not experience the kind of antisemitism Jews have experienced in Europe or in other locations in the Old World. However, “out of the corner of their eye” they have identified a possible threat to the Jewish community and entertain the possibility that America is changing. At the same time, less than a third of participants indicated that the increase in antisemitism had led them to consider spending more time in Israel.

Most participants attributed the increase of antisemitic views and acts to the increase of racism broadly and pointed to the growing role of **social media**.

Most attributed the increase in antisemitism to white nationalist groups while noting that Jewish organizational leadership tends to link growing antisemitism with anti-Zionist/anti-Israel/BDS groups.

Ramifications

About a third of the participants believed that increased antisemitism had led some Jews in North America to be more cautious in their public Jewish expressions; most did not. About a fifth thought that it caused Jews to be more assertive in expressing their Jewish identity.

Although most Dialogue participants recognized that antisemitism could strengthen Jewish identification, most discussants (highly identified and engaged Jews) did not believe this to be desirous or positive. **A significant number of participants thought that the best response to antisemitism is to increase Jewish commitment.**

What is to be Done?

- **Most believe the Jewish community should develop coalitions with other racial and ethnic groups to combat racism broadly** — even with groups that hold views on Israel and other issues (such as abortion) that vary from consensus views of North American Jewry.
- **Israel has a role in both augmenting and mitigating antisemitism** on multiple levels. This should be brought to the attention of policymakers.
- **Israel and Diaspora leadership should try to clarify the definitional content of terms such as “antisemitic,” “anti-Zionist,” and “anti-Israel.”**
- **Serious research should be undertaken by a university or academic consortium to identify what has been demonstratively effective in mitigating hate, racism, and antisemitism.**

INTRODUCTION

The subject of JPPI's 2020 Dialogue was the impact of increasing antisemitism on Jewish identity. It was chosen in the wake of alarming reports about rising antisemitism in Europe over the past decade and in North America in recent years, reflected in both attitudes and behavior. In the course of the Dialogue, we presented data and insights regarding the increase in antisemitic attitudes and incidents and discussed Jewish responses to antisemitism. These included: the extent to which participants experienced antisemitism and how they understood its source(s); aspects of various strategies to combat antisemitism, especially as they relate to coalition building and cooperation with other groups; and the role of Israel in both fostering antisemitism and combatting it. **We focused especially on the relationship of antisemitism to Jewish identity.** We treated this last topic on several levels. The immediate practical level is first: Does antisemitism cause Jews to play down or even hide their Jewish identity? Or does it do the opposite and actually strengthen ties to the Jewish community and to the symbols and practices of Judaism and Jewishness? Beyond this, we raised the question of the extent to which antisemitism is constitutive of Jewish identity as Jean-Paul Sartre argued 75 years ago.¹ That is to say, that we are Jews because others designate us as Jews and regard us with hostility. If this hostility were to cease, we would cease being Jews and assimilate into being like everyone else. In that context, we show that for many Jews there is an alternative to this form of identity, a Jewish identity that is self-generated and self-determined.

The Rise of Antisemitism

For the past 75 years, since the end of the Holocaust, many observers believed antisemitism to be a thing of the past. The magnitude and horrors of the Shoah, the ongoing revelations of the Nazi genocide, rendered groups and individuals who expressed antisemitism to be literally outside of civil society, beyond the pale. It appears that grace period is over. Antisemitic attitudes, speech, and actions have returned, first in Europe and increasingly in the United States. Antisemitic actions and expressions have been condoned in quarters that one could not have imagined a decade or two ago (e.g., the British Labour Party).

1 Jean-Paul Sartre, *Anti-Semite and Jew*, New York: Schocken Books, 1948.

If we look at some numbers, antisemitic incidents, including extremely violent assaults, are on the rise in every European country.

Table 1: Antisemitism in Western Europe 2018

Antisemitism in Western Europe	Trend	Europe average	France	UK	Germany
PUBLIC OPINION TOWARD JEWS (%)					
Harbor antisemitic attitudes (%) ⁷	▼	24 (26)	17 (37)	36 (39) ⁸	16 (27) ⁹
– as above, among Muslims (%) ¹⁰	▲	62 (55)	49 (83)	58 (54)	70 (62)
ANTISEMITIC BEHAVIOR (number of incidents; only as reported to official agencies)					
Increase/Decrease in violent assaults (%)	▲		+74%	+16%	+10%
Violent assaults ¹¹	▲		183 [97]	123 [149]	62 [24]
Total incidents (extreme violence, assaults, damages, desecrations and threats)	▲		541 [311]	1,652 [1,420] ¹²	1,646 [1,504] ¹³
Number of physical attacks per 1,000 Jews	▲	5	3.1 [1.8]	9.3 [8]	7.4 [6.7]
Per cent of attacks that are not reported	▲	79 (77)	76 (72)	80 (73)	79 (72)
ANTISEMITISM AS PERCEIVED BY JEWS¹⁴ (%)					
Antisemitism is a very or fairly big problem (%)	▲	85 (67)	95 (86)	75 (48)	85 (40)
Have considered emigration because they do not feel safe in their country (%)	▲	38 (32)	44 (46) ¹⁵	29 (18)	44 (25)
Avoid places in their neighborhood because they would not feel safe there as a Jew (%)	▲	38 (27)	35 (20)	68 (37)	35 (28)

Note: Numbers in parenthesis are the latest available data. Numbers in brackets are 2017 scores.

Source: JPPI 2019 Annual Assessment of the Situation and Dynamics of the Jewish People (p. 110).

There has been, though, a slight decrease in antisemitic attitudes among the general population, together with an increase in antisemitic attitudes in the Muslim population. In the US, there has been a doubling of the number of assaults and an increase in harassment in 2018. The US also suffered from mass shootings of Jews in Pittsburgh and in Poway, California. Total incidents, however, were very slightly lower in America. (See Table 2)

In both Europe and the US, the assaults had more than one source. Some were perpetrated by right-wing groups or individuals, including white supremacists and populist nationalists. The shootings in Pittsburgh (October 2018) and Poway (April 2019) were committed by white supremacists. White supremacists also conducted a heavily publicized antisemitic march in Charlottesville, Virginia (August 2017). These incidents placed antisemitism in the public eye and in public discourse. At the same time, in certain locations, such as Brooklyn and Monsey, New York, easily identifiable

Hasidic and Haredi Jews were assaulted by African-Americans. In Europe, in addition to the right-wing perpetrators, Muslims have carried out assaults, some of which were extremely violent, such as the 2015 Hypercacher attack in Paris.

Table 2: Antisemitism in the USA

Antisemitism in the USA	Trend	2019	2018	2017	2016
PUBLIC OPINION TOWARDS JEWS					
Harbor antisemitic attitudes (%) ²⁰	▲		NA	10%	9%
ANTISEMITIC BEHAVIOR (number of incidents; only as reported to official agencies)					
Increase/Decrease of Assault (%)	▲		+105%	-47%	
Assaults (physical)	▲		39	19	36
Vandalism (property)			774	952	510
Harassment (verbal, written)	▲		1,066	1,015	720
Total Incidents (extreme violence, assaults, damages, desecrations and threats)			1,879	1,986	1,266
Number of incidents per 1,000 Jews			0.28	0.29	0.2
ANTISEMITISM AS PERCEIVED BY JEWS					
Antisemitism is currently a very serious or somewhat of a problem in the United States				73%	
Antisemitism is currently a very serious or somewhat of a problem on the American college campus				57%	74.2%
Compared to a year ago, the status of Jews in the United States is less secure		65%			89.9%
Compared to a year ago, the climate on college campuses is more hostile toward pro-Israel students		57%	55%		

All three Western European countries in Table 1 have seen an uptick of those who think antisemitism is a very or fairly big problem, and an increase in Jews who have considered immigration because they do not feel safe in their country. In the US, a 2018 JPPI survey of 180 rabbis and communal leaders found that a large majority felt that antisemitism had increased considerably in the last five years and that 50 percent of respondents felt that government does not combat antisemitism effectively.²

² Jewish People Policy Institute, 2018 Annual Assessment of the Situation and Dynamics of the Jewish People, <http://jppi.org.il/en/article/aa2019/indices/Antisemitism/changed/#.X9oubtgzYYs>

The Effects of Antisemitism

In this year's Dialogue, we provided participants the opportunity to discuss how they feel, think, and act in response to the increase of antisemitism. The first issue we explored was whether the rise of antisemitism affects how Jews feel in America and how they feel about America. Many American Jews believe that "America is different," that in America Jews do not experience the kind of antisemitism Jews have experienced in Europe. This can relate to several factors. It can refer to the virulence and violence of antisemitic attacks. Although some Jews in America have experienced violent attacks, none compare to the pogroms, massacres, and genocide perpetrated in Europe. But it can also refer to something else, to a more subtle and invisible barrier. In a few striking passages, Jean-Paul Sartre describes the relationship of French society to the Jew "as stranger, as intruder, as unassimilated at the very heart of [French] society."

He [the Jew] may be decorated with the ribbon of the Legion of Honor. He may become a great lawyer or cabinet minister. But at the very moment that he reaches the summit of legal society — another society, amorphous, diffused and omnipresent — appears before him ... and refuses to take him in. How sharply must he feel the vanity of honors and of fortune when the greatest success will never gain him entrance into that society which considers itself the 'real' one.³

...Everything is accessible to him and yet he possesses nothing, for he is told what one possesses is not to be bought. All that he touches, all that he acquires becomes devaluated in his hands. The goods of the earth, the true goods are always those which he has not.⁴

This sort of subtle discrimination existed in certain places and times in America, but never with the intensity and pervasiveness that it did in Europe. And to the extent that it did exist, it largely disappeared in the last decades of the 20th century. The relatively advantageous place of the Jew in America may be ascribed to two causes. First, American civilization on the whole, places much less emphasis on primordial or ethnic, tribal factors (factors one is born with) in its collective identity. America is not based upon a single ethnicity or descent or even language group (as are Germany,

3 Sartre, *Anti-Semite and Jew*, pp. 79-80.

4 Sartre, *Anti-Semite and Jew*, p. 83.

Italy, Poland, etc.). Rather, it is a nation of immigrants whose unity derives from adherence to sets of ideas, first religious and then increasingly civil (“dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal”). Second, the “other” of American history and society, the one seen as an outsider, not fully human, (and hence one is entitled to enslave or kill) is the African-American and not the Jew (the “other” of Christian Europe). It would seem that these two factors are responsible for the fact that antisemitism in America, even in its attacks, is less aggressively violent, and that the invisible social barrier that antisemitism sets up is much less intense and pervasive.

American Jews, especially in the last decades of the 20th century, after WW II and the Holocaust, for the most part have felt secure and at home. Not only were attacks against Jews regarded as a thing of the past, long-standing social barriers began to come down. Friendships with non-Jews and intermarriage became widespread (to the point of becoming bad form to condemn it). One indicator of acceptance into American society is the fact that two serious contenders in the 2020 presidential campaign were Jewish.

Thus, the question arises as to the effect of the rise of antisemitism and antisemitic attacks on this feeling of security and of “feeling at home” (at least for some Jews). Especially in the wake of the mass shootings in Pittsburgh and Poway and the physical attacks in Brooklyn, do some Jews feel less secure? Has the rise of antisemitism re-awakened slumbering collective historical memories of what it was like to be a Jew in less secure societies. Has it shaken their sense of “feeling at home” because some regard them as intruders or strangers?

The Course of the Dialogue and its Methodology

This year’s Dialogue took place concomitantly with the outbreak of the coronavirus pandemic, which forced a change in how the process was conducted. The JPPI senior fellows who led the Dialogue, Dr. Shlomo Fischer and Dr. John Ruskay, did not, as in previous years, physically travel to the various communities in which Dialogue sessions took place. Rather, the sessions were conducted via Zoom. In order to facilitate discussion using the Zoom technology, the moderators organized small breakout groups of four to six participants. Speaking in small groups encouraged

participants to more intimately express their thoughts and feelings. Each breakout group appointed a recorder who reported on the group's discussion to all the participants in the session.

Most Dialogue sessions were convened by Federations in communities that ranged from among the largest Jewish communities — New York, Chicago, Cleveland, Washington to two that are far smaller, in Vancouver and Nova Scotia. One session comprised students from the Hillel chapter at Hunter College (NYC) and another involved emissaries (*shlichim*) of the Jewish Agency for Israel. Most participants were highly engaged and identified. The smaller group of older participants were Federation leaders; the far larger younger groups consisted of Federation professionals, Jewish educators, and college students... . Because university campuses are prime loci of anti-Israel activity, this year, the leaders of the Dialogue made a special effort to include young people. Thus, 65 percent of participants were between 20 and 40, with the 20-30 age group constituting around 25 percent.

As in previous years, participants completed a short questionnaire, so, in addition to what was said in the Dialogue sessions, there would be comparable participant data across the 11 sessions. Our report is based both upon the questionnaire and statements made in the discussion sessions.

FINDINGS

Feeling in America, Feeling about America

In recent decades, large sectors of American Jewry believed that antisemitism was a thing of the past, something horrible from prior periods of Jewish history. Caring for the poor, strengthening Jewish education, and maintaining bipartisan commitment to Israel's security became the broadly-affirmed chief priorities of American Jewry. The increase in antisemitic attitudes and actions has elevated combatting antisemitism and it is now widely considered a high priority matter — an urgent issue again requiring the highest priority on the global Jewish leadership agenda.

Nevertheless, the overwhelming majority of participants had no direct experience of antisemitism. (We should mention, however, that Canadian participants in Winnipeg and Vancouver indicated that Jews felt more physically insecure, especially in connection with the synagogue and Jewish community events.) The students who participated also discussed this directly: two of them, one who attended a Modern Orthodox yeshiva, the other a product of a Reform congregation (Hebrew school, camp) — “felt safe.” A third student from the Russian Jewish community in New York said she has experienced significant antisemitism and does hide her Jewishness.

In general, the participants indicated that they felt affected by the rise of antisemitic attacks through the increased security surrounding their synagogues and institutions.

Perhaps the most telling finding of the whole 2020 Dialogue process derives from the answers to the question: “Has the recent rise in antisemitic attacks and rhetoric shaken or challenged the belief on your part or on the part of others that America is ‘different’ in regard to antisemitism?” Fifty-five percent answered: “It has slightly shaken it, but I still think that North America is different.” (Only 8.5 percent answered that it had shaken it altogether, and 35 percent or so answered that they never believed North America was different.) Participant answers to this question in most communities, whether large (New York) or small (Nova Scotia), mirrored the percentages of the group as a whole.

One exception to this was Palm Beach. There, most of the respondents (55.5 percent) answered that they never thought America was different. Only 35 percent said that the recent rise of antisemitism had shaken their belief that America is different.

Consistent with the belief of the majority of the participants that “America is still different” despite it being “shaken,” 75 percent of respondents agreed that “While I am very concerned about the rise of antisemitism, I have not as of yet considered moving/living in Israel.” A senior Palm Beach leader also wished to give some balanced perspective on the progress that had been made by pointing out that in the 1960s there were still signs that read “no negroes or kikes allowed.”

From the questionnaire responses and subsequent participant discussions, one could metaphorically say, that “out of the corner of their eye,” American Jews have discerned a new, potentially threatening, reality. As many of them emphasized in the breakout groups, their day-to-day existence has not changed, and they basically feel secure in their personal settings and environments. Yet, they are aware that something new and disquieting has appeared on their horizon — “a threat to the community,” as one participant put it (contrasting it with a threat to him personally).

They are also aware that the nature of the threat is manifold, that it comes from both right-wing white supremacists and the anti-Israel BDS movement on the left. Most participants emphasized the antisemitism of the white supremacists, but some pointed to the BDS movement. All participants believe the community needs to be attentive to both. One participant in Cleveland astutely remarked that the leadership of the organized community tends to point to the BDS movement as the greatest threat to the Jewish people while the rank and file, or ordinary Jews, tend to feel that the white supremacists are the greatest threat. In connection with this, one participant from Palm Beach said, “civil society/government institutions have never felt weaker.” They also noted the role of social media in the rise of antisemitism and racism, as one from Atlanta participant put it, “social media has given hate a megaphone.”

Antisemitism and the Expression of Jewish Identity

Has the rise in antisemitism affected how Jews manifest or express their Jewish identity? Europe experienced rising antisemitism 10 to 20 years before the United States. Jewish responses in Europe included downplaying or hiding one’s Jewishness as well as accentuating it. According to a European Union survey from 2018, 71 percent of respondents said that they hide their Jewishness, at least occasionally. An alternative response is to distance oneself from the general society and turn inward

to the Jewish community and strengthen Jewish observances and commitments. This latter response is much harder to measure and our knowledge of it rests largely on anecdotal evidence.

We inquired as to whether these two responses also occurred in the United States. A plurality of respondents (41 percent) answered that the rise of antisemitism had not changed how Jews present or express their Jewishness. However, a significant minority (32.5 percent) did answer that some Jews are trying to be more restrained in visibly expressing their Jewishness.

This topic came up in the small breakout discussions. Whereas the questionnaire was phrased with respect to what respondents had observed in regard to other Jews, participants in the small group discussions felt free to talk about themselves. We noted a range of responses to increased antisemitism, from some who are more hesitant to express their Jewishness to those who have become more assertive in doing so. In many communities, some of the participants indicated that they were reticent or restrained in expressing or publicly presenting their Jewishness, though they did not necessarily tie this to the rise in antisemitism. One group of young Jews, who were in Israel at the time of their Dialogue session, said [they] try not to openly express Judaism... [They] ...feel more insecure in Europe than in the US.

In some of the larger communities (for example New York and Cleveland) we saw the opposite response – that some Jews became more assertive in expressing their Jewish identity. In New York, for instance, participants related how friends and acquaintances of theirs who were generally indifferent to their Jewish identity, were motivated to attend the January 2020 solidarity march (under the banner “No Hate. No Fear”) in New York City, which was organized after a spate of physical attacks against Hasidic Jews. One New York participant related to this and said that “in Europe people may hide expressions of their Jewishness but not in New York.”

Overall, 17.5 percent said that Jews were becoming more assertive in expressing their identity in the face of antisemitism.

Some respondents, including those from smaller communities, did not speak of a more assertive Jewish identity, but they did say that being aware of antisemitism made them want to be around Jews. Other respondents also talked about an intensification of Jewish feeling and identity as a result of antisemitism. In other words, in addition to a desire to assert outwardly (toward others) one’s Jewish identity (such as we saw in

New York and Cleveland), some participants pointed to an intensification of Jewish feeling and identity in their inner life.

The paradoxical positive relationship between antisemitism and Jewish identity was noticed in the Talmud itself:

“And the king removed his ring from his hand” (Esther 3:10). Rabbi Abba bar Kahana said: The removal of Ahasuerus’s ring for the sealing of Haman’s decree was more effective than the forty-eight prophets and the seven prophetesses who prophesied on behalf of the Jewish people. As, they were all unable to return the Jewish people to the right way, but the removal of Ahasuerus’s ring returned them to the right way, since it brought them to repentance. (b. Megilla 14a).

While this claim is paradoxical, and while we certainly do not want an increase in antisemitism as an antidote to assimilation, we can, nevertheless, appreciate the logic behind the argument.

Strategizing against Antisemitism

Historically, as a minority group that experienced persecution, American Jews tended to band together with other minority and disprivileged groups. Thus, Jewish religious leaders and organizations participated in the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and ‘60s in numbers beyond their percentage of the population. So, questions arise: What is the preferable strategy for struggling against antisemitism? Are coalitions with other groups the preferred strategy? If we do partner with other groups, should the joint efforts focus explicitly on antisemitism or racism more broadly?

Assuming that such a strategy is preferred, with which other groups should we partner? Should we partner with groups that hold opinions far outside the broad Jewish consensus concerning Israel and the Palestinians? Or with groups that hold different opinions concerning the right to abortion? How about groups in which some members perpetrate antisemitic acts and/or some of whose leaders make statements that can be construed as having antisemitic content?

To a certain extent, the answers to these questions depend on how one understands antisemitism and its root causes. Is it one among other examples of racism and prejudice and Jews, therefore, should join with other groups who are targets of racism

and discrimination in struggling against these phenomena? Or does antisemitism have (or also have) unique causes and unique roots that may make a joint struggle less effective?

Overall, two-thirds of the Dialogue participants thought the increase in antisemitism is related to an increase in racism in general. Only one-third thought the increase stems from antisemitism's unique sources. Some participants in the breakout sessions thought the answer to this question divides among age groups: that younger Jews ascribe the rise in antisemitism to the rise in racism and hate in general, but that older people see antisemitism as deriving from unique sources. This hypothesis was not entirely borne out by our data. In most of the age groups even more than two-thirds thought it was due to the rise in racism. However, in the 60-70 age cohort, which was not large, almost 50 percent thought it was due to the unique sources of antisemitism.

In line with this but even more so, 92 percent of Dialogue participants thought the preferred strategy to fight antisemitism is to form coalitions with other groups combatting racism. In the Dialogue sessions themselves, many participants pointed to such coalitions, such as the Atlanta Black-Jewish coalition and lauded their positive qualities and effectiveness.

Despite the fact that in the Dialogue sessions in general, participants mentioned antisemitism of the left and were aware of Black and Muslim antisemitism, they did not raise this in connection with coalition building. Furthermore, despite its currency on university campuses and in academic writing, the notion of "intersectionality" did not come up. This term refers to a conceptual framework for cooperation among oppressed groups. Originally, the term referred to how aspects of one's social and political identities (gender, race, class, sexuality, ability, etc.) might combine to create unique modes of discrimination. In time though, it also began to refer to the idea that the victims of (racial, gender, sexual, class etc.) oppression cannot fight their battles separately. They must all come together to fight oppression. Yet, on university campuses and in academic writing, Jews are generally excluded from this framework. They are either not considered oppressed, or they are implicitly associated with Zionism, an "oppressive" ideology. Judging from our Dialogue groups, it apparently does not have the same currency in general (off-campus) community relations.

In fact, 70 percent of respondents answered that Jews should form coalitions with

other groups to combat racism and antisemitism, even those with whom the majority of the Jewish community may have deep disagreements, such as on issues concerning Israel and Palestine. Nevertheless, divergent opinions did emerge regarding this issue. Although 80 percent of those who thought antisemitism is linked to general racism were willing to forge coalitions with other (even problematic) groups, almost half of those who thought antisemitism is unique were unwilling to enter such coalitions.

It should be noted that this is not the only issue over which those who think that antisemitism is unique differed from the general pool of respondents. As we have seen, only 23 percent of the general group of respondents thought about moving to Israel as a result of the rise in antisemitism. However, among those who thought that antisemitism has unique sources, 32 percent had considered moving to Israel. It would seem that those who think that antisemitism has unique sources are somewhat more particularist than the group as a whole.

When one of the moderators specifically brought up the issue of forming coalitions with Black Lives Matter, participants, on several occasions, drew a distinction between Black Lives Matter, the *organization*, which has formal members, leadership, and policies, and Black Lives Matter as a *movement*, which expresses a broad-based revulsion against police violence directed against Blacks and “systemic racism” in America. They argued that whereas the *organization* is anti-Israel and supports BDS, that is not true of the *movement*.

One of the strategies for dealing with antisemitism mentioned in almost every session and by many participants was the need “to educate” non-Jews, whether as neighbors or co-workers, about Jews. That is, many participants assumed that antisemitic attitudes or unfavorable opinions about Jews stemmed from a simple lack of knowledge. This opinion was especially prevalent in those communities with a very small and scattered Jewish population, where Jews live among an overwhelmingly non-Jewish population. This characterized to a certain extent, the Jewish population of southern US communities and also the Nova Scotia Federation, which represents Jewish individuals and communities scattered across Canada’s Maritime provinces.

The Place of Israel

The questionnaire included just one open-ended question: “Do you think that Israel can be helpful in the struggle against antisemitism? If yes, how?”

A minority of respondents answered no. One respondent in the Nova Scotia group explained that “Israel is a divisive country internationally – by taking an obvious standthis might cause more harm than good.” In a similar spirit, another wrote that “Israel can create more problems in the US related to antisemitism.” One participant in Cleveland asserted that “Israelis don’t have an understanding of the American-Jewish experience.”

However, most respondents answered affirmatively. Their answers related to multiple levels. Some thought that the State of Israel, as the Jewish state, should and can provide resources, funding, organization and the like to help in the struggle against antisemitism on a tactical level. Thus, one respondent in Chicago wrote, “Yes, better support Jewish students on American college campuses. Provide guidance and partner with Jewish organizations in the US. Strongly unify with Diaspora Jews on combating antisemitism.” In the same vein, a Washington participant answered, “Yes, it is the Jewish State so obviously it would be helpful in the struggle against Antisemitism – using its institutions, government agencies and portfolios, universities and nonprofits.”

However, many participants understood this question as referring to a more substantive level and discussed how the character of Israeli policy and society both contributes to and mitigates against antisemitism. To many, this was a question of *hasbara* and “education.” In other words, Israel does not have to change its policies, only its self-presentation. Thus, one Vancouver respondent wrote, “Yes – more public awareness and education on the Middle Eastern conflict.” Another similarly answered, “Israel (i.e., its government, relations with Palestinians etc.) seems to have a PR problem in North America. I feel that this negative perception contributes to antisemitism.”

Other respondents, though, related to what Israel actually does, not only the way that it is projected and perceived. On the positive side, a participant in the New York discussion group suggested that Israel mitigates antisemitism, because it is “a beacon of democracy.” A respondent from Chicago highlighted other aspects: “Continued

innovation, leadership, and success in the fields of technology, medicine, etc. helps demonstrate the contributions of the Jewish people to the betterment of society.”

Other respondents, however, focused on how Israel contributes to antisemitism through its behavior and policies. Many of these comments related to the Palestinians and the Arab minority in Israel. One such response from a Cleveland participant reads: “Ending the occupation would be useful to removing one big source of antisemitism.” Another respondent from Cleveland wrote: “I think that a lot of antisemitism stems from the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.” In the Dialogue sessions themselves, participants brought up the annexation of West Bank territories and said that such a move would contribute to a negative image of Israel and Jews.

However, some participants also mentioned other issues. One respondent from Israel wrote: “The messaging coming from the current leadership in Israel could be more kind as to inclusiveness, for example how the Reform and Conservative Jewish communities are treated in Israel and their ability to be open members of Israeli society.” Two respondents mentioned certain Israeli politicians’ advocacy of conversion therapy for LGBT people as contributing to Israel’s negative image and to antisemitism.

In the breakout groups, many noted that while the source of antisemitism is both from the white nationalist/right and the anti-Zionist/antisemitic left, Jewish communal leadership tends to focus mostly on the left. (A recent Jerusalem Center for Public Policy study on shifting attitudes of American Jews, led by Dr. Irwin Mansdorf, found that American Jews overwhelmingly believe that the source of antisemitism is the white nationalist right; yet most of American Jewish community leadership and Israel focusses on the left.)⁵ We wonder: Is it because Jewish communal leadership conflates growing criticism of Israel in the Democratic Party (not antisemitism, but troublesome for many) with antisemitism?

Another troubling question that arises is the relationship of Israel to right-wing nationalist or populist regimes. Israel has governmental and popular support in countries ruled by right-wing nationalist or populist parties, such as India, Brazil, Hungary, and Poland. These regimes support or at least voice no criticism of Israeli policies. Israel, in turn, supports these states and regimes and has cooperative

5 Irwin J. Mansdorf, “American Jewry in Transition? How Attitudes toward Israel May Be Shifting,” Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, July 21, 2020, <https://jcpa.org/article/american-jewry-in-transition-how-attitudes-toward-israel-may-be-shifting/>.

relations with them. Some, such as Hungary and Poland, to one degree or another pursue antisemitic policies and/or utilize antisemitic rhetoric. These policies and rhetoric often make the local Jewish communities uncomfortable. Accordingly, we raised the questions: “Should Israel have friendly and supportive relations with states and governments (such as Hungary and Poland) that have antisemitic tendencies if they give Israel diplomatic support in international forums?” and “Where does its responsibility to itself end and its responsibility to the Jewish people (assuming it has such responsibility) begin?”

A plurality of the respondents (40 percent) answered that “Israel needs to be given latitude to strengthen relationships with governments which are broadly supportive of Israel even if some of their leaders and policies are problematic.” Thirty percent answered that “this is a matter for the government and people of Israel to determine,” and 23 percent preferred that Israel censure such behavior.

Antisemitism and the Nature of Jewish Identity

We discussed above the impact of antisemitism on contemporary Jewish identity. Yet, there is another more far-reaching claim we ought to consider: that antisemitism provides the substantive basis of contemporary Jewish identity, that it constitutes it and that we are only Jewish because of antisemitism. As Jean-Paul Sartre put it: “The Jew is one whom other men consider a Jew.... The antisemite makes the Jew.”⁶ Sartre made this claim in 1944 in regard to the assimilated Jewish intellectuals he knew in Paris, such as Henri Bergson, Raymond Aron, and Claude Levi-Strauss. Perhaps it can also be made about American Jews today. The fact that as antisemitism relaxed after WW II so many Jews intermarried and became assimilated, seems to point to the fact that what held them as Jews was that gentile society considered them as Jews, as “different.” The minute Jews were welcomed into American society, many simply disappeared.

When we raised the question “Are we Jewish only because of antisemitism?” in discussion groups, some participants indicated that they had never considered this question from this angle. However, upon consideration, most participants said that there are many Jews who maintain their Jewish identity only because other people

6 Sartre, *Anti-Semite and Jew*, p. 83.

treated them as different and discriminated against them. In that sense, they said antisemitism is “positive” for Jewish identity (as the Talmudic passage cited above indicates). But almost all discussion participants, who for the most part are engaged and committed Jews, considered that a poor form of Jewish identity. They insisted that a more worthy form of Jewish identity was one that rests upon the intrinsic meaning of being Jewish and the sense of fulfillment that Judaism gives to one’s life. As one participant from Israel put it: “[it is] dangerous to base your identity on antisemitism; we have a rich heritage.” A young participant from Palm Beach concurred: “We cannot let antisemitism determine Jewish identity.”

These participant responses resonate with Sartre’s analysis of Jewish responses to Antisemitism. Sartre differentiates between “authentic” and “inauthentic” Jews. “authenticity ... consists in having a true and lucid consciousness of the situation, in assuming the responsibilities that it involves, in accepting it in pride or humiliation, sometimes in horror and hate.”⁷ On the other hand: “What characterizes the inauthentic Jews is that they deal with their situation by running away from it; they have chosen to deny it, or to deny their responsibilities, or deny their isolation which appears intolerable to them.”⁸

What is important is that the authentic Jew, by accepting his/her situation and its responsibilities, responds to his/her Jewishness (even though it may be imposed upon him/her from the outside), in a self-determined way, that is, in freedom. His/her Jewishness is ultimately something that s/he makes and involves his/her taking responsibility for it.

In that spirit, many participants said or implied that the truly adequate response to antisemitism was not only to fight it in the public and political spheres, but to increase one’s commitment to Jewish identity and Jewish learning. That is, one’s Jewishness should increasingly become “for itself” (*pour soi*) and be constituted self-consciously out of choice and rest less upon how others define and relate to Jews. In fact, some said that in the face of antisemitism, Jewish commitment, practice and learning should increase, and that would be the best response to antisemitism.

7 Sartre, *Anti-Semite and Jew*, p. 90.

8 Sartre, *Anti-Semite and Jew*, p. 92.

Conclusion

One can pose a similar dilemma regarding the authenticity of the response to antisemitism itself. The American Jewish community has enjoyed unparalleled success since the Second World War. It is the most well-off minority economically and enjoys the highest educational attainment. For a community that consists of less than three percent of the population, it has unparalleled prominence in politics, finance, academics, and the media. Until recently, sustained violent antisemitism was practically unthinkable. The underlying dilemma facing American Jews is what weight to assign the antisemitic outbreaks they have experienced in recent years. Are they merely a passing negligible phenomenon? Or is it a development that demands “a true and lucid consciousness of the situation.” That denying it would consist of an inauthentic running away from the actual situation.

We have seen that for many participants recent events have “shaken their belief” that America is different in regard to antisemitism, but, in the end, they still maintain this belief. At the same time, most of the participants think that the rise of antisemitism is connected to a general rise of racist hatred, and that anti-Jewish attitudes can be corrected by “educating” the surrounding non-Jewish population. It is certainly more pleasant to think that the hatred directed against one is not specific to him/her but is part of a more general phenomena. It is also more palatable to think that the negative attitudes people do have are really the result of misunderstanding and misinformation and can be corrected by education.

One of the dilemmas of the modern Jew is whether s/he is really alike or different from other people. Enlightenment ideology, of course, claims that Jews are identical to all other individuals and hence should become full members of democratic polities with full human and civil rights. Nevertheless, the historical experience and socio-economic positioning of Jews in Europe and the Middle East had been different from the majority populations, and in certain respects this did make the Jews different in habits, mentality, aspirations and in other ways. Hannah Arendt points out that some Jews were made uneasy by the Emancipation because of their awareness that Jews **were** different. If they were to become equal citizens with all the rest of the population, there would be no legitimacy for their difference and, in fact, expose them to attack. American Jews, perhaps more than other Jewish groups in the modern world, were secure in the knowledge that they were the same as other Americans. The recent antisemitic incidents perhaps create a crack in that security, suggesting to them that they, too, might have to face the fact that others single them out for a special hatred.

Policy Recommendations

1. **Jewish leadership in North America, Europe, and Israel should be proactive in forging broad coalitions with ethnic and religious leadership who share a commitment to combatting hate and antisemitism.** Ninety-two percent of Dialogue participants agreed that the preferred strategy for fighting antisemitism is through coalitions with other groups to combat racism and hate.
2. **Jewish leadership should rebalance public statements to more accurately reflect what is widely recognized: antisemitism is primarily emerging from white nationalist/racist groups and publicly elevated and circulated through social media.** That said, there is broad recognition that in recent years antisemitic views and hate crimes have increased and emanate from multiple sources including the political right and left. All seeking to combat hate and antisemitism must deploy attention and resources appropriately.
3. **Israel and Diaspora leadership should clarify the definitional content of terms such as “antisemitic,” “anti-Zionist,” and “anti-Israel.”** These terms are often used interchangeably to characterize critical views of Israeli government policies. The promiscuous use of such terms reduces their credibility, empties them of content, and can appear as part of an effort to limit discussion and debate. Precision in about what constitutes antisemitic speech can strengthen efforts to castigate and combat such behavior.
4. **Israel should exercise caution in its relationship with countries, political parties, and foreign leaders who exhibit great friendship for Israel but whose leaders are veering away from democratic norms, allowing antisemitic groups to thrive, and/or are voicing Antisemitic tropes.** While Diaspora leaders respect Israel’s latitude in pursuing policies deemed necessary, strengthening relationships with such countries harms Israel’s image in the eyes of the US public, can cause the younger generation of Jews to distance themselves from Israel, and can contribute to the growth of antisemitism.
5. **Serious research should be undertaken by a university or academic consortium to identify what has been demonstratively effective in mitigating hate, racism, and antisemitism.** While Dialogue participants recognized the value of identifying, castigating, and shaming leaders and organizations that traffic

antisemitic views, such public efforts do not appear on their own to be sufficient to stem the increase of antisemitism. Since World War II, multiple organizations — in the Jewish community and beyond — have developed initiatives to combat and reduce hate, racism and antisemitism, a comprehensive efficacy analysis of these should be undertaken. This will require major funding; Jewish organizations, philanthropists, and governments (including Israel) will need to pool resources so such an effort can be successfully undertaken.

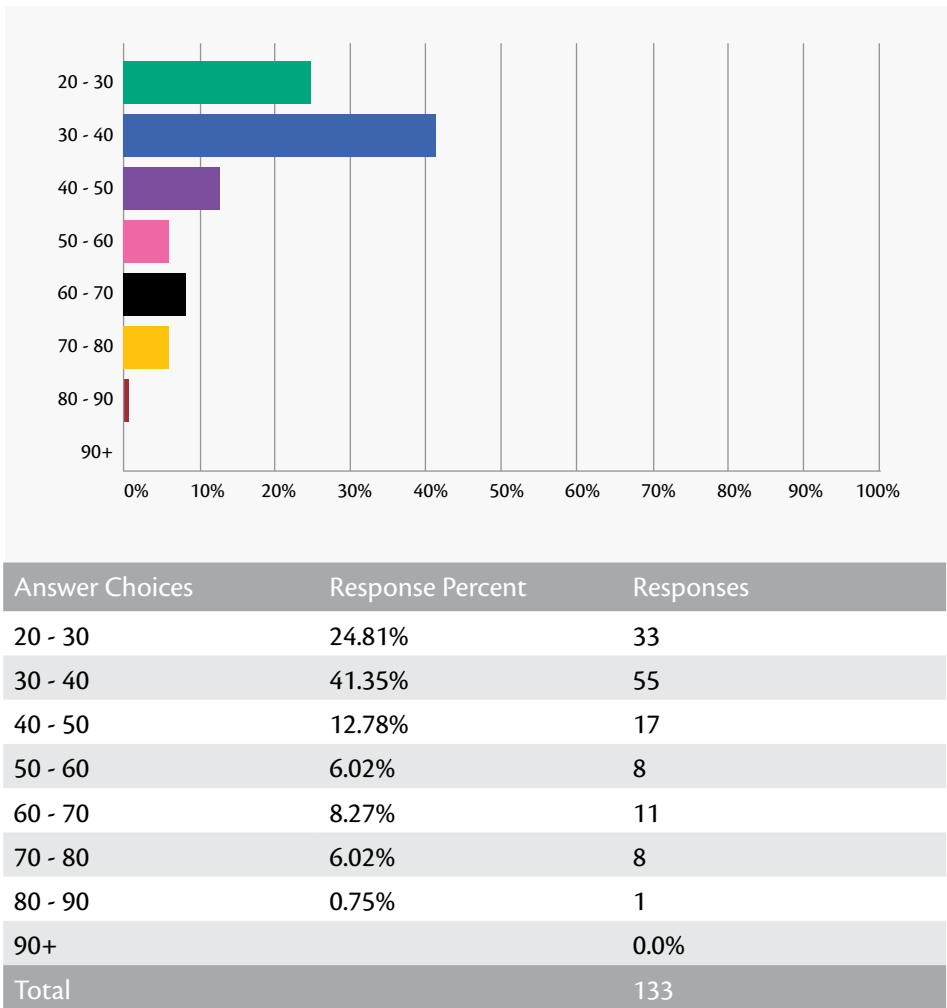
6. **Jewish educators need to consider how to provide adolescents, college students, and young adults with skills to identify antisemitic behaviors and potential responses.** Jewish education in the Diaspora has focused, particularly for those not raised in highly engaged and identified families and communities, on providing Jews with introductions to the joys and inspiration of Jewish life. The purpose has been to initiate the Jewish journey. This has led to incentivizing participation in Jewish summer camps, Israel trips, youth groups — informal Jewish education, while strengthening formal Jewish education for the more highly identified. Holocaust education, while quite effective and important, is by definition Jewish history. Contemporary conditions require new skills to respond to the challenges at hand. Regardless of the specific educational setting, the curriculum should include providing and reinforcing resilience skills — the ability to persevere in Jewish practice and identity in the face of adversity.

APPENDIX 1

QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSESE

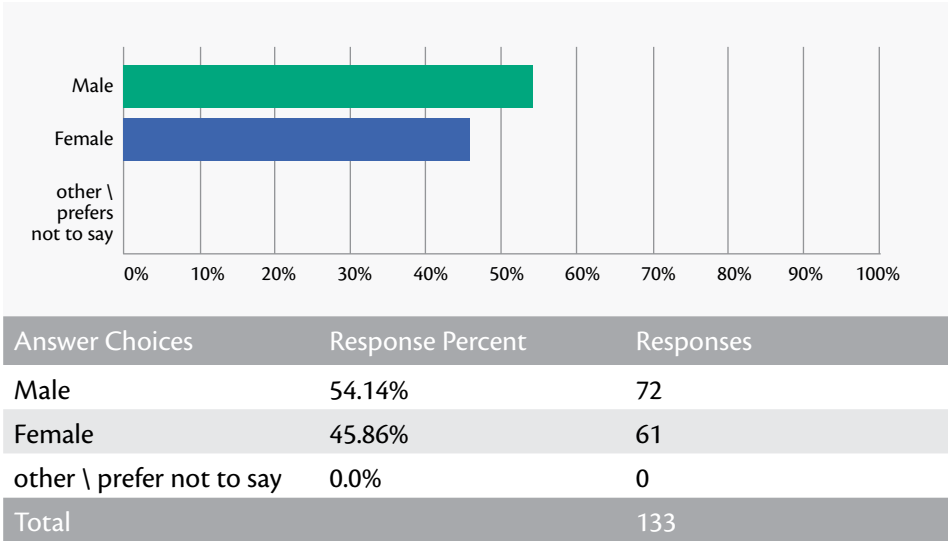
Q1. Age group:

Answered: 133 Skipped: 21



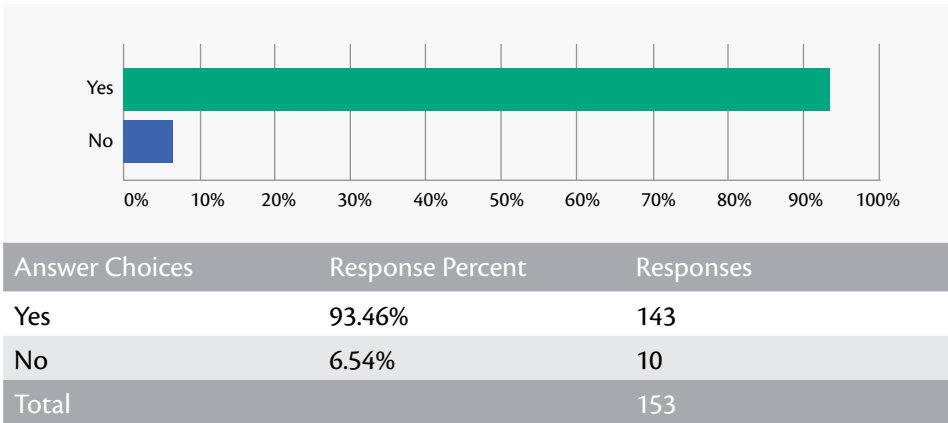
Q2. Gender:

Answered: 133 | Skipped: 21



Q3. Do you agree that antisemitism is more serious that it was 10 years ago?

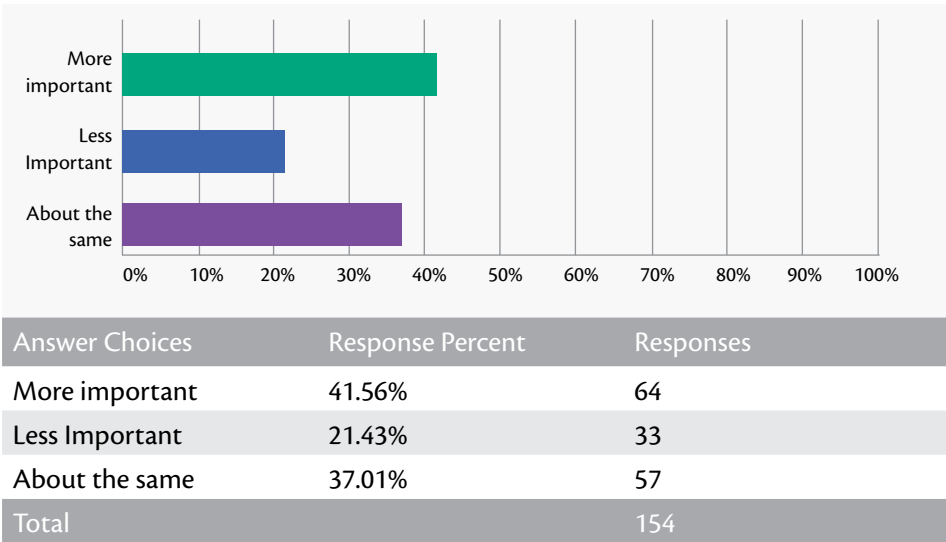
Answered: 153 | Skipped: 1



Q4. The Jewish communal agenda always has a broad range of issues. We are interested in how you prioritize the issue of combatting antisemitism? In your view, is it more important? Less important? About the same in importance as:

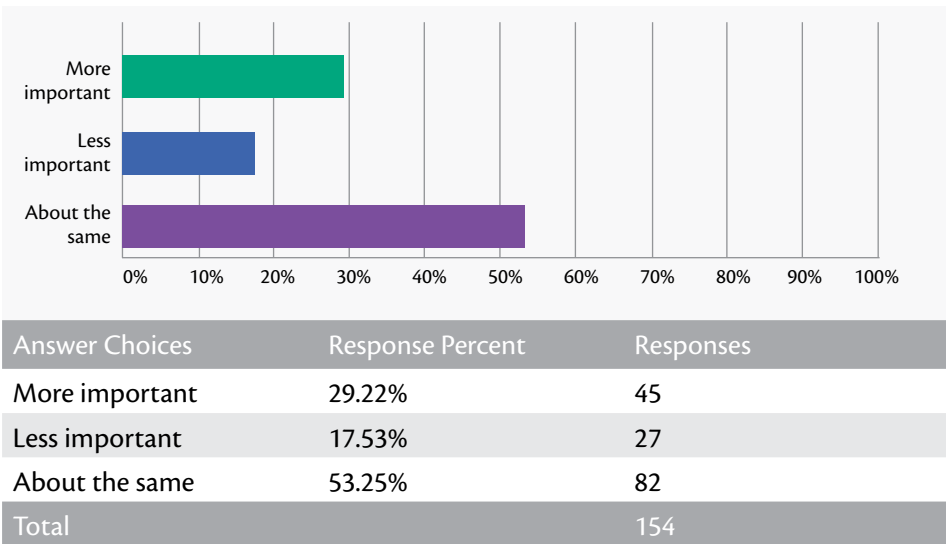
Q4a. Strengthening Jewish identity among the young (strengthening Jewish education; Israel trips, Jewish summer camps, etc):

Answered: 154 | Skipped: 0



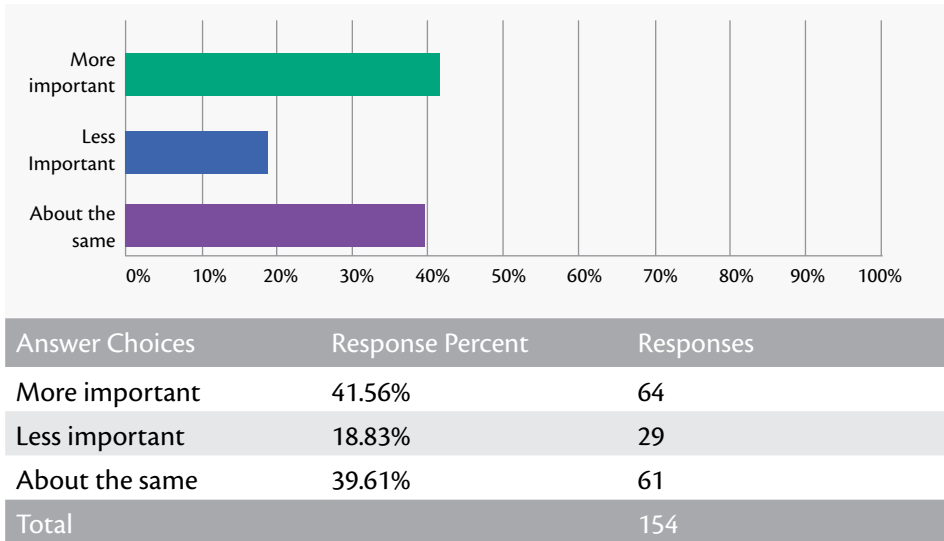
Q4b. Caring for the Jewish poor and elderly?

Answered: 154 | Skipped: 0



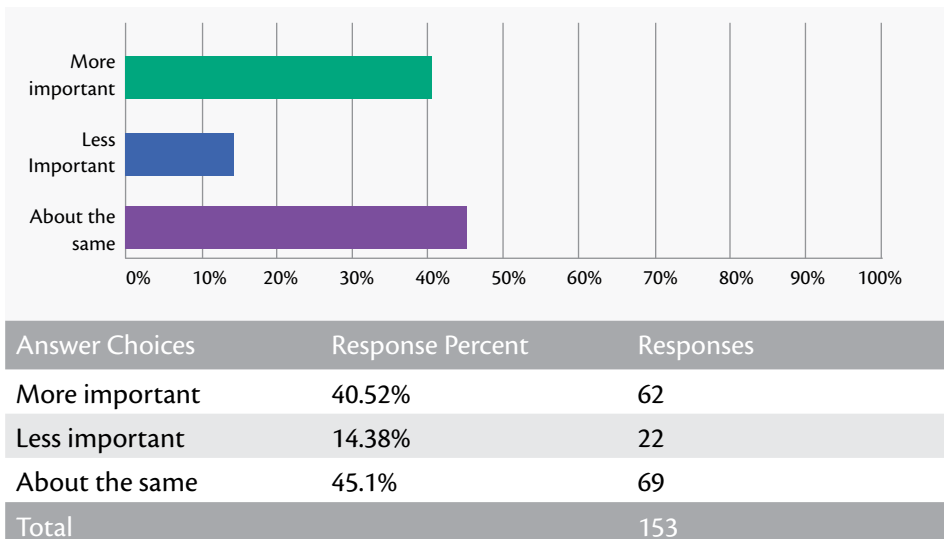
Q4c. Strengthening the bi-national coalition working to ensure Israeli security?

Answered: 154 | Skipped: 0



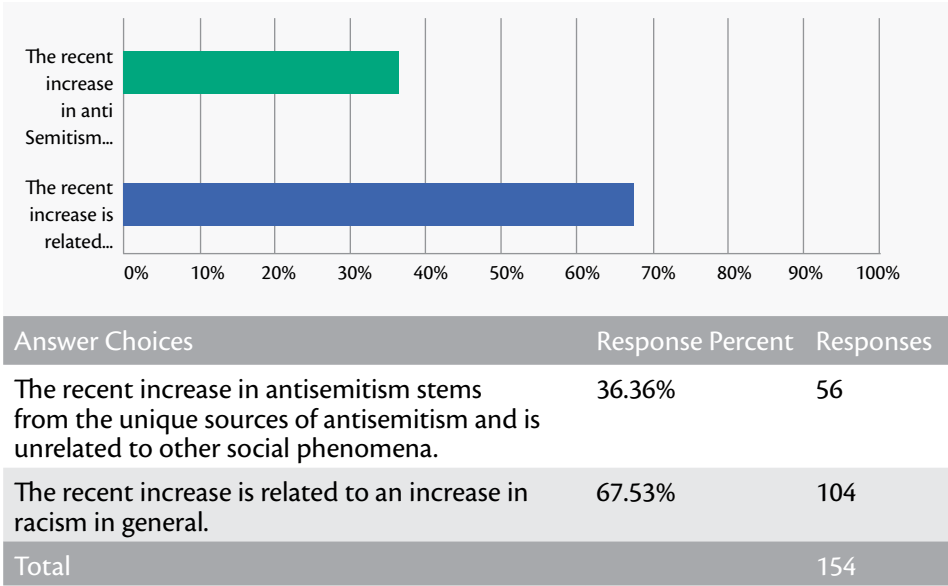
Q4d. Combatting BDS on campuses

Answered: 153 | Skipped: 1



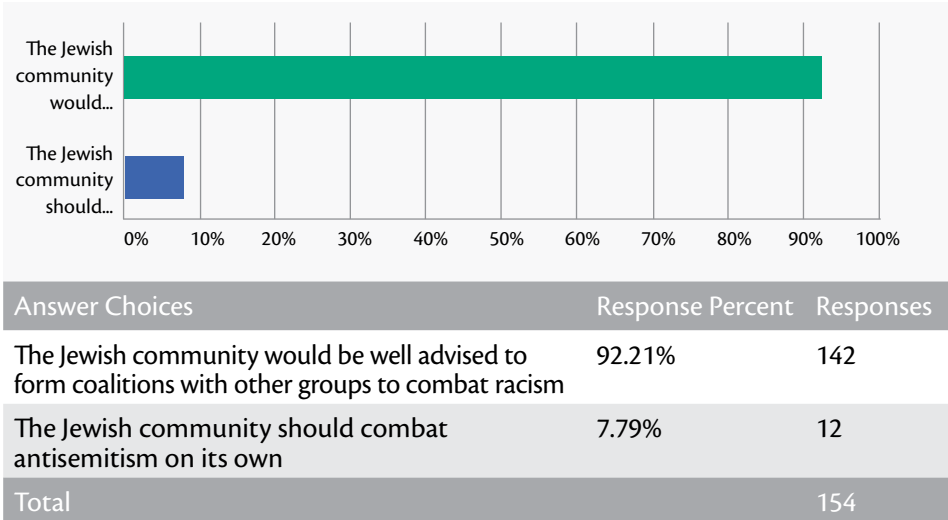
Q5. Some believe that the increase in antisemitic views and incidents is part of a general increase in racism in North America –(vis-a-vis African Americans, Latinos, immigrants and others). Others believe that antisemitism has its own unique sources and character. Please check which of these two options is more correct:

Answered: 154 | Skipped: 0



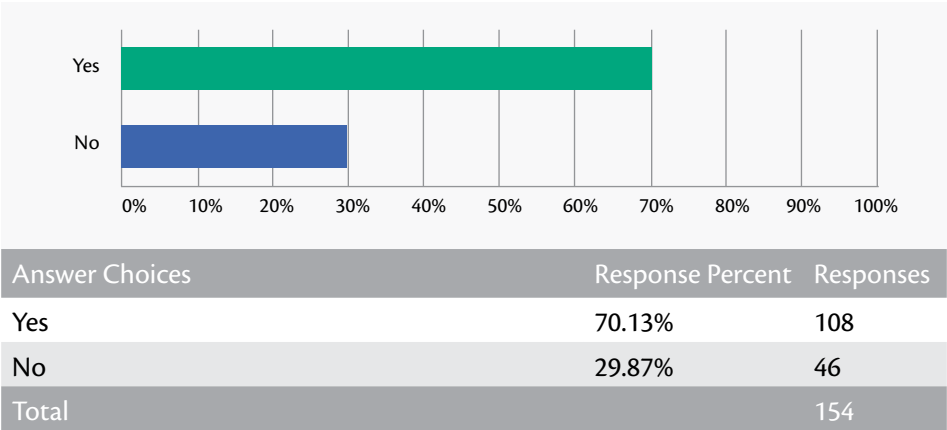
Q6. Which do you think should be the preferred strategy to fight against antisemitism?

Answered: 154 | Skipped: 0



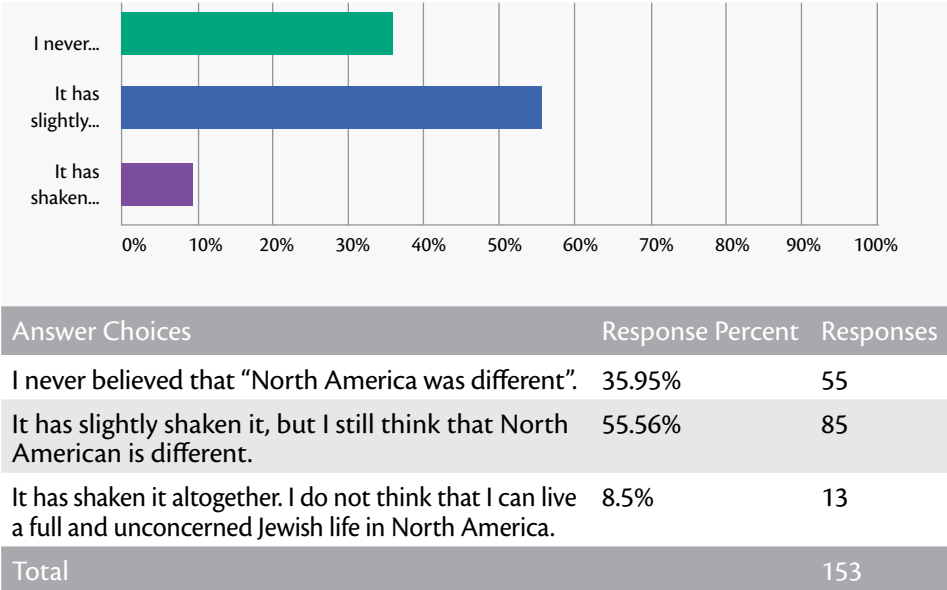
Q7. Are you prepared to have the Jewish community join in coalitions combatting racism with groups with which the broad Jewish consensus differs on issues relating, as examples, to Israel and Palestine and/or the right to choose/abortion?

Answered: 154 | Skipped: 0



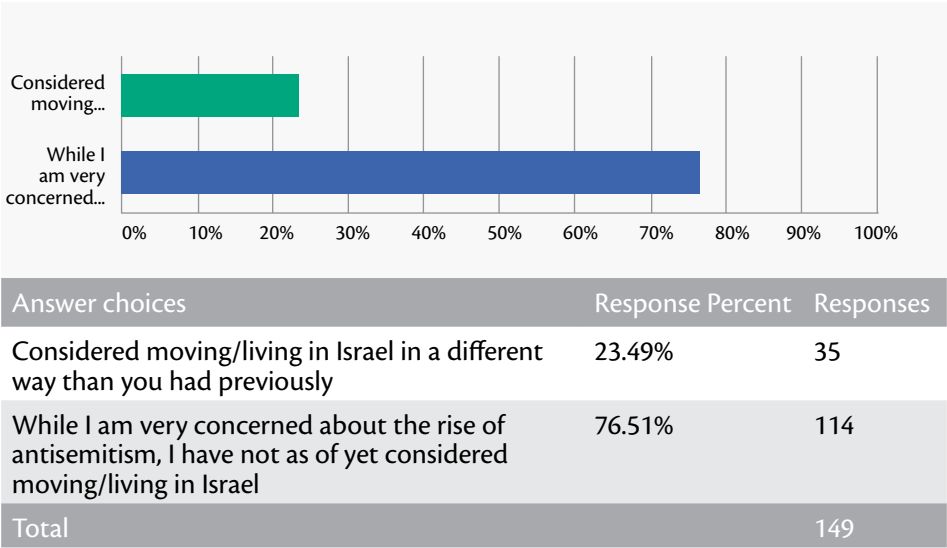
Q8. Many North American Jews have believed that “North America is different”; that is, that North American Jews did not suffer from violent and aggressive antisemitism, as Jews in other places such as Europe did. Has the recent rise in violent antisemitic attacks and rhetoric shaken or challenged that belief on your part or on the part of other Jews?

Answered: 153 | Skipped: 1



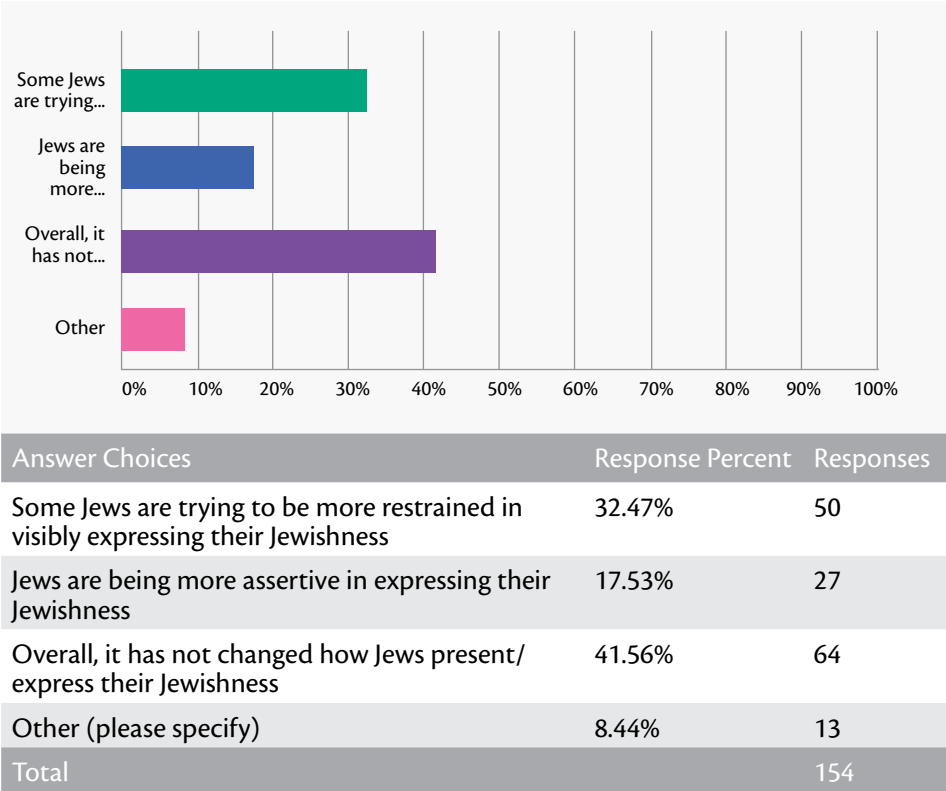
Q9. One of the reasons for the founding of the State of Israel has been that it can serve as a “safe haven” for persecuted Jews or Jews suffering from antisemitism, In the light of the recent rise in antisemitic views and incidents, have you:

Answered: 149 | Skipped: 5



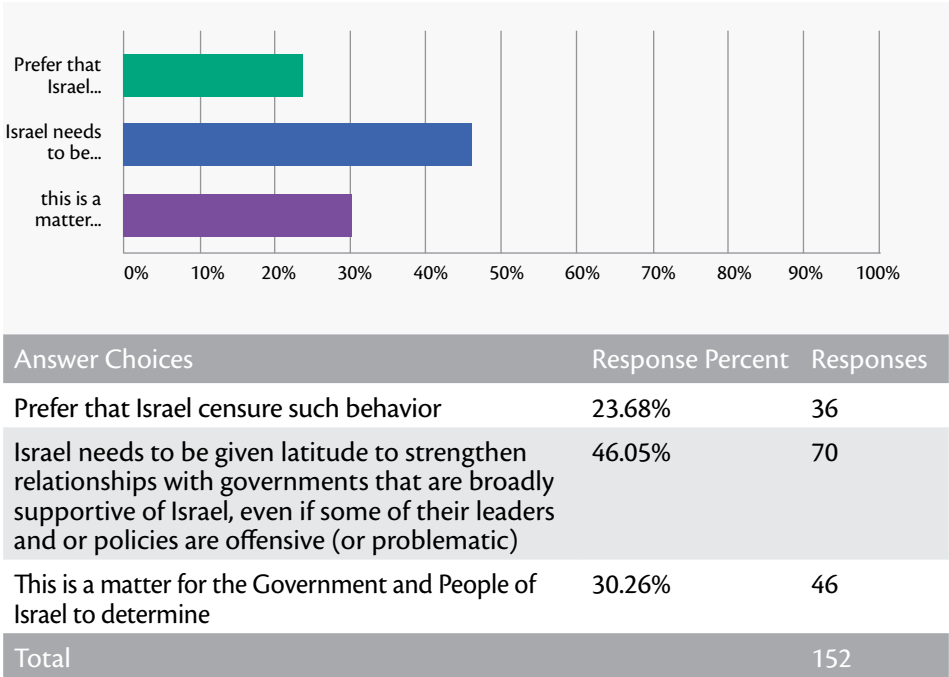
Q10. Over time, Jews have reacted to heightened anti-Semitism in different ways. Some Jews have wanted to hide or play down their Jewishness; others have felt more impetus to assert it. As you consider what is taking place on college campuses, in major Jewish communal institutions, and among your friends and family, which of the following best captures what you are observing:

Answered: 154 | Skipped: 0



Q11. In recent years, Israel has had friendly relations with a number of countries such as Hungary and Poland which have had leaders who have exhibited antisemitic tendencies and/or spoken publicly in ways which are seen as antisemitic by many observers. How do you react to this?

Answered: 152 | Skipped: 2



Q12. Open ended question, Do you think that Israel can be helpful in the struggle against antisemitism? If yes - How?

Answered: 126 | Skipped: 28

1	Yes. Better dialogue
2	Increased education, maybe?
3	Better Public Relations and Hasbara
4	yes
5	Change its foreign policy and work on it worldwide reputation
6	Yes - more public awareness and education on the middle eastern conflict, zionism
7	Yes
8	I am not sure
9	Complicated issue. I think in this case we can see antisemitism from the alt-right and from the progressive lens as different topics that Israel relates differently to.
10	By being a better example. Israel (i.e., its government, relations with Palestinians, etc.) seems to have a PR problem in North America. I feel that this negative perception contributes to anti-Semitism.
11	Yes, Israel has to lead the way in international forums denouncing antisemitism at every turn of the corner.
12	Yes. Framing the issues much better.
13	This is not a yes or no answer. Israel has a role but ultimately it cannot claim to be the spokesnation for the Jewish people since it has its own context of Jewishness and perception of the world. North American Jewry will need to solve this for themselves. The conversation needs to shift from one of a paternalistic Israel to that of a shared peoplehood.
14	It depends heavily on where the antisemitism is coming from.
15	Highlighting the double standards against Israel as a form of antisemitism.
16	Not unless they change their government
17	Providing partnerships across a broad spectrum of Jewish groups in Israel with the diaspora, in order to demonstrate a range of ideas and less of a monolithic picture of israel to the diaspora.
18	Yes by being more conscious of how their policies influence perceptions
19	Yes - I think any one who is pro-Jewish people can be helpful
20	Don't cave into illiberal (gay conversion therapy) policies or irrational defenses of such
21	Yes. Israel has a seat at the global table and should advocate for the safety and well being of al the Jews in the world
22	Yes, I am not sure how.
23	No

24	By upholding the tenants of a democratic and Jewish society
25	Israel should lead by example in combating antisemitism and other forms of hate.
26	Increased diplomacy and political willingness to listen the Diaspora. Increased educational programs focused on the young.
27	Continued innovation, leadership, and success in the fields of technology, medicine, etc. helps demonstrate the contributions of the Jewish people to the betterment of society
28	Active PR around its efforts to be inclusive. Rather than assume everyone knows what they're doing, highlight them.
29	Yes. It's behavior can serve as an example. How it treats its own minorities can be a model.
30	Yes
31	No- Not any more than any other participant in the fight against anti-Semitism.
32	Just by the fact that there is an Israel, it helps!
33	Help in training and funding security details
34	Don't make it so easy for Israel-haters to hate. Policies like fighting over the legality of conversion therapy don't help us.
35	Yes. their politics and the way they treat non-jews plays into antisemitic canards of jewish control and privelege
36	Yes - better support Jewish students on American college campuses. Provide guidance and partner with Jewish organizations in the US. Strongly unify with diaspora Jews on combating antisemitism.
37	No
38	Yes, by supporting American Jews by discussing our experience as an American Jew in a broader way.
39	Yes. Foster connection with American and European Jews to give power and confidence to Jewishness
40	Deeply educating the world on all aspects of life there and how we are similar not vastly different
41	The right of return and education
42	Showing their diverse background and history.
43	Progress on key issues in Israel would reflect well on the worldwide Jewish population.
44	I think Israel needs to serve as the inspiration for Jews in the Diaspora to strengthen their resolve to be proud members of the Jewish people, and I think that Jewish pride is the greatest weapon against antisemitism.
45	Yes by educating the world about what really happens in Israel
46	I am not sure. I think a lot of the antisemitism is encouraged by the main stream media.
47	"Singling out Jews, and Israel in the world, does nothing but make it harder to properly educate yourself and not jump to conclusions. It only creates more antisemitic rhetoric and neglects other important issues amidst our world.

48	Need more time to express an opinion here
49	"Important for Israel to maintain strong bonds with Diaspora Jewry and other governments.
50	Israel makes us strong and weak at the same time. It strengthens us to know that a Jewish state exists, and we support its existence. This support can make us targets, impact our relationships and networks. Jews in diaspora need to be an ally for Israel, Israel also has a role to play in ensuring our safety.
51	Israel is a divisive country internationally - by taking an obvious stand or by divesting funds towards this might a) cause more harm in public opinion than good and b) take resources away from the Israeli citizenship that they need. So long as Israel continues to defend a safe place for Jews to go, it is doing its part.
52	If Israel had more optimistic stories about the country in the media. Most people here only hear all the "bad stuff". There is so much good coming out of Israel and it doesn't seem to get translated in the media. I try to share all positive stories on social media.
53	No
54	Open up the Jewishness world wide discussion not Israeli
55	By portraying positive images of the Holy Land, explaining its historic connection to the Jewish people in ways that North Americans (many of whom are no longer religious) understand, by sending representatives to speak at universities, with politicians, etc. in North America and by bringing elected officials to Yad Vashem.
56	No
57	Yes. Strive to be the center for the positive aspects of Jewish community
58	Yes, by reaching out to other countries in crisis.
59	In condemning nations with which Israel has strong relations, which have prevalent anti-Semitic attitudes (Poland, Hungary, etc.)
60	Yes - Israel is the world entity that most broadly represents the Jewish people. Israel's actions affect how people view Jews overall.
61	I understand that Israel has it's own challenges with racism and antisemitism; I'm not sure if it is "fair" to think Israel has to provide support before it works on it's own issues.
62	It can do more to close the gap between Israeli and American Jews.
63	yes, they need to be a megaphone for positive force Jews can be in the world, as well as make it clear that Jews have a permanent place in the world.
64	Sophisticated PR
65	Yes. Promote Israel as high tech, vacation, etc. and that it is not only a country for Jews.
66	Yes but unsure how
67	They themselves hold racist ideals as part of their nationalism, as well as use the Holocaust as a threat of fear for living in Israel or living a specific Jewish life. It's hard for me to envision Israel's role in struggling against antisemitism given those factors.

68	Israel's role as the only democracy in the Middle East and it's hub for innovation and technology pose it as a positive force to deflect antisemitic remarks. That's not to say that on the contrary, Israel's political policies can induce more antisemitic sentiments.
69	Yes, by being more proactive about it narrative. Israel needs a better PR firm. Many things it does are twisted by media and fuels anti Semitism and anti Zionism
70	Yes, but Israel needs to understand the role the Israeli/Palestinian conflict, and especially how Bibi handles the conflict, plays a role in how the US young adults Jewish community will show up for Israel.
71	Yes, Ending the occupation would be useful to removing one big source of antisemitism
72	Yes.
73	Yes, I believe that with Israel's continued strength and as she gains more power and notoriety in the world, it can help the Jewish community by showing the amazing things that we accomplish as a people.
74	In a phrase, public relations. As a global Jewish community we need to do a much better job of putting facts out there. We are losing the war on hearts & minds.
75	Yes, through various policies and initiatives. Specifically by continuing to form strong bonds and coalitions with other countries, and to continue to stand up for itself and its people and the Jewish community in general.
76	I believe that Israel has a responsibility to address their own socio-political issues including racism first. Israelis don't have an understanding of the American Jewish experience, just like I don't intimately understand the Israeli experience. Not to say that Israel cannot take any part, but it is not Israel's responsibility to "solve" antisemitism abroad.
77	Yes, to play a more active role in speaking out and taking actions to reduce it in other parts of the world.
78	Yes, presents a safe haven for Jews
79	I'm not sure how to answer this one. I think that a lot of antisemitism stems from the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.
80	I think that if Israel behaves as a moral actor it can be a source of Jewish pride which will motivate Jews to stay connected/give entry points into Jewish engagement that will inspire them to be vocal against antisemitism.
81	Yes, it is the Jewish State so obviously it would be helpful in the struggle against anti-Semitism -- using its institutions, government agencies and portfolios, universities and nonprofits.
82	When it comes to addressing antisemitism from other minority communities, I think Israel's actions and relationship with Palestinians hurts. They see Israel's actions as an oppressor of another minority and can't see us as an oppressed minority ourselves.
83	Yes, recognizing that support of Israel from conservative leadership does not = that the leadership is not inciting racism/antisemitism in the nation
84	Yes - eliminating its own issues with minorities, Jewish and otherwise

85	Yes
86	Yes. The social ideals they live by would make all proud.
87	Yes
88	Yes. Israel can serve as a light unto the nations
89	Recommending strategies and policy for Jewish organizations around the world; providing resources and funding for fighting antisemitism.
90	No.
91	No
92	No
93	Israel can encourage a discussion on breaking antisemitic stereotypes of Jewish people. I believe there is an ongoing stereotype that all Jews are white, rich, and religiously rigid. This creates a unapproachable ideology for Americans to relate to, care for, and feel sympathy. If this image is deteriorated and the diverse population of Jews in Israel hold a stronger voice, I believe that this will help uneducated Americans strip some of their antisemitic beliefs.
94	Yes. Were Israel to be a beacon of anti-racism, of care for the poor, of democracy - it could assist us with credibility. As long as Israel is friend to the worst racist authoritarian dictators of the world we are by extension lumped in with Israel.
95	By promoting all the good that Jewish people do for the country. And the world.
96	Yes. Policy changes, invest deeply in Jewish life abroad and set up a "war chest" to fight it
97	Yes, the Jewish State should take part in combatting antisemitism. However, the Israel-Palestine conflict will make it nearly impossible as I do believe a lot of anti Zionism stems of antisemitism and vice versa.
98	Yes
99	Not sure
100	Israel can actually create more problems by its intervention in the US related to anti-semitism
101	I think antisemites use Israel as a proof against the Jewish people. So I'm not sure where israel fits in.
102	Yes - strengthening the Jewish and Zionist identities of American Jews
103	Yes
104	Yes
105	Yes!!!
106	Not sure.
107	As a beacon for democracy
108	Yes, but I dont really know how
109	No

110	Yes, but it must include outside jurisdictions to help.
111	The messaging coming from the current leadership in Israel could be more kind as to inclusiveness, for example how the reform and conservative Jewish communities are treated in Israel and their ability to be open members of Israeli society. The Israel-Palestinian conflict does not help, but from a Capitol Hill perspective that is a separate issue from anti-Semitism. On campus, it does bring about more anti-Semitic incidents from the pure conflation of the two.
112	A stronger and brighter Israel can help with the cessation of anti-semitism
113	Absolutely - it is suffering from it too.
114	Yes, to serve as a safe haven for Jews around the world, advocate on their behalf, and provide support
115	Firstly making sure Jews are aware of the problem, then contacting other groups (non-jews) trying to solve the problem and decrease the hate
116	Yes
117	Israel can share the experience we got over the years in what you see in America now
118	Show real effort in trying to end the Israeli Palestinian conflict
119	yes, because she's even exist
120	Yes- providing content, speakers, coalitions and ties and sharing the importance of this subject to Jewish and non-Jewish communities around the world
121	Yes, as one more way to show Judaism and Jewishness is as diverse and complicated and HUMAN like any other religion or group.
122	Israel has dealt with hate and antisemitism it's whole existence so it can offer advice and resources.
123	Money, education, summer camp ambassadors, culture
124	"Israel's action and PR greatly affect how people view Jews we must be careful to act justly towards Palestinians and act admirably on other world issues
125	Supporting Jewish communities in general, federations and partnerships
126	Not really

Appendix 2

Participant List

Israeli Shlichim and Siach Participants (April 7, 2020):

Netta Asner Minster	Eleanor Carmeli	Gili Meshulam
Dana Baxter	Michelle Eschein	Or Raz
Nathaniel Berman	Naama Golfkill	Nitay Yarnitsky
Ali Blankfield	Yuval Hazler	
Rachel Bluth	Noa Kanaty	

New York Federation Dialogue (April 30, 2020)

Ari Ackerman	Natalie Epelman	Cindy Masters
Sandy Antignas	Martine Fleishman	Joel Meyerson
Rachel Bluth	Jodie Goldberg	Raquel Saxe
Yael Brenner	Zach Goldstein	Jeff Schoenfeld
Atara Burian	Josh Herman	Sydney Schweber
Eleanor Carmeli	Avital Ingber	Sarene Shanus
Ted Comet	Sharona Kahn	Lilly Sommer
Cory Doliner	Evelyn Kenvin	Ezra Steinberg
Brette Ehrenpreis	Alex Lass	Danielle Traub
Kenny Eisman	Michael Laufer	Harold Treiber
Jacob Elyachar	Alisa Levin	Adrian Varga

Washington Federation Dialogue (June 11, 2020)

Brian Ashin	Sarah Green	Jeff Rum
Ari Brickman	Isabella Kimerling	Ally Sherman
Zach Briton	Mitch Malasky	Yoav Stein
Dan Conston	Julie Polinger	Rachel Weisel
David Duber	Daniel Rosenberg	
Jeffrey Finkelstein	Sarah Rosenthal	

Cleveland Federation Dialogue (July 1, 2020)

Benjamin Becker	Noah Leavitt	Samantha Vinokor-Meinrath
Madison Dore	Abigail Levin	Andrew Zelman
Jeff Epstein	Leah Markowicz	
Jack Fuchsman Kertesz	Jillian Nataupsky	
Deborah Klein	Jonathan Nisenbourn	
Kogelschatz	Cameron Orlean	

Atlanta Federation Dialogue (July 8, 2020)

Zach Bernath	Adam Kazinec	Ryan Silberman
Melanie Haryton	Harper Landau	Patrice Worthy
Staci Eichelbaum	Lisa Lebovitz	
Daniel Epstein	Dakota Penza	

Nova Scotia Federation Dialogue (July 15, 2020)

Michael Argand	Pavel Jeloudovski	Naomi Rosenfeld
Esti Bar Levy	Marilyn Kaufman	Sondra Rutman
Jason Brown	Jasmine Kranat	Peter Svidler
Adam Conter	Edna LeVine	Peggy Walt
Aviva Dasi	Julia Lisker	Jeff Webber
Alex Elgin	Gabrielle Macklin	Joanna Wexler
Joseph Glass	Jack Novack	

Palm Beach Federation Dialogue (July 23, 2020)

Sam Cohen	Lindsay Hirsch	Ryan Mackman
Pam Comiter	Scott Holtz	Jason Rogers
Daniel Gimbel	Tara Laxer	Brett Sandala

Chicago Federation Dialogue (July 23, 2020)

Melanie Beatus	Vernon Kurtz	Shayla Rosen
Gita Berk	Rafi Lowenstein	Molly Rudnick
Stacey Dembo	Lonnie Nasatir	Elyse Saretsky
Tatum Drazen	Steve Nasatir	Alan Solow
Hillary Elkins	Brandon Pevnick	Kyle Stone
Simon Fleischmann	Emily Pevnick	Jay Tcath
Benny Ginsburg	Elissa Polan	Michael Teplitsky
Joanna Gliksberg	Yehiel Poupko	Sara Wineburgh
Danny Gutman	Brandon Prosansky	
Marc Karlinsky	David Prystowsky	

Vancouver Federation Dialogue (July 26, 2020)

Jonathan Avery	Sam Heller	Eitan Nifco
Shayla Brewer	Sam Hyman	Shelley Rivkin
Courtney Cohen	Jonathan Infeld	Joelle Schaffer
Ayelet Cohen - Weil	Candace Kwinter	Zach Segal
Casey Collins	Nico L. Slobinski	Ezra Shanken
Geoffrey Druker	Anna Labadze	Michael Shcwartz
If'at Eilon-Heiber	Jon Lercher	Dafna Silberstein S
Talia Glassman	Giovanna Markman	Tomer Zazkis
Jack Goihman	Stephanie Markovich	