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Comprehensive Three-Dimensional Anti-Semitism Index

Major Recent Developments

- Anti-Semitism is on the rise all over the world. The two most notable and worrying developments that require urgent attention are the penetration of anti-Semitism in Britain's Labour party, which may endanger the future thriving of the British Jewry, and the two deadly mass shootings by white supremacists in synagogues in the United States, which may inspire "copycat" attacks.
- After a seven-decade grace period following the Shoah, **anti-Semitism returns to becoming a "new normal"** with which Jewish communities will have to learn to live.
- In a world full of fear and uncertainty, in which significant segments of the population have experienced a social downgrading and are worried that their horizons are grim, conspiracy theories flourish and the "Jew" reemerges as a scapegoat that can bring together conspiratorialists from all political, religious, and social backgrounds. Taking advantage of digital means for free expression, simplistic theories accusing the Jews of malicious motivations are spread to millions, perhaps billions, of people across the internet.
- In Europe, anti-Semitism – visible and invisible – impedes the participation of Jewish communities in the life of their general societies as well as demotivates Jews from participating in local Jewish communal life. Despite the fact that anti-Jewish attitudes are steadily decreasing in the population, a critical mass of anti-Semitic elements makes life troublesome for the Jews and in some places social exclusion is running rampant.
- In continental Europe, and despite the existence of some groups of Muslim activists who courageously combat anti-Semitism,

the single main discerning and predictive indicator of Jewish community sustainability appears to be the percentage of Muslims in the population.

- **In North America and Australia,** anti-Semitism has almost no tangible impact on the social, academic, economic and political integration of the Jews in general society. Yet, in the last two years in the United States, **anti-Semitic right-wingers have become emboldened** in their willingness to express their anti-Jewish prejudices and to act upon them. **Similarly, anti-Semitic views on the left have increased** and Jews (particularly, on college campuses) feel more threatened by them, even though most of the abuse has been verbal and psychological, not physical.
- Anti-Zionism has become a main-stream opinion in Europe and frequently features traditional anti-Semitic components. Jews are often held accountable for the actions and policies of the Israeli government. On American campuses, pro-Israel students are confronted with peer and institutional pressures to decrease their Zionist engagement. These pressures resemble what Jewish students started encountering 20 years ago in Europe.
- **As a positive development, we may mention that the world media interest in the Israeli-Palestinian is declining sharply.** A large part of the leading international foreign media outlets have decided to close their Israel's offices and bring back home their permanent correspondents. As the one-side coverage and

over coverage of the conflict have been the major causes of the anti-Israel propaganda and have nurtured the anti-Jewish discourse, we may expect that this decreasing coverage will give back a lower profile to the Palestinian issue.

- Despite the worsening situation, **comparisons with the blackest periods of Jewish history are mistaken.** All across the Western world discrimination is forbidden by law, occurrences of state anti-Semitism are very rare, there is adherence to the rule of law in countries where Jews live, and the existence of the State of Israel has influenced the status of the Jewish communities living in problematic environments for the better.

These elements and the figures in Tables (1) and (2) below, demonstrate that even in the US the previously inconceivable return of anti-Semitism becomes conceivable: two members of the US House of Representatives have publicly questioned the full allegiance of American Jews to the US; young and energetic anti-Zionist activists on the left may become a significant stream within the Democratic Party; the number of anti-Jewish incidents has doubled during the last year; harassing mail reaches public Jews on a regular basis; anti-Semitic tropes are increasingly detectable in the mainstream discourse and anti-Israel criticism is adopting anti-Semitic rhetoric.

The discomfort European Jews have complained about for the last 20 years has crept into the American landscape. While, as a legitimate precaution, more American synagogues have

begun adopting security measures, they may advance an unconscious message to the general population that Jews are not just “regular citizens” but are “citizens at risk.”

The three-dimensional EU indicator

JPPI’s Anti-Semitism Index on Europe is presented here for the fifth year. The index aims to measure the discomfort of European Jewry and the threat levels against it. This integrated index, meant as a tool for policy-makers, relates to three complementary dimensions of anti-Semitism affecting individual Jews and communal Jewish life. Our integrative index utilizes existing data collected globally by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and locally by others (such as CNN, Eurobarometer, IFOP, UEJF, JPR), anti-Semitic harassment figures collected by local Jewish organizations and governmental agencies entrusted with security (such as CST in UK, SPCJ in France, and various specialized governmental agencies), and findings regarding perceptions of anti-Semitism among Jews (FRA, AJC and JPPI’s survey).

What has changed since 2014?

When JPPI launched its integrated “Anti-Semitism Index”, very few reports providing a global perspective have been available. Things have changed: in the recent months the Israel Ministry of Diaspora Affairs, ADL, and the Kantor Center have published global reports on the resurgence of a structural anti-Semitism that has anchored not only in Arab and European countries but in North America too. High-quality research has been published just recently that we refer to in this analysis.

Our role is not to synthesize the in-depth analyses offered in these reports but rather to signal the changes in the chosen three indicators of the JPPI index, articulate a diagnostic summary of in-depth transformations, identify the critical developments to follow, and to provide policy-makers with a policy planning meta-analysis along with a set of recommendations.

JPPI Survey Findings

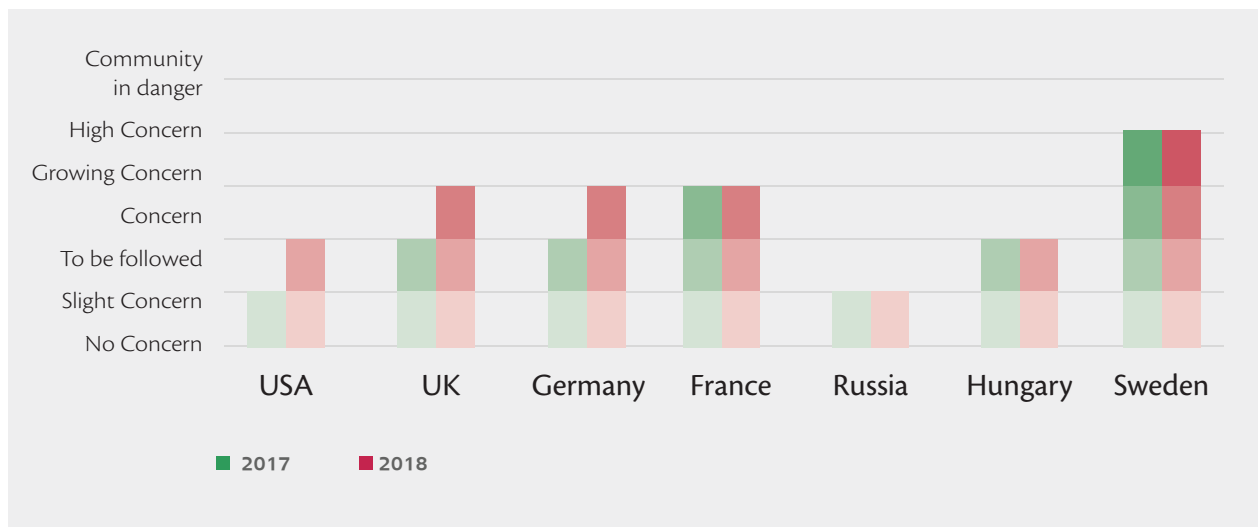
According to a recent JPPI survey of a selected group of 180 US rabbis and communal leaders, a large majority stated that anti-Semitism has increased considerably over the past five years. Fifty percent of respondents believe the government does not combat anti-Semitism effectively, forty percent worry about a possible decrease in community participation in their area for fear of a possible anti-Jewish incident, but only a third are worried that in the next 12 months a person close to them will be a victim of anti-Jewish harassment or physical attack. While alarming, these figures appear less bleak when compared with answers to the

same questions in Europe: 24 percent of the 16,000 Jewish respondents in an FRA survey (see below) say they have witnessed other Jews being verbally insulted, harassed, or physically attacked in the past year 56 percent are worried about their friends or family members falling victim to anti-Semitic harassment in the coming year, 71 percent of the European Jewish respondents hide – at least occasionally – their Jewishness, 70 percent give a scathing assessment of their governments' efforts to combat anti-Semitism, and 38 percent have contemplated emigration as they don't feel safe in their countries.

Monitoring the level of anti-Semitic threat in different countries

(based on perceived discomfort among Jews)

	USA	UK	Germany	France	Russia	Hungary	Sweden
Level of severity in 2018	To be followed	Concern	Growing Concern	Growing Concern	To be followed	Concern	High Concern
Level of severity in 2017	Slight Concern	To be followed	Concern	Growing Concern	To be followed	Concern	High Concern



Part One: Anti-Semitism in Europe Affects the Day-to-Day Life of Jews

In 1945, following the exposure of the Nazi extermination camps and the realization of the severity of the catastrophe caused by anti-Semitic ideology, European countries adopted a policy of rejecting in principle any expression that could be construed as supporting racism or bigotry. But seven decades after the Shoah, the grace period that had been extended to the Jews is over. Resentment of Jews that had been long silenced has again openly erupted. The consolidation of a critical discourse on Israel has granted renewed legitimacy to Holocaust denial and anti-Semitic expressions, which were once confined to the margins.

In addition to this development, immigration waves washing over Europe and other developments, boosted nationalist and conservative sentiments across the continent and threaten the stability of European Union and the common political vision of its member states. A large segment of the middle class in the Western countries where Jews live, feels that it is under existential threat. Some fear that migrants may “replace” them and take over the political and cultural control of the country (largely on the right); others fear a socio-economic downgrading that might leave them impoverished (mainly on the left). Jews often find themselves on the receiving end of such fears.

Main findings:

1. Security threats significantly affect the lives of European Jews.
2. Jewish communal life is under direct threat.
3. The participation of Jewish communities in their general societies is reduced.
4. Because of anti-Semitism and other factors, Europe’s Jewish population is declining.
5. Local governments could do much more to increase security for Jews.
6. If nothing is done, a significant number of European Jews will relocate to more inviting environments, some will self-segregate while others decrease their Jewish profile and distance themselves from Jewish communal life.

Selected quantitative data illustrating the deteriorating trend:

- A recent French Institute of Public Opinion (IFOP) poll found that nearly nine in ten Jewish college students in France have experienced anti-Semitism on campus.¹ Of those students, 85 percent said that they were subjected to an anti-Semitic trope, 75 percent said they had been on the receiving end of Jewish and Holocaust jokes, and 19

percent said they had been subjected to anti-Semitic “aggression.” The situation is clearly deteriorating and not only on campuses: according to the French government, anti-Semitic acts in France increased by 74 percent over the previous year. Anti-Jewish stereotypes and among the activists of the populist “yellow vest” social movement conspiracy theories associated with Jews are especially high (30 percent as compared to 10 percent in the general population). Despite efforts invested in Holocaust education, one of five French young adults say they have never heard of the genocide of Jews during the Second World War.²

- In a major break with the past, the German Agency for Domestic Security has revealed what was well-known by local Jews: Muslim migrants have imported from their countries of origin strong anti-Semitic prejudices and a large proportion of the anti-Jewish violent incidents are perpetrated by Muslims.³
- While anti-Semitism in France and Germany largely comes from fringe populations, in Britain, it emanates from what may be its next ruling party, which has been described as “institutionally anti-Semitic.” Drawing on extensive research, a report sponsored by the CST (the security organization of British Jews) says the Labour party has failed to prevent itself from becoming a host for contemporary anti-Semitism, failed to effectively tackle anti-Semitism, and has failed to root out a culture of anti-Semitism denial and victim-blaming.⁴
- The biggest spike in violent incidents against Jews was in Ukraine (paradoxically, a country in which both the newly elected President and the Prime Minister happened to be Jewish), which registered an increase of more than 50 percent. This increase emerged against the backdrop of renewed nationalism in Eastern Europe and attempts to whitewash and glorify the nationalist leaders and movements of the past who were also responsible for the murder and expulsion of Jews before and during World War II. In May 2017, the Pew Research Center conducted a study of 2,000 residents in each of Central and Eastern Europe’s 18 countries. The study found that 20 percent of the respondents did not want Jews in their country, and 30 percent did not want Jews as neighbors. In addition, 22 percent of Romania’s citizens and 18 percent of Polish citizens were interested in denying the right of Jews to citizenship in their country.⁵
- Other countries are not in much better shape: the majority of Austrian adults do not know that six million Jews were killed during the Holocaust.⁶

Table 1: Anti-Semitism in Western Europe 2018:

Anti-Semitism in Western Europe	Trend	Europe average	France	UK	Germany
PUBLIC OPINION TOWARD JEWS (%)					
Harbor anti-Semitic 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)
ANTI-SEMITIC 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)
ANTI-SEMITISM AS PERCEIVED BY JEWS¹⁴ (%)					
Anti-Semitism 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.

An analysis of the data and main developments in Europe, as arises from the JPPI’s 2019 Anti-Semitism Index, indicates that:

- General public attitudes toward European Jews have somewhat improved over the past few years. It is possible that these sentiments are linked to the rise in negative attitudes toward Middle Eastern and African immigrants, who are perceived to threaten the primary national identity of various European countries.
- Despite the overall positive trend, the number of violent anti-Semitic incidents rose dramatically in the past year. This discrepancy stems from the presence of fringe groups, radical right and radical left activists and radical Muslims.
- These three groups, who combine to make up between one-fifth to one-third of the total population in the various European countries, combine to create a critical mass

that (unofficially) blocks the comfortable integration of Jews to the local public sphere.

- The number of violent anti-Semitic attacks against Jews rose in the three main countries examined. In France, despite the fact that the total number of anti-Semitic incidents decreased, violent radicalism increased and included the brutal murders of two elderly Jewish women at the hands of their devout Muslim neighbors.¹⁶
- If the anti-Semitic violence in France is associated with radical Islam, in England, the anti-Semitic violence is associated more with a radical-right orientation. In Germany, the government identifies most of the perpetrators of anti-Semitic violence as belonging to the radical right (a caveat: this is the conclusion made when the identity of an attacker is unknown). However, in the three main countries examined, the Jewish communities themselves fear violence from radical Muslims more than from any other groups.
- While anti-Semitic sentiment in Western Europe continues to decline, Jews are concerned about their future and many do not feel safe to express their Jewish identities in public. A third of European Jews are considering emigrating, and many more do not see their children's future on the continent.

Impact on Jewish life

Anti-Semitism and Jews are not on a first blind date. Jews have been able to live, and sometimes thrive, despite anti-Semitic environments. Jewish discomfort comes from several different populations that harm the Jews in different spheres. The following figure, drawing on field research, illustrates the three main types of anti-Jewish hatred and their expressions in daily life:¹⁷

Who will remain, who will go?

As indicated in Figure 1, while all anti-Semites want Jews to feel like second class citizens and are interested in expunging them from public life, the different types of anti-Semites do not equally harm Jewish life.

Jews will continue to live in their places of residence when symbolic expression of disdain such as cemetery desecration (generally perpetrated by far-right activists) occurs in their vicinity. They may conceal their Jewish belonging when they encounter derogatory remarks and discrimination in the work place or on college campuses (such as perpetrated by right-wingers and anti-Israel left-wingers).

However, they will seriously consider relocation when their children are insulted and beaten in the streets (violence most often perpetrated by Muslim anti-Semites) and they feel that the local government does not protect them. The impact of the imposition of mandatory gender studies in Jewish orthodox schools as well as the ban on kosher slaughter and circumcision is

less immediate but is likely to have a long-term determinant impact on organized Jewish life.

We may, therefore, expect that Jews will remain and even thrive in Eastern Europe while, unless drastic interventions by local governments are implemented, Jewish communities in Scandinavia, France and Germany will likely decrease. Despite this pessimistic perspective, Britain is an exception as the Jewish community there is well organized and may be able to confront the anti-Semitism emanating from the political left effectively.

The considerable Muslim presence in Western European and Scandinavian countries is therefore a factor influencing and perhaps predicting the future of Jewish existence in them. The Muslim sector is not the only one with the highest proportion of those responsible for physical harm to Jews, it also motivates left-wing politicians to criticize the State of Israel disproportionately - in order to court Muslim voters - and motivates right-wing politicians, to adopt conservative and nationalist positions and promote anti-multicultural

policies and laws that limit non-Christian religious expressions in the public sphere.

Although this policy of right-wing leaders is a counter-reaction to the spread of Islam, and is primarily aimed at limiting Islam, it also includes laws that harm the lives of Jewish communities. For example, laws that restrict circumcision and kosher slaughter without pre-stunning, laws that mandate gender and sexuality curricula in all schools, laws that prohibit the display of religious symbols in the public sphere, and policies that restrict the transfer of public funds to religious institutions.

The future scenarios forecasted for Europe do not bode well for the Jews of the old continent. It is likely that a significant number of Europe's Jews will emigrate in the coming decades, given the economic stagnation on the continent, demographic shifts, political instability, the undermining of personal security, and the anti-Semitic violence that local governments, despite good intentions, will have difficulty in preventing.¹⁸

Figure 1: Types of Anti-Jewish Hatred and their Impact on Communal Life

Different Types of Anti-Semitism	Classic Anti-Semitism	Israel-derived Anti-Semitism	Aufklärungs Anti-Semitismus
The unacceptable entity	The Jewish individual	The Jewish nation-state	Jewish particularistic religious practices
Goal	Jew-free world	Israel-free world	Judaism-free world
Ideology	Racism Nationalism	Anti-racism Post-nationalism	Rationalism. Human and animal rights
Jews perceived as	Non-European Semites invading Europe	European imperialists in the Middle East	Tribalists. Adept of obscurantist and cruel rituals
Discourse	Negative Stereotypes about Jews	Anger against the Jewish state	Core Jewish practices (Mila, Shechita, etc.)
Political leaning	Right-wingers	Muslims & Left-wingers	Liberals & left-wingers
Primary manifestations	Derogatory remarks and acts of social discrimination	Violence toward Jewish institutions, symbols and people	Public debate and legal prohibition of certain Jewish practices
Part of Europe	Central & Eastern Europe	Western Europe, UK and Scandinavia	Western Europe, UK and Scandinavia
Demographic context	Small Migrant Population	Large voting Muslim population	Large voting Muslim population

Part Two: Anti-Semitism in the United States

The rate of anti-Semitic incidents in North America is significantly lower than in Europe or the Arab world. However, recently, American Jews have been voicing concerns of rising anti-Semitism, mostly among radical groups on the right. The prominence and acceptance of Jews in the American political and cultural elites has no parallel in modern Jewish history.¹⁹ Despite this, there is concern over a “slippery slope” and a reversion to previous eras (until the 1950s and 1960s), in which discrimination of Jews, and anti-Jewish expressions were more common.

A three-dimensional US indicator

Although still only a peripheral phenomenon of the conservative backlash against globalization and political liberalism, the Alt-Right phenomenon is a source of significant anxiety among Jews. But there are at least three questions that did not yet get a clear answer on the significance of this group.

1. Is the Alt-Right a transitory fringe phenomenon or the beginning of a cultural backlash that will endanger 70 years of Jewish prosperity and successful social integration in America?
2. Can white supremacists inculcate anti-Semitism in the white, blue-collar masses suffering the effects of economic globalization by scapegoating the Jews and other minority groups?
3. Is there a tacit support of political elites (including the current occupant of the White House) for this group that includes a willingness to ignore anti-Semitic tendencies?

Nobody currently knows the answer to the three questions posed above, so our role will be, to provide an integrated methodology for assessing American anti-Semitism, similar to the one we have for Europe. Given the inherent differences, we will keep US and European analyses separate.

The integrated index illustrates the fact that both anti-Semitic incidents and anxiety among American Jews concerning anti-Semitism is on the rise. As we follow the evolution of the index for the US and gather reliable data regarding the feelings of the Jews regarding anti-Semitism, we will hopefully be able to elaborate concrete directions for action.

JJPI’s integrated Anti-Semitism Index has three dimensions:

Dimension 1: Public opinion toward Jews.

Dimension 2: Anti-Semitic incidents of different sorts (extreme violence, assault, damage and desecration of Jewish property, threats, abusive behavior, literature), including online harassment.

Dimension 3: Anti-Semitism as perceived by Jews.

There is data for the first dimension (ADL and Pew reports) and for the second one. Regarding the third dimension, which relates to the degree of anxiety among American Jews, systematic

data is still missing. Inspired by the work of the European Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), JPPI has launched in May 2019 a limited Delphi consultation with 180 rabbis and communal

leaders in the United States to collect their perceptions about the rise of anti-Semitism in their vicinity and its possible impact on the communal life.

Table 2: Anti-Semitism in the USA

Anti-Semitism in the USA	Trend	2019	2018	2017	2016
PUBLIC OPINION TOWARDS JEWS					
Harbor anti-Semitic attitudes (%) ²⁰	▲		NA	10%	9%
ANTI-SEMITIC BEHAVIOR (number of incidents; only as reported to official agencies)²¹					
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
ANTI-SEMITISM AS PERCEIVED BY JEWS²²					
Anti-Semitism is currently a very serious or somewhat of a problem in the United States				73%	
Anti-Semitism 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%		

Dimension 1: Public opinion towards Jews.

According to ADL findings, 9% of American adults in 2014 and 10 percent in 2015 harbored anti-Semitic attitudes. According to the Pew Research Center (2014), half of US adults rate Jews “very warmly” (over 67 degrees on

the “Pew Thermometer”). Only 9 percent of US adults rate Jews “very coldly” (under 33 degrees on the Pew thermometer). Certainly, the Pew data and the ADL data converge.²³

Dimension 2: Anti-Semitic incidents.

Data from the 2018 ADL Anti-Semitic Incidents Audit, published in May 2019, shows that anti-Semitic incidents in the United States surged by 100 percent in 2018.²⁴

Dimension 3: Anti-Semitism as perceived by Jews

As they are few available data about the perceptions of the anti-Semitism among the US Jews (In Table 2 above, the results of the few questions on the subject from the American Jewish committee 2018 survey are shown), JPPI has decided to launch a short had-hoc survey among a selected group of rabbis and community leaders to collect their perceptions of the developments of a possible anti-Jewish sentiment among non-Jews in their specific neighborhood, to assess their worries about possible negative developments (harassment, violence, physical attacks) and their assessment of the impact of the increased anti-Semitism (including the recent deadly shootings) to the participation to the communal life. Altogether, some 180 respondents answered the survey and we are presenting below some of the results.

The survey was administered to a broad group of Jewish lay leaders (N=136) and then to a group of 44 rabbis in addition. The desire for a rapid response to immediate events militated against designing a survey that would yield clinically rigorous statistical output. Nevertheless, the results do reflect several broad areas of shared sentiment. There is a clear sense that something

has changed in North America compared to five years ago. The responses were weighted toward the choices indicating that these changes have been considerable and not just a perceptible shift from prior patterns. Several phenomena ranging from anti-Semitic graffiti, desecrations, vandalism to hostile expressions were claimed to have been directly observed by 20-55 percent of respondents. More than half of both survey respondents observed what they considered to be anti-Semitic expression in the traditional media. Numbers were higher when asked about political life or internet and social media. However, in the US, anti-Israel sentiment may not be as much of a driver or cover for anti-Semitic expression as appears to be the case in Europe. When asked whether “the Arab-Israeli conflict affect[s] how safe you feel as a Jewish person”, three-quarters of all respondents answered either “Not at all” or “A little”. An even higher share answered “Never” or “Occasionally” to the question, “Do you ever feel that people accuse or blame you for actions of the Israeli government because you are Jewish?” (as opposed to the other choices of “Frequently” or “All the time.”)

Another difference from what the perceptions within some European Jewish communities is that there is a strong feeling among the laity and the religious establishment that local governments “[respond] adequately to the security needs of Jewish communities.” More than half of the general sample and 75 percent of the rabbis answer this question “Yes, definitely”. They are less certain that these local governments, mostly city and county, are capable of combatting

antisemitism effectively. This may well reflect that these jurisdictions have really not needed to confront the attendant issues for a half century and more and did not by and large consider the phenomenon as a societal problem before that. The biggest divergence in views among the laity and rabbis is in characterizing the primal cause for the recent increase in attacks and mass killings in churches, synagogues and mosques. The laity puts more weight on explanations resting at least in part on a rise in antisemitism while over 60 percent of the rabbis (responding to a slightly different set of choices)²⁵ lay the blame on the general increase in mass murder in the US.

What may be considered the bottom line finding, perhaps reflective of the perceived trust in the authorities' ability and willingness to prevent physical harm, is that among the laity two-thirds

are either "Not at all worried" or "Not very worried" that "in the next 12 months [they] or a person close to [them] will be the victim of harassment or physical attack because they are Jewish". Despite the changes in perception of threat attested to in the survey responses, more than 80 percent of the laity and an even larger share of rabbis "never avoid certain places or locations...because [they] don't feel safe there as a Jew." And while a third of the laity worries about a possible "decrease in the number of participants [in Jewish communal life] in the coming year for fear of a possible anti-Jewish incident," only one respondent among the 44 rabbis answered yes with three-quarters responding "No.". These may be the key indicators to be scrutinized most closely over the coming years to gauge the changing sentiments of North American Jews.

Part Three: Directions for Action

1. Recommendations to the Government of Israel

A. Special programs for occupations in high demand in Israel. The figure of 38 percent of the Jews in Europe investigating leaving their country can't leave us indifferent. As high-end employment is the main impediment to Aliyah of young professionals, this field requires our attention. Should Israel be able to provide tailor-made attractive Aliyah programs, dozens of thousands of European Jews could relocate in Israel. Structured employment programs should be launched similar to those designed in the past for engineers and physicians from the CIS. In coordination with Israeli employers interested in hiring their graduates, these programs would involve early identification in France and Belgium and initial training in Israel. Relevant occupations include researchers in selected fields, specialist physicians, engineers, investment consultants, and more.

B. Vocational guidance centers. In cities with large numbers of immigrants, it is advisable to establish vocational guidance centers that provide assessment, courses and training vouchers, and personal guidance and placement services. These centers should also be accessible to Aliyah candidates, prior to immigration.

C. Provide training for Israeli politicians on effective ways to address Diaspora communities in times of anti-Semitic and terror attacks. It is important to avoid making unhelpful remarks to Diaspora communities, such as "come home to Israel." American Jews feel at home in the United States. Further, generalizations about "anti-Semitism in the Democratic Party should be avoided (it could become self-fulfilling prophecy), as should conflating legitimate criticism of Israeli policies with anti-Semitism.

D. Relationship with European countries ruled by far-right parties. We recommend adopting four guiding principles in combining political pragmatism with Jewish values:

- Zero-tolerance of Holocaust denial, historical revisionism, distortion of historical fact, diminution of the Holocaust, or trampling the memory of victims.
- Take a firm stance against any official anti-Semitic infringement on local Jews or attempts to grant legitimacy to anti-Semitic past leaders.
- Appreciate and nurture all national leaders friendly to Israel who respect principles (1) and (2).

- Encourage Eastern European countries to abandon the **competition over victimhood status** by declaring that all European nations – Jews and non-Jews – suffered at the hands of the Nazi past and communism.

2. Recommendations to Communal Leaders in North America

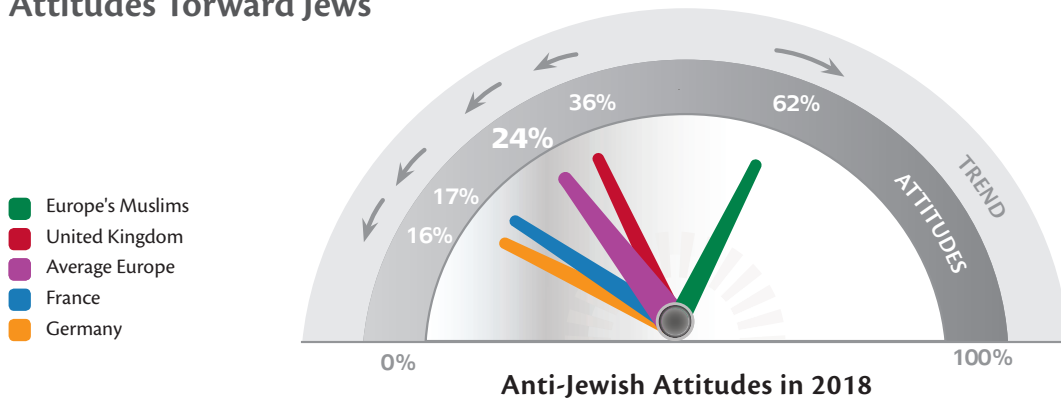
A. Security training for young activists in the United States. Projects should be investigated (in communities that demonstrate interest) to integrate local Jewish youth who wish to take responsibility for the security of their communities. Twenty years of successful experience in France and the UK has shown that a large number of young people who had been Jewishly unaffiliated took interest in being engaged in communal security. In France and the UK, turning a threat into an opportunity, well-funded youth organizations have been established to train these new activists in self-defense, crisis management, and coordinated intervention. The activities to be investigated include trans-regional training gatherings, crisis simulation *shabatonim*, visits to para-military and anti-terror centers in Israel (including

gadna, *kravmaga* courses, and more). It is notable that at one point the French Youth Organization SPCJ included more than 15,000 male and female Jewish youth who met regularly on holidays for training sessions and provided professional security services to local synagogues and JCCs.

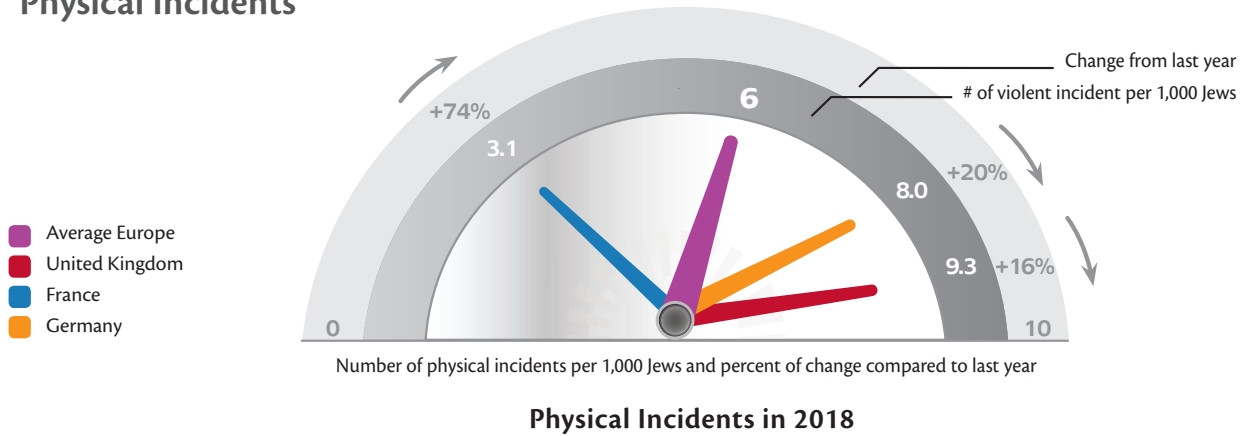
B. Interfaith programs. The mass killings in synagogues and mosques present the opportunity to build trust, long term relationships, dialogue programs, anti-hatred educational programs, mutual understanding programs for youth, and interfaith coalitions against racism and xenophobia.

C. Security. Watchfulness, forethought, and action plans for security are fully justified under the current circumstances. At the same time, the lay and religious leadership should take care that responses are consistent with the actual level of threat rather than presuming the worst. It is a fine line, but it would be ironic if North American Jews, fearing potential ostracism or isolation, took measures that might be deleterious to the very bonds that characterize their place in Jewish history and among Jewish communities around the world.

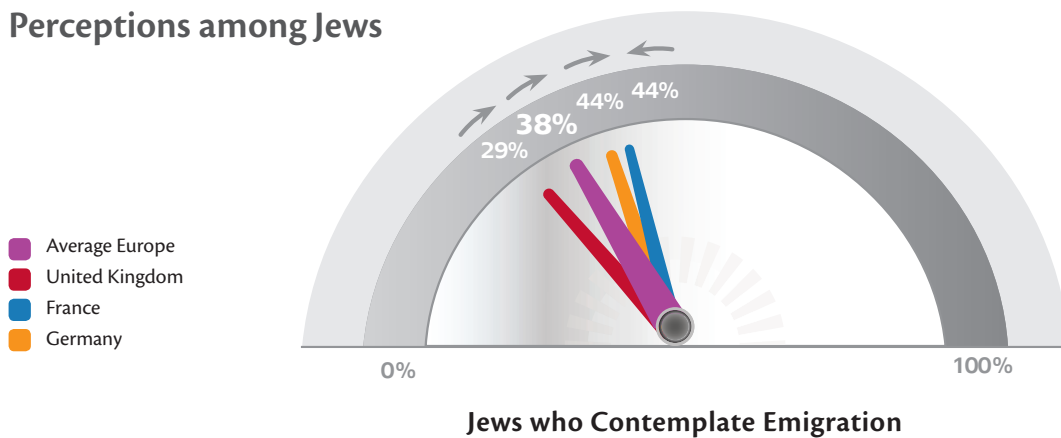
Attitudes Toward Jews



Physical Incidents



Perceptions among Jews



Endnotes:

1. For an in-depth understanding of the rampant social exclusion phenomenon in Europe, see Amar J. (2013), *Les identités religieuses au miroir des droits de l'homme, contribution à une sociologie des droits de l'homme*, Presses Academiques Francophones, Paris, pp. 415-428. Special thanks to Dr. Jacques Amar for his contribution to the analysis of the situation in Europe.
2. Ifop, *Les Français et l'antisémitisme*, February 2019. <https://www.ifop.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/116217-Rapport.pdf>
3. Ifop, op.cit.
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12. France: The number of recorded anti-Semitic violent incidents (attack or attempted attack, homicide or attempted homicide, violence, arson or attempted arson, defacement or vandalism) increased by 89 percent with 183 incidents (compared to 97 in 2017). Within the violent incidents category, anti-Semitic physical violence against persons increased by 170 percent with 81 incidents (30 in 2017). The number of recorded anti-Semitic threats (oral threats, threatening gestures or insults, flyers and hate mail, graffiti) increased by 67 percent with 358 incidents compared to 214 in 2017. 824 Jewish community sites are subject to protection by police security and military forces.
13. Community Security Trust (UK), *ANTISEMITIC INCIDENTS Report 2018* p. 10. <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/2/9/Incidents%20Report%202018%20-%20web.1549538710.pdf>
14. Source: Kantor Center - European Jewry and Antisemitism Database. P.71. The total number of recorded anti-Semitic manifestations (according to the official governmental data) in Germany for the year 2018 indicates an overall rise of at least 10 percent. 1646 anti-Semitic crimes were reported, including 62 acts of violence (that left 43 people injured) - a rise of almost 70 percent, in comparison to 2017, when 1504 anti-Semitic crimes, including 37 violent incidents, were registered.

15. Experiences and perceptions of antisemitism Second survey on discrimination and hate crime against Jews in the EU, EU Agency for Fundamental Rights' (FRA), December 2018. https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2018-experiences-and-perceptions-of-antisemitism-survey_en.pdf
16. The percentage of French Jews considering emigration has decreased since the 2012 survey. During this period, more than 25,000 French Jews have relocated to Israel (7.5% of the French Jewry) and several additional dozens of thousands to other countries.
17. McAuley, James (28 March 2018), "The brutal killing of a Holocaust survivor raises anti-Semitism fears in France". Washington Post. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/frances-jewish-leaders-raise-the-alarm-over-brutal-murder-of-holocaust-survivor/2018/03/26/28cf8686-30f4-11e8-8abc-22a366b72f2d_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.6bf5644f3c59
18. Major elements of this typology is inspired by the excellent following JPR research report. The conclusions are ours see Dencik L. and K. Maros, Different Antisemitisms: perceptions and experiences of antisemitism among Jews in Sweden and across Europe, JPR, London, 2017 https://www.jpr.org.uk/documents/JPR_2017._Different_Antisemitisms_in_Sweden_and_across_Europe.pdf
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21. ADL Global 100 (2014) and update about 19 countries (2015), Anti-Defamation League, An Index of Anti-Semitism, Executive Summary. <http://global100.adl.org/>, PEW research center, Religion & Public Life, February 2017.
22. http://www.pewforum.org/2017/02/15/americans-express-increasingly-warm-feelings-toward-religious-groups/pf-02-15-17_thermometer-04/
23. Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents: Year in Review 2018. April 2019. ADL. <https://www.adl.org/audit2018>
24. AJC's 2018 Survey of American Jewish Opinion, <https://www.ajc.org/news/survey2018>
25. PEW research center, Religion & Public Life, February 201.
26. http://www.pewforum.org/2017/02/15/americans-express-increasingly-warm-feelings-toward-religious-groups/pf-02-15-17_thermometer-04/
27. op. cit. US Anti-Semitic Incidents Surged in 2018.
28. The choices posed as responses in the lay survey were, "Mainly reflects the increase in mass shootings" (7.8%), "Mainly reflects the increase in attacks on churches, synagogues and mosques" (19.5%), "Reflects in a similar manner the increase in mass killings and heightened anti-Semitism" (53.9%), "Mainly reflects heightened anti-Semitism" (15.6%) and "None of the above" (3.1%). Rabbis were not presented with the second of these choices. There responses were, respectively, 61.9% [increase in mass killings], 35.7% [mass killings and anti-Semitism], 2.38% [anti-Semitism] and 0%.