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TRANSCRIPT

Please note: This transcript is based off a recording and mistranslations may appear in text. A video of the event is available: https://www.hudson.org/events/1693-is-america-experiencing-europe-s-growing-anti-semitism-62019
Hudson Institute’s *National Survey of Anti-Semitism in America*

The *National Survey of Anti-Semitism in America* was conducted among likely voters in the 2020 elections to gauge opinions on anti-Semitism in the U.S. The survey reveals how voters of different regions, political views, religious affiliations, races, genders, and ages view anti-Semitism in America, the Democratic party, remarks by Congresswoman Ilhan Omar, Israel, and other consequential issues. This major new poll was conducted by McLaughlin & Associates in May 2019 for Hudson Institute’s Center for Religious Freedom.

To access the *National Survey of Anti-Semitism in America*: [https://www.hudson.org/research/15079-new-poll-is-america-experiencing-europe-s-growing-anti-semitism](https://www.hudson.org/research/15079-new-poll-is-america-experiencing-europe-s-growing-anti-semitism)

Major findings of the *National Survey of Anti-Semitism in America*:

- Contrary to fears that anti-Semitism has become normalized in the U.S., most likely voters are familiar with anti-Semitism and believe it is increasing. In an open-ended question, 62% of participants wrote in that anti-Semitism is a hatred of Jews or bigotry.

- Religious intolerance is seen as the leading cause of anti-Semitism (25%), followed by Muslim extremism (19%).

- Attempts on college campuses to shut down pro-Israel speakers is viewed by a majority (54%) of likely voters as anti-Semitic.

- The Boycott, Divest, and Sanction (BDS) movement is seen as anti-Semitic by a majority of likely voters by a nearly 3-to-1 ratio. A plurality of respondents think the U.S. should oppose BDS campaigns.

- It is not Islamophobic to criticize Congresswoman Ilhan Omar for her views on Israel, noted 63% of respondents. 40% of likely voters have an unfavorable opinion of Congresswoman Omar, while 21% have a favorable opinion.

- The Democratic party is not doing enough to combat anti-Semitism within its own party, respondents noted by a 2-to-1 ratio (48% to 22%).

- A solid majority (57%) of respondents want Israel to be the United States’ closest ally in the Middle East.

- Overwhelming majority (80%) believe it is true that in the Holocaust 6 million Jews were targeted and exterminated. Respondents under 40 years of age were 31% less likely to believe that the Holocaust occurred.

- By a 2-to-1 ratio, likely voters have a favorable opinion of Israel. A majority believe that U.S. support of Israel is “about right” or “too little.”
Discussion of New Hudson Polling on Anti-Semitism

KEN WEINSTEIN: Good afternoon, and welcome to the Betsy and Walter Stern Conference Center here at Hudson Institute. I'm Ken Weinstein, president and CEO of Hudson. On behalf of my Hudson Institute colleague, senior fellow Nina Shea, who directs our Center for Religious Freedom, I want to welcome everyone to today's conference, which is entitled "Is the Kind Of Anti-Semitism We Are Seeing In Europe Now Spreading To America?" I should note that I have been with Hudson Institute for - on and off - for almost three decades now. And today, we're holding a conference that I never imagined we would ever need to hold, a conference that is deeply meaningful to me and to many of my colleagues, myself personally as a son and grandson of refugees from Nazi Germany. It's the kind of question I think we in America never thought we'd have to ask. But before the conference gets underway in earnest, I want to highlight a major new Hudson Institute report or publication on anti-Semitism. It's called "Anti-Semitism Among Islamists In Germany."

WEINSTEIN: And this report, which is available outside, it's available on our website as of today. It's something we rarely do. It is the direct publication of a government report. And this is a landmark report published by the German government, the domestic intelligence service of the Federal Republic of Germany. And it was published in March of 2019. It is a frank, blunt report that analyzes the growing challenge of anti-Semitism in Germany and elsewhere in Muslim communities. We've translated the report into English, translated by our visiting fellow Jennifer Bryson, who took it upon herself to do this. And we really want to complement the Bundesamt fur Verfassungsschutz, the domestic intelligence service of the Federal Republic of Germany for doing this report. That report is excellent. It is frank. And it's a sign of the important attention that the German government is devoting to this important topic. And the report explains at the outset that anti-Semitic ideas spread by Islamic groups and individuals pose a considerable challenge to peaceful and tolerant coexistence in Germany today. And the report seeks to find ways to help address this challenge.

WEINSTEIN: So that being said, again, "Anti-Semitism Among Islamists In Germany," and it's available on our website. I should note that, of course, this has been a deeply disturbing year for the Jewish community in the United States; obviously, another deeply disturbing year for Jewish communities in Europe. In the U.S., of course, we saw the murderous attack by a white nationalist last October at the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh, in which a lone gunman killed 11 people, followed by an attack just one month ago today on the Chabad of Poway, the last day of Passover by another lone gunman, killing one person and injuring others on the last day of Passover, as I noted. These attacks were undertaken, of course, by white nationalists. And there have been numerous attacks - planned attacks - on Jewish institutions planned by Islamists that have been thwarted by the hard work of our intelligence and law enforcement agencies.

WEINSTEIN: On top of the attacks that have unfortunately taken place, those that thankfully were thwarted, we're seeing the growth of the Boycott, Divest and Sanction movement on university campuses, which somehow only singles out Israel as worthy of retribution to anti-Semitic tropes offered by members of Congress to a new kind of violent anti-Semitism that we're especially seeing in New York City. Liberals who go around saying that hate has no home somehow fail to react when, particularly, members of the Hasidic community in Brooklyn and
elsewhere are beaten up, not by neo-fascists but, unfortunately, by members of racial minority groups, as videos repeatedly show. So we're seeing this sort of strange moment in the United States, also in Europe, a kind of shared anti-Semitism among Islamist groups, among groups on the hard left and groups on the hard right who disagree on just about everything except on hatred of Jews. We're seeing this in the gilets jaunes movement in France, which Marc Weitzmann's going to talk about shortly. We're obviously seeing it in Germany, as well.

WEINSTEIN: So to examine the rise of anti-Semitism in the U.S. and what its rise has meant in Europe the last few years, we've gathered an extraordinarily distinguished group of experts here today, including, of course, Nina Shea, whom I mentioned earlier, Elan Carr, the U.S. special envoy to combat anti-Semitism, who will be with us later this afternoon, Mitchell Silber, the former director of intelligence analysis at the New York Police Department, Marc Weitzmann, the author of - Marc, who is French, is the author of a remarkable new book translated into English - "Hate: The Rising Tide Of Anti-Semitism In France (And What It Means For Us)," and last but not least, Simone Rodan-Benzaquen, who's the director of the American Jewish Committee Paris office and the American Jewish Committee's director for Europe. And last but not least, we have John McLaughlin, the pollster, who is going to release a major new poll on anti-Semitism that we have commissioned especially for this conference. And let me sort of go through some of the highlights of the poll - let me preview before John gets up here and before I introduce John.

WEINSTEIN: And so let me simply begin with just a few bullet points. It's clear that - contrary to fears - that anti-Semitism is now mainstream and normalized in American society today, the survey shows that American voters know what anti-Semitism is. They see it as rising, and they don't like it. A plurality see the most significant causes of anti-Semitism in the U.S. to be religious intolerance and Muslim extremism. Most see the systematic campaign to shut down pro-Israel speakers on college campuses as anti-Semitic. Most see the BDS movement to be anti-Semitic. And a plurality think the U.S. should oppose it. A large majority reject the notion that it is Islamophobic to criticize Congresswoman Ilhan Omar for her views on Israel. And a majority of Americans see and want Israel as our closest ally in the Middle East. We'll explore these polls and take a step back to look at what all this means for the rising tide of anti-Semitism in Europe and what it means for the United States.

WEINSTEIN: But let me begin by first introducing pollster John McLaughlin, who's with us. John is, I think all of us know, one of the most astute observers of public opinion in the United States and has been so for more than three decades. He's done numerous presidential races, numerous congressional races. He's worked for the Tory party in the U.K. He's worked for Prime Minister Netanyahu in Israel, Prime Minister Harper in Canada. And I think this poll, which he has undertaken and which he will unveil now, presents some very significant data that you will find interesting and I think will come to play an important role in the public debate over anti-Semitism. So with any further ado, let me turn it over to John. Thank you.

(APPLAUSE)

JOHN MCLAUGHLIN: I want to thank Ken for sponsoring this and the Hudson Institute for sponsoring this important study and Nina for working on the actual questionnaire with us and composing what issues we were going to test and having the survey completed. The most important thing is you're going to find in the data here there's three really - I saw - and Ken hit some of these points right off the bat - three major things that jumped out at me. Being a
pollster, you can be really cynical about specific issues, even when they're serious at the time. But this was a survey of American voters. And American voters have anti-Semitism in focus. They know it's bad. The results surprised me because a lot of times you take surveys and people don't know what you're talking about on the issues. Here, they know what it is. And these are all voters. Only 3% of the survey was Jewish. So they have it in focus. They disapprove of it. And they recognize the threat - the overall threat - to not just the Jewish community but to our country.

MCLAUGHLIN: So with that, the survey was 1,000 likely 2020 general election voters. We screened them how likely they were to vote in November 2020 for president and Congress. The surveys were conducted between May 13 through the 16. It was conducted online because you'll see things here we wanted to show people and, also, you know, because most voters over 90% are online and only half have landlines, so it's a very good survey. And it has accuracy of plus or minus 3%. This first question, you'll see it says verbatim responses there. We didn't give them any choices. We didn't give them an answer - a correct answer. We just asked them off the top of their head, how would you describe anti-Semitism? And 44% gave us an answer, hate against Jews. Nine percent said it was bad, negative in general. Hate, bigotry, Nazis was 9%. Good, positive was only 3%. Hate against Israel, 2%, and 0.3% said it was Muslims, Middle East.

MCLAUGHLIN: So really, off the top of their head, two-thirds of American voters had this in focus. And there wasn't much difference between partisan attitudes or level of education or religion. In fact, off the top of their head, 52% of the Jewish voters said hate against Jews. So it was pretty across the board. Their opinion of Israel - 51% of American voters were favorable, 21% were unfavorable. You'll see there that 28% had no opinion. So they have a pretty much 5-to-2 positive opinion of Israel. And it was just stated like that. A lot of these questions were just upfront, just pretty straightforward. And you'll see on the screen here the actual wording is on top, so it's, like, we just asked their opinion of Israel at that point. Do you think it's in America's interest to have Israel as its closest ally in the Middle East? Fifty-seven percent said yes, only 15% said no, 28% said don't know. And Jewish voters were 75-19, but, again, they're only 3% of the poll, so it's not that big a subsample. The next question - would you say that the United States government supports Israel too often? Twenty-one percent, 40% about right, or too little, 15%. Twenty-four percent didn't know.

MCLAUGHLIN: So most Americans that have an opinion in the plurality say it's about right. Here we're telling them what anti-Semitism is. We're saying, knowing that anti-Semitism is prejudice and bias against Jews, is anti-Semitism happening more frequently or less frequently in the United States than it was 15 years ago? And this answer is distressing because among all voters in the United States, 59% said more frequently, 22% said less frequently. By the way, the group that said less frequently really didn't change by certain demographics. In fact, Jewish voters - those 3% - it was 80% more frequently and only 14% less frequently. But it was pretty much across the board this type of number. But it's distressing. It's almost a 3-to-1 number that it's more frequently in the United States. And, you know, you could say we didn't specifically ask about shootings or local crimes or anything you've heard Ken mention already. I happen to live in New York. So you come home at night and you'll see there were attacks, whether it's vandalism, whether it was a physical attack on somebody who happened to be Jewish. And I'm sure others will talk about that type of thing. But you're seeing it in the news, and you're seeing it around the country.
MCLAUGHLIN: So almost 6 out of 10 American voters have this in focus. Would you say that anti-Semitism in the United States is more? Forty-three percent said isolated incidents. Thirty-seven percent said commonplace and widespread. So 4-to-5 see it going on, whether it's isolated or commonplace. And that's among all voters. Only 20% didn't know. And, you know, just by a - by the way, Jewish voters on that were 59% more widespread, 34 isolated incidents. But pretty much that's another distressing number that 4 in 5 American voters see it going on. When we asked about among the following, who is responsible for anti-Semitism, and we accepted up to two choices. Now, most voters did not give us more than one choice. You'll see here it adds up to, you know, over 100% because some did give us two choices. Only 87% actually gave us a choice. But the leading choice was 37% said Muslim extremists. Twenty-eight percent said right-wing extremists. Twenty-two percent said left-wing extremists.

MCLAUGHLIN: What's interesting is that Republicans - because we said - we introduced ideology into this - they're more likely to say Muslim extremists 49%, left-wing extremists at 32. Democrats, it's 27% saying Muslim extremists, 40% saying right-wing extremists, 13% saying left-wing extremists. And the independents were split with 36% saying Muslim extremists, 28% saying right-wing extremists and 21% saying left-wing extremists. So across the board, you have a significant number saying Muslim extremists. But depending upon where your ideological perspective is coming from, if you're left of center, you think it's right-wing extremists, to some extent. And if you're right of center, you would say it's left-wing extremists. Or, really, the leading answer is among conservative-type of voters that Muslim extremists is the main problem with that. What's the most significant cause of anti-Semitism in the United States today? We gave them these choices. And 25% said religious intolerance. Muslim extremism was 19%. Anti-Israel feelings was 11%. Economic issues, resentment is 9%. Using Jews as scapegoats is 8%, others, 5%, pro-Palestinian feelings, 4%.

MCLAUGHLIN: In the past we've done surveys - we did it for the World Jewish Congress, the Lauder poll, in 2016 - where we surveyed - it was an international survey among Jewish adults. And you could see in different countries they would say that there was a resentment economically at times, and there was anti-Israel feelings at times. But in the United States it's basically - it's a religious bias. It's a religious intolerance combined with Muslim extremism. The BDS movement - as Ken mentioned, the BDS movement is a movement to boycott - the exact wording is here, of the question - is a movement to boycott, divest and sanction products and businesses in Israel in order to weaken and destroy Israel. Would you say that the support for the BDS movement against Israel is anti-Semitic? The majority of American voters said yes, 53% to 19%. And when you looked at that, if they said it was more frequent - that 59% that said anti-Semitism was more frequent - they were more likely to say that it's anti-Semitic 64-to-18.

MCLAUGHLIN: So the BDS movement, as it is right now, it's being perceived as an engine of anti-Semitism in the United States. Do you think the United States should assist Israel in imposing the international campaign to boycott, divest and sanction Israel? Forty-eight percent of Americans said yes - the plurality. Only 22% said no. Don't know is 30%. And again, in this question where you had those who said anti-Semitism was going on more frequently, 60% said the United States should assist in opposing the international campaign on BDS, 60-to-19 they were more likely to say we should do that. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? Being anti-Israel is the new anti-Semitism. Two-to-one, the majority of Americans. Fifty percent agree, 25% disagree among the voters. And, by the way, Republicans were most likely to agree 60-to-21. But the plurality of Democrats agreed 44-24. Independents agreed 44-
MCLAUGHLIN: Is the systematic campaign to shut down pro-Israel speakers and events on college campuses acts of anti-Semitism? Now remember, they know what anti-Semitism is. And they're saying yes, 54-to-16. They see if you're shutting down pro-Israel speakers on events in college campuses, that's an anti-Semitic act, 54-to-16. And again, it was strongest among Republicans, 68 to-12, but Democrats, 46-18, independents, 48-18. And Jewish voters, it was 66-18. By the way, she was the only one we tested to favorable, unfavorable in this - only political personality that we tested in the survey. And what I found interesting when I saw the results - I was telling Nina - the interesting part about this number is 85% of all voters have heard of her. And you've only been there a few months. That really takes a lot of hard work to raise that kind of name recognition. But it was negative, where it's 40% unfavorable, 21% favorable. This is across the country. Twenty-three percent have heard the name, but they had no opinion, where, definitely, the Republicans were most anti, 15% to 58%, followed by independents. They were 13 favorable, 44 unfavorable. But Democrats, they were 34 favorable, 21 unfavorable. So to the extent that she has favorable, it's in a partisan ideological core. But on the other hand, to be a freshman congressman after a few months to be known to 85% of the voters and to be 2-to-1 negative among those with an opinion, that really takes a lot of hard work.

MCLAUGHLIN: And it's almost scary that that can happen. By the way, with Jewish voters, she's 21 and 42. There was only 2% Muslims in the survey, but that was 55-30, so - do you think the Democratic Party is doing enough to combat anti-Semitism in its own party? Twenty-two percent said yes; 48% said no. And Republicans, 66% said no. Democrats, it was 38 yes but 28 no. Independents, it was 50% no. Are you Islamophobic to criticize Congresswoman Ilhan Omar for her views on Israel? Fourteen percent said yes, 63% said no. By the way, the numbers who said yes, it only spiked up - but it's a 2%, it's a small cell, the Muslims, where it was 42%. Everybody else was about the same. It was about Republicans, 14% and Democrats, 18%. So the overwhelming majority of voters are saying no, it's not Islamophobic to criticize Congresswoman Omar and her views on Israel. And then another one that got a big number across the board when we told them - and we gave them the wording of this question - when we say Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan has made many anti-Semitic statements over many years, including - and these were in quotes - "satanic Jews have infected the whole world with poison and deceit," end quote, and quote "Hitler was a very great man," end quote. Should politicians be denounced for appearing with Louis Farrakhan at campaign events? Sixty-seven percent of all voters said yes 74% among Republicans, 63% among Democrats, 65% among independents, 65% among Protestants, 66 Catholics, 76 Jewish voters, 66% among Muslims and those who are secular voters 71%. So that was across the board with virtually every group in the survey. So to say that they have a focus on anti-Semitism and they have a rejection of anti-Semitism when they see it, and I think that's encouraging for American voters and for our country. Do you believe that it's true that in the Holocaust the Nazi regime targeted and exterminated six million European Jews? Eighty percent said yes. And it's pretty much across the board with all political parties and all the different religious types. It only dropped a little bit based on age. If you were a younger voter,
MCLAUGHLIN: And somebody asked me about Jewish voters - 14% said no. I said they might be arguing whether it was 6 million or more or less. It's not really funny. But it's - you know, but that could have been the result of that question. But it's broad - 4 out of 5 Americans say that's true and it's across the board. Considering the reported attacks on places of worship, which places of worship in the United States do you think need security protect themselves from a potential threat of gunmen or mass shootings? What was amazing is we accepted multiple responses. And it was across the board. And so we got more than one answer. And it came out pretty much two-thirds for synagogues, two-thirds for churches, two-thirds for mosques. I mean, what they're recognizing - the voters are - that our houses of worship, regardless of your religion, are soft targets. And you're vulnerable. So those of us who, you know, you may be seeing increased security in synagogues, but among churches and mosques, it's as high. Among Jewish voters, 84% said synagogues, but churches were 59, mosques were 71%, churches 59. Among Muslims, it was 41% synagogues, 38 churches, 62% among mosques. And Protestants were 69% synagogue, 74% churches, 62 mosques. So it's throughout society.

MCLAUGHLIN: Do you consider this cartoon to be anti-Semitic? We showed them this. They saw this on the online survey. Fifty-five percent of all voters said yes. Twenty-five percent said no. And it didn't matter by party. They said 59-24 among Republicans, Democrats said 55-24, independents 50 to 29. And it was across all the religious groups that they thought this was anti-Semitic. But it was 2-to-1 when they saw this, they - so the bottom line is, when American voters see anti-Semitism, the majority knows what it is, so - and this may be different than Europe in some regard, but they - but it's refreshing that Americans - they have this in focus and they reject it when they see it. The New York Times - then this was the follow-up question - The New York Times posted the cartoon of Donald Trump - this is the only time we mention Trump in the whole survey - and Israel Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu on its website and then deleted it. Do you think the New York Times should be criticized for posting this cartoon? It was even higher - 59% to 27%. And, again, it was high across the board with - I mean, the majority of all the political parties and the religious groups saw this as something that The New York Times should be criticized for. And with that, Ken?

(APPLAUSE)

MCLAUGHLIN: OK.

WEINSTEIN: We're going to - I'm going to ask a couple of questions, then we'll open it up to the floor for questions. Let me ask you, John - first of all, we thank you for this very detailed and fascinating study. When you do one of these polls - you've obviously done thousands, if not tens of thousands of these over the years - what's your sense in terms of - was there anything that jumped out at you that really surprised you here?

MCLAUGHLIN: Well, you never know what you're going to get back with voters because a lot of times you take surveys and you say who's responsible for crime and they tell you criminals. Who's responsible for high unemployment? Lack of jobs - good. So on something like this that's so serious and where the vast majority of these voters are not Jewish, for them to say two-thirds off the top of their head know what anti-Semitism is, that's important. They got it in focus. But the scary part is when 6 out of 10 voters are telling you it's happening more frequently and 4 out of 5 voters, when they tell you whether it's an isolated incident or it's widespread, they're
telling you what's going on in the United States. So the good part is that people are aware of it. They know what it is. The other good part is that the majority of them seem to reject it. And, you know, when you take away - at some point, when you bring up Congressman Omar, et cetera, when you take away the political prism, there really is a lot of, you know, a strong concept that this is bad, it's not good in the United States and American voters will reject it.

WEINSTEIN: That's my second question, the political prism, because it was striking. In a number of questions you asked, there were very different answers among Republicans and Democrats. How do you explain that?

MCLAUGHLIN: That was - when you bring in partisan politics, you get a different reaction. So - you know, so, for example, when that cartoon hit, when you showed what The New York Times put in the - when you put in there, what was amazing was Republicans 59-24 said it was anti-Semitic, but so did Democrats, 55-24. And, now, the difference with Omar is when you ask about her favorables, Republicans, she's 15 and 58. Democrats, they were 34% favorable, 21 unfavorable. So it's really - for a Democrat to be that well known and not that well-liked by her own party, where two-thirds are saying, you know, those other voters kind of know her, but they're giving her a polite maybe she's not that bad there, there is a difference on those types of questions. But on the other one where The New York Times, what they did, that was across the board party support where it was saying we don't like anti-Semitism.

WEINSTEIN: Let's open it up to the audience for questions. Please keep your questions brief and identify yourself, if you have an institutional affiliation.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Did you have a chance to - on the question regarding the Holocaust and its relationship to 6 million Jews - did you have any chance to compare that to other surveys that were taken in the past to look at the trend?

MCLAUGHLIN: No, not really. But the interesting number that I did find in this survey was that there was a slight drop-off as the voters were younger. And maybe they're not being educated to it, you know? Now, it's still a big number when you get 70%, and you get to the next age cohort, it goes up into the 70s. Then it goes over 80 with those who are over 65. So when I looked at that, I'm thinking, for some reason, maybe we're not teaching it as well or as often as we should be. But I can tell you, even in areas where I live, there's fewer and fewer Holocaust survivors, so you don't have the same kind of information that's given out. Like, I know in the area in New York where I live in, you know, there'll be a Holocaust memorial day and there'll be survivors that used to come and talk and stuff and they're just not there. But the other question is - what struck me was that you start to see where, if the younger voters don't know - I don't know about the ones who aren't voters, what they're learning in school, if they're still being taught this. So that was it. But compared to other surveys, seemed like it was still a pretty high number, though, overall, that 4 of 5 Americans saying it's true.

WEINSTEIN: Let's go over here, great. Here.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Anti-Semitism in the U.K. is mostly from the left, combined with a secularism, but it's mostly left wing and not a right-wing phenomenon. As it translates into the United States, do you think that makes a fundamental difference, that there's - more anti-Semitism comes from the right in the United States more than it does from the left?
MCLAUGHLIN: Well, I think the perception is if you're on the left, you'll say that it's more likely to be the right. Across the board, though, there was a big number in the United States because this is where 9/11 happened. And there's been subsequent attacks since, and you get a very large number of American voters who are saying it's Muslim extremists. But then you get - if they're a left-of-center voter, they may say it's right-wing extremists, and there's more conservatives and they'll say it's left-wing extremists. But that's the American political prism. But across the board, though, the big number was on the Muslim extremists, so that was the plurality of voters.

WEINSTEIN: Back there. We'll have time for one more question after this.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: There's pretty substantial evidence of growing anti-Semitism and hostility towards Israel and support of the BDS movement on college campuses. I mean, my organization has looked at this very closely. I think it's a real problem. What did your survey show about views towards BDS and anti-Semitism among college-age students?

MCLAUGHLIN: Well, we really had an under-30 age category. And it was reflected to be - out of a thousand voters - it was reflected to be a national sample of who would vote for president. But what you're connecting here is the overall number, they think that - the overall number sees that if, you know, that not letting pro-Israel speakers, they see that as anti-Semitic. But we didn't ask, you know, the correlation of what you're asking with BDS and college campuses. So I think that's what you asked me, right? Yeah, no. But that would be good because I've already explained to Ken and Nina that we get paid by the question and that would be a good question.

(LAUGHTER)

MCLAUGHLIN: So I'll save that. As far as the poll goes, the good part is what you're seeing and feeling, the vast - again - the vast majority of these voters in the survey, 97% are not Jewish. And the majority sees anti-Semitism as being more frequent. They see it as happening in their society, whether it's the occasional incident or widespread, 4 to 5. So they have it in focus. So your feeling - the survey reaffirms that this is going on in the United States. The good part is the majority of American voters reject this, whether it's a cartoon in The New York Times or whether it's something more serious. Now, we didn't ask anything specifically about shootings or about other attacks. And those are serious questions that - when you get a survey back like this, and it's important, you're like - because we didn't know what we were going to get back at all because a lot of these questions haven't been asked in previous surveys. And it was, you know, done by the policy people here and Ken at the Hudson Institute. You get ideas for, we should've really asked about this, or, we should've asked about that. But I think the good part about what you just said is the majority of Americans are seeing the same thing you're seeing, and they're rejecting it, which is an important position for the United States to be in, not just for our country, but for the rest of the world, so.

WEINSTEIN: And on that note, I want to thank you, John, for your important work.
NINA SHEA: Thank you. Thanks, John. Thanks, Ken. This is a really unique study. And it's at a pivotal moment in America. I think it does show that America gets it. They know what anti-Semitism is. They acknowledge it's rising, and they don't like it. We have, no doubt, a problem, and it must be addressed. But I would argue that anti-Semitism, just based on this research, is not normalized in America. It's neither the old right-wing anti-Semitism nor the new. It's not appreciated by likely American voters, including the BDS movement. In 1790, George Washington wrote a letter to the Hebrew congregations in Rhode Island - in Newport, R.I. And in it, he says that the government of the United States gives no sanction to persecution and no - it gives no sanction to bigotry and no assistance to persecution. And he says to the synagogue, the Touro Synagogue, everyone shall sit under his own vine and fig tree, and there should be none to make him afraid. A year later, in 1791, the Bill of Rights and its Free Exercise Clause of the First Amendment was ratified into the U.S. Constitution. We are now seeing some increase in violent attacks from Poway to Pittsburgh and to New York City.

SHEA: New York City alone this year, from the first 139 days of this year, there were 103 anti-Semitic hate crimes - not hate speech, but hate crimes. And we're seeing it on campuses, both with BDS and also with the exclusion of Jewish students and organizations - attempt to exclude them and silence them in the campuses. So it raises the question, are we drifting? Are we becoming more like Europe, which has a serious - a recent serious anti-Semitism problem and a very, very serious past anti-Semitism problem? And the purpose of this conference is now, and we're going to do it now - we're going to pivot to Europe. So I'd like to invite Mitch Silber, our first speaker to address Europe. He is going to be speaking about the U.K. to the podium. Mitch was the former director of intelligence analysis of the New York Police Department and a principal at the Guardian Group. He served as director of intelligence analysis at the police from 2005 to 2012, where he was the principal adviser to the deputy commissioner of intelligence on counterterrorism policy analysis.

SHEA: He was responsible for developing and managing the analytic and cyber units and supervised the research collection and analysis for the intelligence division's entire portfolio of ongoing terrorism-related investigations. He also co-authored the 2007 NYPD report "Radicalization In The West: The Homegrown Threat" and is the author of "The Al Qaeda Factor: Plots Against The West," published in 2012 by the University of Pennsylvania Press. He is a visiting lecturer at Columbia University's School of International Public Affairs and serves on the dean's advisory board there and is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. At the Guardian Group, he has joined forces with former NYPD Police Commissioner Raymond Kelly to study the nature, direction, trajectory and depth of anti-Semitism in a number of European countries. There are about 12 altogether. On behalf of Ronald Lauder, a New York-based philanthropist who is president of the World Jewish Congress, they have met with government officials, politicians and a whole range of other experts and representatives of the Jewish community in an effort to - in Europe to better protect Jews there from violent extremist threats. So, Mitch, I give you the podium.

(APPLAUSE)
MITCHELL D SILBER: Always have to find the clicker first. OK. Well, thank you all for coming out this afternoon for this very serious and important topic. Thank you, Nina, for inviting me to speak, and Hudson as well. Really enjoy coming here and being able to share some of the findings. As Nina mentioned, I've been involved in this multiyear project - and about 18 months through it - looking to assess anti-Semitism in Europe. And there have been about 12 different countries that we have been to so far. And, you know, one thing I can tell you is that, you know, U.K., France, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Poland, Denmark, Sweden - in every single one, the situation is somewhat different. And when we talk about the right wing, the left wing and the Islamist threat of anti-Semitism, it's really the nature of the balance of those three. You know, what's ascendant in Poland is different from what's ascendant and dominant in the U.K. And similarly, you know, you'll hear about France, but there's a different mix in each of the countries. And maybe with the exception of France and Belgium being pretty similar, for the most part, each one is unique in that sense.

SILBER: I should say the purpose of our project is not necessarily to conduct polling or just an assessment of anti-Semitism. Our ultimate goal is to figure out ways to better protect these Jewish diaspora communities in these different countries. And again, in every country, it's a different situation. In the U.K., they're lucky to have something called the Community Security Trust. And Mike Whine, a senior member of that organization which is really the gold standard in communal Jewish security, you know, helps keep the Jewish community safe there. France - it's a different situation. Different situation in Poland and Denmark. But I wanted to start out with this slide because this sort of telegraphs what the theme is for the U.K., and you heard a little bit earlier with Amanda's (ph) comment that the British left and anti-Semitism. And, in fact, this was a headline. Michael Oren, the former Israeli ambassador to the U.S., said he wouldn't extend an invitation to British Jews who wanted to make Aliyah to Israel. Hopefully, it won't come to that, but that shows a little bit of the nature of what we're talking about in the U.K.

SILBER: And so the U.K. is what I'll be talking about today. And, you know, the U.K. - just to sort of frame things - a country of about 66 million people. We're talking a Jewish population of between 275 and 300,000 people. The Community Security Trust, which does some of what the Anti-Defamation League does in the U.S. in terms of tracking anti-Semitic incidents and then reconciling them with British police, tracked that last year, in 2018, that there was a record 1,600 anti-Semitic incidents. So what's an incident? An incident is graffiti, is vandalism, is someone spitting on someone in the street, someone physically assaulting someone. So there's a wide range from the violent to sort of more passive. But either way, they've been reconciled between Community Security Trust and British police, Scotland Yard. Fortunately, there is a decrease of 18% in physical assaults. And at least, you know, coming from this from my perspective as a former counterterrorism official, the physical assaults are always what is my primary focus. Just to better understand some of the numbers that Community Security Trust has tracked, you can see, you know, this escalation, the steady escalation since 2007 in the incidents that have happened in the U.K. And it's really been this sort of meteoric rise.

SILBER: In terms of, you know, what is the nature of these type of events, you have about 500 incidents where people in public were attacked. You know, you've got issues where there were synagogues, about a hundred of the incidents. Schools, about 120 of the different incidents. So there's, you know, there's sort of a spread of the different types of events that you might see and encounter that get categorized as anti-Semitic. You see here in this icon, this Twitter icon, it shows some of the different terms that people are utilizing when they're making their anti-
Semitic references online. And it sort of again gives you a little bit of a clue as to some of the directionality of this. And you see labor in focus there as one of the larger words. But we'll come to that in a few minutes. You know, one of the things about anti-Semitism, well, what are the origins of it? Who's actually committing the attacks? So CST, you know, in their questioning of people who were - who experienced this said, well, you know, can you describe what the attacker or the offender was like?

SILBER: So, you know, they got data on about 30% of the incidents. So about 500 of them. And they said, well, you know, 300 of them were categorized as white, Northern European. So that was about 60%. Seventy-three offenders, or 15%, were described as black. Sixty-four offenders, or about 13%, were described as South Asian. And then 44 offenders described as Arab or North African. You know, look. These are people's perceptions as to who they thought committed the attack. So there's a certain amount of, you know, fungibility in that. But it certainly shows that, by far, at least in the U.K., where people are able to say to say - they're saying, wow, you know, of these 500, you know, 60% were by people who they perceived as white. So keep that in mind as we move on. Another way to look at this same issue again - origins - who's committing the anti-Semitic attacks or incidents. You know, there's a - the question was, well, what's the ideological motivation of the individuals involved in the attack or in the incident?

SILBER: So you have 84 out of the 270 that had enough information to be able to give opinion on that - 84 right - far-right; 173 - so more than half - anti-Israel; and 13 out of them Islamist motivations or beliefs - so some data to think about. I think, you know, this is sort of a way to think about the day in general. And a sort of point I alluded to earlier is that, really, we're talking about a mix of anti-Semitism that's coming from three different directions. And I believe, right now, it's sort of a perfect storm for Jewish communities around the world. You've got the extreme right in the U.K. You know, that was - and evidence of that was this murder of Jo Cox, a Member of Parliament who was anti-Brexit. Not necessarily related to anti-Semitic issues, but just sort of an example of white, far-right extremism in the U.S. - obviously, Charlottesville, Pittsburgh, Poway. And, you know, the quote above, that is from Bowers, the attacker in Pittsburgh. You know, I can't sit by and watch my people get slaughtered. Screw your optics. I'm going in.

SILBER: And a lot of the ideological justification for action from the far-right is this concept of white genocide - that they believe that their race - the white race - is being threatened, that they're threatened by brown people. And who are the enablers of that drowning of America, drowning of Europe? Well, the Jews are the enablers of that. In Pittsburgh, it happened to be because it was the Jews and a Hebrew aid society that had previously helped Jewish emigres - was now helping, you know, immigrants from other different backgrounds. On the far-left, you know, we heard about Farrakhan; boycott, disinvest, sanction; Women's March; Ilhan Omar's comments. I think, you know, that's what we know the far-left to be. In the U.K., Corbyn's support for Hamas and Hezbollah - Israel - and what's the viewpoint there? Well, Israel's a racist, apartheid settler-colonial state, right? It's anti-colonialist. It's anti-imperialist. And it's anti-capitalist. And that's sort of the theme when you're thinking about the labor anti-left - anti-Semitism that we're concerned about.

SILBER: And then the third - Muslim, Islamist and jihadi, which is reflected in this German report that you heard about earlier today - Hamas, al-Qaida, ISIS, Muslim Brotherhood. We've had a number of deadly attacks in Europe by terrorist groups, as well as - I'm sure when you hear about France, you know, the situation there, to a large degree, is driven by Muslim,
Islamist and jihadi threats. And, you know, some of this is historical, going back to tropes to the beginning of Islam - Jews are the enemies of Muslims, and they should fear Allah. And some are much more recent - the interplay of Arab-Israeli, Israeli-Palestinian conflict playing out in the streets of Europe. But regardless, you know, these are sort of the three directions we're talking about, and it's the Jewish populations that are in the center. So now to talk more specifically about the U.K. - I think it's clear to say that anti-Semitism in the U.K. is at its apex, and anti-Semitism in the U.K. is often disguised as anti-Zionism. It has moved into the mainstream. It has moved to the mainstream via the Labour Party, via students groups, universities and the unions. And ironically, those people who are the purveyors of the anti-Semitism believe in their hearts that they're not anti-Semites. It's one of the ironies of this. And if you have the - you know, the guts to accuse them of anti-Semitism, they believe that you as an accuser should be cast out. And you see that in the U.S. in some of the intersectionality on university campuses.

SILBER: But when you talk about the U.K., you really have to go to 2015 'cause 2015 is the pivot year. Why is it the pivot year? Well, you lose the Labour Party that was the home for Tony Blair and Gordon Brown and the home for much of the Jewish community in the U.K. in the way that the Jewish community has been overwhelmingly Democratic in the U.S. And what happened in 2015 is that Ed Miliband lost to the Tories. And at that point, there was a power struggle in the Labour Party for who'd be the next leader. And the person who won came from the Stalinist fringe of the Labour Party. It's sort of like if you would take Bernie Sanders and mix him with Rashida Tlaib and Ilhan Omar. That type of mix is sort of who came to the forefront of the Labour Party. And Jeremy Corbyn, who had been known for being pro-Hezbollah, pro-Hamas, pro-PLO, suddenly was in a leadership position there. And how did it happen? Well, among many reasons, probably the most important is that Labour decided to reduce the membership fees in Labour to just three pounds.

SILBER: So by lowering the requirement to join Labour to just three pounds, suddenly you have this influx of new members to Labour and people who had left Labour and come back. And I'll talk about that. But make no mistake - in the Jeremy Corbyn Labour formulation, it's anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist. Tony Blair is an enemy, Israel is an enemy and the United States is clearly an enemy. And what you can see here on the graph - it shows the membership in Labour. And when this change was made, and the membership fees were reduced to three pounds, suddenly, you have this increase from 200,000 members to 550,000 members. Now, who are these members? There have been some academic studies and some polling done on the people who - this influx into Labour. Well, No. 1, they were returning members to Labour who had been more left wing and didn't like the historical Tony Blair-Gordon Brown version of Labour. But then you also had new members who came to Labour who didn't like politics as usual. And in the same way that Bernie Sanders has that appeal that he's from outside the system, you know, with whatever problems there are with that statement, there's a belief that Jeremy Corbyn was also from outside the system. And for younger voters who were looking for someone to shake things up, there was a certain amount of appeal to Jeremy Corbyn.

SILBER: Now, right now, as of last week, the Equality and Human Rights Commission in the U.K. is investigating the Labour Party for really institutional anti-Semitism. And there have been a variety of different studies and assessments being done as to, you know, how this has sort of infected the Labour Party. In the U.K., you know, there also is a concern on the right wing of some anti-Semitism. And that's really - you know, whereas the Labour Party anti-Semitism is
day to day - it's in the media - the right-wing anti-Semitism writ large, beyond just anti-Semitism, has come to the fore as a violent threat in the U.K. Again, going back to my counterterrorism days, you know, each year or every couple of years, the U.K. talks about the number of plots they've foiled, right? So recently, the head of counter-terrorism, Neil Basu at Scotland Yard, said, listen - 18 plots foiled since 2017, four of them far right - so 14 Islamist, al-Qaida, ISIS-type linked but four far right. And that is a sea change. You know, that number used to essentially be zero.

SILBER: So when we think about the far right in the U.K., there - it's not monolithic. There are a couple of different elements to it, right? One element - and the one that Jewish population in the U.K. would be most concerned about - is this on the right here, the neo-Nazis, right? And you can see by their formulation a wolf, keep Britain white. And they're - you know, their sort of sayings are, Hitler was right. The disease of international Jewry will eventually end in the chambers. Right? So we know what these are. These are neo-Nazis. They have a group called National Action. National Action was banned in the U.K. And this is really the first non-Islamist group banned in the U.K. for terrorist-type affiliations. They've been creative. They've come up with new groups under new names - Scottish Dawn and NS131. They praised that murder of the British member of Parliament, Jo Cox. And there have been a number of arrests over the last few years - close to 30. So that's the violent part that I think is targeted potentially against the Jewish community.

SILBER: And then there's another element that's sort of broader than the U.K. called Identitarians. And essentially, you know, what their view is - their view is that, look - you know, they're also concerned about the browning of Europe, except for them, it's not coming from Central America. For them, it's coming from the Middle East, right? So their motto - defend London, stop Islamization. And they believe in this theory called the great replacement, which you'll probably hear some more about. But it's essentially something that a French philosopher came up with and talks about the idea that, you know, Christians are under threat from these waves of immigration. And to some degree, at least in this formulation, Jews are with the Christians - you know, posed antithetical to the Muslim invaders.

SILBER: So the Identitarians don't necessarily look to target Jewish populations. You know, and to date, they haven't been, you know, a target for that group. But, you know, that's - when you think about the far right in the U.K. that's still on the fringe but worthwhile at least mentioning, that's the formulation that I use to think about them. So, you know, there have been some polling studies done in the U.K., you know, similar to McLaughlin Group, probably not as up to date. And we'll look at that in a few minutes. But, you know, in the U.K., BDS is a very strong and important phenomenon. In fact, BDS was designed and created by some individuals in the U.K. And they essentially came up with it and went to the Palestinian territories and said, hey, listen; this would be a good way to delegitimize Israel and gain support, you know, in a way that would attract the far left. So BDS can count this as origin coming from the U.K.

SILBER: And, you know, right now, as you have this power struggle going on in the U.K., who's going to lead? The Tories are on the right, Theresa May's stepping down. Is there the potential that Jeremy Corbyn and Labour comes into power? This is a very serious issue that has gone from the theoretical to the potentially very real, you know, right now depending on what happens in the U.K. with Brexit and this political struggle - so, you know, very timely that we're talking about the U.K. and this situation. So a little bit on the polling numbers - you know, in the U.K., you know, a variety - this is sort of the summation of five different polls - and said, you know,
what is your view of Jews? And essentially, you know, we're sort of at the below 3% in general. And when I say that, I mean, very negative or unfavorable. In these five different surveys, generally less than 3% of the U.K. population said they had very negative. And then, you know, if you stand at the fairly negative or unfavorable, you expand 5%, 6% in general.

SILBER: So when you think about the U.K., you know, it's not a country that we normally think of as overall anti-Semitic, and that's probably accurate. We're really seeing it as this manifestation on the left that the Labour Party has unleashed since 2015. And, you know, I mentioned early on that, you know, anti-Semitism is dressed up as anti-Zionism in the U.K. And to sort of get at that issue, in one of these polls, they said, OK, well, let's ask, you know, the general population certain questions about Jews, and then let's ask those same set of questions to people who we already know are anti-Israel to see, is there some type of correlation? Right? So when you look on the left here, you see general population. Jews think they're better than other people - 13%. Jews get rich at the expense of others - 12%. Jews exploit Holocaust for their - victimhood for their own purposes - 10%. But when you move over to the red bars - and those are people - that is the subset of people who have already expressed from the polling an anti-Israel attitude, suddenly, you're at 49%, 44%. Jews have too much power in Britain - 41%. The Holocaust has been exaggerated; that quadruples to 23%. So this relationship between anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism - you know, they're intermingled.

SILBER: I see Elan Carr in the back, the envoy for anti-Semitism, and I know he's going to talk about this - I've heard him say this - that to think about anti-Semitism, anti-Zionism are separate, they're not. They're the same. And this sort of - you know, this sort of reiterates that point, you know, with hard polling data. So just to sort of wrap up on the U.K., from a security standpoint, among the different countries we visited in Europe, without a doubt, the U.K. is No. 1, No. 2, maybe tied with Denmark, for, you know, a very serious security regime that protects their Jewish population. No. 1, the government provides 15 million pounds, so approximately $18 million, to the CST to hire guards, to have volunteers, cameras, a state-of-the-art command center that Scotland Yard sits inside of. And this is, you know, unique in Europe. And CST, you know, is very good at what they do. They're sort of the model that other European entities are frankly trying to copy.

SILBER: And, you know, that - as we look at the threat in the U.S., you know, I've been involved in a lot of these discussions in terms of, what does the Jewish community need to do in the U.S.? Well, hardening the target is No. 1. And clearly, there are some lessons to be learned from the U.K. and from CST in how they do it because we're in new territory in the U.S. - you know, from the left, from the right and the Islamist. And, you know, action does need to be taken. We can't be complacent after Pittsburgh and after Poway. Thank you.

(APPLAUSE)

SHEA: You're - just stay at the podium. We have time for just a few questions, and I'd like to, I guess, lead off with one. The British government has a minister of universities, and that minister recently ordered a crackdown on anti-Semitic groups on campuses. And they - Prime Minister Theresa May said that the Jewish society (ph) groups were being gate-crashed by thugs. There were physical assaults on the Jewish students gathering on the university campuses. The university authorities said that they were organized, they were coming and organized by hard leftist groups and that they were making the students - Jewish students - feel unwelcome on
campuses. Is this part of the BDS movement over there? Is that what those campus attacks - I mean, actually physically attacking Jews when they gather now?

SILBER: Yeah. It's part and parcel, you know? There's probably a fair amount of overlap between people who ascribe to the BDS sort of ideology and are on the far-left. And, you know, it's a phenomena that, you know, looks somewhat similar. You know, and today's theme is, how does Europe relate to the U.S.? You know, the piece that I think maybe relates, you know, most closely is the university situation in the U.K. and the university situation in the U.S. You know, I think Williams College today, there was announcement that there's going to be federal investigation, given the fact that - what's going on on the Williams campus for Jewish students. You know, we recently had this situation in New York City with NYU university. So I think, you know, the campus situation - far-left, ultra progressive. That's the piece that I'm seeing the most similarity between Europe and the U.S.

SHEA: That is very frightening. Time for one or two - yeah. Wait. Just wait for the mic, please.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Thanks for your presentation. We've heard a lot about the football clubs, so-called soccer clubs in the U.K.; some of them expressing some very anti-Semitic cheers and razzing players. And could you discuss a little bit about that? And how serious is that?

SILBER: I think it's a bit of a - it's a mixed bag. I think, you know, to some degree, there may not be a full appreciation for the sort of casual slurs of anti-Semitism and their true impact. But, you know, there are organizations trying to combat that, partnering with certain football clubs to try and get them, A, to understand that those casual sort of slurs against Jews are not acceptable, that they are anti-Semitic and that, you know, those are things that need to be eliminated from the football scene, which, you know, is rowdy and beer and alcohol-infused but unacceptable nonetheless.

SHEA: Just one last question.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Could you please talk about the rise of Nigel Farage and the Brexit Party? He did very well in the EU election recently - and its impact on anti-Semitism.

SILBER: I haven't - we haven't spent that much time looking at that issue because it's so, you know, fresh, really, within the last week or so. So I can't really add much on that issue.

SHEA: Good. Thank you.

SILBER: Thank you.
Remarks by the Hon. Elan S. Carr

SHEA: It's now my honor to introduce Ambassador Elan Carr, who is the special envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism at the State Department. And as special envoy, he advises the secretary of state and is responsible for directing U.S. policies and projects aimed at countering anti-Semitism throughout the world. Prior to his appointment, which was this February by Secretary Pompeo, Special Envoy Carr served as deputy district attorney for Los Angeles County, where he prosecuted violent crimes for more than a decade, including murders, rapes, hate crimes, crimes involving some of the most notorious criminal street gangs in southern California. Special Envoy Carr is an officer in the U.S. Army Reserve and has received multiple awards and commendations for his nearly two decades of military service. In 2003 and four, he deployed to Iraq in support of Operation Iraq Freedom, where he led an anti-terrorism team in life-saving missions throughout the country and prosecuted terrorists who attacked U.S. troops. He also assisted efforts to establish an independent Iraqi judiciary and trained Iraqi judges and lawyers on constitutional law and criminal defense. And as the son of Iraqi-Jewish refugees who fled persecution in Iraq, Special Envoy Carr speaks Hebrew in Iraqi dialect and led Jewish services in Iraq when he was there. So Ambassador Carr, welcome. Thank you very much.

ELAN CARR: Thank you so much. Thank you, Nina. Thank you, Ken. Thank you to the Hudson Institute. My goodness, you are a lucky audience - not because of me. But, you know, I don't usually get to hear my predecessors at the mic. I kind of come in and out. And I heard the last two presentations. Mitch - amazing, amazing. And John's presentation, too - you know, this is really what the Hudson Institute is all about. And when you think that our public discourse in America these days, shall we say, is not marked by a great deal of depth often - and there's a lot of - you know, a lot of tribalism, and we speak in slogans and brands often. How refreshing is this to have these kinds of presentations? And so, Mitch, thank you. And, John, thank you. And thank you to the Hudson Institute for tackling this urgent topic with substance.

CARR: Four weeks ago, I had the great privilege of participating in the first-ever official United States government delegation to the March of the Living. Six United States ambassadors and I - our ambassadors to Poland and Israel and Germany, the Vatican, Switzerland, Spain - we marched arm in arm, shoulder to shoulder, on that terrible walk from Auschwitz to Birkenau. And in so doing, we joined tens of thousands of students and activists and faith leaders and academics, all of whom came to be counted to bear witness and to experience, in some way, history's greatest evil - incomprehensible human cruelty. We saw the gas chambers. We saw the crematoria, and we were moved to the core. And then a few hours after that - that was on Yom Hashoah. A few hours later, we boarded a plane to Israel. And the very next evening, we were again arm in arm and shoulder to shoulder but this time at the Kotel, at the Western Wall, celebrating Shabbat. And we were joined there also by students and tourists and IDF soldiers and religious Jews and secular Jews.

CARR: And at that moment, we realized that in celebrating the state of Israel, we were celebrating not only a country and not only the anniversary of the birth of a country but humanity's greatest answer to history's most awful evil - a country that is democratic and free and pluralistic, where religious freedom is enshrined in law and that is a hub of innovation for the world. And I have to tell you every single one of us was moved. One of the ambassadors
was in open tears because that contrast was so absolutely devastating. After that, I flew back to Eastern and Central Europe, and I visited multiple countries in bilateral visits, representing the United States. You can imagine what it’s like to confront rising anti-Semitism in Europe after an experience like that, after being so deeply moved and after understanding in so visceral a way where this horrific hatred leads.

CARR: And so I met with governments in Ukraine and in Poland and in Hungary. And this is what might be called, as my predecessors of this microphone said, the problem of the anti-Semitism of the far right; not the governments in these countries so much, but there are far-right movements in Poland and in Hungary that are opened in their anti-Semitism - unvarnished anti-Semitism. They use Nazi-like images and Nazi-like slogans. And I had very candid conversations with these governments. I had specific asks. I sat down with high-level leaders, and I said, you’re doing a lot of things well. Here’s what you’re doing well. I am a diplomat after all. But here’s what we need to work on, and I’d like to do it together. And I have good news for you. And that is that, you know, the United States has a lot of clout in the world.

CARR: And more than that, this awful situation of rising anti-Semitism has conveyed a sense of real urgency in European leaders. They get it - a lot of them, at all levels; from heads of state in government to parliamentarians to local leaders and anti-Semitism coordinators and mayors. And they are standing up, and they’re fighting. And they’re doing it not as a favor to the Jewish people, although one might say that to fight to protect the most persecuted minority in history is a moral imperative. That would be reason enough to do it. But they understand, these leaders, that anti-Semitism is, as President Trump so correctly calls it, a vile poison. And it’s a vile poison because it is history’s greatest barometer of human suffering. Every society that has imbibed this vile poison has rotted to its core and produced human misery at a level that defies description. That's the history of this sickness - this ancient, relentless human pathology that crosses all geographic boundaries, all regions, all ethnic groups and again and again, operates to destroy not only Jews but to leave a trail of wreckage of countries and continents and peoples.

CARR: And so these European leaders are standing up and saying, my God - here? Seventy-five years - the crematoria have barely cooled. And here, again, we've got to fight this. We've got to fight this not only for the sake of the Jews. We've got to fight this because our future depends on it. What kind of countries do we want our kids and our grandkids to inherit? And so the good news amidst all the bad is that we have friends, and we have allies. And my role is not only to represent the United States in calling out and going after anti-Semites and pressuring the recalcitrant, but it is also to support, with the full weight of this country, those friends and allies who are doing the right thing, who care and who are fighting this fight - fighting this fight with real passion and real leadership. And, you know, we might always say, I wish there were more. But there are enough. There are enough. And so I want to give you that sense of optimism.

CARR: Now, having been in Central and Eastern Europe and talked with governments there about the anti-Semitism stemming from neo-Nazis and the right fringe, I want to spend a few minutes today talking to you about the anti-Semitism that is spreading like a metastatic cancer across the world. It is the dominant form of anti-Semitism in Western Europe. It is the dominant form of anti-Semitism on the U.S. college campuses. And unlike the anti-Semitism from the far right, it is gaining widespread acceptance. And that's what makes it so absolutely dangerous. This is the anti-Semitism that clothes itself in the language of anti-Zionism and anti - and Israel
hatred. Now, this is often called the new anti-Semitism. But I'm here to tell you there's really nothing new about it. It's the same, old, recycled Jew hatred just repackaged and rebranded.

CARR: In fact, every manifestation, every category, every ideological category of traditional Jew hatred is represented, really, in the same way in this so-called new anti-Semitism. You have the classic, medieval blood libels, right? It used to be that Jews are baking matzo with the blood of children; something for which I mean, not only an absurdity, but never was there any - even the attempt to justify such a statement. Similarly, blood libels labeled against - leveled against the Jewish state - that Israel is committing genocide - genocide - when, of course, the non-Jewish population, the Arab population of Israel, including Judea and Samaria, the territories, have skyrocketed under - you know, in the last - since 1948. I - so that Israel is perpetrating genocide, that Israel is infecting Palestinian children with the AIDS virus and various other epidemics, that Israel is an apartheid state when there are multiple Arab parties in the Knesset - so you have the same blood libels repackaged and represented. Delegitimization - this was an age-old tactic of anti-Semitism to delegitimize Jews and Jewish practices and Jewish beliefs, at once calling them ominous outsiders and at once international control - people - those who control the world - same canards, same tropes against the state of Israel - an outsider, an isolated - the Jew among the countries, and yet, at the same time, the Zionist conspiracy, exercising international control.

CARR: The same kind of obsessive - obsessive pathological hatred that we saw in the traditional anti-Semitism is represented here today. A student at one university - prestigious university, mind you - gave me a math answer sheet from a course he was taking - you know, the derivative of so-and-so is such and such. The integral of so and such is so-and-so. And then it says in the middle of the answer sheet - I have it in my possession - another day in the occupied Palestinian territories, occupation Zionist forces murdering children. And then it goes back to math. The kid who gave this to me said to me in a voice of exhaustion - he said to me, in math class, I can't get away from this - in math class. So the same kind of - the obsessive pathological hatred that boils over in every sphere and in every topic.

CARR: Another classic age-old tactic - blaming the Jew, blaming Jewish actions and Jewish behavior for anti-Semitism - even Kristallnacht, by the way. Kristallnacht was justified based on not a fictional event. We don't have to talk about matzo and children. It was the assassination of a German diplomat by Herschel Grynszpan. True event - really happened - terrible, by the way. But we all know that just because the Nazis claimed that Kristallnacht was a response to this one event, we're not that gullible as to believe it. We know that Kristallnacht had nothing to do with that, that they were looking for excuses, and Kristallnacht was part of the Nazi agenda of Jew hatred. Similarly, the Jew hatred of today, the so-called new anti-Semitism that focuses on Israel, blames Israel. Well, it's this policy or it's that policy to justify this orgy of hatred that we see. But we're not so gullible to believe that if Israel builds a community somewhere - whether we think it's right or wrong, by the way.

CARR: I'm not taking a position on it - whether we think it's right or wrong. We're not so gullible to believe that a building project in some town somewhere is really the cause of this - of terrorism and bloodletting and obsessive hatred of the Jewish state. Economic isolation - classic. Kauft nicht bei Juden, right? That - we know the pictures of those brownshirts holding those signs in front of stores in the 1930s. Well, BDS - the Boycott Divestment Sanctions movement - expressly stated, by the way, on their websites in response to your question - to end the state of Israel. That's its purpose. They're not shy about it. It is - it exists to end the state
of Israel through means other than military when military means have failed. So economic isolation, strangulation. You know who ought to know about the Juden boycott of the 1930s? Germany. And that's why the German Bundestag just voted a week and a half ago that BDS is anti-Semitism. That's what Germany officially said and voted on.

CARR: And, in fact, in the law, they said, not only is it anti-Semitism, but it smacks of the Juden boycott of the 1930s. Germany says that. And Germany ought to know. And so really, there is nothing new about the new anti-Semitism. It's the same old anti-Semitism except aimed not at the Jew in the Diaspora but at the Jew among the countries. And I'm here to tell you something very unfortunate and that is that this anti-Semitism is working. A survey was recently done - not by John but by another pretty good pollster - who did a survey of Jewish college students. And there are many surveys of - as we saw, right? There are many surveys of attitudes on anti-Semitism - Europe, the United States. This was really the first - as I believe it to be, the first survey of Jewish college students in the United States. And the results of the survey is that Jewish college students are less supportive of Israel than ever before, more inclined to blame Israel for the problems in the Middle East than ever before, more inclined to sympathize for the Palestinians or excuse terrorism than ever before. That is the base of the pro-Israel community. That's not just - those aren't just any students. That's the base. You know who else the base is? Christian evangelicals.

CARR: Well, let me tell you about Christian evangelicals. In every conference I attend, the urgent topic of debate today among Christian Zionists is to save the next generation because they are losing the young people. This is the topic in the Christian Zionist movement - how the next generation of evangelical kids are less supportive of Israel than the movement holds as doctrine. Why is that? Well, I asked a kid that. A week ago, I was speaking at an Israel festival in Los Angeles. And after that - there was a whole bunch of Christian kids volunteering there because it's students. And one comes up to me, and he says, hey, great to meet you. And he says, I love Israel. I'm a Zionist. I'm so passionate. I said, Matthew, let me ask you a question. Is it true - all this I'm hearing - is it true that that young evangelical kids are less supportive of Israel than ever before? He says, yeah, it's completely true. I said, why is that? You know what he told me? Because we also go to college. We also hear it. It's all around us.

CARR: Now, if Christian evangelical students and Jewish students are affected this way, just imagine where everyone else is going. Lest anyone here think that this might be a short-lived problem or that this sickness is limited to that other world, the college world, and not our world, let me tell you about the single most disturbing meeting I've had since I took this job four months ago. As you might imagine, in this line of work, I've had a few disturbing meetings. This one stands out. Apropos to what we just discussed, I met with a U.K. Labour MP who walked out of the Labour Party - not Jewish - walked out of the Labour Party - lifelong Labour loyalist. And she said, I walked out because I will not sit at the same table with these anti-Semites. I won't do it - very brave woman. And I met with her, and she said to me, this catastrophe we have in England - this all started on the campuses, and we did nothing because they were students. And then it moved into the Labour Party, and we did nothing because it was just the left-wing fringe. And today, we've lost, and they've won. And my party is not my party anymore. I had to leave.

CARR: I'll tell you, my hair stood on end. What more urgent warning could we as Americans possibly have than that? And so my friends, those of you who are here, who are grappling with this topic in a wonderfully substantive and deep way, have a basic question to ask at the end of this conference, and that is, what are we going to do about this? Because if we stand by and
watch what's happening with arms folded, we will lose. Now is the time for us to stand up and
appreciate that what's going on is a battle for the future not only of the Jewish people but the
future of the United States because, ultimately, anti-Semitism is anti-Americanism, whether it
comes from the ethnic supremacist right or the fringe anti-Zionist left or radical Islam. There are
two things those three groups have in common - it ain't much, by the way - but - two things, not
one. One is they hate Jews. The other - they hate America. They might not say they hate
America, but their values, what they believe, is so utterly incompatible with every value upon
which this country was built, that simply coexistence - if they are in charge, that is - with the
America we know today is not possible.

CARR: And so we have got to get serious. We've got to focus on the campuses in this country.
We've got to focus on Holocaust education, which is at an all-time low. I think John actually
surveyed this. I can confirm through other surveys more and more kids have no idea. I mean,
they don't know what the Holocaust is. They've never heard the word Auschwitz. This is in the
United States, and it's in Europe - Europe and the United States. Educating on the Holocaust,
educating on Jewish contributions to each country - that is, educating - and finally, unequivocal
- unequivocal united opposition to anti-Semitism because the weaponization of anti-Semitism, the
politicization of it where sides point to the other and say, well, it's all that, and they ignore the
anti-Semitism from their side of the camp, that just won't cut it. Jew hatred is Jew hatred. And it
doesn't matter what clothing it wears. We've got to fight it in all its flavors, in all its forms. Now is
the time. Tomorrow will be too late. And if we do this together with purpose and with focus, we
truly will be able to build that better future, that more decent future, that our children and our
grandchildren so richly deserve. Thank you so much. I appreciate your time.

(APPLAUSE)

CARR: And I'm happy to - thank you. Thank you. Thank you. Sure. Absolutely.

SHEA: OK.

CARR: Thank you so much.

SHEA: Excellent.

CARR: Happy to take your questions. Sir. Are we waiting for the mics to - yeah.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: One thing I've been a little bit disturbed about here and I'd like to get
your comment on it - and that is equivalence of left and right. And in terms of maybe it's just an
issue of numbers, what I hear about the right is - I keep hearing the words Pittsburgh, Poway
and Charlottesville - what Trump said. On the other hand, from the left, I think a billion Muslims -
if 10% of them are Islamists, that's still 100 million. And it's an awful lot. But what I hear - what
I've been hearing here, I think, is, oh, they're all really bad. They're all anti-Semitic. But what
really is? Where is the - is our ultimate problem in terms of just sheer numbers and potential
surveillance?

CARR: So I'm very careful about that, and I'll tell you why. I - ranking anti-Semitism in severity
or urgency is problematic. The reason why it's problematic is because if - you know, if you're
Lori Kaye of blessed memory, at whose funeral I spoke, representing not only the State
Department - I represented the president and the entire administration at her funeral. She's the
one, by the way, who was - for those of you don't know, who was murdered in Poway in
synagogue six months to the day after 11 worshippers were murdered in Pittsburgh - six months
to the day. If you're Lori Kaye, it doesn't matter that, you know, the perpetrator was a fringe - you know, small in number and isolated and not accepted by society at large. You know, safety is safety.

CARR: And in terms of quality of life, Mitch, you said it. I mean, it's - you got to - I mean, of all the problems, of all the manifestations, of all the things one has to focus on, safety is job one. It's, by the way, the No. 1 job of any government, right? Sovereignty is about protecting and providing safety for the citizenry. And so I'm hesitant to say, well, the right is just a fringe. They're fringe, but they're a very dangerous fringe. And if these people get guns and go into synagogues, they're - they commit mass murder. And so there's a very urgent problem with rising anti-Semitism in the right, and I think it needs to be addressed. And I don't rank them. I tackle all of it in equal fervor. Now, I will say that there is - there's no question that the most rapidly growing form of anti-Semitism and the one - and I said this in my remarks. The one that is gaining widespread acceptance is this anti-Zionist version of anti-Semitism. And that's what makes it so dangerous. Lord Sacks in the U.K. gave a speech - really, I commend it to all of you to watch - where he said one of the prerequisites for anti-Semitism to become dangerous is if it - is for it to gain widespread acceptance.

CARR: So when you move from the fringe to acceptance, it's a force multiplier and renders it incredibly, incredibly dangerous. And that's what we've seen. We've seen this in Western Europe, and we see it here. Look, you call yourself a - an anti-Semite, they run you out of town. You call yourself an anti-Zionist, you get tenure. And so that's something we can't ignore. Yes, sir? You and then him. I'm sorry. You had your hand up first. But go ahead. I apologize - forgot.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: There are two books, which I believe you should be familiar with. Most - perhaps most important book I've ever read apart from scripture - "The Controversy Of Zion," by Douglas Reed. He was an internationally renowned journalist, one-time chief correspondent for The Times of London. In that book, he references a book written 1924 by a close associate of Chaim Weizmann - I believe it's pronounced - Maurice Samuel, entitled "You Gentiles," written in 1924. One might conclude that the perspective of, quote, "Talmudic Zionism is anti-Gentile." Is that true or not?

CARR: No. No, it's not true. I've never heard that. Having - I mean, I'm not a Talmudic scholar. But having gone to Jewish school, including, for a time, Orthodox school, I've never seen that, never been exposed to it. And so I don't know that to be the case. In fact, one of the great contributions of Jewish theology to the world and to moral - to the moral conscience of the world is the notion of B'Tselem Elohim, that every soul was created in the image of God and therefore that every soul is limitless in its power and infinite in its potential. This is a Jewish concept. And that means that all mankind is equal in the eyes of God. And in fact, the concept of the choseness of the Jewish people, the idea that the Jewish people were chosen, is not an issue of rank or importance. It's an issue of responsibility, that God wanted his law carried to the world not through imperialism or not through conquest, but in the example of a nation that lives according to those laws. And therefore, the Jewish people was chosen to receive the law at Mount Sinai. So even the concept of chooseness - which, by the way, is often pointed to historically as a reason for anti-Semitism over the years, that, well, they claim they're chosen - even that is - was subject to a campaign of disinformation and really isn't what what anti-Semites have said it is. So yes, sir?
AUDIENCE MEMBER: Do you believe that those who might oppose certain policies regarding Israel such as, you know, foreign aid to Israel, the laws against BDS, the Israeli policy of settlements in the West Bank and some of - and the policies of the ultra-Orthodox Jews having a monopoly on marriage in Israel or of how they've been treating Western-dressed women and girls moving, you know, near their neighborhoods in Israel, do you believe that if you have opposition to those that that's anti-Semitic?

CARR: No. So... One can take issue with the policies of the state of Israel or, frankly, of any country, including the United States. One can also take issue with the - with Judaism as a religion and the Jewish people as a national ethnic group, you know, certain features, let's say, certain Jewish beliefs. One could say, I criticize this particular belief - absolutely not anti-Semitism. However, I should tell you that the accepted definition of anti-Semitism, which is the definition put forth by the - by IHRA at the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance adopted by many countries in the world, including the United States, is that the application of double standards to the Jewish people or the state of Israel is anti-Semitism. So if somebody takes issue with a policy of the state of Israel, not anti-Semitic at all. But if somebody takes issue with that policy and seems not to care about that policy anywhere in the world elsewhere, well, then one has to ask, do you not know what's going on in the rest of the world? Or is this anti-Semitism? Because, again, the application of double standards, you know, to evaluate the Jewish state or the Jewish people by a different standard is defined actually as anti-Semitism. Yes, sir? And then behind you, ma'am. You, yeah.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: I wanted to get your thoughts on the role of the media in reporting anti-Semitism and, in certain cases, propagating it.

CARR: So the media actually has been pretty good about reporting anti-Semitism. And I think one of the main reasons why there is wide perception that this is an urgent problem is because of extensive media reporting. I was with Congressman Brad Schneider on the Hill the other day. And he comes up to me. And he says, take a look at these - pulls out his phone, and he goes to The Economist. And he says, The Economist - not exactly a, you know, parochial Jewish publication. And he said, look, first headline, second headline, third headline. And he scrolls down in order. He says, all about anti-Semitism - says, what is going on? I said, yeah, well, the world is on fire (laughter). And it's true. I mean, it's rising everywhere. There's widespread perception of this. And there's widespread embarrassment over it. I mean, I can tell you the Europeans are appalled. I mean, these - the ones I referenced earlier who are our allies in this fight, they are appalled that this could be happening in Europe. They're like, how is this possible?

CARR: And so the coverage has been pretty good. Propagating anti-Semitism - I think that the media has a traditional problem in evaluating the state of Israel. I think there are a number of reasons for that. I don't think it's traditional anti-Semitism. Of course, I'm sure some are. I'm sure you can find that. But I think, generally, there is a general bias in the media against Western power. There's a general bias in the media against nationalism. This is a very important point, by the way, that oftentimes you see hostility to Israel reflected in kind of a general hostility to nationalism. Of course, Zionism is - it's a nationalist movement. It's the movement of self-determination of the Jewish people. It's not new. It didn't start in 1948. It's in the Bible. It starts with one of the early verses in Genesis. And it's all the way through. It's in the Exodus. I mean, the whole connection of the Jewish people as a nation to that land is ancient. So it's nothing new about it. But there is in Europe, especially, for understandable reasons, given the history of
 ultra-nationalism in Europe, that there is a hostility among the left toward nationalism. And so some of this you see in the media as well.

CARR: Coverage of Israel as a - because Israel is a nation state, it's defined as a nation state - it's actually an exemplar of one - leads to hostility. But, again, then we have to ask, well, fine. I mean, we can agree or disagree on that worldview and that sort of philosophical approach to nationalism. There's a brand-new book about it. It's debated - legitimate, legitimate debate. But then, OK. If you're an anti-nationalist, OK. What about France? What about Greece? What about the Arab world? I mean, you have to be fair. And, again, if there's a double standard, if you say, well, you know, I just don't like nationalism. It's - Jews are fine. I don't like nationalism. But you're focused on the Jewish nation state of - in all the world. And that's the only - you know, one takes offense only to one country and not to any other. Well, you can't do that. And that's very clear under the IHRA definition of why that is anti-Semitism. Yes, ma'am?

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Hi. I have two questions. The first question is - you said that the governments of the countries that you went to are trying to help - trying to do away with anti-Semitism. In Poland, they just made - and I don't know if it's a law - but that Poland didn't have anything to do with what happened during the Holocaust.

CARR: The IPN law.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: And I was at a function like this. And there was a Jewish man sitting there. And he said to me, oh, that's true. We had nothing to do with it. I said, really? As a Jew, you say that to me?

CARR: Yeah.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Hungary was also there.

CARR: Yeah. So...

AUDIENCE MEMBER: And I spoke to somebody in Hungary - a Jewish girl. She said to me, I am getting out of here.

CARR: Yeah. So this is - I could give a whole session just on your question because it's a very good question. And the answer's complicated. I'll boil it down, and I'll answer it quickly. So Poland and Hungary are two very different cases - OK? - very different terms of the Holocaust and what each country did. There was an enormous rise in anti-Semitism in Poland in the 18 and 1900s - an enormous rise. There were pogroms and so on. However, Poland actually has a pretty good history on philo-Semitism. Earlier on, Jews - you might not know Jews were actually invited into Poland by the king and welcomed into Poland. And the Poles feel that their history's really ignored because of the Holocaust. And what happened in the Holocaust is that they were occupied by Nazi Germany. And while most of the genocide was perpetrated on Polish soil, they did not provide any SS divisions. They didn't guard the concentration camps. They didn't collaborate as a country. There was no occupation. There was no Vichy-type government. In fact, the underground Polish government in exile had a penalty of death on Poles who collaborated with the Nazis. The largest number of righteous among the nations - recognized righteous among the nations were Poles.

CARR: And so Poland feels very misunderstood. And they go ballistic when anyone talks about Polish death camps because they say, they're not Polish death camps. They're not ours.
They're theirs. Why don't you - and honestly, they're not entirely wrong. They're not wrong. However - however - there is some whitewashing. I mean, there were Poles that - as individuals, who did collaborate, no question. What triggered this passage of this IPN law was that Ukraine - a country, by the way, that has made incredible gains in terms of its response to the Jewish community. I mean, it's - Ukraine is night and day. I mean, they just elected a Jewish president. They also have a Jewish prime minister. Ukraine is very happy to point out that there's only one other country in the world that has a Jewish president and a Jewish...

UNIDENTIFIED PERSON #4: (Laughter).

CARR: ...Prime minister. And I was just in Kiev, by the way. And it's quite remarkable that - what the - what is going on in Ukraine. Ukraine - the far right in Ukraine, which is actually not very anti-Semitic despite it being the far right, has resuscitated some of these old militias that in the 1940s not only killed Jews, they killed a lot of Poles. And Poland said, that's it. We're done. We're done. I mean, if these people that did collaborate and provided - you know, the Ukrainian auxiliary police were basically Einsatzgruppen too, you know, that helped - he said, if they're doing that, and now we're getting blamed, we're done. That's it. We're passing a law. Nobody else will say this again. Now, of course, this was a horrendous, horrendous response. And I said to them - I was just in Poland, and I met with them - and I said, look, Poland has a good story to tell. I can help you tell that story. But when you do things like that, nobody believes you're not anti-Semitic. And so you can't - that's not the response. So anyway, they decriminalized it. It was a criminal law. They repealed the criminal portion of it. However, it's still on the books as a civil law with civil liability. I'm pushing them to repeal it completely. I think that would go a long way to show that they're on the right track.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Wait. I have another question.

CARR: Yes.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: The fact that...

CARR: Very quickly because he had his hand up.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: You said that we could help. We could help.

CARR: Right.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: How can we help? What would we do?

CARR: Well, thank you for that question. So I will tell you that it's very, very important. Unity - unity is indispensable. Those who are purveyors of anti-Semitism will exploit divisions, especially divisions in the Jewish community, but any divisions to gain an advantage. And unity is critically important. Look at what the U.K. Jewish community did - by the way, a Jewish community not known for making waves. They're known to lay low and not make noise. They stood up and said, that's it. And, you know, we are shouting it from the rooftops. They had a joint editorial. This is shocking, actually. The three competing, separate Jewish newspapers of London - of England had a joint editorial, the three editorial boards jointly on the front page, so extraordinary for its being joint, extraordinary for an editorial being on the front page, a banner headline - we stand united. Three editorial listing - three editorial boards ran the same day that basically said, Jeremy Corbyn is a threat to the survival of the Jewish people in the U.K.
CARR: This is an earthquake. It is a - it was a shocking moment. It took, I think, everybody by surprise. I couldn't believe it. And look at the result. The result is there is a civil war in the Labour Party because when people stand united and say, we will not allow this to happen, things change. But there isn't that unity. There maybe is against the anti-Semitism of the neo-Nazis and the ethnic supremacists, but there really isn't on the fastest-growing kind of anti-Semitism. That's why I went through the list. You know, some people say, well, it's the policies of Israel. Well, but this is the - all anti-Semitism has done that over the years. And, well, it's - you know, it's just about - you have to go on the list and see it is absolute anti-Semitism, what's going on on campuses and what's going on often in the - in certain circles in Western Europe. And we have to not fall into the trap of those who say, well, this is just about a certain policy issue I disagree with. Or this is just about this. Or this is just about that. Or another thing I often hear - not everyone who boycotts Israel is anti-Semitic. Well, that's true. But that's irrelevant. That's irrelevant to what the movement stands for.

CARR: By the way, not everyone who believe Jews have horns is anti-Semitic. Before social media, my mother traveled in certain parts of the United States and met Americans who thought Jews have - lovely people, not anti-Semitic at all. In fact, they were relieved to discover that Jews did not have horns. Now, what would you say about that? Is that an anti-Semite? No, but they were influenced by movements that are anti - a movement that espouses the idea that Jews have horns; you’re darn right that's anti-Semite. So the fact that not everyone, which you often hear - not everyone who boycotts BDS is anti-Semitic is entirely irrelevant to the movement, the BDS movement, which is anti-Semitic at its core. We can't fall into these traps. We have to stand united. I promised you. I think - do we have time for - OK. OK, quick question because - last question. No, him. He had his hand up first. Sorry. He had his hand up.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: You mentioned the college campuses. So I can just tell you just a little bit about the perception that students at American University - my classmates - have concerning this issue. You know, when I was in class, like, my professors were, like, really, like, mean to me because I used to work at the White House in 2011. So my favorite professor in the world - Yuval Elovici from Ben-Gurion University in Israel - he flew all the way to America and put on this conference on, like, IT technology and security advancement. But he used it as, like, an opportunity to threaten all of my professors for me. And then they started being really nice to me after that. And, like, all of my classmates...

CARR: That's good. I like this guy.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: ...Were like, wow, you know? So if you could let Netanyahu know that I appreciate it...

(LAUGHTER)

AUDIENCE MEMBER: ...And my classmates appreciate it. Thanks.

CARR: You know what? I'll take the name of this professor down right now afterwards. You'll give me the name of the professor. I'll get a message to him.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Cool.

CARR: Thank you. All right. I think we're done. Thank you all so much - really appreciate you being here. And thank you for having me.
(APPLAUSE)

SHEA: Thank you very much, ambassador.
Discussion on the Rise of Anti-Semitism in France

SHEA: it's my pleasure now to invite to the podium Marc Weitzmann, all the way from Paris. He is a novelist and journalist. He's written 12 books, and his latest book has won several prizes. It's called "Hate: The Rising Tide Of Anti-Semitism In France (And What It Means For Us)." And I highly recommend it to everyone. He is going to - Marc, come on up. He is going to be interviewed by my colleague, Lee Smith, who's also a senior fellow here at Hudson. And he is the media columnist for the Tablet magazine and constitutes regularly to a wide range of publications, which are too many to name as well as the media. And his book on Arab societies, "The Strong Horse: Power, Politics And The Clash Of Arab Civilizations," was published by Doubleday in 2010. He's also written a book on "Consequences Of Syria." So welcome, Marc. Thank you.

MARC WEITZMANN: Thank you for having me.

SHEA: Do you want to sit down?

LEE SMITH: Yeah, you want to sit here? I'll sit over here.

SHEA: Thank you, Lee.

SMITH: Thank you, Nina.

SHEA: Yeah.

SMITH: Well, thank you, all, for being here. Thank you to Hudson Institute. Thank you, Ken, Elan, especially Nina. I want to thank you for putting this really marvelous and important and vital event together. And thank you so much for inviting me. And I'm especially happy to get to interview my friend, Marc. Marc and I have known each other for 20 years. We've carried on conversations about many subjects over many different parts of the world. And I just want to give you a little bit of an introduction, if I may, to Marc and to this book. So Marc has not just written this book - the English-language version. He's also written a French version of the book as well. So this is really a miraculous feat to write a book in a foreign language. And he wrote a French book - a French version as well, though it's different. If you read French, I strongly recommend you get that as well. And Marc wrote these two books in the course of four years. We were speaking about this a bit last night - really an enormous feat. The English-language version, which I very strongly recommend you get that. I look through the audience and see English speakers all around, so you should definitely get that.

SMITH: This book started - I believe I have it right. Marc, you'll correct me if I don't. But this - as Nina mentioned, I write for Tablet magazine. I'm a columnist there. But Marc's - Marc wrote a series. I believe it was 2014. Marc started a series for Tablet then about anti-Semitism in France - really a phenomenal series of pieces. And it was Marc's late friend and one of the greatest American novelists ever - Philip Roth - who said, Marc, I think you have a book there. And so that's how the book started. So why don't we start right at that place? How did you put the - let's go with the English-language version. What was that like? What were you looking at the time in 2014?
WEITZMANN: Well, I guess anger (unintelligible). I was fed up with my country at times, and I knew I wanted to write about what was going on in the country, whether or not it was clear or not for me at the time. It was not. But I knew something was going on, something big, and I couldn't find any French media to publish anything about the rise of anti-Semitism at the time in France. They were not interested, which is why I came to the U.S. I came first to Tablet, and I ended up writing this book in English. So it's a bit awkward for me, of course. I'm coming from a country, which is France, which is a country which has a long tradition of anti-Semitism. It has the sad privilege of being the place where the current wave of anti-Semitism started in the early 2000. We're going to talk about that. It's also until Pittsburgh the only Western country where Jews were killed in the street for the sole reason of being Jewish. But it has also a longer - much longer tradition than that since the "Protocol Of The Elders Of Zion" was written in Paris at the turn of the 20th century by Russian agents at the Russian embassy in Paris that were inspired by the French atmosphere, the Parisian atmosphere at the time.

WEITZMANN: So you could say that France is really the cradle of a certain narrative of hate that traveled a long way - from France to Germany in the early decades of the 20th century and from France to practically everywhere. As Mitch mentioned earlier, the theory of the great replacement that fueled the manifestos of the Poway killer and also of the Christchurch killer in Australia is French. His name is Renaud Camus. We will maybe talk about him in a moment. So, given all that, to write about anti-Semitism was to write about France, which I began to do, you know? And that's what the book is about. The book tells the story of what happened in France in the year 2000 - from the year 2000 on until now. The situation of the Jews in France started to degrade - to unravel somewhere between the end of the peace process in the Middle East in September, 2000 - and 9/11 one year later. Somewhere between those two dates, kids in the Muslim suburbs began to rush into the mosques searching for radical speeches. And the anti-Semite incidents started in the suburbs.

WEITZMANN: The first murder of a Jew happened in 2003 in France. The kid that was killed was called Sebastien Selam, who was 20 years old. He was killed by his childhood friend, who came out of the parking lot where the murder had taken place in the building where they grew up together saying, I killed my Jew. I'll go to heaven. Meanwhile, things were unraveling in public schools in several suburbs. Reports were commissioned by the French government at the time. They were called the Obin Report. They focused on what the situation was in the school, and they came up with very alarming conclusions. Another report one year later in 2004 was commissioned about the general situation of the Jews in the suburbs, where Jews were beginning to leave some cities because of the insecurity there. And both reports were shelved by the government for several reasons. The French authorities didn't know what to do with the rise of something that they thought was from the past.

WEITZMANN: For the French, anti-Semitism meant World War II. They were not prepared at all to deal with what was going on in the suburb. And the French government also at the time was very much hesitant to blame the Muslims for a lot of reasons. So there was a huge denial of what was going on, and the murders went on. There was the abduction, torture and killing of Ilan Halimi in 2006. Ilan Halimi was kidnapped for being Jewish. And his kidnappers that called themselves the Gang of the Barbarians thought that because he was Jewish, his family had money and could - and so they could be ransomed. And because they didn't get the money, they simply killed the guy. One year later in France in 2007, you had the trial of the Charlie - the Charlie Hebdo trial that was sued by the world, the Arab League world and the Great Mosque of
Paris with the support of the French government at the time because the French government was selling planes to the Saudis and didn't want to offend the Arabs.

WEITZMANN: So Charlie Hebdo was tried for publishing the caricature of the prophet Muhammad. And what was not seen during this trial in 2007 was that the trial was seen in the suburbs - in the Muslim suburbs, Charlie Hebdo was seen as a Zionist newspaper. The narrative at the time was that because he was - Charlie Hebdo was allowed to publish caricatures - to mock the Muslims, whereas nobody had the right to mock the Jews with their religion that was said to be the Holocaust. That was the narrative that took place in this suburb of Islam. So there was - if you look at what happened in France in the 2000, if you will, you have a whole narrative that's being built up between rising incidents in the suburbs, murders and then the Charlie Hebdo trial that's supposed to be a - that designated Charlie Hebdo as a Zionist newspaper and an offensive newspaper against the Muslim. That was the 2000. And then a turning point, the big turning point, happened a few years later in 2012 when Mohammed Merah killed - after having killed two - three militarys in France killed Jewish children in a Jewish school in March 2012 in Toulouse - in the city of Toulouse. This was a national shock, which was - it was also a great moment of denial, national denial. I'll stop here.

SMITH: Yeah. No, no, no, no.

WEITZMANN: OK. OK.

SMITH: Because we - this is something we spoke - well, can I - let's talk about the denial for a second.

WEITZMANN: Yeah.

SMITH: Because you've told me, I remember, at different times, and you've said that you've spoken with colleagues, and you've spoken with neighbors to say, I'm writing a book on anti-Semitism here in France. And they're, like, what are you talking about?

WEITZMANN: Well, during this whole decade, during the 2000, nobody wanted to see what was going on - neither the authorities nor the government nor the press. When the Mohammed Merah killing happened in Toulouse and the Jewish children were killed, this denial reached a peak, and the killer was considered as the real subject of the drama - not the victims, not the Jews, not anti-Semitism. But the killer was designated as two things. First, he was a lone wolf. And that's how - that's when the phrase was coined. That's with that story that the phrase was coined for the first time - the lone wolf theory. It means that Mohammed Merah has - had no friend, no Islamic network, no indoctrination of any kind. He had acted alone, and he was just a deranged young, Muslim guy.

SMITH: Was it true?

WEITZMANN: No, of course, it was not true at all. We learned after that that there was, in fact, a whole - I'm going to come back on that in a minute - there was a whole connection around him. There was a whole network. And the second thing that was obvious that was said about Mohammed Mehra is that he was a social hero, if you will. He was just a lost kid. He was not really an anti-Semite. This narrative went very far, and newspaper like Le Monde went as far as publishing a short story about Mohammed Merah - a fiction showing him as a hero practically. So there was a - it was really big. It was really a sad and terrible moment for the Jews. And the feeling that the Jews were not listened to at all - I mean, nobody in Le Monde - when that story
was published in the literary supplement of the newspaper, Le Monde is the first newspaper - it's like The New York Times in France. And nobody in Le Monde thought for a second - the story was front-page - and nobody thought of the families of the victims nor the teachers of the Jewish school that may have been subscribers to Le Monde. Nobody thought about that. Everyone focused on the killer. So that was the general atmosphere. And that went on practically until the terror wave began. This denial has a long...

SMITH: You didn't consider the Merah part of the terror wave? When did the terror wave officially...

WEITZMANN: The terror - what I mean by the terror wave is the periods that started with the Charlie Hebdo attack and ended up after the Bataclan attack that made more than 100 victims until July 2016. During this 18 months, you had practically one attempted attack every other week. And the Jews - or there was always a Jewish target or a justification through the fight against Zionism.

SMITH: When you talk about the Bataclan incident, in that regard, is I think a lot of people don't understand something you've explained to me before...

WEITZMANN: What's that?

SMITH: ...About how the Bataclan was actually identified as a Jewish target.

WEITZMANN: Yeah. Bataclan Theatre was one of the most terrible attack in France in November in 2015. The Bataclan Theatre was picked up as a target because it was said that the theater was owned by two Jewish brothers - which was not true any longer at the time of the attack, by the way. They had sold the theater one week prior to the attack. But - so each - so what I'm saying is that there's a connection between this random anti-Semitic rage against the Jews that went on for decades and the more planified terror attacks of the period that starts in January, 2015 and goes until July 2016 that was really a devastating period for France. There's something to be said about the origin of that. I mean, why France? What happened in France for - that why was France the sole target of such a terror campaign for 18 months? You - to understand the situation, the rise of anti-Semitism in this country in the early 2000, you have to go back a little bit further back at the end of the cold war.

WEITZMANN: In the early 1990s, there was a terrible civil war in Algeria. As soon as practically as the Berlin Wall crumbled, the - Algeria unraveled. And the civil war started between the Islamists there and the government of the FLN and the militaries. And very quickly, in 1990, militants from the Islamist movement in Algeria came to France and settled in France with the support of the French government in most cases. They even got the status of political refugees. They came to France, and they started the first network of what would become later the terror cells. They also - it is also them who really set up the Salafi revolution that changed the face of Islam of France, probably, forever. Until then, the mosques in France were very quiet. But these guys - it was some hundred people, maybe, that came to France at the time - were very active, very anti-French, very anti-Semite and very dedicated to what they were doing.

WEITZMANN: So they came to France first. Then they went to London - Belgium and London. And from then on, they began to spread a populist propaganda that they aimed at this French suburbs. They did that through the mosques. They did that through social associations, and it worked. In parallel of that, you had a second kind of narrative that was taking place at the same
time after the Cold War, which was a reenactment of what - of something known as the new right. The people like - that you probably don't know, people like some philosophers such as Alain de Benoist, who was a neo-fascist in the '50s, Aleksandr Dugin, who came from Russia to meet de Benoist, people like Jean Tillie en Belgique (ph), who was also the former head of the Friends of the Great Rush during World War II and who was still alive in the '90s. These people gathered together after the end of the Cold War and began to set up a kind of ideology.

**WEITZMANN:** That ideology was saying - it was very anti-American to begin with. The basis of that ideology was that after the Cold War, the world was in the hands of the United States. The United States were manipulated by the Jews, so you had to do something about that. And this network - I'm simplifying a little bit, but that's basically the basis of their ideology. The solution to that American domination was to create new alliances between nationalists everywhere, with former communists in eastern countries, of course, but also in the Muslim world. And extreme right people like de Benoit wrote their support for political Islam as soon as 1985.

**SMITH:** Is this why? Was it because of the anti-Semitism? Or what were the different things that drew them together?

**WEITZMANN:** It was...

**SMITH:** Anti-Americanism.

**WEITZMANN:** It was the notion that Europe had lost its values since 1945. The real occupation for these guys was never the German occupation. It was the American occupation. The Americans were destroying European culture and Christian traditions. So in order to be - and that's the main point. That's the - that's what unites these guys, these post-fascist networks and the Islamists. It is the search for an authentic tradition, authentic cultures against the bastardization of the world that is being enacted by the Americans and the Jews - what we call globalism - the fight against globalism for these guys. When you read the text - the leaflets of the Islamists and you read the text of these guys - of the French extreme right or the Identitarians, you find the same expressions. And sometimes, you really can't distinguish - you can't say which one is - which was which. During the last European elections, there was a Muslim political party that presented a list. The slogan of that party was, the people against Europe. This is a slogan from the extreme right, so there's absolutely no difference sometimes.

**WEITZMANN:** You know, when you read the speeches from the Islamists in Algeria, the Islamists in Algeria talk about the democracy of the homosexuals. They - what they mean by that is that liberalism, the Western world, bring - brought to Algeria, brought to the Muslim world a feminized version of society that undermine the authenticity of Islam. You find exactly the same kind of rhetoric inside of the extreme right circles, where Jews and Americans and capitalism and liberalism feminizes the Christian tradition and has to be fought. So those two currents in the '90s travelled separately in France. They reached a different kind of audience. The Muslim audience reached - the Muslim speech reached out the suburbs and the Muslim kids with a lot of success. And the Identitarian right-wing doctrine reached the journalists, the intellectuals with a certain success as well. And in 2000 and 2001, those two different currents began to merge. The - as I said before, the Muslim kids were electrified by what the French press called the Second Intifada. And they reached out most...

**SMITH:** OK, this is good because I wanted to ask you about this. Like...
WEITZMANN: I'll just finish my...

SMITH: Yeah, yeah, yeah.

WEITZMANN: I'll just finish my sentence. And one year later, 9/11 electrified the extreme right. I don't think Americans imagine the undercurrent of enthusiasm that 9/11 provoked in France.
And I'm not saying in the suburbs - I'm saying in every kind of environment, including among the intellectuals. There was the notion that at last, something is happening to them, to these guys, to the Americans. It was really a moment of discreet but very strong joy. And among the extreme right, it started a strange issue that has not been restored to this day. Part of the extreme right saw - sees to this day the Muslim world as the answer to globalism. And part - and another part of the extreme right sees Israel as the vanguard of the West against the Islamist - the Islamic barbarians. These two tendencies coincided inside the extreme right, which makes it a very difficult continent to explore, actually.

WEITZMANN: One - a good example is the philosopher who invented - who caught the phrase the theory of the great replacement. The theory of the great replacement was invented by this guy called Renaud Camus, who's a French writer. He started as an anti-Semite. Twenty years ago, I was the one who exposed his writing as an anti-Semite. He wrote things about the Jews. There were too many Jews in French media and so forth. After 9/11, he changed. He became a great defender of Israel but - and a completely anti-Muslim writer. And he's - today, he's very close to the National Front. But he remains an anti-Semite.

SMITH: Yeah. I was going to say, with the Jewish community...

WEITZMANN: That's the paradox. He is both a Zionist and an anti-Semite. Why? How - no, but there's a reason for it. And it's - the reason is that he's - it all depends how you see Israel, if you will. He sees Israel as a nationalist movement, as a movement going - that's the emanation of what the French called (unintelligible) theories, which is that the country - one people, one country. So he's fine with that. What he doesn't like is the Jewish Diaspora, the very notion that Jews can live elsewhere - not in their own country. Why are they still in France? Why are they still in the U.S.? This infuriates people like Renaud Camus, as they infuriated the killer of the Poway massacre. He wrote that much. He wrote that he would - that he had nothing against the Jews per se. He has something against migration, diasporas, miscegenation.

SMITH: Let's - because we're running short on time...

WEITZMANN: Yeah.

SMITH: ...Which is terrible, but if we can - if we can talk a little bit about - without asking too much to make a comparison, but you know this country well. You've lived here. You're writing in English now. So if you want to - if you want to say what it looks like to you, what you're seeing in the United States, does it look like the different things that you saw in France starting in around 2000 and through that period? Or what are the differences? What are the...

WEITZMANN: I'll say three things. First of all, there's a huge difference between France and the U.S. is that in the U.S., the anger remained hidden for a long time, and it took the last couple of years for the anger to - some...

SMITH: Anger at what?

WEITZMANN: The anger every...
WEITZMANN: ...In this country - anger. In France, it's the other way around. Everybody's angry. Everybody's full of hate. But that hate doesn't translate easily on a political level. There's a limit, if you will. So the - what in the U.S. reminds me of France - certainly people like - when you see the complacency of the left with people like Ilhan Omar, for instance - certainly, that's something that sounds familiar for French. We've seen that before. We've seen that in France with people like Thierry Caramadon, for instance. The - people like Ilhan Omar are probably Muslim Brothers. They - people that are very - it's - the Muslim Brothers is a movement that is very - that is dedicated to infiltrate institutions. There are discourses, a democratic discourse. They're not like the Salafis who are in - that were trying to - who are always claiming that they dissociated themselves from Western society.

WEITZMANN: The Muslim Brothers do the exact opposite. Their rhetoric look like they're left-wingers. They want to be citizens. They want to be part of the public debate - to destroy the systems from the inside, if you will. So when you see the complacency of the left for personalities like Ilhan Omar, yeah, it looks like what we've seen in France, but it's not the only thing. When you see some debates going on among the right-wing circles here, it does look like what's going on in France. This recent debate we talked about last night...

SMITH: Oh, right.

WEITZMANN: What's...

SMITH: About Marianne David...

WEITZMANN: Yes, exactly.

SMITH: Why does this look like some of the debates in France?

WEITZMANN: Because this - the notion that the right should go - should fight against autonomy, individual freedom, which is what - how many - I can never pronounce it...

SMITH: A long discussion.

WEITZMANN: It's a long discussion. But that's - no, but that's what he wrote - does remind me of what people write - people can write in France these days.

SMITH: Does that - but does that - I mean, does that intersect with - in France, at least, does it intersect with anti-Semitism?...

WEITZMANN: There was a - the role of the extreme right - there are two things to say about that. The role of the extreme right in France - the extreme right in France never killed anyone, contrary to what happened here. The extreme right in France gave a certain frame, like the extreme left did. The - it gave a certain frame that made the violence acceptable, if you will. Some people in the extreme right, for instance - people - someone like the editorialist of Le Figaro, which is a very big newspaper in France - right-wing newspaper - called Eric Zemmour - who's Jewish, by the way - publicly said that he admired the killers of Charlie Hebdo because they were able to do things that we decadent, feminized Westerners are unable to do anymore. We can't do it anymore. They can - things like that. The radical - if you will - it seems to me that everywhere, from France to here, the violence of the jihadis is kind of inspirational. It leads to a certain - there is sort of envy. We envy these guys.
WEITZMANN: So it's not exactly the same here because we - because here, the extreme right has the mean and the will sometimes - we've seen that in Pittsburgh, we've seen that in Poway - to really do the deed. But in France, it's not like that. In Europe, it's not like that because the extreme right was - the guilt of World War II is too strong to this day. They lost contact with the root of their hate, if you will. The Muslims don't have this problem. So for the extreme right...

SMITH: What do you mean they lost contact with the roots of their hate?

WEITZMANN: Well, the - after World War II, the weight of the genocide - Europe is a continent that's killed itself for a half century. That, really, suicide - that committed suicide. And the extreme right was - the former fascists - the heir of the fascism have a problem with getting to the source of their hate, which is anti-Semitism, because of what happened. The guilt, the abuse of the - the fact that crime is still obvious make them - make it impossible for them to reach that source that would energize them. The Muslims don't have that problem. They touch their hate very easily. They know who they are. And when they want to kill, they kill. So at least in France, what's going on is, there is this fascination from the extreme right for these Islamists, even though they hate them. So it's a strange bedfellows, you know? They have everything - you know, it's a bizarre combination.

SMITH: I'm seeing that we're running out. Nina, should I - I'm going to - unfortunately, we're not going to be able to take any questions. In lieu of questions, I will encourage you, once again, to buy Marc's book in English - and if you read French, get it in French as well. Thank you very much, Marc. And thank you very...

WEITZMANN: Buy both.

(LAUGHTER)

SMITH: Buy both.

(APPLAUSE)

SMITH: Thanks, man.

WEITZMANN: Thanks.

WEINSTEIN: That's great. That's great. Want to thank Marc. And also, Lee, that was a fascinating conversation. And I also want to urge everyone to go out and buy Marc's book. It is incredibly provocative and also incredibly insightful.
Remarks on the Rise of Anti-Semitism in Europe

WEINSTEIN: Now, we have the opportunity to hear our final set of remarks. And it's, for me, a real distinct pleasure to be able to introduce her. Now, I guess I consider her a longtime friend - Simone Rodan-Benzaquen, who is the director of AJC Paris but also the director of AJC Europe and oversees offices in Berlin, Brussels, Paris, Rome and central Europe. Prior to going to work for the AJC, she worked for the French ambassador for human rights at the French foreign ministry. She was co-founder and vice president of SOS Darfur, which was founded - co-chaired by Bernard-Henri Levy.

WEINSTEIN: Simone writes regularly for major publications, including Le Monde, Le Figaro, Liberation. She was educated both in the U.K. and in France, grew up in Germany. And those of us who know Simone well know that she is extraordinarily insightful on questions of public policy and those questions affecting both the Jewish community and American affairs. And she is a confidante of leaders - thought leaders and journalists both in Europe and the United States. So without any further ado, it's my pleasure to welcome Simone to the podium.

(SAPPLAUSE)

SIMONE RODAN-BENZAQUEN: Thank you very much. I know you've had a long day - I certainly have. I've been, for the last three days, at AJCs Global Forum. And I'm additionally quite jet-lagged, so I apologize if I speak slowly or too quickly. I'd like to start out really by thanking the Hudson Institute, Ken and Nina for having me today but also for bringing up this important issue of anti-Semitism. But more than that, I would like to thank you for the way you've framed the issue. In today's invitation to the event, it says, is America experiencing Europe's growing anti-Semitism? And this is, I believe, the crucial question that needs to be asked right now. And that is not, honestly, asked enough, including - I have to be very honest - by some people I know very well. It is thankfully the question was asked a lot during the last three days at our global forum.

RODAN-BENZAQUEN: There is often a certain sense, I fear, though - a certain sense of overconfidence, if I may, by many Americans that sometimes translates into complacency. So let me focus a little bit on the situation in Europe and where I think it can be relevant for the United States. I think - you probably heard much from Marc already, whose book is - and I'll say it once again, you have to buy, absolutely, in French and in English - who has an important analysis, really, of the situation in France - and I share, honestly, most if not all of it. So I hope I'm not going to repeat too much, but I'll say a few things. So given the recent events, I would like to speak to you a little bit about France and Germany. And on a personal note, these two countries are very close to my heart. France is where I decided to live 15 years ago. I am a member of the Jewish community. I am the director of AJC Europe. I'm the mother of three children.

RODAN-BENZAQUEN: And I have, basically, dedicated the past 20 years of my life combating anti-Semitism - yes, I admit, with little success, it appears - and fighting for human rights, democratic values and pluralism. Germany is the country my parents chose more than 40 years ago as a safe haven, fleeing communism in Romania and where I was born. It is the country they chose to raise their daughter, me, thinking I would be safe - again, it's an odd choice. France, the mother of human rights, the country of the Dreyfus Affair - witnessed and reported
by a young journalist at the time, Theodor Herzl. Germany, the country where I grew up with the mantra never again and where, after the Holocaust, people my age and my parents’ age would never have imagined that anti-Semitism could survive and that a single Jew could be threatened to the point where a member of government publicly states that it’s not safe anymore for Jews to wear kippot in certain areas in Germany.

RODAN-BENZAQUEN: So, yes, Jewish communities in Europe have reasons to be increasingly worried as anti-Semitism is and has been spreading on the old continent. In France, as Marc told you, the problem didn't just start with Mireille Knoll or even with Hyper Cacher, but when you look at the statistics in terms of anti-Semitic acts and hate crimes, one can clearly see that it mostly started in the beginning of the years of 2000. In 1997 and 1998 respectively, there were 83 and 84 acts recorded in France. You go to the year of 2001, it immediately jumped to 350 anti-Semitic acts. Since then, France has never been able to go below that number. We have basically been between 350 to nearly a thousand anti-Semitic acts a year. Now, it doesn't sound huge, but this represents an average of one to three anti-Semitic acts a day. Last year, we had an increase of 74%.

RODAN-BENZAQUEN: Now, what is particularly startling is that out of all of the recorded hate crimes, 40 to 50% of all violent hate crimes are of anti-Semitic nature for a Jewish population that represents less than 1% of the total. The European Agency for Fundamental Rights - the FRA - conducted a study a few month ago where they looked at Jewish perceptions of anti-Semitism, which clearly showed the growing concern. Almost 90% of the Jews in the survey in Europe declared that they themselves noticed an increase of anti-Semitic acts in their country over the past five years. One out of five reported to have been personally assaulted or harassed. And when it comes to the feel of physically being assaulted, France ranks far higher than most other countries.

RODAN-BENZAQUEN: As for Germany, the FRA survey showed that 85% of respondents in Germany characterized anti-Semitism as a very big or fairly big problem; 89% said the problem has become worse in the last five years. Overall, reported anti-Semitic crimes in Germany increased by nearly 20% last year to 1,799, while violent anti-Semitic crimes rose by about 86% to 69. Police statistics attribute the attacks mostly to the far right, but AJC and most German community leaders dispute that statistic. Most German Jews understand that when the German government doesn't know where an anti-Semitic act come from, it immediately puts it to the far right. Now, slightly more than half of Germany’s Jewish respondents to the EU's survey said that they have directly experienced anti-Semitic harassment within the last five year and that the plurality - 41% - perceived the perpetrator of the most serious incident to be someone with a Muslim-extremist view.

RODAN-BENZAQUEN: Now, having faced those situations, Jewish communities are more and more concerned and fearful. The issue of knowing whether or not there still is a future in Europe is very much at play. On the occasion of the recent European elections, which took place last week, these concerns were very much expressed. The president of rabbis in Europe even stated that this election would send a very clear signal to Jews, whether they're still welcome or not in Europe. The CRIF - the Jewish umbrella organization in France - called on a massive mobilization, asking people to vote in order to counter a more and more popular far right, which succeeded in grabbing votes from the left - and even more disturbing, a majority of the young people’s votes. Unfortunately, the results of those elections did not bring relief and peace of
mind, as we witnessed with the high results of several populist, far-right parties in several of the European countries.

**RODAN-BENZAQUEN:** Now, I work for an advocacy organization, so I have to ask, what can be done? We are, I think, in a very sort of paradoxical situation. If I focus on France and Germany, where governments do their best to combat anti-Semitism, France and Germany are the only countries in Europe who have appointed a governmental delegate to the fight against anti-Semitism. France and Germany both adopted the working definition of anti-Semitism, a definition that basically allows to define anti-Semitism in all of its forms, including where legitimate criticism of Israel becomes something else, meaning anti-Semitism. France and Germany both developed comprehensive programs on Holocaust education in schools. France and Germany both have plans to fight anti-Semitism. In 2020, anti-Semitism will be addressed as an urgent matter by the presidency of the EU Council. Government officials, heads of state multiplied public declarations and announced a significant number of measures to strengthen the fight against anti-Semitism.

**RODAN-BENZAQUEN:** German Foreign Minister Heiko Maas declared and reaffirmed intentions of Germany to make the fight against anti-Semitism a priority. Germany took an encouraging and brave step by prohibiting BDS activities and calling it out as being anti-Semitic. And in France, BDS has been - at least in theory - prohibited for several years. But while these measures need to be praised and encouraged, the French and German governments seem to sometimes miscalculate the threats posed by other manifestations of anti-Semitism, such as, for example, the non-full recognition of Hezbollah as a terrorist organization. German Chancellor Angela Merkel declined to stop the annual Al-Quds Day march in downtown Berlin this Saturday. Hundreds of pro-Hezbollah protesters snaked through the streets of this German capital and basically shouting, child murderer - Israel and Zionism is racism.

**RODAN-BENZAQUEN:** This blatantly anti-Semitic and hateful event should have been banned as anti-Semitism is growing in Germany and is frequently hiding behind the mask of anti-Semitism. But still, overall, there is goodwill, but the situation is getting worse. To me personally, this is heartbreaking. I am forced to witness that the idea of a safe haven for Jews somewhere in the diaspora; that country by country could be clearly, entirely exempt from this growing cancer, which is anti-Semitism, is slowly fading away. In Europe, the process is well underway and that somehow brings me to the real question of today's conference, which, is America experiencing Europe's growing anti-Semitism?

**RODAN-BENZAQUEN:** In this respect, if I may, I have a small anecdote that I would like to share with you. Four years ago, Jeffrey Goldberg, the editor in chief of the Atlantic, asked me to help me with an article he was writing on anti-Semitism in Europe. I played the role of what can be called a fixer; giving him advice, organizing visits to meetings with local Jewish communities, with the prime minister of France, with law enforcement and political leaders throughout the continent. His on-the-ground research resulted in a very good, long and in-depth article that some of you might have read called, "Is It Time For The Jews To Leave Europe?", in which he described the often desperate situation for European-Jewish communities, coming to the conclusion that there was no future for us in Europe. I have to admit, I was a little bit upset with that article - not because I disagreed with the content, but I disagreed with the conclusion.

**RODAN-BENZAQUEN:** So we had a long conversation. He ultimately decided to publish an interview of me in which I tried to make two main points. The first was that I believed we could
not abandon the battle in Europe on anti-Semitism because unless you are prepared to abandon Europe altogether, we could not do so. Anti-Semitism is a cancer that ultimately affects the entire society. The second idea was that at the end, because we live in a globalized world, the cancer would not only spread throughout France or possibly throughout Europe, but that at some point or the other, it could possibly spread to other liberal democracies, including the biggest one: the United States. Now, I'm not sure how many people who read my article at the time thought I was just delirious - certainly Jeff did. But fast-forward a few years later - four years later - looking at the most recent event in the United States and today's topic, I'm afraid I wasn't entirely wrong.

RODAN-BENZAQUEN: My dire predictions proved to be sadly true when, in Poway, just north of San Diego, a teenaged gunman, who had previously written a hate-filled, anti-Semitic manifesto on social media, opened fire in a synagogue. The most recent anti-Semitic attack came exactly six months after white supremacists killed 11 people at Pittsburgh's Tree of Life synagogue, the deadliest attack on the Jewish community in the United States' history. For us Europeans Jews, this represents our worst nightmare. We have suffered from contemporary anti-Semitism for years. And while the situation on both sides of the Atlantic is, of course, different, many of us feel that we recognize certain signs and know how this scenario - fear how this scenario could potentially play out.

RODAN-BENZAQUEN: The fact is that, today, Jews are not only killed in Paris, Brussels and Copenhagen anymore but also in Pittsburgh and in San Diego. Today Jewish students are no longer just dealing with anti-Semitism in Paris, in London and Oxford but also in New York, in Los Angeles and in Boston - probably more so, actually. Today we are not just dealing with anti-Zionism in Le Monde, Die Zeit or The Guardian, but an atrocious caricature can be published in one of the leading American newspapers, The New York Times, picturing a horrid image of a blind U.S. president with a yarmulke led by a dog with the face of Prime Minister Netanyahu - an image worthy of the 1930s. Today in the United States of America, not just in the British Labour Party, a congresswoman can play on anti-Semitic trope of Jewish influence and money and, honestly - let's be honest - ultimately, get away with it.

RODAN-BENZAQUEN: Today a movement that is supposed to be about women's rights - The Women's March - has come to embody the virus of intersectionality. The resistance to Donald Trump has become linked to a hodgepodge of other issues that seemingly have nothing to do with #MeToo. In that way, protest against sexual harassment have become linked to the Palestinian war against the existence of Israel. In theory, it ought to be able to protest #MeToo or even the president without getting in bed with the likes of Louis Farrakhan. Yet if you want to be part of the movement, you find yourself in bed with Linda Sarsour, who famously said that feminism is incompatible with Zionism. Thus to anyone willing to listen, anyone interested in truly combating anti-Semitism, I would like to give a few pieces of advice based on our unfortunate nearly 20 years firsthand experiences of dealing with anti-Semitism.

RODAN-BENZAQUEN: The first would be to immediately put pressure on public authorities to absolutely condemn anti-Semitism and its proponents and put in place a plan to fight it, ranging from a clear, zero-tolerance policy to target civic education. In Europe, we have suffered from a lack of political response for a very long time, and Marc just explained it to us. Too many years have been wasted. When AJC first came to France in the very early beginning of the years of 2000, we met with government officials at the time. We met even with the president at the time. And at the time, people would tell us that anti-Semitism didn't exist in France, that it was
something to do with criminality, with hooliganism. And we wasted many, many years. The problem became bigger during that time. A similar lapse in the face of violence and proliferation of anti-Semitic crimes across the Atlantic, I believe, would be catastrophic.

**RODAN-BENZAQUEN:** Of course, many political leaders, including President Trump, have condemned the most recent acts, but this alone will not suffice. A genuine reappraisal is necessary in order to understand how the United States got to this point, including the need to look at the political responsibility on all sides of the political spectrum. We must demand that a clear and coherent strategy be put in place, that every political leader needs to be involved in order to tackle the various causes of the current problem. My second piece of advice would be to absolutely confront all forms of anti-Semitism without exception and depoliticize the question entirely. In Europe, just in the United States, even if to a different degree, Jews are facing an onslaught from three distinct sources - first, from parts of the far left - even sometimes part of the left - who, in the context of the hatred of Israel, contribute to the dissemination of anti-Semitic tropes, particularly under the auspices of the BDS movement on college campuses but also in the politics and in the media.

**RODAN-BENZAQUEN:** The second source comes from the far right, where the proliferation of white nationalist supremacy theories and conspiracy theories, online and off - offline, the far right is gaining traction. The fact that the last two anti-Semitic attacks in the U.S. were committed by a white supremacist should lead to a strong, clear-eyed approach. This phenomenon is only reinforced by growing populist movements on both sides of the Atlantic that, while not being anti-Semitic at a first glance, often play with a certain sense of ambiguity, never entirely pushing away those who are following them. And finally, in Europe - much more than in the United States - a dramatic increase of anti-Semitism comes from Islamists. All anti-Semitic acts in the past - violent anti-Semitic acts in the past 13 years in Europe have been committed by jihadists. And Islamists, whether or not, have made anti-Semitism their political backbone, disseminating deadly theories about Jews in mosques, schools and social media, satellite television, through NGOs and on the streets. Only approach would fight all three forms in a focused and honest manner, I believe, can be effective.

**RODAN-BENZAQUEN:** For those willing to combat anti-Semitism only when it comes from their own camp, I would say that they are just playing politics. They are not really interested in combating anti-Semitism. They need to be called out. The various sources of anti-Semitism should be named without being shy and fought for what they are specifically. Third, stop finding excuses and listen to the victims. The Jewish community in Europe spent too many years feeling entirely abandoned by large parts of society who, rather than expressing outrage and commitment in fighting the scourge, found all sorts of excuses, from, this is just the imputation of the conflict, to, they bring it upon theirselves (ph). This is not our battle, or it happening because of Israel, or we are not anti-Semitic, we are just anti-Zionists. When faced with bigotry, you listen not to the voices of denial and doubt but to the people on the receiving end.

**RODAN-BENZAQUEN:** Fourth, engage civil society and build coalitions. The realities that anti-Semitism is should not be the problem of Jews alone. It is the problem of society as a whole. It is a problem that, if left unchecked, will spread and destroy everything that comes its way. It is the symptom of an even more profound crisis; that of a weakening dialogue and compromise between different parts of society, that of the radicalization of the political and of the religious spectrum. It is only when different parts of society come together - whether it is the political right and the political left, whether it is Jews and Muslims working hand-in-hand - that anti-Semitism
can effectively be fought. And finally, I know how sacred the First Amendment is here in the United States, but you’re hearing from a European. Hate speech on the internet and social media is a problem. The internet can no longer just be the Wild Wild West, where hate propaganda is part of the public sphere. Several studies have proven the direct impact of social media on the increase of anti-Semitism and racism. We must understand that words kill, that hate speech ultimately turns into action.

RODAN-BENZAQUEN: One year and a half have passed between the chants in Charlottesville, where it was chanted, Jews will not replace us and ultimately translated into deeds. In Pittsburgh and later in San Diego, Jews were gunned down where they believed Jews must die and Jews are part of a global conspiracy to put down white Christians. And finally, tackle the underlying causes as much as the consequence. If anti-Semitism is basically the symptom of a far bigger disease, then we have to tackle both symptoms and the root causes. This is why as early as we - as early as in 2015, AJC Europe organized Le Sursaut - or it was called in English, the Wake-Up Call - a major European-wide event bringing together more than a thousand civil society activists, confronting Islamist and political extremism and giving a voice to the moderate Democratic voices on the right and on the left. We have to tackle the difficult issues, including those that no one wants to talk about - immigration, integration, identity, the social disparities, the cultural and physical insecurity and many more.

RODAN-BENZAQUEN: So while I’m not here to lecture, I feel a sense of responsibility and urgency to share our own European experience. With every exhausting debate that I see here in the United States over what actually constitutes anti-Semitism, with every refusal to take into consideration anti-Semitism from the other side, with a relative lack of courage by certain politicians - including some Jewish - to speak out clearly and unequivocally, with every hesitation to tackle the problem, with every time I go online and see the overwhelming amount of anti-Semitic hate speech, I get more nervous. I want to shout, please learn from us. Learn from what happened to us because it can happen to you too. So, for once, I think we actually have a unique opportunity that Europe can help save the United States. Let our experience in Europe be a cautionary tale for you in the United States. Thank you.

(APPLAUSE)

WEINSTEIN: Extraordinary. That was unbelievable - great. With Simone’s extraordinary remarks, our conference comes to an end. I want to give her and all the speakers and my colleague Nina Shea and the Hudson Institute events team a heartfelt thanks. There is a reception outside. Please join us. Good evening. Lots of food for thought, unfortunately.